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THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

Joannis Milton
A N G L I
P R O S E
DEFENSIO
CONTRA
Alexandrum Morum
ECCLESIASTEN,

Libelli famofi, cui titulus,
Regii sanguinis *clamor ad*
cælum adversus Parricidas
Anglicos, authorem rece
dictum.



L O N D I N I, ^{D^D}
Typis Neocomianis. 1655.

THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

VOLUME IX

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Columbia University Press
1933

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1933

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JOANNIS MILTONI
ANGLI
PRO SE DEFENSIO CONTRA
ALEXANDRUM MORUM, &c.

JOANNIS MILTONI
ANGLI
PRO SE DEFENSIO
CONTRA
ALEXANDRUM MORUM, &c.

N IHIL equidem aut antea inauditum, aut meâ tuna
expectatione alienum, cum Libertatis causam
primo accepi defendendam, usu venturum mihi
arbitratus sum, si liberatores Patriae, cives meos, unus prae
5 caeteris public[^] laudassem, Tyrannorum jus infinitum atque
injurium coarguissem, ut improborum omnium in me prope
unum ferrentur odia, atque redundarent. Praevidebam etiam
turn bellum vobis, Angli, cum hostibus haud diuturnum;
mihi cum perfugis, & eorum mercenariis sempiternum pro-
10 pemodum fore: ut quorum vos tela de manibus eripuissetis,
eorum in me maledicta atque convicia eo acriùs conjicerentur.
In vos ergo furor hostium atque impetus deferbuit; mihi, ut

JOHN MILTON

AN ENGLISHMAN HIS

DEFENCE OF HIMSELF,

IN ANSWER TO

ALEXANDER MORE, &c.

AT THE time when I first undertook to vindicate the cause of liberty, I thought it would be no unheard of accident, nor, from the very beginning, was it at all foreign to my expectation, if I, who above the rest had
5 publicly applauded my fellow-citizens as the deliverers of their country, and had confounded the unlimited and mischievous prerogative of tyrants, should have the hatred of all the unprincipled accumulated almost upon me alone. Englishmen! I foresaw, likewise, that your contest with the enemy would
10 not be long; but that mine, with the fugitives and their hirelings, would be only not everlasting; because those, from whose hands you had wrested their arms, would therefore, with the greater bitterness, shower their curses and their reproaches upon me. Against you, then, the fury and violence
15 of the enemy have abated. To me, it seems, alone it remains

videtur, soli hujus belli reliquiae supersunt; contemptissimæ
quidem illae, sed ut fere sunt infimorum impetus animalium,
saris infestæ. Non perditorum duntaxat civium, sed exterorum
etiam ut quisque alienarum rerum plus nimio curiosus,
5 ut quisque importunissimus, corruptissimusque est, in me
involat, officii tantummodo mei satagentem; in me omne
virus & aculeos dirigit. Quo fit, ut quod plerique ad com-
mendationem operis, & audientiam sibi faciendam praefari
initio solent, se ab exili atque humili rerum materia ad res
10 dictu gravissimas atque maximas aspirare, id mihi in prae-
sentia nequaquam concessum sit; ut cui nunc contra vel
invito atque nolenti a rebus maximis & gloriosissimis dicen-
dis ad res obscuras, anonymorum latebras, & adversarii tur-
pissimi persequenda lustra atque flagitia necessario sit de-
is scendendum. Quod etsi parum exordienti honorificum & ad
reddendos lectorum animos attentiores minus accommoda-
tum esse videatur, habet tamen quod exemplo haud absimili,
cum viris optimis & praestantissimis idem contigerit, consolari
possit: siquidem & Africanus ipse Scipio, postquam ea gesse-
20 rat quibus nihil in eo laudis genere felicius aut majus potuit.

to terminate this war. These concluding attacks are indeed most contemptible; but like those from most low animals, they are full of venom. As all who are over-curious about other people's concerns, all who are mischievous and corrupt, 5 whether among our own profligate citizens, or among foreigners, fly upon me, who attend my own duty only, upon me will they point their venom and their stings. Whence it happens, that I am not at liberty, on the present occasion, to imitate the common practice of writers, with whom it is usual 10 to premise something in commendation of their work, with a view to procure a favorable hearing, and thus to raise themselves by degrees from what may be low or ordinary in their subjects, to those topics which may be of the greatest weight and importance: On the contrary, I am now obliged to stoop 15 from recounting achievements the most lofty and glorious, to things of no note or lustre,—to trace out the lurking holes of the nameless, and the haunts and the crimes of an adversary of the basest kind. Although this may appear little creditable to one who is making a beginning, and still less suited to gain 20 the attention of the reader, yet, when we consider that the same thing has happened to the best and most illustrious of men, my situation, by presenting a parallel, is not without its circumstances of consolation. Even Scipio Africanus himself, after he had performed those exploits, than which nothing, in 25 that line of glory, could be greater or more fortunate, after

inclinadone rerum suarum perpetua & decrescente semper
suae virtutis materia usum esse videtur: Et primo Dux quidem
summus, atque Hannibale superior, mox contra hostem Sy-
rum & imbellem Legatus, Tribunorum deinde impotentia
5 vexatus, suam tandem communire villam Liternensem contra
fures atque latrones coactus est: in hac tamen rerum suarum
declivitate atque descensu par ipse semper sibi & æqualis
dicitur fuisse. Unde ego, atque aliis aliunde monitis, quicquid
sortis aut provincial dederit modo Deus, multo licet priore
10 angustius, atque tenuius, id non aspernari erudior. Sed quern-
admodum Dux bonus (quidni enim bonos in omni genere
liceat imitari?) contra hostem qualemcumque boni Ducis offi-
cium explebit; vel si hoc nimis invidiosum est, ut sutor bonus,
ita enim vir sapiens olim philosophatus est, ex eo quodcumque
15 est ad manum corio calceamentum quàm potest optimum
conficiet, sic ego ex hoc calceamento (argumentum enim
cum instituissem dicere, puduit) trito præsertim jam antea
atque dissuto, siquid concinnare quod legentium auribus tan-
turn non fastidio sit potero, experiar, parsurus utique omnino
20 huic operse, nisi accusationes mihi nescio quas falsas, & men-
dacia objecisset adversarius, quam ego maculam aut suspici-
onem adhaerere mihi minimè volo. Quando hoc necessario
tollendum mihi onus est, dabit quisque veniam, uti spero, si

his affairs began to wane, which they continued to do without interruption, he seems always to have fed upon the substance of his own worth. At the outset of his career, he was the first of generals, superior even to Hannibal; afterwards he was sent
5 to combat the Syrian, an unwarlike enemy; then he was harassed by the insolence of the tribunes, and last of all, he was constrained to fortify his own villa at Liternum, against thieves and robbers: yet, throughout this decline of his fortune, he is said to have been always the same, always equal to
10 himself. Hence I am taught, as likewise from lessons derived from other sources, not to despise any condition or any office that may be allotted me by God, however humble it may be, or however inferior to what I before enjoyed. But as a good general (for why should we not imitate the good in every
15 kind of excellence ?) will do the duty of a good general against an enemy of any description; or, if this comparison be too invidious, as a good shoe-maker (for thus philosophized a wise man of ancient times) will make the best shoe he is able of the leather he may happen to have in hand, so I will try, if, out of
20 this shoe, (for when I had resolved on it, I was ashamed to call it an argument) though now worn and unsewn, I cannot patch up something at least, which the ears of my readers may not disdain. Still, I should have spared myself altogether this trouble, if my enemy had not thrown out against me accusa-
25 tions and lies of such a nature, as I could not endure should adhere as a stain and a suspicion to my character. Forced then of necessity to undertake this task, I trust I shall be pardoned by all, if, as heretofore I was not found wanting to the people

populo qui non defui pridem & Reipublicæ, mihimet nunc non defuero.

Quoniam itaque *tuam fidem*, More, quam in ipso libelli titulo tu *publicam* vocas, Ego publicatam jamdudum & perditam scio, ita ultro statim nobis obstringis, ut *siquid eorum in te agnosceres*, quae de te ego scripserim, *majorem in modum irascere*, ex ore inprimis tuo, quo laqueo solet improbus irretiri semper & capi, judicandum te omnibus atque damnandum addico. Cum enim & ex perpetua calumnia, qua meum
10 omne dictum aut factum in deterrimam partem trahis, mēque obruere invidia quaeris, & ex contumeliis, quas semper iniquissimas undique in me arripis jaciendas, ex omnibus denique signis atque indiciis iræ facile appareat vehementissime te, quamvis id usque neges, & apertissime irasci, effugere non
15 potes quin arguaris agnoscere in te ea, quae vel *affinxisse* tibi me ais, vel in lucem protulisse.

Duae sunt res quarum ego te postulabam: altera injuriarum, altera flagitiorum. Injuriarum, quod libelli in nos clamosissimi Author extitisses; nam quod populum Anglicanum
20 satis laedere existimares te non posse, nisi me eximiè præter cæteros læsisses, id ego honori mihi potius, quam con-

and to the commonwealth, I shall now show that I am not wanting to myself.

Since then, More, you thus voluntarily, and without ceremony, pledge to us your "faith," (which, in the very title of
 5 your book you call "public," and which I have so long known to be venal and profligate) that "your anger would kindle in a still higher degree," if you should discover any truth in those strictures of mine upon you—I consign you, in the first instance, to the world, to be judged and condemned out of your
 10 own mouth, the snare in which knaves are usually entangled and caught. For whereas, from your calumnious disposition, which impels you to distort every word and deed of mine to its worst purpose, and to overwhelm me with malice; from the contumely, ever most iniquitous, which, in your infernal
 15 eagerness, you would get poured upon me from all quarters; lasdy, since from every mark and indication of anger, it is abundantly plain, nay, most notorious, though you persist in denying it, that you are wrought up to the highest pitch of rage—you have no other choice left you, than to plead guilty
 20 to those crimes, which I have brought to light against you, but which you assert I have "fabricated" for you.

The charges I brought against you are principally two; one is of the class of injuries, the other, of debaucheries. The injury is, that you came forward as the author of that most clamorous
 25 libel against us: for, your thinking that you could not do enough injury to the people of England, without injuring me in an especial manner above the rest, I regard as honourable to me, rather than injurious. To blazon your debaucheries as

tumeliae duco. Flagitia verò tua commemorare, ut dignum erat, idcirco non gravabar, ut ostenderem, siquidem is est habendus clamoris author, qui edidit, & alius certè praeter te nemo hactenus comparuit, quam casto ex ore clamor
5 ille prorupisset. Quid tu ad haec? negas te authorem illius libelli; & ita sedulò, ita prolixè negas, cum tamen liber ille nequaquam tibi displiceat, ut magis mihi pertimuisse videre, ne ilium librum scripsisse, quam ne ilia in te tot probra admisisse reperiaris; de quibus sic leviter & timide, sed simul
10 versute ac veteratorie te purgas, ut nemo non subesse ulcus perspiciat. Haud incallido fortasse consilio; nam quis unum libellum scripserit, quam quis multa stupra fecerit difficilior longe est probatio; libellus sine arbitris confici potuit; haec sine sociis, & scelerum consciis non potuerunt: illic vestigia
15 pene nulla necessario apparent; hie plurima indicia & praecedunt, & una adsunt, & subsequuntur. Itaque, si pernegasses ad te librum ilium pertinere, arbitraberis eadem opera & fidem meam de reliqua tua vita saltern apud longinquos infirmari, & mea credulitate atque injuria, qua te scilicet temere vio-
20 lassem, tuam magna ex parte levare infamiam: sin ire inficias

they deserved, believe me, I was nothing loath, as I would make appear: for, he is to be considered as the author of the *Cry*, who published it. Besides, it is certain, that no other person but yourself has yet appeared, from whose pure lips
 5 that *Cry* should have proceeded. What is your answer to this? You deny that you were the author of that libel; and this you do with so much earnestness, and at such length, though at the same time nothing disapproving the book, that you seem to me to have been more afraid, lest you should be made out to
 10 be the author of that production, than of admitting those numerous and scandalous actions with which you were reproached; and which, with a view to clear yourself, you touch so gently and timidly, though at the same time, with so much art, so much like an old practitioner, that any one may perceive there is a sore underneath. This perhaps was no bad policy: for, with the man who has written only one libel proof is far more difficult than with him who has been guilty of many acts of fornication. A libel may be manufactured without witnesses; fornication cannot take place without a
 20 partner and accessories. In the former case, it is not necessary that any traces almost should appear; in the latter, various indications precede, accompany, and follow. Hence, by stoutly denying that the book is yours, you thought that my credit with respect to the other parts of your conduct,
 25 would also be invalidated, at least for people at a distance; and that, on account of my credulity, and of the rash and injurious manner in which I had assailed you, your ignominy would, in a great measure, be removed. But, if you failed in getting

de libello non posses, restare tibi hoc solum praevidebas, quo nihil difficilius erat aut acerbius ut de moribus & flagitiis haud perfunctoriè respondendum tibi esset. Verùm ego nisi hoc doceo, nisi planum facio aut te authorem illius libelli famosissimi in nos esse, aut te satis causæ praeuisse cur pro authore merito haberi debeas, non recuso quin abs te victus in hac causa cum dedecore atque pudore turpiter discedam; nullam a me culpam neque imprudentiae, neque temeritatis neque maledicentiæ deprecor.

- 10 Prodiit hoc biennio anonymus & probrosus liber, *Regii sanguinis clamor ad cerium adversus Parricidas Anglicanos* inscriptus; in quo libro, cum Respublica Anglorum tota, turn nominatim *Cromuellus*, eo quidem tempore nostrorum exercituum Imperator, nunc totius Reipublicæ vir summus, 15 omni verborum contumelia laceratur: Secundum eum, sic illi anonymo visum est, maledictorum pars maxima in me conjicitur. Vix suis integer schedulis liber iste in Consilio mihi est traditus; ab eo mox consessu qui quæstionibus turn praefuit, alter mittitur: significatum quoque est, expectari a 20 me hanc operam Reipublicæ navandam, ut huic importuno clamatori os obturarem. Verum me, turn maxime, & infirma simul valetudo, & duorum funerum luctus domesticus, &

through with your denial as to the libel, you foresaw, that the only alternative left you, however tart, however much against the grain, would be, to return an answer, and that no very slight and superficial one, concerning your manners and
 5 scandalous behaviour. Nevertheless, if I cannot prove, if I cannot make it plain, either that you were the author of that notorious libel against us, or that you have given sufficient cause for being deservedly considered as the author, I refuse not to acknowledge myself vanquished by you in this cause,
 10 and ingloriously to retire with shame and dishonour. I do not even deprecate the imputation of any offence, whether it be of imprudence, of rashness, or of slander.

It is now two years since was published, the opprobrious book entitled, *The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven against*
 15 *the English Parricides*. In this book, the commonwealth of England, and Cromwell in particular, (who was at that time the leader of our armies, but who is now the first man in the state) are loaded with the grossest calumnies of which language can be the interpreter. Next after Cromwell, (for
 20 thus it seemed good to the anonymous scribbler) the largest share of the abuse falls upon me. The book was scarcely complete in sheets, before it was put into my hands in the council. Soon after that sitting, another copy is sent me by the person who was then president, accompanied with the intimation,
 25 that the commonwealth expected my services to stop the mouth of this importunate crier. But at that time, in an especial manner, I was oppressed with concerns of a far different nature. My health was infirm, I was mourning the recent loss

me toto biennio nullum neque popularem, neque peregrinum
convenisse, cum quo de istoc libello sermones mihi fuissent,
quin omnes una voce te ejus Authorem dici consentirent, ne-
minem prseter te alium nominarent Ita universim obtinuit
5 *hxc* fama, ut te possim ipsum hujus rei testem producere.
Recita tuum ipse testimonium.

Testimonium Mori, fag. 10.

Neque vero tacui, si cui forte subiit aliquid ejusmodi su-
10 spicari, sed palam & exerte respond! reclamans, conquestusque
sum invito supponi mihi foetum alienum, siquidem illius
auctor libri vel ex parte vel in totum existimarer.

Quamvis hoc falsum sit tacuisse te, aut reclamasse quod
plurimi testantur, qui te de eo libro & confitentem & glori-
15 antem audierunt, dum hoc tutum tibi, aut lucro aut honori
credidisti fore, hie tamen vides, quam *hxc* fuerit concepta
alte, nee sine causa proculdubio, hominum opinio, ut ne
familiaribus quidem tuis persuadere potueris, quo minus
reclamantem te & *conquerentem* atque *invitum* illius libri
20 *authorem vel ex parte vel in totum existimarint*, Quid si ego,
qui te nostris partibus inimicissimum esse, & de Republica
nostra pessime solere loqui intelligerem, hac plus quam famâ
nexus, hac hominum non vulgarium communi opinione atque
consensu adductus, hoc pro certo sumpsissem, te hunc libel-
25 lum composuisse? Tu contra quid affers, quamobrem tantæ

libel either with native or foreigner, but they all with one voice agreed to proclaim you the author, and did not even mention any other name but yours. This report therefore prevailed universally, of which I can produce you yourself as an
 5 evidence. Let us hear your own testimony.

More's Testimony, page 10.

"So far from being silent, when any one happened to suspect any thing of this sort, I openly and strenuously denied it, complaining that a supposititious birth was being fathered
 10 upon me against my will, if I were thought to be the author of that book, either wholly or in part."

Though this be false, whether you were silent, or whether you denied what numbers testify who have heard your confessions and boastings about that book, while you thought such
 15 conduct safe for you, or for your profit or credit; yet, observe here, how deeply founded was this opinion of mankind, and not without good reason indeed, when you could not persuade even your own familiar friends with all your "denials," your "complainings," and your "unwillingness," to think that you
 20 were not the author of that book, "either wholly or in part." What if I, who knew you to be implacably hostile to our party, and that you are accustomed to speak in terms of the vilest abuse of our commonwealth, grounding myself and being guided not by mere rumour but by the unanimous opinion
 25 of the least vulgar of mankind—what if I (I say) had taken it for granted that you had written this libel? What reason do

hominum, etiam amicorum tuorum consensioni de inimico nostro facile habere fidem non debuerim? Factum negas. At quotusquisque est reorum, qui multis etiam testibus in iudicio convictus atque damnatus, in ipso supplicii loco, ubi etiam
5 pœnâ capitali jam jam plectendus est, pernegare crimen suum non soleat; immo secretum quodvis anteactae vitae facinus suum proferre in lucem non malit, cujus pcenas meritas dare se nunc dicat, quam de illo crimine confiteri de quo sit condemnatus? Accedit quod is turn negat, cum sententia jam
10 lata, cum expeditâ & imminente jam securi, nihil juvat neque prodest negare: Tu propterea, quod prodest, quod est cur metuas, quod manendum tibi in iis provinciis, si faterere, non esset, idcirco negas. Pacis articulos inter Nos & Fœderatas Provincias *Latine conditos* vertisse te dicis. Legito itaque no-
15 num, decimum, & undecimum, quos tu cum vertebas, solum vertere debuisti.

Articulus pacis nonus:

Quod neutra dictarum Rerumpublicarum hostes alterius Reipublicae declaratos vel declarandos, in ejus dominia reci-
20 piet, neque eorum alicui in praedictis locis vel alio quocunque, etiam extra sua dominia auxilium, consilium, hospitium con-

you bring, why I should not, without scruple, yield assent to this striking agreement of men, and especially of your own friends, concerning a person who is our enemy? You deny the fact. But, how few are the criminals, who though convicted and condemned at the tribunal by numerous witnesses, do not obstinately deny their guilt, at the very place of execution, where they are that instant to suffer death? How few are there, who would not prefer laying open every hidden villainy of their past lives, and acknowledging at this moment that they justly deserved punishment for them all, to confessing themselves guilty of the crime of which they are condemned? The criminal then persists in denial, after sentence is passed, nay when the ax of the executioner is at hand, and even uplifted for the stroke, when it can be neither pleasure nor profit to him to deny. Whereas you deny for the very reason, that it is for your profit, because you have ground for apprehension, because, if you made confession, you would no longer be harboured in those provinces. You say that you were the person who translated the articles of the peace, which were drawn up in Latin, between us and the United Provinces. Read then the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh articles, the ones which it became you alone to translate.

Article the Ninth of the Peace.—"That neither of the said republics shall receive into its dominions the declared enemies of either republic, or those about to be declared; nor shall afford aid, counsel, entertainment to any such, in the aforesaid places, or in any other whatsoever, even without their

cedet, nee istiusmodi hostibus ullum auxilium, consilium, hospitium, favorem, pecunias praestari permittet.

Articulus decimus.

Quod si alterutra dictarum Rerumpublicarum aliquem
5 suum fuisse & esse hostem, & in sua dominia receptum esse, aut ibidem commorari per literas suas publicas alteri significaverit, tunc illa Respublica quae hujusmodi literas receperit, intra spatium viginti octo dierum tenebitur dicto hosti mandare, ut extra sua dominia exeat. Et si quis praedictorum ho-
10 stium intra quindecimum diem non exiverit, singuli morte & amissione bonorum multabuntur.

Articulus undecimus.

Quod nullus hostis publicus Reipublicae Angliae in aliqua oppida, vel alia loca recipietur; neque Domini Ordines Generales alicui hujusmodi hosti publico in locis praedictis, pecuniis, commeatu, aut alio quocunque modo auxilium, consilium, aut favorem dari permittent.

Haecine audis? quam diligenter, quam severe ab utraque Republica tribus continuis articulis cautum atque provisum
20 sit, nequis alterius hostis ab alterutra vel hospitio vel tecto recipiatur; qui hostis declaratus vel declarandus ab alterutra sit, ei ut aqua & igni ab altera sit interdicendum, ut morte etiam multandus sit, nisi intra dies quindecim post denunciatum sibi discessum sarcinas collegerit? Haecine, inquam,
25 sine metu ac trepidatione audis? qui si hostis esse aut fuisse prehenderit, nosque ut viros fortes decet, in sententia per-

own dominions; nor shall suffer to be afforded any aid, counsel, entertainment, favour, money, to any such enemies."

Article the Tenth.—"That if either of the said republics shall signify to the other by its public letters, that any person,
 5 who was and is its enemy, has been received into that other's dominions, or has taken up his abode there, then that republic, which shall have received such letters, shall be held bound to order the said enemy to depart out of its dominions, within the space of twenty-eight days. And if any of the aforesaid
 10 enemies shall fail to depart within fifteen days, they all and each shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods."

Article the Eleventh.—"That no public enemy of the commonwealth of England shall be received into any towns, or into any other places, nor shall the Lords the States General
 15 suffer to be given aid, counsel, or favour to any such public enemy in the places aforesaid, whether in money or provisions, or in any other way whatsoever."

Do you hear all this ? With what circumspect diligence and rigour those republics, in three successive articles, have pro-
 20 vided against the tendering of hospitality or shelter by either to any enemy of the other; which enemy, whether declared or about to be declared by either, is to be forbidden fire and water by the other, and to be punished even with death, unless he packs up his all, within fifteen days after his departure is
 25 announced to him ? Do you hear all this, I say, without fear and trembling ? When, if, in the place where you have those salaries and professorships of sacred history, it should be discovered, that you either are, or have been an enemy, you

sistemus, neque articulos otiosos ad numerum duntaxat composuimus, ubi tua ilia stipendia, & sacrarum Historiarum professiones? cui de tota ilia ditione intra paucos dies decedendum erit; & relictis Historiis, ilia vitse tuæ fabula nequissima
5 nescio quibus in terris peragenda. Quis enim hostis noster magis publicus est dicendus, quam is, qui libro famosissimo in vulgus edito totam Angliæ Rempublicam inhumanissimis verborum contumeliis proscindit atque dilaniat? latrocinii, caedis, perduellionis, impietatis, parricidii, immò novo prorsus
10 vocabulo deicidii demum incusat; omnes Principes, Populos, Nationes in nos, tanquam in monstra ac pestes generis humani ad arma, quantum in se est, concitat; & quasi ad commune atque sacrum bellum nobis inferendum hortatur? Hunc tu confecisse librum nisi pertinaciter negares, nullus
15 mine locus consistendi iis in locis tibi esset. Cum igitur tibi tarn sit omnino periculosum fateri, cum incolumitatis & commodorum tuorum, ac prope salutis tarn vehementer intersit librum istum ejurare, cur tua inimici & improbissimi hominis negatio contra famam constantem, immò verò quod plus
20 est, contra tot hominum satis perspicacium, & amicorum aliquot tuorum opinionem valere debeat, non video. At enim dicis, non te solum negasse; testem habere *reverendum anti-*

would be constrained within a few days to bid adieu to all that authority of yours, and throwing aside your histories, to act out the infamous story of your life, in foreign lands? Unless, indeed, we ourselves, disgracing the character of men of
5 vigour, should be found to have penned articles that are of no other use than to swell the number. For who can be considered as a more public enemy of ours, than he who in a book of the greatest possible notoriety distributed among the vulgar, lacerates and cuts up the whole commonwealth of England
10 with instruments of contumely the most savage which words can furnish? He charges us with robbery, murder, treason, impiety, parricide, and lastly from a vocabulary altogether new, with deicide! To the utmost of his power, he incites to arms against us all princes, people, and nations, as against the
15 monsters and the pests of the human race; he animates them to the attack, as to a common and holy war! If you had not pertinaciously denied that you had fabricated that book, there would now be no abiding place for you in those parts. Since, then, confession is a matter of such extreme peril to you; since
20 it behoves you, for your personal security, for your comforts, and even for your life, to swear off that book with an earnestness so vehement; why this denial of yours, from a man without probity, and an enemy, in contradiction to unvarying report, nay more, in contradiction to the opinion of so many
25 persons of no small sagacity, and even of some among your own friends—why this denial of yours (I say) should avail against all this evidence, I cannot perceive. But, say you, I am not the only one who makes this denial; I have an evidence

stitem Ottonum, qui clarissimum Duraum *admonuerit te illius libri non esse auctorem, sibi probe notum auctorem long^ alium*. Itaque ex ipsis Durad literis ostendam, neque probe hoc novisse Ottonum, neque testem omnino esse, vel
 5 siquid testatur, ex eo reddi te multo quam antea suspectiorem.

Ex literis Duræi, Hagd, April¹⁴/₂₄ 1654.

Quod ad responsum Miltoni ad eum librum, cui titulus Regii sanguinis clamor: Equidem a Ministro quodam Midelburgensi, qui Mori perfamiliaris est, certior sum factus, Mo-
 10 rum non esse illius libri authorem, sed Ministrum quendam Gallicum, quern Morus sub conditione silentii eidem nomi-
navit.

Et ex alteris Amsterodamo, April.¹⁹/₂₉ 1654.

Cum D. Ottono colloquutus sum; hie quidem acerrime
 15 Regius est, & Moro perquam intimus; idque mihi dixit quod superioribus literis ad te scripsi, Morum non esse *Clamoris Regii sanguinis* authorem.

Ex quibus hoc in primis nemo non intelligit, Ottono, ut qui partibus Regiis addictissimus, nobis inimicissimus, Moro
 20 a secrets sit, nee si sua quidem fide quicquam afferat, credendum esse. Nunc autem cum aperte fateatur Ottonus, quicquid hac de re sciat, abs te hausisse, tua sola author! tate niti, tuum hoc apud se depositum arcanum esse, non hoc Ottoni testi-

in Otto, "a reverend and eminent divine," who "intimated to the illustrious Duraer, that I was not the author of the book, and that the real author, a very different person, was well known to him." Now, I shall demonstrate from the letters of
 5 Duraer himself, that Otto did not know this real author, and that he is no evidence at all; or if so, that you become from that circumstance far more obnoxious to suspicion than before.

Extract of a letter of Durcer, Hague, April¹⁴/24, 1654.

"As to Milton's reply to the book, entitled *The Cry of the*
 10 *Royal Blood*, I have been informed, by a minister of Middelburg, an intimate friend of More's, that More was not the author of that book, but some French minister, engaged by More, under promise of secrecy, for that purpose."

And of another, Amsterdam, April 19, 1654.

15 "In conversing with D. Otto, an acrimonious royalist and very intimate with More, he told me, what I have written you in a former letter, that More was not the author of the *Cry of the Royal Blood*."

From these extracts, everybody, at the first blush con-
 20 eludes, that Otto being devoted tooth and nail to the royalist party, an implacable foe to us, and the confidant of More, is not to be believed even when he adduces testimony on his own authority. But now, when Otto publicly confesses, that he derived every thing he knows about the matter
 25 from you, that he relied solely on your authority, that it was you who deposited the secret with him, this is not the tes

monium, sed tua adhuc sola negatio est: immo verò potiùs tua clara confessio dicenda erit, illius te libelli vel componendi vel procurandi cum paucissimis esse conscium; si non authorem, at certè socium & administrum; vel tuâ opera vel tuo
5 consilio librum illum fuisse editum. Quod si ita est, ut est sanè per tuum testem, ex tuomet ipsius ore verisimillimum, equidem baud metuo, ne te falsè insimulasse dicar, si vel authorem ipsum affirmaverim te, vel eodem numero habuerim. Quis non jam plane perspiciat, quam penitus ex sinu
10 tuo liber iste prodierit? quam non de nihilo constantissima de te ista fama invaluerit? verum adhuc clarius hoc idem statim perspicere cuivis licebit. Jam enim a fama, quod postmodum apparebit, minime fallaci, ne vocis invidia contra me utaris, ad justam probationem & compertissimos mihi testes transeo.
15 Accipe in primis literarum partem, quæ haud ita multo post Lugduno Batavorum sunt datae, quam libellus iste clamosus Hagæ-Comitis est editus. Missæ sunt hae literæ ad amicum quendam meum ab homine & docto & prudente, & rerum peritissimo, mihi satis noto, & in Hollandia notissimo: in
20 quibus libelli cujusdam famosi factâ mentione, hæc statim verba subjungit.

timony of Otto, but your own denial, still the only one: nay, it should rather be called your plain confession, either, that you composed the said libel, or that, with the fewest possible coadjutors, you were privy to procuring its composition; 5 that if you are not the author, you are at least an associate and fellow-labourer; or, that the book was published either by your instrumentality, or at your recommendation. If this be the fact, as by your own testimony, out of your own mouth, is, it must be confessed, extremely probable, I am indeed under 10 very litde apprehension of being charged with accusing you falsely, though I should positively affirm that you were either the real author, or one of the associates. Who does not now clearly perceive, that the said book proceeded altogether from your own breast ? That it was not for nothing, that report was 15 uniformly constant concerning you?

But this will soon appear to everybody in a yet stronger light: for, I now pass from a report (that you use not the word's odium against me), which, as will hereafter be seen, is by no means fallacious, to proper proof, and to witnesses 20 whom I know to be unexceptionable. Take first a passage from a letter, dated Leyden, written but a short time after the publication of this crying libel at the Hague. This letter was sent to a certain friend of mine, by a person of learning and prudence, and very well acquainted with affairs—a man 25 sufficiently well known to myself, and in Holland, very generally known. Having mentioned in this letter, a certain celebrated libel, he immediately adds these words.

Liters Leidenses, Septemb. 27. stilo novo. 1652.

Nee majoris momenri est iste Mori liber, cui titulus Clamor Regii sanguinis ad coelum: satisque vendibilis fuit, donee Author illius vitiata Salmasii uxoris ancillâ, ipse suam existimationem commaculavit. Hæ literæ, eodem puto mense, integrse sunt evulgatae, inque actis diurnis apud nos, quinto quoque die hebdomadse prodire solitis, palam extant; ejusque autoritate vel qui misit eas, vel qui edidit, fidem facilè suam tuentur, meam absolvunt. Haec habui neque levia, neque ullo
10 modo contemnenda, cur hunc Regii sanguinis clamorem opus tuum esse crediderim: famam constantem, non vulgi, sed amplissimorum hominum per biennium totum opinionem atque consensum, literas viri intelligentissimi atque honestissimi vicina ex urbe missas, quibus an quid certius in re prae-
15 sertim longinqua de inimico & extraneo homine, & omni infamia jamdudum cooperto, expectandum fuerit aut requirendum, haud scio. Age verò; ne tu me tristem nimis & obstinatum queraris, aliquanto laxiùs te habebo, quo deinde fortius teneam atque constringam: quoniam attributum tibi librum
20 elegantulum sic aversaris atque horres, contra hæc omnia quæ afferre hactenus potui tarn valida, tuam valere singularem &

Letter from Leyden, September 27, new style, 1652.

"Nor is that book of More's, entitled *The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven*, of greater consequence. It sold well enough indeed, till its author stained his own reputation, by debauch-
 5 ing the servant-girl of Salmasius's wife." This letter entire was made public, I think the same month, and may now be read by everybody in the public journal published in this country on Thursdays. Its claim to credit is easily proved, by the authority either of the writer or publisher; by which au-
 10 thority too my own credit is saved.

My reasons then (and they are no trifling or despicable ones) for thinking that this *Cry of the Royal Blood* is your work, are these—unvarying report; the opinion and agreement, through two whole years, not of the vulgar, but of
 15 men of the first character; and the letters of persons, eminent for their understanding and probity, sent from a neighbouring city. I know not what clearer proof could be expected or required, especially in a transaction which took place at a great distance, with a person who is an enemy, and that
 20 enemy a foreigner covered with every species of infamy?

But come; that you may not complain of me as being too severe and determined, I will handle you somewhat more loosely, only, however, that I may by and by wring and grip you the harder. Since you cannot think without horror of that
 25 dainty book being ascribed to you, I will admit, in contradiction of all those strong facts I have thus far been able to bring

suspectissimam negationem patiar; remittam tibi hoc totum
atque largiar, non esse te hujus libelli, qui Regii sanguinis
clamor inscribitur, authorem; & tamen, quod jam forsitan
expectas, non sic abibis. Constat iste liber & coagmentatur
5 prooemiis quibusdam & epilogis, Epistola ad Carolum, altera
ad Lectorem, clauditur carmine, altero in Salmasium *Eucharistico*,
altero in me diffamatorio: si ullam hujus libri paginam,
si versiculum forte unicum scripsisse aut contulisse, si
edidisse, aut procurasse, aut suasisse, si denique edendo præ-
10 fuisse, aut vel opera tantillum accommodasse te reperero,
quandoquidem nemo alius existit, tu mihi solus totius operis
reus, & author, & clamator eris. Neque vero meam hanc se-
veritatem, aut vehementem animum esse dixeris; idem apud
omnes fere gentes jure & æquissimis legibus est comparatum.
15 Quod ab omnibus receptissimum est, adducam, jus civile
Imperatorium.

Legito Institut. Justiniani, 1. 4. de injuriis, Tit. 4.

Siquis ad infamiam alicujus libellum, aut carmen (aut
historiam) scripserit, composuerit, ediderit, dolove malo
20 fecerit, quo quid eorum fieret, &c. Adjiciunt aliæ leges: *Eti-*
amsi altcrius nomine ediderit, vel sine nomine. Et omnes
decernunt eum pro authore habendum esse atque plectendum.
Quaero nunc ex te, non utrùm Regii sanguinis clamorem, sed

forward, your single and most suspicious denial to have weight; I will give up, and freely grant to you the point, that you are not the author of the libel called *The Cry of the Royal Blood*; still, as peradventure you already suspect, you will not
 5 escape thus. It is well known, that this book is patched up with certain poems and epilogues, with an epistle to Charles, another to the reader, and that it concludes with a poem, in part congratulatory of Salmasius, in part defamatory of me. Now, if I find, that you wrote or contributed a single page of
 10 this book, nay a single versicle; that you were the publisher, or caused or advised it to be published; lasdy, that you superintended its publication, or forwarded the business in the smallest degree, I shall set you down, since no other person appears, as guilty of the whole affair—as at once the author and
 15 the crier. Nor think this the mere ebullition of my own violent and impetuous temper, when, among almost all nations, the same thing is ordained of right, and by the most equal laws. I shall quote what is universally of the highest authority—the civil imperial law.

20 *See Institutes of Justinian, book 4, of Injuries, tit. 4.*

"If any one shall write, compile, or publish a pamphlet, or poem (or history) or by mal-engine, shall cause any of these things to be done, to the defamation of another," &c. Other laws add; "although he publish in the name of another, or
 25 even without name"; and they all decide, that he is to be considered and punished as the author. Now I demand of you, whether you compiled, wrote, published, or caused to be pub-

an praemissam clamori epistolam Carolo dicatam, ullàimve
ejus particulam feceris, scripseris, edideris, edendmve cura-
veris? quaero an alteram ad lectorem, quaere denique an illud
infame carmen condideris, aut vulgandum curaveris? nihil-
5 dum ad hæc respondisti; si clamorem ipsum tantummodo
abdicasses, omnemque ejus particulam gnaviter ejurasses,
salva fide evasisse te putabas, nosque probe ludificasse; Epi-
stolam videlicet ad Carolum filium, aut ad Lectorem, carmen
etiam lambum, Regii sanguinis clamorem non esse. Tu itaque
10 sic breviter habeto, ne tergiversari in posterum queas, aut præ-
varicari; ne diverticulum ullum, aut latibulum sperare; ut
jam sciant omnes quam non mendax, sed veriloqua, aut saltern
non de nihilo ista fama de te increbuerit, tu, inquam, sic
habeto: me non fama solum, sed eo testimonio, quo nullum
15 certius esse potest, comperisse, te & libelli totius, cui Regii
sanguinis Clamor est titulus, editionem administrasse, &
operam typographicam correxisse, & Epistolam illam ad
Carolum secundum, Vlacci nomen praeferentem, vel solum,
vel *cum uno atque altero* composuisse. Id quod tuum ipsum
20 nomen, Alexander Morus, exemplis aliquot illius epistolae
subscriptus, multis ejus rei testibus oculatis clarius indicavit,
quàm ut negare aut expedire te ullo pacto queas. Si dicis, im-
portunitati quorundam amicorum te hoc dedisse, ut epistolae
nomen tuum apponeres, non aliunde quàm ex ore tuo sic ex-
25 cusanti tibi occurro. Qui solenniter affirmas, & eo præsertim

lished, not the *Cry of the Royal Blood*, but the epistle, dedicated to Charles, prefixed to the *Cry*, or even the smallest scrap of it? I demand of you whether you composed or procured the publication of that other epistle, addressed to the
5 reader, or of that infamous poem. You have not replied. If you disclaimed only the *Cry* itself, if you basely abjured every particle of it, you flattered yourself that you had come off with your credit unimpaired, and us befooled! for, forsooth, the epistle to Charles the son, or to the reader, or even
10 the poem in iambics, is not the *Cry of the Royal Blood*! Now, take this in brief, that henceforward you may have no resource in subterfuge or prevarication, nor hope from any petty diversion, nor even from close covert. That all men may realize that the report concerning you, was not false, but true,
15 or at least that it arose not out of nothing; know this: I have discovered, not by report only, but by testimony; than which there can be none more certain, that it was you who managed the publication of the whole libel entitled *The Cry of the Royal Blood*; that you corrected the press; and that you
20 wrote the epistle to Charles the Second, which bears the name of Vlaccus, either entirely, or in conjunction with some associate. This is proved by too strong an evidence for you to deny, or in any way to get quit of, from the circumstance of your own name, Alexander More, being found subscribed in some
25 of the copies of that letter as attested by many eye-witnesses. If you urge, that you yielded so far to the importunity of friends, as to put your name to the letter; then, if this be your excuse, I have no more to do than to refute you out of your

loco paginae 39. in quo, ut credatur tibi enixe flagitas *tueri te tua, aliena tunc deum forte curaturum, cum excussus propriis fueris*. Teipso itaque flagitante, credendum non est te nomen tuum illi Epistolae fuisse subscripturum, tua nisi esset:

5 id quod sequente pagina pene confiteris, tuamque ipse fraudem detegis & fallaciam, qua fretus Clamoris authorem te esse toties negas. *Nam quis non misereatur, inquis, hallucinationis tuae, cum Praefationem Typographo tribuis modo, modo adimis: Clamorem totum in me confers, qui ne particulam quidem ullam ejus extuli*. Hoc cui non suboleat ? cum Praefationis seu Epistolae simul & Clamoris mentionem facis, Clamoris ne ullam quidem particulam conferri in te sinis; Praefationis nullam respuis, nullam inficiaris: immo quasi errorem meum videris propemodum ridere, quod satis constanter non dixerim tuam esse.

15 Si insciente te & prorsus ignaro factum hoc dicis, ut nomen tuum subscriberetur, primum credibile non est quenquam esse ausum mittendae ad Regem Epistolae cum dedicate libro excusae, alienum nomen ipso inconsulto subscribere. Complures deinde sunt, qui ex te ipso audierunt, cum

own mouth: for you solemnly affirm,—and particularly in that place of the thirty-ninth page, where, to gain credit, you are wonderfully earnest in your expostulations—that "you are defending your own property, intending to regard the
5 property of others, if at all, when you should be pillaged of your own." After this noisy expostulation of yours, it is not to be believed, that you would have subscribed your name to that letter, unless it had been your own. This is what you almost confess in the next page, unveiling of your own ac-
10 cord your deceit and artful dealing, on the strength of which you so often aver, that you are not the author of the *Cry*. "For who (you ask) would not pity your moon-stricken condition, when one while you ascribe the preface to the printer, another while deny it him: the whole *Cry* you throw upon
15 me, who produced not a single atom of it." And, who would not entertain the same suspicion, when all in a breath you speak of the preface, or of the letter, or of the *Cry*, yet will not allow even a single particle of the *Cry* to be fathered upon you, though of the preface you reject nothing, you
20 disavow nothing; nay, by your manner, one would almost think that you derided me for a blunderer in not maintaining it to be yours with sufficient steadiness of asservation? If you assert it to be wholly without your knowledge, that your name was subscribed; first, it is incredible that any one should
25 take the liberty to put another man's name, without consulting him, to a letter which was to be sent to a king, and printed together with a book, which was also dedicated to him. Secondly, there are many persons, who have heard you yourself confess to those who had asked the question, and even de-

tuam esse illam epistolam vel interrogantibus faterere, vel
ultr6 ipse praedicares. Verum tua necne fuerit, non admodum
laboro; tunc solus an *cum uno aut altero* earn composueris;
quod & hie pag. 41. subindicare ludibundus prope videris. Te
5 istius ego non Epistolae duntaxat, sed & libelli infamissimi
solum prope conscium, te ejusdem editorem aut edendi ad-
ministrum, te Epistolae ad Carolum aliquammultis exempla-
ribus divulgatae subscriptorem notissimum, te scriptorem eti-
am confessum, te ergo omnium legum consensu atque sen-
10 tentiâ totius operis authorem ipsum tuo ore convictum atque
constrictum teneo. Haec quo dicam testimonio tarn remotus,
& unde mihi tarn liquidò constare potuerint, si quaeris, non
famâ, inquam, sola, sed partim testibus religiosissimis qui
coram hsec mihi sanctissime asseverarunt, partim literis vel ad
15 alios vel ad me scriptis. Literarum verba ipsa expromam, scri-
bentium nomina non edam; propterea quod in rebus alioqui
notissimis necesse non habeo. Hem tibi imprimis ab homine
probo, & cui ad hanc rem pervestigandam haud mediocris
facultas fuit, literas Haga Comitum ad me datas.

clare, without solicitation, that the said letter was yours. But whether it be yours or not—whether you wrote the whole of it yourself, or wrote it in conjunction with any other person, which, in your gamesome mood, page 41, you would almost
5 seem to half-insinuate, is a matter of small concern to me. I hold you convicted and tied down by your own confessions, that you are almost the only one privy to the writing, not merely of the letter, but of that most scandalous libel; that you were the editor or manager of the publication; that you are
10 notoriously the person who subscribed many of the copies of the published letter to Charles; that you are even confessedly the writer of it; and that you are, therefore, by the consent and the decision of all laws, the real author of the whole work.

I will explain to you, if you wish to know, how it came to
15 pass, that I, who am so remote from the source of this testimony, should be able to see these things in such a noon-day clearness of evidence. It was not, I assure you, from report alone, but partly, from witnesses of the most religious honour, who, in my own presence, and with an awful solemnity of
20 manner, declared what I have now uttered; and partly, from letters written either to others, or to myself. I will transcribe the very words of the letters; the names of the writers I shall not divulge, because, in matters otherwise well-known, I do not think it necessary. First, here is a letter for you, written to
25 myself, dated Hague, from a person of integrity, and who had no ordinary means of searching this affair to the bottom.

Ex literis Hagâ Comititis.

Exploratissimum mihi est, Morum ipsum Clamoris Regii sanguinis exemplar nonnullis aliis imprimendum obtulisse, antequam Vlaccus illud accepisset; ipsum corrigendis operarum erratis præfuisse; ab ipso exemplaria, ut primum quodque absolutum est, compluribus impertita ac dissipata.

Viden' ut haec dilucida atque distincta sint, ut non dubiis rumoribus collecta, sed data opera ac diligentia hominis iis in locis ac rebus versatissimi, pervesdgata & inquisita, certissimis 10 indiciis comprobata atque comperta? Atqui testem, inquires, unum jus omne rejicit: en itaque ex ore duorum testium, quo testimonio neque sacrum, neque civile jus quicquam amplius aut locupletius desiderat, firmatum a me omne verbum, ut dicitur, & corroboratum habebis. Accipe nunc sis 15 quae vir honestissimus idemque intelligentissimus & certo sibi cognita, & illic testatissima Amsterodamo sic scribit.

Ex literis Amsterodamo.

Certissimum est omnes fere per hxc loca Morum pro auctore illius libri habuisse, qui *Regii sanguinis clamor* inscribitur: nam & schedas à praelo exceptas ipse correxit, & aliqua exempla subscriptum dedicatrix nomen Mori praeferebant, cujus & ipse author erat; dixit enim ipse amico cuidam meo,

Extract of a Letter, Hague.

"I have thoroughly ascertained, that More himself offered a copy of the *Cry of the Royal Blood* for the press to other printers, before the work was undertaken by Vlaccus; that he
 5 himself superintended the correction of the press: and that the impressions, the moment any of them were got ready, were given out and dispersed to many persons also by himself."

Do you see how distinct and clear are these facts; that they were not collected from vague rumours, but investigated by
 10 the labour and diligence of a man, perfectly acquainted in those parts, and in those matters; and substantiated by proofs of a nature the most unquestionable ? But all law, you remark, has rejected a single witness. Here then I shall confirm for you every word as it were from the mouths of two witnesses; and
 15 no law, either divine or civil, requires any testimony to be more ample or substantial. Take now what a man of the first honour and understanding writes from Amsterdam, of which he was certainly well-informed, and which was there most strongly attested.

20 *Extract of a Letter, Amsterdam.*

"It is most certain, that almost everybody in these parts has considered More to be the author of the book inscribed *The Cry of the Royal Blood*: for he corrected the sheets as they came from the press, and the name of More was found sub-
 25 scribed to some of the copies of the dedication, of which he was also the author: for he told a friend of mine that he was

se illius Epistolæ authorem fuisse: immo nihil certius est, quam illam sibi Morum vel attribuisse, vel agnovisse pro sua.

Verum requiris adhuc tertium: non id quidem cogit lex, attamen indulget. Esto; largissima per me lege utere: potest fieri, ut terni opus sint testes: coarctatum tibi a me juris quicquam non dices. Addo jam tertium.

Ex alteris literis Hagæ Comititis.

Dixit mihi Hagæ Comititis vir quidam primarius, habere se Regii sanguinis Clamorem, cum ipsa Mori epistola.

- 10 Vides quam largiter tibi admetiar: clara enim hæc sunt, quis neget? tu tamen scito clariora apud me esse, quæ datæ fidei causa reticeo, quam quæ nunc palam exhibeo. Quod si adhuc tamen vis cumulum, fortassis accedet. Interea nunc libero ac soluto ammo ad reliqua proficiscor; quandoquidem
15 id quod Deum Optimum Maximum precatus sum, adeptum me esse spero, ut nemini videar, viro præsertim bono & intelligenti, incertis rumoribus elatus temere, accusationem contra te falsam instituisse, nee fictis criminibus innocentem, quod quereris, & immeritum perfudisse, sed tectum atque
20 duplicem veris redarguisse, latentem atque sectantem tene-

the author of that letter; indeed, nothing can be more certain, than that More either gave himself out to be the author, or acknowledged it for his own."

But you require yet a third witness; not that the law com-
 5 pels this, as necessary, but admits it by way of indulgence. So be it; you have my permission to use the law in its utmost latitude. It may be, that there is occasion for three witnesses. You shall not say that I have narrowed the meaning of any law, to meet your case. I now add the third.

10 *Extract of another Letter, Hague.*

"I was told, at the Hague, by a person of consequence, that he had in his possession, *The Cry of the Royal Blood*, together with More's letter."

Do you see what large measure I mete to you? These facts
 15 are clear; who can deny them? Yet, know, that I have still far clearer than those I now publicly produce, but which for my word's sake, I do not disclose. Nevertheless, if you are desirous of a yet greater accumulation, it may perhaps be forth-coming.

20 Meanwhile, I now proceed to what remains with my mind free and unembarrassed; having, I trust, obtained what I supplicated of Almighty God, namely, that no one, and above all, no virtuous and enlightened person, may think that I, foolishly elate with uncertain rumours, have accused you
 25 falsely, or, as you complain, have wrongfully aspersed your innocence with fabricated crimes; but rather, that I have convicted you, with all your lurking and duplicity, of real of-

bras in lucem protraxisse: quod quidem & ex ipsa testimonii
claritate perspicuum esse reor, & in ipsis plurimorum homi-
num non conscientis modò, sed & sermonibus, ubi *hæc* gesta
sunt, clarius elucere. Quibus si ego testimonium denuntiare
5 possem, obruerere, mihi crede, multitudine tot testium: quos
tamen aliquando sponte sua veritati tarn illustri, si opus erit,
sua nomina palam daturus esse confido: quod si hanc proba-
tionis vim atque evidentiam, quam ne Judex quidem seve-
rissimus repudiasset, tu falsam tamen esse, id quod incredi-
10 bile est, contendere audebis, erit fortasse cur de tuo queraris
atque deplores infortunio, aut iratum tibi atque infensum
agnoscas Deum, qui per aliorum vel errorem vel mendacium
assignati tibi hujus libelli ilia alia tua dedecora in Ecclesia
diutius non ferenda, latius patefieri, & personam illam eccle-
15 siasticam, quam circumfers impudentissime, detrahi tibi vo-
luerit; me cur incuses deinceps aut reprehendas non erit,
immo nee unquam fuit, velles modò tua in nos commissa
recognoscere; verum ilia mordicus inficiari nimium tibi ex-
pedit, & simul pergis lacessere. Noli igitur, quod jam iterum
20 moneo, me inculpare, si rursus qux nolis nunc vicissim au-
dieris. Sed videamus quid sit. Primum occurrit mihi, nee

fences, and have dragged you forth to the light, when skulking in secret, and enamoured of darkness. This, I conceive is evident, from the very clearness of the testimony, and appears in a still stronger light, not merely in the internal convictions
 5 of most men, but in their familiar discourse, where these things happened. Whence, were I at liberty to divulge the testimony, be assured, you would be overwhelmed with the multitude of the witnesses. Still, I am persuaded, that hereafter, they will spontaneously give up their names, if necessary, to a truth so manifest. But, should you have the presumption to contend, that this strength and clearness of proof, which the severest of judges would not have rejected, is, however incredible, not decisive, you will perhaps have reason to deplore your evil destiny, or to acknowledge that God is
 15 censed against you, since it is his will, that, either through the mistake or falsehood of others, in imputing this libel to you, those other misdemeanors of yours, no longer sufferable in the church, should be more publicly exposed, and that you should be disrobed of the priestly character, which you have
 20 the consummate impudence to bear: and would you would only call to mind offences you have committed against us, you will then have no reason, nor indeed had you ever any, to throw blame and censure upon me. But it too nearly concerns you to deny those offences with the utmost pertinacity; and
 25 yet you continue to irritate. I caution you therefore again to throw no blame upon me, if you would not again hear in return things ungrateful to your ears.

