THE

WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

VOL. VIII.

PROSE WORKS. VOL. VI.
THE WORKS OF

John Milton

IN VERSE AND PROSE

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITIONS

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR BY

THE REV. JOHN MITFORD

VOL. VIII.

LONDON

BICKERS AND BUSH

1863
# PROSE WORKS.

## CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Defence of the People of England, in Answer to Salmasius's Defence of the King</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters of State during the Administration of the Commonwealth, and the Protectors Oliver and Richard Cromwel</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters written in the Name of Oliver The Protector</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters written in the Name of Richard The Protector</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Manifesto of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &amp;c. against the Spaniards</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Declaration, or, Letters Patents for the Election of this present King of Poland John the Third, elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Dom. 1674. Containing the Reasons of this Election, the great Virtues and Merits of the said Serene Elect, his eminent Services in War, especially in his last great Victory against the Turks and Tartars, whereof many Particulars are here related, not published before</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Brief History of Moscovia, and of other less known Countries lying Eastward of Russia as far as Cathay. Gather’d from the Writings of several Eye-witnesses</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Defence of the People of England, in Answer to Salmastus's Defence of the King.

THE PREFACE.

Altho' I fear, left, if in defending the People of England, I should be as copious in Words, and empty of Matter, as most Men think Salmastus has been in his Defence of the King, I might seem to deserve justly to be accounted a verbose and silly Defender; yet since no Man thinks himself obliged to make so much haste, tho' in the handling but of any ordinary Subject, as not to premise some Introduction at least, according as the weight of his Subject requires; if I take the same course in handling almost the greatest Subject that ever was, (without being too tedious in it) I am in hopes of attaining two things, which indeed I earnestly desire. The one, not to be at all wanting, as far as in me lies, to this most Noble Cause, and most worthy to be recorded to all future Ages: The other, That I may appear to have avoided my self, that frivolousness of Matter, and redundancy of Words, which I blame in my Antagonist. For I am about to discourse of Matters, neither inconsiderable nor common, but how a most Potent King, after he had trampled upon the Laws of the Nation, and given a shock to its Religion, and begun to rule at his own Will and Pleasure, was at last subdu'd in the Field by his own Subjects,
Defence of the People of England,
who had undergone a long Slavery under him; how afterwards he was cast into Prison, and when he gave no ground, either by Words or Actions, to hope better things of him, he was finally by the Supreme Council of the Kingdom condemned to dye, and beheaded before the very Gates of the Royal Palace. I shall likewise relate, (which will much conduce to the easing mens minds of a great Superstition) by what Right, especially according to our Law, this Judgment was given, and all these Matters transacted; and shall easily defend my Valiant and Worthy Countrymen (who have extremely well deserved of all Subjects and Nations in the World) from the most wicked Calumnies both of Domeftick and Foreign Railers, and especially from the Reproaches of this most vain and empty Sophifter, who sets up for a Captain and Ringleader to all the rest. For what King's Majesty sitting upon an Exalted Throne, ever so brightly, as that of the People of England then did, when shaking off that old Superstition, which had prevailed a long time, they gave Judgment upon the King himself, or rather upon an Enemy who had been their King, caught as it were in a Net by his own Laws (who alone of all Mortals challenged to himself impunity by a Divine Right) and scrupled not to inflict the same punishment upon him, being guilty, which he would have inflicted upon any other. But why do I mention these things as performed by the People, which almost open their Voice themselves, and testify the Presence of God throughout? Who, as often as it seems good to his Infinite Wisdom, uses to throw down proud and unruly Kings, exalting themselves above the Condition of Humane Nature, and utterly to extirpate them and all their Family. By his manifest Impulse being set on work to recover our almost lost Liberty, following him as our Guide, and adoring the impresses of his Divine
in Answer to Salmatius for the King. 3

Power manifested upon all occasions, we went on in no obscure, but an illustrious Passage, pointed out and made plain to us by God himself. Which things, if I should so much as hope by any diligence or ability of mine, such as it is, to discourse of as I ought to do, and to commit them so to writing, as that perhaps all Nations and all Ages may read them, it would be a very vain thing in me. For what stile can be august and magnificent enough, what man has parts sufficient to undertake so great a Task? Since we find by Experience, that in so many Ages as are gone over the World, there has been but here and there a man found, who has been able worthily to recount the Actions of Great Heroes, and Potent States; Can any man have so good an opinion of his own Talents, as to think himself capable to reach these glorious and wonderful Works of Almighty God, by any Language, by any Stile of his? Which Enterprize, though some of the most Eminent Persons in our Commonwealth have prevailed upon me by their Authority to undertake, and would have it be my business to vindicate with my Pen against Envy and Calumny (which are proof against Arms) those Glorious Performances of theirs (whose opinion of me I take as a very great honour, that they should pitch upon me before others to be serviceable in this kind to those most Valiant Deliverers of my Native Countrey; and true it is, that from my very youth I have been bent extremely upon such sort of Studies, as inclin'd me, if not to do great things myself, at least to celebrate those that did) yet as having no confidence in any such Advantages, I have recourse to the Divine Assistance; and invoke the Great and Holy God, the Giver of all good Gifts, that I may as substantially, and as truly, discuss and refute the Sarciness and Lies of this Foreign Declamator, as our Noble Generals piously and successfully by force of Arms broke the
Defence of the People of England,

King's Pride, and his unruly Domineering, and afterwards put an end to both by inflicting a memorable Punishment upon himself, and as thoroughly as a single person did with ease but of late confute and confound the King himself, rising as it were from the Grave, and recommending himself to the People in a Book publish'd after his death, with new Artifices and Allurements of Words and Expressions. Which Antagonist of mine, though he be a Foreigner, and, though he deny it a thousand times over, but a poor Grammarian; yet not contented with the Salary due to him in that Capacity, chose to turn a Pragmatical Coxcomb; and not only to intrude in State-Affairs, but into the Affairs of a Foreign State: tho he brings along with him neither Modesty, nor Understanding, nor any other Qualification requisite in so great an Arbitrator, but Sawcinesfs, and a little Grammar only. Indeed, if he had publish'd here, and in English, the same things that he has now wrote in Latin such as it is, I think no man would have thought it worth while to return an Answer to them, but would partly despise them as common, and exploded over and over already, and partly abhor them as fordid and tyrannical Maxims, not to be endured even by the most abject of Slaves: Nay, Men that have sided with the King, would have had these thoughts of his Book. But since he has swol'n it to a considerable bulk, and dispers'd it amongst Foreigners, who are altogether ignorant of our Affairs and Constitution; it's fit that they who mistake them, should be better informed; and that he, who is so very forward to speak ill of others, should be treated in his own kind. If it be asked, why we did not then attack him sooner, why we suffered him to triumph so long, and pride himself in our silence? For others I am not to answer; for my self I can boldly say, That I had neither Words nor Arguments
long to seek for the defence of so good a Cause, if I had enjoyed such a measure of health, as would have endur'd the fatigue of writing. And being but yet weak in Body, I am forced to write by piece-meal, and break off almost every hour, though the Subject be such as requires an unintermitted study and intenseness of mind. But though this bodily Indisposition may be a hindrance to me in setting forth the just Praises of my most worthy Countreymen, who have been the Saviours of their Native Country, and whose Exploits, worthy of Immortality, are already famous all the World over; yet I hope it will be no difficult matter for me to defend them from the Insolence of this silly little Scholar, and from that saucy Tongue of his, at least. Nature and Laws would be in an ill case, if Slavery should find what to say for it self, and Liberty be mute: and if Tyrants should find men to plead for them, and they that can master and vanquish Tyrants, should not be able to find Advocates. And it were a deplorable thing indeed, if the Reason Mankind is endu'd withal, and which is the gift of God, should not furnish more Arguments for men's Preservation, for their Deliverance, and, as much as the nature of the thing will bear, for making them equal to one another, than for their oppression, and for their utter ruine under the Domineering Power of One single Person. Let me therefore enter upon this Noble Cause with a cheerfulness, grounded upon this Assurance, That my Adversary's Cause is maintain'd by nothing but Fraud, Fallacy, Ignorance and Barbarity; whereas mine has Light, Truth, Reason, the Practice and the Learning of the best Ages of the World, of its side.

But now, having said enough for an Introduction, since we have to do with Criticks; let us in the first place consider the Title of this Choice Piece: De-
Defence of the People of England,

fenfio Regia pro Car. Primo, ad Car. Secundum. A Royal Defence (or the King's Defence) for Charles the First to Charles the Second. You undertake a wonderful piece of work, whoever you are; to plead the Father's Cause before his own Son: a hundred to one but you carry it. But I summon you, Salmasius, who heretofore fculk'd under a wrong name, and now go by no name at all, to appear before another Tribunal, and before other Judges, where perhaps you may not hear those little Applauses, which you use to be so fond of in your School. But why this Royal Defence dedicated to the King's own Son? We need not put him to the torture; he confesses why.

At the King's charge, says he. O mercenary and chargeable Advocate! could you not afford to write a Defence for Charles the Father, whom you pretend to have been the best of Kings, to Charles the Son, the most indigent of all Kings, but it must be at the poor King's own Charge? But though you are a Knave, you would not make your self ridiculous, in calling it the King's Defence; for you having fold it, it is no longer yours, but the King's indeed: who bought it at the price of a hundred Jacobusses, a great Sum for a poor King to disburse. I know very well what I say: and 'tis well enough known who brought the Gold, and the Purse wrought with Beads: We know who saw you reach out greedy fists, under pretence of embracing the King's Chaplain, who brought the Present, but indeed to embrace the Present it self, and by accepting it to exhaust almost all the King's Treasury.

But now the man comes himself, the Door creaks; the Actor comes upon the Stage.

In silence now, and with attention wait,
That ye may learn what th' Eunuch has to prate.
Terent.
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

For whatever the matter's with him, he blusters more than ordinary. A horrible message had lately struck our Ears, but our Minds more, with a heinous wound concerning a Parricide committed in England in the Person of a King, by a wicked Conspiracy of Sacrilegious men. Indeed that horrible Message must either have had a much longer Sword than that which Peter drew, or those Ears must have been of a wonderful length, that it could wound at such a distance; for it could not so much as in the least offend any Ears but those of an Afs. For what harm is it to you, that are Foreigners? are any of you hurt by it, if we amongst our selves put our own Enemies, our own Traytors to death, be they Commoners, Noblemen, or Kings? Do you, Salmasius, let alone what does not concern you: for I have a horrible Message to bring of you too; which I'm mistaken if it strike not a more heinous wound into the Ears of all Gramarians and Criticks, provided they have any Learning and Delicacy in them, to wit, your crowding so many barbarous Expressions together in one period in the person of (Aristarchus) a Grammarian; and that so great a Critick as you, hired at the King's charge to write a Defence of the King his Father, should not only set so fulsome a Preface before it, much like those lamentable Ditties that used to be sung at Funerals, and which can move compassion in none but a Coxcomb; but in the very first sentence should provoke your Readers to laughter with so many Barbarisms all at once. Persona Regis, you cry. Where do you find any such Latin? Or are you telling us some tale or other of a Perkin Warbeck, who taking upon him the Person of a King, has, forsooth, committed some horrible Parricide in England? Which expression, though dropping carelessly from your Pen, has more truth in it, than you are aware of. For a Tyrant is but like a King upon a Stage,
Defence of the People of England,
a man in a Vizor, and acting the part of a King in
a Play; he is not really a King. But as for these
*Gallicisms*, that are so frequent in your Book, I won't
laff you for them my ſelf, for I am not at leifure;
but ſhall deliver you over to your fellow-Gramma-
rians, to be laught to ſcorn and whipt by them.
What follows is much more *heinous*, that what was
decreed by our Supreme Magiftrates to be done to
the King, ſhould be ſaid by you to have been done
*by a wicked Conspiracy of Sacrilegious persons.* Have
you the impudence, you Rogue, to talk at this rate
of the Acts and Decrees of the chief Magiftrates of
a Nation, that lately was a moſt Potent Kingdom,
and is now a more Potent Commonwealth? Whose
proceedings no King ever took upon him by word
of mouth, or otherwise, to vilifie and fet at nought.
The Illuſtrious States of *Holland* therefore, the Ge-
uine off-ſpring of thoſe Deliverers of their Coun-
try, have deservingly by their Edict condemn'd to
utter darkness this *Defence of Tyrants*, fo pernicious
to the Liberty of all Nations; the Author of which
every free State ought to forbid their Country, or to
banifh out of it; and that State particularly that ſeeds
with a ſtipend ſo ungrateful and ſo Savage an Enemy
to their Commonwealth, whose very fundamentals,
and the cauſes of their becoming a free State, this
Fellow endeavours to undermine as well as ours, and
at one and the ſame time to ſubvert both; loading
with Calumnies the moſt worthy Aſſerters of Liberty
there, under our Names. Conſider with your ſelves,
ye moſt Illuſtrious States of the *United Netherland*,
who it was that put this Aſſerter of Kingly Power
upon ſetting Pen to Paper? who it was, that but
lately began to play *Rex* in your Country? what
Counsels were taken, what endeavours ſeved, and
what disturbances enfued thereupon in *Holland*?
and to what paff things might have been brought
by this time? how Slavery and a new Master were ready prepar’d for you; and how near expiring that Liberty of yours, asserted and vindicated by so many years War and Toil, would have been e’re now, if it had not taken breath again by the timely death of a certain rash young Gentleman. But our Author begins to strut again, and to feign wonderful Tragedies; Whomsoever this dreadful news reacht (to wit, the news of Salmasius’s Parricidal Barbarisms) all of a sudden, as if they had been struck with lightning, their hair stood an end, and their tongues clove to the roof of their mouth. Which let Natural Philosophers take notice of (for this secret in nature was never discovered before) that lightning makes mens hair stand an end. But who knows not that little effeminate minds are apt to be amaz’d at the news of any extraordinary great Action; and that then they show themselves to be, what they really were before, no better than so many Stocks? Some could not refrain from tears; some little Women at Court, I suppose, or if there be any more effeminate than they, of whose number Salmasius himself being one, is by a new Metamorphosis become a Fountain near a-kin to his Name (Salmacis) and with his counterfeit flood of tears prepared over night, endeavours to emasculate generous minds: I advise therefore, and wish them to have a care;

 Infamis ne quem male fortibus undis
 Salmasius Enervet.—
—Ne, si vir cum venerit, exeat inde
 Semivir, et tactis subito mollescat in undis.

Abstain, as Manhood you esteem,
From Salmacis pernicious Stream:
If but one moment there you stay,
Too dear you’l for your Bathing pay.—
Defence of the People of England,
Depart nor Man nor Woman, but a Sight Disgracing both, a loath'd Hermaphrodite.

They that had more courage (which yet he expresses in miserable bald Latin, as if he could not so much as speak of Men of Courage and Magnanimity in proper words) were set on fire with indignation to that degree, that they could hardly contain themselves. Those furious Hectors we value not of a rush. We have been accustomed to rout such Bullies in the Field with a true sober courage; a courage becoming men that can contain themselves, and are in their right Wits. There were none that did not curse the Authors of so horrible a Villany. But yet, you say, their tongues clove to the roof of their mouths; and if you mean this of our Fugitives only, I wish they had clove there to this day; for we know very well that there's nothing more common with them, than to have their mouths full of Curses and Imprecations, which indeed all good men abominate, but withal despise. As for others, it's hardly credible, that when they heard the news of our having inflicted a Capital Punishment upon the King, there should any be found, especially in a Free State, so naturally adapted to Slavery as either to speak ill of us, or so much as to cenfure what we had done. Nay, 'tis highly probable that all good men applauded us, and gave God thanks for so illustrious, so exalted a piece of Justice; and for a Caution so very useful to other Princes. In the mean time, as for those fierce, those steel-hearted men, that, you say, take on for, and bewail so pitifully, the lamentable and wonderful death of I know not who; them, I say, together with their tinkling Advocate, the dullest that ever appeared since the name of a King was born and known in the World, we shall e'en let whine on, till they cry their eyes out. But in the mean time, what School-boy,
what little insignificant Monk could not have made a more elegant Speech for the King, and in better Latin than this Royal Advocate has done? But it would be folly in me to make such particular Animadversions upon his Childishness and Frenzies throughout his Book, as I do here upon a few in the beginning of it; which yet I would be willing enough to do (for we hear that he is swell'd with Pride and Conceit to the utmost degree imaginable) if the undigested and immethodical bulk of his Book did not protect him. He was resolved to take a course like the Soldier in Terence, to save his Bacon; and it was very cunning in him to stuff his Book with so much Puerility, and so many silly Whimsies, that it might nauseate the smartest man in the World to death to take notice of 'em all. Only I thought it might not be amiss to give a Specimen of him in the Preface; and to let the serious Reader have a taste of him at first, that he might guess by the first dish that's serv'd up, how noble an Entertainment the rest are like to make; and that he may imagine with himself what an infinite number of Fooleries and Impertinencies must needs be heaped up together in the body of the Book, when they stand so thick in the very Entrance into it, where of all other places they ought to have been shunned. His tittle-tattle that follows, and his Sermons fit for nothing but to be worm-eaten, I can easily pass by; as for any thing in them relating to us, we doubt not in the least, but that what has been written and published by Authority of Parliament, will have far greater weight with all wise and sober men, than the Calumnies and Lies of one single impudent little Fellow: who being hired by our Fugitives, their Countrey's Enemies, has scrap'd together, and not scrupled to publish in Print, whatever little Story any one of them that employed him, put into his head. And that all men may plainly see how
Defence of the People of England,

little conscience he makes of setting down any thing right or wrong, good or bad, I desire no other Witness than Salmasius himself. In his book, entitled, *Apparatus contra Primatum Papae*, he says, "There "are most weighty Reasons why the Church ought "to lay aside Episcopacy, and return to the Aposto-"lical Institution of Presbyters: That a far greater "mischief has been introduced into the Church by "Episcopacy, than the Schisms themselves were, "which were before apprehended: That the Plague "which Episcopacy introduced, depressed the whole "body of the Church under a miserable Tyranny; "nay, had put a yoke even upon the necks of Kings "and Princes: That it would be more beneficial to "the Church, if the whole Hierarchy it self, were "extirpated, than if the Pope only, who is the Head "of it, were laid aside," page 160. "That it would "be very much for the good of the Church, if Epis-"copacy were taken away, together with the Papacy: "That if Episcopacy were once taken down, the Pa-"pacy would fall of it self, as being founded upon "it," page 171. He says, "he can shew very good "reasons why Episcopacy ought to be put down in "those Kingdoms that have renounced the Pope's "Supremacy; but that he can see no reason for re-"taining it there: That a Reformation is not entire, "that is defective in this point: That no reason can "be alleged, no probable cause assigned, why the "Supremacy of the Pope being once disowned, "Episcopacy should notwithstanding be retained," page 197. Tho he had wrote all this, and a great deal more to this effect, but four years ago, he is now become so vain and so impudent withal, as to accuse the Parliament of England, "for not only turning "the Bishops out of the House of Lords, but for "abolishing Episcopacy it self." Nay, he perswades us to receive Episcopacy, and defends it by the very
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

fame Reasons and Arguments, which with a great deal of earnestness he had confuted himself in that former Book; to wit, "That Bishops were necessary, and ought to have been retained, to prevent the springing up of a Thousand pernicious Sects and Herefies." Crafty Turn-coat! Are you not ashamed to shift hands thus in things that are Sacred, and (I had almost said) to betray the Church; whose most solemn Institutions you seem to have asserted and vindicated with so much noise, that when it should seem for your interest to change sides, you might undo and subvert all again with the more disgrace and infamy to your self? It's notoriously known, That when both Houses of Parliament, being extremely desirous to reform the Church of England by the pattern of other Reformed Churches, had resolved to abolish Episcopacy, the King first interposed, and afterwards waged War against them chiefly for that very cause; which proved fatal to him. Go now and boast of your having defended the King; who, that you might the better defend him, do now openly betray and impugn the Cause of the Church, whose Defence you yourself had formerly undertaken; and whose severest Censures ought to be inflicted upon you. As for the present form of our Government, since such a Foreign insignificant Professor as you, having laid aside your Boxes and Desks stufft with nothing but Trifles, which you might have spent your time better in putting into order, will needs turn busy-body, and be troublesome in other mens matters, I shall return you this answer, or rather not to you, but to them that are wiser than yourself, viz. That the Form of it is such as our present distractions will admit of; not such as were to be wish'd, but such as the obstinate Divisions that are amongst us, will bear. What State soever is pestered with Factions, and defends it self by Force of
Defence of the People of England,

Arms, is very just in having regard to those only that are found and untainted, and in overlooking or excluding the rest, be they of the Nobility or the Common People; nay, though profiting by experience, they should refuse to be governed any longer either by a King or a House of Lords. But in railing at that Supreme Council, as you call it, and at the Chairman there, you make your self very ridiculous; for that Council is not the Supreme Council, as you dream it is, but appointed by Authority of Parliament, for a certain time only; and consisting of forty Persons, for the most part Members of Parliament, any one of whom may be President, if the rest vote him into the Chair. And there is nothing more common, than for our Parliaments to appoint Committees of their own Members; who, when so appointed, have Power to meet where they please, and hold a kind of little Parliament amongst themselves. And the most weighty Affairs are often referred to them, for Expedition and Secrecy; the care of the Navy, the Army, the Treasury; in short, all things whatsoever relating either to War or Peace. Whether this be called a Council, or any thing else, the thing is ancient, though the name may be new; and it is such an Institution, as no Government can be duly administered without it. As for our putting the King to death, and changing the Government, forbear your bawling, don't spit your Venom, till, going along with you through every Chapter, I show, whether you will or no, by what Law, by what Right and Justice all that was done. But if you insist to know by what Right, by what Law; by that Law, I tell you, which God and Nature have enacted, viz. that whatever things are for the Universal Good of the Whole State, are for that reason lawful and just. So wise Men of old used to answer such as you. You find fault with us for Repealing Laws that had ob-
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

tained for so many years; but you do not tell us whether those Laws were good or bad, nor, if you did, should we heed what you said; for, you busy Puppy, what have you to do with our Laws? I wish our Magistrates had repealed more than they have, both Laws and Lawyers; if they had, they would have consulted the Interest of the Christian Religion, and that of the People better than they have done. It frets you, That Hob-goblins, Sons of the Earth, scarce Gentlemen at home, scarce known to their own Countrymen, should presume to do such things. But you ought to have remembred, what not only the Scriptures, but Horace would have taught you, viz.

Valet ima Jummi
Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens, &c.

The Power that did create, can change the Scene Of things; make mean of great, and great of mean:
The brightest Glory can eclipse with Night;
And place the most obscure in dazling Light.

But take this into the bargain. Some of those who, you say, be scarce Gentlemen, are not at all inferior in birth to any of your party. Others, whose Ancestors were not Noble, have taken a course to attain to true Nobility by their own Industry and Vertue, and are not inferior to men of the Noblest Descent. They had rather be called Sons of the Earth, provided it be their own Earth (their own Native Country) and act like Men at home, then, being destitute of House or Land, to relieve the necessities of Nature in a Foreign Country by selling of Smoke, as thou dost, an inconsiderable Fellow and a Jack-straw, and who dependest upon the good will of thy Masters for a poor Stipend;
Defence of the People of England,

for whom it were better to dispense with thy labors, and return to thy own Kindred and Country-men, if thou hadst not this one piece of Cunning, to babble out some silly Prelections and Fooleries at so good a rate amongst Foreigners. You find fault with our Magistrates for admitting such a Common-shore of all sorts of Sects. Why should they not? It belongs to the Church to cast them out of the Communion of the faithful; not to the Magistrate to banish them the Country, provided they do not offend against the Civil Laws of the State. Men at first united into Civil Societies, that they might live safely, and enjoy their Liberty, without being wrong'd or oppress'd; and that they might live Religiously and according to the Doctrine of Christianity, they united themselves into Churches. Civil Societies have Laws, and Churches have a Discipline peculiar to themselves, and far differing from each other. And this has been the occasion of so many Wars in Christendom; to wit, because the Civil Magistrate and the Church confounded their Jurisdictions. Therefore we do not admit of the Popish Sect, so as to tolerate Papists at all; for we do not look upon that as a Religion, but rather as an Hierarchical Tyranny, under a Cloak of Religion, cloth'd with the Spoils of the Civil Power, which it has usurp'd to it self contrary to our Saviour's own Doctrine. As for the Independents, we never had any such amongst us, as you describe; they that we call Independents are only such as hold that no Classes or Synods have a Superiority over any particular Church, and that therefore they ought all to be pluckt up by the Roots, as Branches, or rather as the very Trunk of Hierarchy it self; which is your own opinion too. And from hence it was that the name of Independents prevailed amongst the Vulgar. The rest of your Preface is spent in endeavouring not only to stir up the hatred of all Kings and Mo-
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 17

...narchs against us, but to persuade them to make a General War upon us. Mithridates of old, though in a different cause, endeavoured to stir up all Princes to make War upon the Romans, by laying to their charge almost just the same things that you do to ours: viz. that the Romans aim'd at nothing but the Subversion of all Kingdoms, that they had no regard to any thing whether Sacred or Civil, that from their very first rise they never enjoy'd any thing but what they had acquir'd by force, that they were Robbers, and the greatest Enemies in the world to Monarchy. Thus Mithridates express'd himself in a Letter to Ar-faces King of the Parthians. But how came you, whose business it is to make silly Speeches from your Desk, to have the confidence to imagine, that by your persuasions to take up Arms, and sounding an Alarm as it were, you should be able so much as to influence a King amongst Boys at play; especially, with so shrill a Voice, and unsavoury Breath, that I believe, if you were to have been the Trumpeter, not so much as Homer's Mice would have waged war against the Frogs? So little do we fear, you Slug you, any War or Danger from Foreign Princes through your silly Rhetorick, who accusest us to them, just as if you were at play, That we tos Kings heads like Balls; play at Bowls with Crowns; and regard Scepters no more than if they were Fools Staves with heads on: But you in the mean time, you silly Logerhead, deserve to have your Bones well-thrash'd with a Fool's staff, for thinking to stir up Kings and Princes to War by such Childish Arguments. Then you cry aloud to all Nations, who, I know full well, will never heed what you say. You call upon that wretched and barbarous Crew of Irish Rebels too, to assert the King's Party. Which one thing is sufficient evidence how much you are both a Fool and a Knave, and how you out-do almost all Mankind
Defence of the People of England,
in Villany, Impudence, and Madness; who scruple not to implore the Loyalty and Aid of an execrable People, devoted to the Slaughter, whom the King himself always abhorred, or so pretended, to have any thing to do with, by reason of the guilt of so much innocent Blood, which they had contracted. And that very Perfidiousness and Cruelty, which he endeavoured as much as he could to conceal, and to clear himself from any suspicion of, you the most villainous of Mortals, as fearing neither God nor Man, voluntarily and openly take upon your self. Go on then, undertake the Kings Defence at the Encouragement, and by the Assistance of the Irish. You take care, and so you might well, lest any should imagine that you were about to bereave Cicero or Demosthenes of the praise due to their Eloquence, by telling us before hand, that you conceive you ought not to speak like an Orator. 'Tis wisely said of a Fool; you conceive you ought not to do what is not in your power to do: and who that knows you never so little, ever expects any thing like an Orator from you? Who neither uses, nor is able to publish any thing that's Elaborate, Distinft, or has so much as Sense in it; but like a second Crispin, or that little Grecian Tzetzes, you do but write a great deal, take no pains to write well; nor could write any thing well, though you took never so much pains. This Cause shall be argued (say you) in the hearing, and as it were before the Tribunal of all Mankind. That's what we like so well, that we could now with we had a discreet and intelligent Adversary, and not such a hair-brain'd Blunderbufs, as you, to deal with. You conclude very Tragically, like Ajax in his Raving; I will proclaim to Heaven and Earth the Injustice, the Villany, the Perfidiousness and Cruelty of these Men, and will deliver them over convicted to all Posterity. O Flowers! that such a witless, senseless Bawler, one
that was born but to spoil or transcribe good Authors, should think himself able to write any thing of his own, that will reach Posterity, whom together with his frivolous Scribles the very next Age will bury in oblivion; unless this Defence of the King perhaps may be beholden to the Answer I give to it, for being looked into now and then. And I would entreat the Illustrious States of Holland to take off their Prohibition, and suffer the Book to be publickly sold. For when I have detected the Vanity, Ignorance, and Falsehood, that it is full of, the farther it spreads, the more effectually it will be suppress’d. Now let us hear how he convicts us.
A Defence of the People of England.

CHAP. I.

Perswade my self, Salmasius, that you being a vain flashy man, are not a little proud of being the King of Great Britain's Defender, who himself was stil'd the Defender of the Faith. For my part, I think you deserve your Titles both alike; for the King defended the Faith, and you have defended him so, that betwixt you, you have spoiled both your Causes: which I shall make appear throughout the whole ensuing Discourse, and particularly in this very Chapter. You told us in the 12th Page of your Preface, That so good and so just a Cause ought not to be embelisht with any flourishes of Rhetorick; That the King needed no other Defence than by a bare Narrative of his Story; and yet in your first Chapter, in which you had promised us that bare Narrative, you neither tell the Story right, nor do you abtain from making use of all the skill you have in Rhetorick to set it off. So that, if we must take your own judgment, we must believe the King's Cause to be neither good nor just. But by the way I would advise you not to have so good an Opinion of your self (for no body else has so of you) as to imagin that you are able to speak well upon any Subject, who can neither play the part of an Orator, nor an Historian, nor express your self in a Stile that would not be ridiculous even in a
Defence of the People of England.