But let us see what you have to say. The first thing I meet

opinato, mea pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda, typis
Vlacci malevoli mendosissimè ac malitiosissime excusa; omis-
sis nonnunquam verbis integris, non sine structure totius
atque sentential vel depravatione vel interitu. Quod ego omnes
5 volo monitos, qui mea curant legisse, nequid meum ex officina
hominis inimici & veteratoris exire integrum aut sincerum
existiment. Huic accessio est, Vlacci itidem mala merx,
Alexandri Mori Fides Publica. Ita ego quos a me longissimci
summovisse ac protelasse sum ratus, eos vel invitus sub iisdem
10 pellibus conjunctissimos mihi reperio. Sic est profecto; qui
liberrime riserit hos homines, sibi devinxerit. Cavendum
sane & procul fugiendum erit cui putaverint isti nasum esse
aduncum, ne aliquando satis irrisi, irridentis naribus dun-
taxat uncis ipsi sese tanquam uniones hinc atque inde sus-
15 pendant. Cognoscite vero nunc adversarium, siquis unquam
fuit, degenerem, iniquum, odiosum. Nam ut primum, nescio
quo casu per amicum meum, non id agentem ut ab isto gra-
tiam iniret ullam, intellexit me ad Clamorem Regii sanguinis
responsum in se edere, aestuare mens hominis conscia, &
20 omnes in partes versare se coepit. Inter alia trepidantis atque

with, and quite unexpectedly, is my *Second Defence of the People of England* most corruptly and maliciously printed, at the press of the malevolent Vlaccus; with sometimes whole words left out, to the utter depravation of the passage and
 5 murder of the sense. And I would here caution all those, who have any curiosity about reading my writings, not to expect that any thing of mine, in its perfect and genuine state, should issue from the office of a man, who is at once my enemy, and a scoundrel to boot.—Next comes *The public*
 10 *faith of Alexander More*, which is likewise the infamous commodity of Vlaccus. Thus I find, that however much against my will, persons, whom I am supposed to have removed and even flung to the greatest distance from me, to be most familiarly united with me under the same covers. By my
 15 faith! it is with these men, that he who is the most liberal of his derision upon them will be sure to bind them to him. Indeed, the man whom they may suspect of having his nose turned downwards in a scoffing curve, must take especial care to fly far from their reach; lest, when they have their fill
 20 of derision, they suspend themselves, one on each side like pearl-drops, to his depressed nostrils.

This then is my adversary, base, unjust, and odious, if there were ever any such: for he no sooner understood (I know not by what accident from a friend of mine, who certainly did
 25 not intend him a favour) that I had published against him an *Answer to the Cry of the Royal Blood*, than his guilty conscience began to be in commotion, and his mind to cast about in all directions. Among other marks of a cowardly and

degeneris animi indicia, qui libellum modò famosum tarn cupide, tamque improbe in alios edidisset, libellum nunc supplicem ad Legatum Fœderatorum Ordinum apud nos commemorantem scribit, orans atque obsecrans, uti cum Domino
5 Protectore quam instantissime de suppressenda mea Defensione ageret. Cum responsum tulisset impetrari nequaquam id posse, exire nihilominus in lucem, jamque adnavigare animadversorem in se librum cum spicilegio quodam & collectaneis facinorum suorum, conturbatus, & hue, illuc cursi-
10 tans, circumspectissimus deinde homo, totus in speculis est; oculos ab litore dimovere vix audet; ubi advenisse librum cognovit, suumque statim indicem sensit, prece nescio an pretio exorat librarium, ut exemplum illius libri ullum ne divenderet, donee ipse responsum suum confecisset; id est, ut
15 commercii fidem violaret, donee iste *fidem publicam* conflasset. Ita bonus ille vir quingenta plus minus exempla rectè & emendate edita suo arbitrato premit, dum Vlaccus interim jacturam alienam suum ratus compendium, quot sibi videtur mendosa imprimit. Bene agis, Vlacce, ut consuevisti; sed
20 auctarium hoc damni quid sibi vult adjectum? cur appendices

ignoble spirit, the man, who had lately manifested such an unprincipled eagerness to publish a notorious libel against others, now pens a supplicatory note to the agent of the United States in England, praying and beseeching, that he
 5 would use his utmost interest with the Lord Protector, for the suppression of my Defence. On his receiving for answer, that this could, at no rate, be obtained, but that the book, which animadverted upon him, with gleanings and collections of his enormities, would at all events make its appear-
 10 ance, and was even already on its passage to him; then, in his trepidation, he runs now this way, now that, is every moment on the look-out; lives in the watch-towers; dares scarcely take his eyes from the coast; and having learnt that the book was arrived, and discovered, in the instant, that
 15 himself was there distinctly portrayed, he prevails upon the bookseller (whether by entreaty or bribery I am not informed) not to sell a single copy of the said book, till he himself should have prepared an answer to it; in other words, prevails upon him to violate the faith of trade, till such time as he should
 20 have fabricated his own *Public Faith*. Accordingly, this good-natured gentleman suppressed, at his own discretion, about fifty copies which had been accurately printed and with the last corrections; while Vlaccus, in the mean time, considering another's loss as his own gain, is employed in striking off as
 25 many impressions as suited his convenience, which had been vitiated for the purpose. This is excellently done, Vlaccus, according to your custom; but what means this overplus of injury? Unconscionable men! why have ye superadded your-

vos ipsos adjunxistis mihi, hominum importunissimi? nemone ut possit me velle, quin vos quoque vel ingratisimum onus unà ferre cogatur? Ergo ego, ut videtur, non caucus, sed caecias, quos volebam propellere nebulones, attraxi. Tu verò,
5 adeone tibi, More, tuoque sive genio sive ingenio diffisus es, ut victurum te, & in manus hominum perventurum desperates, nisi te mihi asseclam quocunque irem, male conciliatum agglutinares, & emptoribus etiam nolentibus te obtruderet? verum expertus jam didici quid sit picem at-
10 trectare; & erat hoc, opinor, haud minus Vlacci astutia provisum, qui non Typographus solum, sed arithmeticus, quod jam fateor, vetulus, metuebat ne *Alexandra Mori* neglecta *fides publica* jaceret, seque a soricibus segre tueretur, nisi hanc artem Alligationis, vere cauponariam, adhibuisset, & vile ac
15 vitiosum vendibili miscuisset. Age vero, quoniam necesse est cum Defensione pro Populo Anglicano, Alexandri Mori fidem publicam coemere, quanquam parva hsec, utcunque nummularum jactura erit, discere ex te avemus, quid sit *Mori fides publica*? utrius confessionem tuae fidei publicam nobis
20 exhibes, an quid in symbolum? Hæc enim tua fides publica est, opinor; privata an sit dicant, qui te Spiritum Sanctum non agnoscere accusant. Quid ergo est? tuamne dicamus fidem

selves as appendices to me ? Is it, that every one who is desirous of my company should be forced to bear the oppressive and offensive weight of yours also ? It seems, then, that instead of being a blind man I am metamorphosed into a rain-
5 wind, and have myself collected those clouds of worthless fellows I was determined to drive before me. But are you so distrustful, More, of yourself, or of your genius and abilities, as to despair of a livelihood, or of finding your way into the hands of men, without being agglutinated, in preposter-
10 ous connection, as a lacquey to me, wherever I may go, and obtruding yourself also upon the unwilling purchasers? I have learnt, however, from experience, what it is to play with bird-lime; and that used in the present instance was likewise provided, I presume, by the cunning of Vlacus, who being,
15 as I am ready to acknowledge, a practised arithmetician, as well as a printer, was afraid that Alexander More's *Public Faith* might lie neglected, and hardly suffice to save him from the rats, unless he resorted to this truly huckster-like combination, mixing the vicious and the vile with the vendible.

20 However, since the *Public Faith* (small indeed) of Alexander More must be unavoidably bought at whatever waste of expence, at the same time with the *Defence of the People of England*, we should be glad to know of you, what the public faith of More is ? Is it a public confession of your faith;
25 or is it any thing symbolical ? I am verily of opinion, that this faith of yours is indeed public: whether you have any private, let those determine who accuse you of denying the existence of the holy spirit. But, at last, what is it ? Shall we say that

esse publicam, an fidem publicam esse tuam? Tuam fidem sicut & pudicitiam esse publicam, non est difficile ut credamus. Qui enim alienas uxores & ancillas vis esse publicas, quidni tua omnia, pudorem etiam ac fidem publicam esse
5 velis? An vero hoc est quod dicis, fidem publicam esse tuam? at hoc qui potest fieri? Tune fidem publicam pro scorto abduxisse te putas, tua ut simul esset & publica? aut captiosus hic titulus est, aut sensu vacuus. Si tua fides haec est, quemadmodum est publica? si publica est, quemadmodum est
10 tua? Relinquitur ut vel imprudens hoc titulo significasse videre cum Alexandri Mori fides publica sit, adeoque non tua; rursus cum tua sit, ideòque non publica, hanc quam afers fidem repugnantem & implicitam, nee publicam esse nee tuam: Quid ergo? aut dubiam, aut inanem, aut denique
15 nullam. Quòd si contendis hanc fidem omnino esse publicam, quæ tua tanta impudentia est, More, ut cum fidem ipse nullam habeas, quam pro te afferas, tot flagitia perpetrare fide publica existimes tibi licere? ut nunquam alias dici verius, quam de te versiculus iste videatur, quicquid peccat Morus,

your faith is public, or that the public faith is yours? That both your faith and your chastity are alike public, we have no great difficulty in believing: for you, who would have other men's wives and waiting-maids made public—what reason
5 can you have why all your concerns—your shame as well as your faith—should not be made public also? But again; do you mean, that the public faith is yours? Yet, how can this be? Can you imagine that you have laid hold of the public faith, with unceremonious violence, as you would lay hold of
10 a strumpet, that it be thought your own and public at the same time? This is either a captious tide, or a title utterly without meaning. If this is *your* faith, how is it the public faith? If the public faith how is it yours? Another explication remains. It should seem that you would signify, how-
15 ever impolitically, by this title, that whereas, it is the public faith of Alexander More, it is therefore not yours: and again, inasmuch as it is yours, it is therefore not the public faith: so that this faith thus discordant and intricate, which you bring along with you, is neither the public faith, nor your own faith.
20 What follows?—that it is equivocal, or insignificant, or even a nullity. Now should you contend, that this faith is wholly public, how egregious, More, must be your effrontery, to suppose, when possessing no faith yourself, you should be suffered to perpetrate so many enormities, under cover of the
25 public faith? Thus, it would appear, that nothing was ever said more truly of you, than what is expressed in the following line.

If Morus sins, the public faith is chastised.

plectitur fides publica. Hsec tibi uni licentia si concedatur, non tu Alexander Morus, sed Alexander ille Phrygius meâ quidem sententia nominaberis. Beatum interim te, cui militet fides publica. Contra quern autem? contra meas nempe
5 *calumnias*. Quas tandem illas? an quod infamis libelli Clamoris Regii authorem te affirmaverim, nunc etiam justâ probatione arguerim? at verbum de isto clamore in tua fide publica nullum. An quod hortensem te adulterum, domesticum Pontiae stupratorem enarraverim? at horti percautè tu
10 quidem ac timide mentionem facis; facta utrobique flagitia aut non omnino, aut oblique tantùm & frigidè negas. Quid ergo fidem publicam sollicitare opus erat iis de rebus, quas audacter ipse negare non potes? nihil sane, nisi quod circumforanei pharmacopolæ & vanissimi circulatoris hoc solum tibi
15 defuit, ut elogiis ac testimoniis, nescio quo pacto adscitis atque correptis, & ostentata fide publicâ te venditares. Tibi igitur si *Scurra* sum, minus commoveor; quandoquidem is, qui ab oraculo sapientissimus, ab tui similibus *Scurra Atticus* est dictus. Cur autem *Scurra* tibi videor, More? an quod ne
20 quitias tuas interdum false perstrinxerim? nae tu stultior sis, More, & adhuc magis ridendus, si quenquam putas, modo

If this privilege be granted to you alone, you should be called, I think, Alexander the Phrygian, instead of Alexander More. O happy you! who have the public faith to fight your battles for you! But fight with whom? With my "calumnies,"

5 forsooth! And what are they? Is it a calumny, that I have affirmed, and just now evinced by a legitimate proof, that you are the author of the infamous libel of the *Cry of the Royal?* How is it then, that there is not a word about this *Cry* in your *Public Faith*? Is it a calumny, that I have told the particulars

10 of your amour in the garden, and of your debauching Pontia, while a guest in the house of your friend? You may well be wary and timid when you speak of the garden. You do not deny point blank your commission of the crime in either case; you only deny it coldly and indirectly. Of what use was it then

15 to trouble the public faith about these things which even you yourself have not the front to deny boldly. Evidently idle; unless, to complete your character of a hawking quack and bragging mountebank, it was only wanting, that you should set yourself to sale with bepraisings and testimonials, by what-

20 ever means obtained, with a display besides of the public faith! I am the less concerned that you should think me a mere jester, forasmuch as he, who was pronounced by the oracle the wisest of mankind, was called, by people of your sort, the Athenian buffoon. Why now, More, should you

25 think me a mere jester? Is it, on the plea that my strictures upon your licentious conduct have been sometimes ill-founded? Don't make yourself a greater fool, and more ridiculous than you are already, by supposing that any one, at

emunctae naris sit, ad tuos fcetores, nisi sale conspersos, posse appropinquare. Sed vide, quàm tibi temperaverim, quàm leniter tecum egerim: *Cum* enim in ipsa fronte libri nullo negotio potuerim tibi paria retulisse, & affixo tibi cognomento
5 appositissimo atque meritissimo ita scripsisse, *Contra Alexandrum Morum adulterum & cincedum*, cohibui me; partim tui misertus, partim ut legentium oculis atque auribus non-nihil consulerem, ne subito occursu tantae faeditatis atque offensione averterentur.

- 10 Sed de his plus satis; ab infantissimo nunc titulo ad librum ipsum veniamus: id quod te, ut video, non delectat; nam recta eunti viam obstruis; & aegrotantem Doctorculum nescio quern Crantziū cum lectulo & culcitra, tanquam aggerem aut val-
lum obdis tibi & transversum extrudis. Qui *ceger*, ut ipse ait,
15 & ni fallor aegerrimus, id est maledicendi cupidissimus, baud scio an ventilata lodice vix se in cubitum erexerit, ut haec sua febriculosa somnia deliraret. Mox quasi testamento jam facto subjicit, *Serifsi propria manu & subsignavi licet ceger corpore*. Age jam tu, si vis, animam; nos resignemus; & Lectori
20 imprimis quid legaveris inspiciamus: multam, opinor, salutem; ne unciolam quidem; quid ergo? plorare: *Lege si potes & luge*. Me vero quod ignotus minimè expectabam, secun-

least of a delicate sense, can come near the stench of your abominations, unless they are besprinkled with the salt of wit. But observe my moderation,—how leniently I have dealt with you! Though, in the very title-page of my book, it was easy
 5 for me to have repaid you in your own coin, and, fastening upon you a most apposite and a richly deserved nickname, to have thus worded my title—"In Answer to Alexander More, Adulterer, and Lecher," I yet restrained myself; partly out of compassion for you, partly, that I may not insult the eyes and
 10 ears of my readers, who, on suddenly encountering such pollution, might turn away in disgust.

But of these things more than enough. Let us now proceed from the puerile title to the book itself. This, I see, is by no means agreeable to you: for against him who would go right
 15 onward you bar the way; interposing and throwing athwart, as a mound and fence for yourself, one Crantz, some sick doctorling, with his couch and pillow. This gentleman "being sick," as himself reports,—and, if I mistake not, he is very sick, that is, most eager to vomit slander,—I know not whether he
 20 could even sit up in bed long enough to air his bed-linen, that he should utter, in his ravings, these his feverish dreams! Presently, as if he had already made his will, he adds—"I have written and signed with my own hand, though sick of body." And now, if you please, do you give up the ghost; let us break
 25 open the seal, and examine first what legacy you have bequeathed to the reader—the usual greeting surely? Nay, no word of greeting. What then? Lamentation! "Read if you can and weep!" Then you shower upon me, as if your

dum hseredem quincunce toto maledictorum aspergis. *Lege*,
inquis, & *luge sæculi vicem, in quo maledicentice tantum*
licet: Luge potius tot insipientes doctorculos, quos nisi ma-
ture caveat hoc saeculum, vereor ne propediem & lugeat &
5 luat. Tu vero turn luxisses, cum inaudita audacia Salmasius
homo privatus, extraneus, nulla injuria lacessitus, in univer-
sam Anglicanam Rempublicam atque Senatum fcedissimis
contumeliis bacchatus est: turn luxisses, cum probrosus ille
anonymus Clamorem Regii sanguinis in nos eructavit, nee
10 acerbissimis modo verborum contumeliis ad rabiem usque
furit ac ssevit, sed nobiscum sic agi oportere, decere, convenirc,
rationibus & argumentis, ut ipse putat, Christianis defendere
conatur. Cognosce nunc, si potes, tuam ipse iniquitatem: cum
externi, ad quos nostra nihil pertinent, nobis vel acerbissime
15 maledicunt, & maledicentiam ipsam defendunt, vis omnes
legant: cum ego & pro meo in patriam officio, & Magistra-
tuum jussu meos cives ac populares, me denique ipsurn probris
omnibus laesum defendo, vis omnes *lugeant*. Turn cavere
Lectorem jubes, ne me *credat Historicum*. At neque tu
20 Albertus es Crantzius; & hoc tibi edico caveas, ne ego ante-
quam peroravero te citius Mendacem, quam tu me *Fabu-*
latorem coarguas. *Quis & qualis sit isle Miltonus*, inquis,

heir, the bulk of your foul abuse — a favour I had no reason
 to expect, being unknown to you. "Read (you say) and
 weep for the taste of the age, which can relish nothing but
 slander." Weep rather for the multitude of foolish doctor-
 5 lings, whom this age, I am afraid, if not soon on its guard,
 will speedily rue and deplore. Now, you should have wept,
 when, with unexampled insolence, Salmasius a private per-
 son, a foreigner, and unprovoked by injury, bullied the whole
 commonwealth and senate of England with slanders the most
 10 foul. You should have wept, when that anonymous scoundrel
 belched out *The Cry of the Royal Blood* upon us: nor, content
 with raging and foaming like a wild beast in all the savagery
 of contumelious bitterness, he thinks to prove by reasons and
 arguments, which he imagines to be Christian, that it is right,
 15 and proper and becoming, thus to deal with us. Learn here, if
 you can, the blackness of your own iniquity: while foreign-
 ers, who have no concern with our affairs, are reviling us in
 all the acrimony of malice, and defending these their revil-
 ings, you invite all men "to read": whereas, when I, from a
 20 principle of duty to my country, and a positive order from its
 magistrates, am defending my fellow-citizens and country-
 men, and lastly myself, wounded as I have been by every weap-
 on of reproach—you would then have all "lament"! Next,
 you caution the reader against "thinking me an historian."
 25 And I, in my turn, would give a hint that you are no Albert
 Crantz; and would have you take care, that I do not, before
 I conclude, make you out to be a liar, before you convict me of
 being a "fabricator of fiction." "Who and what that Milton is

ignoro. Non displicet; neque enim tanti est tuum nosse aut non nosse: Ego vero te statim novi & morbum tuum. *Quis sit*, inquis, *ignoro; libelli ejus satis docent*. Indocilis ergo Crantzius, qui ignorat; temerarius item atque injurius, qui
5 ignotum illaesus lædis, qui per calumniam ac maledicendi prseproperam libidinem ex libro de divortiis, loco non citato, verbis aut non plene aut perperam adscriptis, Blasphemiae falso insimulas. Tu ante, quisquis es, Crantzi, in malam pestem abieris, quam dixisse me *Doctrinam Evangelii &*
10 *Domini nostri Jesu Christi de Divortio esse Diabolicam*, usquam inveneris. Quod si dixi fortasse, quam inde conficiunt vulgares interpretes doctrinam, qua post divortium necessariò factum, omne aliud matrimonium interdicunt, esse Diabolicam, id esse Blasphemiam quo tu pacto evincis? nisi si forte
15 Theologorum dictatis quibusvis contradicere, nunc primùm Blasphemia est credenda. Quod autem affirmas *Doctrinam de Divortiis ab omnibus patribus, a Theologis veteribus & hodiernis, ab omnibus Academiis & Ecclesiis Britannicis, Hollandicis, Gallicis* eodem modo explicari, scito te vehe-

(say you) I know not." This is a matter of small concern to me; nor is it of much consequence, whether I know or do not know any thing that relates to you: yet, I detected in an instant both you and your disease. "Who he is (say you) I know
5 not; his libels show sufficiently who he is." Crantz must be ignorant, then, from deficiency of the power to learn. Yea, he is also rash and unjust: for though himself uninjured, he would injure one who is a stranger to him; and whom from his calumnious spirit—from his headlong lust of evil-speak-
10 ing—he falsely charges with blasphemy, from the book on divorce: yet the place is not indicated, and the words are either incompletely or corruptly quoted. But Crantz, whoever you may be, it is far more likely that you should bring yourself to the gallows, than find that I had anywhere affirmed "The
15 Doctrine of the gospel and of our Lord Jesus Christ concerning divorce to be diabolical." Yet should I be found to have asserted that doctrine to be diabolical, which is thence concocted by vulgar commentators, and by authority of which, after a divorce for a just cause, they condemn as unlawful every
20 subsequent matrimonial connection,—by what species of proof do you show this assertion to be blasphemy? Unless, to call in question any dogmas of theologians is now, for the first time, to be thus considered. Be assured, you commit a most egregious blunder, in supposing that the same explica-
25 tion has been given of the doctrine of divorce, "by all the fathers, by divines ancient and modern, and by all the universities and churches of England, of Holland, and of France"; and betray a degree of ignorance disgraceful for you

mcnter hallucinari: & ignorantiam Doctor! tibi & praesertim
reprehensori turpem prodere: quam si vacat, in eo libro, qui
a me *Tetrachordon* est inscriptus, exues. Poteris ibi, si libet,
discere, quam ego tueor sententiam, eam & Patrum aliquot,
5 & summorum postea Theologorum Bucer, Fagii, Martyris,
Erasmi fuisse; quorum hic justo tractatu Phimostomum quen-
dam Doctorem, tui comparem, eademque fere blattarantem
refellit. Interea non miror laborare te tantopere de inhi-
bendis divortiis, cum animadverto etiam domi tuæ haud leve acci-
10 dere divortium solere; nimirum sensus communis ab loqua-
citate tua. Quis enim mentis compos aut sententiæ suæ sic
loquitur? *In Salmasio vix ifsi inimici aliud requirunt, quam
quod juerit iracundior, & male conjugatus.* Patere te doceri,
doctorcule, quod pueruli sciant. Non requirebant illi quod
15 fuit, sed quod non fuit. Ais me *Eunuchum dixisse Salmasium*,
quod nunquam dixi: duos tantummodo versus ex Eunuchi
Terentiani prologo desumpsi, ut Scenicum plorantis exor-
dium, & lamentabile ridiculum risu, ut par erat, exciperem.
Nihil minus quam Eunuchum fuisse affirmas: id mea nihil
20 refert. Tu tamen, quid hac in parte solus tarn audacter pro-
nuncies, cave. Adeóne legum nescius ac rudis es, ut ullam rem

who are a doctor, and especially a censor too—an ignorance, of which you may divest yourself, if you would only take the trouble to peruse the book which I have entitled *Tetrachordon*. You may there learn, if you have the will so to do, that

5 the opinion maintained by me is the same as that embraced by some of the fathers, and afterwards by the illustrious divines, Bucer, Fagius, Martyr, and Erasmus; of whom, the last is refuting in a well-reasoned tractate, one Doctor Phimostomus, your compeer, and blundering upon nearly the same

10 trash. No wonder, however, that you are so earnest a stickler for the prohibition of divorces, being accustomed at home to no dissimilar accidents—I mean, divorces of common sense from your eternal prate. For who in his senses ever talks after this manner? "Even the enemies of Salmasius expect nothing

15 further, than that he should be irascible and unhappily married." It begins to be plain, doctorling, that you are acquainted with nothing further, than what children may know. Those enemies of his did not expect what he was, but what he was not. Again you say, I have "called Salmasius an

20 eunuch," which I never have done. I only selected two verses from the prologue of Terence's *Eunuch*, as correspondent with the scenic exordium of the mourner, and that I might receive with a laugh what was lamentably ridiculous. You say "he was any thing rather than an eunuch." That is

25 nothing to me. Take care, however, as you are alone, how you express yourself too confidently on this subject. Are you so totally ignorant of law, as not to know, that you can scarcely prove any thing without two witnesses ?

difficilius probare te posse sine duobus testibus arbitreris? Sed minitaris deinde; *siquando prodibit viri summi posthumus liber, Miltonius sentiet mortuos quoque mordere*. Vos ipsi existimare potestis, qui vivum non pertimui, eundem mortuum quam non reformidem.

Eternum latrans exangues terreat umbras.

Si mordacem in me mortuum emisieritis, scitote neque melle neque mulso placatum a me iri. Cognoscetis an & ego Mjw lire rđvtov commodè possim scribere. *Dii boni*, inquis, *quam nigra est Miltonius, si fides Salmasio?* at ipsam inferorum fuliginem si secum trahat, me, Deo bene juvante, denigrare non poterit. Tu Salmasii in me convitia ut laete nunc refers! quasi pulmentum asgroto tibi hoc esset: contra illa convitia cum ego me, ut par atque aequum est, defendam, tune tuum illud triste & querebundum rursus audiemus, *Lege & luge*; & illi *Dii boni* tui tune rursus fortassè implorabuntur. Sed die, quæso, Sacrosanctæ Theologian Doctor, quos tu dcos bonos colis? vereor ne Catechumenus hic potiùs, quam Doctor dicendus sis. Docent sacrae literae unum esse bonum Deum. Tibi si *Dii boni* sunt, erit fortassis & bona Dea; cujus tu Sacerdos & Mystagogus Corybantem in me nunc agis. Ego quæ in Morum attuli, quanquam tu *falsissima* esse præfidenter

You then proceed to menace: "Should the posthumous work of the illustrious man ever see the light, Milton will find that the dead also can bite." Now judge ye, whether I who have so little regarded him while alive, am likely to
 5 stand in much fear of him when he is dead.

His ceaseless bark may fright the bloodless shades.

If you set at me a dead man who can bite, you may be assured that I shall attempt to pacify him neither with honey, nor with honey-drink. You shall find, that I also, without
 10 much difficulty, can write a funeral oration. "Ye good gods! (you exclaim) if we are to believe Salmasius, how black is that Milton!" Nay, by God's help, though he carry about him the sootiness of hell, it is not in his power to blacken me. How you delight yourself in dwelling upon the slanders of Sal-
 15 masius against me! It is sweet to you, as caudle to a sick man. When I shall begin to defend myself against these slanders, then, we shall hear again from you, the sad and querulous ditty, "Read and weep"; and those good gods of yours will peradventure be once again implored. But, tell us, I beseech
 20 you, you doctor of sacred theology, what are those good gods, who are the objects of your worship? I am afraid, that you will turn out here to be some catechumen, instead of a doctor. Holy writ teaches that there is only one good God. If you have good Gods, it may be that you have also a good God-
 25 dess; and that you, her priest and mystagogue, are now acting the Corybant against me. The charges I have brought against More, though you so confidently affirm them "to be most

affirmas, sciunt illi esse vera, qui rebus omnibus interfuere, quique nullum Geneva Crantzius eo tempore cognoverunt. Hoc sane miretur quispiam si haec Mori fides publica est, quo pacto, quove nomine tua ista privata fides huc nobis ex gratulo in praefationem irrepsit. Iniquitas certe in me tua fidem de illo quam infercis hic tuam in dubium vocat, qui me accusas, quod *innocentissimo Typographo parcere non poterim*. Ergo Vlaccus, qui me sibi prorsus ignotum petulantissimis convitiis adscripto nomine palam appetivit, tibi *innocentissimus* est. Audi ergo iterum, Theologe, cui tu sacrae scientiae vix initiatus mihi videris, audi quam te tuosque mores Theologia sacra & sapientissimus preceptor dedoceat: Qui absolvit improbum, & qui condemnat justum, abominationi Jehovae sunt aequè ambo. Verum haud scio utrum in me ex ignoto factum modo inimicum iniquior, an in amicum ipsum ineptior sis Morum: cujus praedicatas virtutes tot vitiis inter punctas, & prope alternas introducis, ut non ornatum, sed maculis tantummodo variatum, non Morum, sed morionem dimisisse abs tuis laudibus videaris. Pictor sanè eximius primam laudis lineam cum litura ducis; *semper magnets*

false," are nevertheless known to be true by persons who were on the spot when all the transactions happened, and who knew of no such person as Crantz, at that time, at Geneva. If this is the public faith of More, it might well be a subject
 5 of wonder to any one, in what manner, or under what name, this your private faith has crept hither to us out of a couch into a preface. That faith of yours, which you foist in here concerning that personage, is certainly rendered very questionable, from your injustice towards me: for you upbraid me with
 10 "not being able to spare even the printer, though entirely innocent." What! is Vlaccus then "entirely innocent?" Vlaccus! who, with the most wanton calumnies, to which he affixed his name, commenced an open attack upon me, who am a perfect stranger to him! Now, I beseech you, Mr.
 15 Theologian, who seem to me barely initiated in the holy science—I beseech you attend to the lesson which is taught by sacred theology and by the wisest of preceptors, so very different from those which are to be learnt from you and your conduct: he who acquits the guilty, and he who condemns
 20 the innocent, are both alike an abomination to Jehovah. But I know not whether your conduct is more unjust towards me, whom of a stranger you have lately made your enemy, or more foolish as it respects your friend More, whose boasted virtues you intersperse, and as it were alternate, with so many
 25 vices, that he seems to go from your hands all bespotted, instead of bedecked, by your eulogies, and to appear to view chequered like a scaramouch, rather than described as More. Admirable painter truly! You daub the very first line of your

inimicitias exercuit cum cemulis. Vitium narras, Crantzi, in ministro evangelii quamminimè tolerandum; praesertim cum *its inimicitiis ipse*, quod fateris, *nimid loquendi libertate, locum scepe prcebuerit.* Deinde est arrogans & Gallice *Altierus*,
5 & Spanhemii iudicio & tuo. Hactenus nigro lapillo; nunc vario: *Fcelix ingenium, nisi crabrones irritasset.* Æmulos nimirum suos, non ipse aquila, sed ut muscas olim scarabeus ille vespæ filius. *Nullum novit Salmasius nobiliorem genium, si laboris tolerantior fuisset:* Ignavus igitur Morus; & tamen
10 semper genio satis indulgit. Addltque ipse Salmasius *vank Icesisse uxorem suam:* Unde protervus in matronas etiam Morus; *prater inconsiderationem quoque tali homine indignam:* Salmasio itaque iudice, quid est Morus nisi morus? Hie autem fateor satis causae fuisse, cur *tegrum* te subscriberes;
15 manifesto enim febricitas. Qui sic tibi dixisse Salmasium ais, *siquid in Pontia peccavit Morus, ego sum leno & uxor mea lena.* Festive tu quidem in hoc dramate personarum numerum auxisti, & uberem ridendi ansam, sicui otium esset, porrexisti. Verum siquid huiusmodi Salmasius amico tibi &

praise! "He was always at bitter enmity with his rivals." O Crantz! you mention a vice the least of all to be tolerated in a minister of the gospel; especially, when "he," as you confess yourself, "by the unrestrained licence of his own tongue, often furnished the occasion of those enmities." Then he is arrogant, and as the French say, *altier*, both in the opinion of Spanheim and in your own. He has hitherto reckoned with a black pebble; he now reckons with one of divers colours: "He had been of a happy disposition had he refrained from irritating the wasps": that is, his rivals; not as the eagle indeed, but as that wasp-born cockchafer of old irritated the flies. "Among the friends of Salmasius, there was not a nobler genius, had he been more patient of application." So More is an idle fellow; and yet he always indulged his natural propensities in sufficient activity. Salmasius himself adds—"that he injured his (Salmasius's) wife in various ways." And thus More makes free likewise with other men's wives; "not to mention," moreover, "his thoughtlessness, which is unworthy of such a man." Even in the opinion of Salmasius, then, what else is More than a foolish fellow? Now I acknowledge, there was here sufficient reason for your subscribing yourself "sick": for you have clearly enough a delirious fever. You even report, that Salmasius said to you, "If" More "has been guilty of any imprudence in respect of" Pontia, "then I myself am a pimp, and my wife a procuress." To his *dramatis persona* you yourself make a very amusing accession, and thus furnish a most convenient handle for ridicule to every one who has time to be merry. Now, if Salmasius, in the confi-

privatim, siquid incommodius de se vel de uxore familiariter locutus est, id tu, nisi plane delirares, amicitiam saltern reveritus & arcanum domesticum, non tam stolide hoc in loco effutisses. Sed redis ad laudes, *acutum judicium Mori*;
5 adjunges *inconsiderationem* illam *tali homine indignant*, res duas inter se conjunctissimas. *Felicitatem in concionando*; & *infoelicitatem in scortando*: par alterum in Mori laudibus appositissimum. Accedit corollarii loco *trium linguarum peritia*: quae professorem hunc tandem consummat nobis tri-
10 linguem; id est, cum supradictis virtutibus paulo plus quam triobolarem. Cum voto denique finem facis ineptiendi; ut *Deus Christianorum* (modo enim reliquisse *Deos bonos* tuos videris) *hanc mentem inspire** *Potestatibus, ut hanc serifturiendilicentiam Christianis infamem compescant*. Vositaque
15 priores compescant, a quibus hsec omnis licentia primò exorta est: mihi mei defendendi jus ac potestatem adversus contumelias vestras, uti spero, non eripient. Intelliges turn ipse, quam ego libens omni hoc genere contentionum supersedeam. Atque tibi jam, ut puto, satisfactum est: idque eò ampliùs feci,

dence of private friendship, had disclosed to you any thing of this sort; if, in the familiarity of conversation, he had said any thing disadvantageous either of himself or of his wife—would you, unless you had utterly lost your wits, have shown so
 5 little reverence of friendship and regard to family secrets, as to blab all this, in the inconsiderate manner you have here done?

But you return to your eulogies—"the penetrating judgment of More"; to which you may add that "thoughtlessness
 10 which is unworthy of such a man"—two things which have the closest affinity. "His felicity in preaching"; his infelicity in wenching—another admirably-matched pair of More's praises. Then follows, as a substitute, for the corollary—"his skill in three languages," which, at last, puts the finishing
 15 stroke to this three-tongued professor: and which amounts, added to the above-mentioned virtues, to somewhat more than a three-half-penny professor. At length, you wind up your trifling with the devout wish, that "the God of Christians" (for, of late, you seem to have forsaken your "good
 20 gods") would inspire the sovereign authorities with a determination to curb this licence of scribbling, so disgraceful to Christians. But it is yourselves who ought first to wear the curb, from whom all this licence originated. The sovereign authorities will not, I trust, wrest from me the right and
 25 the power to defend myself from your contumelies. You will know how gladly I should withdraw myself from all contests of this sort; and with this declaration, I think you ought to be satisfied; it is a satisfaction I have the more readily

quod Doctorem te Sacrosanctae Theologize cum amplissimo phylacterio agnoscerem; Doctoribus autem mirifice delector,

Nunc Vlaccum paucis dignemur: nam & Vlaccus respondit, Typographus meus, & necessarius jam factus. Responsa
5 hominis breviter colligam, ut perspiciatis quàm belle quadrarent. Es veterator, inquam, Vlacce. Sum bonus, inquit, *Arithmeticus*. Et tamen queruntur, qui tibi expensum tulerunt, pessimè te numerare. Ego ad probitatis normam te exigo. Hem tibi, inquit, *canonem Logarithmicum*! Sophi-
10 stica hæc est, Vlacce, non Logistica: perinde quasi idcirco solum Arithmeticam didicisses, quod in ea Falsi regulam doceri audiveras. Clancularius es, inquam, & obæratu aufugisti. Tu mihi *Sinuum tabulas*, & *Tangentium* & *Secantium* crepas. At quibus tecum ratio est, expensi tabulis te urgent:
15 idque ipsum est quod sinuosum te nimis, & alieni cupidius tangentem, & male secantem queruntur. *Trigonometriam*, inquis, *conversis Sinubus in Logarithmos artificialem absolvi*. At artificia interim tua & versutias Creditores luunt: Non trigonometram, sed tetragonum sine fraude cum illis te esse
20 oportuit; non angulos & obliquitates, sed suum cuique metiri ac reddere. De caetero, ad tuam te confessionem ipsam rejicio.

given, since I knew you to be a doctor of sacred theology, with a most ample phylactery; and I am mightily taken with doctors.

We will now vouchsafe a few words to Vlaccus: for even
 5 Vlaccus, who is become my printer and close confederate, is also my answerer. I will make a collection of a few of his responses, that you may see how nicely they square. Vlaccus (say I) you are a scoundrel. But (says he) I am a good "calculator." And yet your creditors complain, that you calculate
 10 most execrably. I try you by the rule of honesty. Here (says he) is a rule in logarithms. Vlaccus, this is not logic, but sophistry; and looks as if you had studied arithmetic, only because you had heard you might there learn the rule of false. You conceal your name, (say I) and were obliged to fly for
 15 debt. You bore me with your noise about "tables of sines," and "tangents," and "secants." But people press you with tables of debt—a sort of tables which are really of account with you: and this they do for the very reason because they complain, that you are too sinuous, that you are too eagerly
 20 tangent, and wickedly secant, of other men's property. "I have performed (you say) artificial trigonometry, by converting sines into logarithms." Meanwhile, your creditors suffer for your artifices and your craft; and with them, it was incumbent upon you to conduct yourself, not as a trigono-
 25 metrician, but as a fraudless tetragonist; not to have been a measurer only of angles and obliquities, but to have measured out and rendered to every man his own. For the rest, I refer you to your own confession. Both at London, and at Paris,

Londini, Parisiis, iniqui Librarii, iniquum iudicium, iniqui
Judices; tu solus integer & castus: at illi contra te unum omnes
cum audientur, vera esse ea quae de te dixi, nemo non fatebitur.
In me autem quam scelestus fueris, facile evincam. Primum
5 scripsisti ad Hartlibium, petens, ut mea, siquid haberem,
posses excudere; & simul de mea oculorum calamitate, es-
semne omnino orbus luminum, sedulo & quasi dolens quae-
sivisti: mox proditorie, cum intelligeres nihil tibi a me excu-
dendum venire, caecitatem mihi, quam quasi sollicite modo
10 & dolenter inquirebas, eam statim scelerate insultans palam
exprobrasti. Nam Typographus, inquit, sum; *quid ad Typo-
graphos tarn magne controversies', nisi ut operam suam?*
Acutum sane & typographicum! Non alius quisquam typo-
graphis plus hac in parte quam ego concesserim. Num ergo
15 tu famosissimo libello tuum subscribere professum nomen
quasi author esses, debuisti? & cujus ex libris lucrari cupiebas,
neque nunc primum, ut audio, lucratus es, ejus nomen tur-
pissimis contumeliis maculare, cum privilegio scilicet, licere
tibi existimasti? *Bellum*, inquis, *erat*; & simul miratur tua
20 vastitas, quod, facta pace, bacchationes in me privatim tuas &
singularem insolendam impune tibi esse noluerim. Nescis

the booksellers are dishonest, the judgment and the judges unjust. You only are pure, you only are a man of integrity. But when all these together are heard against you singly, who is there who will not assent to the truth of those things I have
 5 affirmed concerning you? Your villainy, however, towards me, is easily made manifest. You first wrote to Hartlib, requesting that you might print any compositions I may happen to have by me; and at the same time, inquired with earnestness, and as it would seem, with sympathy, concerning the
 10 calamitous loss of my eyes, and whether I was totally bereft of light. Soon, traitor-like, when you found that you received nothing from me to print, in the instant, with insulting malice, you openly upbraided me with my blindness, about which you had lately inquired with such solicitude and grief.
 15 For (says he) I am a printer: "what are these great controversies to printers, but as they furnish them with work?" Acute, undoubtedly, and typographical! In this particular, who would concede more to printers, than I have done? Was it fitting, now, for you to subscribe your professed name to
 20 this most notorious libel, as if yourself had been the author? Can you imagine, you were at liberty, under privilege forsooth, to dash your dirty slanders on the name of one, whose books you are so eager to turn to your profit, and by which you have profited, as I am told, not now for the first time?
 25 You plead, "It was a time of war"; and, at the same time, your marauding spirit is struck with wonder, that now, when peace is concluded, I should not choose to let escape, unrevenge, your single insolence and clamour against me, a pri

enim, vappa, quid belli ratio, in causa etiam longissimè diversa, ab temulenta tua rabie discrepet. An siquis existimationem meam privatus per causam belli famoso libro violaverit, ea mihi injuria devoranda est, ut ne possim, cum visum
5 erit, me justâ & expectatâ defensione vindicare? *Non me puduit*, inquis, *quanquam ignominiost accusatum, alteram cditionem adornarc*. At non omnes tibi similes sunt Vlacce, ut non pudeat fidem, pudorem, omnia lucro postponere; cujus faeda cupiditas adeò vilem tibi & abjectum animum
10 ingeneravit, ut tuis ipse typis teipsum graphice nebulonem depinxisse non erubescas; eodemque tempore mihi maledicere, & meis ex libris quæstum facere. In quo quid cani similius fieri abs te potuit? cujus ego allatrantis capiti, cum os illud vehementer inflixissem, exclamas tu quidem & queri-
15 taris; mox ut esculentum esse comperisti, reversus blandule, rodis simul & ligurris. Tu verò mea aut non omninò attigisse debuisti, aut non corrupisse; nunc inimicus librum meum non solum excudisti, sed ultione vilissima deformatum ac mutilatum & adversariis hinc inde obsessum exposuisti: quo-
20 rum alterum rapacissimam lucelli cujusvis aviditatem tuam,

vate individual! For you know not, you dolt, the difference between a war, and any drunken fury of your own, though the grounds of each should be totally distinct. Is any private man, under pretext of existing war, to make an assault upon
5 my reputation in an infamous book; and must I swallow the injury without a struggle to vindicate myself, if I saw occasion, by an honest and manly defence? "I feel no shame (you say) however acrimoniously reproached, that I have got up another edition." But all are not like you, Vlaccus,
10 who are not ashamed of counting faith and a fair repute, yea all other things as nothing, when they come in competition with your profit; they are not like you, whose groveling avarice has engendered in you a disposition so vile and abject, that, with unblushing effrontery, and with your own types,
15 you have described yourself to the life, a scoundrel, and have slandered me, at the very time that from my books you were in quest of gain. What conduct could be more like that of the dog?—At whose head, as he was barking at me, having flung with violence that bone, you also begin to yelp and growl;
20 till, finding the bone to have meat about it, you presently turn to fawning, then fall to gnawing and slavering up its nice pickings. Now, you should either not have meddled with my works at all, or should not have corrupted them: whereas you have not merely printed my book like an enemy as you are,
25 but, with the basest revenge, after mutilating and deforming it, have exposed it surrounded on all sides by its adversaries: of which things, the one shows your singularly rapacious eagerness even for trifling gains; the other, your unexampled

alterum & tuam singularem malitiam & tuarum mercium improbitatem declarat. Haec tua sunt, Vlacce. Nunc remoto te circumpede Herum tuum aggredi tandem ab latere aperto liberius licebit. Qui quamvis non modo intus turpis, & sibi
5 conscius, sed foris jam penè omnibus manifestos atque perspicuus sit, tamen cum in audacia positam sibi esse spem unicam statuerit, absterso ore, ut in Proverbio sacro scortum illud, & assumpta non solum viri sancti oratione atque persona, sed sapientissimi quoque titulo Ecclesiastes novus cum mala cruce,
10 & sacrarum literarum Professor profanus incedit. Adeo ut mirentur omnes in quo summa esse tot vitia reperirentur, in eo ilia omnia potuisse ab impudentia tarn longè superari.

Ego vero eorum quæ de te scripsi, More, cum *affinxerim* sane nihil, affirmaverim autem ea quæ & creberrima passim
15 fama, & mihi privatim testibus idoneis essent cognita, utrius hoc nostri *ad sempiternum dcdccus* futurum sit, non id tuum, quod tamen tibi arrogas, iudicium erit, sed, Dei voluntate, hominum integrorum sententiis dirimetur. Tu interim prae-fationes mihi (quid enim *tui precepatio* sit nondum assequor,
20 vel *vanissimi* vel *mendacissimi*), quanquam uberrima tibi mendaciorum copia est, mitte *comparare*. Testimonialium ut

malice, as well as the dishonesty of your dealings. Thus much for you, Vlaccus.

And now, having dispatched you, the lacquey, I shall at last be the more at liberty to attack your master on his exposed
 5 side. Though this man's baseness is not merely inward, that of which himself only is conscious, but is now open and manifest to the world; yet, as he has determined with himself, that his only hope is in daring, having wiped his mouth like the harlot in the divine proverb, and assumed not only
 10 the speech and character of a saint, but of an oracle of wisdom too, in quality of the new preacher (Ecclesiastes) with evil fortune; he struts abroad, the reprobate professor of sacred learning: so that mankind is quite aghast with wonder, that however enormous or manifold his vices, his impudence
 15 should far surpass them all.

But, More, since the facts I have detailed concerning you, are no "inventions" of my own—no, not even in the minutest particular; as I have asserted only what was confirmed by a report of extraordinary prevalence, and what was communi-
 20 cated to me in private, by witnesses of unexceptionable credit; whether this matter shall turn out to your or my "everlasting shame," will be determined, not as you would have it, by your decision, but (God willing) by the decision of honest men. Meanwhile, do you send and get for me the prefaces of the
 25 "vainest or most lying of men," though you have already a most exuberant plenty of lies. (By the by, what means *tui prefatio*, the preface of yourself, I do not yet rightly understand.) No; however expert a beggar of testimonials for

sis tibimet callidissimus aeruscator, praefationum tamen coactorem te mihi nolo. Nam quod ais, quae de te protuli *ejusmodi esse, nemo ut sit eorum quibus paulo propius innotuisti, quamvis iniquior esset, quin jalsitatis perpetute coarguat*, id
5 usque eo veritati plane contrarium est, ut eorum qui te *propius* norunt, multi nuntiis, non nemo literis questus mecum sit huic me argumento facinorum tuorum tarn uberi & copioso parim satisfacisse; tantum abesse, quicquam ut finxerim, ut permultas, praeclaras etiam, tuas res gestas silentio praeteri-
10 erim: se, si adfuissent, quod & optabant quoque nonnulli, largiore me palmarum tuarum accessione & copia facile fuisse instructuros. Tuum ergo illud *miserere*, quo tu & operarius tuus, par bipedum odiosissimum, *misereri meam vicem* vultis ridicule videri, vobis vestrisque vicibus moneo reservetis, ego
15 a me procul arceo: miserationes improborum cujusmodi sint, didici. Nam quid est, obsecro, quod miserationem hanc vestram inhumanam tandem commoverit? quod *in te nempe hominem immeritum grassatissim*. At ô gemina impudentia, & consciorum par callosissimum! vòsne ut audeatis vos *im-*
20 *meritos* asseverare, nisi forte vocis ambiguo colluditis, quorum alter Clamorem illum infamem atque infandum edidit, alter excudit, uterque divulgavit? Discant hinc omnes, quae

yourself, I do not choose you should be a collector of prefaces for me: for, your assertion, that the facts I have produced against you "are of such a description, that there is no one who knows you a little more nearly, but would prove them, 5 though even inclined to partiality, to be utterly false," is so manifestly the reverse of the truth, that of the persons who really know you "more nearly," many have complained to me by messages, and all by their letters, that I have been very far from doing justice to the fertile and copious subject of your 10 enormities; that so far from having invented any thing, I have passed over in silence very many, and by no means the least illustrious of your exploits; and that, if themselves had been on the spot, which some regret they were not, they could easily have provided me with a much larger number of your 15 trophies. That pity of yours, then, by which you and your workman, a most loathsome pair of bipeds, would make a contemptible show "of pitying my case," you had better reserve for yourselves and your own cases: God defend me from such pity: I have not yet to learn, of what nature are the 20 pityings of scoundrels! For pray, what is it, that has at last called forth this your savage pity? "My assault upon you," forsooth, "an innocent man." But O! twins in impudence! most hardened pair of colleagues! how dare you affirm yourselves to be "innocent," unless you haply sport with the 25 ambiguous nature of the word, (immeritus) one of whom was the editor, the other the printer, and both the dispersers of that infamous and infernal cry? Mankind may hence learn the value of those asseverations of yours, which you are ac-

vos *cum bono Deo* affirmare soleatis, quàm sint pro nihilo habenda. Nee precationem felicius, quàm miserationem adscivisti; ut ad *justarn nominis tut defensionem aggredienti veram & verecundam suggcrat tibi Deus orationem, ab omni*
5 *mendacio & obsænitare prorsus abhorrentem*: Alterum enim nunquam es præstiturus, ut mendaciis abstineas; alterum iniquissimè precaris, ut cum tua facta obscænissima sint, orationem suggerat tibi Deus factis abhorrentem: quod contra precari debuisses, ut suggereret tibi Deus non verecundam,
10 sed obscoenam: sic enim tua facta verbis saltern propriis & non mendacibus Deo atque hominibus confessus esses; sic non hypocritam egisses; quod Deo longe gratius fuisset. Nunc non Deus te, sed tua ilia Dea audit Cotytto, sive ea Laverna, sive utraque est, labra tacitè moventem.

15 *Da mihi fallere; da justo sanctoque videri:*
 Noctem peccatis & stupris objice nubem.

Quaeris qui sciam quæ tu tecum? dicam. Vocale quiddam, si nescis, omnis, totusque homo est: non lingua, non vox hominis sola loquitur; vita ipsa, mores, facta, quid quisque velit,
20 tacente ssepius lingua, clamant atque testantur. Tu itaque hæc

customed to pronounce with a "good God!" Nor are you more happy in your prayers, than in your pity, when you pray, that, "in your endeavours to vindicate your name, God would inspire you with language true and modest, utterly
 5 abhorrent from falsehood and obscenity"; for, to abstain from falsehood, will never be in your power; and, when your actions themselves are scandalously obscene, to pray to God that he would inspire you with language abhorrent from those actions, is a most blasphemous prayer. Now, you should
 10 have prayed, that God would inspire you with obscene, rather than with modest language: for of this description you had confessed your actions to be before God and man, and in words at least appropriate and true. You would thus have avoided playing the hypocrite, and your conduct would have
 15 been far less displeasing to God, It is not God who hearkens to you now, but your goddess Cotytto, or that Laverna, or whichever it is, while you move your lips in silent invocation:

Give me to cheat, yet seem a saint to sight,
 Veil my amours in clouds, my sins in night!

20 You ask how I should know any thing about your conduct at home? I will tell you. Every man, at least who deserves the name of a man, is, whether you know it or not, a certain vocal somewhat. It is not the tongue, it is not the voice only of a man which speaks; his life, his manners, his actions, more
 25 frequently when the tongue is silent, cry aloud and testify all that any one could desire. This last prayer, then, you put

tacite; ilia clarè; *Orationcm videlicet ab omni mendacio & obscenitate frorsus abhorrentcm, hoc est, inquis, dissimillimam tuce.* De hoc utroque sigillatim â me tuo ordine responditur. A mendaciis exordiris: *nam ut hinc, inquis, ordiar,*
5 *quid mendacius ipsd fronte libelli tui? quern, nescis quare, Defensionem secundam pro populo Anglicano vocem; re quidem vcrd, inquis, teterrimam contra me Satyram & ventosissimum Panegyricum h te dictum tibi.* Næ tu mendacia jejunos admodum & esuriens, sed inani morsu captas, si toto
10 libro nihil mendacius ipsa fronte invenire potes: Quam ego & veracem esse, & per omnia libro consentaneam facile demonstrabo; quid enim appositius, quid accommodatius ad defensionem Populi Anglicani, quam si ejus vitam & mores turpissimos esse convincam qui probrosissimo libello edito
15 Populum Anglicanum tanta injuria lacessisset? eum te esse confirmo. Quid si digressus aliquoties essem, & in materia praesertim tarn trita & saepe trisd Lectoris nonnunquam recreare animum aliunde experirer? Tune adeo pressus & minime
20 laxus homo es, ut latum unguem ab argumenti cancellis discedere quoquam licere non putes? quae lex Rhetorum tuorum digressiones istiusmodi reprehendit? Ego si exemplis, quod

up in silence; the former aloud in open day: namely—"that your language might be utterly abhorrent from all falsehood and obscenity," which, you say, is most unlike your own. To each of these particulars I shall give a separate reply, and in
 5 your own order.

You begin with lies: "for, (you observe) to make a beginning here, what can be a greater lie than the title-page itself of your libel?" which, you know not wherefore, I call a *Second Defence of the People of England*; "when in reality
 10 (you say) it should be entitled by you a most foul satire upon me, and a most windy panegyric by you." Why! you snap at lies, as if voraciously hungry after a long fast; but your bite misses its aim, if you can find nothing in the whole book more lying than the title-page itself; which, however, I shall
 15 show without much difficulty to be veracious, and in every respect consonant with the book: for what can be more apposite, what better adapted to the Defence of the People of England, than my exposing of the corrupt life and manners of him, who, by the publication of a scandalous libel, has in-
 20 suited the English people by an injury of such magnitude? That you are that person I am now about to confirm.

And what if I should sometimes digress, and try especially on a subject so trite and often so melancholy, to refresh, at intervals, the reader's mind from other fountains? Are you a
 25 man of a temper so rigid and unyielding, as to think it never allowable to pass even a nail's breadth the boundaries of the argument? What law promulgated by your rhetoricians forbids digressions of this sort? If I should explain, (as I well

possem, Oratorum illustrium explicarem quid hac in parte
liceat & usitatum sit, efficerem ut appareret statim facili nego-
tio, quam tu harum rerum rudis atque ignarus sis. Nee solam
Satyram, quod ais, in te scripsi, sed ut perspicerent omnes,
5 libentius me & multo studiosius bonos collaudare, quam malos
vituperare, clarissimorum aliquot nominum laudes qui vel
patriam armis & consilio egregie liberassent, vel mihi saltern
facta eorum defendenti favissent, (cum id etiam causam co-
honestaret) & passim admiscui, & plenius introduxi, Atque
10 adeo ne hoc quidem, quod Serenissimæ Suecorum Reginae
grates potius, quam laudes persolverim, tu unquam osten-
deris a Defensione Populi Anglicani, cui ilia impense existi-
mata est fuisse, alienum fuisse. Quid si, quod objectas, me
denique laudassem aliquantisper digressus? quis ea tempora,
15 eas persaepe causas incidere non fateatur, ut propriæ laudes
etiam sanctissimis modestissimisque viris indecorse non sint,
nee unquam fuerint? hunc etiam locum uberrimum exemplo-
rum illustrare copiâ, si vellem, equidem me omnibus facili
probarem, tu obmutesceres. Sed me nusquam laudavi; nee,
20 quod criminaris, Panegyricum a me mihimet dictum usquam

could) by the examples of illustrious orators, what is allowable and what is practised in this particular, the task would be neither long nor hard for me to make it appear, how unexercised, nay, how ignorant you are in these things. Nor is it
5 only a satire (as you call it) on you that I have written; but that all men may perceive, how much more ready and studious I am to praise the good than to blame the bad, I have everywhere intermingled and copiously set forth the praises of some names of the highest renown, who, by their arms and
10 counsels had either wrought the signal deliverance of their country, or at least had shown favour to me when defending their achievements; for this also might serve to dignify the cause. Nor moreover, will you ever be able to show, because I bestowed upon the most serene queen of Sweden not praises
15 indeed, but thanks rather, that this had nothing to do with the Defence of the People of England, which she was reputed to hold in high estimation. And what, lastly, (which you object to me) if, in a brief digression, I should have praised myself? Who is there, who would refuse to acknowledge that
20 such times, and very often such reasons, may exist as would render self-commendation not unbecoming men of the most sanctified purity and modesty—and that it was never considered as unbecoming? Were I disposed to illustrate this fertile topic by an accumulation of examples, it would be an
25 easy matter for me to prove this point to the satisfaction of mankind and to your confusion. But I have nowhere commended myself; nor will you any where find, what you have laid to my charge, that I have pronounced a panegyric on my-

invenics: Singulare quidem in me divini numinis beneficium, quod me ad defendendam libertatis tarn fortiter vindicate causam praeter caeteros evocasset, & agnovisse fateor, & nunquam non agnoscere debere: & prælaram hinc minimeque
5 culpandam, ut ego quidem arbitror, exordiendi materiam sumpsisse. Petitus deinde ab illo Clamore Regio convitiis omnibus atque calumniis, & infimorum numero habitus, non me laudibus, quanquam id nefas non erat, contra adversaries despectores, sed nudâ ac simplici rerum mearum narratione
10 contentus, tuebar: id Populi Anglicani quern defendebam, quanti interesset, uti ego meam existimationem non plane abjicerem nee obtrectandam quibusvis & obculcandam relinquerem, praefatus antequam mei facerem mentionem, sedulo ostendi: ofifensionem denique sicujus forte hac in re
15 incurrissem, baud negligenter sum deprecatus. Haec tu si propter invidentiam & livorem aut non legere aut meminisse non vis, quid est reliqui nisi ut crepes ? nullum enim in fronte libri mendacium, nisi abs te per malitiam atque calumniam conflatum reperietur. Quanto mendacior *Alexandri Mori*
20 *fides publica*? an te omnia in illo libro ex fide publica scripsisse audes dicere ? atqui aut hoc tibi necessario dicendum, aut libri illius fronti nulla fides est. Ita tu dum in titulo tuo putidus,

self. It is a singular favour of the divinity towards me, that I, above others, was chosen out to defend the cause of liberty, which had been maintained with such dauntless valour; and this favour I must affirm I acknowledged; nor can the time
 5 ever come when it will cease to be my duty to acknowledge it; and that I took hence, which in my judgment can hardly be imputed to me as a fault, the noble matter of my exordium. And when assailed by that royal cry with every species of insult and calumny, being handled even as one of the lowest
 10 of the rabble, I defended myself not with commendations (though that had been no crime) against my contemptuous adversaries, but contented myself with a naked and simple narrative of facts. Of what moment it was to the people of England, in whose defence I had enlisted myself, that I
 15 should not utterly neglect my reputation, and leave it to any, whoever they may be, to be disparaged and spurned, I was careful to show in my preface, before I said any thing of myself; and lastly, lest I should happen to give offence to any in this particular, I was at no small pains to obviate the cause.
 20 If, by reason of your envy and malice, you choose either not to read or not to remember these things, what remains for you but to raise a clamour? No other lie will be found in the title-page, but what has been forged by your malice and slander. How much blacker a lie is the *Public Faith of Alexander*
 25 *More*? Do you presume to say that you wrote every part of your book, as influenced by the public faith? You must of necessity assert this, or there is "no faith in the front" of that book. Thus, what with your affectation in respect of your

in meo malitiosus es, aut fides publica frontem per te, aut tua
frons fidem perdidit. Pergis de mendaciis. *Alterum est,*
inquis, *authorem esse me libri, cui titulus, Clamor sanguinis*
Regii. Quod cum ego verum esse firmissimis testimoniis jam
5 supra demonstraverim, teque illius libri certissimum curato-
rem atque editorem, omnium jure gentium & legibus pro
Authore habendum esse, sequitur ut quae mei fallendi spe
nexus hoc loco vociferaris, quasi author non esses, tametsi
infirmi per se, atque inania sunt, nunc fundamento illo
10 fallaci subruto, sua sponte corruant atque subsidant: simulque
ut totum illud mendacium, illa omnis *temeritas, imprudentia,*
immanitas, qua me per summam impudentiam hinc oneras,
in teipsum recidat. Exclamantem itaque & frigentem & tuo
laqueo impeditum, te hic prætereo: nugas autem quasdam
15 tuas sine risu non possum; per quas acutius & miserabilius
exclamare te putas. *Nam licet, inquis, ea crimina quae in me*
conjicis vera essent, tamen contra jus & fas omne esset, quod
nullius in nos autoritatis, quoddam tribunal excitas, crimi-
nationes publice spargis. An nescis ergo, hominum ineptis-
20 sime, idem hoc tribunal esse, eandem sellam atque authori-
tatem, jus idem criminandi & judicandi, quod ego vestro

own title, and your malice in regard to mine, either the public faith through your fault has lost its front, or your front has lost its faith.

You proceed, with the subject of lies. "It is one lie (you
 5 say) that I am the author of the book entitled *The Cry of the Royal Blood*." What! when I have before proved it to be a truth, by the most valid testimonies, and that you, being beyond dispute the manager and editor of the book, are to be considered, by the rights and the laws of all nations, as the au-
 10 thor? On the contrary, it follows hence, that what you have fabricated in this place, in the hope of gulling me, and with so much noise, as if you were really not the author, though in itself weak and ineffectual, now that its deceitful foundation is destroyed, sinks and tumbles in pieces of itself. It follows
 15 too, that all that lying, all that "rashness, impudence, outrageousness" which, with unrivalled impudence, you have hence been heaping up upon me, falls back upon your own pate. I leave you here, then, entangled in your own snare, exclaiming, and freezing with the cold.

20 But I cannot pass by some of your dirge-like triflings, without a little merriment; especially as you would seem in these to lift up your voice to a more piercing and lamentable tone. "For though (you say) the crimes he lays to my charge were real, yet it is contrary to all law, and all equity, for you to
 25 erect a tribunal of no authority over us, and scatter your criminations before the world." And know you not, then, you impertinent fellow, that this is the same tribunal, the same bench and authority, the same law for criminating and judg-

primum Salmasio, mox Clamatori Regio defensione justissima eripui ? vestrum ego nunc exemplum atque iudicium in vos converto, vestro jure utor; vestrum ipsum tribunal, vestra subsellia, quae in nos parastis, de vestris erepta manibus in vos
5 justissime statuo. *Deinde*, inquis, *tametsi libri author illius cssem, non tibi tamen integrum juisset tot scommata nihil ad causam pertinentia huic propinare sæculo*. Videte, quæso, asquitatem hominis: Sibi & Salmasio licere vult omnia, calumnias, mendacia, contumelias; nobis vera in illos crimina
10 retorquere, quasi ad causam scilicet minus pertinentia, non licebit. Sane qui res, rationesque rerum recto iudicio ponderare solent, non dubito quin mecum sentiant, nihil vehementius ad causam pertinere, quam quali quis vita atque moribus sit qui earn acerrime defendat. Ego causam Regiam,
15 qui vehementissime defenderit, si aut corruptum esse aut facinorosum arguo, haud levi argumento impugnasse me causam Regiam satis intelligo: Si mendacem, si turpem, si perfidum per omnem vitam criminatorem nostrum esse ostendo, eundem quoque in nos esse eo facilius fidem facio.
20 Tu interim cum duo tibi proposueris; *alterum*, ut ostenderes *ncc esse te libri authorem illius, nee id juisse mi hi persuasum*;

ing, which I first wrested from your Salmasius, and afterwards from the royal crier, in my most equitable defence? I turn against you your own example, your own judgment; I use your own law; and it is most just, that that tribunal, and
 5 those benches, which you had erected for us, should be torn from your power, and established for yourselves.—You go on; "Moreover, although I had been the author of that book, it would nevertheless have been ill done in you, to serve up to the view of this age so many scurrilities, which are nothing
 10 at all to the purpose." Mark, I beseech you, the man's equity! He would have everything yielded to himself and Salmasius—calumnies, lies, contumelies; and it shall not be yielded to us to retort real crimes upon them, as being forsooth nothing at all to the purpose. Now I cannot doubt, that those who are
 15 accustomed to weigh things, and the reasons of things in a well-balanced judgment, will think with us, that there is nothing more powerfully to the purpose, than inquiries into the life and manners of him who stands forth the champion in a great cause. If I prove the man who defends the royal
 20 cause with such might and main, to be dissolute and wicked, I require not to be told that, in so doing, I have assailed the royal cause with no contemptible argument: if I bring forth to view our accuser, lying, base, perfidious, through life, it will then be no difficult task to make it believed, that he is
 25 still the same towards us.

Meanwhile, you proposed to yourself two things; one, to show "that you are not the author of that book, and that Milton did not think you the author": the other, "that those

alterum, *falsa esse quæ in te conjecta sunt probra*, nihil horum
efficis; sed dissolutus ac fluens, modo huc, modo illuc vagando,
turn eadem inculcando, ignarus quam in propinquo tibi
effuse nunc pabulanti latens a tergo atque intactus hostis
5 instet, dum nescire me putas quid sit libelli authorem esse,
aut quid tu feceris, in eadem perstas vel futilitate vel fallacia.
Quid commerui? quid peccavi? quando Populum tuum Ices?
Cavillaris etiam; *quando boves tuos aut equos abegi?* Non tu
boves meos abegisti, Cacus pastor ut sis; sed alienas oves ab-
10 duxisti, tuam deseruisti Phryx novus Alexander, vel etiam
Cataphryx Morus. At *sciscitari ex amicis*, credo, poteram,
quos isthic apud nos habes, nec *paucos nec vulgaris notæ*.
Quasi verò ego, qui *divinus*, ut ais, *non sum*, tuos amicos
quinam essent, scirem, qui ante hunc Clamorem belluinum
15 abs te editum, ne vagiisse quidem adhuc te aut infantem
natum sciebam. Aut tu planè sensu, vel saltern logica desti-
tutus es, aut ejus rudimenta non sic dedidicisses, relationes in
sensum non incurrere. Itaque & inimicos esse tibi tarn multos,
eosque tua non pietate, sed turpitudine quæsitos necdum
20 audieram; neque ut *ludibriis* tarn esses *opportunos*, neque ut
tu, Veneris nepos, *Junonem* sic iratam tibi haberes: *quæ* tibi

reproaches which have been cast upon you are false"; neither of which things do you perform; but with forces broken and scattered, you wander about you know not whither, now in this direction, now in that, then retrace your steps; not aware
5 how close up with you in this loose array is your enemy, and with vigour unimpaired, hangs upon your rear to surprise you foraging. Thinking me ignorant either of what it is to be the author of a libel, or of what you have done, you persist, from folly or craft, in the same asseverations. "What have I de-
10 served? What is my offence? When have I injured your people?" You are even captious; "When did I drive off your bullocks or horses?" You have never driven off my bullocks, Cacus of a herdsman as you are; but you have led astray other people's sheep; like another Phrygian Alexander, or as More
15 a descendant of the Phrygian, you have forsaken your own ewe. But I might have been "informed," it seems, "by the friends" whom you have here among us, and those neither "a few nor of mean note." As if I, who, as you say, "am no divine," should know who are your friends—I, who knew
20 not even whether you had ever been born, and had uttered the cry of an infant, till you sent forth this brutal cry. You are either utterly destitute of reason, or at least of logic; or, you would not have so far unlearned its rudiments, as to confuse premise and fact. Now I had not yet heard that you had
25 so many enemies, and they gotten too not by your piety, but by your baseness; nor had I yet heard that you were so "fit a subject for merriment," nor that you, a favorite of Venus, had made Juno so angry with you. Of the deities who

essent infensa numina aequae ignorabam, & qui essent Crantzio
Dii boni. Anni duo sunt, inquis, *ex quo tuum hoc drama*
exornas. Quanquam hoc perridiculum est, quod optasses
nunquam editum, id sero editum queri, & sum ego qui elabo-
5 ratum recte atque limatum siquid est, id diu accurasse si dicor,
non reprehendendum me magis quam Scriptores quosque
optimos putem, qui tarditatem scribendi imputatam sibi a
sciolis facile contempsere, tamen & hoc esse falsissimum ex
prooemio superioris libri intelligitur, ubi cur maturius non
10 respondissem causam reddidi, & errare te vehementer scito, si
operis tam ardui fuisse credis vel inanem clamorem refutare,
vel te cuivis obnoxium ludos facere. Nee mihi tot subcisivis
horulis *dicta ilia Floralia*, quae vocas, quot tibi furtivis nocti-
bus atque dieculis facta ilia Fescennina steterunt. Et *periisset*
15 sane, hie enim tecum sentio, paradisus ille tuus, & ficus &
morus & sycomorus, quibus nequitiam tuam, quantum potuit
fieri, honeste adumbratam, quoniam sunt qui rem oculis non
visam, factam credi nolint, istius defensionis inanitatem
ridens, vel argute vel contemptim exposui: periissent, inquam,
20 illi omnes non sane flosculi, sed arbusculae, nisi tu in horto

are hostile to you I was equally ignorant, as likewise, of those "good gods" of Crantz.

"You have spent two years (you remark) in getting up this drama of yours." Though it is supremely ridiculous for
 5 you to complain of the late appearance of what you would not for the world should have appeared at all; and though it should be admitted that I have taken a long time in labouring and polishing, if indeed, anything of this sort is visible—am I more deserving of censure than the writers, (whom I deem of
 10 the first rank) who have laughed to scorn the sciolists for upbraiding them with slowness in writing? But, that this assertion is utterly unfounded, may be learnt from the proem of my former book, where I have given my reasons for not replying earlier; and be assured, you are guilty of an egregious
 15 blunder, if you suppose it so arduous a task for me to silence your idle clamour, or to expose you to the derision of the world. Nor have "those said Floral pastimes," as you call them, cost me so many spare pieces of hours, as those acted Fescennine games have cost you of furtive nights and pieces
 20 of days. And here, I verily think, would have ended together with yourself, this your paradise, with the fig-tree, and the mulberry, and the sycamore, under whose thick foliage your lewdness, as much as it could be, was decently shaded, (for there are some who, unless they see a thing with their own
 25 eyes, are backward to believe it) and which I, in scorn of your vain defence, have dexterously uncovered to the contempt of mankind! All those delicate flowers, I say, and shrubs as well, had faded, unless you had committed whoredom in the

moechatus esses: ex hortensi & suburbana cultione tua, non ex urbanitate mea amoenitas ista omnis effloruit. Quod autem *in jrontispicio Satyræ in te meæ* (quæ non magis Satyra est, quam quæ est Marci Tullii in Vatinius quemvis oratio)
5 *tanquam propylceum operis illustre collocassc* me ais, *quid Morus Greece signified*, frustra tu quidem propylaea somnias; non ita eram decori nescius, ut sublime quicquam aut tragicum in historia tua ponerem: Ego tuguriolum illud tuum in horto, tu Palatium illud vetus, in quo hortus ille erat, for-
10 tasse cogitabas; & in ilia olitoris cellula, haud dubiè Palatinus adulter tibi videbaris. Id ipsum autem Graece significare te dixi quod etsi lingua nulla esset, reipsa te esse nunc dico. Illud tamen negaverim, quoties te tuo nomine Morum appello, *invidiam me vellc*, quod quereris, *ex nomine jacere*, & mo-
15 riam tibi objicere; mihi enim id fere in mentern non venit: sed Professori Graecæ linguae Grxcum etymon Mori ita perpetuo salire per cerebrum tibi solet, ut nemo salutare te possit, More, quin tu ab eo te stultum appellari morose admodum suspiceris. Haec sunt & hujusmodi quæ tu paginis paulo
20 minus viginti, cum Authorem te non esse Clamoris Regii probare debuisses, nugatus es: in quibus singulis si otiori tecum diutius & morari vellem, ipse Morus essem. Nunc

garden. From your horticulture in the suburbs, not from my jocularly, has all this delightsomeness flowered out.

"In the front of my satire against you (which is about as much a satire, as the oration of Marcus Tullius against one
 5 Vatinius) I have placed, (you say) as the superb portico to my fabric, the sentence—What means Morus in Greek?" What are you dreaming now about porticos? I was not so ignorant of decorum, as to place, in a history of you, any thing either sublime or tragic. I was thinking of that little
 10 shed of yours in die garden; and you, peradventure, of the ancient palace, within the precincts of which, the garden is contained; and in that secret green-house-cell, no doubt, you considered yourself as whoremonger palatine. I did indeed say that, you signified in Greek what, though there were no
 15 language in existence, I now pronounce you to be in fact. But I deny, what you complain of, that, as often as I call you by your name of More, my purpose is to excite ill will against you, and to upbraid you with foolishness, "on account of your name"; it has scarcely ever entered my thoughts. The truth is,
 20 that, being professor of Greek, the Greek etymon of Morus is so perpetually dancing to and fro in your brain, that nobody can address you by the name of More, but you peevishly and grievously suspect him of calling you fool. This, and such like, is the trash, with which you stuff little less than twenty pages,
 25 the while you ought to have been employed in proving that you are not the author of the *Cry of the Royal*. Were I disposed to idle on each particular, and any longer to play the fool, I should be Morus myself.

tandem serio videris velle agere. *Non rumores, non sermones, sed literas testes dabis, admonitum me fuisse ne in hominem innoxium incurrerem.* Literas ergo inspiciamus, quas in medium affers *amplissimi viri D. Neuportii Fæderati Belgii*

- 5 *Legati* ad te scriptas; quas tu, ut videtur, literas non ad probationis vim, quam nullam habent, sed ad ostentationem solum legendas proposuisti. Is, quod singularem *viri amplissimi* humanitatem declarat, (quid enim is non viri boni, qui tui indignissimi causa tantopere laboraret ?) ad Dominum
- 10 Thurloium Secretarium adit; tuas literas communicat. Cum nihil se proficere videret, ad me duos viros nobiles, amicos meos, cum literis iisdem tuis allegat. Quid illi ? Literas illas Mori recitant, rogant, & Legatum Nieuportium idem rogare aiunt, uti literis tuis, quibus authorem Clamoris Regii negares
- 15 te esse, fidem haberem. Respondi non esse aequum quod postularent; neque tanta fide Morum, neque id fieri solere, ut contra famam communem & rem alioqui satis compertam negantis de se rei & adversarii solis literis crederetur. Illi, cum aliud e contra nihil quod dicerent haberent, pugnare desinunt.
- 20 Si hsec non credis, tute percurrere Legati literas, quibus ego nunc

At last, you seem inclined to be serious. "You will give neither rumours, nor common talk, but letters, in proof that I was forewarned not to fall foul of an innocent man." Pray then let us have a sight of the letter you produce, which was
5 written to you by "his excellency D. Nieuport, ambassador of the United Provinces," and which you have brought forward, it appears, not for its weight of evidence, of which it has nothing, but merely out of ostentation. The ambassador—a circumstance which shows the exemplary humanity of that
10 dignified personage (for what would he not do for a good man, when he exerts himself so strenuously for you who are totally unworthy of it?)—The ambassador went and communicated your letter to Mr. Secretary Thurlow. But finding that he made no progress with him, he dispatches two noble
15 friends of mine, with the same letter to me. What do these gentlemen do? After reading to me More's letter, they make a request, affirming at the same time that the ambassador Nieuport joined in the request, that I would give credit to this your letter, in which you denied yourself to be the author
20 of the *Cry of the Royal*. I replied, that what they required was unreasonable; that More was neither worthy of such credit, nor was it agreeable to any usage, to give credit to merely a letter of an adversary under accusation making a denial relating to himself, in contradiction to common report, and to the
25 result of an investigation sufficiently satisfactory. The messengers having nothing to say in answer to this, give up the parley. If you do not believe this account, pray run over the ambassador's letter, which I now make use of as evidence

testibus in te utor. *Optabat cum non invulgare librum:*
verum id mei juris erat & potestatis. *Ne tibi hanc injuriam*
jacerem, ut illud tibi opus imputarem: At liquere sibi, aut
unde sibi liqueret injurium tibi hoc esse quod imputassem,
5 non scribit. Saltern ut *nihil vellem inserere, quod te tangeret.*
Quidni vero te tangeret quod ad te pertinet, nisi id ad te non
pertinere demonstrasset? demonstrare autem non potuisse,
argumento firmissimo est, quod cum Domino Thurloio Secre-
tario idem denuo persuadere vellet, nihil habuit quod mit-
10 teret, praeterquam idem illud exemplum literarum tuarum;
ex quo & illud facile perspicuum est, *rationes* illas ad me
allatas *ob quas optabat*, ne vellem eum librum evulgare, nihil
conjunctum cum Reipublicae rationibus habuisse. Noli itaque
tu literas Legati corrumpere: nihil illic de *hostili spiritu*, nihil
15 de *importuno tempore*; tantum *dolere* se scribit *noluisse me*
rogatu suo tantillum moderationis ostendere: id est, noluisse
me suo privatim rogatu tibi adversario publico rem gratam
facere; opus excusum & jam pene editum revocare & de in-
tegro retexere. Excusatum me habeat *vir amplissimus*, &
20 praesertim Legatus, si injurias publicas privatis intercessionibus
condonare noluerim, nee sane potuerim; multoque minus
eas injurias Clamoris Regii, quæ neque ad bellum neque ad
pacem recens factam ullo modo spectarent. Bellum illud
contra Anglos, non contra Rempublicam fuit: bellum vestrum

against you. "He desired him not to publish the book";—but this was at my own option, and in my own power—"that he might avoid doing you the injury of imputing to you that work." But he does not say, that it was plain to him, or

5 whence could it be plain to him, that the injury would be precisely my imputing the book to you. At least that, "I would insert nothing which could touch you." And why should not that touch you, which relates to you? unless he had shown that, it did not relate to you. That he could not do this, it is a

10 most clear proof, that in a second attempt to prevail with Mr. Secretary Thurlow, he had nothing to send him, but that very same copy of your letter; from which it may further be easily seen, that those "reasons," alleged to me, "for which he desired" I would not publish that book, possessed nothing

15 connected with the reasons of the republic. Don't corrupt now the ambassador's letter. There is nothing there about "a hostile spirit"; nothing about "an unseasonable time." He only writes, "he is grieved that I would not, at his request, show the slightest moderation": that is, that I would not, at

20 his private request, do a favour to you, who are a public enemy—namely, recall, and compose anew a work already printed, and on the eve of being published. That "dignified personage" must excuse me, and the more because he is an ambassador, if I neither would nor could pardon public in-

25 juries for private intercessions; and far less those injuries of the *Cry of the Royal*, which had no sort of connection with the war, nor with the peace, which has been recently concluded. That war was against Englishmen, not against the

non contra Anglos, sed contra Rempublicam est. An siquis
Regiarum partium per bellum Regium quicquam in nos
commisit, id per pacem Batavicam a nobis non erit vindican-
dum? siquis in Rempublicam nostram contumeliose quid
5 scripsit, id post pacem cum Batavis factam non erit refellen-
dum? an per alienum bellum plus Regiis in nos, quam per
nostram pacem nobis in Regios licebit? At non nos cum
Regiis aut eorum Clamatoribus, sed cum iis Provinciis pacem
fecimus, a quibus causa Regia longissime sejuncta est; eamque
10 pacem in qua de hostibus nostrae Reipublicae non modo non
favendis, sed ne tecto quidem recipiendis nominatim excep-
tum est. At enim hoc *intempestivum & ἀπερόκαιον* quod
alienissimo tempore cum omnia hic & isthic festis ob pacem
ignibus collucercnt, tu solus gelida perfunderis. Equidem
15 non in eo positam *ἀπεροκαλίαν* existimabam. Tu lautus homo
ista melius: doleo non satis perpensa a me officii momenta
in te mei. At graviter peccatum est: turn enim *Icetis clamori-*
bus nostrum vestrumque cælum consonabat. Quasi verò te
ardelione & incendiario bene multato, non multo lætius illi
20 ignes pacifici & sociales relucerent: quasi etiam *vestrum no-*
strumque cerium faustis clamoribus non multò Isetius con-

commonwealth: your war is against the commonwealth, not against Englishmen. What!—if one of the royalist faction has done us an injury under pretence of the royal war, are we not to revenge it because of the Dutch peace? If a man has
 5 written anything full of scandal against our commonwealth, is it not to be refuted after peace is made with the Dutch? Shall greater licence to injure us be given the royalists, by a foreign war, than is allowed us to injure them, by our own peace? Besides, we have not made peace with the royalists,
 10 nor with their criers, but with those provinces, between whom and the royal cause there is a vast distance. In this peace, too, there is an express provision, not merely that no favour should be shown the enemies of our commonwealth, but that they should not be even received into a house.

15 But "at a juncture so very unseasonable—when every place was illumined with festive fires on account of the peace"—for you to be the only one to pour cold water, "was ill-timed and indecorous in you." Indeed! I did not think decorum consisted in that; a man of your polish is better versed in these
 20 things. I am sorry the importance of my duty towards you was not sufficiently weighed by me. It was a grievous mistake: for, at that time, "the sky resounded, on our and your side the water, with cries of joy." As if, indeed, those social and peace-kindled fires would not blaze up with a still more cheerful
 25 brightness, on the news that such a meddlesome fellow, such an incendiary as you, was soundly chastised! As if, moreover, "your sky and ours" would not far more joyfully resound with auspicious cries, now that the inauspicious, the funereal cry

sonet; cum infaustus & feralis inimicorum clamor compescitur: quod tu itaque alicnissimum tempus, id ego opportunissimum fuisse contendo: nee *obstrepuisse* me, quod ais, *Pads articulis*, sed acclamasse & plausisse. Postremò & me
5 prorsus ignoras, & tibimet intra paucos versiculos manifestò mendax deprehenderis. *Abs te*, inquis, *quo jactum sit ammo non interpreter*: Et statim, quod *depositis armis, animum retineres armatum*. Mirum ni ex eo bello quæstum feci, aut stipendium aliquod navale, qui factam pacem usque eò mo-
10 leste tulerim. Dicam igitur quod me dicere neque ullum obsequium, neque necessitas cogit. Falleris tu quidem magnopere, si quenquam esse Anglorum putas, qui Foederatis Provinciis me uno sit amior, aut voluntate conjuncdor; qui prseclarius de Republica ilia sentiat; qui eorum industriam,
15 artes, ingenium, libertatem aut pluris faciat, aut sæpiùs collaudet; qui bellum incoeptum cum iis minus voluerit, susceptum pacatius gesserit, compositum serio magis triumphant; qui denique obtrectatoribus eorum minus unquam crediderit. Unde tu nullam in me calumniam mendaciorem aut
20 minus congruentem affingere potuisti. At *ilium rerum cardinem aucupatus esse videor, ut prodeuntibus demum articulis pads obstreperem*. Tu scilicet cardo rerum; in te pacis

of our enemies is compelled to silence! The juncture which you think so unseasonable, I contend, was most opportune; and that, so far from my having "clamoured," as you assert, "against the articles of the peace," I have shouted and clapped
 5 in approbation of them. In fine, you totally misunderstand me, and are found manifestly inconsistent with yourself, in the compass even of a few lines. "In what spirit (you say) this was done by you, I do not inquire": and immediately after, you add that, "though you have laid down your arms,
 10 your spirit should still be armed." Unless I had earned my livelihood, or received some naval salary, from that war, it is inconceivable, that I should have been so mightily chagrined at the conclusion of the peace! I will declare, therefore what is neither prompted by complaisance, nor compelled by neces-
 15 sity. You are indeed greatly deceived, if you think there is any Englishman more friendly, more closely allied in heart, to the United Provinces, than myself; if you imagine there is any one who thinks more highly of that republic; who prizes more and who oftener applauds their industry, their arts, in-
 20 genuity, and liberty; whose will was more abhorrent from beginning a war with them; who prosecuted it, when begun, with less zeal, and when ended, who more sincerely rejoiced; lastly, who at any time gave less credit to those who would disparage them. You could not, therefore, have devised a
 25 calumny against me more false, or less appropriate.

"But I appear to have watched for that hinge of affairs, reserving my clamour for the promulgation of the articles of the peace." You, forsooth, the hinge of affairs! The articles

arriculi vertuntur; hunc si attingas, actum de pace est. At
quern hominem? quo numero? civem credo egregium, Sena-
torem primum, ornamentum curiae: immo ne civem qui-
dem, sed inquilinum, alienigenam, & Scoto-Gallum impu-
5 rissimum, odiosum omnibus atque offensum, Reipublicae
hostem, qui siquo expulsus, ejectus, & in rem malam aman-
datus esset, ne tantillum quidem articulis pacis noceretur;
immo satisfaceret potius. Tu itaque desine, si sapis, politicari;
& pacis articulos cave dehinc mussites, nequis te ex pacis arti-
10 culis Regii Clamoriseditore madsupplicium poscat. Pollicitus
sum, inquis, Legato, *nihil indecens exiturum e calamo meo*.
Neque fefelli; vel siquid omnino ilia in parte commisi, in me
solum commisi, dum tuos excutere putores, tua tractare in-
quinamenta sustinui: &, quod illic etiam praefatus sum, non
15 tam quid me magis decuisset, quam quid te dignum esset
spectabam. Nee tamen indecentius aut acerbius in te ego,
quam olim viri gravissimi in improbum quemque ac perdi-
tum & concionibus honestissimo quoque civitatis in loco atque
conventu habitis, & scriptis palam editis invecti sunt. Verum
20 ad illud nunc venio quod virum sanctissimum & hujus ætatis
longe castissimum offendit Morum; *illoto* scilicet *sermone*

of the peace turn upon you! If you touch this man, then, farewell to the peace! And pray, who is this personage? Of what rank is he? An eminent citizen, no doubt; a senator of distinction; an ornament of the court. To tell the truth, he is
 5 not so much as even a citizen, but a mere lodger, a foreigner, a foul lecher, half Scot, half Frenchman, the scandal and the scorn of the world, the enemy of the republic; and if he was driven out and transported as a criminal, the articles of the peace would be in no wise violated; nay, they would
 10 rather be fulfilled. If you are wise, therefore, you will cease to meddle with politics; and I would have you beware henceforward, how you mutter over the articles of the peace, lest, on the strength of those articles, you get demanded for punishment as the editor of the *Cry of the Royal*.

15 You say I promised the ambassador, "that nothing indecorous should fall from my pen";—And I have not deceived him; or, if I have at all offended in this respect, I have offended against myself only, while employed in shaking off those loathsome odours of yours, and in handling your pollutions:
 20 and, as I said before in my preface, I considered less what might most become me, than what was best suited to you. Yet, after all, have I inveighed with greater indecorum and bitterness against you, than those grave orators of old, in their harangues made in the place and the assembly of highest
 25 honour in the city, as likewise in their published writings, were accustomed to use against all scoundrels and miscreants?

But I come now to that which has given offence to the sanctified More—that prodigy of the age for chastity. "I employ,

utor, verbis nudis & prætextatis. Propudium hominis & prostibulum! Tene illota verba reprehendere qui facta turpissima patrare non erubuisti? Jam non poeniteret profecto, siquid in hoc genere liberius paulo dixissem; etiamsi aliud inde nihil
5 assequutus essem, nisi ut elicerem ex te dissimulationem hanc improbissimam, teque personatum omnibus vel hinc palam educerem hypocritarum omnium deterrimum. Quod autem tu mihi dictum libro toto ostenderis, quod verbum illotius, quam hoc ipsum Morus? sed non in verbo neque in re, sed in
10 te vitium omne atque obscoenitas tota est. Tu Fauno quovis aut nudo Satyro turpior, bona verba uti nuda essent tuis moribus effecisti. Tuam nulla umbra, ne ficus ipsa quidem, velare turpitudinem potuit. Qui te dicit, tuaque flagitia, eum necesse est obscoena dicere. Itaque si in tuum opprobrium vel nuda
15 verba exeruissem, facile me etiam gravissimorum Authorum exemplo defendissem. Qui ita semper existimarunt, verba nuda atque exerta cum indignatione prolata, non obscoenitatem, sed gravissimae reprehensionis vehementiam significare. Quis unquam Pisoni Annalium scriptori, qui propter
20 virtutem & pudicos mores Frugi dictus est, vitio vertit, quòd in Annalibus questus est *adolescences feni deditos esse*? Quis unquam Sallustium Scriptorem gravissimum reprehendit, quòd etiam in Historia dixit;

Ventre, manu, pene, aled, bond putrid dilacerari?

25 Quid Herodotum, Senecam, Suetonium, Plutarchum, Authores omnium gravissimos adducam? quos tu si negas verba

(it seems) language of unwashed foulness, words naked and indelicate." O shameful, prostituted man! And do you censure words as foul, who without a blush can be guilty of deeds of unequalled foulness? Indeed, it would not repent me now, 5 had I been a little more liberal of my words of this kind, had it been only to elicit this scoundrelly dissimulation, and hence openly to expose you (masked as you are to the eyes of the world) as the worst of hypocrites! But what expression, what word, will you point out to me, in any part of the book, more 10 foul, than the word *Morus* itself? Yet, it is neither in the word nor in the thing, but in yourself exists all vice and all obscenity. Lewder than any fawn or naked satyr, your manners have converted words of chastest meaning into words of naked ribaldry. No shade could veil your filthiness, not even that 15 notable fig-tree. Whoever speaks of you, and of your debaucheries, cannot choose but speak obscenely. And if I have uttered naked words in your reproach, I should be at no loss to defend myself by the practice of gravest authors; who have always been of opinion, that words naked and plain, indig- 20 nantly uttered, have a meaning far different from obscenity—that they express the utmost vehemence of reproof. Whoever imputed it as a crime to *Piso*, the writer of the annals, who for his virtue and modest manners obtained the surname of *Frugi*, that, in those annals, he complained—"Adolescentes 25 *peni deditos esse*?" Whoever censured *Sallust*, a very serious writer, for saying even in his history—"Ventre, manu, pene, alea, bona patria dilacerari": not to mention *Herodotus*, *Seneca*, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, the gravest of authors? and with

etiam plusquam praetextata, resque satis turpes rebus gravioribus aliquoties immiscuisse, satis declaras te iis in Authoribus versatum non esse. Hoc si omni tempore & loco indecens est, quoties tu Erasmo doctissimo qui Roterodami stat aereus, 5 quoties Thomae Moro nostro, cujus tu nomen tuo commaculas, quoties denique ipsis Ecclesiae patribus antiquis, Alexandrino Clementi, Arnobio, Lactantio, Eusebio, dum obscena veterum religionum mysteria vel denudant, vel derident, indecentix & obscaenitatis dicam scribere debebis? Verum tu 10 fortasse, ut sunt fere hypocrite, verbis tetrici, rebus obscoeni, ne ipsum quidem Mosen ista noxa immunem abs te dimiseris; cum alibi saepius, turn etiam ubi Pliineae hasta, qua parte mulierem transfixerit, siqua fides Hebrads, aperte narrat. Ne ipsum quidem liobum pudentissimum ac patientissimum, 15 dum meretricem sibi uxorem nudato & prisco sermone imprecatur, si ipse alienae uxori insidiatus unquam fuisset. Non te Salomonis Euphemismi censorem, non Prophetarum scripta tuam turpiculi immo nonnunquam plane obscoeni censuram effugerint, quoties Masorethis & Rabinis, pro eo 20 quod diserte scriptum est, suum libet Keri adscribere. Ad me quod attinet, fateor malle me cum sacris scriptoribus εὐθυσίῳ

whom you sufficiently proclaim your non-acquaintance, if you deny that they intermix, on divers occasions, words more than indelicate indeed, and subjects abundantly gross, with matters of greater seriousness. If this be indecorous at all
5 times and places, how often will you have to charge with a writ of indecency, and obscenity, Erasmus, that miracle of learning, whose brazen statue stands at Rotterdam; how often our own Thomas More, whose name you dishonour by pronouncing it at the same time with your own; lastly, how
10 often the ancient fathers of the church, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, when they uncover and cast derision upon the obscene mysteries of the old religions! But perhaps, as hypocrites are usually austere in words, though in things unclean, you will not suffer even Moses him-
15 self to escape unimpeached of this crime: for, as is usual with him in various other places, so if we are to believe the Hebrews, it is especially remarkable, in the passage where he speaks without any disguise, of the very part where the spear of Phinehas transfixes the woman. You will not spare even
20 Job, most modest and patient of men, while, in naked and homely phrase, he imprecates on himself the curse of a harlot-wife, if he had ever lain in wait for the wife of another. Not the writings of Solomon the elegant, nor even of the prophets could escape your proscription of every petty indelicacy,
25 indeed sometimes even of broad obscenity, whenever the Masorets and Rabins think proper to write their marginal *Keri*, to note the eloquent plainness of the text. As for me, I should choose rather to be plain-spoken with the sacred

μωνα, quam cum furilibus Rabinis *εὐσχημόνα* esse. Tuque frustra Marcum Tullium inclamas; qui si *in aureo* illo quem citas, *de Officiis libro*, illud jocandi genus elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum arbitrator, quo genere non modò Plautus & 5 Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam Philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt, id quod illic legisse poteras, non ille mihi quidem nimis angustos, non nimis severos decori statuisset fines videtur, ut cuiquam difficile sit intra eos fines sese continere; nedum ut ego me non continuerim. Noli 10 itaque tu mihi homo inquinatissimus, de honesto & decoro ineptire; non est tuum, mihi crede; immo tu sic habeto, nihil minus decere, nihil ab ratione ipsa decori magis abhorrire, quàm te talem, qualis es, lautum sermonem usurpare, aut illotum reprehendere. Sed videris nunc velle rem omnem in 15 pauca redigere: *Non sum*, inquis, *author Clamoris*. Non suades. *Res patet, dilucet, eamque pluribus arguments affirmare tarn sit ineptum, quam in clarissimum solem mortale lumen inferre*. Desine ampullas; die tandem aliquid. *Ipse ego quantum possum reclamo*. Nempe nunc denuò; mina- 20 citer modo & regie; nunc miserè. *Amid non tacent*. Ex ore tuo. *Ecclesiastæ admonent*. Fide tuâ. *Legati confirmant*. Ex literis tuis. Quid hoc omne aliud est, nisi ilia initio tua singularis negatio, *Non sum author?* Verum tu, antequam

writers, than delicate with the futile Rabins. In vain will you call Marcus Tullius to your aid; for if he in that "golden book of offices," which you quote, deems of this kind of raillery as elegant, urbane, ingenious, witty, and of which not only
 5 Plautus and the ancient Attic comedy, but even the books of the Socratic philosophers, are full, as you might there have seen—it is not he who will be found to confine decorum within limits so narrow and strict, that it should be difficult for any one to restrain himself, and especially for me to re-
 10 strain myself within those limits. Let us hear no more then, most polluted man, of your trifling about the honorable and the becoming; believe me, this becomes not you; nay, be assured, there is nothing less becoming, nothing more foreign to the very nature of decorum, than for such a one as you to
 15 usurp the language of purity, or to censure that which is foul.

But you now seem disposed to reduce the whole matter to a few words. "I am not (you affirm) the author of the *Cry*." I am not persuaded. "The thing is plain, manifest, and to corroborate it by a multitude of arguments, would be equally
 20 absurd as to add mortal light to the sun's matchless splendour." Away with your high-flown trumpery: let us at least have something to the purpose. "As much as in me lies, I disclaim it." That is, now once more. Heretofore, you spoke in a menacing tone, and like a king; now, like a pitiful fellow as
 25 you are. "Friends are not silent": According to your account. "Clergymen admonish": On your credit. "Ambassadors confirm": By your letters. And what does all this amount to, but your own single denial in the beginning—"I am not the

ad hunc locum pervenisti, jamdiu intelligis miser quo loco res tuse sint; quos in laqueos te indueris; quibus a me vinculis obses tenearis: nunc quantum voles clama, Te non authorem Clamoris esse; cum omnium gentium leges atque jura, Prae-
5 conem te mihi pro Clamatore, Procuratorem pro Authore tradiderint. Quid nunc authore fiat, aut ubi terrarum degat, nihil moror: vixerit sane in Gallia, & simul in Hollandia *jucundum fuerit videre*, quod narrat ipse, *quibus ludibriis, quibus periculis Legati nostri* eo tempore conflictarentur: sit
10 vel Satanicae minister Synagogae, non laboro; hoc saltern unum bene fecit, quod te tarn diligentem sibi tamque fidelem diaconum, non Evangelii, sed infamissimi libelli ministrum reliquit. Age nunc triumphos de me istos, quos ego flebiles tibi efficiam: prefer in medium, si potes, mea ilia *mendacia*,
15 *meam illam imprudentiam, temeritatem, audaciam, pertinaciam & impudentiam*, meum illud ingens piaculum quod te Regii Clamoris affirmaverim authorem. Clama quantum potes e longinquo ad Populum Anglicanum quem illo antea nefario Clamore edito tarn indigne laesisti: nam accedere non
20 audes. Vociferare, inquam, si satis in tuto es; *Quantum te, Popule Anglicane, tua de Miltono fefellit opinio!* Hæc enim

author." But long before you had come thus far, you miserable fellow, you were well aware to what a pass your own cause had come; in what a snare you had got entangled; with what bonds I held you secure. Cry now as much as you will,
 5 that you are not the author of the *Cry*: for, being the publisher and the manager, the laws and the usages of all nations give you to me both as the crier and the author. What now becomes of the author, or what part of the globe he inhabits, I stop not to inquire. If his places of abode, indeed, are at once
 10 France and Holland, "it would be amusing (to use his own words) to see, with what scoffs, with what perils our ambassadors" at the time had to contend. Whether he is even the minister of a Satanic synagogue, is a point I labour not; this one thing at least he has done well; he has left you, who are so
 15 diligent and faithful a deacon to him, the minister not of the gospel, but of a most infamous libel.

Now for your triumph over me! which I shall take care shall prove no joyous ceremony to you! Bring forward, if you can, to the view of the world, those "lies of mine, that imprudence, temerity, insolence, pertinacity, and impudence," the
 20 injurious terms upon which I am forced to expiate my assertion, that you are the author of the *Cry of the Royal*. Cry from afar, since to come near you dare not, and with your loudest voice to the people of England, whom, by your former publication of that nefarious cry, you have so basely injured: lift up
 25 your voice, I say, if you are only safe enough, and cry—"People of England! how greatly have you been deceived in your opinion of Milton!" For, at the very moment you are

ipsa dum clamas, dum plaudis tibi, & tanquam elapso gratularis, nescis me lustra tua, & sylvas anonymas indagasse, nescis in plagis te meis esse: sentit Populus Anglicanus me non poenitendum vel defensorem juris sui, vel venatorem
5 ferarum suarum. En ego te reluctantem obtorto collo, tractum per ora omnium, pestem populi, in Ecclesia verrem, caudâ non minus, quam obliquo dente maleficum, in conspectum omnium protraho. Teque belluam Populo Anglicano inspectandam, non Ædilitatis, sed Defensionis meae
10 tissimum munus edo. Tu interea, nequid desit ad triumphum, quern de me, ut putas, deluso atque decepto agis, quod authorem Clamoris te dixerim, adhibes, ut solet, jocos. Et *frontem*, inquis, *immeritb perfricare diceris*, *tota enim jamdudum frons tibi periit*. Noli nunc de me queri; noli *sar-*
15 *casmos*, & *sannas* & *scommata*, simulata rursus gravitate, reprehendere: memineris ut hi ludi a teipso instaurati & introducti nunc sint; ut reprehensos modò & damnatos ipse nunc revoces. Facetus esse cupis; non succurrit in praesentia: suggeram itaque ego tibi jocos quosdam tuos; & quod triumphum maxime deceat, militares: quique admoneant te tern-

giving utterance to these cries, while you congratulate yourself and exult as if you had escaped, you know not that I have tracked you to your haunts, your unnamed forests; you know not you are already in my toils: the people of England perceive that I neither repent me of having come forward as the champion of their rights, nor of having fought with their wild beasts. Lo, I drag you out to the public gaze, struggling and twisting your neck back, and reveal you before all persons, the pest of the people, in the church a boar no less mischievous with his tail than with his tusk oblique. I show you to the people of England, for a beast, as the most agreeable spectacle I could exhibit to them, not as their aedile, but as their defender. Meanwhile, that nothing may be wanting to your triumph over me, thus deluded and mistaken in pronouncing you the author of the *Cry*, you play off, as the custom is, your mockeries. "It is to little purpose (you say) you are said to rub up your countenance, when that countenance has been so long forsaken of all shame." Now no longer complain of me; let me hear you no more, with ill-dissembled gravity, exclaiming against "sarcasms, scoffs, and buffooneries." Remember that it is yourself who renew, and now introduce these games, that you may yourself recall your late censure and condemnation of them. You have a mind to be humorous. This will not stand you in stead on the present occasion. I will therefore bring to your recollection certain humours of yours of the martial kind, thence excellently adapted to a triumph; and which may put you in mind of a certain time, when your own countenance met with a "rubbing"

poris cujusdam, in quo frons tua tarn valide *perjuncta* est, ut tibi turn multo maluisses totam frontem periisse. Meministi fortasse illius diei, immo vero diei, credo, & horæ & loci meministi, cum tu Pontiam in domo Salmasii ultimum, ut opinor, convenisti: tu illam, ut copulse renuntiaries; ilia te, ut nuptiis diem diceres. Quæ ubi e contrario pactum stupro conjugium dissolvere in animo tibi esse vidit, turn vero tua innuba, non enim dicam Tisiphone, impatiens tantæ injuriæ in faciem tibi atque oculos, non sectis unguibus, furens involavit. Tu qui teste Crantzio (praestat enim non sine tua fide publica tantum certamen exordiri) qui teste, inquam, Crantzio Gallice *Altier*, Latinè feroculus esses, teste Deodato, *terribiles ungues ad tui tutelam haberes*, pro virili tua parte ad foemineum hoc genus pugnae te comparas. Stat arbitra certaminis Juno Salmasia. Ipse Salmasius in conclavi proximo decumbens pedibus aeger, ut pradium commissum audiit, risu pene moritur. At heu nefas! imbellis noster Alexander, & Amazoni congressus impar, succumbit. Ilia inferiorem nacta, in frontem & supercilia nasumque hominis turn primum su-

of so little gentleness, that, at the moment, you would have far preferred that your whole face should have forsaken you.