Lawyer; but like a Mountebank's Jugler, with big swelling words in your Preface, you rais'd our expectation, as if some mighty matter were to ensue: in which your design was not so much to introduce a true Narrative of the King's Story, as to make your own empty intended florishes go off the better. For being now about to give us an account of the matter of Fact, you find your self encompassed and affrighted with so many Monsters of Novelty, that y' are at a loss what to say first, what next, and what last of all. I'll tell you what the matter is with you. In the first place you find your self affrighted and astonish'd at your own monstrous Lies, and then you find that empty head of yours not encompass'd, but carried round with so many trifles and fooleries, that you not only now do not, but never did know what was fit to be spoken, and in what method. Among the many Difficulties that you find in expressing the heinousness of so incredible a piece of Impiety, this one offers it self, you say, which is easily said, and must often be repeated; to wit, That the Sun it self never beheld a more outrageous action. But by your good leave, Sir, the Sun has beheld many things, that blind Bernard never saw. But we are content you should mention the Sun over and over. And it will be a piece of Prudence in you so to do. For though our wickedness does not require it, the coldness of the defence that you are making, does. The Original of Kings, you say, is as ancient, as that of the Sun. May the Gods and Goddeses, Damæippus, bless thee with an ever-lasting Solstice; that thou mayst always be warm, thou that canst not stir a foot without the Sun. Perhaps you would avoid the imputation of being called a Doctor Umbraticus. But alas! you are in perfect darkness, that make no difference betwixt a Paternal Power, and a Regal: and that when you had called Kings Fathers of their Country, could fancy that
with that Metaphor you had perswaded us that whatever is applicable to a Father, is so to a King. Alas! there's a great difference betwixt them. Our Fathers begot us. Our King made not us, but we him. Nature has given Fathers to us all, but we ourselves appointed our own King. So that the People is not for the King, but the King for them. We bear with a Father, though he be harsh and severe; and so we do with a King. But we do not bear with a Father, if he be a Tyrant. If a Father murder his Son, he himself must die for't; and why should not a King be subject to the same Law, which certainly is a most just one? Especially considering that a Father cannot by any possibility divest himself of that Relation, but a King easily may make himself neither King nor Father of his People. If this action of ours be considered according to its quality, as you call it, I, who am both an English-man born, and was an Eyewitness of the Transactions of these Times, tell you, who are both a Foreigner and an utter Stranger to our Affairs; That we have put to death neither a good, nor a just, nor a merciful, nor a devout, nor a godly, nor a peaceable King, as you stile him; but an Enemy, that has been so to us almost ten years to an end; nor one that was a Father, but a Destroyer of his Country. You confess that such things have been practis'd; for your self have not the impudence to deny it: but not by Protestants upon a Protestant King. As if he deserv'd the name of a Protestant, that in a Letter to the Pope, could give him the title of Most Holy Father; that was always more favourable to the Papists than to those of his own Profession. And being such, he is not the first of his own Family that has been put to death by Protestants. Was not his Grand-mother deposed and banisht, and at last beheaded by Protestants? And were not her own Countrymen, that were Protestants too, well enough pleas'd
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 23

with it? Nay, if I should say they were Parties to it, I should not lie. But there being so few Protestant Kings, it is no great wonder, if it never happened that one of them has been put to death. But that it is lawful to depose a Tyrant, and to punish him according to his deserts; nay, that this is the opinion of very eminent Divines, and of such as have been most instrumental in the late Reformation, do you deny it if you dare. You confess that many Kings have come to an unnatural Death: Some by the Sword, some poison'd, some strang'd, and some in a Dungeon; but for a King to be arraign'd in a Court of Judicature, to be put to plead for his Life, to have Sentence of Death pronounced against him, and that Sentence executed; this you think a more lamentable Instance than all the rest, and make it a prodigious piece of impiety. Tell me, thou superlative Fool, Whether it be not more just, more agreeable to the Rules of Humanity, and the Laws of all Humane Societies, to bring a Criminal, be his Offence what it will, before a Court of Justice, to give him leave to speak for himself; and, if the Law condemn him, then to put him to death as he has deserved, so as he may have time to repent or to recollect himself; than presently, as soon as ever he is taken, to butcher him without more ado? D'ye think there's a Malefactor in the World, that if he might have his choice, would not choose to be thus dealt withal? and if this sort of proceeding against a private Person be accounted the fairer of the two, why should it not be counted so against a Prince? nay, why should we not think that himself liked it better? You would have had him kill'd privately, and none to have seen it, either that future Ages might have lost the advantage of so good an Example; or that they that did this glorious Action, might seem to have avoided the Light, and to have acted contrary to Law and Justice. You
aggravate the matter by telling us, that it was not
done in an uproar, or brought about by any Faction
amongst Great Men, or in the heat of a Rebellion,
either of the People, or the Soldiers: that there was
no hatred, no fear, no ambition, no blind precipitate
rashness in the Case; but that it was long consulted
on, and done with deliberation. You did well in
leaving off being an Advocate, and turn Grammarian,*
who from the Accidents and Circumstances of a
thing, which in themselves considered sway neither
one way nor other, argue in dispraise of it, before you
have proved the thing it self to be either good or
bad. See how open you lie: If the Action you are
discoursing of, be commendable and praise-worthy,
they that did it deserve the greater Honour, in that
they were preposified with no Passions, but did
what they did for Vertue's sake. If there were great
difficulty in the enterprife, they did well in not going
about it rashly, but upon Advice and Consideration.
Tho for my own part, when I call to mind with how
unexpected an importunity and fervency of Mind,
and with how unanimous a Consent, the whole Army,
and a great part of the People from almost every
County in the Kingdom, cried out with one Voice
for Justice against the King, as being the sole Author
of all their Calamities: I cannot but think that these
things were brought about by a Divine impulse.
Whatever the matter was, whether we consider the
Magistrates, or the Body of the People, no Men ever
undertook with more Courage, and, which our Ad-
versaries themselves confess, in a more sedate temper
of Mind, so brave an Action, an Action that might
have become those famous Heroes of whom we read
in former Ages; an Action, by which they enobled
not only Laws, and their Execution, which seem for

* Salmasius was once an Advocate, that is a Counsellor at Law.
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 25
the future equally restor'd to high and low against one another; but even Justice, and to have rendred it after so signal a Judgment, more illuftrious and greater than in its own self. We are now come to an end of the 3d Page of the firft Book, and have not the bare Narrative he promis'd us yet. He com- plains that our Principles are, That a King whose Government is burdensome and odious, may lawfully be deposed: And by this Doctrine, says he, if they had had a King a thousand times better than they had, they would not have sparing his Life. Observe the Man's subtle way of arguing. For I would willingly be inform'd what Confequence there is in this, unless he allows, that a King's Government may be burdensome and odious, who is a thousand times better than our King was. So, that now he has brought things to this pafs, to make the King that he defends, a thousand times worse than some whose Government notwithstanding is burdensome and odious, that is, it may be, the most monstrous Tyrant that ever reign'd. I wish ye Joy, O ye Kings, of fo able a Defender. Now the Narrative begins. They put him to several sorts of Torments. Give an instance. They remover'd him from Prison to Prison; and so they might lawfully do; for having been a Tyrant, he became an open Enemy, and was taken in War. Often changing his Keepers. Left they themselves should change. Sometimes they gave him hopes of Liberty, nay, and sometimes even of restoring him to his Crown, upon Articles of Agreement. It seems then the taking away his Life, was not done upon so much premeditation, as he talked of before; and that we did not lay hold on all opportunities and means, that offer'd themselves, to renounce our King. Those things that in the beginning of the War we de- manded of him, when he had almost brought us under, which things if they were denied us, we
Defence of the People of England,
could enjoy no Liberty, nor live in any Safety; those very things we petitioned him for when he was our Prisoner, in a humble, submissive way, not once, nor twice, but thrice, and oftner, and were as often denied. When we had now lost all hopes of the King's complying with us, then was that noble Order of Parliament made, That from that time forward, there should no Articles be sent to the King; so that we left off applying our selves to him, not from the time that he began to be a Tyrant, but from the time that we found him incurable. But afterward some Parliament-men set upon a new Project, and meeting with a convenient opportunity to put it in practice, pass a Vote to send further Proposals once more to the King. Whose Wickedness and Folly nearest resembles that of the Roman Senate, who contrary to the Opinion of M. Tullius, and all honest Men, voted to send Embassadors to M. Anthony; and the Event had been the same, but that it pleased God Almighty in his Providence to order it otherwise, and to assist our Liberty, tho he suffer'd them to be enslav'd: For tho the King did not agree to any thing that might conduce to a firm Peace, and Settlement of things more than he had before, they go and vote themselves satisfied. Then the founder part of the House finding themselves and the Commonwealth betray'd, implore the aid of that Valiant and always Faithful Army to the Commonwealth. Upon which occasion I can observe only this, which yet I am loth to utter; to wit, that our Soldiers understood themselves better than our Senators, and that they saved the Commonwealth by their Arms, when th' other by their Votes had almost ruined it. Then he relates a great many things in a doleful, lamentable Strain; but he does it so sensibly, that he seems rather to beg of his Readers that they would be sorrowful, than to stir up any such Passion in
them. It grieves him to think that the King should undergo a Capital Punishment after such a manner as no other King ever had done. Tho he had often told us before, that there never was a King that underwent a Capital Punishment at all. Do you use to compare ways and manners, ye Coxcomb, when you have no Things, nor Actions to compare with one another? He suffer'd Death, says he, as a Robber, as a Murderer, as a Parricide, as a Traytor, as a Tyrant. Is this defending the King? Or is it not rather giving a more severe Sentence against him than that that we gave? How came you so all on a sudden to be of our mind? He complains that Executioners in Vizars [personati Carnifices] cut off the King's Head. What shall we do with this Fellow? He told us before, of a Murder committed on one in the disguise of a King: [in Personâ Regis.] Now he says, 'twas done in the disguise of an Executioner. 'Twere to no purpose to take particular notice of every silly thing he says. He tells Stories of Boxes on the Ear, and Kicks, that, he says, were given the King by Common Soldiers, and that 'twas four Shillings a piece to see his dead Body. These and such like Stories which partly are false, and partly impertinent, betray the Ignorance and Childishness of our poor Scholar; but are far from making any Reader ever a whit the sadder. In good faith, his Son Charles had done better to have hired some Ballad-finger to have bewailed his Fathers Misfortunes, than this doleful, shall I call him, or rather most ridiculous Orator, who is so dry and insipid, that there's not the least Spirit in any thing he says. Now the Narrative's done, and 'tis hard to say what he does next, he runs on so forcidly and irregular. Now he's angry, then he wonders; he neither cares what he talks, nor how; repeats the same things ten times over, that could not but look ill, tho he had said them but once. And I persuade my self, the
Defence of the People of England,

Extemporary Rimes of some antick Jack-pudding may deserve printing better; so far am I from thinking ought he says worthy of a serious Answer. I pass by his stiling the King a Protector of Religion, who chose to make war upon the Church, rather than part with those Church-Tyrants, and Enemies of all Religion, the Bishops; and how is it possible that he should maintain Religion in its Purity, that was himself a Slave to those impure Traditions, and Ceremonies of theirs? And for our Sectaries, whose Sacrilegious Meetings, you say, have publick Allowance; instance in any of their Principles, the Profession of which is not openly allow'd of, and countenanced in Holland? But in the mean, there's not a more Sacrilegious Wretch in Nature than your self, that always took liberty to speak ill of all sorts of People. They could not wound the Commonwealth more dangerously than by taking off its Master. Learn, ye abject, home-born Slave; unless ye take away the Master, ye destroy the Commonwealth. That that has a Master, is one Man's Property. The word Master denotes a private, not a publick Relation. They persecute most unjustly those Ministers that abhor'd this Action of theirs. Left you should not know what Ministers he means, I'll tell you in a few words what manner of Men they were; they were those very Men, that by their Writings and Sermons justified taking up Arms against the King, and stirr'd the People up to it. That daily cursed, as Deborah did Meroz, all such as would not furnish the Parliament either with Arms, or Men, or Money. That taught the People out of their Pulpits, that they were not about to fight against a King, but a greater Tyrant than either Saul or Ahab ever were; nay, more a Nero than Nero himself. As soon as the Bishops, and those Clergy-men, whom they daily inveighed against, and branded with the odious Names
of Pluralists and Non-residents, were taken out of their way, they presently jump, some into two, some into three of their best Benefices; being now warm themselves, they soon unworthily neglected their Charge. Their Covetousness brake through all restraints of Modesty and Religion, and themselves now labour under the same Infamy, that they had loaded their Predecessors with; and because their Covetousness is not yet satisfied, and their Ambition has accustomed them to raise Tumults, and be Enemies to Peace, they can’t rest at quiet yet, but preach up Sedition against the Magistracy, as it is now established, as they had formerly done against the King. They now tell the People that he was cruelly murdered; upon whom themselves having heap’d all their Curses, had devoted him to Destruction, whom they had delivered up as it were to the Parliament to be dispoil’d of his Royalty, and pursu’d with a Holy War. They now complain that the Sectaries are not extirpated; which is a most absurd thing to expect the Magistrates should be able to do, who never yet were able, do what they could, to extirpate Avarice and Ambition, those two most pernicious Heresies, and more destructive to the Church than all the rest, out of the very order and tribe of the Ministers themselves. For the Sects which they inveigh against, I confess there are such amongst us, but they are obscure, and make no noise in the world: The Sects that they are of, are publick and notorious, and much more dangerous to the Church of God. Simon Magus and Diotrephes were the Ring-leaders of ’em. Yet are we so far from persecuting these men, tho they are pestilent enough, that tho we know them to be ill-affected to the Government, and desirous of, and endeavouring to work a change, we allow them but too much Liberty. You, that are both a French-man and a Vagabond, seem dif-
Defence of the People of England,

pleas'd that the English, more fierce and cruel than their own Mastiffs, as your barking Eloquence has it, have no regard to the lawful Successor and Heir of the Crown: Take no care of the King's Youngest Son, nor of the Queen of Bohemia. I'll make ye no answer; you shall answer your self. When the frame of a Government is changed from a Monarchy to any other, the new Modellers have no regard to succession: the Application is easy; it's in your Book de Primatum Pape. The great change throughout Three Kingdoms, you say, was brought about by a small number of men in one of them. If this were true, that small number of men would have deserved to have Dominion over the rest; Valiant men over faint hearted Cowards. These are they that presumptuously took upon them to change antiquum Regni Regimen, in alium qui à pluribus Tyrannis teneatur. 'Tis well for them that you cannot find fault with them, without committing a barbarous Solceticism; you shame all Grammarians. The English will never be able to wash out this stain. Nay you, though a blot and a stain to all Learned men, were never yet able to stain the Renown and everlasting Glory of the English Nation, that with so great a Resolution, as we hardly find the like recorded in any History, having struggled with, and overcome, not only their Enemies in the Field, but the superstitious Perswafions of the common People, have purchas'd to themselves in general amongst all posterity the name of Deliverers: The Body of the people having undertook and performed an enterprise, which in other Nations is thought to proceed only from a magnanimity that's peculiar to Heroes. What the Protestants and Primitive Christians have done, or would do upon such an occasion, I'll tell ye hereafter, when we come to debate the merits of the Cause: In discoursing it before, I should be guilty of your fault, who outdo the most impertinent Talker
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

in Nature: You wonder how we'll be able to answer the Jesuits. Meddle with your own matters, you Runagate, and be ashamed of your actions, since the Church is ashamed of you; who, though but of late you set your self so fiercely and with so much Ostentation against the Pope's Supremacy and Episcopal Government, are now become your self a very Creature of the Bishops. You confess that some Protestants whom you do not name, have asserted it lawful to depose a Tyrant: But though you do not think fit to name them, I will, because you say they are far worse than the very Jesuits themselves; they are no other than Luther, and Zuinglius, and Calvin, and Bucer, and Pareus, and many others. But then, you say, they refer it to the Judgment of Learned and Wise Men, who shall be accounted a Tyrant. But what for men, were these? Were they wise men, were they men of Learning? Were they anywise remarkable, either for Vertue or Nobility? You may well allow a People that has felt the heavy Yoke of Slavery, to be Wise, and Learned, and Noble enough to know what is fit to be done to the Tyrant that has oppress'd them; though they neither consult with Foreigners nor Grammarians. But that this man was a Tyrant, not only the Parliaments of England and Scotland have declared by their actions and express words; but almost all the People of both Nations assented to it, till such time as by the Tricks and Artifices of the Bishops they were divided into two Facions: and what if it has pleased God to chuse such men, to execute his Vengeance upon the greatest Potentates on Earth, as he chose to be made partakers of the benefit of the Gospel? Not many Wise, not many Learned, not many Powerful, not many Noble: That by those that are not, he might bring to nought those that are; and that no flesh might glory in his sight. And who are you that babble to the contrary? Dare
Defence of the People of England,
you affect the Reputation of a Learned Man? I con-
fess you are pretty well vers'd in Phrase-Books, and
Lexicons, and Glossaries; insomuch that you seem to
have spent your time in nothing else. But you do
not make appear that you have read any good Authors
with so much Judgment as to have benefited by them.
Other Copies and various Lections and Wordsomitted,
and corruptions of Texts and the like, these you are
full of; but no foot-step of any solid Learning ap-
ppears in all you have writ: Or do ye think your self a
wise man, that quarrel and contend about the meanest
Trifles that may be? That being altogether ignorant
in Astronomy and Physick, yet are always railing at
the Professors of both, whom all men credit in what
things belong to their own Sciences, that would be
ready to curse them to the Pit of Hell, that should
offer to deprive you of the Vain-glory of having cor-
rected or supply'd the least word or letter in any Copy
you've criticiz'd upon. And yet y'are mad to hear
your self call'd a Grammarian. In a certain trifling
Discourse of yours, you call Dr. Hammond Knave in
plain terms, who was one of this King's Chaplains,
and one that he valu'd above all the rest, for no other
reason but because he had call'd you a Grammarian.
And I don't question but you would have been as
ready to have thrown the same reproach upon the
King himself, if you had heard that he had approv'd
his Chaplain's Judgment of ye. Take notice now,
how much I (who am but one of those many English,
that you have the impudence to call Mad-men, and
unlearned, and ignoble, and wicked) flight and de-
spise you, (for that the English Nation in general
should take any notice in publick of such a worm as
you are, would be an infinite undervaluing of them-
selves) who though one should turn you topsie-turvy,
and in-side out, are but a Grammarian: Nay, as if
you had made a foolisher wish than Midas did, what
ever you meddle with, except when you make Solæcisms, is Grammar still. Whosoever therefore he be, though from among the Dregs of that common People that you are so keen upon (for as for those men of Eminency amongst us, whose great Actions evidenced to all men their Nobility, and Vertue, and Conduct, I won't disgrace them so much, as to compare you to them, or them to you) but whosoever, I say, among the Dregs of that common People has but suck'd in this Principle, That he was not born for his Prince, but for God and his Countrey; he deserves the reputation of a Learned, and an Honest, and a Wise Man more, and is of greater use in the world than your self. For such a one is Learned without Letters; you have Letters, but no Learning, that understand so many Languages, turn over so many Volumes, and yet are but a sheep when all is done.

CHAP. II.

The Argument that Salmasius, toward the conclusion of his first Chapter, urg'd as irrefragable, to wit, that it was really so, because all men unanimously agreed in it; That very Argument, than which, as he appli'd it, there is nothing more false, I, that am now about to discourse of the Right of Kings, may turn upon himself with a great deal of Truth. For, whereas he defines a King (if that may be said to be defin'd which he makes infinite) to be a Person in whom the Supream Power of the Kingdom resides, who is answerable to God alone, who may do whatsoever pleases him, who is bound by no Law; I will undertake to demonstrate, not by mine, but by his own Reasons and Authorities, that there never was a Nation or People of any account (for to ransack all the unciviliz'd parts of the World were to no pur-
Defence of the People of England,

pose) that ever allow'd this to be their King's Right, or put such exorbitant Power in his hand, as that he should not be bound by any Law, that he might do what he would, that he should judg all, but be judged of none. Nor can I perswade my self, that there ever was any one Person besides Salmafius of so flamish a Spirit, as to asseft the outrageous Enormities of Tyrants to be the Rights of Kings. Those amongst us that were the greatest Royalifts, always abhor'd this fordid Opinion: And Salmafius himself, as appears by some other Writings of his before he was brib'd, was quite of another mind. Insomuch, that what he here gives out, does not look like the Dictates of a free Subject under a free Government, much less in so famous a Commonwealth as that of Holland, and the most eminent University there; but seems to have been penn'd by some despicable Slave that lay rotting in a Prifon, or a Dungeon. If whatever a King has a mind to do, the Right of Kings will bear him out in (which was a Leffon that the bloody Tyrant Antoninus Caracalla, tho his Step-mother Julia preach'd it to him, and endeavour'd to inure him to the practice of it, by making him commit inceft with her self, yet could hardly fuck in) then there neither is, nor ever was that King that deserv'd the name of a Tyrant. They may safely violate all the Laws of God and Man: their very being Kings keeps them innocent. What Crime was ever any of them guilty of? they did but make use of their own Right upon their own Vaffals. No King can commit such horrible Cruelties and Outrages, as will not be within this Right of Kings. So that there's no Pretence left for any Complaints or Expoftulations with any of them. And dare you asseft, That this Right of Kings, as you call it, is grounded upon the Law of Nations, or rather upon that of Nature, you Brute Beast? for you de-
serve not the name of a Man, that are so cruel and unjust towards all those of your own kind; that endeavour as much as in you lies, so to bear down and vilify the whole race of Mankind, that were made after the Image of God, as to assert and maintain that those cruel and unmerciful Taskmasters, that through the superstitious whimsies, or sloth, or treachery of some persons, get into the Chair, are provided and appointed by Nature her self, that mild and gentle Mother of us all, to be the Governors of those Nations they enslave. By which pestilent Doctrine of yours, having rendred them more fierce and untractable, you not only enable them to make havock of, and trample under foot their miserable Subjects; but endeavour to arm them for that very purpose with the Law of Nature, the Right of Kings, and the very Constitutions of Government, than which nothing can be more impious or ridiculous. By my consent, as Dionysius formerly of a Tyrant became a Schoolmaster, so you of a Grammarian, should become a Tyrant; not that you may have that Regal License of doing other people harm, but a fair opportunity of perishing miserably your self: That, as Tiberius complain'd, when he had confin'd himself to the Island Caprea, you may be reduced into such a condition, as to be sensible that you perish daily. But let us look a little more narrowly into this Right of Kings that you talk of. This was the sense of the Eastern, and of the Western part of the World. I shall not answer you with what Aristotle and Cicero, (who are both as credible Authors as any we have) tell us, viz. That the people of Asia easily submit to slavery, but the Syrians and the Jews are even born to it from the womb. I confess there are but few, and those men of great wisdom and courage, that are either desirous of Liberty, or capable of using it. The greatest part of the world chuse to live under
Defence of the People of England,

Masters; but yet they would have them just ones. As for such as are unjust and tyrannical, neither was God ever so much an enemy to Mankind as to enjoy a necessity of submitting to them; nor was there ever any people so destitute of all sense, and sunk into such a depth of despair, as to impose so cruel a Law upon themselves and their posterity. First, you produce the words of King Solomon in his Ecclesiastes. And we are as willing to appeal to the Scripture as you. As for Solomon's authority, we'll consider that hereafter, when perhaps we shall be better able to understand it. First, let us hear God himself speak, Deut. 17, 14. When thou art come into the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as the Nations that are round about me. Which passage I could wish all men would seriously consider: for hence it appears by the testimony of God himself; First, that all Nations are at liberty to erect what form of Government they will amongst themselves, and to change it when and into what they will. This God affirms in express terms concerning the Hebrew Nation; and it does not appear but that other Nations are, as to this respect, in the same condition. Another remark that this place yields us, is, That a Commonwealth is a more perfect form of Government than a Monarchy, and more mutable to the condition of Mankind, and in the opinion of God himself, better for his own People; for himself appointed it, and could hardly be prevail'd withal a great while after, and at their own importunate desire, to let 'em change it into a Monarchy. But to make it appear that he gave 'em their choice to be govern'd by a single person, or by more, so they were justly govern'd, in case they should in time to come resolve upon a King, he prescribes Laws for this King of theirs to observe, whereby he was forbidden to multiply to himself Horses and
in Answer to Salmafius for the King.

Wives, or to heap up Riches: whence he might easily infer, that no power was put into his hands over others, but according to Law, since even those actions of his life, which related only to himself, were under a Law. He was commanded therefore to transcribe with his own hand all the Precepts of the Law, and having writ 'em out, to observe and keep 'em, that his mind might not be lifted up above his Brethren. 'Tis evident from hence, that as well the Prince as the People was bound by the Law of Moses. To this purpose Josephus writes, a proper and an able Interpreter of the Laws of his own Country, who was admirably well vers'd in the Jewish Policy, and infinitely preferable to a thousand obscure ignorant Rabbins: He has it thus in the fourth Book of his Antiquities. Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ὄν κράτιστον, &c. "An Aristocracy is the best form of Government; "wherefore do not you endeavour to settle any other, "'tis enough for you that God presides over ye. "But if you will have a King, let him guide himself by the Law of God, rather than by his own "wisdom; and lay a restraint upon him, if he offer "at more power than the state of your affairs will allow of." Thus he expresses himself upon this place in Deuteronomy. Another Jewish Author, Philo Judæus, who was Josephus's Contemporary, a very studious man in the Law of Moses, upon which he wrote a large Commentary; when in his Book concerning the Creation of the King, he interprets this Chapter of Deuteronomy, he lets a King loose from the Law no otherwise than as an enemy may be said to be so: "They," says he, "that to the prejudice and destruction of the people acquire great power to themselves, deserve not the name of Kings, but that of "Enemies: For their actions are the same with "those of an irreconcilable enemy. Nay, they, that "under a pretence of Government are injurious, are
Defence of the People of England,

"worse than open enemies. We may fence our selves against the latter; but the malice of the former is so much the more pestilent, because it is not always easy to be discovered." But when it is discover'd, why should they not be dealt with as enemies? The same Author in his second Book, Allegoriar. Legis, "A King," says he, "and a Tyrant are Contraries." And a little after, "A King ought not only to command, but also to obey." All this is very true, you'll say, a King ought to observe the Laws, as well as any other man. But what if he will not, what Law is there to punish him? I answer, the same Law that there is to punish other men; for I find no exceptions. There is no express Law to punish the Priests or any other inferior Magistrates, who all of 'em, if this opinion of the exemption of Kings from the Penalties of the Law would hold, might by the same reason claim impunity, what guilt soever they contract, because there is no positive Law for their punishment; and yet I suppose none of them ever challeng'd such a Prerogative, nor would it ever be allow'd 'em, if they should. Hitherto we have learn'd from the very Text of God's own Law, that a King ought to obey the Laws, and not lift himself up above his Brethren. Let us now consider whether Solomon preacht up any other Doctrine, Ch. 8. v. 2. "I counsel thee to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight; stand not in an evil thing, for he doth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what dost thou?" It is well enough known that here the Preacher directs not his Precepts to the Sanhedrim, or to a Parliament, but to private persons; and such he commands to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God. But as they swear Allegiance to Kings, do not Kings
likewise swear to obey and maintain the Laws of God, and those of their own Country? So the Reubenites and Gadites promise obedience to Joshua, Jos. 1.17. According as we harkned unto Moses in all things, so will we harken unto thee; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Here's an express condition. Hear the Preacher else, Chap. 9. v. 17. *The words of wise men are heard in quiet, more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.* The next caution that Solomon gives us, is, *Be not hasty to go out of his sight; stand not in an evil thing; for he doth whatsoever pleaseth him.* That is, he does what he will to Malefactors, whom the Law authorizes him to punish, and against whom he may proceed with mercy or severity, as he sees occasion. Here's nothing like Tyranny; nothing that a good man needs be afraid of. *Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say to him, What dost thou?* And yet we read of one that not only said to a King, *What dost thou?* but told him, *Thou hast done foolishly.* But Samuel, you may say, was an extraordinary Person. I answer you with your own words, which follow in the 49th Page of your Book, *What was there extraordinary, say you, in Saul or in David?* And so say I, what was there in Samuel extraordinary? He was a Prophet, you'll say; so are they that now follow his example; for they act according to the will of God, either his reveal'd, or his secret will, which your self grant in your 50th Page. The Preacher therefore in this place prudently advi̇ses private persons not to contend with Princes; for it is even dangerous to contend with any man that's either rich or powerful. But what then? must therefore the Nobility of a Nation, and all the inferior Magistrates, and the whole body of the people not dare to mutter when a King raves and acts like a mad-man? Must they not oppose a foolish, wicked,
Defence of the People of England,

outrageous Tyrant, that perhaps seeks the destruction of all good men? Must they not endeavour to prevent his turning all Divine and Humane things upside down? Must they suffer him to massacre his People, burn their Cities, and commit such outrages upon them daily; and finally, to have perfect liberty to do what he lifts without controul?

O de Cappadocis eques catafis!

Thou slavish Knight of Cappadocia!

Whom all free People, if you can have the confidence hereafter to set your foot within a free Country, ought to cast out from amongst them, and send to some remote parts of the World, as a Prodigy of dire portent; or to condemn to some perpetual drudgery, as one devoted to slavery, solemnly obliging themselves, if they ever let you go, to undergo a worse slavery under some cruel, silly Tyrant: No man living can either devise himself, or borrow from any other, Expressions so full of Cruelty and Contempt, as may not justly be apply’d to you, But go on. When the Israelites asked a King of God, they said, they would set up a King that should have the same Rule and Dominion over them, that the Kings of their neighbour Countries exercis’d over their Subjects. But the Kings of the East we know had an unlimited Power: as Virgil testifies,

Regem non sic Ægyptus et ingens
Lydia, nec Populi Parthorum, et Medus, Hydaspes Observant.

No Eastern Nation ever did adore
The Majesty of Soveraign Princes more.

First, What is that to us, what sort of Kings the Israelites desired? especially since God was angry
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

with them, not only for desiring such a King as other Nations had, and not such a King as his own Law describes, but barely for desiring a King at all? Nor is it credible that they should desire an unjust King, and one that should be out of the reach of all Laws, who could not bear the Government of Samuel's Sons, though under the power of Laws; but from their Covetousness sought refuge in a King. And lastly, The Verse that you quote out of Virgil, does not prove that the Kings of the East had an absolute unlimited Power; for those Bees, that he there speaks of, and who reverence their Kings, he says, more than the Egyptians or Medes do theirs, by the Authority of the same Poet,

—Magnis agitant sub legibus ævum.

Live under certain Fundamental Laws.