Peradventure, you have not forgotten that day (and I verily believe you have not either the day, or the hour, or the
 5 place) when you met Pontia in the house of Salmasius, I think the last time. The object of this meeting, on your part, was, to get rid of your shackles; on hers, to get you to appoint a day for the nuptials. But perceiving it, on the contrary, to be your intention to frustrate a connection which had been
 10 agreed upon in softer moments, then your unespoused damsel (for I will not call her Tisiphone) unable to bear an injury of such magnitude, flew like a mad creature, with nails all unpared, at your face and eyes. According to the testimony of Crantz (for it is better not to begin the narrative of so grand
 15 an encounter, without your public faith) according to the testimony of Crantz, I say, you, on your part, were (to speak in French) *altier*, (in Latin) rather fierce; and having (as Diodati reports) terrific nails for your defence you prepare yourself, as becomes your manhood, for this feminine sort
 20 of combat. Juno Salmasia stands by as the arbitress of the contest; and Salmasius himself, who, with the gout in his feet, was reposing himself in an adjoining apartment, no sooner hears that the battle is begun, than he is ready to die with laughing. But, as ill luck would have it, our unmartial Alexander, unequal to a contest with the Amazon, gives way. She, feeling his inferiority, now sins for the first time with the upper parts of the man—his forehead, eyebrows, nose. With the utmost dispatch, she adorns the whole countenance of the

perne peccat: miris capreolis & Phrygiano opere totum jacen-
tis vultum percurrit: nunquam tibi More lineamenta Pontiae
minus placuere. Ipse plena jam utraque margine genarum,
scriptus & in mento necdum finitus, aegre tandem surgis: sed
5 ne pceniteat te, homo ad unguem factus; non jam Professor,
sed tamen Doctor Pontificius: jure enim poteras tanquam in
picta tabula scripsisse, *Pontia fecit*. Quid autem? Doctor?
immo codex jam factus, in quo ultrix Pontia sua adversaria
exaravit stilo novo. Sensisti puto Vlacci tabulas Tangentium
10 & Secantium ad radium Cifrarum nescio quot lugubrium in
pelle tua excudi. Tu turn More *jade non integrd* domum te
proripuisti; fronte quidem exporrecta, quam vix contrahere
jam poteras; superciliosus tamen & caperatus, quippe dere-
pente multo literatior; & quantum potes, abdis te quoque,
15 recondite ut posses dici homo literature. Eho noster Eccle-
siastes! ubi es? quid lates? expectant te jam nunc, qui *tibi*
ares e superiore loco dicenti accommodare solebant. Sed
tibi misero nunc Pontia e superiore loco dixit, tuisque auribus
ungues accommodavit. Redde nunc tuum vultum nobis,
20 Ecclesiastes, antiquum sanè & rugis venerandum; cur apocry-

prostrate foe with branching tendrils, and with Phrygian work,
 wonderful to behold! Never did the features of Pontia, More,
 give you less delight! At length, with both cheeks completely
 engraved, the chin only not quite finished, you slowly and
 5 difficultly raise yourself up. Don't be ashamed, you who are
 a man made to a nail's breadth. Though you are not now the
 professor, you are yet the doctor Pontificius: for, you may very
 properly have inscribed, as at the foot of an engraving, "Pontia
 fecit." What! Doctor, did I say? In truth, he is now made
 10 into a book, on which the vengeful Pontia has written her
 notes, and in a new style too. If I am not mistaken, you have
 felt imprinted on your skin, Vlaccus's tables of tangents and
 secants, at a radius of I know not how many rueful figures.
 Now," with face not perfectly whole," you slunk away home;
 15 your front smooth and unwrinkled indeed, as if from good
 humour, but in fact, from the difficulty you felt of gathering
 it up into frowns. Your look, however, is not without that
 severity and knitting of the brows, incident to those who have
 suddenly gained a considerable accession to their lettered
 20 store. You do all you can to hide yourself; so that you may
 well be called a man of hidden learning. Ho! ho! is our
 preacher at home? Where are you? Why do you shut yourself
 up? Those who have been accustomed "to give ear to you
 when lecturing from a higher place," are now waiting for
 25 you. But, O wretch that you are; Pontia, it seems, has been
 lecturing you from a higher place, and has given her nails to
 your ears. Pray now, preacher, let us once more behold your
 countenance, ancient and truly venerable for its furrows. Why

phus vis esse? *cum* ipsa Pontia Pontifice canonicus jam maxime sis & rubricatus. Quin etiam hinc Critici, inde antiquarii ad fores te inclamant; tui videndi desiderio ardent. Emanavit, nescio quo pacto, novas quasdam inscriptiones
5 Gruterianas apud te esse; alii Arabicas, alii Copticas aiunt; qui verius, Ponticas ex terra Taurica. Omnes uno ore consentiunt pulcherrimas esse oportere, utpote in aere frontis tuæ tarn graphice, Pontiano praesertim onyche, insculptas. Nemini respondet Morus, omnibus negatur, spernit omnium desideria;
10 & delibutus unguentis domi, literas dediscere Pontianas mavult. Hæc habui, More, quoniam te mecum jocandi cupidum animadverti, quo ego tuum de me triumphum velut militari carmine exornatum volebam. Quidni enim pugnas tuas turn maximè commemorarem? quanquam palma
15 quidem erat Pontiae; illa tibi lemniscos tantummodo reliquit. Etenim quod tuum non est, tibi non attribuo; tametsi tu id toto libro, quasi absurdum meum insectaris, oblitus te procuratione & chirographo tuo fidejussorem mihi factum; oblitus, quod aes alienum tu esse dicis, id nunc legitimè non
20 minus tuum esse, quam eorum tu esse dicis. Tu itaque coecitatem cyclopeam mihi exprobrasti; & quod impudentius est,

will you be thus apocryphal ? especially as you are now become eminently canonical and rubricated under the pontificate of Pontia herself. Now again the critics and antiquarians, from all quarters, flock to your door with the most eager curiosity

5 to see you. It had been noised about, I know not how, that you had in your possession certain new inscriptions of Gruter. Some said they were Arabic, others Coptic; but the most probable report was, that they were Pontic, from the country of Tauris. All, however, agree that they must be most beautiful,

10 as they were engraven on your face of brass, and with a Pontian nail too. Nobody receives any answer from More; he is denied to every one; the anxious feelings of all he regards with contempt; and all besmeared with unguents, chooses rather to remain at home and unlearn his Pontian letters.

15 I have told this story, More, because I found you were desirous of joking with me, and that I might grace your triumph over me by a sort of martial song. And why should I not commemorate your battles, though it be true, that the palm was Pontia's, and that she left you nothing but the ribbons ? For

20 it is not my intention to give you what is not your own, though this is the folly with which you charge me throughout your book; forgetting that by your superintendence, and by your own hand-writing, you have rendered yourself to me the responsible person; forgetting that what you assert to be an-

25 other man's, is now, in law, no less your own than the person's whose property you affirm it to be. You upbraid me however with the blindness of the cyclops; and to mend your impudence, you repeat the insult, at the very moment that you

dum id negas fecisse, iterum facis: Qui nulli turn fuerant oculi, nunc *exemptiles* & *Lamiarum* sunt. *Narcissus* nunc sum; quia te depingente nolui Cyclops esse; quia tu effigiem mei dissimillimam, *præfixam poematibus* vidisti. Ego verò
5 si impulsu & ambitione Librarii, me imperito Scalptori, propterea quòd in urbe alius eo belli tempore non erat, infabrè scalpendum permisi, id me neglexisse potius earn rem arguebat, cujus tu mihi nimium cultum objicis. Tu itidem is es, qui clarissimum virum, Consilii States turn Præsidem, contu-
10 meliis incessisti; de quo iratior, quam de meipso, quaesivi ex te quid aliud esset calumniari perpetuo bonos, quam esse diabolum. Hinc tu pulchram nactus hypocritandi occasionem ex Crantziana videlicet calumnia, quasi ego *Christi doctrinam de Divortio quemadmodum a Theologis explicari solet, dia-*
15 *bolicam* dixissem, qui ater modò eras & maledicentissimus, nunc albus repente factus, & mitis & patiens *agis gratias*, quod *te communi cum cœlesti doctrina convitio honestem*.
——Hyaena! aut siqua alia est bellua, tarn tetra fraude noxia atque infamis! tune coelestem doctrinam tot tuorum facinoro-
20 rum asylum atque perfugium speras fore? Sed perge quo tendis: si enim Theologorum quasvis explicationes pro coe-

deny you have given it. The eyes which before were no eyes, are now removable and like those of a witch. Now, I am a Narcissus; because I did not choose, by your limning, to be made a cyclops; and because you have seen a picture of me
5 totally without likeness, "prefixed to my poems!" Now, my having consented, at the instance and from the importunity of the bookseller, to employ an unskilful engraver, because at that period of the war there was no other to be found in the city, argues not that I was over-solicitous, as you charge me,
10 but that I was indifferent about the matter. In like manner, you assailed with your abuse the illustrious man, who was at that time president of the council of state; on whose account more incensed than on my own, I asked you, what conduct could be more like that of a fiend, than such perpetual slan-
15 derings of virtuous men. But, detecting here a promising opportunity for playing the hypocrite, namely, in the Crantzian calumny—that I affirmed "the doctrine of Christ concerning divorce, as usually explained by divines, to be diabolical,"—you are, all of a sudden, changed from a black and
20 foul-mouthed slanderer into a character of unspotted whiteness, mildly and patiently giving thanks, that "I honour you with the same abuse as I bestow upon the doctrine of heaven." —Hyaena! or if there be any other brute equally destructive, and equally infamous for the blackness of its guile, can you
25 hope that the doctrine of heaven will prove an asylum, a place of refuge, to the multitude of your crimes? But go on to the point to which you are steering; for if you adopt any glosses of divines for the doctrine of heaven, you miss your mark

lesti doctrina amplecteris, toto ccelo, ut te dignum est, erras. Quin & Apostoli gloriosum illud cum bestiis pugnandi martyrium tibimet tribuis nequissime; qui nuper non homo cum bestia, sed ipse bestia cum homine, id est cum fœmina, de fide
5 connubiali abs te rupta pugnam tarn inhonestam pugnasti. Reversus deinde ad mores pristinos, solitamque jactantiam, dicendo me provocas. *Neque verb*, inquis, *mihi tantum de-rogo, quanquam nihil arrogo, ut te commodius aut facilius quam me putem fosse dicere*, Concedo equidem, si tibi istum
10 in modum furari licet: hæc enim ipsa verba, quibus copiam tuam venditas, ex oratione Marci Tullii pro Roscio Amerino apertissime furatus es. Atque hinc puto est, quod Francofurtanas nundinas librorum tuorum Catalogo tarn copioso nobis obtrudas cum editorum turn edendorum: ex quibus
15 aliqui sunt quos videre gestiam; & imprimis ilium *de gratia & libero arbitrio*, ad amicam praesertim illam si scriptus est, cujus tu nunc gratiam, rejecta pro arbitrio Pontia, accommo-date forsitan argumento ambis: turn ilium *de Scriptura sacra*, quorum Scriptores multa humanitus & imprudenter scripsisse
20 ferunt te affirmare: illam deinde *pro Calvino*, quem tu veluti Prophetam extracto monumento Pharisaeus exornas, vita & moribus jugulas: nam quæ *prodibunt* opera tua, quæ *premis*

as you would, by a whole heaven. You have even the wickedness to represent yourself as fighting with beasts—that glorious martyrdom of the apostle—you, who lately fought so shameless a fight, not of a human being with a beast, but
 5 of a human being, that is of a woman, with you, being yourself the beast, and because of your violation of your plighted faith!

Returning now to your old way, your wonted boasting, you challenge me in the following terms: "Indeed, though I
 10 would not be arrogant, I shall not do myself the injustice to suppose, that it is in your power to speak with more ease and propriety than I." Granted, if it be allowable for you to filch in this manner: for these very words, in which you vaunt your copiousness; you evidently stole from Cicero's oration for
 15 Roscius Amerinus. And hence I suppose it is, that you are able to obtrude upon us a whole Frankfort fair of your books, with an ample catalogue of those already published, as likewise of those intended for publication. Among these there are some which I am very curious to see; and first of all, your book
 20 "on Grace and Free Will," especially if it was written for the female friend, whose grace, by accommodating your argument to her, you now haply court, since you have rejected Pontia: next, your book "on the Holy Scripture," the writers of which, it is said, you affirm to have written many things
 25 imprudently and as ordinary men: then, the oration "for Calvin," whom, Pharisee-like, you honour as a prophet by erecting a monument to him, while you stab him with your life and manners: for, those works of yours which you design

& retractas, & ad umbilicum spectantia moliris, ea meritò suspicantur omnes esse turpissima. Illam de pits fraudibus dissertationem sanè expecto; nam de impiis abs te factis fraudibus abunde audivimus: enimvero *Commentarius ille tuus*,
5 quinam sit in 5^{tum} *Evangelium* futurus demiror; nam ilia quatuor priora jamdudum factis abnegasti: unde & *Theoremata ilia practica* mire desidero, nam tu in practicis egregius homo sine controversia es; id quod de te tot fabulae non fabulae testantur. Ad ilia autem *loca novifæderis*, & *axiomata quibus*
10 *ex veteri novum fædus illustratur*, Pontiae quoque notas vellem simul ederes. Et postremo isthuc memineris, te alterum volumen operum tuorum, quod Genevæ in Bibliotheca publica etiamnum extat, totum omisisse: uti etiam inscriptiones illas, cum frontispicio mirabili, quas quamvis opus Pontia-
15 num, in tua tamen membrana tuas esse, adstipulante etiam Justiniano, recte dixerim: nam Noctes tuas, nescio an Atticas cum Pontia, sive dialogum morillum, alii spurium, alii duntaxat embryonem, qui subtilius non inter libros, sed inter liberos tuos numerandum existimant. Sed properabas, credo, ad

"shall see the light," those which "you lay by for the present, and retouch, as also those which you have now in hand, and are on the eve of being finished"—all these are justly suspected of being most scandalous productions. I am in anxious
 5 expectation too "of the Dissertation on Pious Frauds"; for we have heard enough of the impious frauds which have been practised by you; and I am quite at a loss to imagine what "that commentary of yours" can be on the fifth "gospel," as, by your actions, you have long since discarded the four first:
 10 hence I long much to see "those practical theorems," since, beyond controversy, you are a mighty man for practicals, as so many stories, not fictions, testify of you. In addition, however, to those "places of the New Covenant, and the axioms by which the New Covenant is illustrated by the Old," I
 15 could wish you to publish likewise, at the same time, the notes of Pontia. And lastly, you should not forget in this place, that you have omitted one whole volume of your works, which is extant at this very time in the public library of Geneva: as likewise those inscriptions, together with the marvellous
 20 frontispiece, which, though the work of Pontia, is yet on your parchment, I am right, Justinian being my voucher, in considering as yours. As to your nights with Pontia I know not whether they were Attic nights, or simply a moreling dialogue; some think the work spurious, others merely an
 25 embryo; but persons of shrewder judgment are inclined to reckon it not of the number of your books, but of your children.

But you were hastening, I think, to another part of your

alteram instituti operis partem, calumnias meas. Nam mendacia, id nempe unicum, quod te authorem Clamoris dixerim, partem tui operis longè maximam tandem aliquando confecisse te significas. Cùm autem leve hoc merito cuiquam videri
5 possit, etiamsi falsa aliqua persuasione imbutus attribuissem tibi librum istum, alioqui nec improbatum tibi, nec tuâ existimatione indignum, cur unam tantummodo noxam tarn verbose tam iracunde summa cum invidia rei per se levissimae sic exaggeres atque exagites, perinde quasi in se omnes impietates
10 & crimina complecteretur, nisi jam antea docuissem, id magis mirandum possit cuiquam videri. Sed ea nimirum arx erat unica, in qua spem omnem collocaveras; si persuasisses plerisque te authorem Clamoris non esse, meque mentitum, in altera parte quam de calumniis vocas, de quibus quod pro te
15 dicas nihil prorsus habes, sperabas te facili defensione usurum contra me scilicet mendacem jam antea compertum, teque omnes vitae maculas apud longinquos & ignotos hâc arte gratis eluiturum. Verum ego cum præter spem opinionemque tuam te authorem Clamoris tergiversantem licet & reclamantem

proposed task—to my calumnies: for you have before given us to understand, that you have at last done with the subject of lies—by far the greatest part of your work—of which nevertheless, the only one was, that I pronounced you the

5 author of the *Cry*. Now, as my imputing of this book to you, though even with some wrong bias upon my mind, may be justly regarded by any one as a matter of trifling moment, since, in other respects, you neither disapproved the book, nor was it unworthy of your reputation,—why, with such a host

10 of words, such fury of passion, such indignant scorn of a thing in itself most insignificant, you should thus exaggerate, thus emblazon one only offence, as if that alone comprehended all impiety and all crime—this, if not already explained by me, would be more to be wondered at. But the truth is that this

15 was your only fortress, in which you had placed all your hope. If you had succeeded in persuading the majority of mankind, that you were not the author of the *Cry*, and that I was a liar, you had the hope, that, in the other part, which you entitle "Of Calumnies," and on which topic you have absolutely

20 nothing to say for yourself—you had the hope, I say, that your defence against me, previously convicted of lying, would be an easy matter; and that you, as it respected people at a distance and those to whom you were unknown, would by this artifice come off scot-free, and wash out every stain of your

25 past life. But contrary to what you hoped and to what you believed, as I, in spite of your subterfuges, and of your denials, have fairly proved you to be the author of the *Cry*, I do not doubt that I shall obtain entire credit with impartial judges

legitimè arguerim, non dubito quin ad flagitia quoque tua, & quas tu calumnias dici mavis, accuratius prout res feret exequendas apud omnes rerum aequos aestimatores fidem integram attulero. Nunc quam frigide, quam invite quam plane
5 sontis in morem vafri ac vetuli has abs te dictas calumnias tractes, quamque infelicitè amoliri abs te coneris, reliquum est ut ostendam. Primum cunctabundus, & incerto pede a prioribus castris in *hxc* altera cum multis impediments aegre & ne vix quidem transis: quippe a mendacio non ad alterum mendacium, id enim non audes dicere, sed ad *calumnias* duntaxat
10 & *rumusculos*. Itaque ad mendacium illud toties jactatum, modo dimissum atque praeteritum perpetuè recurris, cum praesens arguere, siquod esset, deberes: & adversarii quod miserum est, quam tui securior, in illo errore, quemadmodum credi vis meo, quam in tua nunc apud te recta conscientia multo
15 plus repositum tibi spei atque praesidii declaras. Atqui non meo, siquod fuit, mendacio, sed tuâ te veritate, siqua fuit, munire debuisti. At enim *authoritatè propriâ meras calumnias intento, quas nullo argumento probo, nullo teste confirmo*. Vis
20 igitur dicam apertius rem ipsam? nam te, ut video, praë ista

of things, as to your debaucheries also; and which you in more cautious phrase, according as the thing may bear, could wish should be called calumnies.

It now remains for me to show, how coldly, how much
 5 against the grain, how evidently like an old and crafty knave, you handle these calumnies as you call them, and how vainly you struggle to throw them off. In the first place, with hesitating, doubtful foot, vexed and hampered with divers impediments, you make a shift to pass from the place where you
 10 had before pitched your tent to this other station: in other words, you pass from one lie not to another lie—for that you dare not assert—but to—"calumnies" only and "idle gossip." This is the reason why you are perpetually recurring to this said lie so often bandied about, and which is only
 15 just done with and dismissed: whereas, it was your business to disprove it, if any such existed, while you had it in hand. But O woe is me! you declare that you feel more secure, far more confident of hope and of protection from this mistake of your adversary, which you would have it believed is mine, than
 20 from that conscious uprightness which is now present with you. Yet, it behoves you to look for protection not from my falsehood, if any there has been, but from your own veracity, if any is to be found. But, it seems, "I assail you, on my own authority, with bare-faced calumnies, which I substantiate by
 25 no proofs, confirm by no testimony." Would you have me then assert roundly the plain matter of fact? for I perceive from your delicate tenderness of countenance, which instead of being rubbed up, has been only engraved, that you are

mollicie frontis non perfrictae, sed inscriptse modo pudet dicere; qui ne stuprum quidem aut adulterium toto responso nominare homo pudentissimus & flos castitatis ausus es, ne *vanissimam fabulam* scilicet & obscenam, id est tua facta *re-*
5 *texeres*. Dicam ergo, & quia non abnuis, rerum ordinem sequar.

Est Claudia Pelletta quaedam, pellicem posthac nominemus licet, nescio an tuam soliim; quae, cum ancilla in eadem domo honestissimi viri Genevensis esset, in qua tu hospes eras turpis-
10 *simus*, cum calone & rhedario communis tibi fuit. Ea muliercula, postmodum nupta, quod stupri tecum habuerat commercium adulterio continuavit. Cedo *tcstes*, inquis, & *argumcnta*. Nugator! quid tu testes ex me ubi non sunt, quaeris, quos ubi erant, fugisti? Genevam revertere, ubi horum crimi-
15 *numjamdiureusfactuses*. Dievelletemodoabolendaecalumniae causa iudicium his de rebus legitimum fieri; invenies qui tecum libentissime his de criminibus experiri lege velint; qui vadari, qui sponsonem facere non recusent. Nee testes derunt. Aderit imprimis Hortulanus ille qui te vidit, cum in

ashamed to speak out. O! paragon of modesty, flower of chastity! you have not had the face even to mention the word fornication, or adultery, in your whole reply: and why? that you may not *'revive in our memories that most idle" and
 5 obscene "tale"; namely your own actions. Now I mean to tell this tale, and as you have no objection, will follow the order of things.

There is one Claudia Pelletta, the mistress of a married man, as hereafter we shall be permitted to call her; whether
 10 you were the only married man concerned, is a point I cannot determine. This lady was a servant in the house of a gentleman of Geneva, a man of unblemished character, at the time you, who are notorious for your shameless manners, were a guest there; and at this time she was common between you,
 15 the footman, and the coachman. This unfortunate woman, when afterwards married, continued, by an adulterous connection, the illicit commerce she had with you prior to marriage. I leave out of the question (you say) both "witnesses and arguments." Trifler! why require witnesses of me, where
 20 they are not, when you avoided them where they appeared? Return to Geneva, where you have been found guilty of these crimes long ago. Only say that you are desirous of a legal decision on these matters in order to quash the slander, and you shall not want persons who will be eager enough to try
 25 with you, by law, this case of your crimes; who will not refuse to give bail, who will not refuse even a wager at law. But you shall not complain of the want of witnesses. And first shall come forward the gardener, who saw you enter alone with

illud tuguriolum cum faemina solus intrares; vidit, cum ilia
Claudia tua clauderet fores; vidit postea egressum te, amplex-
antem palam cum muliere impudica, & usque eò petulantem,
ut ilium veterem hortorum custodem obsccenum, non ex ficu,
5 ut olim, sed ex moro factum conspexisse se existimaret. Ade-
runt & alii, quos viri gravissimi, qui tuum nomen detulerunt,
testes in promptu habent. Cujus tu testimonii vim veritus
cum dimanasse rem illam sentires quam in occulto patrasse te
arbitrabaris, ut infamis ille reus Siciliensis, non jam quid re-
10 sponderes, sed quemadmodum non responderes, cogitare coepi-
sri: & paulo ante ferox, iudicii que cupidus, (nam de aliis quo-
que multis rebus & antea & turn etiam deferebaris) demissus
repente & consternatus abeundi licentiam (id quod plerique
maxime volebant, ne in rem tarn fse dam de Pastore suo in-
15 quirere cogerentur) quasi jamjam abiturus petisti. Per hanc
tu rationem liberatus iudicii metu, cum alibi non haberes quo
te reciperes, omni munere cum Ecclesiae turn Scholæ, omnique
stipendio privatus, octo circiter vel decem menses in eadem
urbe foedis factis notatus detrectata causæ dictione vixisti:
20 quo nullum majus argumentum contra te esse potuit. Nunc
posteaquam oblatum tibi certamen defugisti, tuisque com-

the woman into that little lodge—saw when your Claudia shut the door—saw you afterwards go out with your arm round the waist of the immodest woman, and so exceedingly amorous, that he thought he had before his eyes that old, obscene keeper of the gardens, made not, as heretofore, of the fig-tree, but of the mulberry. Other witnesses there are, whom the grave personages who impeached you have ready at hand; of the weight of whose testimony you were so much in dread, that you no sooner discovered that the affair you imagined you had transacted in secret had got wind, than, like that infamous Sicilian scoundrel, you began to bethink yourself not now of what you should answer, but how you should contrive not to answer at all. A little before, full of lofty confidence, you were eager to come to a trial (and both before, and at the time we are speaking of, there were complaints against you of different descriptions) ; then all of a sudden, dismayed and crest-fallen, you ask permission to remove, and as it would seem, were at that moment ready to set off: and this was the anxious wish of the majority of your congregation, that they might avoid an inquiry into such scandalous behaviour of their pastor. Set free, by this considerate conduct of your flock, from your apprehension of coming to a trial, having no other place to which to betake yourself, stript of every office both in the church and in the college, deprived of every salary, and having shifted the pleading of your cause, you lived noted for your dirty actions, some eight or ten months in the same city. What could be stronger evidence against you? Now, after eluding the trial which was offered you, and choos-

modis carere omnibus, quam iudicium de illa re pati maluisti, posteaquam tuo ipsius iudicio temet ipse damnasti, a me homine longinquo testes & argumenta ridicule sane *quxris*. Quin-
imm6, ut dixi, Genevam revertere; & quando vadimonium
5 illud tarn male obiisti, I sodes ad supplicium, quod te illic manet adulterio debitum; si pristina illius urbis religiosissimae disciplina nondum refrixit. Ad illa vero sponsalitia stupra tua quod attinet cum Pontia, quae te ubique decantatum & digito monstratum insignem hominem illis in Provinciis reddidere,
10 multo minus est cur a me *testes & argumenta* postules. Famam ipsam communem, constantem, & illa centum vel potiùs mille ora, si vis, in iudicium voca: hæc totidem sunt testes quibus si in foro saepe creditum est, cur ego de adversario publico non crederem? cur ego solus quae in ore omnibus & ser-
15 mone sunt, adversarius tacerem? sed nee testes hie mihi, nec justo numero nee literae desunt; in quibus literis & libidines tuae & illa perjuria quorum ope elapsus ex iudicio es, cum horrore ac detestatione maxima narrantur. Sunt & muti testes qui etiam sine voce testantur; illa nocturna itinera quae
20 toties Hagacomitis Leidam cucurristi; illi nocturni & furtivi congressus cum Pontia; cum qua tu muliere per causam, ut

ing rather to be quit of all your advantages, than to suffer the matter to be brought to a decision; after being even condemned by your own decision; it is truly ridiculous to require witnesses and arguments of me, a person at a distance. Return, I say again, to Geneva: and if the discipline of that eminently religious city has not yet cooled, go I beseech you, base defaulter, to the chastisement which there awaits your adulterous crime. As to those amours with Pontia, obtained by promise of marriage, and which have rendered you in those 10 provinces the song and jest of all men—the notable personage at whom they point the finger—there is far less reason why you should make a demand on me for "witnesses and arguments." Summon to the tribunal, if you please, common Fame herself, with her hundred mouths, or rather 15 with her thousand mouths, which have uniformly told the same tale. These are so many witnesses, to whom, if credit has been often publicly given, why should not I also give credit, when testifying of a public enemy? Why should I alone, who am your adversary, hold my peace in respect of 20 reports which are in everybody's mouth, and are become the topics of general conversation? But I have no want of witnesses here, and in requisite number too; nor am I wanting in letters, which with the utmost horror and detestation give an account of your lusts, and of those perjuries, by the help of 25 which you escaped from judgment. There are, besides, mute witnesses, who without a tongue can bear testimony; those nocturnal jaunts from the Hague to Leyden; those nocturnal and furtive nights with Pontia, whom you deserted, as the

aiunt, impudicitiae divortium fecisti. Si tu eam parum pudicè
versatam interdum cum aliis credidisti, cur alii te continen-
torem noctu cum eadem consuevisse crederent? an expectas
dum servulum tuum in te producam, nequitiarum tuarum
5 diu conscium, donec, nondum plane amisso pudore, aufugere
abs te in bonam frugem conspectae ipsis oculis libidines *tux*
pudefactum coegerunt? Opus utique non erit servum illum
ad quaestionem poscere: Ipse detestatus tanta in Ecclesiastico
homine flagitia, late prædicat. Tu interim ut lectorum, si non
10 aures, at saltem oculos invitare possis, oratiunculam nescio
quam infercis hic putidissimam, Historicorum more, lunulis
adnotatam, quasi acutissimam nimirum & lectu dignissimam:
non orationem, sed chorum quendam Battologorum intro-
ductum abs te aliquis putet; amicorum scilicet tuorum hor-
15 tantium ut *te ipsum reverearis*; ut *ungues tuos*, quos tibi faten-
tur *non deesse*, ad necessaria magis tempora, Pontianam credo
alteram dimicationem, velis potius reservare: mecum ne velis
in arenam descendere. Sed perdunt suam operam amici ver-
bosissimi, sua monita præclara, tot curta adagia, triviorum
20 symbola, oleum nempe tuum Battologiæ professor: illis post-

story goes, on account of her inconstancy. If you had reason
 to believe that she conducted herself with so little modesty
 towards others in the day time, how can you expect that
 people should believe you were accustomed to be more con-
 5 tinent with her during the night? Are you waiting until
 I shall produce as evidence against you your own valet,
 who was privy to your debaucheries, who beheld with his
 own eyes your lewdness, till the modest youth was at length
 obliged to fly for shame to where he might become a new
 10 man! There will be no occasion, however, to put the question
 to this valet; he himself, disgusted with vices so flagrant in a
 man of the clerical character, proclaims them aloud, unsol-
 icited, to the world. Meanwhile to allure if not the ears at
 least the eyes of readers, you foist in here a sort of a diminu-
 15 tive speech, inexpressibly nauseous, and distinguished by in-
 verted commas, after the manner of historians, as if particu-
 larly acute and worth reading. Yet any one would think you
 had introduced, instead of a speech, a chorus of battologists
 which is a chorus of your friends reiterating their exhortations,
 20 "that you would respect yourself"; that you would rather re-
 serve "your nails" (and they confess you have "good long
 ones") till you shall have greater occasion for them—that is,
 I suppose, for another battle with Pontia—and that you would
 avoid "descending into the arena" with me. But your very
 25 talkative friends lose their labour, their precious admonitions,
 their collection of pithy adages—their commonplace lore
 and in short, your oil, professor of battology. Disregarding
 these monitors, you make choice of me, your adversary, for a

habitis me potius usus es consultore adversario, ut responderes cum tuo magno malo. Non ut *tuum ego silentium in conscientiam ne verterem*, sed ut conscientiam tuam suo, quod optat, silentio frui ne sinerem. Nam attendite, quaeso, & 5 cognoscite nunc, si unquam ali^{is}, hypocritam numeris omnibus absolutum. Videt necesse sibi esse aliquid pro se dicere; se intuetur, quamvis invitus; videt in turpi praeter turpe nihil esse quod possit responderi; circumspectat ecquid foris prope se refugii sit, ecquid adminiculi quo inniti possit; ecquid quo 10 se tegere, sub quo latitare; ecquos in societatem & communionem scelerum suorum possit attrahere, ecquem ordinem aut genus hominum suis privatis rationibus illigare, ut causam suam quasi communem communi periculo & aliorum existimatione defenderet; nihil magis idoneum invenire potuit, in 15 quod omne suum dedecus transferret, nihil in quod deonerare spurcitiam suam commodius posset, quam ipsam Ecclesiam Dei: *Si mea, inquit, proprie tantum res ageretur, imponere fibulam ori meo & obmutescere poteram exemplo Domini mei: sed universus ordo noster, & Ecclesia Dei per meum* 20 *petitur latus*. O scortum & ganearum Antistes! cujus non ori magis, quam inguini fibulam impositam oportuit; quanto tibi praestitisset obmutuisse, *exemplo Domini tui*, cui Christus Dominus silentium cum capistro imperavit, quam Ecclesiam

counsellor, that, to your great cost, you may return an answer. You were afraid, not "lest I should construe your silence into guilt," but lest I should not suffer your guilt to enjoy the silence it desires. Attend now, I beseech you readers, and be-
 5 hold a hypocrite complete at all points, if ever there was one. He sees the necessity of saying something in his own defence; however unwilling, he looks in upon himself, and discovers that, in a base cause no answer can be given but what must be base also. He looks around for some extrinsic place of refuge
 10 that should be near at hand, for some pillar on which he might lean for support, for something to cover him, under which he may lie concealed. He considers whether he cannot draw to himself some company, some fellowship in his crimes; whether he cannot so bind to his purposes some order,
 15 some description of men, that they should defend his cause as a common cause, and at a common risk of reputation. He can find no fitter object, to which to transfer his load of infamy—none more convenient on which to disburden himself of his foulness, than the church of God itself. "If (says he) my
 20 cause had only been treated as it ought, I should have been able, after the example of my Lord, to put a buckle upon my lips, and to hold my peace; but a blow is aimed at our whole order, and even at the church of God, through my side." O you fornicator,—you high priest of bagnios! who should
 25 have a buckle upon your inguinal region as well as upon your mouth—how much better had it been for you to have held your peace, "after the example of your Lord," as one whom Christ die Lord had commanded to silence with a halter, than

Dei hac tanta ignominia affecisse ? Ais *universum Ordinem vestrum h me licet oblique stigmatē notari*. A me ais ? die ubi; recita, si potes, locum; nisi forte quod ego in mercenariis, id tu in Ministros Evangelii dictum putas. Erras More; & aliud
5 fortasse multo justius baud absimile conquestus esses; non ego vestrum Ordinem oblique, sed te extra ordinem tua Pontifex & obliquo & directo & transverso stigmatē notavit. *Ecclesia*, inquis, *Dei, cui mea omnia tempora consecravi, per meum petitur latus*. Per tuumne latus turpissime ? qui tantum abest,
10 ut omnia tua tempora Ecclesiæ consecraveris, ut ipsa Ecclesiæ tempora, omisso nonnunquam matutino concionandi munere, furtivis libidinibus consecrâsse baud semel dicaris. Ne repetam quid etiam temporis famosis libellis Ecclesiastes consecraveris. Per tuumne latus ? at nihil omnino est quod graviore
15 cum vulnere Ecclesiam petat, quam tuum ipsum impurissimum, Ecclesie tam male contiguum latus. Hoc si vis intelligi per tuum latus, id est, per tuam turpitudinem, propter tua scelera Ecclesiam opprobriis impiorum peti, macula aspergi, infamiam contrahere, hoc quidem verum esse non dif-
20 fiteor. Itaque universus ordo tuus, & Ministri præsertim Gallici, qui te optime norunt, ne tuo illo pestifero latere diu-

thus to have disgraced the church of God! You say that "a stigma has been fixed, though indirectly, upon your whole order by me." By me do you say? Tell me where? Point out, if you can, the place. Perhaps you may think that what I have

5 said against hirelings, was also meant against the ministers of the gospel. You mistake, More; but there is one thing, and by no means very unlike, of which you might perhaps have complained with far more reason. It is not I, who have indirectly stigmatized your order, but your female pontifex has ap-

10 plied the stigma to you, being out of order, not indirectly only but directly, and transversely too. "A blow is aimed (you say) at the church of God, to which I have devoted all my time, through my side." Through your side, polluted man? Who, so far from having devoted your whole time to the

15 church, are said to have sometimes omitted preaching in the morning, and to have more than once devoted the very times of church-service to stolen lusts: not to mention the time which you, though a preacher, have devoted to notorious libels. Through your side? Now what can aim a heavier blow—

20 what can inflict a more grievous wound upon the church, than the ominous contiguity to the church of your contagious side? If you would have it understood "by your side," that is, by your turpitude, that the church is assailed by the scoffs of the profane, that she is deformed by a blemish, that she has con-

25 tracted infamy, through your wickedness—this, I cannot deny, is true. Hence, your whole order, especially the Gallic ministers who are most intimately acquainted with you, that they may no longer be endangered by your pestilent presence,

tius periclitentur, teipsum quantum possunt, tuique contagionem amovere ab se atque depellere conantur: causam ullam aut rationem tuam communicatam sibi nolunt; ne scelerum tuorum atque dedecorum participes fiant: ejectum te ex suo
5 ordine, & exturbatum, ut meritis es, cupiunt; & illam, quara
ais, *fibulam* ori tuo impudicissimo affigere conantur. Macte estote integritate vestra atque constantia, viri Ecclesia digni; prospicite, ut instituistis, Ecclesiae puritati, existimationi, discipline, exemplo: amovete a lateribus vestris immundum
10 illud & verrinum latus, cujus non soliim ictu Ecclesia læditur, sed affricu etiam polluitur. Nolite hanc indignissimam contumeliam pati, ut is, cum flagitiorum suorum nomine meritis conviciis atque infamia petitur, non se peti, sed quasi is, quia ccenum hominis est, idcirco murus & munimentum Ecclesise
15 esset, per suum latus Ecclesiam peti dicat. Abigite procul ab Ecclesiae septis concionantem lupum; vocem illam hircinam tot stupris & adulteriis impuratam, populo verba dantern, imò vendentem, idque è superiore, quod jactat, loco, ne siveritis in sacro csetu amplius audiri. Profectò si Ethnicorum legibus,
20 verbi gratia Solonis cautum est, nequis Rhetor turpitudine vitae notatus, civilem concionem habendi ad populum, ne Atticorum quidem si disertissimus fuisset, jus haberet, additaque præclara ratio est, plus exemplo nocere turpem, quam

are striving with all their might, to remove—to drive from them both you and your infectious influence. They will hear of no reason, of no remonstrance, that they may not become partakers of your guilt, and of your dishonour. They wish you
 5 ejected, driven out as you have deserved, from their body; and are contriving to clap the buckle you mention upon your shameless lips. Stand firm now all ye who are found worthy of the church, and pursue with constancy what you have begun in integrity. Watch, as you have determined, over the
 10 purity, over the character of the church, for an example of discipline. Cast off from you this filthy boar of a fellow, whose rubbing pollutes, as his stroke wounds the church. And when he is assailed by merited reproach and infamy on account of his licentious behaviour, disdain to suffer the indig-
 15 nity of his assertion that it is not himself who is assailed, but the church through his side: as if he, because the mere dirt of a man, were therefore the wall—the bulwark of the church! Chase far away from the fences of the church this preaching wolf. Resolve that that goatish voice, giving, nay selling mere
 20 words to the people, and this too, as he boasts, from a higher place—resolve that that voice, defiled by so many acts of whoredom, so many of adultery, shall no more be heard in a religious assembly. Indeed, if it was provided by the laws of the heathens, for example those of Solon, that no rhetorician
 25 noted for the irregularity of his life, should be permitted to deliver a political harangue to the people, no not even the most renowned of the Athenians for eloquence—giving as the memorable reason, that a licentious character did more mis-

oratione quamvis castissimâ atque sanctissimâ prodesse, quo etiam nomine Timarchus, vir inter primes illius Reipublicæ accusante Æschine, damnatus est, quanto est indignius scortatorem atque adulterum tanquam Dei nuntium & ministrum, 5 ad Christianum Populum sacras habendi conciones jus in Ecclesia perniciosissimum obtinere. Nolite committere, ut Magistratus Ethnicus, Deique expers, religiosior atque sanetior in foro fuisse, quam Christi sacra synodus in Ecclesia esse videatur. Nolite vereri, quern iste scrupulum callidus injecit, 10 si eum quern approbastis, cui sanctas manus imposuistis, cui gregem Dei commisistis, perspectum nunc adulterinum & spurium ejeceritis, nequis vestrum judicium aut prudentiam desideret; neque enim Paulus hac in parte, ut nostis, vidit omnia: illud veremini, siPastoris in munere talem retinueritis, 15 ne omnes non judicium modo & prudentiam, sed religionem quoque & pietatem & gregis denique curam in vobis requirant. Haec ad pastores de te, More; nunc ad gregem pro me pauca dicam. *Patrice, inquis, meæ greges qui pascuntur inter lilia, nescio quam in invidiam vocas.* Utinam ne ista lilia, spinas 20 esse aliquando sentiant; verum non ego tuæ patriæ greges in invidiam, sed tuus Clamor Regius ad societatem sui furoris

chief by his example, than good by a speech of the most sanctified purity; and under which character Timarchus, a man of the first consequence in that republic, was condemned on the accusation of [^]Eschines—how much more disgraceful is
 5 it, that a whoremonger and adulterer, under the disguise of a messenger and minister of God, should obtain the fatal permission of delivering religious discourses in the church to a Christian people! Don't let it be seen, that a heathen magistrate, without the knowledge of God, was more religious,
 10 more holy, in a popular assembly than the sacred synod of Christ, in the church. Dismiss the fear—a scruple which he has artfully infused—that if you should eject the man, (having found him adulterate and spurious), whom you had before approved, on whom you had laid holy hands, to whom
 15 you had confided the flock of God—any one can question your judgment or prudence: in transactions of this nature, Paul himself, as ye well know, did not foresee everything. Fear rather, should you retain such a man in the office of pastor, not merely lest your judgment and prudence, but your
 20 religion, your piety, the care of the flock, should be required at your hands.

Thus much to pastors, More, for your sake: I shall now say a few words to the flock, for my own. "To what ill-will (you exclaim) do you provoke the flocks of my country, whose
 25 pasture is among lilies!" would they may never find those lilies to be thorns! It is not I, however, who provoke the flocks of your country to ill-will, but your Royal Cry would provoke them to be partakers of your fury. And who would not

vocare cupiebat. Quern enim non irritâssent istiusmodi opprobria? *maximè omnium Galli nostri reformati!, non modo horrendo facto perculsi, sed ejusdem injustæ infamidi percussi, plurimum allaboraverunt, ut parricidium & parricidas cognoscerent.* Haec & multa alia acerba quidem & plane hosrilia Clamor iste Gallorum sub nomine Reformatorum, in nos clamitavit: ad quæ omnia respondi solum, Gallis etiam reformatis impositam eandem olim necessitatem fuisse, ut suum quoque Regem hostis numero haberent. Verum ego incogitantior (quid enim de me non fatear potius, aut non indictum velim, quod Ecclesias Galliæ Reformatas, quas esse scio nobis omnibus charissimas, in invidiam vocare possit) incogitantior, inquam, fui, qui isti insanissimo Clamori vocem ullam Ecclesiarum aut fratrum interjectam esse credidissem. Scimus eos quo sub regno vivant, quibus in periculis, quibus in angustiis evangelii causa versentur; & tamen amplum hoc sibi esse, si tueri sua queant. Nos ut vel minimam nostra causa invidiam apud suos Reges aut offensionem susciperent, nunquam petivimus; ut de nostris factis aut consiliis suum sensum declararent, tametsi fratrum judicia plurimi semper fecimus, tamen ne hoc iis periculum crearet, nunquam postulavimus; preces eorum, non sententias aut suffragia prodesse nobis censuimus, suam autem erga Reges fidem ex suo in nos odio

be provoked by reproaches like these ? "Our French reformed, above all others, thunderstruck not only by that deed of horror, but troubled in spirit with the unmerited infamy of the thing, have laboured the most earnestly to be well-
5 informed of the parricide and of its perpetrators!" These, and many such things, bitter and openly hostile, has that cry, in the name of the French reformed, clamoured against us: to all which I have simply answered, that even upon the French reformed the same necessity was heretofore imposed, of look-
10 ing upon their own king in the light of an enemy. Nay, I have been so thoughtless as to suppose that some voice of the churches or of the brethren might have helped to swell that mad cry: for what should I not rather confess of myself—what should I not wish to unsay that might provoke to ill-will the
15 French reformed churches, which I know to be most dear to us all ? We know those brethren—we know under what a government they can endure to live; we know in what perils, in what straits they can bear to exist, for the gospel's sake; and yet, that to be able to defend their own, is all they desire.
20 It has never been our intention, that, on our account, they should suffer from their own kings, the smallest particle of ill-will or displeasure. It has never been our desire, as that might have been dangerous to them, that they should publicly declare their own sense of our deeds or of our counsels, though
25 we have always valued at the highest price the opinions of the brethren. It is their prayers, not their opinions or their suffrages which we have accounted of profit to us; for certainly we do not conceive that their attachment to kings is to be dis-

verborumque acerbitate perspicui aut probari non arbitramur. Multa deinde praeteris, *quae nimis mecum in religione animum produnt*; & sapis: fac & illud quoque praetereas, quod *te hominem sacris addictum* Cotyttiis, credo, aut Isiacis, non
5 Evangelicis (nisi addictum ita ut devotum intelligis) *adversarium*, quod ego mihi honestissimum duco, nactus sum. At enim illi *qui diversum h nobis in religione sentiunt*, sic enim tibi prospiciens, Ecclesiae prospicere videri velles, *ex ista jabula Ecclesiis nostris insultandi ansam arripiunt, quasi patiantur*
10 *if see qualia vulgb turpia dictu sacrificulis objiciuntur suis*: & merito quidem, si patiantur, verum spes est, non esse passuras: salus certe unica rerum est, si pati noluerint. Si enim patiantur, quae tu in me tela levissima coniecisti, ea in te ego acutissima retorqueo. *Satanæ triumphus paratur, scandalum infirmiori-*
15 *bus creatur, inimicis gaudium, sociis dolor, fidei damnum.* *Hxc* vera sunt non me accusante, sed te impunito. Talem esse quenquam in Reformata videlicet Ecclesia Ministrum adversarii gaudent: accusat aliquis? multum, mihi crede, de isto

cerned or proved by their hatred to us—their bitterness in words.

You then pass over many things, "which disclose but too plainly my sentiments in religion"; and you are wise in so
 5 doing. Suppose you also pass over, that I have found "in you, though a man set apart for sacred offices, an adversary"—a circumstance which to myself I deem most honorable. I suspect, however, those sacred offices to be the mysteries of Cotytto or of Isis, instead of the offices of the gospel: unless,
 10 indeed, you understand the expression "set apart" in the same sense as "devoted." But "those who think differently from us in matters of religion (for thus when providing for yourself, you would have it appear, that you are provident for the church) seize the opportunity, furnished by that tale, of in-
 15 suiting our churches; as if they themselves would suffer that such scandals should be cast upon their principal ministers as are too shameful even for utterance." And they are deservedly insulted, */ they suffer it; but there is hope that they will not: it is clear, that the very safety of their body depends upon their
 20 not suffering it: for as certainly as they do suffer it, I shall return upon yourself those arrows, which you have so feebly shot at me, sharpened to their utmost point.

"The triumph of Satan is at hand: offence is prepared for the weaker, exultation for enemies, sorrow for companions,
 25 injury for the faith." All this is true, not from my accusation, but from your impunity. The adversaries are delighted that such a minister can be found in the reformed church. Does any one accuse him? Depend upon it, they straightway abate

gaudio protinus remittunt: damnatur is incorruptis & integerrimis Ecclesiarum suffrages ? Nihil aequè dolent: nam qui Presbyterum Reformatum flagitiorum incusat, accusat idem sacerdotes omnes & sacrificulos eorundem facinorum sibi
5 conscios: qui ilium absolvit, hos multo facilius absolvat necesse est. Frustra nos quidem opinionum quarundam & dogmaturn, frustra etiam fidei reformationem gloriamur, nisi morum sancta censura pariter quoque vigeat. Non doctrinam tantum reformatam, sed Doctores reformatos esse convenit,
10 si ereptam *sacrificulis*, ereptam *Satance insuhandi ansam* cupimus. *Magnum*, ais, *honorem habere me Ordinibus Feederati Belgii, quos indigere fute[m] notore me:* monitore opinor volebas dicere. Immo vero tu illis quern honorem habuisti ? quorum existimatio gravissima tarn apud te parum
15 potuit, ut eorum de te opinionem fallere turpissimè malueris, quam flagitiosam vitae tuse licentiam refrsenare; quique ejusmodi homo cum sis, arrogare tibi tantum potes, ut existimes tot viros graves atque prudentes te *notore*, etiam *e superiore loco* indigere; tuo *admonitu* posse unquam sapere; ut idcirco
20 os tuum è suggesto importunissimum tantae gravissimorum hominum frequentix, & praesertim sacrae concioni offeren-

somewhat of their delight. Is he condemned by the free, uninfluenced suffrages of the churches ? their vexation is hardly to be borne: for he who charges a reformed presbyter with licentious conduct, accuses at the same time the whole body of the
 5 priests, with their principal ministers, as being guilty of the same crimes; and he who can acquit the former, must of necessity have far less difficulty in acquitting the latter. In vain do we glory in the reformation of certain opinions, and institutions—in vain in the reformation of the faith itself,
 10 unless the sacred censure of manners also be maintained in vigour. It is proper, that there should be not only a reformed doctrine, but reformed doctors, if we would abolish "for ministers Satan's privilege of heaping abuse."

You say "I am held in great honour by the United States of
 15 Holland, which might make me think that they stood in need of me for a notor": 'monitor,' I imagine, you meant to say. But in what honour have you been held by them ? When their formal and elevating countenance had so little effect upon you that you basely preferred to gull their good opinion of you, to
 20 restraining the flagitious licence of your life; and when, in spite of your shameless character, you have the arrogance to suppose that so many grave and prudent persons stand in need of you for a "notor," forsooth, and "from a higher place"; to suppose that they could ever be made wise by your
 25 "admonitions"; and that you were accordingly at liberty to present your clamorous mouth from the rostrum to so great a concourse of serious people, and above all, for the delivery of

dum sit. Qui denique apud quos tanto te in pretio esse dicis, iis nihil aliud nisi aut minimum iudicium, aut maximam doctorum penuriam relinquis. Minimum profecto ipsi sibi honorem habent, qui abs te Doctore & Ecclesiaste meliores discedere se posse crediderint. Verum tu nihilominus buccam inflas: *Quid nunc*, inquis, *memorem tot illustres ac principes viros, tot procures, tot Ecclesias, tot Academias, qua me jovent & ornant, vel optant & exambiunt.* Et ego, quid, inquam, nunc memorem tot agyrtas, tot empiricos, tot seplasiarios, tot circulatorum, quos Romae aut Venetiis iisdem pene verbis suas pyxides & pharmaca vendentes, praeteriens audiui. Atqui *dum hęc scribo*, inquis, *litteras accipio quibus ad Ecclesiasticz ordinarii munus & sacre Theologies profectionem invitator in urbe nobilissima.* Nam hoc certe habes, in quo omnes Doctores circumforaneos venalities ambitione superas. Primum per amicos tui similes occultam das operam, ut quot potes ex locis inviteris: posteaquam id difficile repertum est, ex quo jam passim notus es, hoc solum (quæ tua animi egestas atque mendicitas vera est) miserè contendis, & nonnunquam perficis ut omnino inviteris, quamvis ea diserta lege &

a religious discourse! In short, you represent those, with whom, by your own account, you are in such high estimation, as persons either of the least judgment, or in the greatest want of doctors. Truly, those who expected to be made better
 5 by their attendance upon you, their doctor and preacher, have for themselves but a mighty small share of honour.

But be this as it may, you continue to inflate your cheek. "Why now (you ask) should I mention the number of illustrious, nay princely personages, the many nobles, churches,
 10 colleges, which either honour me by espousing my cause, or caress me by their good wishes?" And I ask in my turn—why should I mention the many mountebanks, the many empirics, perfumers, hawkers, whom, in passing the streets of Rome or Venice, I have heard, almost in the very same words, vending
 15 their drugs and gallipots?

But again; "while I am even writing these words, I receive a letter containing an invitation to the office of preacher in ordinary, and to the professorship of sacred theology, in a city of the first note." And among your qualifications you have
 20 certainly this one—the art of canvassing for favour, in which you surpass all hawking quack-doctors. You first exert secret influence, by the instrumentality of friends like yourself, to procure invitations from as many different places as possible; and though you found no small difficulty here, from the cir-
 25 cumstance of your being now so generally known, yet this is your only and miserable resource; a fact which shows the real poverty—the beggarliness of your mind. Sometimes, you get yourself actually invited, but with the clear understanding

pactu interposito, ut omnino ne venias. Hoc modo invitatum te nuper in Galliam, & ni fallor, Montalbanum, invitatum & Franekeram, vel Groningham intelligo: Harum utram in urbem sane nescio, in alterutram sat scio: de loco enim fateor
5 nondum mihi satis liquere, de re satis. Hanc demum rationem excogitare coacti sunt homines importunitate tua fatigati & victi, quā & abs te simul tanquam a peste sibi caverent, & tuse miserse gloriolæ multo cum risu vela panderent; teque erraticum sophistam & planum tuismet ventis ludibrium com-
10 mendarent. Sed ne cui forte vanior quam mendacior esse videaris, in illud nunc incidimus usitatissimum tibi & impudentissimum artificium quoddam tuum maledicendi simul & maledicentiam vituperandi. Quoties enim strenue conviciando vel ad inopiam vel ad ravim, quasi ad incitas redactus es
15 exhausto penu, dum novum virus colligis, subito bonus & bellus abhorrere te fingis a conviciis omnibus: nolle te scilicet *luto ludcre*, nolle *sordes mihi regerendo manus tuas coinquinare*;

and express stipulation that you should not accept the invitation. In this manner I understand, that you were lately invited into France, and I am not misinformed, to Montauban; that you were also invited to Frankeram, or Groningen, 5 to which of these cities I really do not know; that it was one of them I am sufficiently informed: for though the intelligence as to the place is, I own, not yet quite clear; as to the thing, it is abundantly satisfactory. Wearied out and overborne by your importunity, people were at last forced to 10 devise this method of guarding themselves against you, as they would guard against the pestilence; and thus, with no little merriment, unfurled the sails for your paltry ostentation, committing you, a wandering sophist, the mere sport of the winds of your own airy applause.

15 But lest any one should haply think you a vain man rather than a liar, we are now fallen upon that most impudent artifice of yours—an artifice too which you employ the most frequently—namely that of indulging in abuse yourself, at the very time that you condemn it in others. Whenever you be- 20 come distressed for want of matter, or have made yourself hoarse, through the violence of your abusive clamours, then, as if reduced to extremity by the exhaustion of your stock, that you may gain time to collect fresh venom, your nature suddenly changes into the mild and milky, that cannot endure 25 any species of abuse. You have no inclination, not you, "to play with mud"; nor have you any desire "to dirty your hands with sending me back the garbage I flung at you. It gives you no pleasure to gain a victory over a barking cur"; and it would

non placere tibi de cane latrante victoriam; malle te omni vere latrantem caniculam. Quid haec quaeso nisi convicia sunt? quae dum deponere te dicis, totis viribus intorques; ita caudam atterere & simul ringere idem tibi est: idque ipsum agis, dum
5 agere te negas; usque eo totus ex mendacio conflatus, ut ne verax quidem utrovis modo sine mendacio esse possis: si enim negas te nunc maledicere, quod tu negas, verba ipsa, te invito fatentur; si fateris, tua eadem verba id ipsum, quod fateris, negant. Quid est, si haec non est *maledicendi ars* illa, quam tu
10 *Dæmonum Rhetoricam* infamis libelli editor *vocare te* ais *solere*. Sic tu nimirum homo sanctus & veriloquus, *Christum* didicisti & doces: id est, dum latrare te negas, mordes. Tibimet tam aperte mendax, in me ut sis religiosior, non expecto: tentas, ut video, omnia, captas omnia; siquem fortè rumus-
15 culum, aut susurrum aquilones cum fugitivis famigerantibus ad vos perferunt, aures arrigis: Hinc illud, *non is es*, inquis, *de quo mentiri jama vereatur*; minus quidem tu hic subdolus es, quam soles. Famam etiam mendacem mihi minitaris; dici nempe *me aliorum ingenia ex moribus meis aestimare, nulli*

be far more agreeable to you "to have nothing to do with a
 yelping whelp." And what is this, I beseech you, if it is not
 abuse? hurled too, with all your might, at the moment you
 are affirming that you have laid it aside—thus rubbing your
 5 tail and snarling at the same time; which very thing you like-
 wise do the while you deny it. You are so entirely compounded
 of falsehood, that you cannot even speak the truth, in either
 way, without a falsehood: for if you deny that you are
 abusive, the very words, whether you will or not, confess what
 10 you deny: if you confess it, those same words of yours deny the
 very thing which you confess. What is this if it is not that "art
 of slandering," which you, the editor of the infamous libel,
 say "you are accustomed to call the rhetoric of devils?" It is
 thus that you (a man without doubt holy and a speaker of the
 15 truth), "have learnt"—it is thus "you teach Christ": that is
 to say, you bite, while you deny that you bark. That you, who
 are plainly false to yourself, should be more religiously scru-
 pulous towards me, is what I do not expect. I see that you try
 everything; catch at everything. If, peradventure, the north-
 20 erly winds should carry to you, along with the hunger-bring-
 ing fugitives, any little piece of news, or even a whisper, you
 begin to prick up your ears: from some such intelligence as
 this originated that remark of yours—"You are not a man of
 whom fame may be afraid to tell a lie"; in which, it must be
 25 owned, you are less subtle than usual. You even threaten me
 with a lying fame—namely, that it is famed, "I judge of other
 men's dispositions by my own manners, and that there is not
 a vice inveighed against by me, to which I am not myself

non vitio quod insequor obnoxium. Ergo ego scortator, ut fama mentitur, ergo adulter; *hxc* enim in te crimina insector. Fac sanè periculum famæ; age, insimula, die, siquid habes, audacter & clare; tempus, locum, nomina simul ede; quod ego
5 in te facio: Die cum qua Claudia Pelletta, die cum qua Pontia, die siquo in horto, siqua in domo, noctu an interdiu, siquod in judicium adductus unquam sim, siquod unquam recusaverim: hæc tibi omnia dicenda sunt, *hæc* ego in te omnia demonstravi. Invenies profecto me ad injurias meas tuaque crimina
10 persequenda attulisse hanc dicendi libertatem, & anteaactæ *vix meæ* certissimum indicium atque fructum, & agendas posthac firmissimum propositum. Nunquam me libertatis hujus poenitere audies, ut Lucium Crassum poenituisse olim ferunt, quod Caium Carbonem unquam in judicium vocavisset; cum
15 hac sua severitate praecisam sibi aut circumscriptam in posterum liberius vivendi veniam apud omnes arbitraretur. Is Caium Carbonem civem improbum in judicium Senatus populi que Romani vocavit: ego te, More, & meo & populi Anglicani nomine, quern tu infami Clamore edito prior lacesisti,
20 illo Carbone mult&nigriorem, judicia patria detrectantem, saeculorum omnium judiciis trado. Quid tui interim famigeruli de me mussitent aut loquantur, unice securus. Tu senties earn

prone." Therefore I am a fornicator, therefore I am an adulterer, as that lying fame reports: for these vices I inveigh against as yours. Make trial now of fame; come, bring your charge; if you have any thing to say, speak out distinctly and
5 boldly; make known the time, and place, not forgetting names; the plan I adopt in respect of yourself. Say with what Claudia Pelletta, with what Pontia; tell us in what garden, in what house, whether by night or by day; whether I was ever called to account, whether I ever refused to appear: all these
10 things may be affirmed of you, all these things I have proved against you! You will find, in fact, that, to the investigation of my own injuries and of your crimes, I have brought along with me this liberty of speech, as the clearest discovery and fruit of my past, and as the least questionable aim of my future
15 life. You will never hear me repent of this liberty, as it is said Lucius Crassus formerly repented that he had ever impeached Caius Carbo when he found that, by this his severity, he was considered by every one to have narrowed and circumscribed the licence of his subsequent mode of life. Lucius Crassus
20 called to the bar of the senate and of the people of Rome, Caius Carbo as a profligate citizen: I, More, deliver you over to the bar of posterity, in my own name, and in the name of the people of England, to whom, by publishing that infamous Cry, you gave the first provocation, as one blacker far than
25 that Carbo, and as shifting off the sentence of your country. In the meantime, I feel perfectly secure, whatever your hungry emigrants may mutter or prate about me. You will find that I have within me that pleasing testimony of my life, that

esse vitæ meæ & apud me conscientiam, & apud bonos existimationem, tam esse & præteritæ fiduciam & reliquæ spem bonam, ut nihil impedire me aut abstertere possit, quo minus flagitia tua, si pergis lacessere, etiam liberius adhuc & diligentius persequar; teque simul tuasque etiam famæ quas meditaris corruptelas & perspexero facile & risero. Interea, ne cui dubium sit, quin tu omnia pervestigando nihil prorsus in me habeas quod verum crimen sit, aut si haberes, quin id cupidissime statim & malitiosissime diceres modisque omnibus amplificares, videamus quam non crimina quæ sint, des crimini; etiam recte facta quam odiose calumnieris. Primum *cur Clamori authoris anonymi respondere* quaeris, c[^] *non tot aliis qui nomen ediderunt suum*. Quis adversario tam aliena & inepta interroganti rationem redderet? ego tamen ut quam sequequenter tecum agam videas, reddam. Cur Clamoris auctori responderim, rogas? quia jussus, inquam, publice ab iis quorum autoritas apud me gravis esse debuit; vix alioqui manus admoturus. Deinde quia nominatim laesus: nam & tu hic, quamvis id minime velis ut existimationis aliquam meæ quoque rationem ducam, veniam vel invitus dabis, quam omnes boni dant, scio, libentissime. At cur *non aliis*, inquis, *respondisti? Clamant & illi, nec minus fortiter*: rursus respon-

I have that esteem among good men, that confidence from the past, that hope so fair of the future, that nothing can hinder, nothing can deter me, should you persist in provocation, from tracing your crimes with still greater freedom and diligence, and from easily seeing through and exposing to derision your meditated corruptions of fame.

Meanwhile, that no doubt may remain, of your having found, after the keenest search, absolutely nothing that will bear the name of crime, or if you had, of your instandy proclaiming it, of your magnifying it, in every possible way, with the utmost eagerness of malice—let us see how you treat as crimes things which are not criminal; nay, how hatefully you slander things correctly done. In the first place, you ask—"Why I should return an answer to the *Cry* of an anonymous author, and not to so many others who have published their names?" Why should I give the reason to an adversary who asks questions so foolish, and so foreign to the subject? However, that you may see with what temper I deal with you, I will tell you the reason. You ask why I should answer the author of the *Cry*? I reply, because I was publicly ordered so to do by those whose authority ought to have weight with me; else, I had hardly laid a hand upon you. Again, because I was expressly injured: for, however little you may like that I also should pay some regard to my own character, you yourself will think allowable in this particular, though against your inclination, what I am sure is most freely allowed by all good men. Yet why "not answer others (say you)? They also raise a cry, and with no less noise." I again

deo, ut prius, quia ad rationes publicas non vocatus, non accedo. Deinde, quia non laesus; nam & hoc, quamvis tu id maxime velles ut impune tibi quenquam laedere liceret, non est leve. Deinde quia ex vestro ipsorum iudicio tantum Salmasio tribuimus (quern Defensorem Regium, quasi solus is esset & instar omnium, nominare soletis) ut post ilium posse quenquam alium dicere quod momenti esset non existimaremus. Vis plura? quia liberum erat; quia non vacabat; quia denique homo sum, humana mihi latera sunt, non ferrea, tu licet Alexander aeriarius sis. Aliud quiddam opus est, ut mihi videtur, quo tot importunis Clamatoribus ora melius obturentur. Quam multa tuus ille Stentor anonymus clamitabat, quae a Salmasio clamata prius & conclamata erant? quibus ego toties repetitis, quamvis cum miseria ac taedio saepius respondiissem, tamen quia cum isto vociferatore verboso certare ubique non libuit, *languet tibi scilicet oratio mea, quoties pro populo dico: tibi, inquam, cui Gallicd nivc frigidius est*, non esse tautologum. De me si accuratius dixi, non e6 id feci, quo ego minus populo quam mihi studerem, sed propterea quod tuus Clamor turn quidem novum aliquid suppeditabat, unde possem ab odiosa crambe vestra nonnunquam respirare. Quod itaque facete inquis, *non immerito Defensio pro populo secunda dicitur*; quo-

reply as before, because I go not uncalled to public business. Secondly, because I did not feel myself injured—no trivial reason, though it is your supreme wish, after injuring another, to escape with impunity. Thirdly, because, agreeably to
 5 your own opinion, we have shown so much consideration for Salmasius, as not to suppose that any other person after him should have anything to say worth notice: for you yourselves are accustomed to style him the royal defender, as if he were the only one, and himself equal to all the rest. Would you
 10 have more reasons? Because it was at my own option; because I had not leisure; in fine, because I am a man, because my composition is human, not of iron, though you may be an Alexander of brass. It appears to me, that something else is necessary to stop effectually the mouths of so many outrageous
 15 criers. How many things have been cried, by that anonymous Stentor of yours which had been before cried and proclaimed by Salmasius! and to which things, so often repeated, though I have wearied myself even to pain in replying still more often; yet, because it was not at my choice to contend always
 20 with that wordy vociferator, "my language grows feeble, whenever I plead for the people": that is as you think, who are of opinion, that, not to be tautologous is to be "more frigid than Gallican snow." And if I have pleaded with a more earnest diligence for myself, it is not that I am more concerned
 25 for myself than for the people, but because your *Cry*, by supplying something new, allowed me an occasional respite from your nauseous cabbage! Your facetious remark, therefore, that "it is not improperly said to be a Second Defence of the

niam id faustum est, **ex** ore praesertim adversarii, omen accipio. Tu licet novum quotannis clamorem edideris, rumpas te priiis licebit, quam clamorem secundum edidisse dicaris. Alterum meum crimen est quod in laudes Reginae Suecorum
5 serenissimae per occasionem ab adversario ipso datam, digressus sum: & inter alia dixeram (satis modeste quidem ut opinor) nequid attribuerem mihi quod Reginam contra Regiam, ut videbatur, causam, tarn mihi faventem reperissem, nescire me plane qua mea sorte id evenisset: malebam ad sortem,
10 ad sydera, ad siquis est occultus vel animorum vel rerum consensus aut moderamen, quam ad meum quicquid erat, vel ingenii, vel acuminis, vel copiae referre videri. Hanc tu calumniandi simul & parasitandi materiam nactus, fremere extemplo, quasi indignum hoc esset; & *lutum* illud in visceribus
15 tuis concretum, in ore mox tibi, ut frequentissime solet, fluitare. Age, despue; quid est? *earn*, inquis, *propterea tarn importune laudabas, ut cum ea te componeres lutum*. Tunc Morus es an Momus? an uterque idem est? utro te nomine appellem dubito: quis enim praeter Morum aut momum tarn
20 sinistre ac perperam interpretatus hae esset? quod ullum dictum modestissimum haec tanta malitia non depravaret atque

People," as it is a happy one, I take for my omen; and the rather, as it is from the mouth of an enemy. You may utter a new Cry every year; but you will be left to burst yourself with crying, before it is said you have uttered a second cry.

- 5 My other crime is, that I went out of my way to introduce an eulogium on the most serene the queen of Sweden; though the occasion was furnished me by my adversary himself. That I might assume no merit to myself on the ground of my having the queen so favorable to me, in opposition, as it appeared,
- 10 to the royal cause, I had declared, among other things, (and in my judgment, with abundant modesty) that I really knew not by what chance it had happened. I chose rather to seem to refer the thing to chance, to the stars, to the consent or guidance of spirits or of things, if there be any such invisible
- 15 agency, than to any supposed manifestations of my genius, my acuteness, or of my fertility. But you, laying hold of this as matter for slander and parasitism, begin to bluster away about it as of pernicious example; when the mud collected in your inward parts begins also, as is most commonly the case,
- 20 to work upward towards your mouth. Come then, vomit it out; and what is it? "the reason (you say) of your bepraising her so zealously, is, that you may reconcile her to your mud." Are you Morus, or Momus? Or are both one and the same person? I am in doubt by which name I should call you: for
- 25 who but Morus or Momus could ever have interpreted this matter in so absurd, so left-handed a manner? What language is there, though of unexampled modesty, which malice like this might not deprave and pervert? Then you draw also from

perverteret ? Turn illud simul depromis ex peculio tuo servile
& parasiticum; *nesciebat Christina sc tibi esse tarn familia-*
rem. Tene scabellum hominis ex tuis oculis & immunditiis
Christinas suggerere quid nesciat, aut quid dicat ? atqui sciebat
5 se ilia pro sua singular! in literatos benevolentia Salmasio
familiarem; cui me tamen arbitrio suo liberrimaque sententiã
haud semel dicta est praetulisse. Sed *hoc unum*, inquis, *Regina*
non meruit abs te laudari. Abs te ergo illaudatissime ? concedo
libens! quis enim obstare potest, si tibi modo libeat vel invi-
10 tissimi cujusvis laudes contaminare? experire sane; perse-
quere modo istud, quod veluti specimen laudationum tuarum
egregium hoc loco inseruisti; *quam supra mortalitatis mo-*
dum inusitata natures vis, & stupendum ingenii lumen
cvexit. Perge, inquam, & macte isto ore: ab isto exorsu quan-
15 tumvis in sublime evoles per me licet: isto enim tenore, si
perrexeris, mirificum tu quidem fastigium ac prope nubi-
ferum tarn altis substructionibus imposhurus videris. Mihi,
fateor, non placet sic alte insurgere; unde statim necesse erit,
vel ridicule ruam, vel inter nubes frigescam. Attamen iis,

your own slave's hoard the servile and parasitical remark—
 "Christina was not aware that she was upon terms of such
 familiarity with you." And do you, the mere footstool of a
 man! take it upon you to suggest to Christina, out of your
 5 common-places, and your pollutions, what she was not aware
 of, or what she might say? And yet, from her unparalleled
 favour towards literary men, she was aware of being upon
 terms of familiarity with Salmasius; and of her own accord,
 from her own uninfluenced opinion, has been said to have
 10 more than once expressed a preference of me to him. But,
 say you, "This single consideration—the queen had not mer-
 ited praises from you." What—she has merited praises then
 from you, the least of all men praiseworthy? Granted with-
 out dispute: for if you choose to contaminate by your touch
 15 the praises of any one, however much against his will, who
 can help it? Come then, try your skill. Only put the fin-
 ishing stroke to what you foist in here as a choice specimen
 of your praises: "whom an extraordinary energy of nature,
 an astonishing effulgence of genius, has raised above the
 20 sphere of mortality." Go on, I say, and prosper in this strain;
 from such a beginning, you have my permission to take your
 flight to any elevation you please: for, if you proceed at this
 rate, we shall behold you, from a ground-work thus deeply
 laid, erecting a fabric of that stupendous loftiness, as to go
 25 near to pop the clouds! It does not suit me, I confess, to
 mount so high: for in the instant, I should unavoidably
 tumble thence in ridiculous plight, or, among the clouds,
 should be frozen to death. You proceed, however—"you are

inquis, *dotibus insignis es, quae possunt etiam heroibus animum laxantibus placere*. Esto; sunt & tuae dotes & praesertim scripta, quae heroibus placere quiddam aliud laxantibus, possint. Et in primis ista tua quae sequitur sapientissima &
5 ministello te digna ad Typographos conciuncula; quam idcirco praetereo: nam ad tertium jam crimen meum perveni; quod dixerim nimirum, uno cum famulo me peregre fuisse: crimen grave; quo ego nomine haud uno in loco perstringor: id scilicet nefas erat meminisse, ne versificatores vestri, qui ex
10 egestate nescio qua emersisse me per hanc rerum apud nos conversionem versificabant, cecinisse falsa reperirentur. Jocum vero hic tuum, quando haec tam rara avis est, non possum pratermittere. Non equidem vobis *Typographis litem unquam intenderim, non certi magis quam illi servo qui Mil-*
is tonum euntem peregre comitabatur. O longe & misere peti-
tum! quid hac capitis cucurbita facias, ex qua, ut id maxime labores, nullam salis micam potis es extundere. Sed quietus homo & fugitans litium es; itaque non meo, sed ne tuo quidem servo litem intendis, qui domesticae turpitudinis tuae fugitivus,
20 secretiora flagitia & nefarias libidines tuas divulgavit. Quartum est, siquidem id crimen dici meum debet, quod tuum est mendacium, *in eodem scilicet libro, quern scatere*, ais

eminent for those endowments, which, when relaxing their minds, can give solace to heroes." Beyond a doubt; there are likewise endowments, and especially writings of your own, which might give solace to heroes, when relaxing in another
 5 way. And first of all, that short but most sapient address of yours to printers, which follows next in order, and is worthy of a paltry minister like you; I therefore pass it by.

For, I am come now to my third crime; namely, that I said I went abroad with one servant. This is a weighty crime: for
 10 under this appellation, I receive a rub for it in more places than one. The very mention of this was no doubt ominous, since your versifiers might be found out to have sung falsely: for they had versified that, in consequence of this revolution of things among us, I rose from I know not what beggarli-
 15 ness of origin! You jest, however, in this place; as it is so rare a bird, I am unable to pass by: "I certainly could never have meant to quarrel" with you, "printers, any more than with the servant whom Milton took with him abroad." How miserably far-fetched! What would you be at with this head of
 20 yours, which so resembles a pumpkin? from which, with all your sweating, you cannot hammer out a single grain of wit. Yet you are a quiet man and a hater of quarrels; and therefore intend none with my servant, nor even with your own, though a fugitive from your domestic shame, and the divulger
 25 of your more secret vices—your abominable lusts.

The fourth is, since what is your lie must be called my crime, that I "had the impudence to censure, and gravely to speechify about the commonwealth and the duty of citizens

*discinctorum nepotum festivitibus, ausum me censuram
agere, & graviter concionari de Republica deque civium
officio. Quis non germanum te nunc dicat Epicureum? cujus
neque in moribus honestas, neque in scriptis urbanitas ulla*
5 *reperiatur. Mirum non est si hoc nomine facetiis omnibus
infensor sis, cum quia negantur tibi, turn quia te pungunt:
non mirum est, inquam, si tibi tarn ulceroso sal omnis inimi-
cus est. Id mirum, Professor cum sis, cur mihi succenseas qui
sic diligenter salarium tibi euro. At vero quos tu**jocos e lustra*
10 *popindque desumptos falso ais (nisi desumptos ex lustris id-
circo dicis, quod te illic latitantem extraxerint) eos si caeteri
omnes non inhonestos aut illiberales, sed honestos atque ur-
banos tuamque putredinem perfricanti sales concessos non
negaverint, turn quidem tua professoris insulsi ignorantia, ut*
15 *persaepe alias, hinc satis manifesta est, qui id parum conve-
nire dicas, quod Marcus Tullius in oratore summum esse sta-
tuit, ubi de oratione L. Crassi in Cn. Domitium summa cum
admiratione sic loquitur. Nee enim concio major unquam
fuit, nee apud populum gravior oratio, quam hujus contra*

in the very book," surely, "which," as you will have it, "is full of the gayeties of loose wassailers." Who would not think you now a true follower of Epicurus, who has neither polish in his manners, nor elegance in his writings. From this character,

5 it is not to be wondered at, that you should be an enemy to all the forms of wit, both because they are denied to you, and because you are galled by them: it is not to be wondered at, I say, that you, who are so full of sores, should have an antipathy to salt. It is this which is rather to be wondered at, that

10 you, who are a professor, should be so angry with me, for being so anxious to preserve your salary for you. And as to those "jests" which you falsely affirm "to have been taken from the brothel and the tavern," (unless you understand by the expression "taken from the brothel," that they took you

15 thence who were lurking there), if those jests are allowed by the rest of mankind to be such as are not unbecoming a man of honour and liberality, but at once polite and honourable, and to be given you as salt with which to rub over your mass of corruption—then, that professor's ignorance of yours,

20 which is not seasoned with one particle of salt, as it is sufficiently manifest on other occasions, so is it in your declaring that to be out of place, which Marcus Tullius, when speaking with the highest admiration of an oration of Lucius Crassus against Cn. Domitius, pronounced to be the sovereign excel-

25 lence of an orator. His words are:—"Never was there a more masterly harangue, never was there an oration which had a greater effect upon the people, and which was more seasoned with wit and gayety, than the oration of this man against his

collegam in censura nuper, neque lepore & festivitate conditione Et paulo infra, id uni Crasso contigisse ait, ut non solum venustissimus & urbanissimus, sed & omnium gravissimus & severissimus & esset & videretur. Quin etiam Platoni & Socraticis nihil magis convenire aut decuisse visum est, quam rebus interdum severissimis intermistus atque inspersus lepos. Haec ego viris doctis & intelligentibus quin & supra & nunc denuo satis probaverim, non dubito. Te interim non reprehendo, qui *mollior*, inquis, *debuit esse transitus h nasum ad*
10 *supercilium*: nam digitorum Pontiae credo adhuc meministi, quam iste transitus abs tuo naso ad supercilia minimi mollis fuerit. Foelicem te quidem, si hoc turn mulierculae persuassisses: sed de oratorum transitionibus, More, iudicium longe aliud faciendum est. At *leges scribo*, hoc quintum crimen
15 est, *quibus se teneat non populus modo, sed illi etiam qui me praeceptore nihil egent*. Quid tu mihi quo quis egeat, homo levissime & arrogantissime? tene *superiore ex loco egent* Foederati Ordines concionatore, me ex inferiore, quod omnibus ex aequo civibus licet, nostri non tamen egeant libero hortatore?
20 non est, More, cur ego me natum in mea patria tamen inutilem existimem, cum te in aliena tamen arrogantem videam; non est,

late colleague in the censorship." And a little after he says—that, "of all orators, it was the fortune of Crassus alone not only to be, but also to appear, at once the most charming and witty, the most impressive and severe." And it was the opinion of Plato and the Socratic Philosophers, that there was nothing more appropriate, more suitable to decorum, than the intermixture—the sprinklings of wit on the gravest subjects. That I have before made these things plain, and now once again, to men of learning and intelligence, I cannot doubt: nevertheless, I blame not you for observing, that "the transition from the nose to the brow ought to have been more gentle": for you have not yet forgotten, I ween, the fingers of Pontia, and how little gentleness there was in her transition from your nose to your brows: indeed you would have been a happy man, could you then have persuaded that frail woman of the truth of this observation of yours; but a very different sort of judgment, More, is necessary, with respect to the transition of orators!

Again, "I prescribe rules," (and this is my fifth crime) "not only for the people, but for those who have no need of me for a preceptor." Most trifling and arrogant man! and do you presume to inform me, of whom any one may stand in need? Do the United States stand in need of you for a speechifier, "from a higher place," and shall not our own people stand in need of me so much as for a voluntary adviser, from a lower place—an office which belongs of right to every citizen? When I observe you to assume so much in a foreign country, is it possible I should think myself of no utility in

quàm ob rem te mercede concionantem, quàm me gratis momentem rectora putem posse suadere. Haec mea quinque sunt peccata mortifera; nam ilia septem, opinor, conficere nequisti. Ex quo intelligitur, inania quàm fuerint quae con-
5 *dondssc* mihi te dicis, cum sint tarn levia, quae crimineris. Nisi & illud fortè crimosum mihi vis esse, quod Deum testem invocarim; & certe parum abest ut istud quoque in criminibus meis numeres. *Hinc ilia*, inquis, *nimum sane sollicita protestatio*. Quanam ista fuit, More? audies vel invi-
10 tus; nee illam nunc recito, sed iisdem conceptis verbis (neque enim poenitet, & hie etiam peregrinationem meam calumniaris) rursus Deum testem invoco, me illis omnibus in locis, ubi tarn multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuo cogitantem, si homi-
15 num latere oculos possem, Dei certe non posse. Haec tibi *nimum sollicita protestatio* est, More: cui non magis sollicitum est, Deum testem invocare, quàm invocatum pejerare. quàm multi & quàm multis de rebus te accusent, non ignoras: aude modo, siquid in te integri, siquid incorrupt! est,
20 iisdem quibus ego nunc praeivi tibi verbis, teipsum defendere. Die age in hsec verba: Deum testem invoco me ab omnibus illis flagitiis quorum insimulor, integrum atque intactum

my own? Is there any reason why you, a preacher for hire, should be able to advise better than I, who deliver gratuitous, and as I trust, sounder admonitions? These are my five deadly sins: for to make seven of them I think was not in your power.

5 From charges so trifling, we may collect, how perfectly frivolous those offences must have been, which you say you have "pardoned" in me.

But perhaps you will have it to be criminal, that I called God to witness; and certainly, there wanted little of your
10 reckoning even that also in the number of my crimes: for "hence (you remark) that really too anxious protestation." And what protestation was that, More? You shall hear, though you desire nothing less: nor shall it now be a mere recitation, but, as I feel no shame for what I have done, and
15 as you here calumniate even my travelling, I again call God to witness, in the very words I first used, that in all those 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
20 could not escape the eyes of God. This is your "too anxious protestation," More; who have as little anxiety about calling God to witness, as, when called upon, to forswear him. You are not ignorant by what numbers you are accused, and of offences how various 1 If you have any honesty, if you have
25 any purity in you, dare only to defend yourself, in those same words in which I have now set you an example. Pronounce according to these words—I call God to witness, that I have always lived innocent and untouched of all those flagitious

semper vixisse; me neque Claudise, neque Pontiae, neque ullius omnino foeminx stupratorem esse aut adulterum. Non audebis, opinor, tametsi facile perjurus esse diceris, in *hxc* verba prae-euntem me sequi. Verum si Dei non audes, hominum
5 saltern fidem implora. Genevam, inquàm, redi, permitte te illic magistratibus & populo; die illis ut castum & innocentem hominem, falso insimulatum, deceat: Viri Genevenses; multorum apud vos & gravissimorum criminum accuser; si ita vixi, si inter vos ita versatus sum, ut haec per idoneos testes
10 & argumenta probari vobis possint, en sisto me; legitimum pad iudicium, quod antea recusavi, nunc non recuso[^] Hoc multo minus audebis, sat scio: malis tergiversari, ut supra dixi, malis aliunde perfugia & latebras & diverticula veterani scortatoris in modum quserere. Veruntamen *honestam* fuisse
15 illam *orationem* meam fateris; sed *prae-cedenti parum consentientem*. Cuinam precedent! obsecro? vellem recitasses: ego enim aliquot retro paginis pro certo habeo, ne minimum quidem obscoeni vestigium inveniri posse, quia tanto intervallo de te nulla fit mentio. Quod si quem alium locum intel-
20 ligis, ubi in tua vitia salse animadversum est, velim te scire, quicquid tu ex *Platone* detorsisti, neque alienum esse neque inverecundum eodem in libro cum acrimonia & sale (*profli-*

crimes with which I have been charged; that I have neither committed whoredom nor adultery with Claudia, nor Pontia, nor with any other woman whatsoever. Though you are said to pay little regard to an oath, you will not have the courage,

5 I think, to follow me in these words. But if you dare not implore the faith of God, at least implore the faith of men. Return, I say, to Geneva; there surrender yourself to the magistrates, and to the people; say to them, as becomes a chaste and innocent man falsely accused: People of Geneva, I am accused

10 by you of many and weighty crimes: if it shall be made appear by proper witnesses and proofs, that I have thus lived, that I have thus demeaned myself among you, here I am, prepared to undergo that just sentence, which I have before evaded! That you will never have courage enough to do this, I know

15 well. You had rather, as I have said before, have recourse to subterfuge; like an old fornicator as you are, you had rather skulk, and shift, and seek refuge from other quarters. However, you allow it to have been an "honest declaration" of mine, though "little in unison with the preceding one."

20 With what preceding one, I beseech you? I could wish you to be more particular; for I am very sure, that, a few pages back, not the slightest trace of obscenity is to be found, since in that short interval, no mention is made of you. And if you mean any other place, where there are some pungent animad-

25 versions upon your vices, I would have you to know, in spite of your distorted quotation from "Plato," that to reprobate with severity and with wit, what is scandalous, and at the same time "to think of God," even in the same book, (for you

gati enim pudoris verba nusquàm illic reperies) & turpia insectari, & de *Deo cogitare*. Sanè si oratoris praeceptum hoc verum atque honestum est, In eodem vultu convenire & pudorem & acrimoniam, quidni iridem in eodem ore conveni-
5 ant? Nullius enim pudentis pudorem minuit vehemens & salsa turpitudinis exprobratio vel etiam irrisio, sed pudorem, in quo prius non erat, impudenti reo nulla res efficacius incutere videtur. Tu vide ut cum pudore & *cogitatione Dei* tua stare perpetua possint mendacia, Ecclesiastes adulterine; qui
10 scripsisse me ais *Romce martyrii fuisse candidatum; structas ab Jesuitis vitæ meae insidias*. Ad quod utrumque mendacium diluendum opus est nihil aliud, nisi ut quis locum ipsum libri inspiciat: & cur ea de re aliquid omnino scripserim, conjectura per se assequi nemo facile non poterit, cui id modo cre-
15 dibile non sit eum *ob flagitia in Italiam projugisse*, qui religionis ibidem confitendae periculum toties adierit. Nugaris deinde multa; & *machceras & legiones* garris, Pontiae mastigia. Verum haec satis risimus: nunc luculentam & insignem hominis calumniam quaeso attendite; ut cognoscatis qua fide
20 vel in sacris etiam literis, quas cum summa Ecclesiae ignominia profitetur, versari soleat; quàm nulla isti falsario Ecclesiastae

will never find there the expressions of "profligate modesty/") is neither immodest nor foreign to the purpose. If, indeed, this maxim of the orator be just and commendable, that modesty and severity are compatible in the same countenance, 5 why, in like manner, should they not be compatible, in the same mouth? The modesty of no modest person is impaired by a vehement and galling reprobation, or even by the derision of turpitude; but there is nothing which seems so effectually to crush the growth of all modesty in one who had it not be- 10 fore, as impudence in a culprit. I would have you take care, preacher adulterate! that your eternal lying be compatible with modesty, and "with thinking of God," when you could affirm me to have written that, "at Rome I was a candidate for martyrdom; that the Jesuits laid a plot for my life!" To dissipate 15 both of which lies, it is only necessary to examine the passage itself in the book; and, the reason why I wrote anything at all on that subject may be easily conjectured by anyone, provided only he does not think it credible, that the man who so often incurred danger in Italy by the confession of his faith, "was 20 obliged to fly thither by reason of his debaucheries."

After this, you have a good deal of trash on a variety of topics: though flogged as a slave by Pontia, you yet presume to prate about "swords and legions." But these things have already afforded us sufficient merriment. Attend now, I in- 25 treat, to a brave and notable slander, that ye may learn what sort of faith he has even in sacred learning, which to the heavy disgrace of the church he professes; that ye may learn, how little scruple has this falsifying preacher to corrupt, should

religio sit verbum ipsum Dei sacrosanctum corrumpere, si id commodum sibi fore crediderit. Ego ut refellerem eos, qui Grammatistae aut Critico Magni titulum & cognomen largiri ineptissime solent, sic scripseram: Is solus magnus est appellandus, qui res magnas aut gerit aut docet, aut digne scribit. Quis hac verissima sententia offendatur, nisi Grammatista? Quid hie noster professor? id est, inquit, qui res magnas docet, *ut Miltonus de divortiis*, aut digne scribit, *ut Mil (onus idem pro Populo, bis magnus*. Lepidum sane interpretamentum, 5
10 More! & ejusdem planè artificii, quo Evangelii etiam locum ilium de divortiis non verbo, sed factis interpretatus es. Licet ob scortationem dimittere vel uxorem vel sponsam: Morus cum desponsata sibi Pontia scortatus est; ergo, licet Moro sponsam ob scortationem dimittere. Vos *O tot Prin-*
15 *cipes, tot proceres, tot Ecclesice, tot Academics, quae hunc hominem joveatis & ornatis, vel optatis & exambitis*, evocate nunc certatim hunc vobis, qua sacrarum, qua profanarum literarum interpretem tam fidum & religiosum; ut sacras profanare literas apud vos quâ factis, quâ commen-
20 tis suis possit. Vel si id minime vultis, nam Doctorem hunc

he think it for his advantage, even the sanctity of God's word itself. With a view to undeceive those who are in the habit of bestowing, however absurdly, the title and surname of great upon a grammarian or critic, I had written thus: He alone
 5 deserves the appellation of great, who either achieves great things himself or teaches how they may be achieved, or who describes with suitable dignity the great achievements of others. Who, but a grammarian, could be offended with a sentiment thus founded in truth? What says our professor to this?
 10 That is, he remarks, who teaches great things "like Milton on the subject of divorce"; or who describes them with suitable dignity, "like the same Milton, in his defence of the people; and he is here doubly great." A shrewd interpretation, More, no doubt, and evidently of a piece with your interpretation of
 15 that passage of the gospel concerning divorce, which was given, however, not in words but in deeds. It is lawful to dismiss either a wife, or a betrothed mistress, for fornication; More fornicated with Pontia, who was betrothed to him; therefore, it is lawful for More to dismiss a betrothed mistress for
 20 fornication! Come, now, "O ye number of princely personages, ye many nobles, churches, colleges, which either honour this man by espousing his cause, or caress him by your good wishes!" manifest an eager contention in your invitations of one who is so faithful, so religious an interpreter, whether of
 25 sacred or of profane learning—who would be able to make even sacred learning profane among you, by his actions as well as by his glosses. Or, if ye have no sort of inclination for this, as ye seem to have long since caught the scent of this gloz-

commenditum longè latèque olfecisse jamdiu videmini, date saltern & concedite hoc palpum tumori hominis & gloriolae: evocate quaeso per literas quàm honorificas Ludionem hunc cathedrarium; sed cum hac cautione, si salvi
5 esse vultis, clam interposita, cum hoc urbanissimo interdicto, ut nullo modo accedat. Miros profectd reddet ludos inter tot Cathedras, dum professiones & praelectiones & murmura & plausus & Pontias novas sibi somniat. Sed dimitto nunc hominem, quia me prope dimittit. Aliò se vertit; imò verò
10 *quo sc vertat*, non habet. Simulat velle nunc de vita & moribus suis causam pro se dicere. Exordiri jam putares hominem, & velle aliquid prsefari; cùm in ipso statim praefationis vestibulo, elusa omnium expectatione perorat. Tarn tenue se esse argumentum, tarn turpe etiam dum reperit, vel ipsa
15 rerum inopia subito exaescit, vel ipsa foeditate percussus & quasi syderatus obmutescit: Vultus, vox, latera deficere videntur; animus tamen veteratorius, & ut dixi antea, indurati utroque jamdiu foro veteris & crebri sontis artes non deficiunt. *Qub me vertam?* quo te vertas, miselle? quis unquàm nocens
20 reus demissa barba sordidatus & squalens tarn miserabili procemio deprecatus unquàm judices est? quò te, si innocens, si insons, si tutus undique tibi esses, quo te, inquam, nisi ad

ing doctor from all quarters, give and grant, at least this gentle fomentation to the puffed-up tumour of a man—invite, I beseech you, this chaired actor by your very honorable letters; but, if ye would be safe, with the secret caution, with the most
 5 polite proviso, that he should at no rate accept the invitation. Amidst so many professorial chairs, in his dreamy expectations of professorships, and prelections, and murmurs, and applauses, and new Pontias, he will make his plays truly admirable!

- 10 But I now dismiss the man, because he practically dismisses me. He turns himself to another topic; in truth, he knows not "which way to turn himself." He pretends that he is now desirous of pleading his own cause, relative to his life and manners. You would even think him on the point of begin-
 15 ning, and that he was preparing to present us with some prefatory matter; when lo! at the very entrance of his preface, to the utter disappointment of everybody, he concludes. Finding himself so miserably poor a subject, nay, so very vile, he suddenly falls off either from mere want of something to say,
 20 or, smitten and as it were, planet-struck with its very baseness, he becomes dumb. His countenance, voice, body, seem all to desert him; but, as I have said before, his inveterate spirit, the artifices of an old and frequent offender, hardened by long practice in every species of chicanery, abide with him still.
 25 "Whither can I turn me?" Whither can you turn, you pitiful fellow? What squalid and guilty prisoner, with lengthened beard and matted hair, ever besought his judges in so wretched an exordium? Whither can you turn yourself? If innocent, if guiltless, if safe on all sides—whither, I ask, should you

te verteres? tecum loquerere, te consuleres, extra te ne quaereres? Sed heu miserum te! discordia tibi tecum gravissima jamdiu est. Nihil tibi invisum magis, quàm tecum habitare, apud te esse; neminem libentius, quàm teipsum fugis. Frustra: tecum enim fugis miser, te sequeris: Quod agitat intus est, intus & flagellum & tortor Argus ille tuus, qui te semper non *Junoniis*, quod quereris, *artibus*, sed piaculorum tuorum Oestro agitatum, cinctus mille oculis ac testibus persequitur. Quid nunc agas? nam aestuantem te misere & pendentem
10 video. An *tuas ipse laudcs vesanus decantares*? vesanus profecto sis, si id suscipias; vesanus, si id unquàm cogitabas. *Vitdmne conscribas & facinora omnia tua*? pervellem equidem; sed vereor ne non *Morus*, sed *Florus* nimiiim in tuis floralibus, id est, multo brevior quàm par esset, futurus sis.
15 Vereor ne inideas nobis tot lepidas fabellas, qui unam solum *retexere*, hortensem nimirum illam, tantopere gravatus sis. Sane qui illas lites *Junonias* omnes, qui *ilia jurgia Salmasii* praetermiseris, qui pradium illud nobile *Pontianum* mihi tantis rebus parum idoneo reliqueris, qui denique totam illam
20 *Pontiae Sestiada* sicco pede prseterieris, praeteribis opinor

turn, but to yourself? You should commune with yourself, you should consult yourself, and beyond yourself you should look for nothing. But alas! wretch that you are 1 you have long been at dreadful variance with yourself! To you, nothing is

5 more intolerable than to be, to dwell with yourself; nor is there any one, more than yourself, from whom you would more willingly fly. But in vain: for, miscreant, it is yourself with whom you must fly; it is yourself who must follow. What raises such commotion within is, that within is a whip,

10 and that Argus tormentor of yours, who with his thousand eyes, his thousand witnesses, follows you ever, not, as you complain, with "Junonian artifices," but to disquiet you with the maddening gad-fly of your heinous crimes! What would you do now? for I see you disturbed and pondering as if

15 in distress. Would you be "so mad as to chant your own praises?" You would be mad indeed, if you undertook to do this: mad, if you had ever a thought of such a thing. "Would you write your own life, with an account of all your great actions?" Most earnestly I would wish it; but I am afraid you

20 would turn out to be Florus instead of Morus—too much in your flowers; that is, far more brief than would be proper. I am afraid you would grudge us so many choice stories, when you were so much oppressed with "unravelling" only one—I mean the garden-story. Indeed, you who could pass over all

25 those Junonian quarrels, those brawls with Salmasius; who could leave to me, who am little suited to transactions of such grandeur, that renowned battle with Pontia; in fine, who could pass over untouched, that whole Sestiad of Pontia—

silentio Tibaltianam quoque illam, & illius nuper domus
calamitatem, ubi tu procax in ancillam, proditor in herum
extitisti: nam ancillis, ut videtur, quocunque vadis, nullum
abs te refugium est. Tacebitur & vidua ilia, quàm tu, solatii
5 turn plenus, nunc inops, *cùm* de marito recens mortuo velle
consolari prae te ferebas, ejus pudicitiam tentasse diceris: Nee
dices credo quâ domo egredientem te cum scorto intempesta
nocte Amsterodami ilia mulier vidit; quae delinita primium
pollicitationibus tuis, mox decepta, novissime nomen tuum
10 ad Presbyteros detulit; qui tuum nomen recipere, quod ob
priora facinora ejiciendum ex suo ordine & circumscribendum
statuebant, ne aucto scelere, cum augeri poena tua non posset,
augeretur ordinis infamia, recusarunt. Quid ergo? *an qua*
jecisses uno cum servo itinera nocturna ilia nempe Haga Lei-
15 *dam posteris narrares?* ne hoc quidem, sat scio, voles: verùm
ilia servus ipse passim copiose narrat, & permulta alia prae-
clarè abs te gesta: cætera jam tritissima plurimisque per ea loca
testibus confirmata. Age verò; post dubitationem sane miseram
quæ te perplexum tamdiu atque suspensum tenuit, post tui
20 fugam, quo tandem fugis? quò ad extremum te recipis? *fidei*,

will, I suspect, pass over in silence, that Tibaltiana also, and the late misfortune of that house, where you proved yourself a wanton to the maid, and a traitor to the master: for it seems, that wherever you go, the maids can never escape you. No
5 mention will be made likewise of that widow, whose chastity you are said to have attempted, under the pretence of consoling her for the recent loss of her husband: for, though now so poor, you were then rich in consolation. Nor will you say a word, I think, of the house at Amsterdam, from which, at an
10 unseasonable hour of the night, you were seen to go out with a strumpet, by a woman, who deceived by the promises by which you at first cajoled her, has very recently complained of you to the presbyters. The presbyters having before resolved to cashier you for former offences, lest, by augmenting your
15 crimes, when there could be no augmentation of punishment, you should bring still further disgrace upon their order, refused to receive your name. What would you relate next? Would you leave to posterity a narrative of those nocturnal
"journeys you took with one servant," namely, from the
20 Hague to Leyden? That you would not do this, I am quite sure: besides, a copious narrative of those journeys, as of many others of your splendid exploits, has been already scattered everywhere by the servant himself: the rest are now grown very trite, having been confirmed by a host of witnesses,
25 throughout those parts. But come; after the truly miserable state of suspense by which you have been so long perplexed; after your flight from yourself; whither did you fly at last? Whither did you betake yourself? "We may consult (you

inquis, *publics monumenta consulamus*. Acta tua credo jam publica, quæ in Bibliotheca Genevensium enumerata centum prope articulis, tuorum scelerum monumenta posteritati servantur. A *Geneva exorsus*, inquis, *jabellam nescio quàm*
5 *poetarum autoritate subnixam instituis*. Ferax tu quidem sæculum poetarum dicis, qui tot una in urbe, tibi que omnes infestos queraris; nigrum te aliquem oportet esse, ipsoque moro nigriorem, quem tot poetæ oderint; festivum quoque hominem, qui quorum autoritas testium te jugulavit, eorum
10 nunc poeticam iniquiorem in te causeris. Verum ista te festivitas nihil in hoc tempore adjuvabit. Permuli sunt in ilia civitate viri honestissimi, nonnulli Presbyteri, Doctores, Ministri, nescio an Poetæ, qui fabellam tibi hanc in foro agere cupiunt; qui non sua carmina recitare, sed tua crimina pro testimonio
15 dicere parati jampridem sunt. Nemo sic unquàm poetam recitantem, ut tu hos omnes contra te testantes & fugisti & fugies. Adeone vero singular! impudentia occaluisti, ut institutam in te legitime accusationem testatissimam, cujus vim atque auctoritatem cum sustinere non posses, discedendi, &
20 veluti in exilium abeundi licentiam exorasti, hanc tu quasi *jabellam nescio quàm* eludere & uno verbo leviculo sic amo-

say) the monuments of the public faith/' Your acts, I apprehend, are already public, being laid up for posterity, to the amount of nearly a hundred articles, in the library at Geneva, as the monuments of your crimes. "Beginning (you say) from
5 Geneva, you trump up a story, of I know not what, founded on the authority of poets." You speak of a truly fertile breed of poets, when you complain of there being so many in one city, and that they are all your enemies! You must be a black scoundrel, blacker even than the mulberry, to have incurred the
10 hatred of so many poets! You must be a sweet fellow, when you can now charge with hostility towards you, the poetry of those, whose authority as witnesses has stabbed you to the heart. But that sweetness of yours will help you but little on the present occasion. There are very many persons in that city,
15 of characters the most respectable, some of them presbyters, doctors, ministers, and for ought I know, poets, who are desirous of bringing this story of yours to an examination in a court of justice; who have been long since prepared, not to recite their own verses, but to declare in evidence your crimes.
20 Who ever fled in this manner from a poet reciting, as you have fled, and will fly from all these testifying against you? And are you hardened in such matchless impudence, as to think, that when an accusation, attested beyond example, has been legally brought against you, which bore so hard upon you,
25 that you were unable to sustain its pressure, but petitioned for leave to depart, and as it were, to banish yourself—as to think you can elude this, as "a tale of I know not what," and by a single insignificant expression, to cast it utterly from you?

liri abs te posse existimes? At *permulti sunt*, inquis, *in hoc Belgio, qui me Geneva familiariter usi optimè omnium norunt quhm non ibi nullo in pretio fuerim*. Audi igitur quae sint honestissimorum hominum de tc judicia primò Genevae, 5 deinde in Belgio. Duorum verba ipsa ex literis desumpta, in medium proferam.

Literce Gcnevæ datæ pridic Id. Qctobr. 1654.