They do not live under a King then, that's tyed to no Law. But now I'll let you see how little reason you have to think I bear you an ill will. Most People think you are a Knave; but I'll make it appear that you have only put on a Knaves Vizor for the present. In your Introduction to your Discourse of the Pope's Supremacy, you say, that some Divines in the Council of Trent made use of the Government, that is said to be amongst Bees, to prove the Pope's Supremacy. This fancy you borrow from them, and urge it here with the same malice that they did there. Now that very same answer that you gave them, whilst you were an honest Man, now that you are become a Knave, you shall give your self, and pull off with your own hand that Vizor you've now put on: The Bees, say you, are a State, and so Natural Philosophers call them; they have a King, but a harmless one; he is a Leader, or Captain, rather than a King; he never beats, nor pulls, nor kills his subject
Defence of the People of England,

Bees. No wonder they are so observant of him then: But in good Faith, you had but ill luck to meddle with these Bees; for though they are Bees of Trent, they shew you to be a Drone. Aristotle, a most exact writer of Politicks, affirms that the Asiatische Monarchy, which yet himself calls barbarous, was according to Law, Politic. 3. And whereas he reckons up five several sorts of Monarchies, four of those five he makes Governments according to Laws, and with the consent of the People; and yet he calls them Tyrannical Forms of Government, because they lodg so much power in one man's hand. But the Kingdom of the Lacedæmonians he says is most properly a Kingdom, because there all Power is not in the King. The fifth sort of Monarchy, which he calls παρευσιέα, that is, where the King is all in all; and to which he refers that, that you call the Right of Kings, which is a Liberty to do what they lift; he neither tells us when, nor where any such Form of Government ever obtain'd. Nor seems he to have mention'd it for any other purpose than to shew how unjust, absurd, and tyrannical a Government it is. You say, that when Samuel would deter the People from chusing a King, he propounded to them this Right of Kings. But whence had Samuel it? Had he it from the written Law of God? That can't be. We have observ'd already, that the Scriptures afford us a quite other Scheme of Soveraignty. Had Samuel it then immediately from God himself by Revelation? That's not likely neither; for God dislikes it, discommends it, finds fault with it: So that Samuel does not expound to the People any Right of Kings appointed by God; but a corrupt and depraved manner of governing, taken up by the Pride and Ambition of Princes. He tells not the People what their Kings ought to do, but what they would do. He told them the manner of their King,
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. as before he told us of the manner of the Priests, the Sons of Eli; for he uses the same word in both places; (which you in the 33d Page of your Book, by an Hebrew Solœcism too, call הוֹמָךְ). That manner of theirs was wicked, and odious, and tyrannical: It was no right, but great wrong. The Fathers have commented upon this place too: I'll instance in one, that may stand for a great many; and that's Sulpitius Severus, a contemporary and intimate Friend of St. Jerom, and, in St. Augustin's opinion, a Man of great Wisdom and Learning. He tells us in his sacred History, that Samuel in that place acquaints the People with the imperious Rule of Kings, and how they use to lord it over their Subjects. Certainly it cannot be the Right of Kings to domineer and be imperious. But according to Saluft, that lawful Power and Authority that Kings were entrusted with, for the preservation of the publick Liberty, and the good of the Commonwealth, quickly degenerated into Pride and Tyranny: And this is the sense of all Orthodox Divines, and of all Lawyers upon that place of Samuel. And you might have learnt from Sichardus, that most of the Rab-bins too were of the same mind; at least, not any one of them ever asserted that the absolute inherent Right of Kings is there discoursed of. Your self in your 5th Chapter, Page 106. complain, That not only Clemens Alexandrinus, but all other Expositors mistake themselves upon this Text: And you, I'll warrant ye, are the only Man that have had the good luck to hit the Mark. Now what a piece of folly and impudence is this in you to maintain, in opposition to all Orthodox Expositors, that those very Actions which God so much condemns, are the Right of Kings, and to pretend Law for them? Though your self confess, that that Right is very often exercis'd in committing Outrages, being injurious, con-
Defence of the People of England,
tumelious and the like. Was any Man ever to that
degree *sui juris*, so much his own Master as that he
might lawfully prey upon Mankind, bear down all
that stood in his way, and turn all things up-side-
down? Did the *Romans* ever maintain, as you say
they did, That any man might do these things *suo
jure*, by virtue of some inherent Right in himself?
*Salu*ñt indeed makes *C. Memmius*, a Tribune of the
People, in an invective Speech of his against the
Pride of the Nobility, and their escaping unpunish'd,
howsoever they misbehaved themselves, to use these
words, *viz.* "To do whatever one has a mind to,
"without fear of Punishment, is to be a King."
This Saying you catch'd hold of, thinking it would
make for your purpose; but consider it a little bet-
ter, and you'll find your self deceived. Does he in
that place assert the Right of Kings? Or does he
not blame the Common People, and chide them for
their Sloth, in suffering their Nobility to lord it over
them, as if they were out of the reach of all Law,
and in submitting again to that Kingly Tyranny,
which together with their Kings themselves, their
Ancestors had lawfully and justly rejected and ba-
nish'd from amongst them? If you had consulted
*Tully*, you would have understood both *Salu*ñt and
*Samuel* better. In his Oration *pro C. Rabirio*,
"There is none of us ignorant," says he, "of the
"manner of Kings. These are their Lordly Dic-
tates: Mind what I say, and do accordingly."
Many Passages to this purpose he quotes out of Poets,
and calls them not the Right, but the Custom or the
Manner of Kings; and he says, We ought to read
and consider them, not only for curiosity sake, but
that we may learn to beware of 'em and avoid 'em.
You perceive how miserably you're come off with
*Salu*ñt, who, though he be as much an Enemy to Ty-
ranny as any other Author whatsoever, you thought
would have patroniz'd this tyrannical Right that you are establishing. Take my word for't, the Right of Kings seems to be tottering, and even to further its own ruin, by relying upon such weak Props for its support; and by endeavouring to maintain it self by such Examples and Authorities, as would haften its down-fall, if it were further off than it is. The extremity of Right or Law, you say, is the height of injury, Summum jus summa injuria; this saying is verified most properly in Kings, who when they go to the utmost of their Right, fall into those courses, in which Samuel makes the Right of Kings to consist. And 'tis a miserable Right, which, when you have said all you can for, you can no otherwise defend, than by confessing, that it is the greatest injury that may be. The extremity of Right or Law is said to be, when a man ties himself up to Niceties, dwells upon Letters and Syllables, and in the mean time neglects the intent and equity of the Law; or when a written Law is cunningly and maliciously interpreted; this Cicero makes to have been the rise of that common saying. But since 'tis certain that all Right flows from the fountain of Justice, so that nothing can possibly be any man's right that is not just, 'tis a most wicked thing in you to affirm that for a King to be unjust, rapacious, tyrannical, and as ill as the worst of 'em ever were, is according to the right of Kings; and to tell us that a Holy Prophet would have persuaded the People to such a senseless thing. For whether written or unwritten, whether extreme or remiss, what Right can any Man have to be injurious? Which left you should confess to be true of other Men, but not of Kings, I have one Man's Authority to object to you, who I think was a King likewise, and professes that that Right of Kings that you speak of, is odious both to God and himself: It is in the 94th Psalm, Shall the Throne of Iniquity
Defence of the People of England,

have fellowship with thee, that frameth mischief by a Law? Be not therefore so injurious to God, as to ascribe this Doctrine to him, viz. that all manner of wicked and flagitious Actions are but the Right of Kings; since himself tells us, that he abhors all fellowship with wicked Princes for this very reason, because under pretence of Soveraignty they create Misery and Vexation to their Subjects. Neither bring up a false Accusation against a Prophet of God; for by making him to teach us in this place what the Right of Kings is, you do not produce the right Samuel, but such another empty Shadow as was raised by the Witch of Endor. Tho for my own part, I verily believe that that infernal Samuel would not have been so great a Lyar, but that he would have confessed, that what you call the Right of Kings, is Tyranny. We read indeed of Impieties countenanced by Law, *Jus datum secleri*: you your self confess, that they are bad Kings that have made use of this boundless License of theirs to do every thing. Now this Right that you have introduc'd for the Destruction of Mankind, not proceeding from God, as I have prov'd it does not, must needs come from the Devil; and that it does really so, will appear more clearly hereafter. By virtue of this Liberty, say you, Princes may if they will. And for this, you pretend to have Cicero's Authority. I'm always willing to mention your Authorities, for it generally happens that the very Authors you quote them out of, give you an Answer themselves. Hear else what Cicero says in his 4th Phillippick, "What cause of War can be "more just and warrantable than to avoid Slavery? "For tho a People may have the good fortune to "live under a gentle Master, yet those are in a mi-
"serable Condition whose Prince may tyrannize "over them if he will." May, that is, can; has Power enough so to do. If he meant it of his Right,
he would contradict himself, and make that an unjust Cause of War, which himself had affirm’d with the same breath to be a most just one. It is not therefore the Right of all Kings that you describe, but the Injurioufness, and Force, and Violence of some. Then you tell us what private men may do. A private Man, say you, may Lie, may be Ungrateful; and so may Kings, but what then? May they therefore Plunder, Murder, Ravish without controul? 'Tis equally prejudicial and destructive to the Common-wealth, whether it be their own Prince, or a Robber, or a Foreign Enemy that Spoils, Maffacres, and En-slaves them. And questionless, being both alike Enemies of Humane Society, the one as well as the other may lawfully be oppos’d and punish’d; and their own Prince the rather, because he, tho raised to that Dignity by the Honours that his People have conferr’d upon him, and being bound by his Oath to defend the Publick Safety, betrays it notwithstanding all. At last you grant, That Moses prescribes Laws, according to which the King that the People of Israel shoud chuse, ought to govern, tho different from this Right that Samuel proposes; which words contain a double Contradiction to what you have said before. For whereas you had affirm’d, That a King was bound by no Law, here you confess he is. And you set up two contrary Rights, one described by Moses, and another by Samuel, which is absurd. But, says the Prophet, you shall be Servants to your King. Tho I should grant that the Israelites were really so, it would not presently follow, that it was the Right of their Kings to have them so; but that by the Usur- pation and Injustice of most of them, they were reduc’d to that Condition. For the Prophet had foretold them, that that importunate Petition of theirs would bring a Punishment from God upon them; not because it would be their King’s Right
so to harass them, but because they themselves had deserved it should be so. If Kings are out of the reach of the Law, so as that they may do what they lift, they are more absolute than any Masters, and their Subjects in a more despicable Condition than the worst of Slaves. The Law of God provided some redress for them, tho of another Nation, if their Masters were cruel and unreasonable towards them. And can we imagine that the whole Body of the People of a free Nation, tho oppreß'd and tyranniz'd over, and prey'd upon, should be left remediless? That they had no Law to protect them, no Sanctuary to betake themselves to? Can we think that they were delivered from the Bondage that they were under to the Egyptian Kings, to be reduced into a worse to one of their own Brethren? All which being neither agreeable to the Law of God, nor to common Sense, nothing can be more evident than that the Prophet declares to the People the Manner, and not the Right of Kings; nor the Manner of all Kings, but of most. Then you come to the Rabbins, and quote two of them, but you have as bad luck with them here, as you had before. For it is plain, that that other Chapter that Rabbi Jofes speaks of, and which contains, he says, the Right of Kings, is that in Deuteronomy, and not in Samuel. For Rabbi Judas says very truly, and against you, that that Discourse of Samuel's was intended only to frighten the People. 'Tis a most pernicious Doctrine to maintain that to be any ones Right, which in itself is flat Injustice, unless you have a mind to speak by contraries. And that Samuel intended to affrighten them, appears by the 18th Verse, And ye shall cry out in that day because of your King, which ye shall have chosen you, and I will not hear you in that day, faith the Lord. That was to be their Punishment for their Obstinacy in persifting to desire a King against
the Mind and Will of God, and yet they are not forbidden here either to pray against him, or to endeavour to rid themselves of him. For if they might lawfully pray to God against him, without doubt they might use all lawful means for their own Deliverance. For what man living, when he finds himself in any Calamity, betakes himself to God, so as to neglect his own Duty in order to a Redress, and rely upon his lazy Prayers only? But be it how it will, what is all this to the Right of Kings, or of the English People? who neither asked a King against the Will of God, nor had one appointed us by God, but by the Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governours, appointed a King over us by Laws of our own, neither in Obedience to, nor against any Command of God? And this being the Case, for ought I see, we have done well in depofing our King, and are to be commended for it, since the Israelites sinned in asking one. And this the Event has made appear; for we, when we had a King, prayed to God against him, and he heard us, and delivered us: But the Jews (who not being under a Kingly Government, desired a King) he suffered to live in Slavery under one, till, at last, after their return from the Babylonish Captivity, they betook themselves to their former Government again. Then you come to give us a display of your Talmudical Learning, but you have as ill success with that, as you have had with all the rest. For whilst you are endeavouring to prove that Kings are not liable to any Temporal Judicature, you quote an Authority out of the Treatise of the Sanhedrim, That the King neither is judged of others, nor does himself judg any. Which is against the Peoples own Petition in Samuel; for they desired a King that might judg them. You labour in vain to salve this, by telling us, that it is to be understood of those Kings that reigned after the Babylonish Cap-
Defence of the People of England,

tivity. For then, what say ye to Maimonides? He makes this difference betwixt the Kings of Israel, and those of Juda; that the Kings of the Posterity of David judge, and are judged; but the Kings of Israel do neither. You contradict and quarrel with your self or your Rabbins, and still do my work for me. This, say you, is not to be understood of the Kings of Israel in their first Institution; for in the 17th Verse 'tis said, You shall be his Servants; that is, he shall use ye to it, not that he shall have any Right to make you so. Or if you understand it of their Kings Right, 'tis but a Judgment of God upon them for asking a King; the effects of which they were sensible of under most of their Kings, tho not perhaps under all. But you need no Antagonists, you are such a perpetual Adversary to your self. For you tell us now a Story, as if you were arguing on my side, how that first Aristobulus, and after him Jannæus, surnamed Alexander, did not receive that Kingly right that they pretended to, from the Sanhedrim, that great Treasury and Oracle of the Laws of that Nation, but usurped it by degrees against the Will of the Senate. For whose sake, you say, that childish Fable of the principal Men of that Assembly being struck dead by the Angel Gabriel, was first invented. And thus you confess that this magnificent Prerogative, upon which you seem mainly to rely, viz. That Kings are not to be judged by any upon Earth, "Was grounded upon this worse than an old Wives Tale, that is, upon a Rabbinical Fable. But that the Hebrew Kings were liable to be call'd in question for their Actions, and to be punished with stripes, if they were found faulty," Sichardus shows at large out of the Writings of the Rabbins, to which Author you are indebted for all that you employ of that sort of Learning, and yet you have the Impudence to be thwarting with him. Nay, we read in the Scripture that Saul thought
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

himself bound by a Decree of his own making; and in Obedience thereunto, that he cast Lots with his Son Jonathan which of them two should die. Uzziias likewise, when he was thrust out of the Temple by the Priests as a Leper, submitted as every private Person in such a Case ought to do, and ceas'd to be a King. Suppose he should have refused to go out of the Temple, and lay down the Government, and live alone, and had resolved to assert that Kingly Right of not being subject to any Law; do you think the Priests, and the People of the Jews would have suffered the Temple to be defiled, the Laws violated, and live themselves in danger of the Infection? It seems there are Laws against a leprous King, but none against a Tyrant. Can any Man possibly be so mad and foolish as to fancy that the Laws should so far provide for the Peoples Health, as tho some noisome Distemper should seize upon the King himself, yet to prevent the Infection's reaching them, and make no Provision for the Security of their Lives and Estates, and the very being of the whole State, against the Tyranny of a cruel, unjust Prince, which is incomparably the greater mischief of the two? But, say you, there can be no precedent shown of any one King, that has been arraigned in a Court of Justice, and condemn'd to dye. Sichardus answers that well enough. 'Tis all one, says he, as if one should argue on this manner. The Emperor of Germany never was summoned to appear before one of the Prince-Electors; therefore if the Prince Elector Palatine should impeach the Emperor, he were not bound to plead to it; tho it appears by the Golden Bull, that Charles the Fourth subjected himself and his Successors to that Cognizance and Jurisdiction. But no wonder if Kings were indulged in their Ambition, and their Exorbitances passed by, when the times were so corrupt and depraved, that even private Men,
Defence of the People of England,

if they had either Money or Interest, might escape
the Law, tho guilty of Crimes of never so high a
Nature. That ἀνωτεροθυνον, that you speak of, that is
to be wholly independent upon any other, and ac-
countable to none upon Earth, which you say is pe-
culiar to the Majesty of Sovereign Princes, Aristotle
in the 4th Book of his Pol. Ch. 10. calls a most Ty-
annical Form of Government, and not in the least
to be endured by a free People. And that Kings
are not liable to be question'd for their Actions, you
prove by the Testimony of a very Worthy Author,
that Barbarous Tyrant Mark Anthony, one of those
that subverted the Commonwealth of Rome: And
yet he himself, when he undertook an Expedition
against the Parthians, summon'd Herod before him,
to answer to a Charge of Murder, and would have
punished him, but that Herod brib'd him. So that
Anthony's asserting this Prerogative Royal, and your
Defence of King Charles, come both out of one and
the same Spring. And 'tis very reasonable, say you,
that it should be so; for Kings derive their Authority
from God alone. What Kings are those, I pray, that
do so? For I deny that there ever were any such
Kings in the World, that derived their Authority
from God alone. Saul the first King of Israel had
never reign'd, but that the People desired a King,
even against the Will of God; and tho he was pro-
claimed King once at Mizpah, yet after that he lived
a private Life, and look'd to his Fathers Cattel, till
he was created so the second time by the People at
Gilgal. And what think ye of David? Tho he had
been anointed once by God, was he not anointed the
second time in Hebron by the Tribe of Judah, and
after that by all the People of Israel, and that after
a mutual Covenant betwixt him and them? 2 Sam.
5. 1 Chron. 11. Now a Covenant lays an Obliga-
tion upon Kings, and restrains them within Bounds.
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 53

Solomon, you say, succeeded him in the Throne of the Lord, and was acceptable to all men: 1 Chron. 29. So, that 'tis something to be well-pleasing in the Eyes of the People. Jehoiada the Priest made Joash King, but first he made him and the People enter into a Covenant to one another, 2 Kings 11. I confess that these Kings, and all that reign'd of David's Posterity, were appointed to the Kingdom both by God and the People; but of all other Kings of what Country soever, I affirm, that they are made so by the People only; nor can you make it appear, that they are appointed by God any otherwise than as all other things, great and small, are said to be appointed by him, because nothing comes to pass without his Providence. So that I allow the Throne of David was in a peculiar manner call'd, The Throne of the Lord; whereas the Thrones of other Princes are no otherwise God's, than all other things in the World are his; which if you would, you might have learnt out of the same Chapter, Ver. 11, 12. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, &c. for all that is in the Heaven, and in the Earth is thine. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all. And this is so often repeated, not to puff up Kings, but to put them in mind, tho they think themselves Gods, that yet there is a God above them, to whom they owe whatever they are and have. And thus we easily understand what the Poets, and the Essenes among the Jews mean, when they tells us, That 'tis by God that Kings reign, and that they are of Jupiter; for so all of us are of God, we are all his Offspring. So that this universal Right of Almighty God's, and the Interest that he has in Princes, and their Thrones, and all that belongs to them, does not at all derogate from the Peoples Right; but that notwithstanding all this, all other Kings, not particularly and by name appointed by God, owe their Sovereignty to the People
Defence of the People of England,

only, and consequently are accountable to them for the management of it. The truth of which Doctrine, tho' the Common People are apt to flatter their Kings, yet they themselves acknowledg, whether good ones, as Sarpedon in Homer is described to have been; or bad ones, as those Tyrants in the Lyric Poet:

Γλαύκε, τίν ἐν εὐεργεσίᾳ μάλιστα, &c.

Glaucus, in Lycia we're ador'd like Gods:

What makes 'twixt us and others so great odds?

He resolves the Question himself: "Because," says he, "we excel others in Heroical Vertues: Let us "fight manfully then, says he, left our Countrymen "tax us with Sloth and Cowardice." In which words he intimates to us, both that Kings derive their Grandeur from the People, and that for their Conduct and Behaviour in War, they are accountable to them. Bad Kings indeed, tho' to cast some Terror into Peoples minds, and beget a Reverence of themselves, they declare to the World, that God only is the Author of Kingly Government; in their Hearts and Minds they reverence no other Deity but that of Fortune, according to that passage in Horace:

\[ Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ, \\
Regumque matres barbarorum, et \\
Purpurei metuunt Tyranni. \]

\[ Injurioso ne pede proruas \\
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens \\
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma \\
Concitet, imperiumque frangat. \]

"All barb'rous People, and their Princes too, "All Purple Tyrants honour you; "The very wandring Scythians do.
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

"Support the Pillar of the Roman State,
"Left all Men be involv'd in one Mans fate.
"Continue us in Wealth and Peace;
"Let Wars and Tumults ever cease."

So that if 'tis by God that Kings now adays reign, 'tis by God too that the People assert their own Liberty; since all things are of him, and by him. I'm sure the Scripture bears witness to both; that by him Kings reign, and that by him they are cast down from their Thrones. And yet experience teaches us, that both these things are brought about by the People, oftner than by God. Be this Right of Kings therefore what it will, the Right of the People is as much from God as it. And when ever any People, without some visible Designation of God himself, appoint a King over them, they have the same Right to put him down, that they had to set him up at first. And certainly 'tis a more God-like Action to depose a Tyrant, than to set up one: And there appears much more of God in the People, when they depose an unjust Prince, than in a King that oppresses an innocent People. Nay, the People have a Warrant from God to judg wicked Princes; for God has conferr'd this very honour upon those that are dear to him, that celebrating the praises of Christ their own King, "they shall bind in Chains the "Kings of the Nations," (under which Appellation all Tyrants under the Gospel are included) "and execute "the Judgments written upon them that challenge "to themselves an Exemption from all written Laws," Psalm 149. So that there's but little reason left for that wicked and foolish Opinion, that Kings who commonly are the worst of Men, should be so high in God's account, as that he should have put the World under them, to be at their beck, and be govern'd according to their humour; and that for their fakes
Defence of the People of England,

alone he should have reduced all Mankind, whom he made after his own Image, into the same condition with Brutes. After all this, rather than say nothing, you produce M. Aurelius, as a Countenancer of Tyranny; but you had better have let him alone. I can't say whether he ever affirm'd that Princes are accountable only before God's Tribunal. But Xiphiline indeed, out of whom you quote those words of M. Aurelius, mentions a certain Government, which he calls an Autarchy, of which he makes God the only Judge: \( \text{περὶ αὐταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται} \). But that this word Autarchy and Monarchy are Synonymous, I cannot easily perswade myself to believe. And the more I read what goes before, the less I find my self inclinable to think so. And certainly whoever considers the Context, will not easily apprehend what coherence this Sentence has with it, and must needs wonder how it comes so abruptly into the Text; especially since Marcus Aurelius, that Mirror of Princes, carried himself towards the People, as Capitolinus tells us, just as if Rome had been a Commonwealth still. And we all know that when it was so, the Supreme Power was in the People. The same Emperor honoured the memory of Tharfeas, and Helvidius, and Cato, and Dio, and Brutus; who all were Tyrant-flayers, or affected the reputation of being thought so. In the first Book that he writes of his own Life, he says that he propos'd to himself a form of Government, under which all men might equally enjoy the benefit of the Law, and Right and Justice be equally administred to all. And in his fourth Book he says, The Law is Master, and not he. He acknowledged the right of the Senate and the People, and their Interest in all things: We are so far, says he, from having any thing of our own, that we live in your Houses. These things Xiphiline relates of him. So little did he arrogate ought to
himself by virtue of his Sovereign Right. When he died, he recommended his Son to the Romans for his Successor, if they should think he deserv'd it. So far was he from pretending to a Commission from Heaven to exercise that absolute and imaginary Right of Sovereignty, that Autarchy, that you tell us of. All the Latin and Greek Books are full of Authorities of this nature. But we have heard none of 'em yet. So are the Jewish Authors. And yet, you say, The Jews in many things allow'd but too little to their Princes. Nay, you'll find that both the Greeks and the Latins allow'd much less to Tyrants. And how little the Jews allow'd them, would appear, if that Book that Samuel wrote of the manner of the Kingdom were extant; which Book the Hebrew Doctors tell us their Kings tore in pieces and burnt, that they might be more at liberty to tyrannize over the People without control or fear of punishment. Now look about ye again, and catch hold of somewhat or other. In the last place you come to wrest David's words in the 17th Psalm, Let my sentence come forth from thy presence. Therefore, says Barnachmoni, God only can judg the King. And yet it's most likely that David penn'd this Psalm when he was persecuted by Saul, at which time, though himself were anointed, he did not decline being judged even by Jonathan: Notwithstanding if there be iniquity in me, slay me thy self; I Sam. 20. At least in this Psalm he does no more than what any person in the world would do upon the like occasion; being falsely accus'd by Men, he appeals to the judgment of God himself, Let thine eyes look upon the thing that is right; thou hast proved and visited mine heart, &c. What relation has this to a Temporal Judicature? Certainly they do no good office to this right of Kings, that thus discover the weakness of its foundation. Then you come with that thredbare argument, which of all others is most in
vogue with our Courtiers, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned, Psal. 51. 6.* As if *David* in the midst of his Repentance, when overwhelm’d with sorrow, and almost drown’d in tears, he was humbly imploring God’s Mercy, had any thoughts of this Kingly right of his when his heart was so low, that he thought he deserv’d not the right of a slave. And can we think that he despis’d all the People of God, his own Brethren, to that degree, as to believe that he might murder ’em, plunder ’em, and commit Adultery with their Wives, and yet not sin againſt them all this while? So Holy a Man could never be guilty of such insufferable Pride, nor have so little knowledg either of himself, or of his duty to his Neighbour. So without doubt, when he says, *Against thee only,* he meant, againſt thee chiefly have I sinned, &c. But whatever he means, the words of a Psalm are too full of Poetry, and this Psalm too full of Passion, to afford us any exact definitions of Right and Justice; nor is it proper to argue any thing of that nature from ’em. *But David was never question’d for this, nor made to plead for his life before the Sanhedrim.* What then? How should they know that any such thing had been, which was done so privately, that perhaps for some years after not above one or two were privy to it, as such secrets there are in most Courts? *2 Sam. 12. Thou hast done this thing in secret.* Besides, what if the Senate should neglect to punish private persons? Would any infer that therefore they ought not to be punish’d at all? But the reason why *David* was not proceeded against as a Malefactor, is not much in the dark: He had condemn’d himself in the 5th verse, *The man that hath done this thing shall surely die.* To which the Prophet presently replies, *Thou art the man.* So that in the Prophet’s judgment as well as his own, he was worthy of death; but God by his Soveraign Right over all
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

things, and of his great Mercy to David, absolves him from the guilt of his Sin, and the sentence of death which he had pronounce'd against himself; verse 13th, The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die. The next thing you do is to rail at some bloody Advocate or other, and you take a deal of pains to refute the conclusion of his Discourse. Let him look to that; I'll endeavour to be as short as I can in what I've undertaken to perform. But some things I must not pass by without taking notice of; as first and foremost your notorious Contradictions; for in the 30th Page you say, The Israelites do not deprecate an unjust, rapacious, tyrannical King, one as bad as the worst of Kings are. And yet, Page 42. you are very smart upon your Advocate, for maintaining that the Israelites asked for a Tyrant: Would they have leap'd out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, say you, and groan under the Cruelty of the worst of Tyrants, rather than live under bad Judges, especialy being us'd to such a Form of Government? First you said the Hebrews would rather live under Tyrants than Judges, here you say they would rather live under Judges than Tyrants; and that they desired nothing less than a Tyrant. So that your Advocate may answer you out of your own Book. For according to your Principles 'tis every King's Right to be a Tyrant. What you say next is very true, The Supreme Power was then in the People, which appears by their own rejecting their Judges, and making choice of a Kingly Government. Remember this when I shall have occasion to make use of it. You say, that God gave the Children of Israel a King, as a thing good and profitable for them, and deny that he gave them one in his anger, as a Punishment for their Sin. But that will receive an easy answer; for to what purpose should they cry to God because of the King that they had chosen, if it were not because a Kingly Government is an evil thing;
Defence of the People of England,

not in itself, but because it most commonly does, as Samuel forewarns the People that theirs would, degenerate into Pride and Tyranny? If y'are not yet satisfied, hark what you say your self; acknowledg your own hand, and blufh; 'tis in your Apparatus ad Primatum: God gave them a King in his anger, say you, being offended at their Sin in rejecting him from ruling over them; and so the Christian Church, as a Punishment for its forsaking the pure Worship of God, has been subject to the more than Kingly Government of one mortal Head. So that if your own Comparison holds, either God gave the Children of Israel a King as an evil thing, and as a punishment; or he has set up the Pope for the good of the Church. Was there ever any thing more light and mad than this Man is? Who would trust him in the smallest matters, that in things of so great concern says and unsays without any consideration in the World? You tell us in your 29th Page, That by the Constitution of all Nations, Kings are bound by no Law. That this had been the judgment both of the Eastern and Western part of the World. And yet pag. 43, you say, That all the Kings of the East ruled νεκτα νεκων, according to Law, nay that the very Kings of Egypt in all matters whatsoever, whether great or small, were tied to Laws. Tho in the beginning of this Chapter you had undertook to demonstrate, That Kings are bound by no Laws, that they give Laws to others, but have none prescribed to themselves. For my part I've no reason to be angry with ye, for either y'are mad, or of our side. You do not defend the King's Cause, but argue against him, and play the fool with him: Or if y'are in earnest, that Epigram of Catullus:

*Tantò pejissimus omnium Poeta,
Quantò tu optimus omnium Patronus.*

The worst of Poets, I my self declare,
By how much you the best of Patrons are.
That Epigram, I say, may be turn'd, and very properly applied to you; for there never was so good a Poet, as you are a bad Patron. Unless that stupidity, that you complain your Advocate is *immers'd over head and ears in*, has blinded the eyes of your own understanding too, I'll make ye now sensible that y'are *become a very Brute* your self. For now you come and confess that *the Kings of all Nations have Laws prescribed to them*. But then you say again, *They are not so under the power of them, as to be liable to censure or punishment of death, if they break them*. Which yet you have proved neither from Scripture, nor from any good Author. Observe then in short; to *prescribe Municipal Laws to such as are not bound by them*, is silly and ridiculous; and to *punish all others, but leave some one man at liberty to commit all sort of Impieties without fear of punishment*, is most unjust; the Law being general, and not making any exception; neither of which can be *suppos'd to hold place in the Constitutions of any wise Law-maker*, much less in those of God's own making. But that all may perceive how unable you are to prove out of the writings of the *Jews*, what you undertook in this Chapter to make appear by 'em, you confess of your own accord, *That there are some Rabbins, who affirm that their Forefathers ought not to have had any other King than God himself*; and *that he set other Kings over them for their punishment*. And of those mens opinion, I declare my self to be. It is not fitting nor decent that any Man *should be a King that does not far excel all his Subjects*. But where Men are Equals, as in all Governments very many are, they ought to have an equal interest in the Government, and hold it by turns. But that all Men *should be Slaves to one that is their Equal, or (as it happens most commonly) far inferior to 'em, and very often a Fool, who can so much as entertain such a thought without Indignation? Nor does it make for the Honour*
of a Kingly Government, that our Saviour was of the
Posterity of some Kings, more than it does for the com-
mandation of the worst of Kings, that he was the
Offspring of some of them too. The Messias is a
King. We acknowledg him so to be, and rejoice
that he is so; and pray that his Kingdom may come,
for he is worthy: Nor is there any other either equal,
or next to him. And yet a Kingly Government being
put into the hands of unworthy and undeserving Per-
fons, as most commonly it is, may well be thought
to have done more harm than good to Mankind.
Nor does it follow for all this that all kings, as such,
are Tyrants. But suppose it did, as for argument-
fake I'll allow it does, left you should think I'm too
hard with ye; make you the best use of it you can.
Then, say you, God himself may properly be said to be the
King of Tyrants, nay, himself the worst of all Tyrants.
If the first of these conclusions does not follow, an-
other does, which may be drawn from most parts of
your Book, viz. That you perpetually contradict, not
only the Scriptures, but your own self. For in the
very last foregoing Period you had affirmed, that God
was the King of all things, having himself created them.
Now he created Tyrants and Devils, and consequently
by your own reason, is the King of such. The second
of these Conclusions we detest, and wish that blaf-
phemous Mouth of yours were stoppt up, with which
you affirm God to be the worst of Tyrants, if he be,
as you often say he is, the King and Lord of such.
Nor do you much advantage your Cause by telling us
that Moses was a King, and had the absolute and supreme
Power of a King. For we could be content that any
other were so, that could refer our matters to God, as
Moses did, and consult with him about our affairs,
Exod. 18. v. 19. But neither did Moses, notwith-
standing his great familiarity with God, ever assume
a Liberty of doing what he would himself. What
in Answer to Salmaius for the King. 63

says he of himself? The People come unto me to enquire of God. They came not then to receive Moses's own Dictates and Commands. Then says Jethro, ver. 19. Be thou for the people to Godward, that thou mayst bring their causes unto God. And Moses himself says, Deut. 4. v. 5. I have taught you Statutes and Judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me. Hence it is that he is said to have been faithful in all the House of God, Numb. 12. v. 7. So that the Lord Jehovah himself was the People's King, and Moses no other than as it were an Interpreter or a Messenger betwixt him and them. Nor can you without Impiety and Sacrilege, transfer this absolute Supream Power and Authority from God to a Man; (not having any Warrant from the Word of God so to do) which Moses used only as a Deputy or Substitute to God; under whose Eye, and in whose Presence, himself and the People always were. But now, for an aggravation of your wickedness, though here you make Moses to have exercis'd an absolute and unlimited Power, in your Apparat. ad Primat. Page 230. you say that he together with the seventy Elders ruled the people, and that himself was the chief of the people, but not their Master. If Moses therefore were a King, as certainly he was, and the best of Kings, and had a Supream and Legal Power, as you say he had, and yet neither was the People's Master nor govern'd them alone; then according to you, Kings, tho indued with the Supream Power, are not by virtue of that Sovereign and Kingly Right of theirs Lords over the People, nor ought to govern them alone; much less, according to their own Will and Pleasure. After all this, you have the impudence to feign a Command from God to that People, to set up a King over them, as soon as they should be possessed of the Holy Land, Deut. 17. For you craftily leave out the former words, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, &c. And now call to mind what you said
before, Page 42. and what I said I should have occasion to make use of, viz. That the Power was then in the People, and that they were entirely free. What follows argues you either mad or irreligious; take whether you lift: God, say you, having so long before appointed a Kingly Government, as best and most proper for that People; What shall we say to Samuel's opposing it, and God's own acting, as if himself were against it? How do these things agree? He finds himself caught, and observe now with how great malice against the Prophet, and impiety against God, he endeavours to disentangle himself. We must consider, says he, that Samuel's own Sons then judged the People, and the People rejected them because of their corruption; now Samuel was loth his Sons should be laid aside, and God to gratify the Prophet, intimated to him, as if himself were not very well pleased with it. Speak out ye Wretch, and never mince the matter: You mean, God dealt deceitfully with Samuel, and he with the People. It is not your Advocate, but your self that are frantick and distracted; who cast off all reverence to God Almighty, so you may but seem to honour the King. Would Samuel prefer the Interest of his Sons and their Ambition, and their Covetousness, before the general good of all the People, when they asked a thing that would be good and profitable for them? Can we think that he would impose upon them by cunning and subtilty, and make them believe things that were not? Or if we should suppose all this true of Samuel, would God himself countenance and gratify him in it; would he dissemble with the People? So that either that was not the Right of Kings which Samuel taught the People; or else that Right by the Testimony, both of God and the Prophet, was an evil thing, was burdensom, injurious, unprofitable, and chargeable to the Commonwealth: Or Lastly, (which must not be admitted) God and the Prophet
deceiv'd the People. God frequently protests that he was extremely unpleas'd with them for asking a King. V. 7th. They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. As if it were a kind of Idolatry to ask a King, that would even suffer himself to be ador'd, and assume almost Divine Honour to himself. And certainly, they that subject themselves to a worldly Master, and set him above all Laws, come but a little short of chusing a strange God: And a strange one it commonly is: brutish, and void of all sense and reason. So 1st of Sam. Chap. 10th. v. 19th. And ye have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of all your adversites and your tribulation, and ye have said unto him, Nay, but set a King over us, &c. and Chap. 12th. v. 12th. Ye said unto me, Nay, but a King shall reign over us; when the Lord your God was your King: and v. the 17th. See that your wickedness is great, that ye have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking you a King. And Hosea speaks contemptibly of the King, Chap. 13. v. 10, 11. I will be thy King; where is any other that may save in all thy Cities, and thy Judges of whom thou faidest, Give me a King and Princes? I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath. And Gideon that warlike Judg, that was greater than a King; I will not rule over you, says he, neither shall my Son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you, Judges, Chap. the 8. Intimating thereby, that it is not fit for a Man, but for God only to exercise Dominion over Men. And hence Josephus in his Book against Appion, an Egyptian Grammarian, and a foul-mouth'd fellow, like you, calls the Commonwealth of the Hebrews a Theocracy, because the principality was in God only. In Isaiah, Chap. 26. v. 13. the People in their Repentance, complain that it had been mischiefous to them, that other Lords besides God himself, had had Dominion over them. All
Defence of the People of England,

which places prove clearly, that God gave the Israelites a King in his anger; but now who can forbear laughing at the use you make of Abimelech's Story? Of whom it is said, when he was kill'd, partly by a Woman that hurl'd a piece of Mill-stone upon him, and partly by his own Armour-Bearer, that God rendred the wickedness of Abimelech. This History, say you, proves strongly that God only is the Judg and Avenger of Kings. Yea, if this Argument holds, he is the only Judg and Punisher of Tyrants, Villanous Rascals and Bastards. Whoever can get into the Saddle, whether by right or by wrong, has thereby obtain'd a Soveraign Kingly Right over the People, is out of all danger of punishment, all inferior Magistrates must lay down their Arms at his feet, the People must not dare to mutter. But what if some great notorious Robber had perished in War, as Abimelech did, would any Man infer from thence, That God only is the Judg and Punisher of High-way-men? Or what if Abimelech had been condemn'd by the Law, and died by an Executioner's hand, would not God then have rendred his wickedness? You never read that the Judges of the Children of Israel were ever proceeded against according to Law: And yet you confess, That where the Government is an Aristocracy, the Prince, if there be any, may and ought to be call'd in question, if he break the Laws. This in your 47th Page. And why may not a Tyrant as well be proceeded against in a Kingly Government? Why, because God rendred the wickedness of Abimelech. So did the Women, and so did his own Armour-Bearer; over both which he pretended to a right of Soveraignty. And what if the Magistrates had rendred his wickedness? Do not they bear the Sword for that very purpose, for the punishment of Malefactors? Having done with his powerful argument from the History of Abimelech's death, he be-takes himself, as his custom is, to Slanders and
Calumnies; nothing but Dirt and Filth comes from him: but for those things that he promises to make appear, he hath not prov'd any one of them, either from the Scriptures, or from the Writings of the Rabbins. He alludes no reason why Kings should be above all Laws, and they only of all mortal Men exempt from punishment, if they deserve it. He falls foul upon those very Authors and Authorities that he makes use of, and by his own Discourse demonstrates the truth of the opinion that he argues against. And perceiving that he is like to do but little good with his arguments, he endeavours to bring an odium upon us, by loading us with slanderous Accusations, as having put to death the most Vertuous innocent Prince that ever reign'd. \( \text{Was King Solomon, says he, better than King Charles the First?} \)

I confess some have ventur'd to compare his Father King James with Solomon; nay to make King James the better Gentleman of the two. Solomon was David's Son, David had been Saul's Musitian; but King James was the Son of the Earl of Darly, who as Buchanan tells us, because David the Musitian got into the Queen's Bed-Chamber at an unseasonable time, kill'd him a little after; for he could not get to him then, because he had bolted the Door on the inside. So that King James being the Son of an Earl, was the better Gentleman; and was frequently called a second Solomon, though it is not very certain that himself was not the Son of David the Musitian too. But how could it ever come into your head to make a comparison betwixt King Charles and Solomon? For that very King Charles whom you praise thus to the Sky, that very Man's Obstinacy, and Covetousness, and Cruelty, his hard usage of all good and honest Men, the Wars that he rais'd, the Spoilings and Plunderings and Conflagrations that he occasioned, and the death of innumerable of his Subjects that he was the cause of, does his Son Charles, at this
Defence of the People of England,

very time whilst I'm a writing, confess and bewail in the Stool of Repentance in Scotland, and renounces there that Kingly Right that you assert. But since you delight in Parallels, let's compare King Charles and King Solomon together a little: Solomon began his reign with the death of his Brother, who had justly deserved it; King Charles began his with his Father's Funeral, I do not say with his Murder: and yet all the marks and tokens of Poison that may be, appeared in his dead body; but that suspicion lighted upon the Duke of Buckingham only, whom the King notwithstanding cleared to the Parliament, though he had killed the King, and his Father; and not only so, but he dissolved the Parliament, left the matter should be enquired into. Solomon oppressed the people with heavy Taxes; but he spent that Money upon the Temple of God, and in raising other public Buildings: King Charles spent his in Extravagances. Solomon was enticed to Idolatry by many Wives: This Man by one. Solomon though he were seduced himself, we read not that he seduced others; but King Charles seduced and enticed others not only by large and ample rewards to corrupt the Church, but by his Edicts and Ecclesiastical Constitutions he compell'd them to set up Altars, which all Protestants abhor, and to bow down to Crucifixes painted over them on the Wall. But yet for all this, Solomon was not condemned to die. Nor does it follow, because he was not, that therefore he ought not to have been. Perhaps there were many Circumstances that made it then not expedient. But not long after the People both by words and actions made appear what they took to be their right, when Ten Tribes of Twelve revolted from his Son; and if he had not saved himself by flight, it is very likely they would have stoned him, notwithstanding his Threats and big swelling words.
HAVING proved sufficiently that the Kings of the Jews were subject to the same Laws that the People were; That there are no exceptions made in their favour in Scripture; That 'tis a most false assertion grounded upon no Reason, nor warranted by any Authority, to say, That Kings may do what they lift with Impunity; That God has exempted them from all humane Jurisdiction, and reserved them to his own Tribunal only: Let us now consider, whether the Gospel preach up any such Doctrine, and enjoyn that blind Obedience which the Law was so far from doing, that it commanded the contrary; let us consider, whether or no the Gospel, that Heavenly Promulgation, as it were, of Chriflian Liberty, reduce us to a condition of Slavery to Kings and Tyrants, from whose imperious rule even the old Law, that Mistress of Slavery, discharged the People of God, when it obtained. Your firft argument you take from the Person of Chrift himfelf. But, alas! who does not know that he put himfelf into the condition, not of a private person only, but even of a Servant, that we might be made free? Nor is this to be understood of some internal spiritual Liberty only; how inconsistent else would that Song of his Mothers be with the design of his coming into the World, He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart, he hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek? How ill fitted to their occasion would these expressions be, if the coming of Christ rather established and strengthened a Tyrannical Government, and made a blind Subjeftion the duty of all Chrifrians? He himfelf having been born,
and lived and died under a Tyrannical Government, has thereby purchased Liberty for us. As he gives us his Grace to submit patiently to a condition of Slavery, if there be a necessity of it; so if by any honest ways and means we can rid our selves and obtain our Liberty, he is so far from restraining us, that he encourages us so to do. Hence it is that St. Paul not only of an Evangelical, but also of a Civil Liberty, says thus, 1 Cor. 7. 21. Art thou called being a Servant? care not for it; but if thou maist be made free, use it rather; you are bought with a price, be not ye Servants of Men. So that you are very impertinent in endeavouring to argue us into Slavery by the example of our Saviour; who by submitting to such a condition himself, has confirmed even our Civil Liberties. He took upon him indeed in our stead the form of a Servant, but he always retained his purpose of being a Deliverer; and thence it was that he taught us a quite other notion of the Right of Kings, than this that you endeavour to make good. You, I say, that preach up not Kingship, but Tyranny, and that in a Commonwealth; by enjoying not only a necessary, but a Religious Subjection to whatever Tyrant gets into the Chair, whether he come to it by Succession, or by Conquest, or Chance, or any how. And now I'll turn your own Weapons against you; and oppose you, as I use to do, with your own Authorities. When the Collectors of the Tribute-Money came to Christ for Tribute in Galilee, he asked Peter, Mat. 17. Of whom the Kings of the Earth took custom or tribute, of their own Children, or of Strangers? Peter faith unto him, Of Strangers; Jesus faith unto him, then are the Children free; notwithstanding lest we should offend them, &c. give unto them for thee and for me. Expositors differ upon this place, whom this Tribute was paid to; some say it was paid to the Priests, for the use of the Sanctuary; others that it
was paid to the Emperour. I am of opinion that it was the Revenue of the Sanctuary, but paid to Herod, who perverted the Institution of it, and took it to himself. Josephus mentions divers sorts of Tribute which he and his Sons exacted, all which Agrippa afterwards remitted. And this very Tribute, though small in itself, yet being accompanied with many more, was a heavy burden. The Jews, even the poorest of them in the time of their Commonwealth, paid a Poll, so that it was some considerable oppression that our Saviour spoke of; and from hence he took occasion to tax Herod's Injustice (under whose Government, and within whose Jurisdiction he then was) in that, whereas the Kings of the Earth, who affect usually the Title of Fathers of their Country, do not use to oppress their own Children, that is, their own natural born Subjects with heavy and unreasonable Exactions, but lay such burdens upon strangers, and conquer'd enemies; he, quite contrary, oppressed not strangers, but his own people. But let what will be here meant by Children, either natural born Subjects, or the Children of God, and those the Elect only, or Christians in general, as St. Augustine understands the place; this is certain, that if Peter was a Child, and therefore free, then by consequence we are so too, by our Saviour's own Testimony, either as Englishmen, or as Christians, and that it therefore is not the Right of Kings to exact heavy Tributes from their own Countrymen, and those freeborn Subjects. Christ himself professes, that he paid not this Tribute as a thing that was due, but that he might not bring trouble upon himself by offending those that demanded it. The work that he came into this World to do, was quite of another nature. But if our Saviour deny, that it is the Right of Kings to burden their Free-born Subjects with grievous Exactions; he would certainly much less allow it to be their Right to Spoil, Maf-
Defence of the People of England,
sacre, and Torture their own Countrymen, and those
Christians too. He discoursed after such a manner
of the Right of Kings, that those to whom he spoke,
suspected his Principles, as laying too great a restraint
upon Soveraignty, and not allowing the License that
Tyrants assume to themselves to be the Rights of
Kings. It was not for nothing that the Pharisees put
such Questions to him, tempting him; and that at
the same time they told him, that he regarded not
the Person of any Man: nor was it for nothing that
he was angry when such Questions were propoded to
him, Matth. 22. If one should endeavour to ensnare
you with little Questions, and catch at your Answers,
to ground an Accusation against you upon your own
Principles concerning the Right of Kings, and all this
under a Monarchy, would you be angry with him?
You'd have but very little reason. 'Tis evident, That
our Saviour's Principles concerning Government, were
not agreeable to the Humour of Princes. His An-
swer too implies as much; by which he rather turn'd
them away, than instructed them. He asked for the
Tribute-Money. Whose Image and Supercription is
it, says he? They tell him it was Caesar's. Give then
to Caesar, says he, the things that are Caesar's; and to
God, the things that are God's. And how comes it to
pass, that the People should not have given to them
the things that are theirs? Render to all Men their
dues, says St. Paul, Rom. 13. So that Caesar must not
ingross all to himself. Our Liberty is not Caesar's;
'tis a Blessing we have received from God himself;
'tis what we are born to; to lay this down at Caesar's
feet, which we derive not from him, which we are
not beholden to him for, were an unworthy Action,
and a degrading of our very Nature. If one should
consider attentively the Countenance of a Man, and
enquire after whose Image so noble a Creature were
framed; would not any one that heard him, presently
make answer, That he was made after the Image of God himself? Being therefore peculiarly God’s own, and consequently things that are to be given to him; we are entirely free by Nature, and cannot without the greatest Sacrilege imaginable be reduced into a Condition of Slavery to any Man, especially to a wicked, unjust, cruel Tyrant. Our Saviour does not take upon him to determine what things are God’s, and what Cæsar’s; he leaves that as he found it. If the piece of Money which they shewed him, was the same that was paid to God, as in Vespasian’s time it was; then our Saviour is so far from having put an end to the Controversy, that he has but entangled it, and made it more perplexed than it was before: for ’tis impossible the same thing should be given both to God, and to Cæsar. But, you say, he intimates to them what things were Cæsar’s; to wit, that piece of Money because it bore the Emperor’s Stamp; and what of all that? How does this advantage your Cause? You get not the Emperor, or your self a Penny by this Conclusion. Either Christ allowed nothing at all to be Cæsar’s, but that piece of Money that he then had in his hand, and thereby asserted the Peoples Interest in every thing else; or else, if (as you would have us understand him) he affirms all Money that has the Emperor’s stamp upon it, to be the Emperor’s own, he contradicts himself, and indeed gives the Magistrate a property in every Man’s Estate, when as he himself paid his Tribute-Money with a Protestation, that it was more than what either Peter, or he were bound to do. The ground you rely on, is very weak; for Money bears the Prince’s Image, not as a token of its being his, but of its being good Metal, and that none may presume to counterfeit it. If the writing Princes Names, or setting their Stamps upon a thing, vest the property of it in them, ’twere a good ready way for them to invade all Property. Or
Defence of the People of England,
rather, if whatever Subjects have, be absolutely at their Princes disposal, which is your Assertion, that piece of Money was not Cæsar's, because his Image was stamped on it, but because of Right it belonged to him before 'twas coyn'd. So that nothing can be more manifest, than that our Saviour in this place never intended to teach us our Duty to Magistrates (he would have spoke more plainly if he had) but to reprehend the Malice and Wickedness of the hypocritical Pharisees. When they told him that Herod laid wait to kill him; did he return an humble, submissive Answer? Go, tell that Fox, says he, &c. intimating, that Kings have no other Right to destroy their Subjects, than Foxes have to devour the things they prey upon. Say you, "He suffered Death under "a Tyrant." How could he possibly under any other? But from hence you conclude, that he asserted it to be the Right of Kings to commit Murder, and act Injustice. You'd make an excellent Moralift. But our Saviour, tho he became a Servant, not to make us so, but that we might be free; yet carried he himself so with relation to the Magistracy, as not to ascribe any more to them than their due. Now, let us come at last to enquire what his Doctrine was upon this Subject. The Sons of Zebedee were ambitious of Honour and Power in the Kingdom of Christ, which they persuaded themselves he would shortly set up in the World; he reproves them so, as withal to let all Christians know what Form of Civil Government he desires they should settle amongst themselves. Ye know, says he, that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; and they that are great, exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant. Unless you'd been distracted, you could never have imagined that this place makes
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 75

for you: and yet you urge it, and think it furnishes you with an Argument to prove that our Kings are absolute Lords and Masters over us and ours. May it be our fortune to have to do with such Enemies in War, as will fall blindfold and naked into our Camp instead of their own: as you constantly do, who alledg that for your self, that of all things in the World makes most against you. The Israelites asked God for a King, such a King as other Nations round about them had. God dissuaded them by many Arguments, whereof our Saviour here gives us an Epitome; You know that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them. But yet, because the Israelites persisted in their desire of a King, God gave them one, tho in his Wrath. Our Saviour, left Christians should desire a King, such a one at least as might rule, as he says the Princes of the Gentiles did, prevents them with an Injunction to the contrary; but it shall not be so among you. What can be said plainer than this? That stately, imperious Sway and Dominion that Kings use to exercise, shall not be amongst you; what specious Titles soever they may assume to themselves, as that of Benefactors, or the like. But he that will be great amongst you (and who is greater than the Prince?) let him be your Servant. So that the Lawyer, who ever he be, that you are so smart upon, was not so much out of the way, but had our Saviour's own Authority to back him, when he said that Christian Princes were indeed no other than the People's Servants; 'tis very certain that all good Magistrates are so. Insomuch that Christians either must have no King at all, or if they have, that King must be the People's Servant. Absolute Lordship and Christianity are inconsistent. Moses himself, by whose Ministry that servile Oeconomy of the old Law was instituted, did not exercise an arbitrary, haughty Power and Authority, but bore the burden of the
Defence of the People of England,

People, and carried them in his Bosom, as a Nursing Father does a fucking Child, Numb. 11. and what is that of a Nursing Father, but a Ministerial Employment? Plato would not have the Magistrates called Lords, but Servants and Helpers of the People; nor the People Servants, but Maintainers of their Magistrates, because they give Meat, Drink, and Wages to their Kings themselves. Aristotle calls the Magistrates, Keepers and Ministers of the Laws. Plato, Ministers and Servants. The Apostle calls them Ministers of God; but they are Ministers and Servants of the People, and of the Laws, nevertheless for all that; the Laws and the Magistrates were both created for the good of the People: And yet this is it, that you call the Opinion of the Fanatick Mastiffs in England. I should not have thought the People of England were Mastiff-dogs, if such a Mungril-Cur as thou art, did not bark at them so curriishly. The Master, if it shall please ye, of St. Lupus,* complains it seems that the Mastiffs are mad (Fanatics). Germanus heretofore, whose Colleague that Lupus of Triers was, deposed our Inceftuous King Vortigern by his own Authority. And therefore St. Lupus despises thee, the Master not of a Holy Wolf but of some hunger-starv’d thieving little Wolf or other, as being more contemptible than that Master of Vipers, of whom Martial makes mention, who haft by relation a barking She-Wolf at home too, that domineers over thee most wretchedly; at whose Instigations, as I am informed, thou haft wrote this stuff. And therefore it is the less wonder that thou shouldst endeavour to obtrude an absolute Regal Government upon others, who haft been accustomed to bear a Female Rule so servilely at home thy self. Be therefore, in the Name of God, the Master of a Wolf, left a She-Wolf be

* Lupus in Latin, signifies a wolf.
Anfwer to Salmasius for the King.

thy Miftrefs; be a Wolf thy self, be a Monster made up of a Man, and a Wolf; whatever thou art, the English Maftiffs will but make a laughing-flock of thee. But I am not now at leisure to hunt for Wolves, and will put an end therefore to this Digreffion. You that but a while ago wrote a Book againft all manner of superiority in the Church, now call St. Peter the Prince of the Apoftles. How inconstant you are in your Principles! But what says Peter? Submit your selves to every ordinance of Man, for the Lord's fake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or to Governours, as unto them that are fent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well: for fo is the will of God, &c. This Epiftle Peter wrote, not only to private Perfons, but those Strangers scatter'd and dispers'd through Asia; who in those places where they fojourned, had no other Right, than what the Laws of Hospitality intituled them to. Do you think fuch Mens cafe to be the fame with that of Natives, Free-born Subjects, Nobility, Senates, Assemblies of Estates, Parliaments? Nay, is not the cafe far dif- ferent of private Perfons, tho' in their own Countrey; and Senators, or Magiftrates, without whom, Kings themselves cannot poifibly fubfift? But let us fuppofe that St. Peter had directed his Epiftle to the Natural-born Subjects, and tho' not private persons neither; fuppofe he had writ to the Senate of Rome, What then? No Law that is grounded upon a reafon, ex- prefly fet down in the Law it felf, obligeth further than the reafon of it extends. Be subject, fays he, ὑποτάγητε: That is, according to the genuine fenfe and import of the word, be subordinate, or legally sub- ject. For the Law, Aristotle fays, is Order. Submit for the Lord's fake. Why fo? Because a King is an Officer appointed by God for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well; For fo is the will of God: To wit, that we should submit and
Defence of the People of England,
yield Obedience to such as are here described. There is not a word spoken of any other. You see the ground of this Precept, and how well 'tis laid. The Apostle adds in the 16th verf. as Free; therefore not as Slaves. What now? if Princes pervert the design of Magiftracy, and use the power, that is put into their Hands, to the ruin and destruction of good Men, and the praise and encouragement of evil doers; Must we all be condemn'd to perpetual Slavery, not private persons only, but our Nobility, all our inferior Magiftrates, our very Parliament it self? Is not temporal Government call'd a humane Ordinance? How comes it to pass then, that Mankind should have power to appoint and constitute, what may be good and pro-fitable for one another; and want power to restrain or suppress things that are universally mischievous and destructive? That Prince, you say, to whom St. Peter enjoyns Subjeftion, was Nero the Tyrant: And from thence you infer, that it is our Duty to submit and yield Obedience to such. But it is not certain that this Epiftle was writ in Nero's Reign: 'Tis as likely to have been writ in Claudius's time. And they that are commanded to submit, were private Persons and Strangers; they were no Consuls, no Magiftrates: 'Twas not the Roman Senate, that St. Peter directed his Epiftle to. Now let us hear what use you make of St. Paul (for you take a freedom with the Apof-tles, I find, that you will not allow us to take with Princes; you make St. Peter the chief of them to day, and to morrow put another in his place) St. Paul in his 13th Chap. to the Romans, has these words: Let every Soul be fubjeft unto the higher Powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. I confess he writes this to the Romans, not to Strangers dispers'd, as Peter did; but however he writes to private persons, and those of the meaner rank: And yet he gives us a true, and a clear
account of the reason, the original, and the design of Government; and shows us the true and proper ground of our Obedience, that it's far from imposing a necessity upon us of being Slaves. "Let every "Soul," says he; "that is, let every Man submit." Chrysəfom tells us, "That St. Paul's design in this "Difcourse, was to make it appear, that our Saviour "did not go about to introduce Principles incon-
"sistent with the Civil Government, but such as "strengthned it, and settled it upon the surest Foun-
dations." He never intended then by setting Nero, or any other Tyrant out of the reach of all Laws, to enslave Mankind under his Lust and Cruelty. "He "intended too, says the same Author, to dissuade "from unnecessary and causless Wars." But he does not condemn a War taken up against a Tyrant, a Bosom-Enemy of his own Countrey, and consequently the most dangerous that may be. "'Twas "commonly said in those days, that the Doctrine of "the Apostles was seditious, themselves Persons that "endeavour'd to shake the settled Laws and Govern-
"ment of the World; that this was what they aimed "at in all they said and did." The Apostle in this Chapter stops the mouths of such Gainsayers: So that the Apostles did not write in defence of Tyrants, as you do; but they asserted such things as made them suspected to be Enemies to the Government they liv'd under, things that stood in need of being explained and interpreted, and having another sense put upon them than was generally receiv'd. St. Chry-
əfom has now taught us what the Apostle's design was in this Discourse; let us now examine his Words: Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers. He tells us not what those Higher Powers are, nor who they are, for he never intended to overthrow all Governments, and the several Constitutions of Nations, and subject all to some one Man's will. Every good Emperour
acknowledged that the Laws of the Empire, and the Authority of the Senate was above himself: and the same principle and notion of Government has obtained all along in civiliz'd Nations. Pindar, as he is cited by Herodotus, calls the Law πάντων βασιλεία, King over all. Orpheus in his Hymns calls it the King both of Gods and Men: And he gives the reason why it is so; Because, says he, 'tis that that suits at the helm of all humane affairs. Plato in his Book De Legibus, calls it τὸ χρηματικὸν ἐν τῇ τόλει: that that ought to have the greatest sway in the Commonwealth. In his Epistles he commends that Form of Government, in which the Law is made Lord and Master, and no scope given to any Man to tyrannize over the Laws. Aristotle is of the same opinion in his Politics; and so is Cicero in his Book de Legibus, That the Laws ought to govern the Magistrates as they do the People. The Law therefore having always been accounted the highest Power on Earth, by the judgment of the most learned and wise men that ever were, and by the Constitutions of the best ordered States; and it being very certain that the Doctrine of the Gospel is neither contrary to Reason nor the Law of Nations, that Man is truly and properly subject to the higher Powers who obeys the Law and the Magistrates, so far as they govern according to Law. So that St. Paul does not only command the People, but Princes themselves to be in subjection; who are not above the Laws, but bound by them, For there is no Power but of God: that is no Form, no lawful Constitution of any Government. The most ancient Laws that are known to us, were formerly ascribed to God as their Author. For the Law, says Cicero in his Philippicks, is no other than a rule of well-grounded reason, derived from God himself, enjoying whatever is just and right, and forbidding the contrary. So that the institution of
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 81

Magistracy is *Jure Divino*, and the end of it is, that Mankind might live under certain Laws, and be govern'd by them. But what particular Form of Government each Nation would live under, and what Persons should be entrusted with the Magistracy, without doubt, was left to the choice of each Nation. Hence St. Peter calls Kings and Deputies, *Humane Ordinances*. And Hosea in the 8th Chapter of his Prophecy, *They have set up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not*. For in the Commonwealth of the Hebrews, where upon matters of great and weighty importance they could have access to God himself, and consult with him, they could not choose a King themselves by Law, but were to refer the matter to him. Other Nations have received no such Command. Sometimes the very Form of Government, if it be amiss, or at least those Persons that have the Power in their hands, are not of God, but of Men, or of the Devil, Luke 4. *All this Power will I give unto thee, for it is delivered unto me, and I give it to whom I will*. Hence the Devil is called the Prince of this World; and in the r2th of the Revelations, the Dragon gave to the Beast his Power, and his Throne, and great Authority. So that we must not understand St. Paul, as if he spoke of all sorts of Magistrates in general, but of lawful Magistrates; and so they are described in what follows. We must also understand him of the Powers themselves; not of those Men always, in whose hands they are lodged. St. Chrysostom speaks very well, and clearly upon this occasion. *What? says he, is every Prince then appointed by God to be so? I say no such thing, says he. St. Paul speaks not of the Person of the Magistrate, but of the Magistracy itself*. He does not say, there is no Prince but who is of God. He says there is no Power but of God. Thus far St. Chrysostom; for what Powers are, are ordained of God:
Defence of the People of England,