- Mirari certè nostrates satis non possunt, ita te interiora ignoti ali^{us} hominis nosse, tam nativis coloribus depinxisse, ut 10 ne ab illis quidem, quibus familiarissime usus est, tota hominis histrionia vel certius vel felicius potuisset adumbrari: unde haerent merito & ego cum illis, qua fronte ἀνίσχυτο; licet homo & oris improbi, in publicum rursus theatrum prodire sit ausurus. Illud enim summum foelicitatis tuae hac in parte 15 compendium, quod non vel ficta vel ignota alias hominis scelera attuleris, sed quae omnium & amicissimorum etiam ore decantata, integri coetus autoritate & assensu, immo plurium adhuc scelerum accessione luculenter possint corroborari.
- 20 Et infra. Credas velim vix ullum hie reperiri amplius, ubi multos annos publico munere, sed cum summo hujus Eccle-

But, say you, "There are very many persons in this Holland, who knew me intimately at Geneva, and who are the best judges whether I was a person of no estimation there." Listen, then, to the judgments of men of the highest character, concerning you, first at Geneva, afterwards in Holland. Of two
 5 of these persons I will produce the very words as they were taken from their letters.

Letter, dated Geneva, Oct. 14, 1654.

"Certainly, our friends and countrymen cannot sufficiently
 10 admire how you could be thus acquainted with the inmost parts of a man, otherwise unknown, how you could have drawn him thus in his native colours, that not even his most familiar friends could have portrayed the endless actings of the man with greater truth or happiness 1 They are therefore
 15 naturally at a loss to conceive, and I among the rest, with what front, though a man devoid of shame, and of an audacious character, he could presume to come forward again on the theatre of the public! And what constitutes the acme of your felicity in this respect, is, that you have not adduced such
 20 crimes of the man as are either forged or otherwise unknown, but such as, by the authority and consent of the whole congregation, have been talked of over and over again, by all his most intimate friends: nay, the evidence may be clearly reinforced by the addition of many other disgraceful actions."

25 And farther on: "I would wish to convince you, that in the place where he, for many years, did public duty, though to the highest disgrace of this church, there is scarcely anyone

six dedecore functus est, qui prostituti pudoris homini patrocinium suum vel audeat vel sustineat amplius commodare.

Hæ sunt eorum voces, qui penitissime te norunt: quàm turpem tui memoriam Genevæ reliqueris, hæ liters, aliæque
5 bene multæ si proferrentur, docerent. Nunc in Belgio aliisque locis qua fama sis, *quo in pretio* cognosce. Viri probatissimi tibi que noti non literas solum, sed quoniam abs te prius nominatus, idque in tua causa, atque laudatus est, nomen quoque edam. Is est vir gravissimus Joannes Duræus; qui dum Ottoni
10 sola fide nixus interponit se, mecumque agit, ut innocentem te scilicet missum facerem, non potest non fateri simul quàm longe alia de te cæterorum pæne omnium existimatio, aliusque sermo sit.

Ex Literis Durczi Basiled, Octob. 3. 1654.

15 Quod ad Mori vitia improbitatemque attinet, non videtur Ottonus ita de eo sentire: scio tamen alios pessime de eo loqui, manus ejus in omnes pene, manus omnium in eum esse, plerosque etiam Gallicæ Synodi ministros dare operam ut ei Pastoris munus abrogetur, Neque hie aliam Basileæ reperio
20 de eo hominum opinionem, quàm quæ in Belgio est eorum qui eum minimè amant.

left, who is bold enough, or who can endure any longer to extend his patronage to a man who has thus prostituted his reputation."

Such are the testimonies of those who know you thoroughly. This letter, with many others if produced, may serve to show, how scandalous is the memory you have left behind you at Geneva! Learn next what sort of fame you possess, "of what estimation" you are in Holland and in other places. I will produce a letter from a person of unquestionable probity, and well known to yourself; and as he was first mentioned by you, in your own cause, and likewise commended by you, I will even give his name. This is the very grave personage, John Durær, who, while influenced by the single credit of Otto, interferes, endeavouring to prevail upon me to acknowledge your innocence and let you escape; though at the same time he could not deny that the general opinion and report concerning you were widely different.

Extract of a letter of Durcer, Basel, Oct. 3, 1654.

"As to the vices and licentious conduct of More, Otto seems to have a different opinion of him. I am aware, however, that others speak of him in the most opprobrious terms; that his hand is almost against every man, and every man's hand against him; that most of the ministers even of the synod of France are endeavouring to cashier him from the office of pastor. And I cannot say that I find people's opinion of him here at Basel different from that entertained in Holland by those who are the least attached to him."

O pulchrum elogium! quo tu omnium pene mortalium
judicio Ismæli hosti Ecclesiæ, quàm Ministro pacis & Evan-
geliî similior judicaris. Hunc tuæ ubique gentium existima-
tionis testem integerrimum, si potes, rejice. Mihi creduli-
5 tatem desine objectare: *Nemo omnes, neminem omnes jecl-*
lerunt, tua tibi verba regero. Hæc cum ita sint, perficiam baud
multo negotio, ut intelligas, quàm exiguum tibi in aliis præ-
sidium sit, cum tarn exiguum tibi in teipso fuerit. Quod enim
10 potest aliena fides testimonium de te aliis perhibere, cum tua
fides perhibere nullum quod juvet aut cui confidas, de temet-
ipso possit tibi? Et videte quæso quàm dissoluto animo,
quàm abjecto desertor sui & perfuga ad patrocinium alienee
fidei ab se transfugiat. *Neque vero*, inquit, *tempus teram in*
eorum sollicita rejudatione, quæcunque tu garris. Laudo te
15 beti animi atque jucundi, nihil tu magis sollicite, quàm solli-
citudinem ipsam vitas. Mea modo *nimis sollicita* tibi fuit ad
Deum *protestatio*: nunc tuam non minus *sollicitam* putas
tuorum criminum *rejudationem*. Atqui ego si duntaxat *garrio*,
haud multam sane sollicitudinem tua refutatio desiderabit.
20 Ignavissimus profect6 sis, aut male conscius necesse est, cui
tarn facilis tuimetipsius defensio, tarn gravis & *sollicita* videat-

O rare eulogy! in which, by the general sentiments of mankind, you are judged to be liker far to Ishmæ! , that enemy of the church, than to a minister of peace and of the gospel! Set aside if you can, this uncorrupt witness of your estimation
 5 among all nations—charge me no more with credulity. "The man never existed who could deceive all mankind; and all mankind could never deceive any one": I send you back your own words. This being the case, I shall have no great difficulty in convincing you, as you have found so little protection
 10 from yourself, how little you have to expect from others: for what must be the nature of that testimony which extraneous faith can give to others concerning you, when your own faith can give you none even of yourself which can be of any use to you, or on which you can rely? Mark, readers, I
 15 beseech you, how, with his mind all unhinged, abject, a deserter and fugitive from himself, he flies for protection to the faith of others! "Prate on what you will (says he) I shall not waste my time in an anxious refutation of it." I applaud your cheerfulness and good humour, but there is nothing
 20 which you more anxiously shun than the anxiety itself. It is not long since, that my "protestation" to God was too anxious for you: now you consider as no less "anxious" your own "refutation" of your own crimes. And yet, if I merely "prate," your refutation will in reality require no great anxiety. Indeed,
 25 deed, you must be the most indolent of men, or you must have a guilty conscience, if the defence of yourself, which is so easy a matter, appears to you so weighty and "anxious": you must be a mere driveller, and deserve to be laughed to scorn, if you

tur: ineptus plane & ridendus, qui nullum tempus inutilius terere te putes, quàm in eo ipso quod ad rem, siquid vides, & ad causam maxime pertineat. Nam *quid proficiam*, inquis, *si fabulam hanc penitus retexuero? statim aliam ordieris.*

- 5 Sane quidem difficile id esset nemini: neque de nihilo te urit ista suspicio. Tanta enim tu solus fabularum sylva es, ut ex tuis unius rebus gestis atque nequitiis suppeditare centum triviis atque circulis unde multos in dies rideant satis fabularum unus possis. Atque adeo hujus fabulæ actum jam quar-
- 10 turn peregrimus: exit Morus; aliam credo vult personam induere. *Ut scmel*, inquit, *dejungamur, quod juerit Ecclesiæ Genevensis, quod civitatis illius de me judicium hæ docebunt literce Testimonials, alid occasione date.* Ita est; ad elogia nunc transit sua; actus quintus incipit: nova plane persona,
- 15 sed eodem tamen subtus latente Moro, prodit cornicula, sed & ea quoque personata: miris nescio quot repente plumis adscititiis atque coloribus ita indutus, ut Phoenicopterus nescio quis potius, & exornati quiddam monstri simile videatur. Aves Aristophanicas expoliasse hominem diceres; sed mala
- 20 ave, ni fallor; cum se non jam fabulam agere, sed apologum

think you can spend no time with less utility, than that employed on the very thing, which you must see (if you can see anything) is directly to the point, and has the closest connection with the cause under consideration. Now, "where
 5 (you ask) would be the utility to me if I should unravel this tale from beginning to end? you would instantly begin another." It is true, that would be no difficult task for any one; nor is it for nothing, that you have so burning a sense of this suspicion: for you contain within yourself, so large a stock of
 10 tales, that from your own exploits and amours alone, you may furnish enough for many days merriment to a hundred knots and companies of people. And so we are come to the end of the fourth act of this tale: exit Morus.

He means to appear, I suspect, in a new character. "To
 15 settle this business (says he) once for all, these letters testimonial, which were given on another occasion, will show what opinion was entertained of me by the church and by the city of Geneva." My conjecture was right; he is now proceeding to his own eulogy—the fifth act begins; evidently a new
 20 character, though the same More lurks underneath: it is the daw comes forward, though also under the disguise of an actor. I cannot describe the marvellous variety of borrowed plumes and colours, with which he is suddenly bedecked; you would be inclined to think him some bird of phoenix-wing—
 25 some representation of a monster gaudily dressed. You would declare the man had plucked the birds of Aristophanes; but, if I am not mistaken, they must have been birds of ill-omen: when he is stripped, he will find that he is not now acting a

Æsopicum in se verum demonstrare nudatus intelliget. Cum enim hasce plumas nee tuas esse, More, & partim obsoletas, quæque sua sponte mox defluant, partim falsis coloribus fucatas, partim dolo, malisque artibus surreptas docuero, 5 dubium non est, quin delusus abs te olim grex avium, nunc factus certior qui sis, de repetundis plumis jure tecum sit acturus; & ablato quisque suo, obscoenam sub phcenice upupam non deplumem te modo, sed depygem demum relinquat. Primæ omnium *literce Genevensium Testimoniales* cristam 10 tibi erigunt: quas illi multo mallent, sat scio, aut nunquàm tibi datas, qualis postea evasisti, aut abs te nunquàm prolatas. Semper ego quidem de Genevensi Civitate, pro eo ac debeo, honesta omnia & sentire soleo & loqui: religionis cultum purioris, primumque studium, in Republica deinde pruden- 15 tiam, sequalitatem, moderationem, constantiam prope admiror; qua se tarn arctis finibus, inter vicinos hinc inde potentissimos & imminentes, summâ in pace ac libertate per tot jam annos conservat & tuetur: rectiisque in re vix mediocri & melius id agit quod civilis vitæ omnis principium atque 20 finis est, idque populo suo fcelicius præstat, quàm summis

play, but showing the application of one of ^Esop's fables in his own person: for when I shall make it appear, More, that these plumes are not your own; that they are in part decayed, and such as would soon have fallen off of themselves, in part
 5 tinged with false colours, and that they were stolen, in part by craft and wicked arts—it is not to be doubted, that the flight of birds before decoyed by you, having at last discovered who you are, will enter an action against you for the embezzlement of their plumes; and that, when each has taken his own,
 10 you will be left in the end no phoenix indeed, but a fowl-feeding hoopoe, with not a single plume, and barely a breech.

First of all, the "Letters Testimonial of the Genevese" cause you to erect your crest—letters, which, as I am well informed, the Genevese since you have turned out such a miscreant, re-
 15 pent either that they were ever given you, or that you have ever produced them. Now I am in the constant habit, as becomes me, both of thinking and of speaking highly of the city of Geneva. I admire, first, its worship and study of a purer religion; and my admiration of the republic is scarcely less
 20 high for her prudence, equality, moderation, constancy; by which virtues, though cooped up within bounds so narrow, surrounded on all sides by powerful and vigilant neighbours, she has preserved herself—has guarded her liberty, during so many years, in profound peace! And this, which is the origin
 25 and end of all civil society, she performs for her people with more propriety, skill, and prosperity, though with finances barely tolerable, than the most potent kings can do for their subjects, though possessed of immense treasures, and assisted,

opibus instruci, summis opinione hominum adjuti consiliis reges maximi servientibus præstant suis. De Genevensibus igitur, quod eorum laudem & existimationem possit immu-
nuere, non est ut quicquàm velim aut queam dicere, etiamsi
5 de his literis Testimonialibus ea dicerem, quæ & ab aliis dicta olim ipsi fatentur, & ad me recentius allata sunt. Sed necesse non est; non dicam igitur qua occasione sint datæ; propterea quod ipse non hac, sed *did occasione* datas esse ait. Non quæ-
ram, utrum summa Ecclesiæ Senatiisque voluntas honora-
10 rium hoc Moro testimonium sua sponte concesserit, an impudentissima hominis postulatio, cum accusatus gravissimorum criminum nequisset se defendere, ab iis duntaxat abstulerit qui Ecclesiæ Pastorumque communi existimationi perperam metuentes, amandare ab se hominem quoquo modo malebant,
15 quàm hæc publico judicio severiùs perquiri, nee sine offensa fortassis infirmiorum palam agitari. Non dicam, id quod multi tamen dicunt mihi que confirmant, nee conventu frequenti, nee solito conveniendi die datas hasce literas: ne id quidem dicam scribenti adstitisse Morum; unde illud fortasse
20 *tralatitium*, & *exambire* ex elegantiss Mori selectioribus tarn in promptu erant; & *rupta concionante Moro subsellia*, *gemmeque illce clarissima*; quæ omnia usque eo vel cupiditatem scribentis vel judicium non grave significant, ut non solum

as is commonly supposed, by the wisest counsels! Of the Genevese, therefore, I would or can have nothing to say, which can lessen their glory or consideration, though I should say of these Letters Testimonial what they themselves confess
5 had been before said by others, and which has been lately communicated to me; but it is unnecessary. I will not say then on what occasion they were given, because More himself declares it was not on this, but on "another occasion." I will not inquire, whether the supreme will of the church and of the
10 senate granted spontaneously this honorary testimony to More, or whether, when under accusation of weighty crimes, from which he was unable to defend himself, his own impudent request simply got it from those, who in their serious apprehensions for the general character of the church and of
15 ministers, preferred sending him off at any rate, to examining these matters to the bottom by the strictness of a public trial; especially, as a public discussion could not perhaps have taken place without scandal to the weaker brethren. I will not say, what is nevertheless told me and confirmed to me by
20 many, that these letters were given neither in a full assembly, nor on the customary day of assembling. I will not even say, that More stood by while they were written; whence, peradventure, the expression "chosen above others," and the expression, "caressed," were so promptly supplied, from the
25 choicer elegancies of More; as likewise, "the broken benches, and those brightest gems, while More was preaching"; the whole of which together shows so forcibly either the partiality or the feeble judgment of the writer, that, from his

nimio laudandi studio laudes ipsas corrupisse, quod vitium ab eo qui totius nomine Ecclesiæ scripsit, quàm maxime abesse debuit, sed indignissimum ornare dum studet, non tarn vivum decorare, quàm mortuum & putentem illis odoribus differ-
5 turn funerasse videatur. Non dicam denique ilia nomina in conventu subscripta non esse, circum vicos cursasse Morum, & pastores domi singulos adortum, quo sibi facilius hasce subscriptiones expugnaret; Propterea quòd erant in conventu qui reclamare, qui intercedere, qui obsistere non desinebant,
10 qui sese non audiri graviter conquesti sunt. Nihil horum dicam; quod nonnulli tamen dicunt, etiam qui illo tempore Genevan rebus illis omnibus interfuere; multi aliis in locis *Dcum hominumque fidem implorantes atque jurati nulla se similtate, sed officii religione commotos, hxc* dicere; adeoque
15 illis literis fidem se adjungere non posse; quorum inter primos virum sanctissimum Fredericum Spanhemium, Theologiæ professorem & pastorem reverendum fuisse intelligo: Hoc solum dico, hasce literas, quod idem de literis reverendissimi viri Joannis Deodati est dicendum, ante sexennium datas,
20 multis postea maleficiis ab ipso Moro oblitteratas jampridem esse & antiquatas. Nondum increbuerat Claudia, nondum hortus, & ilia, ad Claudiam nescio an cum Claudia, Mori suavissima cohortatio:

excessive eagerness to praise, he seems not only to have corrupted the praise itself—a fault which should have been avoided with the utmost care by one who was writing in the name of the whole church—but from his solicitude to adorn
 5 an object so unworthy, appears less to decorate a living person, than to entomb a putrid corpse, stuffed with aromatics. Finally, I will not say that those names were not subscribed in the assembly; that More bustled about the town, attacking each pastor singly at his own house, that with the less difficulty he
 10 may win their subscriptions by storm: for there were persons in the assembly who ceased not to exclaim against them, to interpose, to resist, who grievously complained they were not listened to. I will say nothing of all these things, though they are said by some who were at Geneva at the very time, and
 15 present while those transactions took place; though they are said by many, in other places, who declare, "by the faith of gods and men," that they are influenced by no "private enmity," but solely by their "official" duty; and hence, that it was not possible for them to contribute anything to the
 20 credit of those letters. Among the foremost of these persons, I find, was the pious and venerable Frederick Spanheim, professor of theology, and a reverend divine. The only thing I myself say, is, that these letters, which were given six years ago, like those of Deodati, have been long since rendered ob-
 25 solete and antiquated by the many subsequent misdemeanors of More himself. Neither Claudia, nor the garden, was yet known to fame; nor likewise, More's most delectable comforting, whether of Claudia or with Claudia, I cannot decide:

—*Poma alba jerebat,*
Qui post nigra tulit Morus:—

Id quod viris proculdubio integerrimis & honestissimis,
harum literarum subscriptoribus, quin imposuerit non du-
5 bito. At postquàm ilia cum muliere, primo ancilla, deinde
nupta, occultari diutius consuetudo istius nefaria non potuit,
factus iterum reus, cum honestam rarionem defendendi sui
nullam inveniret, & manifestis in rebus teneretur, fractus jam
animo, atque id maximè veritus, si iudicium fieret, nequid in
10 se gravius consuleretur, quo ipso die pronuncianda de se sen-
tentia Presbyterorum, deinde Magistratuum erat, iudicium
declinat, licentiam abeundi petit. Illi necessitatem hanc rati
se hoc modo effugisse, quàm impositam sibi minime volebant,
ut Ecclesiæ Ministrum tantorum scelerum damnare, & in
15 homine Ecclesiastico tarn triste exemplum statuere cogeren-
tur, libenter assensere. Petit insuper literas impudentissimus
homo commendatitias. Id vero postulare ab iudicibus suis
reum indigne ferentes, prorsus recusant: ita bonus ille tabel-
larius permanere sine literis ilia in urbe, omni munere exutus,
20 circiterdecem menses coactusest: Etesiis credo sacrificans, ut
aliquàm saltern auram commendatitiam impetrare aliqu6
posset: Donee multi gravissimi viri ne moram quidem ejus

Now fruit all black, the conscious Morus bore,
Which purer white had ever borne before:

a circumstance which I cannot doubt must have imposed upon those indisputably just and honorable men, who were the
5 subscribers to those letters. But after his shameless connection with that woman (who at first was a servant, and afterwards a married woman) could be concealed no longer; having no honest means of defending himself from this further charge, as the facts were notorious; fearing above all, if the examina-
10 tion should proceed, that some more serious consultation should take place in his disfavour; now crest-fallen, on the very day when the sentence of the presbyters, and afterwards of the magistrates, was to be pronounced upon him, he declines the trial, and petitions for leave to withdraw. The ministers, thinking they should in this way avoid the ungrateful necessity imposed upon them, of condemning a minister of the church of such enormities, and of being obliged to exhibit to the world so melancholy an example in a man of the clerical character, freely give their consent. But the man has more-
20 over the effrontery to ask for a letter of recommendation; which, indignant that a culprit should presume to make such a request of his judges, they flatly refuse; and so this honest letter-carrier, stripped of every office, was forced to remain about ten months in the same city, sacrificing, I ween, to the Etesiaë
25 —those gentle winds of the north, vernal and bland, that he might obtain from another quarter at least, some commendatory gale; till, at length, a number of grave personages, un-

ilia in urbe ferendam rati, rursus rem adducere in iudicium
coeperunt. Id autem cum ad novas lites, &, ut supra dixi,
offensionem infirmorum spectare videretur, consultius tan-
dem visum est, quoquo modo hominem ablegare: rursus ita-
5 que dant literas; *non jrigidulas*, quod antea dixisse me que-
ritur, sed, quod nunc dico, frigidissimas; non ut commen-
dare cuiquàm mortalium, sed amandare ab se hominem
planè viderentur. Hoc si ita non est, More, postulo mihi
respondeas, cur superiores illas Genevensium literas, baud
10 uno nomine jam obsoletas, quæque recentiora facinora tua à
me tibi potissimum objecta, ne attingunt quidem; quæ ego
vix attingi, ut minus mihi comperta, *blasfhernias* nempe *tuas*
in Spiritum sanctum, aliaque opinionum monstra uberius
commemorant, cur & illas in quibus pariim sibi de te credi à
15 plerisque subscriptores tui queruntur, cur, inquàm, illas utras-
que in medium protuleris, has novissimas de medio remo-
veris? Cedo proximas hasce literas post alteram in te accusa-
tionem illam gravissimam ab aliis ægerrime, ab aliis facile,
sed eodem tui removendi animo ab omnibus concessas. Sapiens,
20 opinor, non exhibebis; non delectant te istæ literæ: ex quibus
mutatam de te Genevensium opinionem, refrigerata amicissi-
morum studia manifesto perspicere possimus; eosque his

able to bear this lingering of his in the city, began a second time to prepare his case for trial. Still, as this proceeding might look as if it had reference to a new case, and, as I said before, might give scandal to the weak, it seemed at last more
5 advisable to adopt some expedient for sending him out of the way. With this view, they again grant a letter, not "rather cold," as he complains I before affirmed it to be, but, as I now affirm, freezing cold; evidently less calculated to recommend any mortal, than to send him packing about his business. If
10 this be not the truth, More, pray tell me the reason, why they do not even touch upon that former letter of the Genevese, now grown obsolete on more accounts than one; upon those new adventures of yours with which I have chiefly reproached you; dwelling principally upon topics which I have barely
15 mentioned, as having been less investigated by me—I mean "your blasphemies against the holy spirit," and other monstrous opinions; why also should you produce the letter which, as your subscribers themselves complain, contains little about you that is credited by people in general; why, I say, should
20 you exhibit for public inspection both of these letters, and keep out of sight this new letter? Show me, since this other heavy charge against you, this last letter, granted by some with the greatest reluctance, by others with readiness, but by all with the same intention—that of sending you off. You will show
25 your wisdom, I think, and keep it close. That letter is by no means one of the most delectable to you. We may plainly see in it the altered opinion of the Genevese, the cooled affection of your dearest friends; and that, so far from having any in-

literis non te laudatum, sed ab se, dummodo longissime remotum, quasvis in terras exportatum cupiisse. Hæc Mori fides publica est; qua se in Ecclesiam credere, quàm in Spiritum Sanctum planius facit. Quæ reliqua a me dicta in eum
5 sunt neque diluit, neque refellit, ne oppugnat quidem. Sed quoniam, Vlacco fidejussore, tomum insuper alterum fidei publicæ promittit, in quo *virorum aliquot insignium, Senatusque & Ecclesie Midelburgensis, & Arnstelodamensis testimonia* dicentur, dum volumen illud, cudendum, puto,
10 in Gallia, excudendum Hagæ-Comitis a Vlacco expectamus, aut ne expectamus quidem, visum est de toto hoc genere testimoniorum pauca disserere.

Magnum ego ornamentum quidem virtutis testimonium publicum esse fateor; argumentum perinde certum atque fir-
15 mum longe abest ut existimem; nam ut illud omittam quod virtutis multo difficilior quàm nummorum spectatio est, hoc sanè constat, privatorum privates mores, & pnesertim vitia ad aures gravissimas, tot alioqui negotiis occupatas, rarissime perferri. Et testimonium publicum tarn qui petunt, quàm
20 qui dant, boni juxta malique fere sunt; & petunt quidem mali sæpius quàm boni, falsa specie proborum induti. Ut quisque

tendon of commending you by these letters, they only wished to remove you to the greatest possible distance—to transport you to some foreign country, they cared not whither.

Such is the public faith of More; by which it evidently appears, that he believes in the church, rather than in the holy spirit. The rest of what I have said against him, he neither dilutes nor refutes; he does not even oppose it. But since, on the authority of Vlaccus, his voucher, he promises yet another *tome* of the public faith, in which will be brought forward
 10 "the testimonies of some persons of note, together with those of the senate and church of Middelburg, as likewise of Amsterdam"—while we are waiting for, or rather that we may not wait for this volume, which will be fabricated, I suspect, in France, and printed by Vlaccus at the Hague, it may be
 15 worth while to say a few words of the nature of such testimonies in general.

I acknowledge that the testimony of the public is indeed a great ornament to virtue; but I must yet think that it is very far from being any certain and solid proof; for, not to mention that the assaying of virtue is a far more difficult matter
 20 than the assaying of coin, it is manifest, that the private manners of private men, and especially their vices, are very rarely brought to the gravest ears, which are occupied in attending to so many and different concerns. Besides, those who seek and
 25 those who grant the public testimony are alike the good and bad without distinction; nay, the bad, putting on a counterfeit appearance of honest men, seek it more frequently than the good. In proportion as any one is excellent, does he stand

optimus est, ita minime testimonio eget alieno: neque enim facit quicquàm vir bonus ut noscatur, seipso contentus. Si commendato est opus, virtutem semper apud se habet commendatricem optimam; si defenso, obrectationibus nimirum
5 & calumniis haud raro appetitus, eandem circumdat sibi integritatem suam & invictam recte factotum conscientiam; quo veluti munimento atque præsidio firmissimo, improborum hominum & impetus vanos excipit, & tela frustratur. Contra hie noster omnia: non enim virtutem, sed opinionem dun-
10 taxat ejus integumentum vitiorum, sibi comparaverat: ut reiectus, ut deprehensus, abscondere diutius improbitatem suam non potest, exors ipse fidei & naufragus ad alienam fidem se confert: quorum oculis antea servierat, eorum nunc manus commendatitias implorat; & singulari quadam atque
15 inaudita hactenus impudentia, quorum iudicium experiri non audet, eorum postulat testimonium. Propterea quod meamet ipsius sententia damnatus turpissime discedo, quod sententias vestras horreo atque defugio, *Uterus* quæso date innocentiae, pietatis, pudicitiae apud vos meae *testimoniales*. Si hæsitatur,
20 si ambigitur, si ab aliis denique reclamatur indignitate rei vehementissime commotis, quò non demittit se? quo non descendit? circumcursare, ambire, prensare, obtestari, & quo adire non audet, eo amicorum allegationes dimittere. Aguntur fortunæ hominis, agitur caput, existimatio, immò Eccle-

less in need of extrinsic testimony: for, a good man, satisfied with himself, does nothing in order that it might be known. If he wants commendation, he has virtue ever with him for his best commender; if he wants defence, and it is no uncommon thing for him to be assailed by slander and envious abuse, he entrenches himself in his own integrity, and in the impregnable consciousness of righteous deeds; where, as within a rampart and strong fortress, he receives the vain assaults, and frustrates the darts of unprincipled men. How different is the conduct of this our adversary! He has provided himself not with virtue, but with opinion only, as a cloak for his vices: so that when once uncovered, once entrapped, he can hide his wickedness no longer; and being himself destitute, shipwrecked of faith, he flies for shelter to the faith of others. Those, of whose eyes he before had stood in slavish awe, he now intreats to use their hands in his commendation. By some strange, and yet unheard of impudence, he requires the testimony of those, whose judgment he dares not abide. Because I basely withdraw, condemned by my own sentence; because I fly with horror from your sentences: pray grant me "Letters Testimonial" of my innocence, piety, and modesty, while among you. If there be any demur, any doubt, in short, if others, shocked at the thing, exclaim against it with vehemence—how low does he stoop! to what a pitch does he degrade himself! He goes round canvassing, he intreats, conjures, and where he dares not appear himself, thither he sends a deputation of his friends. The fortunes of the man are at stake; his liberty, his character are in danger; nay the charac-

siæ totius & sacri ordinis existimatio agitur. Expugnantur multi, partim fatigati, partim inducti, partim veriti nequid istius ignominia in publicum redundaret, partim delictis ignoscere, literate parcere, laboranti consulere suæ bonitatis
5 esse arbitrati. Ita tandem victor iste laureatas literas aufert; ita emendicata quovis tempore vel occasione, non jam testimonia de se publica, quæ si fuissent ipse abolevit, sed sua de publico reportata spolia ad coronam venditat; nee tarn laudes videtur suas, quàm pœnitentiam publicam circumkrre. Quern
10 enim non poeniteat præconem sese laudum ejus fuisse, qui ad omnes postea libidines tarn turpem sui auctionem fecerit: nunc ejusdem sese mangonem fieri, qui servus omnium nequissimus ministrum se licitanti cuivis Ecclesiæ ex hac laudum catasta vendibiliorem, & sacrarum literarum miseris empto-
15 ribus venalem se pretii quantivis professorem profitetur. Nam viderint per Deum immortalem, qui ex istius vel commendatione vel impunitate ignoscentes & bonos haberi se postulant, ne ista bonitas in malum desinat; viderint ne ipsis bonis fraudi sit. Cum necesse sit, serpat latius, serpat ocys ista

ter of the whole church—of the sacred order itself. Many are gained over, in part wearied out, in part persuaded, in part fearing lest some portion of the ignominy should overflow upon the general body, in part thinking it incumbent on their

5 benevolence to pardon offences, to spare a man of letters, to consider his labouring condition. And so at last he bears off in triumph his laureate letters, and sets to sale those public testimonies of himself; obtained no matter when or wherefore, by supplications of beggarly meanness, and which, if they could

10 ever be considered as testimonies, he has himself since rendered null, and which therefore are now to be regarded rather as spoils which he has taken from the public. Thus he appears as the hawker of the public repentance, instead of his own praises. And who would not repent of having been the

15 barker of the praises of one, who in addition to all his libidinous dealings, has made so shameful an auction of himself? Who would not repent of having now become the slave-seller of a man who, himself the vilest of slaves, openly offers himself (as the more marketable from this slave-cage of praises)

20 for a minister of the church to any one's bidding, and for a venal professor, at the highest price, to the contemptible purchasers of sacred learning? Now it behoves those persons who, either from the commendation or from the impunity of this man, claim to be considered so good and forgiving, to see,

25 by the help of the immortal God, that this goodness of theirs does not end in evil. It behoves them to see that it prove not a fraud upon the good themselves: for this infection, proceeding from the pastor and the doctor, must necessarily creep the

contagio pastoris in gregem, Doctoris in scholam; atque in ipsos fortasse bonorum istorum liberos, qui sophistæ huic errabundo & infami in disciplinam traduntur. Viderint ne tot pigmentis illita atque ornata turpitudine, tanta bonarum laudum jactura atque dispendio dealbata labes, spem faciat & aliis, eamque mentem injiciat, posse se quoque tutissimo hoc exemplo, eandem scholis, eandem Ecclesiis inferre personam, sine suo periculo cum summa etiam commendatione improbissimam. Cogitent, qui celari adversarios nostras maculas
10 putant oportere, non celando sed eluendo maculas purgari: celando apparere multo manifestiùs, & majorem indies feditatem contrahere. Postremo viderint, ne Ecclesiastas hujusmodi amovere ab Ecclesia tamdiu negligant, donec ipsa Ecclesia cum Ecclesiastis unâ amoveatur. Sane cum Apostoli
15 præceptum de Episcopo notissimum sit, eum ab extraneis etiam bonum habere testimonium oportere, quid adversariis lætius aut triumphandum magis potest accidere, quàm cum legerint atque audierint, qui non levi atque incerta, sed constante fama, summeque consentiente, multis testibus, multis
20 in locis flagitiosus atque nefarius compertus sit, eum quasi Ecclesiæ lumen unicum & ornamentum collatitiis Presbyteris

farther and the faster respectively over the flock and over the school; and as it may happen, over the very children of those good persons, who are entrusted for instruction to this vagabond and infamous sophist. It behoves them to see, that base-
 5 ness, bedaubed and bedecked with paint of such divers colours, that a stain, whited over with such a parade and expence of fine praises, does not elicit in others the hope, and induce the persuasion, that they also, grounding themselves on the singular safety of this example, may succeed, without peril to
 10 themselves, nay, with the highest applause, in bringing into the schools and into the churches, characters of like abandoned principles. Those who think it concerns us to conceal our stains from adversaries, should consider, that stains are not got rid of by being hidden, but by being washed out; that
 15 they only become the more visible, that they daily contract fresh foulness, from attempts to hide them. In fine, it behoves them to see, that they neglect not so long to remove from the church preachers of this cast, that the church itself, preachers and all, be not removed together. Indeed, as the precept of
 20 the apostle concerning the bishop is so very marked, that he ought to have a fair report even among foreigners — what could give greater delight, or be a cause of greater triumph to adversaries, than for them to read and hear, that the man, who, by a report in no wise vague or doubtful, but constant,
 25 and singularly consistent, by a host of witnesses, in many different places, has been found to be a person of a flagitious and scandalous life—that such a man is decorated, as the great luminary and ornament of the church, with the collective

rorum laudibus, & multiplici commendatione publica decorari. Quod hostibus nostris gaudium ne diuturnum sit, providere! non alia ratione potest, nisi siquis poterit exemplo, reque ipsa demonstrare nullum esse pestibus hujusmodi in
5 Ecclesia reformata consistendi locum: hæc testimonia, has laudes turn olim datas, cùm is, cui dabantur longè alius affectaret videri, atque esse nunc perspicitur, ipsum nunc irritas & nequaquàm suas usurpasse sibi fraude pessima; & amicorum de se elogia suo ipsius vitio abrogata, non ad vilissimas merces
10 involvendas, quo fato mala scripta solent fere perire, sed ad foedissimas flagitiorum ipsius sordes integendas, pro involucris abusum esse. Ego certè in priore illa defensione, & publicè jussus & privatim læsus, nisi siquàm dicendo peperissem mihi honestam existimationem, earn silendo amittere, &
15 quasi vacuum possessore, occupandam mendaciis & opprimendam relinquere maluissem, & patriæ, & mihi simul, cùm una eademque causa esset, communem operam summo studio impendi. Nunc accusatus graviter ab eodem quasi immeritum & innoxium hominem per calumnias & mendacia in-
20 famassem, ut impudentiam illius redarguerem, innocentiam tuerer meam, & siquid vel antea jam dixi commode, vel in posterum quod ex usu sit dicturus sum, si non doctrinæ &

praises of the presbyters, and with public, and various commendation. The only way of providing that this exultation of our enemies be not of long continuance, is, to demonstrate by an example, by a positive fact, that, in the reformed church,
 5 there is no room for any such pests; that these testimonies and praises, procured by himself and with the basest artifice, were given at a time, when the man to whom they were given, affected to be a far different personage from what he is now discovered to be, and that hence they are become insignificant,
 10 and anybody's praises and testimonies rather than his own; that even the eulogies bestowed upon him by his own friends, rendered vain by his own profligacy, have been degraded not indeed into wrappers for paltry commodities (the fate of most worthless writings) but into coverings for the foulest mire of
 15 his own debaucheries.

It is true, that, in that former defence, to which I was called by a public order and by private injury, as it was the cause of my country as well as my own, I performed the common task with zealous diligence: and who will say I ought to have
 20 chosen rather to lose, by silence, the honest reputation I might have gained by speaking, and to leave it, as it were, without a possessor, to be invaded and oppressed by lies? And being now under a heavy accusation, by the same person, of having defamed forsooth by scandal and falsehood, an innocent and
 25 unoffending man; that I might confound his impudence, and vindicate my own innocence; and further, (if I have hitherto written anything well, or shall hereafter write what may be of utility) that I may be able to obtain, if not the praise of

- ingenii laudem, famam saltern integram, & colendæ veritatis fidem afferre possem, ad contentionem hanc per se minime gratam, sed necessariam tamen, denuo descendi. Neque vero est, si hæc non essent, cur hujus operæ aut poenitere me, aut
- 5 pigere quenquàm alium, nisi conscium sibimet, debeat. Sane improbos vituperate, & bonos laudare, quandoquidem hoc præmii nobilissimi, illud poenæ gravissimæ rationem habet, & æquè justum & justitiæ prope summa est: quin & ad vitam bene instituendam par fere momentum utriusque cernimus.
- 10 Ita denique cognatæ inter se hæc dux res sunt, unoque & eodem opere absolvuntur, ut improborum vituperatio, proborum dici laudatio quodammodo possit. Verum ut jus & ratio atque usus utrobique par sit, non itidem est par gratia: nam qui alterum vituperat, duarum is uno tempore gravissimarum rerum onus
- 15 atque invidiam sustinet, & accusandi alterum, & de se bene sentiendi. Itaque laudant facile nunc boni, nunc mali dignos juxta atque indignos; accusare nemo libere atque intrepide, nisi solus integer, vel audet vel potest. Nos qui adolescentes tot sub magistris exudare in umbra eloquentiam solemus,
- 20 vimque ejus demonstrativam in vituperatione haud minus, quàm in laude arbitramur esse positam, tyrannorum antiqua

learning and of genius, at least a fame untainted by dishonour, with the credit of being an adorer of truth—I have stooped again to this contention, necessary indeed, though in itself most ungrateful. Nor, if these inducements were wanting,

5 should I myself have any reason to repent of this undertaking; nor would anyone else, unless conscious of guilt, have any cause for sorrow. Indeed, as the reproof of the bad is meant as a most serious punishment, so is the commendation of the good intended as the noblest reward; it is not merely just—it

10 goes near to the perfection of justice: we may add, that, in the just regulation of life, we see they are both almost of equal efficacy. In effect, these two things are so closely allied, that they are accomplished by one and the same act: for when we blame the bad, we may be considered, in some sort, as praising

15 the good. But that each may have its peculiar province, and reason, and use, they are not alike in point of favour; for, he who blames another, has to sustain at once the burden and the envy of two very serious things; namely, the burden of accusing another, and the envy which is the consequence of his hav-

20 ing a good opinion of himself. Hence it is, that both the good and the bad readily bestow praise, and with little distinction, upon the worthy and the unworthy; but no one, except the upright alone, openly and fearlessly either presumes, or has the authority to accuse. We, who as boys are accustomed

25 under so many masters to sweat in the shade at eloquence, and who are convinced that its persuasive power consists in censure no less than in applause, may, it is true, safely and valiantly batter the names of ancient tyrants: and as it happens,

nomina fortiter sane ad pluteum concidimus. Et Mezentium, si fors ferat, putidis rursum antithetis enecamus; aut Agrigeninum Phalarim tristi enthymematum mugitu, quàm in suo tauro, exquisitius torremus. In xysto nimirum aut in palæstra:
5 nam in Republica plerumque tales adoramus potiùs & colimus, & potentissimos & maximos & augustissimos appellamus. Atqui oportuit aut non in ludicro primam fere ætatem umbratiles consumpsisse, aut aliquando cum patriæ, cum Reipublicæ est opus, relicts rudibus, in solem ac pulverem atque aciem
10 audere; aliquando veros lacertos contendere, vera arma vibrare, verum hostem petere. Parte alia Suffenos & Sophistas; alia Pharisæos & Simones & Hymenæos & Alexandros, veteres quidem illos, multo mucrone insectamur: hodiernos & in Ecclesia redivos collatis elogiis laudamus, professionibus & st
15 pendiis & cathedris, incomparabiles videlicet & doctissimos & sanctissimos viros, ornamus. Ad censuram si forte ventum est, sicui forte persona & speciosa pellis detrahitur, si turpis introrsum, immo vero si palam atque aperte facinorosus arguitur, sunt qui hunc malint, nescio quo studio, quove metu
20 adducti, testimoniis publice defensum, quàm animadversione debita notatum. Mea ab his, fateor, quod aliquoties res ipsa

we kill Mezentius over again in stale antitheses; or, in the rueful bellowing of enthymemes, we roast, with a daintiness more exquisite than in his own bull, the Agrigentine Phalaris. I allude to those who were trained in the public walks and
5 schools of exercise: for such are the men, whom, in a republic, we most delight to honour and adore—such we fondly style most potent, and most magnificent, and most august! But yet, it was expected that those who thus spent a good part of their prime in mere pastime in the shade, should, at some
10 after period, when the country, when the republic stood in need of their services, throw aside their foils, and dare the sun, and the dust, and the field; that they should at last have the courage to use in their contests hands and arms of flesh and blood, to brandish real weapons, to encounter a real
15 enemy. We persecute, with no small hostility indeed, some, the Suffenuses and Sophists; some, the Pharisees, the Simons, the Hymenæuses, the Alexanders: for all these are ancients. But when we find them brought to life again, and appearing in the modern church, then we club our eulogies for them,
20 and honour them with stipends and professorial chairs, as patterns of all excellence, as prodigies of learning, as mirrors of sanctity. Should we ever go so far as to censure; should the mask and the fair outside happen to be torn away from one of this sort; should he prove to be foul within, nay plainly, mani-
25 festly villainous, there are yet not wanting those, who, (influenced by what consideration, by what fear, I know not) would rather choose for him to be defended by public testimonies, than branded with his merited reproof. My way of thinking

jam docuit, satis longè disjuncta ratio est: ut siquid adolescens
in illo otio literarum vel præceptis doctorum vel meis lucu-
brationibus profeci, id omne ad usum vitæ genensque hu-
mani, siquid tarn late possem, pro infirma parte mea confer-
5 rem. Quod si etiam ex privatis nonnunquàm inimicitiis de-
licta publica animadverti & sæpè corrigi solent, & adversa-
rium nunc non modo meum, sed pene omnium communem,
hominem nefarium, reformatis religionis & sacri maxime or-
dinis opprobrium, literatorum labem, juventutis pernicio-
10 sissimum præceptorem, immundum in sacris Ecclesiasten,
impulsus omnibus causis justissima vituperatione prosequutus
sum, eo necne cum fructu, quo oporteat, viderint illi, quorum
potissimum interest exemplum in isto edere, me quidem
spero (cur enim diffidam?) rem neque Deo ingratam, neque
15 Ecclesiæ insalubrem, neque Reipublice inutilem præstitisse.

is, I confess, far enough removed from this, as I have shown by my conduct on more occasions than one. If, as a boy in the above mentioned recreations of learning, I have profited anything from the precepts of the learned, or from my own lucubrations, it is my purpose, as far as my infirmity will permit, and if I may hope to perform anything on so wide a field, to contribute the whole to increase the welfare of life and of human kind. And if, even from private enmities, public offences are sometimes reprov'd and often corrected; if impelled by every motive to inflict reproof so well deserved, upon an adversary now become not mine alone, but the common adversary almost of all men; upon a character outrageously scandalous, the disgrace of the reformed religion, and above all of the holy order, the blot of letters, the fatal preceptor of youth, the preacher impure in sacred things—whether I shall have done this with all that effect which it ought to have, it is their business to see, whom it most concerns to make an example of him. As for me, I have the hope (for why shall I have any mistrust?) that I have performed an office neither unacceptable to God, unsalutary to the church, nor without its utility to the commonwealth.

RESPONSIO
JOANNIS MILTONI ANGLI
AD
ALEXANDRI MORI
SUPPLEMENTUM

HANG ego Defensionem meam cùm ante duos menses hactenus parassem, ne consumptum forte biennium alterum in se profligando clamitet Morus, tanto cum desiderio Supplementum illud Fidei publicæ contra
5 me promissum expectabam, ut nihil mihi longius videretur. Didiceram enim ex Vlacco perorante, recessisse quidem in Galliam Morum, non tamen quiescere: sed vel diffisum viribus Genevensium attritis, vel quòd manu tarn exigua vix satis sibi instructus ad decernendum uno prarliò videretur, novum
10 contra me exercitum, & quod mirandum sit, Medioburgicorum & Amsterodamensium in Gallia conscribere: Consules etiam & Scabinos magna cum manu signisque infestis adventare. Sero tandem erepsere novæ copiæ; sine quibus prima acies, opinor, labare atque dehiscere videbatur. Sed cur tarn

THE ANSWER OF
JOHN MILTON ENGLISHMAN
TO
THE SUPPLEMENT OF
ALEXANDER MORE

THAT More may not unbraid me with having taken another two years to put him to the rout, I have had by me this my defence, now two months; and such was the longing desire with which I expected this supplement
5 to the *Public Faith*, that the time seemed an age to me. For I had learnt from Vlaccus's peroration, that, though More had retired into France, he was not yet quiet; but, either unable to place reliance upon the forces, which, by hard stripes he had levied upon the Genevese, or, thinking that with so small a
10 body, he was not sufficiently prepared to decide the contest by a single battle, that he was busy in raising by conscription, in France, a fresh army to be employed against me; and what may appear strange, from the inhabitants of Middelburg and of Amsterdam; and that consuls and even tiptaves were ap-
is preaching with a mighty host, and the display of hostile banners. At last, though long in coming, these new-raised troops stole in sight; and till they came up, the first array was seen, I suspect, to give ground, and to break. Now should any one

seò, cur ab extemporalī homine tam tardè advenerint si quis miratur, erant scilicet literæ quædam mortuorum longo situ eruendæ; erant quoque subsidia hæc consularia tam gravis armaturæ, mira itinerum ratione ex *Gallia*, teste Vlacco, 5 *transmittenda*: Quid si etiam ibidem conficienda? quibus cum ipse Vlaccus, homo xquissimus, ut habeatur fides non postulet, sed quod *cequum & justum cuique videbitur*, id ut *judicetur*, sic omnino faciamus. *Sufficit Vlacco*, Supplementi hujus collectitii Legato, Lectorum *curiositati* non incredulitati 10 *satisfecisse*: nempe fidei publicæ, ex *Gallia* in *Hollandiam*, quasi postliminio quodam reverse, fidem defore uniuscujusque privatam, baud ab re sane suspicabatur. Primum hoc velim unicuique in mentem veniat, quod supra demonstratum est, publica testimonia qua ambitione fere comparentur; 15 in re privata quid valeant; quàm sæpe hallucinentur: me deinde non ficta crimina in *Morum*, non ignota, non obscura, sed vera, sed jam vulgata atque testata, in foro denique & iudicio agitata haud semel, atque versata protulisse. Non

wonder at the late appearance of this last levy of letters; that they should advance so slowly under the conduct of a man of so ready a wit; be it known that there were certain letters of the dead to be dug up from the repositories where they had
 5 been long at rest. Moreover, these consular reinforcements, with all their weight of armour, and with a laudable attention to the roads, were, according to Vlaccus's account, "to be sent from France." And what if even collected there? Since Vlaccus himself, that pattern of justice, does not require that any
 10 credit should be given them, but "that every one should judge of them in the manner that may appear to him impartial and just": thus then let us act, by all means.