So that *Paul* speaks only of a lawful Magistracy. For what is evil and amiss, cannot be said to be ordain'd, because 'tis disorderly; Order and Disorder cannot consist together in the same subject. The Apostle says, *The Powers that be*; and you interpret his words as if he had said, *The Powers that now be*; that you may prove that the Romans ought in Conscience to obey Nero, who you take for granted was then Emperor. I'm very well content you should read the words so, and draw that Conclusion from them. The Consequence will be, that English Men ought to yield Obedience to the present Government, as 'tis now establisht according to a new Model; because you must needs acknowledg that it is the present Government, and ordain'd of God, as much at least as Nero's was. And lest you should object that Nero came to the Empire by a Lawful Succession, it's apparent from the *Roman History* that both he and Tiberius got into the Chair by the Tricks and Artifices of their Mothers, and had no right at all to the Succession. So that you are inconsistent with your self, and retract from your own Principles, in affirming that the Romans owed Subjection to the Government that then was; and yet denying that Englishmen owe Subjection to the Government that now is. But 'tis no wonder to hear you contradict your self. There are no two things in the World more directly opposite and contrary to one another, than you are to your self. But what will become of you, poor Wretch? You have quite undone the young King with your Witticisms, and ruin'd his Fortunes utterly; for according to your own Doctrine you must needs confess, that this present Government in England, is ordain'd of God, and that all Englishmen are bound in Conscience to submit to it. Take notice all ye Criticks and Textuaries; Do not you presume to meddle with this Text. Thus *Salmasius*
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 83

corrects that Passage in the Epistle to the Romans: He has made a discovery, that the Words ought not to be read, The Powers that are; but, The Powers that now are: And all this to prove that all Men owed Subjection and Obedience to Nero the Tyrant, whom he supposed to have been then Emperor. This Epistle, which you say was writ in Nero's time, was writ in his Predecessor's time, who was an honest well-meaning Man: And this learned Men evince by undeniable Arguments. But besides, the five first years of Nero's reign were without exception. So that this thredbare Argument, which so many Men have at their Tongues end, and have been deceived by, to wit, that Tyrants are to be obeyed, because St. Paul enjoyns a Subjection to Nero, is evident to have been but a cunning Invention of some ignorant Person. He that resists the Powers, to wit, a lawful Power, resists the Ordinance of God. Kings themselves come under the Penalty of this Law, when they resist the Senate, and act contrary to the Laws. But do they resist the Ordinance of God, that resist an unlawful Power, or a Person that goes about to overthrow and destroy a lawful one? No Man living in his right Wits can maintain such an Assertion. The words immediately after make it as clear as the Sun, that the Apostle speaks only of a lawful power; for he gives us in them a Definition of Magistrates, and thereby explains to us who are the Persons thus authoriz'd, and upon what account we are to yield Obedience, lest we should be apt to mistake and ground extravagant Notions upon his Discourse. The Magistrates, says he, are not a Terror to good works, but to evil; Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the Minister of God to thee for good. He beareth not the Sword in vain: for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath.
Defence of the People of England,

upon him that doth Evil. What honest Man would not willingly submit to such a Magistracy as is here described? And that not only to avoid Wrath, and for fear of Punishment, but for Conscience sake. Without Magistrates, and some Form or other of Civil Government, no Commonwealth, no Humane Society can subsist, there were no living in the World. But whatever Power enables a Man, or whatsoever Magistrate takes upon him to act contrary to what St. Paul makes the Duty of those that are in Authority; neither is that Power, nor that Magistrate ordain’d of God. And consequently to such a Magistracy no Subjection is commanded, nor is any due, nor are the People forbidden to resist such Authority; for in so doing they do not resist the Power, nor the Magistracy, as they are here excellently well described; but they resist a Robber, a Tyrant, an Enemy; who if he may notwithstanding in some sense be called a Magistrate, upon this account only, because he has Power in his hands, which perhaps God may have invested him with for our punishment; by the same reason the Devil may be called a Magistrate. This is most certain, that there can be but one true Definition of one and the same thing. So that if St. Paul in this place define what a Magistrate is, which he certainly does, and that accurately well; He cannot possibly define a Tyrant, the most contrary thing imaginable, in the same words. Hence I infer, that he commands us to submit to such Magistrates only as he himself defines and describes, and not to Tyrants, which are quite other things. For this cause you pay Tribute also: He gives a Reason, together with a Command. Hence St. Chrysostom; Why do we pay Tribute to Princes? Do we not, adds he, thereby reward them for the care they take of our Safety? We should not have paid them any Tribute if we had not been convinc’d that it was
good for us to live under a Government. So that I must here repeat what I have said already, That since Subjection is not absolutely enjoined, but on a particular Reason, that Reason must be the rule of our Subjection: where that Reason holds, we are Rebels if we submit not; where it holds not, we are Cowards and Slaves if we do. But, say you, the English are far from being Freemen; for they are wicked and flagitious. I will not reckon up here the Vices of the French, tho they live under a Kingly Government; neither will I excuse my own Coun-try-men too far: but this I may safely say, whatever Vices they have, they have learnt them under a Kingly Government; as the Israélites learnt a great deal of Wickedness in Egypt. And as they, when they were brought into the Wilderness, and lived under the immediate Government of God himself, could hardly reform, just so 'tis with us. But there are good hopes of many amongst us; that I may not here celebrate those Men who are eminent for their Piety and Virtue, and Love of the Truth; of which sort I perswade myself we have as great a number, as where you think there are most such. But they have laid a heavy yoke upon the English Nation: What if they have, upon those of them that endeavoured to lay a heavy Yoke upon all the rest? Upon those that have deserved to be put under the hatches? As for the rest, I question not but they are very well content to be at the expence of maintaining their own Liberty, the Publick Treasury being exhausted by the Civil Wars. Now he betakes himself to the Fabulous Rabbin again: He afferts frequently, that Kings are bound by no Laws; and yet he proves, That according to the sense of the Rabbin, a King may be guilty of Treason, by suffering an Invasion upon the Rights of his Crown. So Kings are bound by Laws, and they are not bound by them; they may
Defence of the People of England,

be Criminals, and yet they may not be so. This Man contradicts himself so perpetually, that Contradiction and he seem to be of kin to one another. You say that God himself put many Kingdoms under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. I confess he did so for a time, Jer. 27. 7. but do you make appear if you can, that he put the English Nation into a condition of Slavery to Charles Stuart for a minute. I confess he suffered them to be enslaved by him for some time; but I never yet heard that himself appointed it so to be. Or if you will have it so, that God shall be said to put a Nation under Slavery, when a Tyrant prevails; why may he not as well be said to deliver them from his Tyranny, when the People prevail and get the upper hand? Shall his Tyranny be said to be of God, and not our Liberty? There is no evil in the City, that the Lord hath not done, Amos 3. So that Famine, Pestilence, Sedition, War, all of them are of God; and is it therefore unlawful for a People afflicted with any of these Plagues, to endeavour to get rid of them? Certainly they would do their utmost, tho they know them to be sent by God, unless himself miraculously from Heaven should command the contrary: And why may they not by the same reason rid themselves of a Tyrant, if they are stronger than he? Why should we suppose his weakness to be appointed by God for the ruin and destruction of the Commonwealth, rather than the Power and Strength of all the People for the good of the State? Far be it from all Commonwealths, from all Societies of free-born men to maintain not only such pernicious, but such stupid and senseless Principles; Principles that subvert all Civil Society, that to gratifie a few Tyrants, level all Mankind with Brutes; and by setting Princes out of the reach of humane Laws, give them an equal power over both. I pass by those foolish Dilemma's that
you now make, which that you might take occasion to propose, you feign some or other to assert that the superlative power of Princes is derived from the People; though for my own part I do not at all doubt but that all the power that any Magistrates have, is so. Hence Cicero in his Orat. pro Flacco, "Our wise and holy Ancestors, says he, appointed those things to obtain for Laws, that the People enacted." And hence it is that Lucius Crassus, an Excellent Roman Orator, and at that time President of the Senate, when in a Controversie betwixt them and the common People, he asserted their Rights, "I beseech you, says he, suffer not us to live in subjection to any, but your selves, to the entire body of whom we can and ought to submit." For though the Roman Senate govern'd the People, the People themselves had appointed them to be their Governours, and had put that power into their hands. We read the term of Majesty more frequently applied to the People of Rome, than to their Kings. Tully in Orat. pro Plancio, "It is the condition of all free People, (says he) and especially of this People, the Lord of all Nations, by their Votes to give or take away, to or from any as themselves see cause. 'Tis the duty of the Magistrates patiently to submit to what the body of the People enact. Those that are not ambitious of Honour, have the less obligation upon them to court the People; those that affect Pre-ferment, must not be weary of entreating them." Should I scruple to call a King the Servant of his People, when I hear the Roman Senate, that reign'd over so many Kings, profess themselves to be but the Peoples Servants? You'll object perhaps, and say, that all this is very true in a popular State; but the case was altered afterwards, when the Regal Law transferr'd all the People's Right into Augustus and his Successors. But what think you then of Tiberius,
whom your self confess to have been a very great Tyrant, as he certainly was? Suetonius says of him, that when he was once called Lord or Master, though after the enacting of that Lex Regia, he desired the Person that gave him that appellation, to forbear abusing him. How does this sound in your ears? a Tyrant thinks one of his Subjects abuses him in calling him Lord. The same Emperor in one of his Speeches to the Senate, "I have said, says he, frequently heretofore, and now I say it again, that a "good Prince, whom you have invested with so "great power as I am entrusted with, ought to serve "the Senate, and the body of the People, and some-"times even particular Persons; nor do I repent of "having said so: I confess that you have been good, "and just, and indulgent Masters to me, and that "you are yet so." You may say that he dissembled in all this, as he was a great Proficient in the art of Hypocrisie; but that's all one. No man endeavours to appear otherwise than he ought to be. Hence Tacitus tells us, that it was the custom in Rome for the Emperours in the Circus, to worship the People; and that both Nero and other Emperours practised it. Claudian in his Panegyrick upon Honorius mentions the same custom. By which sort of Adoration what could possibly be meant, but that the Emperours of Rome, even after the enacting of the Lex Regia, confessed the whole body of the People to be their Superiors? But I find, as I suspected at first, and so I told ye, that you have spent more time and pains in turning over Glossaries, and criticizing upon Texts, and propagating such like laborious Trifles, than in reading sound Authors so as to improve your knowledge by them. For had you been never so little versed in the Writings of learned Men in former Ages, you would not have accounted an opinion new, and the product of some Enthusiaftick Heads, which
has been asserted and maintained by the greatest Philosophers, and most famous Politicians in the World. You endeavour to expose one Martin, who you tell us was a Taylor, and one William a Tanner; but if they are such as you describe them, I think they and you may very well go together; though they themselves would be able to instruct you, and unfold those Mysterious Riddles that you propose: as, whether or no they that in a Monarchy would have the King but a Servant to the Commonwealth, will say the same thing of the whole body of the People in a popular State? And whether all the People serve in a Democracy, or only some part or other serve the rest? And when they have been an Oedipus to you, by my consent you shall be a Sphinx to them in good earnest, and throw your self head-long from some precipice or other, and break your neck; for else I'm afraid you'll never have done with your Riddles and Fooleries. You ask, Whether or no, when St. Paul names Kings, he meant the People? I confess St. Paul commands us to pray for Kings, but he had commanded us to pray for the People before, ver. 1. But there are some for all that, both among Kings and common People, that we are forbidden to pray for; and if a man must not so much as be prayed for, may he not be punished? What should hinder? But, when Paul wrote this Epistle, he that reigned was the most profligate Person in the World. That's false. For Ludovicus Capellus makes it evident, that this Epistle likewise was writ in Claudius's time. When St. Paul has occasion to speak of Nero, he calls him not a King, but a Lion; that is, a wild, savage Beast, from whose jaws he is glad he was delivered, 2 Tim. 4. So that it is for Kings, not for Beasts that we are to pray, that under them we may live a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. Kings and their Interest are not the things here intended to be advanced and secured; 'tis the
Defence of the People of England,
publick Peace, Godliness and Honesty, whose establishment we are commanded to endeavour after, and to pray for. But is there any People in the World that would not chuse rather to live an honest and careful Life, tho never free from War and Troubles, in the defence of themselves and their Families, whether against Tyrants or Enemies (for I make no difference) than under the power of a Tyrant or an Enemy to spin out a Life equally troublesome, accompanied with Slavery and Ignominy? That the latter is the more desirable of the two, I'll prove by a Testimony of your own; not because I think your Authority worth quoting, but that all Men may observe how double-tongued you are, and how mercenary your Pen is. "Who would not rather, say "you, bear with those diffensions that through the " emulation of great Men often happen in an Arif- " tocratical Government, than live under the Tyran- " nical Government of one, where nothing but certain " misery and ruin is to be look'd for? The People " of Rome preferr'd their Commonwealth, tho never " so much shatter'd with civil Broils, before the in- " tolerable Yoke of their Emperors. When a People " to avoid Sedition, submits to a Monarchy, and finds " by experience, that this is the worst evil of the two, " they often desire to return to their former Govern- " ment again." These are your own words, and more you have to this purpose in that Discourse concerning Bishops, which under a feigned name you wrote against Petavius the Jesuit; though your self are more a Jesuit than he, nay worse than any of that Crew. We have already heard the sense of the Scripture upon this Subject; and it has been worth our while to take some pains to find it out. But perhaps it will not be so to enquire into the Judgment of the Fathers, and to ransack their Volumes: for if they assert any thing which is not warranted by the
Word of God, we may safely reject their authority, be it never so great; and particularly that expression that you alleged out of Irenæus, "That God in his Providence orders it so, that such Kings reign as are suitable to, and proper for the People they are to govern, all Circumstances considered." That expression, I say, is directly contrary to Scripture. For though God himself declared openly that it was better for his own people to be governed by Judges than by Kings, yet he left it to them to change that Form of Government for a worse, if they would themselves. And we read frequently, that when the body of the People has been good, they have had a wicked King, and contrariwise that a good King has sometimes reign'd when the People have been wicked. So that wise and prudent Men are to consider and see what is profitable and fit for the People in general; for it is very certain that the same Form of Government is not equally convenient for all Nations, nor for the same Nation at all times; but sometimes one, sometimes another may be more proper, according as the industry and valour of the People may increale or decay. But if you deprive the People of this liberty of setting up what Government they like best among themselves, you take that from them, in which the life of all Civil Liberty consists. Then you tell us of Justin Martyr, of his humble and submissive behaviour to the Antonines, those best of Emperours; as if any body would not do the like to Princes of such moderation as they were. "How much worse "Christians are we in these days, than those were? "They were content to live under a Prince of another "Religion." Alas! They were private Persons, and infinitely inferior to the contrary party in strength and number. But now Papists will not endure a Protestant Prince, nor Protestants one that is Popish. You do well and discreetly, in showing your self to be
neither Papist nor Protestant. And you are very liberal in your concessions; for now you confess that all sorts of Christians agree in that very thing, that you alone take upon you with so much impudence and wickedness to cry down and oppose. And how unlike those Fathers that you commend, do you show your self? They wrote Apologies for the Christians to Heathen Princes; you in defence of a wicked Popish King, against Christians and Protestants. Then you entertain us with a number of impertinent quotations out of Athenagoras and Tertullian: Things that we have already heard out of the Writings of the Apostles, much more clearly and intelligibly express'd. But Tertullian was quite of a different opinion from yours, of a King's being a Lord and Master over his Subjects: Which you either knew not, or wickedly dissembled. For he, though he were a Christian, and directed his discourse to a Heathen Emperor, had the confidence to tell him, that an Emperor ought not to be called Lord. "Augustus himself, says he, that formed this Empire, refus'd that appellation: 'Tis a Title proper to God only. Not but that the Title of Lord and Master may in some sense be ascribed to the Emperor: But there is a peculiar sense of that word, which is proper to God only; and in that sense, I will not ascribe it to the Emperor. I am the Emperor's free-man. God alone is my Lord and Master." And the same Author, in the same discourse; "how inconsistent, says he, are those two Appellations, Father of his Countrey, and Lord and Master?" And now I wish you much joy of Tertullian's authority, whom it had been a great deal better you had let alone. But Tertullian calls them Parricides that slew Domitian. And he does well, for so they were, his Wife and Servants conspir'd against him. And they set one Parthenius and Stephanus, who were accus'd for concealing part of the
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 93

publick Treasure, to make him away. If the Senate and the People of Rome had proceeded against him according to the custom of their Ancestors; had given Judgment of Death against him, as they did once against Nero; and had made search for him to put him to death; do you think Tertullian would have called them Parricides? If he had, he would have deserv'd to be hang'd, as you do. I give the same answer to your quotation out of Origen, that I have given already to what you have cited out of Irenæus. Athanajuus indeed says, that Kings are not accountable before humane Tribunals. But I wonder who told Athanajuus this? I do not hear that he produces any authority from Scripture, to confirm this assertion. And I'll rather believe Kings and Emperors themselves, who deny that they themselves have any such Privilege, than I will Athanajuus. Then you quote Ambrosius, who after he had been a Proconsul, and after that became a Catechumen, at last got into a Bishoprick: But for his authority, I say, that his Interpretation of those words of David, against thee only have I sinned, is both ignorant and adulatory. He was willing all others should be enthral'd to the Emperor, that he might enthrall the Emperor to himself. We all know with what a Papal Pride and Arrogancy he treated Theodosius the Emperor, how he took upon him to declare him guilty of that Massacre at Thessalonica, and to forbid him coming into the Church; how miserably raw in Divinity, and unacquainted with the Doctrine of the Gospel, he shewed himself upon that occasion; when the Emperor fell down at his feet, he commanded him to get him out of the Porch. At last, when he was received again into the Communion of the Church, and had offered, because he continued standing near to the Altar, the Magisterial Prelate commanded him out of the Rails; O Emperor, says he, these inner
places are for the Priests only, 'tis not lawful for others to come within them! Does this sound like the behaviour of a Minister of the Gospel, or like that of a Jewish High-Priest? And yet this man, such as we hear he was, would have the Emperor ride other People, that himself might ride him, which is a common trick of almost all Ecclesiastics. With words to this purpose, he put back the Emperor as inferior to himself: You rule over men, said he, that are partakers of the same Nature, and Fellow-servants with your self: For there is one only Lord and King over all, to wit, the Creator of all. This is very pretty! This piece of truth, which the craft and flattery of Clergymen has all along endeavoured to suppress and obscure, was then brought to light by the furious passion, or to speak more mildly, by the ignorant indiscreet zeal of one of them. After you have displai'd Ambrose's ignorance, you show your own, or rather, vent a Herefie in affirming point blank, That under the Old Testament, there was no such thing as forgiveness of Sins upon the account of Christ's sufferings, since David confess'd his transgression, saying, Against thee only have I sinned, P. 68. 'Tis the Orthodox Tenet, that there never was any remission of Sins, but by the blood of the Lamb that was slain from the beginning of the World. I know not whose Disciple you are, that set up for a Broacher of new Heresies: but certain I am, that that great Divine's Disciple whom you are so angry with, did not mistake himself, when he said that any one of David's Subjects might have said, against thee only have I sinned, as properly, and with as much right, as David himself. Then you quote St. Augustine, and produce a company of Hipponensis Divines. What you alledged out of St. Austin, makes not at all against us. We confess that, as the Prophet Daniel has it, it's God that changeth times, sets up one
Kingdom, and pulls down another; we only desire to have it allow'd us, that he makes use of Men as his Instruments. If God alone gave a Kingdom to King Charles, God alone has taken it from him again, and given it to the Parliament, and to the People. If therefore our Allegiance was due to King Charles, because God had given him a Kingdom; for the same reason it is now due to the present Magistracy. For your self confess, that God has given our Magistrates such power as he uses to give to wicked Princes, for the punishment of the Nation. And the consequence of this will be, that according to your own opinion, our present Magistrates being rais'd and appointed by God, cannot lawfully be deposed by any, but God himself. Thus you overthrow the opinion you pretend to maintain, which is a thing very frequent with you: Your Apology for the King, carries its deaths-wound in it. You have attained to such a prodigious degree of Madness and Stupidity, as to prove it unlawful upon any account whatsoever, to lift up ones finger against Magistrates, and with the very next breath to affirm that it's the duty of their subjects to rise up in Rebellion against them. You tell us that St. Jerom calls Ifmael that slew Gedalia, a Parricide or Traytor: And it is very true, that he was so: For Gedalia was Deputy Governour of Judea, a good man, and slain by Ifmael without any cause. The same Author in his Comment upon the Book of Ecclesiastes, says, that Solomon's command to keep the King's Commandment, is the same with St. Paul's Doctrine, upon the same subject; and deserves commendation for having made a more moderate Construction of that Text, than most of his Contemporaries. You say you will forbear enquiring into the Sentiments of Learned Men that lived since St. Augustine's time: but to shew that you had rather dispence with a Lie, than not quote any Author that
you think makes for you, in the very next period but one, you produce the Authorities of Isidore, Gregory, and Otho, Spanish and Dutch Authors, that liv’d in the most barbarous and ignorant ages of all; whose Authorities, if you knew how much we despise, you would not have told a Lie to have quoted them. But would you know the reason why he dares not come so low as to the present times? Why he does as it were hide himself, and disappear, when he comes towards our own times? The reason is, Because he knows full well, that as many Eminent Divines as there are of the Reformed Church, so many Adversaries he would have to encounter. Let him take up the Cudgels, if he thinks fit; he will quickly find himself run down with innumerable Authorities out of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, Martyr, Paræus, and the rest. I could oppose you with Testimonies out of Divines that have flourished even in Leyden. Though that famous University and renowned Commonwealth, which has been as it were a Sanctuary for Liberty, those Fountains and Streams of all Polite Learning, have not yet been able to wash away that slavish Rust that sticks to you, and infuse a little Humanity into you. Finding your self destitute of any assistance or help from Orthodox Protestant Divines, you have the impudence to betake your self to the Sorbonists, whose College you know is devoted to the Romish Religion, and consequently but of very weak authority amongst Protestants. We are willing to deliver so wicked an affetter of Tyranny as you, to be drown’d in the Sorbon, as being ashamed to own so despicable a Slave as you shew your self to be, by maintaining that the whole body of a Nation is not equal in power to the most slothful degenerate Prince that may be. You labour in vain to lay that upon the Pope, which all free Nations, and all Orthodox Divines own and assert. But the Pope and
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 97

his Clergy, when they were in a low Condition, and
but of small account in the World, were the first
Authors of this pernicious absurd Doctrine of yours:
and when by preaching such Doctrine they had gotten
power into their own hands, they became the worst
of Tyrants themselves. Yet they engaged all Princes
to them by the closest yst imaginable, perswading
the World that was now besotted with their Super-
stitution, that it was unlawful to depose Princes tho
never so bad, unless the Pope dispensed with their
Allegiance to them, by absolving them from their
Oaths. But you avoid Orthodox Writers, and endea-
vour to burden the truth with prejudice and calumny,
by making the Pope the first assertor of what is a
known and common received Opinion amongst them;
which if you did not do it cunningly, you would
make your self appear to be neither Papist nor Pro-
testant, but a kind of a Mongrel Idumean Herodian.
For as they of old adored one moft inhumane bloody
Tyrant for the Messias, so you would have the World
fall down and worship all. You boast that you have
confirm’d your Opinion by the Testimonies of the Fathers
that flourished in the four first Centuries; whose Writings
only are Evangelical, and according to the truth of the
Christian Religion. This man is past all shame! how
many things did they preach, how many things have
they published, which Christ and his Apostles never
taught? How many things are there in their Writings,
in which all Protestant Divines differ from them? But
what is that Opinion that you have confirm’d by
their Authorities? Why, That evil Princes are ap-
pointed by God. Allow that, as all other pernicious
and destructive things are. What then? why, that
therefore they have no Judge but God alone, that they
are above all humane Laws; that there is no Law,
written or unwritten, no Law of Nature, nor of God,
to call them to account before their own Subjects. But
Defence of the People of England,

how comes that to pass? Certain I am, that there is no Law against it: No Penal Law except Kings. And all reason and justice requires, that those that offend, should be punished according to their deserts, without respect of Persons. Nor have you hitherto produced any one Law, either written or unwritten, of God or of Nature, by which this is forbidden. What stands in the way then? Why may not Kings be proceeded against? why, because they are appointed by God, be they never so bad. I do not know whether I had best call you a Knave, or a Fool, or ignorant, unlearned Barbarian. You show your self a vile Wretch, by propagating a Doctrine so destructive and pernicious; and y'are a Fool for backing it with such silly Arguments. God says in Isa. 54. I have created the slayer to destroy. Then by your reason a Murderer is above the Laws. Turn this topsy turvy, and consider it as long as you will, you'll find the Consequence to be the same with your own. For the Pope is appointed by God, just as Tyrants are, and set up for the punishment of the Church, which I have already demonstrated out of your own Writings; And yet, say you, Wal. Mes. pag. 412. because he has raised his Primacy to an insufferable height of power, so as that he has made it neither better nor worse than plain downright Tyranny, both he and his Bishops may be put down more lawfully than they were at first set up. You tell us that the Pope and the Bishops (tho God in his wrath appointed them) may yet lawfully be rooted out of the Church, because they are Tyrants; and yet you deny that 'tis lawful to depose a Tyrant in the Commonwealth, and that for no other reason than because God appointed him, tho he did it in his anger. What ridiculous stuff this is! for whereas the Pope cannot hurt a Man's Conscience against his own will, for in the Consciences of Men it is that his Kingdom consists, yet you are for depoing him
as a grievous Tyrant, in whose own power it is not to be a Tyrant; and yet you maintain that a Tyrant properly and truly so called, a Tyrant that has all our Lives and Estates within his reach, without whose assistance the Pope himself could not exercise his Tyranny in the Church, ought for Conscience sake to be born withal and submitted to. These assertions compar'd with one another betray your Childishness to that degree, that no Man can read your Books, but must of necessity take notice of your ignorance, rashness, and incogitancy. But you allege another reason, _Humane Affairs would be turn'd upside down._ They would so, and be chang'd for the better. Humane Affairs would certainly be in a deplorable condition, if being once troubled and disorder'd, there were a necessity of their continuing always so. I say, they would be chang'd for the better, for the King's power would revert to the People, from whom it was first derived and conferred upon one of themselves; and the power would be transferred from him that abused it, to them that were prejudiced and injured by the abuse of it; than which nothing can be more just, for there could not well be an _Umpire_ in such a case; Who would stand to the judgment of a Foreigner? all Mankind would equally be subject to the Laws; there would be no Gods of flesh and blood: Which kind of Deities whoever goes about to set up in the World, they are equally injurious to Church and Commonwealth. Now I must turn your own Weapons upon you again. You say, _There can be no greater Herefy than this, to set up one Man in Chrift's Seat._ These two are infallible marks of Antichrift, Infallibility in Spirituals, and Omnipotence in Temporals. _Apparat. ad Prim. pag. 171._ Do you pretend that Kings are infallible? If you do not, why do you make them Omnipotent? And how comes it to pass that an unlimited power in one Man should be accounted
Defence of the People of England,

less destructive to Temporal things, than it is to Ecclesiastical? Or do you think that God takes no care at all of Civil Affairs? If he takes none himself, I'm sure he does not forbid us to take care which way they go. If he does take any care about them, certainly he would have the same Reformation made in the Commonwealth, that he would have made in the Church, especially it being obvious to every Man's experience that Infallibility and Omnipotency being arrogated to one Man, are equally mischievous in both. God has not so modelled the Government of the World as to make it the duty of any Civil Community to submit to the Cruelties of Tyrants, and yet to leave the Church at liberty to free themselves from Slavery and Tyranny: nay, rather quite contrary, he has put no Arms into the Churches hand but those of Patience and Innocence, Prayer and Ecclesiastical Discipline; but the Commonwealth, all the Magistracy are by him entrusted with the preservation and execution of the Laws, with the power of punishing and revenging; he has put the Sword into their hands. I cannot but smile at this Man's preposterous whimsies; in Ecclesiasticks he's Helvidius, Thraseas, a perfect Tyrannicide. In Politics no Man more a Lackey and Slave to Tyrants than he. If his Doctrine hold, not we only that have depo'd our King, but the Protestants in general, who against the minds of their Princes have rejected the Pope, are all Rebels alike. But I've confounded him long enough with his own Arguments. Such is the nature of the Beast, left his Adversary should be unprovided, he himself furnishes him with Weapons. Never did any Man give his Antagonist greater advantages against himself than he does. They that he has to do withal, will be sooner weary of pursuing him, than he of flying.
Perhaps you think, Salmasius, that you have done enough to ingratiate your self with Princes; that you have deserved well of 'em: but if they consider their own Interest, and take their measures according to what it really is, not according to the false Gloss that your flatteries have put upon it, there never was any Man in the World that deserved so ill of 'em as you, none more destructive and pernicious to them and their interest in the whole World than your self. For by exalting the Power of Kings above all Humane Laws, you tell all Mankind that are subject to such a Government, that they are no better than Slaves, and make them but the more desirous of Liberty by discovering to them their error, and putting that into their heads that they never so much as dreamt of before, to wit, that they are Slaves to their Princes. And without doubt such a sort of Government will be more irksome and unsufferable, by how much the more you persuade the World, that it is not by the allowance and submission of Nations, that Kings have obtained this exorbitant Power; but that it is absolutely essential to such a form of Government, and of the nature of the thing it self. So that whether you make the World of your mind or no, your Doctrine must needs be mischievous and destructive, and such as cannot but be abhorred of all Princes. For if you should work men into a persuasion that the Right of Kings is without all bounds, they would no longer be subject to a Kingly Government; if you miss of your aim, yet you make men weary of Kings, by telling them that they assume such a power to themselves, as of right belonging to them. But if Princes will allow of those Principles
that I affirm; if they will suffer themselves and their own power to be circumscribed by Laws, instead of an uncertain, weak and violent Government, full of cares and fears, they will reign peaceably, quietly, and securely. If they flight this counsel of mine, though wholesome in its self, because of the meanness of the Author, they shall know that it is not my counsel only, but what was ancientsly advised by one of the wisest of Kings. For Lycurgus King of Lacedemon, when he observed that his own Relations that were Princes of Argos and Messana, by endeavouring to introduce an Arbitrary Government, had ruin'd themselves and their People; he, that he might benefit his Country, and secure the Succession to his own Family, could think upon no better expedient, than to communicate his Power to the Senate, and taking the great Men of the Realm into part of the Government with himself; and by this means the Crown continued in his Family for many ages. But whether it was Lycurgus, or, as some learned men are of opinion, Theopompus, that introduced that mixt Form of Government among the Lacedemonians, somewhat more than a hundred years after Lycurgus's time (of whom it is recorded, that he used to boast, that by advancing the Power of the Senate above that of the Prince, he had settled the Kingdom upon a sure Foundation, and was like to leave it in a lasting and durable condition to his Posterity) which of them soever it was, I say, he has left a good Example to Modern Princes; and was as creditable a Counsellor, as his Counsel was safe. For that all men should submit to any one man, so as to acknowledg a Power in him superior to all humane Laws, neither did any Law ever enact, nor indeed was it possible that any such Law should ever be; for that cannot be said to be a Law, that strikes at the root of all Laws, and takes them quite away. It being appa-
rent that your Positions are inconsistent with the nature of all Laws, being such as render them no Laws at all. You endeavour notwithstanding, in this Fourth Chapter, to make good by Examples, what you have not been able to do by any Reasons that you have alleged hitherto. Let's consider whether your Examples help your Cause; for they many times make things plain, which the Laws are either altogether silent in, or do but hint at. We'll begin first with the Jews, whom we suppose to have known most of the mind of God; and then, according to your own method, we'll come to the Times of Christianity. And first, for those Times in which the Israelites being subject to Kings, who, or whosoever they were, did their utmost to cast that slavish yoke from off their necks. Eglon the King of Moab had made a Conquest of them; the Seat of his Empire was at Jericho; he was no contemner of the true God; when his Name was mentioned, he rose from his Seat: The Israelites had served him eighteen Years; they sent a Present to him, not as to an Enemy, but to their own Prince; notwithstanding which outward Veneration and Profession of Subjection, they kill him by a wile, as an Enemy to their Country. You'll say perhaps, that Ehud, who did that action, had a Warrant from God for so doing. He had so, 'tis like; and what greater Argument of its being a warrantable and praise-worthy action? God uses not to put Men upon things that are unjust, treacherous and cruel, but upon such things as are vertuous and laudable. But we read no where that there was any positive Command from Heaven in the case. The Israelites called upon God; So did we. And God stirr'd up a Saviour for them; so he did for us. Eglon of a Neighbouring Prince became a Prince of the Jews; of an Enemy to them he became their King. Our Gentleman of an English King be-
Defence of the People of England,
came an Enemy to the English Nation; so that he ceas'd to be a King. Those Capacities are inconsistent. No Man can be a Member of the State, and an Enemy to it at the same time. Antony was never lookt upon by the Romans as a Consul, nor Nero as an Emperor, after the Senate had voted them both Enemies. This Cicero tells us in his Fourth Phillipick: If Antony be a Consul, says he, Brutus is an Enemy; but if Brutus be a Saviour and Preserver of the Commonwealth, Antony is an Enemy: none but robbers count him a Consul. By the same reason, say I, who but Enemies to their Countrey look upon a Tyrant as a King? So that Eglon's being a Foreigner, and King Charles a Prince of our own, will make no difference in the case; both being Enemies, and both Tyrants, they are in the same circumstances. If Ehud kill'd him justly, we have done so too in putting our King to death. Sampson that Renowned Champion of the Hebrews, tho his Countrey-men blam'd him for it, Dost thou not know, say they, that the Philistines have dominion over us? Yet against those Philistines, under whose Dominion he was, he himself undertook a War in his own Person, without any other help; and whether he act'd in pursuance of a Command from Heaven, or was prompted by his own Valour only; or whatsoever inducement he had, he did not put to death one, but many that tyrannized over his Countrey, having first called upon God by Prayer, and implored his Assistance. So that Sampson counted it no act of Impiety, but quite contrary, to kill those that enslaved his Countrey, tho they had dominion over himself too; and tho the greater part of his Country-men submitted to their Tyranny. But yet David who was both a King and a Prophet, would not take away Saul's life, because he was God's anointed. Does it follow that because David refused to do a thing, therefore we are obliged not
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 105
to do that very thing? David was a private Person, and would not
to kill the King; is that a precedent for a Parliament, for a whole Nation? David would not
revenge his own Quarrel, by putting his Enemy to death by stealth; does it follow that therefore the
Magistrates must not punish a Malefactor according to Law? He would not kill a King; Must not an
Assembly of the States therefore punish a Tyrant? He scrupled the killing of God's anointed; Must the
People therefore scruple to condemn their own anointed? Especially one that after having so long
professed Hostility against his own People, had wash'd off that anointing of his, whether Sacred or Civil,
with the Blood of his own Subjects. I confess that those Kings whom God by his Prophets anointed to
be Kings, or appointed to some special service, as he did Cyrus, Isa. 44. may not improperly be called the
Lord's anointed; but all other Princes, according to the several ways of their coming to the Government,
are the People's anointed, or the Army's, or many times the anointed of their own Faction only. But
taking it for granted, That all Kings are God's anointed, you can never prove, That therefore they
are above all Laws, and not to be called in question, what Villanies foever they commit. What if David
laid a charge upon himself and other private Persons not to stretch forth their hands against the Lords
anointed? Does not God himself command Princes not so much as to touch his anointed? Which were no
other than his People, Psal. 105. He preferred that anointing wherewith his People were anointed, be-
fore that of Kings, if any such thing were. Would any man offer to infer from this place of the Psalmist,
That Believers are not to be called in question, tho they offend against the Laws, because God commands
Princes not to touch his Anointed? King Solomon was about to put to death Abiathar the Priest, tho
he were *God's Anointed* too; and did not spare him because of his *Anointing*, but because he had been his Father's Friend. If that Sacred and Civil Anointing, wherewith the High-Priest of the *Jews* was anointed, whereby he was not only constituted High-Priest, but a Temporal Magistrate in many cases, did not exempt him from the Penalty of the Laws; how comes a Civil Anointing only to exempt a Tyrant? But you say, *Saul was a Tyrant, and worthy of death*: What then? It does not follow, that because he deserved it, that *David* in the circumstances he was then under, had power to put him to death without the People's Authority, or the Command of the Magistracy. But was *Saul* a Tyrant? I wish you would say so; indeed you do so, though you had said before in your Second Book, page 32. That *he was no Tyrant, but a good King, and chosen of God*. Why should false Accusers, and Men guilty of Forgery be branded, and you escape without the like ignominious Mark? For they practise their Villanies with less Treachery and Deceit than you write, and treat of matters of the greatest moment. *Saul* was a good King, when it serv'd your turn to have him so; and now he's a Tyrant, because it sutes with your present purpose. But 'tis no wonder that you make a Tyrant of a good King; for your Principles look as if they were invented for no other design, than to make all good Kings so. But yet *David*, tho he would not put to death his Father-in-Law, for Causes and Reasons that we have nothing to do withal, yet in his own Defence he raised an Army, took and possessed Cities that belong'd to *Saul*, and would have defended *Keilah* against the King's Forces, had he not understood that the Citizens would be false to him. Suppose *Saul* had besieged the Town, and himself had been the first that had scal'd the Walls; do you think *David* would presently have thrown down his Arms,
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 107

and have betray’d all those that assisted him to his anointed Enemy? I believe not. What reason have we to think David would have stuck to do what we have done, who when his Occasions and Circumstances so required, proffered his Assistance to the Philistines, who were then the professed Enemies of his Country, and did that against Saul, which I am sure we should never have done against our Tyrant? I’m weary of mentioning your Lies, and ashamed of them. You say, ’tis a Maxim of the English, That Enemies are rather to be spared than Friends; and that therefore we conceived we ought not to spare our King’s Life, because he had been our Friend. You impudent Lyar, what Mortal ever heard this Whimsey before you invented it? But we’ll excuse it. You could not bring in that threbarbare Flourish, of our being more fierce than our own Mastiffs (which now comes in the fifth time, and will as oft again before we come to the end of your Book) without some such Introduction. We are not so much more fierce than our own Mastiffs, as you are more hungry than any Dog whatsoever, who return so greedily to what you have vomited up so often. Then you tell us, That David commanded the Amalekite to be put to death, who pretended to have killed Saul. But that Instance, neither in respect of the Fact, nor the Person, has any Affinity with what we are discoursing of. I do not well understand what cause David had to be so severe upon that Man, for pretending to have hastned the King’s death, and in effect but to have put him out of his pain, when he was dying; unless it were to take away from the Israelites all suspicion of his own having been instrumental in it, whom they might look upon as one that had revolted to the Philistines, and was part of their Army. Just such another Action as this of David’s, do all Men blame in Domitian, who put to death Epaphroditus, because
he had helped \textit{Nero} to kill himself. After all this, as another instance of your Impudence, you call him not only the \textit{anointed of the Lord}, but \textit{the Lord's Christ}, who a little before you had said was a Tyrant, and acted by the impulse of some evil Spirit. Such mean thoughts you have of that Reverend Name, that you are not ashamed to give it to a Tyrant, whom you your self confess to have been possessed with the Devil. Now I come to that Precedent, from which every Man that is not blind must needs infer the Right of the People to be superior to that of Kings. When \textit{Solomon} was dead, the People assembled themselves at \textit{Sichem} to make \textit{Rehoboam} King. Thither himself went, as one that stood for the place, that he might not seem to claim the Succession as his Inheritance, nor the same Right over a freeborn People that every Man has over his Father's Sheep and Oxen. The People propose Conditions, upon which they were willing to admit him to the Government. He desires three days time to advise; he consults with the old Men; they tell him no such thing, as that he had an absolute Right to succeed, but persuade him to comply with the People, and speak them fair, it being in their Power whether he should reign or not. Then he advises with the young Men that were brought up with him; they, as if \textit{Salmasius's Phrensy} had taken them, thunder this Right of Kings into his Ears; persuade him to threaten the People with \textit{Whips and Scorpions}: And he answered the People as they advised him. When all \textit{Israel} saw that the King hearkned not to them, then they openly protest the Right of the People, and their own Liberty; \textit{What portion have we in David? To thy Tents, O Israel: now look to thine own House, David.} When the King sent \textit{Adoram} to them, they stoned him with Stones, and perhaps they would not have stuck to have serv'd the King himself so, but he made haste and got out
The next News is of a great Army rais'd by Rehoboam to reduce the Israelites to their Allegiance. God forbids him to proceed, Go not up, says he, to war against your Brethren the Children of Israel; for this thing is of me. Now consider; herefore the People had desired a King; God was displeased with them for it, but yet permitted them to make a King, according to that Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governors. Now the People reject Rehoboam from ruling them; and this God not only suffers them to do, but forbids Rehoboam to make War against them for it, and stops him in his undertaking; and teaches him withal, that those that had revolted from him, were not Rebels in so doing; but that he ought to look upon them as Brethren. Now recollect your self: You say that all Kings are of God, and that therefore the People ought not to resist them, be they never such Tyrants. I answer you, The Convention of the People, their Votes, their Acts, are likewise of God, and that by the Testimony of God himself in this place; and consequently according to your Argument, by the Authority of God himself, Princes ought not to resist the People. For as certain as it is, that Kings are of God, and whatever Argument you may draw from thence to enforce a Subjection and Obedience to them: So certain is it, that free Assemblies of the Body of the People are of God, and that naturally affords the same Argument for their Right of restraining Princes from going beyond their Bounds, and rejecting them if there be occasion; nor is their so doing a justifiable Cause of War, any more than the People of Israel's rejecting Rehoboam was. You ask, why the People did not revolt from Solomon? Who but you would ask such an impertinent Question? You see they did revolt from a Tyrant, and were neither punished, nor blam'd
for it. It is true, Solomon fell into some Vices, but he was not therefore a Tyrant; he made amends for his Vices by many excellent Vertues, that he was famous for, by many Benefits which accrued to the Nation of the Jews by his Government. But admit that he had been a Tyrant: Many times the Circumstances of a Nation are such, that the People will not, and many times such, that they cannot depose a Tyrant. You see they did it when it was in their Power. But, say you, Jeroboam's Act was ever had in Detestation; 'twas looked upon as an unjust revolt from a lawful Prince; he and his Successors were accounted Rebels. I confess we find his revolt from the true Worship of God often found fault with; but I no where find him blam'd for revolting from Rehoboam; and his Successors are frequently spoken of as wicked Princes, but not as Rebels. Acting contrary to Law and Right, say you, cannot introduce, or estabish a Right. I pray, what becomes then of your Right of Kings? Thus do you perpetually baffle your self. You say, Adulteries, Murders, Thefts are daily committed with impunity. Are you not aware, that here you give an answer to your own Question, how it comes to pass, that Tyrants do so often escape unpunished? You say, Those Kings were Rebels, and yet the Prophets do no where dissuade the People from their Allegiance. And why do you, ye rascallly false Prophet, endeavour to dissuade the People of England not to yield Obedience to their present Magistrates, tho in your Opinion they are Rebels? This English Faction of Robbers, say you, alledg for themselves, that by some immediate Voice from Heaven, they were put upon their bloody Enterprize. It is notoriously evident, that you were distracted when you wrote these Lines; for as you have put the words together, they are neither Latin, nor Sense. And that the English pretend to any
such warrant, as a Justification of their Actions, is one of those many Lies and Fictions that your Book is full of. But I proceed to urge you with Examples. Libna, a great City, revolted from Joram, because he had forsaken God; 'twas the King therefore that was guilty, not the City, nor is the City blam'd for it. He that considers the reason that's given why that City rejected his Government, must conclude that the Holy Ghost rather approves of what they did, then condemns them for it. These kind of revolts are no precedents, say you. But why were you then so vain, as to promise in the beginning of this Chapter, that you would argue from Examples, whereas all the Examples that you alledg, are meer Negatives, which prove nothing? and when we urge Examples that are solid and positive, you say they are no Precedents. Who would endure such a way of arguing? You challenged us at Precedents; we produced them; and what do you do? You hang back, and get out of the way. I proceed: Jehu at the Command of a Prophet, slew a King; nay, he ordered the death of Ahaziab, his own Liege Prince. If God would not have Tyrants put to death by their own Subjects, if it were a wicked thing so to do, a thing of a bad Example; why did God himself command it? If he commanded it, it was a lawful, commendable, and a praise-worthy Action. It was not therefore lawful to kill a Tyrant, because God commanded it; but God commanded it, because antecedently to his Command, it was a justifiable, and a lawful Action. Again, Jehoiada the High-Priest did not scruple to depose Athaliah, and kill her, tho' she had been seven years in actual Possession of the Crown. But, say you, she took upon her the Government when she had no Right to it. And did not you say your self, but a while ago, That Tiberius assumed the Soveraignty when it belonged
not at all to him? And yet you then affirm'd, that according to our Saviour's Doctrine, we ought to yield Obedience to such Tyrants as he was. 'Twere a most ridiculous thing to imagine, that a Prince, who gets in by Usurpation, may lawfully be deposed; but one that rules tyrannically may not. But, say you, Athaliah could not possibly reign according to the Law of the Jewish Kingdom, Thou shalt set over thee a King, says God Almighty; he does not say, Thou shalt set over thee a Queen. If this Argument have any weight, I may as well say, the Command of God was, that the People should set over themselves a King, not a Tyrant. So that I'm even with you. Amazias was a slothful, idolatrous Prince, and was put to death, not by a few Conspirators; but rather, it should seem, by the Nobility, and by the Body of the People. For he fled from Jerusalem, had none to stand by him, and they pursued him to Lachish: They took counsel against him, says the History, because he had forfaken God: And we do not find that Azarias his Son prosecuted those that had cut off his Father. You quote a great many frivolous passages out of the Rabbins, to prove that the Kings of the Jews were superior to the Sanhedrim. You do not consider Zedekiah's own words, Jerem. 38. The King is not he that can do any thing against you. So that this was the Prince's own stile. Thus he confessed himself inferior to the great Council of the Realm. Perhaps, say you, he meant that he durst not deny them any thing for fear of Sedition. But what does your perhaps signify, whose most positive asserting any thing is not worth a Loufe? For nothing in Nature can be more fickle and inconsistent than you are. How oft have you appear'd in this Discourse inconstant with your self; unsaying with one Breath what you had said with another: Here, again, you make Comparifons betwixt King Charles,
and some of the good Kings of Judah. You speak contemptibly of David, as if he were not worthy to come in competition with him. Consider David, say you, an Adulterer, a Murderer; King Charles was guilty of no such Crimes. Solomon his Son, who was accounted wife, &c. Who can with patience hear this filthy, rascally Fool, speak so irreverently of Persons eminent both in Greatness and Piety? Dare you compare King David with King Charles; a most Religious King and Prophet, with a Superstitious Prince, and who was but a Novice in the Christian Religion; a most prudent, wise Prince with a weak one; a valiant Prince with a cowardly one; finally, a most just Prince with a most unjust one? Have you the impudence to commend his Chastity and Sobriety, who is known to have committed all manner of Leudness in company with his Confident the Duke of Buckingham? It were to no purpose to enquire into the private Actions of his Life, who publickly at Plays would embrace and kiss the Ladies lasciviously, and handle Virgins and Matrons Breasts, not to mention the rest? I advise you therefore, you counterfeit Plutarch, to abstain from such like Parallels, left I be forced to publish those things concerning King Charles, which I am willing to conceal. Hitherto we have entertain'd our selves with what the People of the Jews have acted or attempted against Tyrants, and by what Right they did it in those times, when God himself did immediately, as it were, by his Voice from Heaven govern their Commonwealth. The Ages that succeeded, do not afford us any Authority, as from themselves, but confirm us in our Opinion by their imitating the Actions of their Fore-fathers. For after the Babylonish Captivity, when God did not give any new command concerning the Crown, tho the Royal Line was not extinct, we find the People returning to the
old Mosica, Form of Government again. They were one while Tributaries to Antiochus, King of Syria; yet when he injoyn'd them things that were contrary to the Law of God, they refifted him, and his Deputies, under the Conduct of their Priests, the Maccabees, and by force regain'd their former Liberty. After that, whoever was accounted moft worthy of it, had the Principality conferr'd upon him. Till at laft, Hircanus the Son of Simon, the Brother of Judah, the Maccabee, having spoiled David's Sepulchre, entertain'd foreign Soldiers, and began to inveft the Priesthood with a kind of Regal Power. After whose time his Son Aristobulus was the firft that assum'd the Crown; he was a Tyrant indeed, and yet the People fhirred not againft him, which is no great wonder, for he reigned but one Year. And he himfelf being overtaken with a grievous Difeafe, and repenting of his own Cruelty and Wickednefs, defired nothing more than to dye, and had his wish. His Brother Alexander succeded him; and againft him, you fay, the People raifed no Infurrection, tho he were a Tyrant too. And this Lie might have gone down with us, if Josephus's History had not been extant. We should then have had no memory of those times, but what your Josephus would afford us, out of whom you tranfcribe a few fenelefs and ufelefs Apothegms of the Pharifees. The History is thus: Alexander adminiftr'd the Public Affairs ill, both in War and Peace; and tho he kept in pay great numbers of Pifidians and Cilicians, yet could he not protect himself from the Rage of the People: but whilst he was Sacrificing they fell upon him, and had almost Smother'd him with Boughs of Palmtrees and Citron-trees. Afterward the whole Nation made War upon him fix Years, during which time, when many thousands of the Jews had been flain, and he himself being at
length desirous of Peace, demanded of them, what they would have him do to satisfy them; they told him nothing could do that, but his Blood, nay, that they should hardly pardon him after his death. This History you perceiv'd was not for your purpose, and so you put it off with a few Pharisaical Sentences; when it had been much better, either to have let it quite alone, or to have given a true Relation of it: but you trust to Lies more than to the Truth of your Cause. Even those eight hundred Pharisees, whom he commanded to be crucified, were of their number that had taken up Arms against him. And they with the rest of the People had solemnly protested, That if they could subdue the King's Forces, and get his Person into their Power, they would put him to death. After the death of Alexander, his Wife Alexandra took the Government upon her, as Athalia had formerly done, not according to Law (for you have confess'd, that the Laws of the Jews admitted not a Female to wear the Crown) but she got it partly by force, for she maintain'd an Army of Foreigners; and partly by favour, for she had brought over the Pharisees to her Interest, which sort of Men were of the greatest Authority with the People. Them she had made her own, by putting the Power into their Hands, and retaining to her self only the Name. Just as the Scotch Presbyterians lately allowed Charles the Name of King, but upon condition, that he would let them be King in effect. After the death of Alexandra, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, her Sons, contended for the Sovereignty: Aristobulus was more industrious, and having a greater Party, forced his Elder Brother out of the Kingdom. A while after, when Pompey passed through Syria, in his return from the Mithridatick War; the Jews, supposing they had now an opportunity of regaining their Liberty, by referring their
Defence of the People of England,

Caufe to him, dispatcht an Embaffy to him in their own Names; they renounce both the Brothers; complain that they had enftaved them. *Pompey* deposed *Aristobulus*, leaves thePrieffhood, and such a Principality as the Laws allowed to *Hyrcanus* the Elder. From that time forward he was called High-Prieff, and *Ethnarcha*. After these times in the Reign of *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*, the *Jews* fent fifty Ambaffadors to *Augustus Cæfar*; accused *Herod* that was dead, and *Archelaus* his Son, that then reigned; they deposed him as much as in them lay, and petition'd the Emperor, that the People of the *Jews* might be govern'd without a King. *Cæfar* was moved at their entreaty, and did not appoint a King over them, but a Governour, whom they called an *Ethnarch*. When that Governour had prefided ten years over *Judea*, the People fent Ambaffadors again to *Rome*, and accused him of Tyranny. *Cæfar* heard them graciously; fent for the Governour, condemn'd him to perpetual Exile, and banifhed him to *Vienna*. Answer me now, That People that accused their own Princes, that defir'd their Condemnation, that defir'd their Punishment, would not they themselves rather, if it had been in their Power, and that they might have had their choice; would not they, I fay, rather have put them to death themselves? You do not deny, but that the People, and the Nobles often took up Arms againft the *Roman* Deputies, when by their Avarice, or their Cruelty, their Government was burdenfome and oppreffive. But you give a ridiculous reafon for this, as all the reft of yours are. You fay, *They were not yet accuftomed to the Yoke*; very like they were not, under *Alexander*, *Herod*, and his Son. But, fay you, *they would not raife War against Caius Cæfar, nor Petronius*. I confess they did not, and they did very prudently in abstaining, for they were not able. Will you hear
their own words upon that occasion? *We will not make War,* say they, *because we cannot.* That thing which they themselves acknowledge, they refrain'd from for want of Ability; you, false Hypocrite, pretend they abstain'd from out of Religion. Then with a great deal of toil you do just nothing at all; for you endeavour to prove out of the Fathers (tho you had done it as superficially before) that Kings are to be prayed for. That good Kings are to be pray'd for, no Man denies; nay, and bad ones too, as long as there are any hopes of them: so we ought to pray for Highway-men, and for our Enemies. But how? Not that they may plunder, spoil and murder us; but that they may repent. We pray both for Thieves and Enemies; and yet whoever dreamt but that it was lawful to put the Laws in execution against one, and to fight against the other? I value not the *Egyptian Liturgy* that you quote; but the Priest that you mention, who prayed *Commodus* might succeed his Father in the Empire, did not pray for any thing in my opinion, but imprecated all the mischiefs imaginable to the Roman State. You say, *that we have broken our Faith, which we engaged more than once in solemn Assemblies to preserve the Authority and Majesty of the King.* But because hereafter you are more large upon that subject, I shall pass it by in this place; and talk with you when you come to it again. You return then to the Fathers; concerning whom take this in short. Whatever they say, which is not warranted by the Authority of the Scriptures, or by good Reason, shall be of no more regard with me, than if any other ordinary Man had said it. The first that you quote is *Tertullian,* who is no Orthodox Writer, notorious for many errors; whose authority, if he were of your opinion, would stand you in no stead. But what says he? He condemns Tumults and Rebellions. So do we.
But in saying so, we do not mean to destroy all the Peoples Rights and Privileges, all the Authority of Senates, the Power of all Magistrates, the King only excepted. The Fathers declaim against Seditions rashly raised, by the giddy heat of the multitude; they speak not of the inferior Magistrates, of Senates, of Parliaments encouraging the People to a lawful opposing of a Tyrant. Hence Ambrose whom you quote, "Not to resist, says he, but to weep and to " sigh, these are the Bulwarks of the Priesthood; " what one is there of our little number who dares " say to the Emperor, I do not like your Laws? " This is not allowed the Priests, and shall Lay-men " pretend to it?" 'Tis evident of what sort of Persons he speaks, viz. of the Priests, and such of the People as are private Men, not of the Magistrates. You see by how weak and preposterous a reason he lighted a Torch as it were to the dissentions that were afterwards to arise betwixt the Laity and the Clergy concerning even Civil, or Temporal Laws. But because you think you press hardest upon us with the Examples of the Primitive Christians; who tho they were harassed as much as a People could be, yet, you say, they never took up Arms against the Emperour: I will make it appear, in the first place, that for the most part they could not: Secondly, that whenever they could, they did: And thirdly, that whether they did or did not, they were such a sort of People, as that their example deserves but to have little sway with us. First therefore, no Man can be ignorant of this, that when the Commonwealth of Rome expired, the whole and sovereign power in the Empire was settled in the Emperour; that all the Souldiers were under his pay; insomuch that if the whole Body of the Senate, the Equestrian Order, and all the common People had endeavoured to work a change, they might have made way for a massacre of them-
felves, but could not in any probability retrieve their lost Liberty: for the Empire would still have continued, tho' they might perhaps have been so lucky as to have kill'd the Emperour. This being so, what could the Christians do? 'tis true there were a great many of them; but they were dispersed, they were generally Persons of mean quality, and but of small interest in the World. How many of them would one Legion have been able to keep in awe? Could so inconsiderable a body of Men as they were in those days, ever expect to accomplish an Enterprize that many famous Generals, and whole Armies of tried Soldiers had lost their lives in attempting? When about 300 years after our Saviour's Nativity, which was near upon 20 years before the Reign of Constantine the Great, when Dioclesian was Emperour, there was but one Christian Legion in the whole Roman Empire; which Legion for no other reason than because it consisted of Christians, was slain by the rest of the Army at a Town in France called Octodurum. The Christians, say you, conspir'd not with Cassius, with Albinus, with Niger; and does Tertullian think they merited by not being willing to lose their lives in the quarrels of Infidels? 'Tis evident therefore that the Christians could not free themselves from the yoke of the Roman Emperours; and it could be no ways advantageous to their interest to conspire with Infidels, as long as Heathen Emperours reign'd. But that afterwards the Christians made War upon Tyrants, and defended themselves by force of Arms when there was occasion, and many times revenged upon Tyrants their Enormities, I am now about to make appear. In the first place, Constantine being a Christian, made War upon Lucinius, and cut him off, who was his Partner in the Sovereign Power, because he molested the Eastern Christians; by which act of his he declared thus much at least,
Defence of the People of England,

That one Magistrate might punish another: For he for his Subjects sake punished Licinius, who to all intents was as absolute in the Empire as himself, and did not leave the vengeance to God alone: Licinius might have done the same to Constantine, if there had been the like occasion. So then, if the matter be not wholly reserved to Gods own Tribunal, but that Men have something to do in the case, why did not the Parliament of England stand in the same relation to King Charles, that Constantine did to Licinius? The Soldiers made Constantine what he was. But our Laws have made our Parliaments equal, nay, superior to our Kings. The Inhabitants of Constantinople resisted Constantius an Arian Emperour, by force of Arms, as long as they were able; they opposed Hermogenes whom he had sent with a Military power to depose Paul an Orthodox Bishop; the house whither he had betaken himself for security, they fired about his ears, and at last killed him right out. Constantine threatened to make War upon his Brother Constantius, unless he would restore Paul and Athanasius to their Bishopricks. You see those holy Fathers, when their Bishopricks were in danger, were not ashamed to stir up their Prince's own Brother to make War upon him. Not long after, the Christian Soldiers, who then made whom they would Emperors, put to death Constantine the Son of Constantinus, because he behaved himself dissolutely and proudly in the Government, and translated the Empire to Magnentius. Nay, those very persons that saluted Julian by the name of Emperour, against Constantius's will, who was actually in possession of the Empire (for Julian was not then an Apostate, but a vertuous and valiant person) are they not amongst the number of those Primitive Christians, whose Example you propose to us for our imitation? Which action of theirs, when Constantius by his Letters to
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

the People very sharply and earnestly forbad, (which Letters we openly read to them) they all cried out unanimously, That themselves had but done what the Provincial Magistrates, the Army, and the Authority of the Commonwealth had decreed. The same persons declared War against Constantius, and contributed as much as in them lay, to deprive him both of his Government and his Life. How did the Inhabitants of Antioch behave themselves, who were none of the worst sort of Christians? I'll warrant you they prayed for Julian, after he became an Apostate, whom they used to rail at in his own presence, and scoffing at his long Beard bid him make Ropes of it: Upon the news of whose death they offer'd publick Thanksgivings, made Feasts, and gave other publick Demonstrations of Joy. Do you think they used when he was alive to pray for the continuance of his life and health? Nay, is it not reported, that a Christian Soldier in his own Army was the Author of his death? Sozomen, a Writer of Ecclesiastical History, does not deny it, but commends him that did it, if the Fact were so; "For it is no wonder, says he, that some of his own Soldiers might think within himself, that not only the Greeks, but all Mankind hitherto had agreed that it was a commendable action to kill a Tyrant; and that they deserve all mens praise, who are willing to die themselves to procure the liberty of all others: so that that Soldier ought not rashly to be condemned, who in the Cause of God and of Religion, was so zealous and valiant." These are the words of Sozomen, a good and Religious Man of that age. By which we may easily apprehend what the general opinion of pious men in those days was upon this point. Ambrose himself being commanded by the Emperour Valentinian the Younger, to depart from Milan, refused to obey him, but defended himself and the Pa-
lace by force of Arms against the Emperour’s Officers, and took upon him, contrary to his own Doctrin, to resist the higher powers. There was a great sedition raised at Constantinople against the Emperour Arcadius, more than once, by reason of Chrysostom’s Exile. Hitherto I have shewn how the Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards Tyrants; how not only the Christian Soldiers, and the People, but the Fathers of the Church themselves, have both made War upon them, and opposed them with force, and all this before St. Austin’s time: for you your self are pleased to go down no lower; and therefore I make no mention of Valentinian the Son of Placidia, who was slain by Maximus a Senator, for committing Adultery with his Wife; nor do I mention Avitus the Emperour, whom, because he disbanded the Soldiers, and took himself wholly to a luxurious life, the Roman Senate immediately deposed; because these things came to pass some years after St. Austin’s death. But all this I give you: Suppose I had not mentioned the practice of the Primitive Christians; suppose they never had stirred in opposition to Tyrants; suppose they had accounted it unlawful so to do; I will make it appear that they were not such Persons, as that we ought to rely upon their Authority, or can safely follow their Example. Long before Constantin’s time the generality of Christians had lost much of the Primitive Sanctity and Integrity both of their Doctrine and Manners. Afterwards, when he had vastly enriched the Church, they began to fall in love with Honour and Civil Power, and then the Christian Religion went to wrack. First Luxury and Sloth, and then a great drove of Heresies and Immoralities broke loose among them; and these begot Envy, Hatred and Discord, which abounded everywhere. At last, they that were linked together into one Brotherhood by that holy band of Religion, were as
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 123

much at variance and strife among themselves, as the most bitter Enemies in the world could be. No reverence for, no consideration of their duty was left amongst them: the Soldiers and Commanders of the Army, as oft as they pleased themselves, created new Emperors, and sometimes killed good ones as well as bad. I need not mention such as Verannio, Maximus, Eugenius, whom the Soldiers all of a sudden advanced and made them Emperors; nor Gratian, an excellent Prince; nor Valentinian the younger, who was none of the worst, and yet were put to death by them. It is true, these things were acted by the Soldiers, and Soldiers in the Field; but those Soldiers were Christians, and lived in that Age which you call Evangelical, and whose example you propose to us for our imitation. Now you shall hear how the Clergy managed themselves: Paftors and Bishops, and sometimes those very Fathers whom we admire and extol to so high a degree, every one of whom was a Leader of their several Flocks; those very men, I say, fought for their Bishopricks, as Tyrants did for their Sovereignty; sometimes throughout the City, sometimes in the very Churches, sometimes at the Altar, Clergy-men and Lay-men fought promiscuously; they flew one another, and great slaughters were made on both sides. You may remember Damasius and Urcifinus, who were Contemporaries with Ambrose. It would be too long to relate the tumultuary Insurrections of the Inhabitants of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, especially those under the Conduct and Management of Cyrillus, whom you extol as a Preacher up of Obedience; when the Monks in that Fight, within the City, had almost slain Orestes, Theodolius's Deputy. Now who can sufficiently wonder at your Impudence, or Carelessness and Neglect? "Till St. "Austin’s time, say you, and lower down than the Age "that he lived in, there is not any mention extant in
Defence of the People of England,

"History, of any private Person, of any Commander, or of any number of Conspirators, that have put their Prince to death, or taken up Arms against him." I have named to you out of known and approved Histories, both private Persons and Magistrates, that with their own hands have slain not only bad, but very good Princes: Whole Armies of Christians, many Bishops among them, that have fought against their own Emperors. You produce some of the Fathers, that with a great flourish of words, persuade or boast of Obedience to Princes: And I, on the other side, produce both those same Fathers, and others besides them, that by their actions have declined Obedience to their Princes, even in lawful things; have defended themselves with a Military Force against them; others that have opposed forcibly, and wounded their Deputies; others that being Competitors for Bishopricks, have maintained Civil Wars against one another: As if it were lawful for Christians to wage War with Christians for a Bishoprick, and Citizens with Citizens; but unlawful to fight against a Tyrant, in defence of our Liberty, of our Wives and Children, and of our Lives themselves. Who would own such Fathers as these? You produce St. Austin, who you say, afferts that the Power of a Master over his Servants, and a Prince over his Subjects, is one and the same thing. But I answer; If St. Austin afferts any such thing, he afferts what neither our Saviour, nor any of his Apostles ever afferted; tho for the confirmation of that Affertion, than which nothing can be more false, he pretends to rely wholly upon their Authority. The three or four last Pages of this Fourth Chapter, are stuffed with meer Lies, or things carelessly and loosely put together, that are little to the purpose: And that every one that reads them, will discover by what has been said already. For what concerns the Pope, against whom you declaim
in Answer to Salmatius for the King. 125

so loudly, I am content you should bawl at him, till you are hoarse. But whereas you endeavour to persuade the ignorant, That all that called themselves Christians, yielded an entire obedience to Princes, whether good or bad, till the Papal Power grew to that height, that it was acknowledged superior to that of the Civil Magistrate, and till he took upon him to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance: I have sufficiently proved by many Examples before and since the age that St. Augustin lived in, that nothing can be more false. Neither does that seem to have much more truth in it, which you say in the last place; viz. That Pope Zachary absolved the French-men from their Oath of Allegiance to their King. For Francis Hottoman, who was both a French-man and a Lawyer, and a very learned man, in the 13th Chapter of his Francogallia, denies that either Chilperic was deposed, or the Kingdom translated to Pepin by the Pope's Authority; and he proves out of very Ancient Chronicles of that Nation, That the whole affair was transacted in the great Council of the Kingdom, according to the Original Constitution of that Government. Which being once done, the French Histories, and Pope Zachary himself, deny that there was any necessity of absolving his Subjects from their Allegiance. For not only Hottoman, but Guiccard, a very eminent Historian of that Nation, informs us, That the Ancient Records of the Kingdom of France testify, That the Subjects of that Nation upon the first institution of Kingship amongst them, reserved a power to themselves, both of chusing their Princes, and of deposing them again, if they thought fit: And that the Oath of Allegiance which they took, was upon this express condition; to wit, That the King should likewise perform what at his Coronation he swore to do. So that if Kings by misgoverning the People committed to their charge, first broke
their own Oath to their Subjects, there needs no Pope to dispense with the Peoples Oath; the Kings themselves by their own perfidiousness having absolved their Subjects. And finally, Pope Zachary himself in a Letter of his to the French, which you yourself quote, renounces, and ascribes to the People that Authority which you say he assumes to himself: For "if a Prince be accountable to the People, being beholden to them for his Royalty; if the People, since they make Kings, have the same Right "to depose them," as the very words of that Pope are; it is not likely that the French-men would by any Oath depart in the least from that Ancient Right, or ever tye up their own hands, so as not to have the same Right that their Ancestors always had, to depose bad Princes, as well as to honour and obey good ones; nor is it likely that they thought themselves obliged to yield that Obedience to Tyrants, which they swore to yield only to good Princes. A People obliged to Obedience by such an Oath, is discharged of that Obligation, when a lawful Prince becomes a Tyrant, or gives himself over to Sloth and Voluptuousness; the rule of Justice, the very Law of Nature dispenses with such a Peoples Allegiance. So that even by the Pope's own opinion, the People were under no Obligation to yield Obedience to Chilperic, and consequently had no need of a Dispensation.