"It was enough for Vlaccus," the deputy-manager of this hodge-podge of a supplement, "to have satisfied the curiosity,"
 15 though not the unbelief of readers: for he had a suspicion, and not without reason indeed, that all private faith would be withheld from this public faith, returned, as from a sort of sojourning, from France into Holland. In the first place, I could wish every one to recall to his recollection, what has
 20 been before pointed out, the importunate canvassing with which public testimonies are usually obtained; their true validity in private concerns; how often they are destitute of foundation; and last of all, that the charges I have brought forward against More are no fictitious charges, but such as are either
 25 unknown, or imperfectly known, but such as are real, such as are already published and attested to the world; in short, such as have been publicly agitated and sifted more than once, in a court of justice. More, therefore, has no right to regard us

igitur calumniatores nos, non testes in se, sed suos esse iudices
intelligat Morus: id jure æquissimo; quoniam ipse in nos
prior has partes sibi sumpsit; nos ipse prior judicavit; suam in
nos sententiam iniquissimam edidit. Prolatis autem utrinque
5 testimoniis cur secundum eos merito pronuntiemus, qui Mo-
rum gravissimè accusant, in causa est cum ipsius comperta in
nos audacia atque improbitas singularis, turn ipsius testimonii
quàmvis *publica*, tamen ambigua fides; quæ consuetis atque
tritissimis laudandi formulis prosequitur Morum, objecta illi
10 crimina ab accusatoribus tarn multis non diluit. Quid enim
affert vel hoc supplementum, More, quod ad rem pertineat?
Accusabant te Genevan gravissimi viri Theodorus Troncinus
pastor & Theologiæ professor, duo alii pastores Mermilliodus
& Pittetus multis opinor testibus adductis; accusabant multo-
15 rum criminum, & commissi præsertim in horto quodam pro-
bri turpissimi. Tu hie contra literas producis Deodati senis;
qui venire in conventum jamdiu desierat; nee quid ibi gere-
retur, nisi ex te tuisque fautoribus audire consueverat: Literas
deinde Sartorii, ne non sarsisse omni ex parte causam tuam
20 viderere; turn Gothofridi Jurisconsulti, ne non satis cavisse;

in the light of slanderers nor even as witnesses against him; he is to consider us as his own judges. And this is agreeable to the strictest equity: for this is the part which he first took upon him to act against us; he first sat in judgment upon us; he first
 5 made public the most iniquitous sentence he had passed upon us. Now, the evidences having been produced on both sides, the reasons why we justly pronounce judgment according to the weighty allegations of More's accusers are, because More's insolence and unexampled injustice towards us have been
 10 made manifest; because, the faith to be given to More's testimony of himself, though "public," is yet questionable; it being a faith which attends upon More, in the ordinary and thread-bare forms of commendation, but does not even extenuate the crimes alleged against him by so many accusers.
 15 For what does even this supplement bring, that is at all to the purpose? You were accused at Geneva by the very grave personages Theodore Troncini, pastor, and professor of divinity, and by two other pastors, Mermillio and Pittet, who brought forward, as I think, no small number of witnesses; you were
 20 accused of various crimes, and in particular, of a most scandalous act committed by you in a certain garden. To all this you oppose first a letter of Diodati, an old man, who had long been out of the habit of attending the assembly, and who usually heard of nothing that was transacted there, except
 25 through you and your partisans. Next comes a letter of Sartorius, that you may not appear to have neglected the mending of any part of your cause: then the letter of Gothofrid the lawyer, lest you should be thought not to have entered a suffi-

has omnes literas jam ante scriptas. quàm hæc tua flagitia vel ad Ecclesiam delata, vel amicis, ut solet, omnium ultimis, credibilia essent. Quæ igitur a me tibi objiciuntur, horum nihil negant. Fac autem disertis verbis negasse: haudqua-
5 quàm tamen istorum negatio affirmatione potior tot hominum probissimorum erit, quorum præsertim testium vim ac veritatem cum sustinere non posses, petita subito abeundi licentia, non absolutus iudicio, sed elapsus, evasisti. Literis deinde Genevensium non sine multorum gravi intercessionem
10 atque etiam indignatione, ut supra dixi, concessis, tu quasi Rheno amne lustratus, (quo *devectum te in Belgium* ais) & noxa omni ablutus, utcunque commendatus, mirum non erat si, convocata illic forte Synodo Gallo-Belgica, tanquàm Mercurius quidam novus Gallo-Belgicus, non tu quidem illumi-
15 natus, sed combustus, ut fit, in Synodo, ad tempus latuisti. Eas autem literas cum supra dixerim fore, ut in medium nullo modo proferres, ne prioribus hie positis quanto essent frigidiores perspiceremus, lepide tu quidem *exemplar earum nancisci te non potuisse* causaris. Quod autem dixi ad tempus,
20 non semper latuisse te, id facile constat, primiim quod in illa ipsa Synodo *Trajecti* ad Mosam habita quo primum appulisti,

cient number of caveats; all of which letters were written be-
 fore your flagitious conduct was complained of to the church,
 or thought credible by your friends, who, as usual, were the
 last to yield their belief. Whence, these letters deny not one
 5 item of the charges I have laid against you. But suppose they
 had expressly denied them; would this denial have out-
 weighed the affirmation of such a host of honest men, the force
 and verity of whom as witnesses you being unable to bear, on
 a sudden put up a petition for leave to withdraw; and thus
 10 made your escape, slinking off, without any legal acquittal?
 Then, those letters of the Genevese having been obtained, as
 I said before, not without violent opposition and even indig-
 nation, it was not to be wondered at, that you, though puri-
 fied, washed clean as it were from all guilt in the Rhine (on
 i₅ which river, you were conveyed, you say, into Holland)—it
 was not to be wondered at, I say, however much bepraised,
 that, when a Gallo-Belgic synod happened to be called there,
 you should become invisible for a time, like some Gallo-Belgic
 Mercury, though it turns out, that, though not rendered lu-
 20 minous, you were absolutely burnt up in the synod. But, as I
 before predicted would be the case, as you could at no rate
 produce those letters, lest we should discover their extreme
 coldness in comparison of those you before exhibited in the
 same place, you shrewdly plead in excuse, that, really, "you
 25 could not get a copy of them." Remember, my expression was,
 that you became invisible for a time, not that you were con-
 tinually invisible; and this is sufficiently evident, first, be-
 cause, in that very synod, held at the "passage" at Mosa,

rumores quosdam *contra doctrinam* tuam & *conversationem* illis in Regionibus jam esse *sparsos*, & suspensiones haud leves de te passim vel novas haberi, vel veteres recruidisse, neque ita te iis absolutum, quin ad alteram postea Synodum nova rur-
5 sus commendatione opus tibi fuerit, declarat, quæ sequitur Ecclesiæ Medioburgensæ ad Campensem Synodum Epistola, declarat etiam illius Epistolæ subscriptor primarius Joannes Longus ejusdem Ecclesiæ pastor, qui tua turn quidem larva inter alios deceptus, perspectis nunc demum & exploratis
10 moribus tuis, nunquàm te nisi maxima contumeliæ detestationisque causâ dicitur nominare. Immo verba ipsa tua declarant quibus fateris post seditionem Midelburgi ortam, in qua amicus quidam tuus potentissimus dignitate excidit, eos qui post eum rerum potiti sunt, in te non *ceque propensd juisse*
15 *voluntate*: id tu eorum ignorantiae assignatum vis, quibus tu Theologize professor celeberrimus *non cequ% jamiliariter innotuisses*; cum ad suspectos jam mores tuos revera sit referendum. Quid enim ad te advenam seditio? qui suffrages omnium publice accersitus non studiis partium, sed bona fama
20 ac diligentia in isto munere Theologico tueri existimationem tuam notus æquè omnibus debebas. Hie tamen quereris quod *ejectum* te dixerim *ab Ecclesia ilia*. Ego vero non *ejectum* te

where you first landed, it appears, from a subsequent letter from the church at Middelburg to the synod at Campen, that certain rumours "against your doctrine" and "conversation," were already spread in those parts; and that new suspicions
 5 of no trifling nature were very generally entertained against you, or the old ones revived, from which, too, you were not so perfectly set free, but that you would stand in need of fresh commendation against a future synod. The same things are declared also by the principal subscriber to that letter, John
 10 Long, the pastor of the said church, who, with many others, was at first deceived indeed, by the mask you wore, but having at last inquired into and seen your conduct in its true light, is said never to mention your name but in terms of the utmost reproach and detestation. It is even plain from your own
 15 words: for you confess that, after the disturbance which took place at Middelburg, in which a certain friend of yours lost his high authority, the "good will" of those who after him had the chief sway "was less inclined towards you." This you could wish should be attributed to a want of knowl-
 20 edge in such, to whom you, the celebrated professor of divinity, "might be less intimately known": whereas, it is to be really ascribed to your suspected morals. For what was the disturbance to you who were a stranger? And who, publicly called by the suffrages of all, should have been equally known
 25 to all, and have supported your character not on the favour of a part, but on your own good name, and on your diligence in that theological function. Yet here you complain of my having said that you were "ejected from that church." Now I

dixi, sed tantummodo ablegatum; idque non de ipsa ejiciendi vel ablegandi formula, sed de voluntate eorum abs te jam alienata intellectum volui. In hoc non admodum errasse me testis esse potest vir, ut audio, probatissimus, quern supra
5 appellavi, Joannes Longus ejusdem Ecclesiæ pastor, qui nunc, inquàm, longe secus de te sentit & loquitur, atque prime!) sensit, cum in tuam commendationem *omnium nomine* subscripsit; Testis est vir spectatissimus Joannes Durseus, qui non unam Ecclesiam Midelburgensem ejecisse te, sed universam pene
10 Synodum Gallo-Belgicam ejectum velle scribit. Frustra igitur Synodi Groudensis actum illud subjungis, quod factis recentioribus irritum fecisti; frustra, inquàm, actum illud quod apertissimi te mendacii coarguit: etenim illius Synodi auctoritatem idcirco adhibuisse te ais, ut *sciam omnia rite & so-*
15 *lemniter* in Synedrio Midelburgensi de te *acta*: ipsa Synodus non rite, non solenniter hæc esse acta, sed *nonnullos defectus in modo agendi* notat. Vellem scire illos defectus cujusmodi fuerint, cur tu Midelburgensium testimonia sine nonnullis defectibus in modo agendi auferre non potueris. Illud interea
20 tenendum memoria est, quibus cum *defectibus* Genevensium

said not that you were "ejected," but simply that you were sent away; and this I meant should be understood, not in reference to any particular form of ejection or of sending away, but to their feelings, which were already alienated from you.

- 5 That I was not much mistaken in this point, I have an evidence, I find, in the person to whom I before appealed, John Long, a man of the strictest integrity, and the pastor of that church, and who, I affirm, now thinks and speaks of you very differently from what he had been accustomed to do, at the
- 10 time he subscribed, "in the name of all," to your commendation. Another evidence is the most respected John Durær, who writes that you were ejected not by the church at Middelburg alone, but that your ejection was desired by nearly the whole Gallo-Belgic synod. It is to no purpose then that you
- 15 subjoin that act of the synod of Grouden, which you have nullified by your more recent misdeeds. It is to no purpose, I say, that you subjoin that act, which convicts you of a most bare-faced lie; for, by your account, you adduced the authority of that Synod, expressly, to let me know "that every thing"
- 20 which respected you "was conducted," in the sitting at Middelburg, "in an orderly and solemn manner": whereas, the synod itself records that this very business of yours was not conducted in an orderly and solemn manner, but "that there were some defects in the mode of acting." Now I could wish
- 25 to know of what nature were those defects—why you could not bear off the testimonies of the Middelburgers, without some defects in the mode of acting? Meanwhile, it should not be forgotten, with what "defects" you obtained the testi-

testimonia adeptus sis: quanto revera cum dedecore, quanto in speciem cum honore illi te dimiserint. Prorsus, quasi id unum sibi reliquum, necessario decrevissent, laudandum te esse atque tollendum. Verum, ut dixi, laudes illas qualescunque
5 perspecta postmodum & cognita vite tuæ turpitudine antiquavit jamdiu atque delevit: ut ad infamiam potiùs tuam hæc omnia conducere videantur, qui tam praeclaram de te olim hominum opinionem, admissis in te postea tot probris, tarn foedè fefelleris. Ventum tandem ad Pontiam est; quàm sic a
10 me falso nominatam contendis. Ego vero authorem Batavum & notissimum illud de te distichon, quo me facile defendam, recito:

*Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia Mori,
Quis bent moratam mongerdmque neget?*

15 Pontiam, fateor, aliud apud me manuscriptum habet. Sed prima utrobique litera, quæ sola variat, ejusdem fere apud vos potestatis est. Alterum ego nomen ut notius, ut elegantius salvo jure Criticorum præposui. Satis de nomine; nunc rem ipsam consideremus. Quis tarn est reus, quis tarn omni genere
20 criminationum oblitus, qui, si solus audiatur, causam suam vel Cassianis iudiciis probare non queat? Tu quàm attulisti

monies of the Genevese; with what apparent honour, and with what real disgrace, they dismissed you. Absolutely, the only alternative they had left, was to come to the decision, that you should be praised, and sent about your business. But, as I
 5 have said, of whatever description those praises might have been, the turpitude of your life, since proved and made known, has long antiquated and abolished them: so that all these transactions would seem to conduce rather to your infamy: for your many subsequent enormities being admitted,
 10 you have basely disappointed the high opinion which mankind once entertained of you.

At last, we are come to Pontia, whom you contend I have falsely thus named. I cite again, however, as an easy defence, the Dutch author, and that noted distich upon you:

15 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.

I confess that another manuscript, which I have by me, has
 20 it Bontia. But the first letter, in both cases, which is the only one that varies, is, with you, nearly of the same power. I have preferred the other reading, as more known, and saving the authority of the critics, more elegant. Enough of the name; we would now direct our attention to the thing itself. Where
 25 is there a criminal so black, so perfectly covered with crime, who, if heard alone, would not gain his suit, even before judges who decided by the Cassian law? The account which

hujus rei narrationem, ejusmodi est, ut nemo sit, modo integer atque attentus accedat, quin te, etiam inauditis accusatoribus tuis, vel plane condemnandum, vel suspicione gravissima non absolvendum arbitretur. *Uxorem* ais *Salmasii* *gravi-*
5 *viter tibi injensam, & ob eas rationes quas commemorare non vis, nihil intentatum reliquisse, ut te in nassam injaustissimi matrimonii compingeret.* Primum illud suspiciosissimum est quod celas; illud nempe arcanum quod tibi tarn modesto homini & ministro uxorem amici sic inimicam
10 potuit reddere. Mirum deinde inimicitiae genus narras, quo impulsa uxor amici tui famulam sibi dilectissimam nuptum tibi dare cupiebat. Nassa autem illud matrimonium qui potuit dici? nisi tute earn vel sponsione aliqua tibi induisses, vel escam avide nimis appetisses, atque ita merito infaustissimum,
15 quod stupro auspicatus esses, matrimonium reddidisses. *Nihil,* inquis, *intentatum reliquit.* Quid ergo inter alia tentaverit tu ipse nobis divinandum relinquis; immo ipse non taces, ipse effutire non erubescis; & illud supra dictum a Crantzio, paulo infra quasi palmarium quiddam pro te ex ore Salmasii repetis;
20 *Siquid in Pontia peccavit Moms, ego sum leno, & uxor mea lena.* Hanc scilicet pulcherrimam fore defensionem tibi

you have given of this affair is such, that there is no one, provided only he brought along with him integrity and attention, who would not think you, even without hearing your accusers, either clearly deserving of condemnation, or open to

5 a most serious suspicion. You say, "That Salmasius's wife had great enmity against you; and that for reasons" you are unwilling "to mention, she left nothing untried to entangle you in the net of an ill-omened marriage." In the first place, the circumstance you conceal is a most suspicious one: for it was

10 this secret, it seems, which had the power to excite such enmity in die wife of your friend against you, though so modest a man, and a minister. Again, that enmity you speak of must be a very odd sort of enmity, under the impulse of which, your friend's wife was desirous of marrying you to a

15 favourite servant-girl. Still, how could that marriage be called a net? Unless, indeed, you cast it over yourself by some engagement; or unless you seized the bait too eagerly; in which case, as you would take your auspices from a rape, you would deservedly render it an ill-omened marriage. You say, "she

20 left nothing untried." Do you leave us to divine then the thing, which, with other things, she has actually tried? By no means; you do not conceal it; you yourself blush not to blab it! What has been said before by Crantz, you yourself repeat a little after from the mouth of Salmasius, as a reason for tri-

25 umph to you: "If More has been guilty of any improper conduct with Pontia, I myself am a pimp, and my wife a procuress." And so, then, you were so mad as to think, that it would be a most admirable defence for you before the world,

apud omnes amens credidisti, si ostendisses lenone Salmasio, ejusque uxore lena, te non ignobile stuprum fecisse; & non nisi dominis perductoribus ancillam vitiasse. *Hoc vulgo innotuit; tu vero famam vehementissimeque reluctari.* Eugene
5 corculum pudoris, deliciæ castitatis! Tune reluctari vero? virginali, ut videtur, verecundia homo nassa muliebri indutus. Nam piscis, nisi captus, non reluctatur: ilia profecto mulier nisi thunnum te perspexisset, nisi facilem, nisi opportunum, nisi obnoxium ancillæ suæ deprehendisset, nunquàm
10 tibi istos laqueos ita elimasset, nunquàm tibi Vulcanios illos casses tua Juno tarn facile adaptasset; nunquàm in virum gravem, Ecclesiastem, doctum, celebrem, qui mariti domum inter amicissimos frequentasset, nunquàm nisi in mulierosum & notæ incontinentiæ hominem tale quicquàm moliri aut tentare
15 ausa esset. At, inquis, *cum jactione quadam se conjunxit, quæ qualis fuerit, aperire tibi nolo.* Ergo hoc etiam non minus suspiciosum nobis relinquis, quod tua multum interfuit aperuisse, quæ ista factio, quo in loco te tot Ecclesiarum, tot Synodorum, tot Magistratuum testimoniis ac sigillis loricatum
20 hominem & cataphractum tarn acriter oppugnarit. Si ob vitæ sanctimoniam, concionandi assiduitatem, professorial facul-

if, Salmasius being your pimp, and his wife your procuress, you should make it appear, that yours was no vulgar fornication; that if you debauched the maid, the master was your pander! "This became generally known"; though you

5 "openly and most earnestly struggled against it." Bravo, my little heart of modesty! Delight of chastity! You struggled against it? Yes, you struggled, it seems, with a truly virgin-modesty, being entangled in a woman's net: for no fish struggles, unless he is caught. If the lady had not seen you were a

10 tunny, if she had not found you might be easily managed, that you were exposed and in the power of her maid, she never would have laid that snare for you; your Juno would never have fitted so easily that Vulcan's net upon you; she never would have presumed to contrive or attempt such a thing

15 against a person of grave character, an ecclesiastic, a man of learning and celebrity, who had frequented her husband's house as one of his most intimate friends—she never would have done all this, unless to a man who was given to women, and notorious for his incontinence.—But (say you) "she

20 joined a certain faction, though of what description it was, I do not think proper to lay open to you." Now this is another circumstance no less suspicious, because it was of great consequence to you to have laid open what that faction was, in a place where it has opposed you so stoutly, armed as you are

25 cap-a-pie with the testimonies and signatures of so many churches, so many synods, so many magistrates. If it hated you for the sanctity of your life, your diligence in preaching, your eminence as a professor, nothing could have been so

tatis prastantiam te odio habuisset, nihil æque tibi laudi ac defensionem esse potuit: nunc cum in re omnium potissimum explicanda tectus atque astutus esse malueris, credendum est non factionem, sed bene magnum bonorum virorum numerum ob impuros mores tuos, vitamque offensam merito te odisse. Deinde, si Midelburgi, si Amsterodami, ubi tanto in pretio atque honore apud omnes fuisse te prædicas, tarn numerosa te factio adorta est, claudicare tua fides publica videtur; eosque demum esse factionem qui te tantopere laudarunt.

10 Sin Hagæ aut Lugduni primum ista factio in te tarn acriter est concitata, nihil profectd obstat quo minus appareat deseruisse te tandiu & Pastoris & Professoris munus utrobique sacrum, ut Hagæ libellos famosos, ministerium tui Evangelii ministrares; Lugduni Pontiam ancillam, id est Nassam ipse

15 tuam sectarere; tuosque illos, post diurnum sæpe discessum, tot nocturnos ad eam vicina ex urbe reditus, tot cum ea furtivos, inscientibus dominis, congressus vicinitali notissimos, tantum in te odium plurimorum commovisse. Hos tu *admissarios* uxoris Salmasii vocas; & ignominiam defuncti amici

20 tui matronæ, ejusque propinquis non ferendam inuris. Hæc scilicet cum *Ruffino* & factione illa, *horrenda criminationum tonitrua displosit, & totum insanis clamoribus Belgium irn-*

much to your honour, or have made so much for your defence; but as you choose rather to be close and crafty in a matter which, above all others, required explanation, there is reason to believe, that it was no faction which hated you, but that you
 5 were deservedly loathsome to no small number of good men by reason of your corrupt manners and scandalous life. Again, if at Middelburg and Amsterdam, where, you pretend, you were so highly valued and honoured by all men, if you have been attacked by so numerous a faction, it seems that your
 10 public faith begins to limp; and that, after all, those very persons constitute the faction, by whom you have been so mightily bepraised. But if that faction first rose against you with so much keenness at the Hague or at Leyden, it would appear, in fact, that you deserted, for so long a time, your offices of
 15 pastor and professor, both of them sacred, that, as the ministry of your gospel, you might minister at the Hague notorious libels; and at Leyden, may follow your girl Pontia, that is, your net; and that it was your frequent departure by day, and as frequent return to her from the neighbouring city by night;
 20 that it was these numberless stolen meetings, notorious to the neighbourhood, but without the knowledge of her master and mistress, which raised so great and so general an odium against you. These were the "paramours" (you say) of Salmasius's wife; and thus you brand with ignominy the matron of your
 25 deceased friend,—an ignominy intolerable to his relations. These "horrible thunders of criminations she exploded," you must know in conjunction with "Ruffinus," and that faction, "and filled all Holland with her mad clamours." Do you go

plevit. I nunc, & a me conficta *hxc* esse clamita; die meas has esse calumnias; quas ego non calumnias, sed criminationes ab universo pene Belgio, te confitente, accepi. Has ego tacerem? his non crederem? proque tua in nos nostrdmque Rempubli-

5 cam injuria, scelere, audacia veras esse non judicarem? quàm tu factionem, earn ego probissimorum hominum multitudinem, testimonium, judicium esse non arbitrer? Hoccine divina animadversione factum non putem, ut dum aliis famosos libellos tarn diligenter adornares, famosus ipse passim

10 libellus fieres? Tu vero cum *existimationem* tuam *hcerere*, ut ais, *ad metas* videres, & *linguis omnium vapulares*, haud insolito audacissimi cujusque consilio, potentiorum studiis fretus, quos affectatis concionibus, & Corinthii æris tinnitu illo tibi forte conciliaveras, *prior Pontiam in jus vocas*. Contra

15 Salmasius, non insaniam, ut tu appellas, sed *causam se uxoris destituere non posse* per amicos tibi denuntiat. Quod eum fuisse facturum nisi justam quoque causam credidisset, tibi verisimile esse non debet. Tu, *non sine consilio summorum & sapientissimorum totius Belgii capitum*, quorum nimirum

20 patrocinium vel adulando, vel suppliciter ambiendo ad omnes nequitiarum tuarum eventus tibi comparaveras, *litem in su-*

now and clamour that these things have been fabricated by me. Say that these are my calumnies, when, by your own confession, I received them not as calumnies, but as criminations by almost all Holland. Ought I to keep them secret? Ought

5 I not to believe them? And because of your injury, your wickedness, and insolence towards us and our commonwealth, ought I to think that they are not true? What you consider as a faction, am not I to consider as a host of men of the highest integrity, giving their testimony, and passing their judgment?

10 Am I not to consider it as a reproof from God, that, while you are forging with so much diligence infamous libels for others, you yourself should everywhere become an infamous libel? But when, as you say, you saw "your reputation stop short in its mid-way course," and "that you were lashed by the tongues

15 of all men"—by an artifice not uncommon with audacious fellows, you throw yourself on the favour of the powerful, whom you had perhaps gained over by importunate addresses, and by that tinkling of Corinthian brass—"and yourself first enter an action against Pontia." On the other hand, Sal-

20 masius, by means of friends, gives you to understand, "that he cannot desert," not the madness, as you call it, but "the cause of his wife." And that he would act in this manner, without believing that cause to be also just, you have no right to think credible. You try the cause "in the highest court of

25 Holland, not without the advice of the most distinguished, and of the wisest personages in all that country"; that is to say, personages, whose patronage you have obtained for all the consequences of your debaucheries, either by adulation, or

prema Hollandses curia prosequeris. Quo in loco potentiam quorundam, ut dixi, non innocentiam tuam præsidio tibi maximo fuisse, si vel teipsum audiamus causam hie tuam quanto potes cum artificio & cautione dicentem, obscurum
5 *non est. Desperabant adversarii fore se ilia in curia superiores: tuam afflicturos se esse jamam non desperabant. Quid ita? quia paucorum vim atque opes in foro dominari, cseteros pæne omnes favere sibi videbant. At vero non tuam, sed suam ipsi famam accusatores tui afflixissent, si tu æquo judicio superior*
10 *ipsorum opinione futurus videbaris. Omnes, inquis, omni ope me unum oppugnabant; non defuisse tamen amicos tibi agnoscis: paucos igitur & potentes fuisse illos necesse esse: id quod etiam miratos & conquestos esse inimicos tuos usque e6 non diffiteris, ut ne noceret tibi ista gratia tarn aperta ac*
15 *manifesta veritus, baud semel subirasci te simules amicis tuis, cumque iis expostulare, quasi parum prudenter tibi & non satis caute favissent. Itaque suprema capita, quæ tibi suum in hac causa presidium obtulere, enixe rogasti, siquid valeres gratid, ne quid eorum autoritas de victoria innocentice tucc*
20 *delibaret. Illius Judicii exitus qui demum fuerit, non dicis;*

by paying court to them in all humility. If we attend even to yourself, while pleading in this place your own cause, and with all the art and caution of which you are capable, we cannot doubt that it was the power of certain persons, as I have
5 said, in that country, not your innocence, which was your greatest protection. The adversaries "despaired of getting the upper hand," in that court; but they did not despair of "demolishing" your "reputation." And why? Because they saw that it was the power and wealth of a few which predominated
10 in the court, and that almost everybody else was of their side. Now your accusers, if you appeared to them likely to get the advantage by a just sentence, would have demolished their own reputation, instead of yours. "All fought against me alone (you say) and with all their might." You "acknowl-
15 edge," however, that you were not "wanting in friends." Those friends, therefore, must necessarily have been few and powerful: and this, you do not deny, is what "even your enemies wondered at and complained of" so much, that, afraid lest this open and manifest favour should be injurious to you,
20 you more than once pretend to be half angry with your friends, and to expostulate with them, as if they had used too little prudence and caution in the favour they had shown you. Hence, "you earnestly entreated those distinguished person-
25 any part in their favour, that they would not suffer their authority to have even the smallest share in the victory of your innocence." You do not tell us what was, at last, the issue of that sentence. Certain it is, that your adversaries, so far from

Adversarii certè, tantum abfuit ut jure aut æquitate victos se esse arbitrarentur, ut quos tu reos modo feceras, hi nunc petitores, ad Synodum provocarent; & quod obtinere a magnatibus jus suum non poterant, id impetrare per Ecclesiam facile
5 se posse sperarent. Verum & in illa Synodo nimis multum valuisse gratiam gratis, ut aiunt, id est nullis omnino mentis tuis datam, etiam ex iis, quæ pergis ipse narrare, satis constat. *Adsunt Delegati Lugdunenses; saccum producunt oppletum jocdissimis criminationibus:* satis amplum, opinor, si tua
10 omnia flagitia contineret, ut induendo etiam tibi, si egisses forte pœnitentiam, sufficere potuerit. *Urgent Delegati, ut pœcelegerentur omnia, quæ saccum sacco illo gerebantur:* vel ut latinius dixisses, portabantur in sacco; a te enim puto, gerebantur in sindone. Sed Synodi pars magna *reluctari, famosos*
15 *esse libellos.* Animadvertite quæso novam ac singularem judicum æquitatem atque prudentiam; qui criminationes cum testimoniis in judicium allatas, neque dum perlectas, tanquàm famosos libellos, rejiciendas esse contendunt. Horum vicit sentential excurrit confestim unus eorum, gratulabundus
20 Moro, & *bonum factum, inquit; nihil contra te legetur.* En iterum severos judices! quorum sententia in Mori gratiam sic manifestò lata est, ut unus eorum pati non posset quin ex ipso judicio de sella prosiliret, gratulatum reo. Pudit Morum

thinking themselves overthrown in law and equity, now appeal as the plaintiffs to the synod, though you had so lately made them the defendants; and that right, which they were unable to procure of the grantees, they expect to obtain with-

5 out difficulty through the church. But, that gratuitous favour, as they report, that is, favour bestowed without any merit whatever of your own, had too much influence even in that synod, sufficiently appears even from what you yourself are about to relate. "The delegates from Leyden are present; and

10 produce a sackful of the foulest criminations": a sack large enough, I suppose, if it contained the whole of your flagitious deeds, to have been put upon yourself, if you had haply done penance. "The delegates were urgent, that they might be permitted to read all which they carried on with them in that

15 sack": or, as you would have said in purer Latin *portabantur* for *gerebantur*: for, I imagine, your amours were carried on in fine linen. But a great part of the synod "contended, that they were infamous libels." Mark, I beseech you, the new, the singular equity and prudence of the judges, who contend that

20 charges, with the proper testimonies, when brought into court, are to be rejected as infamous libels, without even being read. The opinion of these men prevails. Instantly one of them runs out to congratulate More, and "admirably done, (says he;) nothing will be read against you." See again, what

25 rigorous judges! whose sentence was so evidently given so as to favour More, that one of them could not refrain from hurrying from the judgment seat to congratulate the accused! Even More himself was ashamed of so careless a sentence.

ipsum tarn dissolute sentential: perturbari denu6 se simulat,
& ægre ferre, non perlegi ilia volumina criminum suorum.
Objurgatus itaque bonus ille Judex & acriter ab ipso reo increpitus,redit in coetum; cæterisque facile persuadet,ut mutata
5 priore sententia statueretur, omnia legenda esse. At ver6, quæ isti Judices primum legenda non esse, ad arbitrium deinde Rei, conversis eadem hora sententiis, legenda esse decreverant, de iis tandem perlectis quàm non attente, quàm non severe, quàm denique in reum propense judicaverint, intellectu diffi-
10 cile non est. Consurgunt judices; reum frequentes adeunt; *amplectuntur*; & cui palam modò gratificari, ei nunc apertè gratulari non dubitant. Quanquàm ego in hoc toto judicio non tarn Mori, quàm ejus persons atque ordinis habitam esse rationem crediderim. Synodi præses ipse Riverius complexus
15 te, *nunquàm JEthiops, inquit, ita dealbatus est, quernadmodum hodti tu juisti*. Tune vero adeo obesa nare homo es, ut irrisum te potius, quàm absolutum hoc proverbio non sentias ? Riverius cum Æthiopem te lavando & operam & laticem frustra perdidisset, dealbavit. Tu jam salve nobis Æthiops,
20 aut, si mavis, paries dealbate; quandoquidem quo Paulus Ananiam, eodem te Synodi præses titulo decoravit. Nunc ipsum decretum Synodi perpendamus. *Lcctis chartis iis quce allatce juerant a Delegatis Lugdunensibus circa litem illam*

Again he pretends to be in trouble, and to take it ill, that those volumes of his crimes were not read over. This good judge, therefore, returns with a sharp reprimand from the defendant himself, to the assembly; and has no difficulty in persuading the rest to the resolution to change the first sentence, and to order everything to be read. Now, it is not hard to conceive, with what inattention, with how little severity, in short, with what a bias in favour of the accused, those judges would pass judgment upon the charges which they at first resolved should not be read, and afterwards, at the instance of the defendant, altering their opinions the same hour, resolved should be read. The judges rise, repair to the defendant in a body; "embrace" him; and now scruple not openly to congratulate him, whom lately they had publicly favoured. And yet, throughout this trial, I should be inclined to think that more regard was paid to his office and to his order, than to More himself! Riverius himself, embracing you, "Never, (says he,) was Ethiopian so whitened as you have been this day." And are you a man so extremely dull of sense, as not to perceive that, by this proverb, you are ridiculed rather than acquitted, when Riverius, by washing you, whitened an Ethiopian and expended his labour and chalk to no purpose? Hail to you, then, Ethiopian, or if you had rather, whited wall; since the president of the synod has decorated you with the same title as Paul did Ananias.

Let us now weigh the decision itself of the synod. "On reading the papers which were brought by the delegates of Leyden relative to the cause which had been mangled in the

quæ in suprema Hollandice curia mutilabatur, nihil in iis re-
pertum est, quod valeret adimendæ Ecclesiis libertati, quæ
Morum ad sacras condones habendas cum occasio se dabat,
invitare solebant. Hæc, etiamsi tua sola fide accipiamus,
5 *quàm obscura, quàm tepida, quàm ægre absolvant reum, aut*
ne absolvant quidem, quis non videt? qui te olim maximis
cumulare laudibus solebant, nunc multis criminibus insimu-
latum, ne uno quidem verbo tenuissimo purum aut insontem
pronuntiant. Non commendant te Ecclesiis; libertatem tan-
10 *tummodo iis non adimunt, quæ te, non ad Pastoris assiduum*
munus, sed cum occasio se dabat, ad concionandum fortuito
invitare solebant. Ista autem occasio si se nunquàm daret, id
sibi displicere aut detrimenti quicquàm inde capturam esse
Ecclesiam, haudquaquàm ostendunt. Tibi interim pro ara
15 *pulpitum est; ilia in aula te jactas bucca notissima; & quò*
turpior domi, eo clamosior in coetu es: quicquid in occulto,
quicquid in sacco illo peccas, hic tua cymbala, tua æra con-
crepare strenue non desinis; & tuum illud rostrum nusquàm
impudentius, quàm in rostris offers. I nunc, inquis, & stupra
20 *& spurios tibi finge. Immò, ito tu, inquàm, & stupra tua si*
audes vel uno verbo diserte nega: id quod toto hoc libro facere
non es ausus. Consulantur acta publica; immo consulantur

highest court of Holland, nothing was found in them, of sufficient force to deprive the churches of the liberty of inviting More, as they had been accustomed, and as occasion offered, to deliver discourses on sacred subjects." Though we receive
5 this on your own credit only, yet who sees not how misty it is, how lukewarm, how barely it acquits the accused, or rather does not acquit him at all ? The very persons who were accustomed to load you with the highest commendations, do not now pronounce you pure and innocent even by one little word,
10 charged as you are with so many crimes. They do not commend you to the churches; they merely do not "deprive" them "of the liberty," with which "they were accustomed to invite" you, not to the permanent duty of a pastor, but to preach by chance, and "as occasion offered"; but they by no
15 means make it appear, that it would displease them, or that the church would receive any detriment, if that occasion never offered. In the mean time, the pulpit is your refuge; in that court you bluster away with well-known cheek; and the more scandalous you are at home, the more noisy are you in the
20 congregation. Whatsoever sins you commit in private—whatsoever may be in that "sack," you here cease not with vehemence to tinkle your cymbals and to sound your trumpets; and in no place offer that snout of yours with greater impudence, than on the rostrum. "Go now, (say you) and forge
25 whoredoms and bastards." Nay, do you go, say I, and positively deny, by a single word, your whoredoms, if you dare; which you have not dared to do throughout this book. "The public acts are consulted"; nay, the private acts, the furtive

acta privata, acta furtiva, acta nocturna tua, quæ vulgatissima istis regionibus jamdiu innotuere. Unde spurii si non extiterint, non continuo tu castus, sed eo fortasse nequior fuisti. Hactenus quæ tu testimonia attulisti aut male parta, aut jam
5 exoleta, id est aliquanto prius data, quàm patefacta ea fuerint facinora quæ a me tibi potissimum objiciuntur, ostendi. Quibus testimoniis si ab innumeris passim viris bonis quos nunquàm nominatim larseras non est creditum, id quod ipsi Subscriptores tui queruntur, de me nostrisque hominibus,
10 quos injuriis maximis ultro irritasti, si non credamus, non est merito quod queri quisquàm possit. Postremas omnium literas Amsterodamensium Consulum & Rectorum, nescio cujus opera, quove pacto comparatas, ex Gallia transmittis: neque ad tempus omni ex parte satis accommodatas, & ad rem certe
15 minime appositas. Egoquæ tu ipse flagitiosa feceris, coarguo; tu quid magistratus in te non fecerit hoc testimonio duntaxat ostendis. Scripsi equidem, &, quod turn palam testatus sum, non pro certissimo, sed ut nuper audiveram, idque etiam per literas fide dignas, Magistratum Amsterodamensem tibi pul-
20 pitum interdixisse. Tu literas fateris *per omnes gentes* contra

acts are consulted—your nocturnal acts, which have been long since universally notorious in those parts; whence if no bastards should appear, it would not immediately follow, that you have been chaste, but perhaps the more wicked for that
 5 very reason.

Hitherto, the testimonies you have brought forward I have shown to have been either obtained by dishonourable means, or that they are now out of date; that is, dated a little before those foul doings were laid open, which constitute my prin-
 10 cipal charges against you. And if no credit is given these testimonies by innumerable good men in all places, whom you have never particularly injured,—the circumstance of which your subscribers themselves complain—there can be no reason why any one should justly complain of me and my country-
 15 men for not believing them, to whom, though unprovoked, you have done the greatest of injuries. Last of all, you transmit from France the letters of the consuls and governors of Amsterdam; but by whose instrumentality they were procured, or by what means, I know not. These were not sufficiently
 20 adjusted, in every particular, to the time, and were certainly not at all suited to the purpose. I, on my part, charge you with the scandalous deeds you have done; and you merely show, by this testimony, what the magistrate has not done against you. I stated again, that the magistracy of Amsterdam had forbid-
 25 den you the pulpit; openly testifying at the same time, that I had not heard this as an undoubted fact, but that I had heard it lately, and by means of letters worthy of credit. You acknowledge that letters in your disfavour "have been fre-

te ab *advcrsariis* tuis *missitatas*. Et eos adversarios nunc scribis esse tuos; ego & bonos viros esse eos acceperam, & te adversarium sciebam esse meum. Ex ipsis quæro Magistratibus Amsterodamensium, num istiusmodi quippiam allatum ad se
5 de adversario non tantum suo, sed civitatis etiam suæ, silentio prætermittendum censuissent? Hoc igitur si verum non sit, est quoque levissimum; de quo & ego minime laborare, & tu minime exultare debeas. Nunquid est aliud quod testentur tibi hæ literæ? est aliud. Te *ex quo tempore apud se in publico*
10 *munere versatus es, nihil admisisse quod justum prædictis calumniis locum dare potuerit*. Quid si antè admiseris, quàm ad eos venisti? Nam quibus Consulibus admissa abs te quæque fuerint, cujus in scabinatum pruritiones tuæ inciderint, si ex ratione fastorum non habeo dicere, id non dices, arbitror, ita
15 magni referre. Quid, inquàm, si ante admiseris? quod ego quidem pro certo habeo. Turn sane & hoc quoque testimonium, ancile tuum, haud multò plus ponderis, quàm alterius cujusquàm habuerit; ut, quod de iis, quæ: auditione tantum acceperat ab aliis, testificetur. Quod autem adjungitur te *extra*
20 *culpam notdmve juisse*, id adeò liquido non ita se habet, ut etiam reliqua in dubium vocare videatur. Non alium igitur atque teipsum tuis Consulibus opponam; qui te culpatum, notatum, vexatum, linguis omnium toto Belgio vapulasse, haud semel, pluribusque verbis confessus es. Commodum

quently sent," by your "adversaries, to all nations." You now write that these are your adversaries; and I had learnt that the same are good men, and knew that you are my adversary. I ask the magistrates of Amsterdam themselves, whether they
 5 had thought that anything of this sort, brought to them concerning the enemy not of themselves alone, but of their city, ought to be passed over in silence? This then, if not true, is likewise most trivial; and in no wise requires labouring even by me, and to you, is certainly as little reason for exultation.

10 Is there anything else which these letters testify for you? There is. They testify that, "since you have lived among them in a public capacity, you have done nothing which could furnish any just ground for the aforesaid calumnies." But suppose you should have done something before you went to
 15 them? For if, by inspecting the calendar, I cannot tell under what consuls every act was committed by you—upon whose shrievalty your pruriencies happened to fall—this, I imagine, you will not think of much consequence. Suppose, I say, you had done something before? which I know for certain that
 20 you had. Then, it is plain, this testimony also would not have much more weight than any of the former; since it would be a mere hearsay testimony. But what is added, that "you have been without fault or stigma," is so clearly not true, that it seems to throw a suspicion upon all the rest. To your consuls
 25 therefore, I will oppose nobody but yourself: for you have confessed more than once, and in many words, that, censured, branded, harassed, as you are, you have been lashed, throughout Belgium, by the tongues of all men. They therefore luck-

itaque interserunt, *ut ad nos relatum est*. A quibus autem ?
nam & ad nos longe alia & a plurimis relata sunt: utrumque
qui *hxc* tam varie referunt anteponenda fides sit, ipsi nostram
aeque ac suam existimationem esse sciunt. At vero non ad se
5 omnia quamvis consules, relata esse ut doceam, respondeant
mihi rogo libellus iste in nos famosus, à Moro editus, relatusne
ad se fuerit ? quern libellum edidisse in nostram Rempublicam
non ministri erat Evangelici, sed ardelionis, & calumniatoris,
& nebulonis maledicentissimi. Si negant de hoc libello quic-
10 quam sibi perlatum, posse & multa alia etiam improbissima
non perferri ad se de hoc Moro velim existiment. Sin fateantur
allatum sibi esse illius libri editorem fuisse Morum, suum ta-
men illi testimonium tanquam homini reverendo, probo,
inculpato perhibuerint, sciant nos istiusmodi testimonium
15 etiam Consulum & Scabinorum tanquam levissimum & nul-
lius plane autoritatis repudiare. Horum, inquis, Rectorum
gravitatem, fidem, autoritatem si nesses, scilicet mille-
norum Miltonorum libellis retundendis parem agnosceres.
Ego vero, mi homo, id nescio an ita facile agnoscerem; quan-
20 doquidem & id nescio, ἀριστίνδην, ἀν' αὐτῶν, virtute an censu
magistratum illum in civitate sua obtineant. Neque me latet
Consules et Praetores, illustriora longe quam nunc sunt no-

ily insert, "as has been told us." But by whom? for very different things have been told us, and by numbers of persons; and they themselves are aware, that it concerns our reputation as well as their own, whose credit is preferred, of those
 5 whose accounts of these matters are so various. But to show that, though consuls, all has not been told them, let them answer me, whether they were ever told of that infamous libel against us, which was published by More? To have published this libel upon our commonwealth was not the business of
 10 a minister of the gospel, but of a busy-body, of a calumniator, of the most scandalous of scoundrels. If they deny that anything had reached them concerning this libel, I would have them think it possible that many other things have not reached them concerning this More—things too the most un-
 15 principled. But if they confess that More was mentioned to them as the editor of that book, and yet give him their testimony as a reverend, honest, and blameless man, let them know that we reject such a testimony, though coming from consuls and sheriffs, as the lightest of all testimonies, and as
 20 absolutely without any authority whatsoever. "If (you say) you had formed any conception of the gravity, the credit, the authority of these governors, you would acknowledge them equal to crush infinite libels of a thousand Miltons." But then, my man, I know not whether I should be so ready to acknowl-
 25 edge it: for I know not whether it was for their virtue or for their wealth, that they obtained that magistracy in their city. Nor is it any secret to me, that consuls and prætors, names far more illustrious than they are in our day, zealously defended

mina, etiam Verrem, reorum omnium Romæ perditissimum, studiose defendisse, cum provincia tota, virique boni universi gravissimè accusarent. Hoc summum fidei tux publics propugnaculum, eademque basis & firmamentum maximum, 5 quàm nullo tamen negotio labefactetur & corruat vides. Sequitur Ecclesix Amsterodamensis Gallo-Belgicæ testimonium subscriptore inprimis Hottono, Mori intimo, & quod supra demonstravimus, Regii Clamoris conscio. Valde nobis probatum sit necesse est hujusmodi testimonium cujus sub- 10 scriptionis princeps est Hottonus. Sed tamen quid afferat, videamus. *Tantum abesse, ait, ut eorum criminum cum reum esse sciamus aut agnoscamus quorum a quodam Miltone Anglo accusatur.* — Hujus fidei vis maxima, ut video, in ignorantiae professione posita est. Quid hoc testimonio faci- 15 amus? quid hac fide? quæ suâ se potissimum ignorantia commendat. Reum esse nescimus, non agnoscimus: hoc quis præterea toto propemodum Belgio ignorat, quæ illi præcipue crimina objicio, eorum ipsum in utroque foro, non reum modo diuturnum fuisse, sed plurimorum judicio damnatissimum; 20 nee nisi potentium quorundam studiis, utque sacro potius ordini quàm ipsi consuleretur, fuisse absolutum. *Tantum abest ut reum esse sciamus, ut contra fortius ab illo aliquoties*

even Verres, the most profligate of all the Roman criminals, when the whole province, and every good man charged him with the weightiest accusations. Though this is the main bulwark of your public faith, its foundation and chief support,
 5 you see with how little trouble it may be shaken and made to fall in pieces.

The testimony of the Gallo-Belgic church at Amsterdam comes next; and the first subscriber we meet with is Otto, an intimate friend of More, and who was privy, as we have be-
 10 fore shown, to the *Royal Cry*. A testimony of this sort, of the subscribers to which Otto is the prime, must no doubt, in our estimation, carry with it a vast weight of proof! Let us see, however, what it brings. "So far (it says) from our knowing or acknowledging him guilty of the crimes, of which he is
 15 accused by one Milton, an Englishman"—As it seems to me, the greatest force of this faith is founded in a profession of ignorance. What can we do with this testimony? what with this faith, which recommends itself chiefly by its ignorance? 'We know not, we acknowledge not that he is guilty.' Who
 20 else, in almost all Belgium, is ignorant, that he has not only been long since prosecuted both in the civil and ecclesiastical court, for the crimes with which I chiefly charge him, but that in the opinion of most men, he richly deserved condemnation for the same; and that he would not have been acquitted, but
 25 for the warm exertions of certain powerful personages, in regard of the sacredness of his order, rather than of himself. So far from our knowing him to be guilty, "that, on the contrary, we have often requested of him, discourses on sacred sub-

condones sacras rogaverimus. Contend nempe hoc forensi
judicio, ubi gratia plus justo potuit; & suadente præsertim
Hottono, quoties ipse respirare & suis parcere lateribus decre-
visset. Verum hoc quid efficit? aut quis est nescius multos in
5 concionibus satis esse placitos, satis suaves ac tinnulos, qui in
omni vita reliqua offensioni maximæ fuerint? Etenim qui
suis libidinibus explendis dat operam, quid obstat quo minus
idem titillandis alienis auribus commode servire possit? Quod
reliquum est, index potiis operis, quàm testimonium dici
10 meretur: quando enim aliud quod dicat non habet, *satis su-
ferque testantur*, inquit, *de ipso aliarum Ecclesiarum in
quibus vixit diutius quàm afud nos publica documenta ad
quæ nos Us consentiendo rejerimus.* Quæ vox detrectantium
pene, & libenter hoc negotio expedire se cupientium prorsus
15 videtur; facitque ut non immerito suspicemur, testimonium
hoc, tametsi plane friget, non sine sudore tamen Mori, alia-
borante etiam Hottono, multis repugnantibus, impetratum
segre fuisse. Epilogi loco est *Curatorum scholæ* testimonium.
Verum in schola quid tu declamites, quid recites, aut quem-
20 admodum te geras, neque tanti esse reor ut cognoscere cure-
mus, neque ad hanc causam pertinet. Vitam & mores tuos
excutimus: quos cum isti vix attingere, & ad literas superi-
ores malle nos remittere videantur, quod ad eorum testimo-

jects"; content, no doubt, with this forensic judgment, in which favour availed more than justice; and which was advised by Otto in particular, as he himself wanted to draw breath, and to spare his own sides. But what does this make
 5 for him? or who knows not that many men are agreeable enough, and sweet enough, and ear-tingling enough in their discourses, who, in the rest of their lives are pre-eminently scandalous? Besides, what hinders a man, who is eager in the gratification of his lusts, from being apt at titillating the ears
 10 of other people?

What remains should be called the index of the work, rather than a testimony; for when it has nothing else to say, "Enough (it says) and more than enough is testified of the same person by the public documents of other churches, in
 15 which he has continued longer than he has with us; and as we agree with these, to them we refer," This looks exactly like the language of people who were shifting off—who would willingly get quit of the business; and makes us justly suspect, that this testimony, though evidently cold, was yet not ob-
 20 tained without difficulty, without resistance from many, without the sweat of More, and the struggles of Otto.

Instead of an epilogue, we have the testimony of the "trustees of the school." But what you declaim, what you recite, or how you conduct yourself in the school, I do not think of suffi-
 25 cient consequence for us to be anxious to know; nor has it any connection with this cause. We are examining your life and manners; and as they seem scarcely to touch upon these, and to prefer sending us back to former letters, so we may rest

nium infirmandum satis sit, superius quoque dictum pute-
mus. Ad finem aliquando peivenimus *tux* Fidei publicæ;
quæ ex Gallico fere sermone in Gallico-latinum *tralatitia*
inanissimi libri maximam partem occupat. Copias jam omnes
5 tuas cum supplemento etiam lustravimus: peramplas quidem
eas, sed ad pompam sane podus, quàm ad verum robur com-
paratas. *Hx* sunt plumæ tuæ, sub quibus corniculam latitare
te dixi. *Hxc* vestis ilia multicolor qua Morum revera, id est
morionem te induisd: his tu phaleris ne populum quidem
10 fefelleris: tuque si sapuisses, aut ullo rerum usu præditus
fuisses, nullius fore usus dbi hæc omnia, quod ad tuam at-
tinet causam, facile intellixisses. Potest fortasse quispiam,
cujus nomen alioqui nunquàm audissemus, tarn sui vendi-
tandi causa quàm tui, phalerata verba tibi dedisse: potest
15 aliorum pudor & bonitas flagitanti ac sudanti, & agi jam
tuam exisdminationem misere querend, hoc tantulum non de-
negasse. Potes tu per interpretes Hottonos multa confecisse:
& tamen post *hæc* omnia scito te nihil quod ad rem perdnear
in medium protulisse. Quid juverit, quæso, vel in foro testi-
20 monia generatim dicta, quid elogia de tuis *dotibus*, quid in-
certas blandiendum amicorum laudes proferre, si ego te cer-

persuaded that enough has been said above to invalidate their testimony.

At last, we are come to the end of your *Public Faith*, which, mostly translated from French into Frenchified Latin, occupies the greater part of this most inane book. We have now also reconnoitred the whole of your forces, together with the supplement; and they are numerous enough no doubt, but, in truth, were collected for show, rather than for real strength. These are your plumes, under which I said you concealed the daw. This is that many-coloured garment, by which you have put on Morus indeed, that is, the fool; with these trappings not even the people will have been deceived; and if you had been wise, or had possessed any knowledge of the world, you would have known that, with respect to your cause, all these things could be of no use to you. Somebody, perhaps, of whose name we might otherwise never have heard, may have bestowed upon you pompous words for the sake of bragging of himself as well as of you; and others from their modesty and goodness may have been unable to deny this trifle to your earnest entreaty, to your laborious struggles, and to your pitiful complaints that your reputation already tottered. You yourself may have despatched many things by your interpreters, the Otto's. And yet, after all this, be assured you have brought forward nothing which is to the purpose. Of what use, I pray, could it be, to bring into court testimonies which were given generally, encomiums upon your "endowments," the suspicious praises of flattering friends, when I accuse you of crimes which admit of no

torum criminum accuse? Accusarunt te adulterii Genevæ olim viri graves; tempus, locum, adulteram nominarunt: multorum præterea criminum te detulerunt. Quid si istam faraginem pro testimonio Judicibus turn tuis ostendisses? accepturosne putas fuisse eos, teque absolvendum istis criminibus fuisse continuè judicatures? immo vero jussissent te, ablatis hisce nugis, apposite respondere; ullamne cum ista foemina rem, rationemve habueris; illo in horto eamne conveneris; illo in tugurio, clausis foribus, solisne cum sola fueris.