CHAP. V.

That I am of opinion, Salmastus, and always was, That the Law of God does exactly agree with the Law of Nature; so that having shown what the Law of God is, with respect to Princes, and what the practise has been of the People of God, both Jews and Christians, I have at the same time, and by the
same Discourse, made appear what is most agreeable to the Law of Nature: yet because you pretend to confute us most powerfully by the Law of Nature, I will be content to admit that to be necessary, which before I had thought would be superfluous; that in this Chapter I may demonstrate, That nothing is more suitable to the Law of Nature, than that Punishment be inflicted upon Tyrants. Which if I do not evince, I will then agree with you, that likewise by the Law of God they are exempt. I do not purpose to frame a long Discourse of Nature in general, and the original of Civil Societies: that Argument has been largely handled by many Learned Men, both Greek and Latin. But I shall endeavour to be as short as may be; and my design is not so much to confute you (who would willingly have spared this pains) as to shew that you confute your self, and destroy your own Positions. I'll begin with that first Position which you lay down as a Fundamental, and that shall be the Groundwork of my ensuing Discourse. The Law of Nature, say you, is a Principle imprinted on all mens minds, to regard the good of all Mankind, considering men as united together in Societies. But this innate Principle cannot procure that common good, unless, as there are people that must be governed, so that very Principle ascertains who shall govern them. To wit, left the stronger oppress the weaker, and those persons, who for their mutual Safety and Protection have united themselves together, should be disunited and divided by Injury and Violence, and reduced to a beastial savage life again. This I suppose is what you mean. Out of the number of those that united into one body, you say, there must needs have been some chosen, who excelled the rest in Wisdom and Valour; that they either by force, or by persuasion, might restrain those that were refractory, and keep them within due bounds. Sometimes it would so fall out that
one single Person, whose Conduct and Valour was extraordinary, might be able to do this, and sometimes more assisted one another with their Advice and Counsel. But since it is impossible that any one man should order all things himself, there was a necessity of his consulting with others, and taking some into part of the Government with himself: So that whether a single person reign, or whether the Supreme Power reside in the body of the People, since it is impossible that all should administer the affairs of the Commonwealth, or that one man should do all, the Government does always lie upon the shoulders of many. And afterwards you say, Both Forms of Government, whether by many or a few, or by a single person, are equally according to the Law of Nature: for both proceed from the same Principle of Nature, viz. That it is impossible for any single person so to govern alone, as not to admit others into a share of the Government with himself. Tho I might have taken all this out of the Third Book of Aristotle's Politicks, I chose rather to transcribe it out of your own Book; for you stole it from him, as Prometheus did Fire from Jupiter, to the ruin of Monarchy, and overthrow of your self, and your own opinion. For enquire as diligently as you can for your life, into the Law of Nature, as you have described it, you will not find the least footstep in it of Kingly Power, as you explain it. The Law of Nature, say you, in ordering who should govern others, respected the universal good of all mankind. It did not then regard the private good of any particular person, not of a Prince, so that the King is for the People, and consequently the People superior to him; which being allowed, it is impossible that Princes should have any right to oppress or enslave the people; that the inferior should have right to tyrannize over the superior. So that since Kings cannot pretend to any right to do mischief, the right of the people must be ac-
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 129

knowledged according to the Law of Nature to be superior to that of Princes; and therefore by the same right, that before Kingship was known, men united their Strength and Counsels for their mutual Safety and Defence; by the same right, that for the preservation of all mens Liberty, Peace, and Safety, they appointed one or more to govern the rest; by the same right they may depose those very persons, whom for their Valour or Wisdom they advanced to the Government, or any others that rule disorderly, if they find them by reason of their slothfulness, folly, or impiety, unfit for Government: since Nature does not regard the good of one, or of a few, but of all in general. For what sort of persons were they whom you suppose to have been chosen? You say, they were such as excelled in Courage and Conduct, to wit, such as by Nature seemed fittest for Government; who by reason of their excellent Wisdom and Valour, were enabled to undertake so great a Charge. The consequence of this I take to be, That right of Succession is not by the Law of Nature; that no Man by the Law of Nature has right to be King, unless he excel all others in Wisdom and Courage; that all such as reign, and want these qualifications, are advanced to the Government by Force or Faction; have no right by the Law of Nature to be what they are, but ought rather to be Slaves than Princes. For Nature appoints that Wise Men should govern Fools, not that Wicked Men should rule over Good Men; Fools over Wise Men: And consequently, they that take the Government out of such mens hands, act according to the Law of Nature. To what end Nature directs Wise Men should bear the Rule, you shall hear in your own words; viz. "That by Force " or by Perwasion, they may keep such as are unruly, "within due bounds." But how should he keep others within the bounds of their duty, that neglects,
Defence of the People of England,

or is ignorant of, or wilfully acts contrary to his own? Alledg now, if you can, any dictate of Nature, by which we are enjoined to neglect the wise Institutions of the Law of Nature, and have no regard to them in Civil and Publick Concerns, when we see what great and admirable things Nature her self effects in things that are inanimate and void of sense, rather than lose her end. Produce any Rule of Nature, or Natural Justice, by which inferior Criminals ought to be punished, but Kings and Princes to go unpunished; and not only so, but tho guilty of the greatest Crimes imaginable, be had in Reverence, and almost adored. You agree, That all Forms of Government, whether by many, or a few, or by a single person, are equally agreeable to the Law of Nature. So that the person of a King is not by the Law of Nature more sacred than a Senate of Nobles, or Magistrates, chosen from amongst the common people, who you grant may be punished, and ought to be, if they offend; and consequently, Kings ought to be so too, who are appointed to rule for the very same end and purpose that other Magistrates are. For say you, Nature does not allow any single person to bear rule so entirely, as not to have Partners in the Government. It does not therefore allow of a Monarch; it does not allow one single person to rule so, as that all others should be in a slavish subjection to his Commands only. You that give Princes such Partners in the Government, as in whom, to use your own words, the Government always resides, do at the same time make others Colleagues with them, and equal to them; nay, and consequently you settle a power in those Colleagues of punishing, and of deposing them. So that while you your self go about, not to extol a Kingly Government, but to establish it by the Law of Nature, you destroy it; no greater misfortune could befal Soveraign Princes, than to have such an
Advocate as you are. Poor, unhappy wretch! what blindness of mind has seiz'd you, that you should unwittingly take so much pains to discover your knavery and folly, and make it visible to the world (which before you conceal'd, in some measure and disguis'd) that you should be so industrious to heap disgrace and ignominy upon your self. What offence does Heaven punish you for, in making you appear in publick, and undertake the defence of a desperate Cause, with so much impudence and childishness, and instead of defending it, to betray it by your ignorance? What Enemy of yours would desire to see you in a more forlorn, despicable condition than you are, who have no refuge left from the depth of misery, but in your own imprudence and want of sense, since by your unskillful and silly defence, you have rendered Tyrants the more odious and detestable, by ascribing to them an unbounded liberty of doing mischief with Impunity; and consequently have created them more Enemies than they had before? But I return to your Contradictions. When you had resolved with your self to be so wicked as to endeavour to find out a foundation for Tyranny in the Law of Nature, you saw a necessity of extolling Monarchy above other sorts of Government; which you cannot go about to do, without doing as you use to do, that is contradicting your self. For having said but a little before, That all Forms of Government, whether by more or fewer, or by a single person, are equally according to the Law of Nature, now you tell us, that of all these sorts of Government, that of a single person is most natural. Nay, though you had said in express terms but lately, That the Law of Nature does not allow that any Government should reside entirely in one man. Now upbraid whom you will with the putting of Tyrants to death; since you your self by your own folly, have cut the Throats of all Monarchs, nay even of Mo-
narchy itself. But it is not to the purpose for us here to dispute which Form of Government is best, by one single person, or by many. I confess many eminent and famous men have extolled Monarchy; but it has always been upon this supposition, that the Prince were a very excellent person, and one that of all others deserved best to reign; without which Supposition, no Form of Government can be so prone to Tyranny as Monarchy is. And whereas you resemble a Monarchy to the Government of the World, by one Divine Being, I pray answer me, Whether you think that any other can deserve to be invested with a power here on Earth, that shall resemble his power that governs the World, except such a person as does infinitely excel all other Men, and both for Wisdom and Goodness in some measure resemble the Deity? and such a person in my opinion, none can be but the Son of God himself. And whereas you make a Kingdom to be a kind of Family, and make a comparison betwixt a Prince and the Master of a Family; observe how lame the Parallel is. For a Master of a Family begot part of his Household, at least he feeds all those that are of his house, and upon that account deserves to have the Government; but the reason holds not in the case of a Prince; nay 'tis quite contrary. In the next place, you propose to us for our imitation the example of inferior Creatures, especially of Birds, and amongst them of Bees, which according to your skill in Natural Philosophy, are a sort of Birds too; The Bees have a King over them. The Bees of Trent you mean; don't you remember? all other Bees, you your self confess to be Commonweals. But leave off playing the fool with Bees; they belong to the Muses, and hate, and (you see) confute such a Beetle as you are. The Quails are under a Captain. Lay such snares for your own Bitterns; you are not Fowler good enough
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 133
to catch us. Now you begin to be personally concerned. Gallus Gallinaceus, a Cock, say you, has both Cocks and Hens under him. How can that be, since you your self that are Gallus, and but too much Gallinaceus, by report cannot govern your own single Hen, but let her govern you? So that if a Gallinaceus be a King over many Hens, you that are a slave to one, must own your self not to be so good as a Gallinaceus, but some Stercorarius Gallus, some Dung-hil-Cock or other. For matter of Books, there is no body publishes huger Dunghils than you, and you disturb all people with your shitten Cock-crow; that's the only property in which you resemble a true Cock. I'll throw you a great many Barley-corns, if in ransacking this Dungil Book of yours, you can shew me but one Jewel. But why should I promise you Bar- ley, that never peckt at Corn, as that honest plain Cock that we read of in Æsop, but at Gold, as that Roguey Cock in Plautus, though with a different event; for you found a hundred Jacobusses, and he was struck dead with Euclio's Club, which you deserve more than he did. But let us go on: That same natural reason that designs the good and safety of all Mankind, requires, that whoever is once promoted to the Sovereignty, be preserved in the possession of it. Who ever question'd this, as long as his preservation is consistent with the safety of all the rest? But is it not obvious to all men that nothing can be more contrary to natural reason than that any one man should be preserved and defended to the utter ruin and destruction of all others? But yet (you say) it is better to keep and defend a bad Prince, nay one of the worst that ever was, than to change him for another; because his ill Government cannot do the Commonwealth so much harm as the disturbances will occasion, which must of necessity be raised before the people can get rid of him. But what is this to the Right of Kings by
Defence of the People of England,

the Law of Nature? If Nature teaches me rather to suffer my self to be robbed by High-way men, or if I should be taken Captive by such, to purchase my Liberty with all my Estate, than to fight with them for my life, can you infer from thence, that they have a natural right to rob and spoil me? Nature teaches men to give way sometimes to the violence and outrages of Tyrants, the necessity of affairs sometimes enforces a Toleration with their enormities; what foundation can you find in this forced patience of a Nation, in this compulsory submission, to build a Right upon, for Princes to tyrannize by the Law of Nature? That Right which Nature has given the people for their own preservation, can you affirm that she has invested Tyrants with for the people's ruin and destruction? Nature teaches us, of two evils to chuse the leaft; and to bear with oppression, as long as there is a necessity of so doing; and will you infer from hence, that Tyrants have some Right by the Law of Nature to oppress their Subjects, and go unpunished, because as circumstances may fall out, it may sometimes be a less mischief to bear with them than to remove them? Remember what your self once wrote concerning Bishops against a Jesuit; you were then of another opinion than you are now: I have quoted your words formerly; you there affirm that seditious Civil dissentions and discords of the Nobles and Common People against and amongst one another, are much more tolerable, and less mischievous than certain misery and destruction under the Government of a single person, that plays the Tyrant. And you said very true. For you had not then run mad; you had not then been bribed with Charles his Jacobusses. You had not got the King's-Evil. I should tell you perhaps, if I did not know you, that you might be ashamed thus to prevaricate. But you can sooner burst than blush, who have cast off all shame for a
little profit. Did you not remember, that the Commonwealth of the people of Rome flourished and became glorious when they had banished their Kings? Could you possibly forget that of the Low Countries? which after it had shook off the Yoke of the King of Spain, after long and tedious Wars, but crown'd with success, obtained its Liberty, and feeds such a pitiful Grammarian as your self with a Pension; but not with a design that their youth might be so infatuated by your Sophistry, as to chuse rather to return to their former Slavery than inherit the Glorious Liberty which their Ancestors purchased for them. May those pernicious principles of yours be banished with your self into the most remote and barbarous Corners of the World. And last of all, the Commonwealth of England might have afforded you an example, in which Charles, who had been their King, after he had been taken captive in War, and was found incurable, was put to death. But they have defaced and impoverished the Island with Civil broils and discords, which under its Kings was happy, and swam in Luxury. Yea, when it was almost buried in Luxury and Voluptuousness, and the more inured thereto, that it might be enthralled the more easily; when its Laws were abolished, and its Religion agreed to be sold, they delivered it from Slavery. You are like him that published Simplicius and Epictetus in the same Volume; a very grave Stoick, Who call an Island happy, because it swims in Luxury. I'm sure no such Doctrine ever came out of Zeno's School. But why should not you, who would give Kings a power of doing what they list, have liberty your self to broach what new Philosophy you please? Now begin again to act your part. There never was in any King's Reign so much blood spilt, so many Families ruined. All this is to be imputed to Charles, not to us, who first raised an Army of Irishmen against us:
Defence of the People of England,

who by his own Warrant authorized the Irish Nation to conspire against the English; who by their means flew two hundred thousand of his English Subjects in the Province of Ulster, besides what Numbers were slain in other parts of that Kingdom; who solicited two Armies towards the destruction of the Parliament of England, and the City of London; and did many other actions of Hostility before the Parliament and People had listed one Soldier for the preservation and defence of the Government. What Principles, what Law, what Religion ever taught men rather to consult their ease, to save their Money, their Blood, nay their Lives themselves, than to oppose an Enemy with force? for I make no difference betwixt a Foreign Enemy and another, since both are equally dangerous and destructive to the good of the whole Nation. The People of Israel saw very well, that they could not possibly punish the Benjamites for murdering the Leviite’s Wife, without the loss of many Mens Lives: And did that induce them to sit still? Was that accounted a sufficient Argument why they shoule abstain from War, from a very Bloody Civil War? Did they therefore suffer the death of one poor Woman to be unrevenged? Certainly if Nature teaches us rather to endure the Government of a King, though he be never so bad, than to endanger the lives of a great many Men in the recovery of our Liberty; it must teach us likewise not only to endure a Kingly Government, which is the only one that you argue ought to be submitted to, but even an Aristocracy and a Democracy: Nay, and sometimes it will persuade us, to submit to a Multitude of Highway-men, and to Slaves that mutiny. Fulvius and Rupilius, if your Principles had been received in their days, must not have engaged in the Servile War (as their Writers call it) after the Praetorian Armies were slain: Crassius must not have marched against
Spartacus, after the Rebels had destroyed one Roman Army, and spoil’d their Tents: Nor must Pompey have undertaken the Piratick War. But the State of Rome must have pursued the dictates of Nature, and must have submitted to their own Slaves, or to the Pyrates rather than run the hazard of losing some Mens Lives. You do not prove at all, that Nature has imprinted any such notion as this of yours on the minds of Men: And yet you cannot forbear boding us ill luck, and denouncing the Wrath of God against us (which may Heaven divert, and inflict it upon your self, and all such Prognosticators as you) who have punished as he deserved, one that had the name of our King, but was in Fact our implacable Enemy; and we have made Atonement for the death of so many of our Countreymen, as our Civil Wars have occasion’d, by shedding his Blood, that was the Author and Cause of them. Then you tell us, that a Kingly Government appears to be more according to the Laws of Nature, because more Nations, both in our days and of old, have submitted to that Form of Government, than ever did to any other. I answer, If that be so, it was neither the effect of any dictate of the Law of Nature, nor was it in Obedience to any Command from God. God would not suffer his own People to be under a King; he consented at last, but unwillingly: what Nature and right Reason dictates, we are not to gather from the practice of most Nations, but of the wisest and most prudent. The Grecians, the Romans, the Italians, and Carthaginians, with many other, have of their own accord, out of choice, preferr’d a Commonwealth to a Kingly Government; and these Nations that I have named, are better instances than all the rest. Hence Sulpitius Severus says, “That the very name of a King was always very odious among freeborn People.” But these things concern not our present purpose, nor
many other Impertinences that follow over and over again. I'll make haste to prove that by Examples which I have proved already by Reason; *viz.* That it is very agreeable to the Law of Nature, that Tyrants should be punished; and that all Nations by the instinct of Nature, have punished them; which will expose your Impudence, and make it evident, that you take a liberty to publish palpable downright Lies. You begin with the Egyptians; and indeed, who does not fee, that you play the Gipfy your self throughout? Amongst them, say you, there is no mention extant of any King, that was ever slain by the People in a Popular Infurrection, no War made upon any of their Kings by their Subjects, no attempt made to depose any of them. What think you then of Osiris, who perhaps was the first King that the Egyptians ever had? Was not he slain by his Brother Typhon, and five and twenty other Conspirators? And did not a great part of the Body of the People side with them, and fight a Battel with Isis and Orus, the late King's Wife and Son? I pass by Sesostris, whom his Brother had well nigh put to death, and Chemmis, and Cephrenes, against whom the People were deservedly enraged; and because they could not do it while they were alive, they threatened to tear them in pieces after they were dead. Do you think that a People that durst lay violent hands upon good Kings, had any restraint upon them, either by the Light of Nature or Religion, from putting bad ones to Death? Could they that threatened to pull the dead Bodies of their Princes out of their Graves, when they ceased to do mischief, (tho by the Custom of their own Country, the Corps of the meanest Person was sacred and inviolable) abstain from inflicting Punishment upon them in their Life-time, when they were acting all their Villanies, if they had been able; and that upon some Maxim of the Law of Nature? I know
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 139

you would not stick to answer me in the affirmative, how absurd foreever it be; but that you may not offer at it, I'll pull out your Tongue. Know then, that some Ages before Cephrenes's time, one Ammophs was King of Egypt, and was as great a Tyrant, as who has been the greatest; him the People bore with. This you are glad to hear; this is what you would be at. But hear what follows, my honest Tell-truth. I shall speak out of Diodorus, They bore with him for some while, because he was too strong for them. But when Actisanes King of Ethiopia made war upon him, they took that opportunity to revolt, so that being deserted, he was easily subdued, and Egypt became an Accession to the Kingdom of Ethiopia. You see the Egyptians, as soon as they could, took up Arms against a Tyrant; they joined Forces with a Foreign Prince, to depose their own King, and disinherit his Posterity; they chose to live under a moderate and good Prince, as Actisanes was, tho a Foreigner, rather than under a Tyrant of their own. The same People with a very unanimous Consent took up Arms against Apries, another Tyrant, who relied upon Foreign Aids that he had hired to assist him. Under the Conduct of Amasis their General they conquered, and afterward strangled him, and placed Amasis in the Throne. And observe this Circumstance in the History; Amasis kept the Captive King a good while in the Palace, and treated him well: At last, when the People complain'd that he nourished his own and their Enemy; he delivered him into their hands, who put him to death in the manner I have mentioned. These things are related by Herodotus and Diodorus. Where are you now? Do you think that any Tyrant would not chuse a Hatchet rather than a Halter? Afterwards, say you, when the Egyptians were brought into Subjection by the Persians, they continued faithful to them; which is most false, they never were
Defence of the People of England,
faithful to them: For in the fourth year after Cambyses had subdued them, they rebelled. Afterward, when Xerxes had tamed them, within a short time they revolted from his Son Artaxerxes, and set up one Inarus to be their King. After his death they rebell’d again, and created one Tachus King, and made war upon Artaxerxes Mnemon. Neither were they better Subjects to their own Princes, for they deposed Tachus, and conferr’d the Government upon his Son Neætanebus, till at last Artaxerxes Ochus brought them the second time under subjection to the Persian Empire. When they were under the Macedonian Empire, they declared by their Actions, that Tyrants ought to be under some restraint: They threw down the Statues and Images of Ptolomaæus Physco, and would have killed him, but that the mercenary Army that he commanded, was too strong for them. His Son Alexander was forced to leave his Country by the meer violence of the People, who were incensed against him for killing his Mother. And the People of Alexandria dragged his Son Alexander out of the Palace, whose insolent Behaviour gave just Offence, and killed him in the Theatre. And the same People deposed Ptolomaæus Auletæ for his many Crimes. Now, since it is impossible that any Learned Man should be ignorant of these things that are so generally known; and since it is an inexcusæble Fault in Salmastius to be ignorant of them, whose Profession it is to teach them others, and whose very ascerting things of this nature ought to carry in it self an Argument of Credibility; it is certainly a very scandalous thing (I say) either that so ignorant, illiterate a Blockhead, should to the scandal of all Learning, profess himself, and be accounted a Learned Man, and obtain Salaries from Princes and States; or that so impudent and notorius a Lyar should not be branded with some particular mark of Infamy, and for ever banishèd from
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 141

the Society of learned and honest Men. Having searched among the Egyptians for Examples, let us now consider the Ethiopians their Neighbours. They adore their Kings, whom they suppose God to have appointed over them, even as if they were a sort of Gods: And yet whenever the Priests condemn any of them, they kill themselves; And on that manner, says Diodorus, they punish all their Criminals; they put them not to death, but send a Minister of Justice to command them to destroy their own Persons. In the next place you mention the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, who of all others were most observant of their Princes: And you affirm, contrary to all Historians that have wrote any thing concerning those Nations, That the Regal Power there, had an unbounded Liberty annexed to it, of doing what the King listed. In the first place the Prophet Daniel tells us, how the Babylonians expelled Nebuchadnezzar out of Human Society, and made him graze with the Beasts, when his Pride grew to be insufferable. The Laws of those Countries were not entituled the Laws of their Kings, but the Laws of the Medes and Persians; which Laws were irrevocable, and the Kings themselves were bound by them: Insomuch that Darius the Mede, tho he earnestly desired to have delivered Daniel from the hands of the Princes, yet could not effect it. Those Nations, say you, thought it no sufficient pretence to reject a Prince, because he abused the Right that was inherent in him as he was Sovereign. But in the very writing of these words you are so stupid, as that with the same breath that you commend the Obedience and Submissiveness of those Nations, of your own accord you make mention of Sardanapalus's being deprived of his Crown by Arbaces. Neither was it he alone that accomplished that Enterprise; for he had the assistance of the Priests (who of all others were best versed in the
Defence of the People of England,

Law) and of the People; and it was wholly upon this account that he deposed him, because he abused his authority and power, not by giving himself over to cruelty, but to luxury and effeminacy. Run over the Histories of Herodotus, Ctesias, Diodorus, and you will find things quite contrary to what you assert here; you will find that those Kingdoms were destroyed for the most part by Subjects, and not by Foreigners; that the Assyrians were brought down by the Medes, who then were their Subjects, and the Medes by the Persians, who at that time were likewise subject to them. You yourself confess, that Cyrus rebelled, and that at the same time in divers parts of the Empire little upstart Governments were formed by those that shook off the Medes. But does this agree with what you said before? Does this prove the obedience of the Medes and Persians to their Princes, and that fides Regium which you had asserted to have been universally received amongst those Nations? What Potion can cure this brain-sick Frenzy of yours? You say, It appears by Herodotus how absolute the Persian Kings were. Cambyres being desirous to marry his Sister, consulted with the Judges, who were the Interpreters of the Laws, to whose Decision all difficult matters were to be referred. What answer had he from them? They told him, they knew no Law which permitted a Brother to marry his Sister; but another Law they knew, that the Kings of Persia might do what they listed. Now to this I answer, if the Kings of Persia were really so absolute, what need was there of any other to interpret the Laws, besides the King himself? Those superfluous unnecessary Judges would have had their abode and residence in any other place rather than in the Palace, where they were altogether useless. Again, if those Kings might do whatever they would, it is not credible that so ambitious a Prince as Cam-
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 143

by s was, should be so ignorant of that grand Prerogative, as to consult with the Judges, whether what he desired were according to Law. What was the matter then? either they designed to humour the King, as you say they did, or they were afraid to cross his inclination, which is the account that Herodotus gives of it; and so told him of such a Law, as they knew would please him, and in plain terms made a fool of him; which is no new thing with Judges and Lawyers now a days. But, say you, Artabanus a Persian told Themistocles, that there was no better Law in Persia, than that by which it was enacted, That Kings were to be honoured and adored. An excellent Law that was without doubt which commanded Subjects to adore their Princes! but the Primitive Fathers have long ago damned it; and Artabanus was a proper person to commend such a Law, who was the very Man that a little while after slew Xerxes with his own hand. You quote Regicides to assert Royalty. I am afraid you have some design upon Kings. In the next place you quote the Poet Claudian, to prove how obedient the Persians were. But I appeal to their Histories and Annals, which are full of the Revolts of the Persians, the Medes, the Bactrians, and Babylonians, and give us frequent instances of the Murders of their Princes. The next person whose authority you cite, is Otanes the Persian, who likewise killed Smerdis then King of Persia, to whom, out of the hatred which he bore to a Kingly Government, he reckons up the impurities and injurious actions of Kings, their violation of all Laws, their putting Men to Death without any legal Conviction, their Rapes and Adulteries; and all this you will have called the Right of Kings, and flander Samuel again as a teacher of such Doctrines. You quote Homer, who says that Kings derive their Authority from Jupiter; to which I have already
Defence of the People of England,
given an answer. For King Philip of Macedon,
whose asserting the Right of Kings, you make use
of: I'll believe Charles his description of it, as soon
as his. Then you quote some Sentences out of a
fragment of Diogenes a Pythagorean; but you do not
tell us what fort of a King he speaks of. Observe
therefore how he begins that Discourse; for what-
ever follows must be understood to have relation to
it. "Let him be King, says he, that of all others is
" most just, and so he is that acts most according to
" Law; for no Man can be King that is not just;
" and without Laws there can be no Justice." This
is directly opposite to that Regal Right of yours.
And Ecphantas, whom you likewise quote, is of the
same opinion: "Whosoever takes upon him to be
" a King, ought to be naturally most pure and clear
" from all imputation." And a little after, "Him,
" says he, we call a King, that governs well, and he
" only is properly so." So that such a King as you
speak of, according to the Philosophy of the Pytha-
goreans, is no King at all. Hear now what Plato
says in his Eighth Epistle: "Let Kings, says he, be
" liable to be called to account for what they do:
" Let the Laws controul not only the People, but
" Kings themselves, if they do any thing not war-
ranted by Law." I'll mention what Aristotle says
in the Third Book of his Politicks; "It is neither for
" the Publick Good, nor is it just, says he, seeing all
" men are by nature alike and equal, that any one
" should be Lord and Master over all the rest, where
" there are no Laws? nor is it for the Publick Good,
" or Jufit, that one man should be a Law to the rest,
" where there are Laws; nor that any one, tho a
" good man, should be Lord over other good men,
" nor a bad man over bad men." And in the Fifth
Book, says he, "That King whom the People refuse
" to be govern'd by, is no longer a King, but a Ty-
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 145