10 Hæc & hujusmodi multa ex te requisissent; ad quæ: singula, neque in illo turn judicio, quod te jure absolvere vel suspicione posset (judicium enim illud petita abeundi licentia commodum prævertisti) neque in hoc libro, tot alioqui ineptiis referatissimo, quicquàm respondes. Facis idem prorsus in causa

15 quoque Pontiana: quid in foro transactum sit, quantopere tua gratia ad præjudicium miseræ mulierculæ post Salmasii obitum valuerit, suspiciosè admodum ipse narras. De illis nocturnis Hagâ Leidam itineribus, de illis cum Pontia clandestinis atque nocturnis congressibus, quanquàm hæc & multo plura

20 hujusmodi omnibus in ore sunt, nullum verbum facis. Quid hæc prorsus alienissima nobis obtrudis? immo quid omnino hanc tantam literarum ac testimoniorum congeriem tibi ullo tempore comparasti? an quod tuæmet ipse conscientie satis

suspicion? Men of grave character accused you of adultery heretofore, at Geneva. They mentioned the time, the place, the adulteress. They charged you besides with various other crimes. What, if at that time you had shown your judges this
 5 farrago for a testimony? Do you imagine they would have accepted it, and forthwith have pronounced you not guilty of the alleged crimes? On the contrary, they would have thrown aside this trash, and have ordered you to answer to the point: Had you any thing to do with that woman? Did you take any
 10 account of her? Did you meet her in that garden? Were you alone with her in that little lodge, with closed doors? These are the questions, and many others of a like tendency, which they would have asked you; to none of which do you make any reply, which could set you free from the law or from sus-
 15 picion, either at the time of that trial (which you seasonably prevented by asking leave to withdraw) nor in this book, stuffed as it is with other absurdities without number. You act precisely in the same way also in the affair of Pontia. You yourself gave a very suspicious account of what passed in
 20 court, of how much the favour shown you operated, after the death of Salmasius, to the prejudice of that unhappy woman. You say not a word of those nocturnal jaunts from the Hague to Leyden, of those clandestine meetings in the night with Pontia, though these things, and many more of the same kind,
 25 are in everybody's mouth. Why obtrude upon us what is altogether foreign to the business? Nay, for what purpose did you collect this huge heap of letters and testimonies at all? Was it that you were not sufficiently satisfied with yourself in

probatum apud te non eras? an quod de te nee tibi ipsi, nee spontaneis hominum sermonibus credere audebas, nisi tot coactis nominibus ac testimoniis tibi confirmatum hoc esset atque testatum, id quod alioqui nunquam credidisses, te
5 virum bonum aut tolerabilem posse cuiquam videri? An vero tot criminibus accusatus, cum de te homines ubique pessime loquerentur, commendationibus totidem sanare illa vulnera posse te existimasti? atqui vides quo sepius ex mala valetudine ad inanem medicinam, ex novis maleficiis & rumoribus
10 inde natis ad novas perpetuo commendationes recurris, earum auctoritatem eo semper minorem abs te reddi atque indies leviolem: ægrotare nimirum existimationem tuam & morbo-sissimam esse, quæ tot purgationibus, tot medicamentis indigeat commendationum quis est quin suspicetur? Sed fortasse
15 longinquas in urbes quemadmodum prædicas, ad Professiones amplissimas persæpe invitatus, hoc te quasi commeatu, iter facturus, instruxisti. Optime: quæro itaque an proficisci in animo tibi fuerit ad eos homines qui te ignorassent, an qui satis nossent? si ad illos, venustus profecto homo necesse est
20 tibi fueris, qui ab illis invitatum iri te unquam credideris, qui te ignorassent: Si ad hos qui te jam satis norant, quid hoc tanto commendationum instrumento ac sarcina ad eos opus

your own conscience ? or because you dared not believe either yourself concerning yourself, or what was spontaneously said of you by mankind, without having confirmed and testified to you, by such a host of names and testimonies, the assertion,

5 that you can be regarded by any one as a good man or even endurable—which you would otherwise have never believed ? But when charged with so many crimes, when mankind, in all places, gave you the worst of characters, did you think to be able to heal those wounds with a like number of beprais-

10 ings ? You see, however, that the oftener, from ill health, you vainly have recourse to physic, the oftener, from new misdemeanors, and the rumours thence arising, you are running after new commendations, of the less weight do you always and daily make their authority. Indeed, who is there who

15 would not suspect your reputation to be sick—in a most morbid condition, when it wants so many purges, so much of the physic of commendation ? But perhaps you were about to make a journey to distant cities, and provided yourself with this account of your style of preaching, and of your very fre-

20 quent invitations to the most ample professorships, as a sort of safe conduct. Very well: I ask now, whether it was your intention to travel to people who knew nothing about you, or to those who knew you well ? If to the former, you must indeed have been a charming man in your own eyes, when you

25 could even believe yourself invited by those who did not know you 1 if to the latter, to those who already knew you well, what need had they of this huge document and budget of commendations, to whom you knew yourself before to be abundantly

erat, quibus jam antea commendatissimum te esse ex eo ipso, quod invitassent, sciebas. Perspicuum igitur est, nullam ob rem aliam, tantam vim testimoniorum commendatitiam sic te studiose conguessisse & in promptu semper habuisse, nisi vel
5 ad ostentationem quandam circulatoriam, ad quàm artem factum te præcipue atque natum existimarim, vel impendentis ignominiaë metu, quàm ex flagitiis nondum patefactis certissimam tibi expectabas. Ut haberes nimirum speciosum aliquid & publicum & foris partum, quod private atque
10 domesticaë & erumpenti interdum ex latebris opponeres *iniamix*; utque Procerum atque Doctorum splendidis testimoniis in quibus consequendis gratia atque ambitio nunc fere plurimum possunt, contra populi veras voces te communires. Veriim ista te spes ut dixi, & frustrata jam est, &
15 frustrabitur; cum quia tuam obtegere improbitatem atque nequitiam, neque lux ulla neque tenebras possunt, turn quia hoc, ipsum quicquid est munimenti, quo te circumsepsisti, per se satis infirmum atque rimosum est. Id planius adhuc fiet, si testimonia hæc tua, quemadmodum per se singula
20 consideravimus, ita nunc postrema primis, prima mediis conferamus; & doctores proceresque tuos inter se paulisper committamus. Ut intelligi tandem possit, quæ fides illius fidei publics, illorum testium sit, ubi aut alii ab aliis tarn longe dissentiunt, aut plerique tarn multa vel dissimulant vel ne-
25 sciunt, quæ sua sponte alii fatentur. Illud imprimis exemplo

commended from the fact of their inviting you ? It is plain,
 therefore, that you have so diligently heaped together and
 have always at hand such a mass of commendatory testimonies
 for no other purpose, than either for a certain circulatory os-
 5 tentation, an art for which I could fancy you expressly made
 and born, or through fear of impending ignominy, which you
 expected as indubitably certain, from the flagitious deeds
 which were not yet brought to light; that, no doubt, you
 may have something specious and public, something derived
 10 from without, to oppose to your private and domestic infamy,
 which is, every now and then, breaking cover; and that by the
 splendid testimonies of the great and of the learned, to ob-
 tain which, favour and canvassing are now commonly the
 most available, you may fortify yourself against the uninflu-
 15 enced voice of the people. But, as I have said, you have been
 already disappointed in that hope, and will still be disap-
 pointed, both because neither light nor darkness can conceal
 your dishonour and wickedness, and because this rampart,
 such as it is, with which you have surrounded yourself, is of
 20 itself sufficiently weak and full of breaches. This will appear
 more clearly, if, as we have already considered these testi-
 monies of yours singly, we now compare the last with the first,
 and the first with the intermediate, and your doctors and great
 people one with the other. Hence, it will at length be known,
 25 what is the faith of this public faith, and of those witnesses,
 when they either differ so widely the one from the other, or
 when most of them either dissemble, or know nothing about
 many things, which are voluntarily confessed by others. Let

sit, quod in iis literis occurrit quæ Genevensis esse Ecclesie dicuntur. *Nihil utique illi, id est Moro, vel ab injensissimis hostibus meritb objici queat, quod juste sit reprehensioni obnoxium.* Ego contra non quæ hostes objiciunt Moro, sed
5 quæ amici ejus, quæ testes ejus & *juste reprehensioni obnoxia* fatentur, & ipsi in eo reprehendunt, ex his iisdem testimoniis depromam. Quid enim Deodatus? *Non provocat quidem Morus, sed terribiles ungues habet ad sui tutelam.* Quos ungues ? nam istiusmodi quicquàm inter Evangelici ministri
10 arma non reperio; & Eloquentiam nolim a viro docto atque humano, tarn truci metaphora significari: Reliquum est, ut ungues illos, feritatem atque f erociam hominis interpretemur, quos non ad tutelam sui, sed ad injuriam aliorum, in nos certe nimium expedites atque acres feræ similior quàm pastori
15 exercuit. Apertiora haud paulo sunt quæ Georgius Crantzius, Alberti æmulus, ne ab avunculo forte suo historica fide superetur, & quanto ægrior tanto fortasse veracior ultro nobis largitur. *Ego Mori notitiam habui & Geneva & in Belgio; semper magnas inimicitias exercuit cum cemulis, quibus ipse*
20 *locum sæpe prcsbuit nimid libertate loquendi.* En hoc teste, contra quàm ab altero dictum modo est, & *ungues habet & provocat Morus.* *Ferox atque fidens, crabronum irritator*

us take first for an example what we meet with in the letters, said to be from the church of Geneva. "Nothing, certainly, can be justly objected to him," that is to More, "even by the bitterest enemies, which is liable to merited censure." On the
5 contrary, I will produce, from these same testimonies, not what is objected to More by enemies, but by his friends; what his witnesses confess is both "liable to merited censure," and what themselves censure in him. For what says Diodati? "More, it is true, gives no challenge; but he has terrible nails
10 for his own defence." What nails? for I find nothing of this sort among the arms of a minister of the gospel; and I am unwilling to think that, by a man of learning and humanity, eloquence could be designated by so savage a metaphor. It follows, therefore, that we must understand those nails to
15 mean the fury and ferocity of the man, which, like a wild beast more than a shepherd, he has used not for the defence of himself, but for the injury of others, and against us, certainly, with too much freedom and acrimony. More explicit, and in no small degree, is what we are voluntarily favoured with by
20 George Crantz, the rival of Albert; perhaps, that he may not be surpassed by his uncle in historic faith; the sicker he is, too, the more veracious may he possibly be. "I was acquainted with More both at Geneva and in Holland. He was always at great enmity with his rivals, to which he himself often furnished the
25 occasion by his freedom of speaking." And according to this witness, contrary to what has been just said by another, More "has nails," and gives provocation too. "Fierce," and "confident," he is the most malicious "of irritators to waspish

infestissimus: Beelsebubem prope alterum dicas, nisi quod ille muscas: Laboris alioqui *intolerantior*, teste etiam laudatore Salmasio; cujus & *uxorcm varie Iceserat*, & alia quædam commiserat *inconsideratione tali homine indigna*. Hæc ab amicis
5 ac testibus tuis vis ipsa veritatis expressit; quæ quàm vis favore & studio dicentium in molliorem partem flectantur, ejusmodi tamen sunt quæ ingenium tuum palam omnibus faciant, & hujus testimonii totius fidem infirmare haud mediocriter atque infringere videantur: cujus altera pars probum, inoffen-
10 sum, sanctum, omni labe ac vitio carentem, altera contentiosum, turbulentum, arrogantem, garrulum, ignavum, injurium, inconsideratum denique & stultum nobis exhibet Morum. Sic fuit tua fides publica, id est, nulla: reverteris nunc iterum ad privatam, quæ nulla minor est. *At vides interea*
15 *inquis, quàm non tralatitio me dignentur afflectu, quos tu vis mihi furcas comparare*. Immo tu vide, si potes, iram atque amentia impeditus, quàm vehementer hallucineris, quàm nihil attente agas. Non ego hoc *de Batavis* sed Genevensibus intelligi volebam; nee quid hi statuissent, sed quid tu meru-
20 isses. *Verba*, inquis, *tua recognosce, Orestis cemule*. Recognosco, inquam, Orestis æmule! Cujus flagitia si pro meritis

people": you would almost think him another Beelzebub, but that he merely cast out flies. That he is otherwise "impatient" of labour, even Salmasius his eulogist bears witness; whose "wife he had" also "injured in various ways," and had been

5 guilty of some other things, "from a thoughtlessness unworthy of such a man." These things have been wrung from your friends and witnesses by the very force of truth; which things, though they may receive a milder interpretation from the favour and concern of the reporters, are nevertheless of

10 such a nature as may lay open to all men your real disposition, and seem to weaken and in a great measure to dissipate the credit of the whole of this testimony: for one part presents More to us as honest, inoffensive, sanctified, without stain or defect of any sort; the other exhibits him as contentious,

15 turbulent, arrogant, loquacious, idle, injurious, in fine, as thoughtless and foolish. Such was your public faith, that is no faith at all. You now return again to private, which is still less than none. "You see, however (says he) that those whom you would have to provide a gallows for me, have not thought me

20 deserving even of a tralatitious punishment." Nay, do you see, if you can, blinded as you are by anger and frenzy, what outrageous blunders you make; that nothing you do is done with proper care. I meant this to be understood not of the Hollanders but of the Genevese; nor did I mean to signify by it

25 what even their resolutions should have been, but what were your deserts. "Rival of Orestes (say you) recollect what you have said." I recollect, (say I) rival of Orestes! whose "profligacies, if the magistrate had received as they deserved, you

excepisset Magistrates, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens
luisses: nimirum Genevæ, ubi adulterii delatus eras; ad alios
magistratus cognitio illius facti pertinere non potuit. Quæ
sequuntur porro & luiturus propediem videris, & hæc non
5 iratus tibi ominor, sed duntaxat jus dico, facile demonstrant,
non turn prædixisse me quid sis passurus, sed pronuntiasse
quid esses meritus; idque (cum de nobis ipse prior judicasses)
pari jure meo fecisse. I nunc, non conscientię integritate, non
justa defensione, sed scelerum impunitate, quod facis, effer
10 te & gloriare. *Huic*, inquis, *jungo*, *nuper e terra nato quern
aut quos opposui?* Erras, More, & me non nosti: mihi lentè
crescere, & velut occulto ævo satius semper fuit. Tu ille fungus
qui ex ephebis modo Genevam profectus, Grascarum litera-
rum professor subito emersisti; & tot viris natu *grandioribus*
15 *Ecdesiastis*', *Jureconsultis*, *Medicis*, *ilia ingenii tune frimum
efflorescentis gratia*, ut tu satis fungose narras, *palmam* præ-
ripiuisti: mox inter fungos, & olera, & armamenta olitoria,
fungo recens tuberante, non tu quidem Claudium extinxisti,
sed Claudiam supinasti. Nunc *conciliare* me jubes *mea dicta*,
20 si possum, {y *jabulas* cum Magistratuum *dictis atque judiciis*

would long ago have expiated your adulteries on a gallows": I mean at Geneva, where you were prosecuted for adultery; the cognizance of that deed could not belong to other magistrates. Moreover, what follows—"you seem very likely to
 5 make an expiation ere it be long"—and—"nor do I forbode these things for you in anger, but simply speak what is right"—clearly show, that I did not predict, at that time, what you would actually suffer, but declared what you deserved to suffer; and that I had done this by the same right with which you
 10 had first passed judgment upon us. Go, now, and extol yourself, as you do, and glory not in the purity of your conscience, not in the justice of your defence, but in your impunity for your crimes. "To this mushroom (say you) which is just sprung out of the earth, what person or persons have I opposed?"
 15 You mistake, More, and know me not. To me it always appeared best to grow slowly, and as it were, by imperceptible advances. You are that mushroom, who, when only just out of your boyhood, went to Geneva, and all at once popped up professor of Greek; and as you tell, mushroom-like, bore
 20 away "the palm from so many men who were" your elders, ecclesiastics, lawyers, physicians, by favour of that genius, which was then only beginning to blossom. By and by, the mushroom having recently become tuberous, you did not, it is true, put an end to Claudius, but you laid Claudia on her
 25 back among the mushrooms, and the pot-herbs, and the pot-herb tackle. You now bid me "reconcile" my "words and tales," if I can, with "the words and decisions" of the magistrates, namely those for which you went a-begging. Now, I

abs te scilicet emendicatis: Ego vero mea dicta cum tuis factis facile conciliavero; de ipsorum dictis atque judiciis ipsi viderint: nos ut non porticibus, ita nee iisdem judiciis fruimur. Tu tecum si potes temetipsum concilia; qui totum illud Gene-
5 vense negotium, & gravissimum in te crimen adulterii, quasi fabulam refutatione prorsus indignam prætermisisti; hie alteram fabulam de infenso erga te Magistratum animo, summa cura, summoque studio refellere conaris. Cur illam quæ vehementissime ad te pertinuit, tam facile prætermittis, hanc
10 quæ te minime attingit corrogatis tot testibus tanta mole refutare contendis? Sane si ipse tibimet constare vis videri, nosque tuum institutum & respondendi rationem intuemur, qui fabulas confutatione indignas esse censes, aut illud in te verum crimen, aut hoc de te non verum Magistrates iudicium
15 credamus oportebit. At non omni ex parte vituperandus est Morus; habet suas laudes; magna vitia magnis virtutibus compensat; facit quod in homine Ecclesiastico laudatissimum simul & rarissimum est, ut gratis concionetur. *Nullo, inquit, stipendio authoratus gratuitam Ecclesice operam rogatus præ-*
20 *sto:* immo vero fortuitam; ex quo videlicet ampliore mercede proposita, relicto Pastoris munere, sacrarum Historiarum Professor factus es; id est revera, ex sacrario in scholam ad stipendium uberius emigrasti: turn si cujus rogatu fortè concionaris, hoc tanquàm beneficii loco imputas; cùm assiduum
25 Pastoris ministerium deserueris, ut hanc subcisivam operam

shall easily reconcile my words with your deeds: as to their words and decisions, let themselves see to them; as we use not the same courts, neither do we make use of the same decisions. Do you, if you can, reconcile yourself with yourself; you
 5 dismiss the whole of that Genevese business, and the heavy charge against you of adultery, as a tale unworthy of refutation, and try with utmost diligence to deny the other as arising from the hostility of the magistrates towards you. Why do you so readily pass over that tale, which so inti-
 10 mately concerned you, and strive with such mighty efforts, with such a host of witnesses, to refute this, which in no wise affects you. Indeed, if you would be consistent with yourself, and if we consider your purpose, your reason for reply, we must necessarily believe either that charge against
 15 you to be true, or this decision of the magistrate in your case to be false.

Nevertheless, More is not to be found fault with at all points. He has his merits. Great vices are compensated by great virtues. He does what, in an ecclesiastic is very laudable,
 20 and at the same time very unusual; he preaches gratis. "I have no salary (says he) as hire; I perform the church-duty gratuitously": and what is more, fortuitously. Whence, we may see, that on the offer of more abundant hire, you quitted the office of pastor, and became professor of sacred history: in
 25 other words, you migrated from the sanctuary to the school, for the sake of a more ample salary. Then, if you happen to preach at the request of any one, you consider this as conferring a favour; when you deserted the uninterrupted ministry of a pastor, that you might seem to bestow this spare duty for

desertæ abs te Ecclesiæ non sine maximo compendio tuo gratis impertire videaris. Tu vero, More, si Ecclesiam Medio-burgensem, quæ te, ut ais, tarn honorifice invitasset, tanto cum fructu audisset, tarn ægre dimisisset, sine gravissima
5 causa reliquisses, & ad alium gregem, idemque munus Pastoris te contulisses, reprehendendum merito & levitatis arguendum existimarim. Nunc cum *Attalidis*, ut ipse ais, *conditionibus*, non Christianis, & *emolument!* *jructu* longe uberiore adductus, non de grege in gregem desultorius tantummodo
10 Pastor transieris, sed illo munere longe potiore posthabito, ex Evangelii ministro mutatus in Professore & Historicum, ex ipsis Ecclesiam adytis ad pomœria regressus sis, non mercennarii solum, sed defectoris prope numero habendum te esse, si habenda veteris & sanctissimæ discipline ulla ratio est, affir-
15 mare non vereor. At concionaris tamen: & strenue quidem, nunquàm *maiore cum jructu* Attalico, ad Pergamenos putâ, non tuum ad gregem; quibus si forte aures vix satis teretes pruriunt, tu, vitio cantorum plane converso, rogatus nunquàm desistis: & velut sacerdos Phrygiæ matris nondum
20 exectus, aut Curetum aliquis, moves libenter tua crotala; non ut vagitum quempiam fabulosum, sed ut rumores flagitiorum tuorum plus nimio veraces fanatica vociferatione obruas. Hoc tu septenario strepitu & doctrina fortuita, ut quivis olim

nothing upon the church you had abandoned; though, in fact, not without the greatest advantage to yourself. Now, More, if you had left, without the most weighty reasons, the church of Middelburg, which, as you say, had given you an
5 invitation so much to your honour, had heard you with so much fruit, and which was so loath to part with you, and if you had betaken yourself even to another flock, and to the same pastoral office, I should have thought you justly to blame, and chargeable with levity. But when, as you say yourself, you
10 are induced by "Attalic," instead of Christian "conditions"—by a far higher emolument,—and passed from flock to flock, not merely from fickleness, but were metamorphosed from a minister of the gospel into a professor and historian, from a comparative disregard of that far better office, and made a
15 retrograde movement from the sanctuary of a church to the precincts of a city—I scruple not to affirm, if any regard is to be paid to the ancient and holiest discipline, that you ought to be considered as a renegado. And yet you preach; and strenuously too—never "with greater" Attalic "fruit," that is, I suppose,
20 pose, to Pergamenians, not to your own flock; whose ears, which are not over-nice, if they happen to be set a-tingling, and you are invited, reversing the usual fault of singers, you never give over; and like a priest of the Phrygian mother not yet mutilated, or one of the Curetes, you willingly strike your
25 cymbals, not to drown any fabulous cry, but that you may overwhelm the rumours of your profligacies, which are but too true, with fanatical vociferation. By this septenary noise and fortuitous way of teaching, reciting when asked, like

cyclicus aut sophista, si rogatus recitas, desertum Pastoris munus assiduum explere te putas? At concionator est bellus & facundus. Ita, credo, ut est orator; cui proverbialia si demas, & insutos versiculorum centones, orationis ipso filo atque
5 contextu nihil inornatius, nihil incompositius, nihil verbosius atque putidius; nihil ubi venustatem, numerum, atque nervos paulo disertiore homine dignos magis requiras. Unum est in quo graviter titubatum a me esse fateor: Græcarum literarum professorem dixi, quern sacrarum Historiarum dixisse debui:
10 enimvero incredibile mihi prorsus, & portento simile videbatur, Historiarum sacrarum eum esse Professore, qui tot profanarum argumentum ipse atque materies esset. Tu verò mihi rectius, More, non Historiarum, sed Calumniarum Professor deinceps nominaberis. Quod ne quis a me secus atque
15 res ipsa se habet dictum arbitretur, mea ipsa verba abs te prolata in medio ponam; tuam deinde horum interpretationem, quàm dico esse Calumniam: ut quàm impudenter & malidose agas, quod & supra idque sæpius demonstravi, & hinc qualem te sacræ etiam literæ tortorem proculdubio
20 sentiant, præterire neminem possit. Restat jam tibi sola Græcarum literarum professio: ergo hoc ego *crimini* tibi do, quod Græcas literas professus: ergo ego *Græcas literas, earumque professores* cogo in ordinem. Ergo ego *Græcas literas ad ima*

some strolling bard or sophist of antiquity, do you imagine that you fulfil the unceasing duty of a pastor, which you have deserted ? But he is charming and eloquent as a preacher! So he is, I think, as an orator; though if you take away his adages, 5 and the centos of versicles he has patched on, nothing can be more inelegant, immethodical, more verbose and commonplace, than the very thread and contexture of his language; nothing where you would miss more that beauty, harmony, and nervousness which distinguish an eloquent writer. There 10 is one thing, I confess, in which I have made a grievous blunder: I have called him professor of Greek, when I ought to have called him professor of sacred history: for to me, it appeared utterly incredible, and even portentous, that he should be professor of sacred history, who is himself the subject and matter of so many profane histories. For the future, More, you will be more properly called by me professor of slander, than of history. And, that no one may think what I have said to be foreign to the truth, I will produce my very words, which have been quoted by yourself, and then your 20 interpretation of them, which I pronounce to be a slander; that all may be convinced, with what impudence and malice you act, as I have often shown before, and may perceive, beyond a doubt, how he tortures even sacred learning: — 'At this time, your professorship of Greek alone remains': 25 therefore, your being professor of Greek, I impute to you as a "crime": therefore, I "reduce Greek learning and its professors to their proper rank": therefore, I "refer Greek learning to the lowest rank." Who, but yourself, would imag-

subscilia reclgo. Quis horum quicquàm sequi præter te dixerit? ipsa malitia si operam tibi suam locasset, tale quippiam ex meis verbis ullam in partem torquendo exprimere qui tandem potuisset? tu hoc non solum pro verissimo tibi sumis,
5 verum etiam ut non nasutum minus conjectorem te, quàm navum esse Calumniatorem intelligamus, *cur Græcas*, inquis, *Uterus, earumque professores cogas in ordinem, nisi me jallit animus, olfecit fucum*: Nempe Salmasius cum esset Græcæ linguæ callentissimus, & hujus ego auctoritatem elevare statu-
10 issem, id ut quoquo modo possem, Græcas literas, *ejus*, si diis placet, *regna, ad ima subscilicet relegavi*. Quis calumniari solertius, quàm hariolari te nunc dicat? Atqui non meus ille fucus, vir sagacissime, sed tuus mucus quem olfecisti, tantummodo erat. Mihi enim cum Salmasio de Græcis non
15 magis literis quàm Calendis contestata lis erat; non ilium literis vel Græcis vel Latinis sed Auctoritatum & rationum ponderibus affligendum atque sternendum esse intelligebam. Hinc tu, propterea quòd omnes cupide ambages quæris, nequid ad rem dicere cogaris, ut olim paupertatis, ita nunc
20 Græcarum literarum in laudes ridicule sanè transcurris. Quas ego cum neque nesciam, & si quis alius, plurimi faciam nihil profecto ineptius, nihil alienius fingere potuisti, quàm despectas a me esse Græcas literas: cum non tibi illas, sed te illis

ine any of these to be legitimate consequences ? If malice herself had hired you to do her work, who else could, after all, by any distortion, have squeezed anything of this sort from my words ? You not only assume this as an undoubted truth, but

5 to let us know that you are no less a censorious expounder than a busy calumniator, you also remark, "if I am not mistaken, I have smelt out the disguised reason, why you reduce Greek learning and its professors to their proper rank": Namely, as Salmasius was eminently skilled in the Greek tongue, and as

10 I had resolved at any rate to disparage the authority of this man, I referred Greek learning, "his dominion," (please the gods) "to the lowest rank." Who will say now, that you are not equally dexterous at divining as at calumniating? But, most sagacious sir, it was not my disguised reason, but only

15 your own phlegm, that you smelt out: for my contest with Salmasius was no more about the Greek learning than the Greek Calends. I did not think that he deserved to be tormented and humbled either for his Grecian or Roman learning, but for the weight of his authorities and arguments.

20 Hence, because you are glad to make all manner of shifts, that you may avoid saying anything to the purpose, as you formerly went out of your way to praise poverty, so do you now make a most ridiculous digression to the praises of Greek learning; in which, as I am no novice—as I, if any one, value

25 it at the highest price—you could, in truth, have invented nothing more absurd, more inconsistent, than that I hold Grecian learning in contempt. I did not say that Grecian learning was a disgrace to you, but that you were a disgrace

probrio esse dixerim. Sed hæc tua perpetua fere ratio est; ubi non fictis criminibus urgeris, ut ne obmutuisse planè videaris, data tibi esse a me crimini quadibet fingis, aut absurda quævis & falsissima de me inseris, eaque in primis quæ dicta nun-
5 quàm sunt, refutanda arripis: Hie strepis, hic tumultuaris, hie te jactas. Si adulterii te postulo, paupertatem scilicet contemno; paupertas tibi contra me toto penu loculorum tuorum defendenda est: Si stupri arguo, Græcas literas nimirum vellico; Græcarum literarum obtrectator oppugnandus tibi
10 sum: Sic tu vera fictis eludere conaris, ut hoc fumo excitato occultare turpem fugam & convictissimi sontis pudorem atque silentium possis. Vide autem, dum Grecas literas tarn veteratorie laudas, ut irascantur tibi Literæ Latinæ; tuumque *jecur latinum*, ut satis sanum non sit. *Quota pars hæc est*,
15 inquis, *sputorum & alaporum*? Næ tu masculum tibi alapum hoc solcecismo meruisti; nam foemineas esse alapas quas tot sensisti, mirum non est si invitus agnoscas. Verum hæc missa faciamus; levia sunt, vetera sunt; alius repente homo jam factus est Morus; ad sanitatem jamjamque est rediturus;
20 gradum unum atque alterum fecit; paulo veracior, paulo candidior ab Rhetorica Diaboli (sic enim calumniam supra nominat) ad Rhetoricam transit Juliani. *Vicisti*, inquis, *Miltone*. Hanc nempe vocem, ut ille olim (ne non Apostata satis ger-

to it. But almost your invariable plan is—when you are not
 busied with fictitious crimes, that you may not appear to be
 struck quite dumb, you feign something or other which I have
 imputed to you as a crime, or insert any foolish and ground-
 5 less tales about me, seizing those first for refutation which have
 never been told. Here it is that you make your clamour, that
 you raise your uproar, that you make your boasts. If I accuse
 you of adultery, I despise poverty, forsooth; and you have to
 defend poverty against me with your whole stock of argu-
 10 ments. If I convict you of fornication, then I disparage Gre-
 cian learning; and you must oppose the disparagement of
 Grecian learning. Thus you try to elude truth by fiction, that
 you may be able to hide in this smoke you have raised your
 disgraceful flight, and the shame and silence of a criminal so
 15 justly condemned. But while you thus artfully extol Greek
 learning, see what offence you have given to Latin learning;
 see, your own "Latin liver" is not sufficiently sound. "When
 shall we have an end (you ask) of your spitings and slaps?"
 Indeed now you deserve a masculine slap for this solecism:
 20 for it is not to be wondered at, that you are backward to ac-
 knowledge those to have been feminine slaps, of which you
 have felt so many.

But let us dismiss these things; they are both trifling and
 stale. More is now suddenly become a new man. He is even
 25 now about to return to sanity. He has taken a step or two. A
 little more veracious, a little more candid, he passes from the
 rhetoric of the devil (for this is the appellation he above gives
 to calumny) to the rhetoric of Julian. "Milton (says he) you

manus per omnia videaris) veritate victus emisisti. Sed vide, ne sincerum quod est, cauponum more, mendacio statim diluas. *Confitentem*, inquis, *habes reum*. Ego verò reum quidem habeo; confitentem non habeo: nisi si id pro confesso est habendum quicquid tu silentio præteriisti: sic enim & libellum in nos famosum edidisse, & hosti nostro dicasse, & Anglicanam Rempublicam indignissimis modis, meque nominatim illæsus læsisse, totam denique fabulam Gcnevensem confiteris. Ab hac prævaricatione ad precationem quam artificiose compositam te confers; sive ea tuæ fidei publicæ extrema confessio dicenda est; ad quàm Deum testem invocas, tremendum fateor & testem & judicem. Multa confiteris, multa ploras, peccata quidem *longe gravissima*, sed quæ ad nos nihil attineant, quia penitus latent, & etiamnum inconfessa nobis sunt. Et ista quidem si in occulto, clausisque foribus, ut peccare antea, ita nunc precari in animum induxisses, laudassem equidem te, deque benignitate & dementia divina bene sperare jussissem: nunc cum in platea media orantem te hie reperiam, ad homines potius quàm ad Deum concinnatas has esse preces, & quasi ultima jacentis tuæ fidei publican suspiria judicari. *Te Deus, te testem invoco, an non videant homines in corde isto quæ tu non vides.* O

have conquered." Vanquished by truth, you have uttered this expression, I suppose, like him before you, lest you should not appear, in all respects, an apostate sufficiently near of kin. But take care you do not presently dilute with a lie, like
 5 victuallers, what is sincere. "Here is your criminal (say you) making his confession." Here is a criminal indeed; but he makes no confession; unless that be considered as confessed which you have passed over in silence: for, in this way, you confess that you published an infamous libel against us, that
 10 you dedicated it to our enemy, that you injured, in a most scandalous manner, the commonwealth of England, and myself in particular, though still unhurt; in this way, in fine, you confess the whole of that Geneva tale. From this prevarication, you betake yourself to a kind of praying artfully com-
 15 posed; or it should be called the last dying confession of your public faith, to which you call God to witness—a tremendous witness, I own, and judge. You confess many things, lament many things, even sins which are "by far the most grievous of sins," but which do not at all concern us because they are
 20 entirely concealed, and to us are still unconfessed. Yet, could you have prevailed upon yourself to pray even for these, in secret, and with closed doors, as you had before been accustomed to sin, I should indeed have commended you, and have encouraged you to hope for God's kindness and mercy. Now,
 25 as I find you praying here in the open street, I cannot but think that these prayers, these last gasps, as it were, of your prostrate public faith were addressed to men, more than to God, "I call thee, O God, to witness, whether men do not see in this heart what thou seest not." What a plain and honest confes-

confessionem claram atque simplicem! immo vero quid ob-
scurius, quid cautius, quid jureconsultius composuisse po-
teras, ut decem causidicos vel adhibuisse viderere, vel perti-
muisse? Nam quid hoc est, obsecro? *an non videant homines*
5 *in corde isto*. Quid vident homines in corde? Urinatore hie
opus est Delio. Verum quid quis in corde videat, viderit.
Ego facta palam, audita, visa, testata refero: quas nemo meas
esse calumnias sine maxima calumnia dixerit. *Longe turpior*
sum, inquis, re quidem vera quàm illi fingunt; ob ilia tot
10 *abscondita, quorum apud te reus vert sum*. Sic tu nota ignotis,
clara absconditis delere atque eluere conaris: occulta, incerta,
latentia confiteris, ut explorata, certa, manifesta e6 impuden-
tius negare possis: ad extremum eo descendis, ut confessio-
nem hanc, quasi libellum famosum de temetipso conscribas;
15 quo facilius veram accusationem aliorum possis evadere. Tu
hæc atque hujusmodi valere apud Deum cave existimes; apud
homines certe vel mediocriter sagaces, minime valebunt.
Quod si linguis, ut ipse ais, atque conviciis omnium jamdiu
verberatus, resipuisti aliquando revera, & ad bonam frugem
20 revertisti, gaudeo. Nos te sic veram egisse poenitentiam arbi-
trabimur, si tuarum in nos injuriarum & maledicentiæ fa-
mosæ pœnituisse tandem intelligemus.

FINIS.

sion! Nay, what could you have devised more dark, more cautious, more lawyerly? for it would seem, that either you must have employed no less than ten lawyers, or have been under the most dreadful apprehensions. For what does this amount
 5 to, I pray?—"Whether men do not see in this heart." What do men see in the heart? We have need here of a Delian diver, and yet could he see what any one should see in the heart? I relate openly things which have been done, heard, seen, testified; which no one could say are my calumnies,
 10 without the greatest of calumnies. "I am, indeed, far baser (you say) than they even pretend, on account of those numberless hidden crimes, of which, according to you, I am really guilty." Thus you try to deface and wash out what is known with what is unknown, what is clear with what is hidden. You
 15 confess there are things which are obscure, uncertain, concealed, that, with the greater impudence you may be able to deny them, when explored, when made certain and manifest. At last you stoop so low as to pen concerning yourself this confession (which is little short of an infamous libel) that you
 20 may the more easily evade the just accusation of others. Beware how you think these and such like things will avail with God; for certain it is, that they will not avail with men even of moderate sagacity. But if lashed, as you have long been, and as you say yourself, by the tongues and the reproaches of all
 25 men, you have at length repented indeed, and returned to a better course of life, I rejoice at it. We will believe your repentance to be sincere, when we shall learn that you have repented of your injuries, of your infamous slander against us.

The End.

NOTES

PROSE DEFENSIO

THE title-page of the *Pro Se Defensio* bears the date 1655. A reprint of this edition appeared at the Hague in the course of the same year, *ex typographia A. Vlacq.* The present text is printed from photostats of the Columbia University Library copy of the original. The appended list indicates corrections made for the present edition. The Hague reprint was not collated.

PAGE 2

—5 publice] publice —11 acrius] acrius

PAGE 6

—19 experiar, parsurus] experiar. Parsurus

PAGE 12

—7 turpiter] turpiter —8 temeritatis neque] CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata* —20 Reipublice] Reipub.

PAGE 16

—2 istoc] isthoc —22 loqui] loqui loqui CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata*

PAGE 18

—7 meritas] mseritas —12 provinciis, si faterere,] provinces si faterere —18 Rerumpublicarum] Rerump. —19 Reipublicoe] Reipub.

PAGE 20

—4 Rerumpublicarum] Rerumpub. —7 Respublica] Resp. —13 Reipublice] Reip.

PAGE 22

—7 Rempubicam] Rempubl. —15 Cum] Cum

PAGE 24

—6 *Hagâ*] *Haga* —lononesse] nonesse —13 *ex alteris*] *ex aliis alteris* CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata* —22 nee] ne —20 sua] sua

PAGE 26

—6 tuomet ipsius] tuometipsius —11 clarius] clarius

PAGE 28

—21 vilida,] valida

PAGE 30

—14 fere] fere —20 leges:] leges;

PAGE 32

—7 salva] salva —15 potest,] potest —20 nomen,]
nomen Morus,] Morus

PAGE 38

—1 *Haga Comitiss] Hag. Com.*

PAGE 40

—15 Optimum Maximum] Opt. Max.

PAGE 42

—5 obruerere,] obruerere

PAGE 44

—1 Populo] Pop. Secunda] secunda —8 *Fides Publica]*
fides publica

PAGE 46

—4 Domino] Dom. —15-16 conflasset.] conflasset

PAGE 48

—16 Populo] pop. —21 Spiritum] Spir.

PAGE 52

—1 uni] una CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata*

PAGE 54

—18 *cor fore.] cor fore*

PAGE 56

—7 Rempubicam] Remp.

PAGE 58

—8 es,] es —10 Domini] Dom. —17 patribus,] patribus

PAGE 60

—14 doctorcule,] doctorcule —19 *Nihil minus\ Nihilminus*

PAGE 68

—12 modo] modo

PAGE 70

—20 metiri] metire CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata*

PAGE 74

—14 queritaris] quasritaris

PAGE 76

—19 assequor,] assequor) —20 *mendacissimi)~\ mendacissimi*

PAGE 78

—3 *propius] propius* —5 *propius] propius* —11 copia]
copia

PAGE 82

—2 *est, inquis,] est inqids* —5 *ipsa] ipsa*

PAGE 84

—12 Populi] Pop. —19 probarem,] probarem

PAGE 90

—i—2 *justissima*] *justissima* —12-13 *vehementius*] *vehementius*
—21 *authorem*] *authorem*

PAGE 92

—II *amicis*, *credo*,] *amicis* *credo*

PAGE 96

—17 *possit*,] *possit*

PAGE 98

—9 *Dominum*] *Dom.*

PAGE 100

—8 *Domino*] *Dom.* —13 *Reipublice*] *Reipubl.* —24

Rempulicam] *Rempubl.*

PAGE 102

—1 *Rempulicam*] *Rempubl.* —4 *Rempulicam*] *Rempubl.*

—10 *Reipublicæ*] *Reipubl.*

PAGE 104

—i4 *Reipulica*] *Reipubl.*

PAGE 106

—5 *Rcipulicas*] *Reipubl.*

PAGE 108

—21 *adoloscentes*] *adoloscentes esse?*] *esse.* —24. *dilacerari?*] *dilacerari.*

PAGE 110

—12 *hasta*] *hasta*, CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata*

PAGE 112

—I 5 *author*] *autor*

PAGE 116

—3 *Populus*] *Pop.* —6 *Ecclesia*] *Eclcsia* —8 *Populo*] *Pop.*

PAGE 118

—12 *Galilee*] *Galticl*

PAGE 124

—14 *quemadmodum*] *quemadmodum* —15 *dixissem*,] *dixissem*

PAGE 128

—17 *properabas*, *credo*,] *properabas* *credo*

PAGE 130

—4 *merito*] *merito*

PAGE 132

—I5 *quàm*] *quàm* —18 *fropria*] *frofria* —20 *apertius*] *apertius*

PAGE 142

—11 *attrahere*,] *attrahere*

PAGE 144

—19 quidem] CORRECTED BY HAND FROM THE *Errata*\ AS FAR AS ONE
CAN JUDGE FROM THE PHOTOSTAT, THE ORIGINAL WAS CULDem—————21
diutius] diutius

PAGE 146

—I diutius] diutius —7 vestra] vestra constania] constantia
Ecclesia] Ecclesia —13 infamia] infamia

PAGE 148

—2 Reipublicæ] Reipub.

PAGE 150

—3 *in just a injamia*\ *in just a in]ami a* —4 *allaboraverunt*\
alloboraverunt —10 potius] potius —15 vivant,] vivant
—17 nostra causa] nostra causa

PAGE 152

—6 duco,] duco

PAGE 154

—IO *sacrificulis,*] *sacrificulis*

PAGE 156

—6 inquis] *inquis* —20 ea diserta] ea diserta

PAGE 162

—16 liberius] liberius —18 Romani] Rom. populi] pop.

PAGE 164

—12 *authoris]* *autoris* —21 *res-pondisti]* *respondisti* —22
minus\ *minus*

PAGE 166

—14 cum] cum

PAGE 168

—9 sorte] forte —17 *'wportune]* *importune*

PAGE 172

—16 hac] hac cucurbita] cucurbita

PAGE 174

—2 *Refublica]* *Republ.* —7 est,] est

PAGE 178

—4—5 *condonasse]* *condonasse* —5 *levia,]* *levia;* —8
nimum sanè] *nimum sane*

PAGE 180

—5 *inquàm,]* *inquàm*

PAGE 182

—17 *garris,]* *garris*

PAGE 184

4—5 *est appellandus]* *estappellandus*

PAGE 186

—5 interposita,] interposita —14 ipsa] ipsa —15 inopia]
inopia ipsa] ipsa —20 demissa barba] demissa barba

PAGE 188

—8 agitatum,] agitatum

PAGE 190

—14 Haga] Haga —15 quidem,] quidem —16—17
prseclare] prseclare

PAGE 192

—7 queraris] quseraris —12 honestissimi,] honestissimi

PAGE 194

—I sunt, inquis] sunt inquis —3 quàm\ quàm —7
Geneva\ Geneva

PAGE 196

—10sola] sola —14 *Basiha*] *Basil ea*

PAGE 200

—I inutilius] inutilius —[^]fenitus\ fenitus —11 *semel*>
inquit,] *semel* inquit —*Italia*} *alia* —I 5 subtus] subtus

PAGE 204

—7 qua] qua —10 sua] sua —16 palam] palam

PAGE 206

—I3nulla] nulla

PAGE 210

—igSapies,] Sapies

PAGE 214

—5—6 integritatem] integritatem, —16 meamet] meamet
—17 sententia] sententia

PAGE 216

—9quàm]quàm

PAGE 218

—4 tanta] tanta —5 jactura] jactura

PAGE 224

—18immo] immo palam] palam —21 debita] debita
his,] his

PAGE 234

—4—5 haudquaquàm] haud quaquàm —21 appulisti,] appulisti

PAGE 242

—7—8 suspiciosissimum] suspiciosissimum

PAGE 244

—i(.['>alamvehementissimeque\falamvehementissimeq; —18—
19 Synodorum,] Synodorum

PAGE 248

—4—5 Rempubicam] Rempubl. —12 audacissimi] audicissimi

PAGE 250

—19 *authoritas*] *autoritas*

PAGE 262

—7 Rempubicam] Rempubl. —17 *authoritatem*] *autoritatem*

—22 Consules ct Prjetores] Consules Prastores

PAGE 264

—I Verrem] verrem —3 tuæ] tu —13 maxima,]

maxima

PAGE 266

—8 possit?] possit. —II *testantur,*] *testantur* —12*diutius*] *diutlus*:

PAGE 272

—16 commeatu] comeatu

PAGE 274

—16 possunt,] possunt

PAGE 276

—20 *nimia*] *nimla*

PAGE 278

—20 Recognosco] R ecognosco Orestis] O restis

PAGE 280

—8 nunc,] nunc —9 impunitate,] impunitate facis,] facis

—nErras,] Erras

— *i l l a*] *ilia*—16 *gratia*] *gratia*

—20 possum,] possum

PAGE 282

—19 *authoratus*] *autoratus* •—22 revera] reverà

PAGE 284

—2 vero,] vero

PAGE 290

—15 inquis] *inquis*

PAGE 292

—7 Rempubicam] Rempubl. —14 attineant,] attineant

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

PAGE 5

—23—24, 10 Scipio's career is used to point a moral in Livy 38.53 and Seneca, *Epistle* 86.

PAGE 49

—4 *Cæcus* 'blind man', makes a pun here with *cæcias*, 'northeast wind.'

PAGE 53

—2 Alexander the Phrygian is Paris, the lover of Helen.

—22 The reference is to Socrates.

PAGE 61

—8 'Phimostomus' means 'muzzlemouth.'

PAGE 63

—6 The line is from Vergil, *JEnetd* 6.401. Honey and honey drink were used to pacify the guardians of Hades.

PAGE 65

—19—20 The lines are from Proverbs 17.15.

—27 The Latin *mono* ('scaramouch') makes a pun with More's name (*Morus*).

PAGE 67

—20 *Morus* ('More') makes a pun with *morus* ('foolish fellow').

PAGE 71

—8 Adrian Vlacq is of some importance in the development of logarithms.

PAGE 77

—9 Proverbs 30.20.

PAGE 79

—25 Absence of guilt as well as of desert is signified by *immeritus*.

PAGE 81

—16 Cotytto and Laverna are deities respectively of lewdness and fraud.

PAGE 87

—27 The same Latin word represents 'front' in this passage as represents 'title-page' immediately above.

PAGE 93

—11-12 Allusion is made here to I Samuel 12.3.

—13 *Cacus* stole Hercules' cattle; *Cacus pastor* ('Cacus of a herdsman') means, by a pun on the Greek meaning of *Cacus*, 'base pastor.'

—15 The Phrygian Alexander forsook *Qinone* for Helen.

—27 More is spoken of as 'a favorite of Venus' (as was his Phrygian namesake) because of his amorous proclivities. 'Juno refers to *Salmasius*' wife.

PAGE 95

—17-22 Floral pastimes', 'fig-tree', 'mulberry', 'sycomore', are allusions to Milton's obscene punning in the *Second Dejenese* (page 33 and notes). The primitive Roman 'Fescennine games' were notoriously lascivious.

PAGE 97

—4 Cicero's oration *In Vatinius* is a rather coarse investigation of the

private life of a creature of Cæsar. The pun on *Morus* here referred to occurs on page 31 of the *Second Deijense*.

PAGE 109

—24 Piso is quoted from Cicero, *Ad Familiar es* 9.22. Cicero there remarks, *at hodie 'penis' est in obscenis*. The entire letter deals with prudishness in speech and its influence on the present passage is clear. The use of the Greek word for 'plain-spoken' (iio, 21) makes a direct allusion to Cicero's letter, where it is similarly used.

—26 Sallust, *Bellum Catilinum* 14-2.

PAGE 111

—19 Numbers 25.8.

—20 Job 31.9-10.

—26 Coarse words are *written (ketib)* in the current, or Masoretic, texts of the Hebrew bible, but a marginal note indicates that in *reading (keri)* another, euphemistic, word is to be substituted.

PAGE 113

—2 Cicero discusses decorum in *De Officiis* 1.93. In 1.104 ^{ne ca^s} the raillery of Plautus, the Attic Old Comedy, and the books of Socratic philosophy *elegans, urbanum, ingeniosur?i, jactum*.

PAGE 117

—I 3 The sedile at Rome supervised the public spectacles.

PAGE 119

—11 Tisiphone's name shows her an avenging goddess.

PAGE 121

—6 Horace (*Satires* 1.5.32) uses 'a man made to a naiPs breadth' (*homo ad unguent jactus*) for an elegant and fastidious person.

—8 This is probably an allusion to Martial 9.1 5:

Inscripsit tumulis seftem scelerata virorum

Se jecisse Chloe: quid pote simpheius.

'Quite truly did Chloe inscribe on the tombstones of her seven husbands: "Done by Chloe" '.

—12 See on 71, 8.

PAGE 125

—3 Narcissus fell violently in love with himself when he saw his likeness reflected in a pool.

PAGE 127

—14 The passage in Cicero (*Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* 89) is not identical, but near enough to justify Milton's charge. It reads: *neque ego non possum; non enim tantum mihi derogo, tametsi nihil adrogo, ut te copiosius quàm me putem fosse dicere*.

PAGE 129

—23 The 'Attic Nights' of Aulus Gellius are chiefly literary conversations.

- 26 The Latin puns *libros* ('books') with *liberos* ('children').

PAGE 137

—5 The 'old, obscene keeper of the gardens' is Priapus, who was always represented with a colossal penis. Horace, *Satires* 1.8.1—2 (a passage which Milton probably had in mind here) says these figures were usually made of fig wood. 'Mulberry' (*Morus*) therefore makes an apt pun.

—11 When Cicero had delivered his first oration against Verres, Verres betook himself to flight rather than to legal defense.

PAGE 139

—14 Fama is not usually limited to a hundred mouths. Vergil's classic description (*Æneid* 4.173 if.) gives her as many as she has feathers.

PAGE 149

—4 ^schines' oration against Timarchus charges that Timarchus had forfeited the right to address the people by reason of his immoral conduct.

PAGE 163

—16—19 This anecdote is from Cicero, *Verrines* 3.1.3.

PAGE 169

—23 *Morus* is 'fool', *Momus* is 'disgrace' (both are from the Greek).

PAGE 175

—II 'Salt-money' is the original significance of *salarium* ('salary'). The humor of the entire passage turns on the classic use of 'salt' for 'wit'.

—25—177, 5 Cicero, *De oratore* 2.56, 227.

PAGE 183

—4 Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.43, 182.

PAGE 185

—4-8 *Second Dejenese*, 95, 27 ff.

PAGE 189

—10 Juno tormented Io first by means of Argus and then with a gadfly. The point in this allusion lies in More's reference to Salmasius' wife, who persecuted him, as Juno.

PAGE 197

—22 In Genesis 16.12 this expression is used of Ishmæl (199, 2).

PAGE 201

—26 There are allusions to the *Birds* of Aristophanes throughout this paragraph.

PAGE 219

—20 i Timothy 3.7.

PAGE 232

—*Sartorius* ('the mender') makes a pun with 'mending'.

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—4 'Praised, and sent about your business' (*laudandum te esse atque*

tollendum) is an allusion to the famous expression applied to Octavian (Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 11.20.1): *laudandum adulescentem, ornandum[^] tollendum*.

—27 L. Cassius Longinus introduced secret balloting for Roman juries,

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—I 3 The allusion is to Vulcan's forging a net about Mars and Venus as they were joined in love: Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.309—ff.

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—24—25 Paul called Ananias a 'whited wall': Acts 23.3.

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—25 The use of the two Greek words in conjunction (262, 20) representing *for their virtue or for their wealth' makes a direct reference to Aristotle, *Politics* 2.11.8.

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—i The etymological meaning of Beelzebub is 'Lord of Flies'.

—26 'Rival of Orebtes' means 'madman'. The unemended Latin text makes Milton retort *O restis tzmittle*, 'O rival of the rope', which might be a hint at the hangman's noose.

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—24 The Emperor Claudius is reported to have been poisoned by mushrooms: Suetonius, *Claudius* 44.

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—10 Attalus king of Pergamum (see line 20) represents great wealth in Latin literature. The present expression is an allusion to Horace, *Odes* i.i.12: *Attalicis conditionibus Numquàm dimoveas[^]* 'not even on Attalic terms could you induce a farmer to turn seaman'.

—23 The priests of Cybele, the Phrygian mother, were emasculated, and so Milton, in view of his charges, must remark this exception. The Curetes were Corybantic priests who used castanets.

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—17 The 'Greek Calends' (there were none) was a favorite expression of Augustus for 'never' or 'nothing': Suetonius, *Augustus* 87.

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—19 For 'slaps' More had written *alaforum* (masculine) instead of the proper feminine form *alafarum*.

—28 At his death Julian the Apostate is said to have said *Vicisti Galil&e* (Galilean, you have conquered).

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