"rant." Hear what Xenophon says in Hiero: "People are so far from revenging the deaths of Tyrants, that they confer great Honour upon him that kills one, and erect Statues in their Temples to the Honour of Tyrannicides." Of this I can produce an Eye-witness, Marcus Tullius, in his Oration pro Milone, "The Grecians, says he, ascribe Divine Worship to such as kill Tyrants: What things of this nature have I my self seen at Athens, and in the other Cities of Greece? How many Religious Observances have been instituted in honour of such men? How many Hymns? They are consecrated to Immortality and Adoration, and their Memory endeavoured to be perpetuated." And lastly, Polybius, a Historian of great Authority and Gravity, in the Sixth Book of his History says thus: "When Princes began to indulge their own Lusts and sensual Appetites, then Kingdoms were turned into so many Tyrannies, and the Subjects began to conspire the death of their Governors; neither was it the profligate sort that were the Authors of those Designs, but the most Generous and Magnanimous." I could quote many such like passages, but I shall instance in no more. From the Philosophers you appeal to the Poets; and I am very willing to follow you thither. Æschylus is enough to inform us, That the Power of the Kings of Greece was such, as not to be liable to the censure of any Laws, or to be questioned before any Human Judicature; for he in that Tragedy that is called, The Suppliants, calls the King of the Argives, a Governor not obnoxious to the Judgment of any Tribunal. But you must know (for the more you say, the more you discover your rashness and want of judgment) you must know, I say, that one is not to regard what the Poet says, but what person in the Play speaks, and what that person says; for different persons are introduced, some-
times good, sometimes bad; sometimes wise men; sometimes fools; and such words are put into their mouths, as it is most proper for them to speak; not such as the Poet would speak, if he were to speak in his own person. The Fifty Daughters of Danaus being banished out of Egypt, became Suppliantsto the King of the Argives; they begg'd of him, that he would protect them from the Egyptians, who pursuéd them with a Fleet of Ships. The King told them he could not undertake their Protection, till he had imparted the matter to the people; "For, says he, if I should make a promise to you, I should not be able to perform it, unless I confult with them first." The Women being Strangers and Suppliants, and fearing the uncertain suffrages of the people, tell him, "That the Power of all the people resides in him alone; that he judges all others, but is not judged himself by any." He answers: "I have told you already, That I cannot do this thing that you desire of me, without the peoples consent; nay, and tho I could, I would not." At laſt he refers the matter to the people; "I will assemble the people, says he, and perswade them to protect you." The people met, and resolved to engage in their quarrel; infomuch that Danaus their Father bids his Daughters, "be of good cheer, for the People of the Countrey, in a popular Conven- tion, had voted their Safeguard and Defence." If I had not related the whole thing, how rashly would this impertinent Ignoramus have determined concerning the Right of Kings among the Grecians, out of the mouths of a few Women that were Strangers and Suppliants, tho the King himself, and the History be quite contrary? The fame thing appears by the story of Orestes in Euripides, who after his Father's death was himself King of the Argives, and yet was called in question by the people for the death of his Mo-
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 147

ther, and made to plead for his Life, and by the major
suffrage was condemned to die. The same Poet in
his Play called The Suppliants, declares, That at
Athens the Kingly Power was subject to the Laws;
where Theseus then King of that City is made to say
these words: "This is a free City, it is not go-
"vern'd by one man; the people reigns here." And
his Son Demophoon, who was King after him, in
another Tragedy of the same Poet, called Heraclide;
"I do not exercise a Tyrannical Power over them,
"as if they were Barbarians: I am upon other terms
"with them; but if I do them justice, they will do
"me the like." Sophocles in his Oedipus shows,
That anciently in Thebes the Kings were not absolute
neither: Hence says Tiresias to Oedipus, "I am not
"your Slave." And Creon to the same King, "I
"have some Right in this City, says he, as well as
"you." And in another Tragedy of the same Poet,
called Antigone, Æmon tells the King, "That the
"City of Thebes is not govern'd by a single person."
All men know that the Kings of Lacedemon have been
arraigned, and sometimes put to death judicially.
These instances are sufficient to evince what Power
the Kings in Greece had. Let us consider now the
Romans: You betake your self to that passage of C.
Memmius in Salut, of Kings having a liberty to do
what they lift, and go unpunished; to which I have
given an answer already. Salust himself says in
express words, "That the ancient Government of
"Rome was by their Laws, tho the Name and Form
"of it was Regal:" which Form of Government,
when it grew into a Tyranny, you know they put
down and changed. Cicero in his Oration against
Piso, "Shall I, says he, account him a Consul, who
"would not allow the Senate to have any Authority
"in the Commonwealth? Shall I take notice of any
"man as Consul, if at the same time there be no
Defence of the People of England,

"such thing as a Senate; when of old, the City of " Rome acknowledged not their Kings, if they acted " without or in opposition to the Senate?" Do you hear; the very Kings themselves at Rome signified nothing without the Senate. But, say you, Romulus governed as he listed; and for that you quote Tacitus. No wonder: The Government was not then established by Law; they were a confus'd multitude of strangers, more likely than a regulated State; and all Mankind lived without Laws, before Governments were settled. But when Romulus was dead, tho' all the People were desirous of a King, not having yet experienced the sweetness of Liberty, yet, as Livy informs us, "The Sovereign Power resided in the " People; so that they parted not with more Right " than they retained." The same Author tells us, "That the same Power was afterwards extorted from " them by their Emperours." Servius Tullius at first reigned by fraud, and as it were a Deputy to Tarquinius Priscus; but afterward he referred it to the People, Whether they would have him reign or no? At last, says Tacitus, he became the Author of such Laws as the Kings were obliged to obey. Do you think he would have done such an injury to himself and his Posterity, if he had been of opinion that the Right of Kings had been above all Laws? Their last King Tarquinus Superbus, was the first that put an end to that custom of consulting the Senate concerning all Publick Affairs; for which very thing, and other enormities of his, the People deposed him, and banished him and his Family. These things I have out of Livy and Cicero, than whom you will hardly produce any better Expositors of the Right of Kings among the Romans. As for the Dictatorship, that was but temporary, and was never made use of, but in great extremities, and was not to continue longer than six Months. But that which you call
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 149

the Right of the Roman Emperours, was no Right, but a plain downright Force; and was gained by War only. But Tacitus, say you, that lived under the Government of a single Person, writes thus; The Gods have committed the Sovereign Power in human Affairs to Princes only, and have left to Subjects the honour of being obedient. But you tell us not where Tacitus has these words, for you were conscious to your self, that you imposed upon your Readers in quoting them; which I presently smelt out, tho I could not find the place of a sudden: For that Expression is not Tacitus's own, who is an approved Writer, and of all others the greatest Enemy to Tyrants; but Tacitus relates that of M. Terentius, a Gentleman of Rome, being accused for a Capital Crime, amongst other things that he said to save his Life, flattered Tiberius on this manner. It is in the Sixth Book of his Annals. "The Gods have entrusted you with the ultimate Judgment in all things; they have left us "the honour of Obedience." And you cite this passage as if Tacitus had said it himself; you scrape together whatever seems to make for your Opinion, either out of ostentation, or out of weakness; you would leave out nothing that you could find in a Baker's, or a Barber's Shop; nay, you would be glad of any thing that looked like an Argument, from the very Hangman. If you had read Tacitus himself, and not transcribed some loose Quotations out of him by other Authors, he would have taught you whence that Imperial Right had its Original. "After the Conquest of Asia, says he, the whole State "of our Affairs was turned upside down; nothing of "the ancient integrity of our Forefathers was left "amongst us; all men shook off that former equal-"lity which had been observed, and began to have a "reverence for the Mandates of Princes." This you might have learned out of the Third Book of his An-
Defence of the People of England,

nals, whence you have all your Regal Right. "When " that ancient equality was laid aside, and instead " thereof Ambition and Violence took place, Ty- " rannical Forms of Government started up, and " fixed themselves in many Countries." This same thing you might have learned out of Dio, if your na- tural Levity and Unsetledness of Judgment would have suffered you to apprehend any thing that's solid. He tells us in the Fifty third Book of his History, out of which Book you have made some quotation al- ready, That Octavius Cæsar, partly by Force, and partly by Fraud, brought things to that pass, that the Emperors of Rome became no longer fettered by Laws. For he, tho he promised to the people in publick that he would lay down the Government, and obey the Laws, and become subject to others; yet under pretence of making War in several Provinces of the Empire, still retained the Legions, and so by degrees invaded the Government, which he pretended he would refuse. This was not regularly getting from under the Law, but breaking forcibly through all Laws, as Spartacus the Gladiator might have done; and then assuming to himself the style of Prince or Emperor, as if God or the Law of Nature had put all Men and all Laws into subjection under him. Would you enquire a little further into the Original of the Right of the Roman Emperors? Marcus Anto- nius, whom Cæsar (when by taking up Arms against the Commonwealth, he had got all the Power into his hands) had made Conful, when a Solemnity called the Lupercalia was celebrated at Rome; as had been contrived before-hand that he should set a Crown upon Cæsar's head, though the people sighed and lamented at the sight, caused it to be entred upon record, That Marcus Antonius at the Lupercalia, made Cæsar King at the Instance of the people. Of which action Cicero in his second Philippick says, "Was
"Lucius Tarquinius therefore expelled, Spurius Cafius, Sp. Melius, and Marcus Manilius put to death, "that after many ages Marcus Antonius should make "a King in Rome contrary to Law? But you deserve "to be tortured, and loaded with everlasting disgrace, "much more than Mark Antony;" tho I would not have you proud because he and your self are put to-gether: for I do not think so despicable a Wretch as you fit to be compared with him in any thing but his Impiety; you that in those horrible Lupercalia of yours, set not a Crown upon one Tyrant's head, but upon all, and such a Crown as you would have limited by no Laws, nor liable to any. Indeed if we must believe the Oracles of the Emperors themselves (for so some Christian Emperors, as Theodosius and Valens, have called their Edicts, Cod. lib. 1. tit. 14.) the Authority of the Emperors depends upon that of the Law. So that the Majesty of the Person that reigns, even by the Judgment, or call it the Oracle of the Emperors themselves, must submit to the Laws, on whose Authority it depends. Hence Pliny tells Trajan in his Panegyrick, when the Power of the Emperors was grown to its height, "A Principality, "and an Absolute Sovereignty are quite different "things. Trajan puts down whatever looks like a "Kingdom; he rules like a Prince, that there may "be no room for a Magisterial Power." And afterwards, "Whatever I have said of other Princes, I "said that I might show how our Prince reforms "and corrects the Manners of Princes, which by long "custom have been corrupted and depraved." Are not you ashamed to call that the Right of Kings that Pliny calls the corrupt and depraved Customs of Princes? But let this suffice to have been said in short of the Right of Kings, as it was taken at Rome. How they dealt with their Tyrants, whether Kings or Em- perors, is generally known. They expelled Tarquin.
Defence of the People of England,

But, say you, How did they expel him? Did they proceed against him judicially? No such matter: When he would have come into the City, they shut the gates against him. Ridiculous Fool! What could they do but shut the gates, when he was hastening to them with part of the Army? And what great difference will there be, whether they banished him, or put him to death, so they punished him one way or other? The best men of that age kill'd Cæsar the Tyrant in the very Senate. Which action of theirs, Marcus Tullius, who was himself a very excellent Man, and publicly call'd the Father of his Countrey, both elsewhere and particularly in his second Philippick, extols wonderfully. I'll repeat some of his words: "All good men kill'd Cæsar, as far as in them lay. Some Men could not advise in it, others wanted Courage to act in it, others wanted an Opportunity, all had a good will to it." And afterwards, "What greater and more glorious Action (ye holy gods!) ever was performed, not in this City only, but in any other Country? what Action more worthy to be recom-" mended to everlasting memory? I am not unwilling to be included within the number of those that advised it, as within the Trojan Horse." The passage of Seneca may relate both to the Romans, and the Grecians, "There cannot be a greater, nor more acceptable Sacrifice offered up to Jupiter, than a wicked Prince." For if you consider Hercules, whose words these are, they show what the Opinion was of the principal Men amongst the Grecians in that Age. If the Poet, who flourished under Nero, (and the most worthy Persons in Plays generally express the Poet's own Sense) then this passage shows us what Seneca himself and all good Men, even in Nero's time, thought was fit to be done to a Tyrant; and how vertuous an Action, how acceptable to God they thought it to kill one. So every good Man of
Rome, as far as in him lay, kill'd Domitian. Pliny the Second owns it openly in his Panegyrick to Trajan the Emperor, " We took pleasure in dashing those proud Looks against the Ground, in piercing him with our Swords, in mangling him with Axes, as if he had bled and felt pain at every stroke: No Man could so command his passion of Joy, but that he counted it a piece of Revenge to behold his mangled Limbs, his Members torn asunder, and after all, his stern and horrid Statues thrown down and burnt." And afterwards, "They cannot love "good Princes enough, that cannot hate bad ones "as they deserve." Then amongst other Enormi-
ties of Domitian, he reckons this for one, that he put to death Epaphroditus, that had kill'd Nero: "Had "we forgotten the avenging Nero's death? Was it "likely that he would suffer his Life and Actions to "be ill spoken of, whose death he revenged?" He seems to have thought it almost a Crime not to kill Nero, that counts it so great a one to punish him that did it. By what has been said, it is evident, that the best of the Romans did not only kill Tyrants, as oft as they could, and howsoever they could; but that they thought it a commendable, and a praiseworthy Action so to do, as the Grecians had done before them. For when they could not proceed judicially against a Tyrant in his life-time, being inferior to him in Strength and Power, yet after his death they did it, and condemn'd him by the Valerian Law. For Va-
leriùs Publicola, Junius Brutus his Colleague, when he saw that Tyrants, being guarded with Soldiers, could not be brought to a legal Trial, he devis'd a Law to make it lawful to kill them any way, tho un-
condemn'd; and that they that did it, should after-
wards give an account of their so doing. Hence, when Cassius had actually run Caligula through with a Sword, tho every Body else had done it in their
Defence of the People of England,

hearts, Valerius Asiaticus, one that had been Consul, being present at the time, cried out to the Soldiers that began to mutiny because of his death, I wish my self had kill'd him. And the Senate at the same time was so far from being displeased with Cassius for what he had done, that they resolved to extirpate the Memory of the Emperors, and to raze the Temples that had been erected in Honour of them. When Claudius was presently saluted Emperor by the Soldiers, they forbade him by the Tribune of the People to take the Government upon him; but the Power of the Soldiers prevailed. The Senate declared Nero an Enemy, and made enquiry after him, to have punished him according to the Law of their Ancestors; which required, that he should be stript naked, and hung by the Neck upon a forked Stake, and whipt to death. Consider now, how much more mildly and moderately the English dealt with their Tyrant, tho many are of Opinion, that he caused the spilling of more Blood than ever Nero himself did. So the Senate condemn'd Domitian after his death; they commanded his Statues to be pull'd down and dash'd in pieces, which was all they could do. When Commodus was slain by his own Officers, neither the Senate, nor the People punifht the Fact, but declared him an Enemy, and enquired for his dead Corps to have made it an Example. An Act of the Senate made upon that occasion is extant in Lampridius: “Let the Enemy of his Country be depriv'd of all his Titles; let the Parricide be drawn, let him be torn in pieces in the Spoliary, let the Enemy of the gods, the Executioner of the Senate be dragg'd with a Hook,” &c. The same Persons in a very full Senate condemn'd Didius Julianus to death, and sent a Tribune to slay him in the Palace. The same Senate deposed Maximinus, and declared him an Enemy. Let us hear the words of the Decree of the Senate con-
cerning him, as Capitoline relates it: "The Consul put the question, Conscript Fathers, what is your pleasure concerning the Maximines? They answered, 'They are Enemies, they are Enemies, who ever kills them shall be rewarded.' Would you know now, whether the People of Rome, and the Provinces of the Empire obeyed the Senate, or Maximine the Emperor? Hear what the same Author says, The Senate wrote Letters into all the Provinces, requiring them to take care of their Common Safety and Liberty; the Letters were publickly read. And the Friends, the Deputies, the Generals, the Tribunes, the Soldiers of Maximine, were slain in all places; very few Cities were found that kept their Faith with the publick Enemy. Herodian relates the same thing. But what need we give any more Instances out of the Roman Histories? Let us now see what manner of thing the Right of Kings was in those days, in the Nations that bordered upon the Empire. Ambiorix, a King of the Gauls, confesses, "The Nature of his Dominion to be such, that the People have as great Power over him, as he over them." And consequently, as well as he judged them, he might be judged by them. Vercingetorix, another King in Gaul, was accused of Treason by his own People. These things Cæsar relates in his History of the Gallick Wars. "Neither is the Regal Power among the Germans absolute and uncontrollable; lesser matters are ordered and disposed by the Princes; greater Affairs by all the People. The King or Prince is more considerable by the Authority of his Persuasions, than by any Power that he has of commanding. "If his Opinion be not approv'd of, they declare their dislike of it by a general murmuring Noise." This is out of Tacitus. Nay, and you your self now confess, that what but of late you exclaim'd against as an unheard of thing, has been often done, to wit,
Defence of the People of England,

That no less than fifty Scotch Kings have been either Banished, or Imprisoned, or put to death, nay, and some of them publicly executed. Which having come to pass in our very Island; why do you, as if it were your Office to conceal the violent deaths of Tyrants, by burying them in the dark, exclaim against it as an abominable and unheard of thing? You proceed to commend the Jews and Christians for their Religious Obedience even to Tyrants, and to heap one Lie upon another, in all which I have already confuted you. Lately you made large Encomiums on the Obedience of the Assyrians and Persians, and now you reckon up their Rebellions; and tho' but of late you said they never had rebell'd at all, now you give us a great many reasons why they rebell'd so often. Then you resume the Narrative of the manner of our King's death, which you had broken off long since; that if you had not taken care sufficiently to appear ridiculous, and a Fool then, you may do it now. You said, *He was led through the Members of his own Court.* What you mean by the Members of the Court, I would gladly know. You enumerate the Calamities that the Romans underwent by changing their Kingdom into a Commonwealth. In which I have already shown how grossly you give your self the Lie. What was it you said when you wrote against the Jesuit? You demonstrated, That in an Aristocracy, or a popular State there could be but Seditious and Tumults, whereas under a Tyrant nothing was to be looked for, but certain Ruin and Destruction: And dare you now say, you vain corrupt Mortal, That those Seditions were Punishments inflicted upon them for banishing their Kings? Forsooth, because King Charles gave you a hundred Jacobusses, therefore the Romans shall be punished for banishing their Kings. But "they that kill'd Julius Caesar did not prosper after-wards." I confess, if I would have had any Tyrant
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

spared, it should have been him. For altho he introduced a Monarchical Government into a Free State by force of Arms, yet perhaps himself deserved a Kingdom best; and yet I conceive that none of those that killed him can be said to have been punished for so doing, any more than Caius Anthonius, Cicero's Colleague, for destroying Catiline, who when he was afterward condemn'd for other Crimes, says Cicero in his Oration pro Flacco, Catiline's Sepulchre was adorned with Flowers. For they that favoured Catiline, then rejoiced; They gave out then, that what Catiline did was just, to encrease the Peoples hatred against those that had cut him off. These are Artifices, which wicked Men make use of, to deter the best of Men from punishing Tyrants, and flagitious Persons. I might as easily say the quite contrary, and instance in them that have killed Tyrants, and prospered afterwards; if any certain inference might be drawn in such Cases from the events of things. You object further, That the English did not put their Hereditary King to death in like manner, as Tyrants use to be slain, but as Robbers and Traytors are executed. In the first place I do not, nor can any wise Man understand what a Crown's being Hereditary should contribute to a King's Crimes being unpunishable. What you ascribe to the Barbarous Cruelty of the English, proceeded rather from their Clemency and Moderation, and as such, deserves Commendation; who, tho' the being a Tyrant is a Crime that comprehends all sorts of Enormities, such as Robberies, Treasons, and Rebellions against the whole Nation, yet were contented to inflict no greater punishment upon him for being so, than they used of course to do upon any common Highway-man, or ordinary Traytor. You hope some such Men as Harmodius and Thrasibulus will rise up amongst us, and make expiation for the King's death by shedding their Blood that were
Defence of the People of England,

the Authors of it. But you will run mad with despair, and be detested by all good Men, and put an end to that wretched Life of yours, by hanging your self, before you see Men like Harmodius avenging the Blood of a Tyrant upon such as have done no other than what they did themselves. That you will come to such an end is most probable, nor can any other be expected of so great a Rogue; but the other thing is an utter impossibility. You mention thirty Tyrants that rebelled in Gallienus's time. And what if it fall out, that one Tyrant happens to oppose another, must therefore all they that resist Tyrants be accounted such themselves? You cannot persuade Men into such a belief, you Slave of a Knight; nor your Author Trebellius Pollio, the most inconsiderable of all Historians that have writ. If any of the Emperors were declared Enemies by the Senate, you say, it was done by Faction, but could not have been by Law. You put us in mind what it was that made Emperours at first: It was Faction and Violence, and to speak plainer, it was the madness of Anthony, that made Generals at first rebel against the Senate, and the People of Rome; there was no Law, no Right for their so doing. Galba, you say, was punished for his Insurrection against Nero. Tells us likewise how Vespasian was punished for taking up Arms against Vitellius; There was as much difference, you say, betwixt Charles and Nero, as betwixt those English Butchers, and the Roman Senators of that Age. Despicable Villain! by whom it is Scandalous to be commended, and a Praise to be evil spoken of: But a few Periods before, discoursing of this very thing, you said, That the Roman Senate under the Emperors, was in effect but an Assembly of Slaves in Robes: And here you say, That very Senate was an Assembly of Kings; which if it be allowed, then are Kings according to your own Opinion, but Slaves with Robes on.
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 159

Kings are blessed, that have such a Fellow as you to write in their praise, than whom no Man is more a Rascal, no Beast more void of sense, unless this one thing may be said to be peculiar to you, that none ever brayed so learnedly. You make the Parliament of England more like to Nero, than to the Roman Senate. This itch of yours of making silly Similitudes, enforces me to rectify you, whether I will or no: And I will let you see how like King Charles was to Nero. Nero you say, commanded his own Mother to be run through with a Sword. But Charles murdered both his Prince, and his Father, and that by Poyson. For to omit other evidences; he that would not suffer a Duke that was accused for it, to come to his Tryal, must needs have been guilty of it himself. Nero flew many thousands of Christians; but Charles flew many more. There were those, says Suetonius, that praised Nero after he was dead, that long'd to have had him again, That hung Garlands of Flowers upon his Sepulchre, and gave out that they would never prosper that had been his Enemies. And some there are transported with the like Phrensy, that wish for King Charles again, and extol him to the highest degree imaginable, of whom you a Knight of the Halter are a Ringleader. The English Soldiers more Savage than their own Majiffs, erected a new and unheard-of Court of Justice. Observe this ingenious Symbol, or Adage of Salmasius, which he has now repeated six times over, more Savage than their own Majiffs. Take notice, Orators and School-Masters; pluck, if you are wise, this Elegant Flower, which Salmasius is so very fond of: Commit this Flourish of a Man, that is so much a Master of Words, to your Desks for safe Custody, lest it be lost. Has your rage made you forget words to that degree, that like a Cuckoo, you must needs say the same thing over and over again? What strange thing has befallen you?
The Poet tells us, that Spleen and Rage turn'd Hecuba into a Dog; and it has turn'd you, the Lord of St. Lupus, into a Cuckoo. Now you come out with fresh Contradictions. You had said before, pag. 113. That Princes were not bound by any Laws, neither Coercive, nor Directory; that they were bound by no Law at all. Now you say, That you will discourse by and by of the difference betwixt some Kings and others, in point of Power; some having had more, some less. You say, You will prove that Kings cannot be judged, nor condemn'd by their own Subjects, by a most solid Argument; but you do it by a very silly one, and 'tis this: You say, There was no other difference than that betwixt the Judges, and the Kings of the Jews; and yet the reason why the Jews required to have Kings over them, was because they were weary of their Judges, and hated their Government. Do you think, that, because they might judg and condemn their Judges, if they misbehaved themselves in the Government, they therefore hated and were weary of them, and would be under Kings, whom they should have no Power to restrain and keep within Bounds, tho they should break through all Laws? Who but you ever argued so childishly? So that they desired a King for some other reason, than that they might have a Master over them, whose Power should be superior to that of the Law; which reason what it was, it is not to our present purpose to make a Conjecture. Whatever it was, both God and his Prophets tells us, it was no piece of prudence in the People to desire a King. And now you fall foul upon your Rabbins, and are very angry with them for saying, That a King might be judged and condemned to undergo Stripes; out of whose Writings you said before you had proved that the Kings of the Jews could not be judged. Wherein you confess, that you told a Lye when you said you had proved any such thing out of their
in Answr to Salmasius for the King. Nay, you come at last to forget the Subject you were upon, of writing in the King's Defence, and raise little impertinent Controversies about Solomon's Stables, and how many Stalls he had for his Horses. Then of a Jockey you become a Ballad-singer again, or rather, as I said before, a raving distracted Cuckoo. You complain, That in these latter Ages, Discipline has been more remiss, and the Rule left observed and kept up to; viz. because one Tyrant is not permitted, without a Check from the Law, to let loose the Reins of all Discipline, and corrupt all Mens manners. This Doctrine, you say, the Brownists introduced amongst those of the Reform'd Religion; so that Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer, and all the most Celebrated Orthodox Divines are Brownists in your Opinion. The English have the less reason to take your Reproaches ill, because they hear you belching out the same Slanders against the most eminent Doctors of the Church, and in effect against the whole Reformed Church itself.

CHAP. VI.

After having discours'd upon the Law of God, and of Nature, and handled both so untowardly, that you have got nothing by the bargain but a deserved reproach of ignorance and knavery; I cannot apprehend what you can have farther to alleged in defence of your Royal Cause, but meer trifles. I for my part hope I have given satisfaction already to all good and learned men, and done this Noble Cause right, should I break off here; yet least I should seem to any to decline your variety of arguing and ingenuity, rather than your immoderate impertinence, and tittle-tattle, I'll follow you where ever you have a mind to go; but with such brevity.
Defence of the People of England,
as shall make it appear, that after having perform'd
whatever the necessary defence of the Cause required,
if not what the dignity of it merited, I now do but
comply with some mens expectation, if not their
curiosity. *Now, say you, I shall allegd other and
greater Arguments. What! greater Arguments than
what the Law of God and Nature afforded? Help
Lucina! The mountain Salmajius is in labour! It
is not for nothing that he has got a She-Husband.
Mortals expect some extraordinary Birth. If he that
is, and is called a King, might be accused before any
other Power, that Power must of necessity be greater
than that of the King; and if so, then must that Power
be indeed the Kingly Power, and ought to have the name
of it: For a Kingly Power is thus defined; to wit, the
Supreme Power in the State residing in a single Per-
son, and which has no superior. O ridiculous Birth! a
Mouse crept out of the Mountain! Help Gram-
marians! one of your number is in danger of perishing!
The Law of God and of Nature are safe; but
Salmajius's Dictionary is undone. What if I should
answer you thus? That words ought to give place
to things; that we having taken away Kingly Go-
vernment it self, do not think our selves concerned
about its name and definition; let others look to
that, who are in love with Kings: We are contented
with the enjoyment of our Liberty; such an answer
would be good enough for you. But to let you see
that I deal fairly with you throughout, I will an-
swer you, not only from my own, but from the
opinion of very wise and good men, who have thought
that the Name and Power of a King are very con-
sistent with a Power in the People and the Law,
superior to that of the King himself. In the first
place Lycurgus, a man very eminent for wisdom,
designing, as Plato says, to secure a Kingly Govern-
ment as well as it was possible, could find no better
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 163

expedient to preserve it, than by making the Power of the Senate, and of the Ephori, that is, the Power of the People, superior to it. Theseus, in Euripides, King of Athens, was of the same opinion; for he to his great honour restored the People to their Liberty, and advanced the Power of the People above that of the King, and yet left the Regal Power in that City to his posterity. Whence Euripides in his play called the Suppliants, introduces him speaking on this manner: “I have advanced the People themselves into the Throne, having freed the City from Slavery, and admitted the People to a share in the Government, by giving them an equal right of Suffrage.” And in another place to the Herald of Thebes, “In the first place,” says he, “you begin your Speech, Friend, with a thing that is not true, in stiling me a Monarch; for this City is not governed by a single Person, but is a Free State; the People reigns here.” These were his words, when at the same time he was both called, and really was King there. The Divine Plato likewise in his Eight Epistle, Lycurgus, says he, introduced the Power of the Senate and of the Ephori, a thing very preservative of Kingly Government, which by this means has honourably flourished for so many Ages, because the Law in effect was made King. Now the Law cannot be King, unless there be some, who, if there should be occasion, may put the Law in execution against the King. A Kingly Government so bounded and limited, he himself commends to the Sicilians: “Let the People enjoy their Liberty under a Kingly Government; let the King himself be accountable; let the Law take place even against Kings themselves, if they act contrary to Law.” Aristotle likewise in the third Book of his Politicks, “Of all King-doms,” says he, “that are govern’d by Laws, that of the Lacedemonians seems to be most truly and
Defence of the People of England,

"properly so." And he says, all forms of Kingly Governments are according to settled and established Laws, but one, which he calls πανβασιλεία, or Absolute Monarchy, which he does not mention ever to have obtain'd in any Nation. So that Aristotle thought such a Kingdom, as that of the Lacedemonians was, to be and deserve the name of a Kingdom more properly than any other; and consequently that a King, tho subordinate to his own People, was nevertheless actually a King, and properly so called. Now since so many and so great Authors assert that a Kingly Government both in name and thing may very well subsist even where the People, tho they do not ordinarily exercise the Supream Power, yet have it actually residing in them, and exercise it upon occasion; be not you of so mean a Soul as to fear the downfall of Grammar, and the confusion of the signification of words to that degree, as to betray the Liberty of Mankind, and the State, rather than your Glossary should not hold water. And know for the future, that words must be conformable to things, not things to words. By this means you'll have more wit, and not run on in infinitum, which now you're afraid of. It was to no purpose then for Seneca, you say, to describe those three forms of Government, as he has done. Let Seneca do a thing to no purpose, so we enjoy our Liberty. And if I mistake us not, we are other sort of Men than to be enslav'd by Seneca's Flowers. And yet Seneca, tho he says that the Sovereign Power in a Kingly Government resides in a single Person, says withal that the Power is the People's, and by them committed to the King for the welfare of the whole, not for their ruin and destruction; and that the People has not given him a propriety in it, but the use of it. Kings at this rate, you say, do not reign by God, but by the People. As if God did not so over-rule the People, that they
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 165

set up such Kings, as it pleases God. Since *Justinian* himself openly acknowledges, that the *Roman* Emperours derived their Authority from that *Royal Law*, whereby the People granted to them and vested in them all their own Power and Authority. But how oft shall we repeat these things over and over again? Then you take upon you to intermeddle with the Constitution of our Government, in which you are no ways concerned, who are both a Stranger and a Foreigner; but it shows your sawciness, and want of good manners. Come then, let us hear your *Solœcisms*, like a busy Coxcomb as you are. You tell us, but 'tis in false *Latin*, that *what those Desperadoes say*, is only to deceive the People. You Rascal! was it not for this that you a Renegado Grammarian, were so forward to intermeddle with the Affairs of our Government, that you might introduce your *Solœcisms* and Barbarisms amongst us? But say, How have we deceiv'd the People? *The form of Government which they have set up, is not Popular, but Military.* This is what that herd of Fugitives and Vagabonds hired you to write. So that I shall not trouble my self to answer you, who bleat what you know nothing of, but I'll answer them that hired you. *Who excluded the Lords from Parliament, was it the People?* Ay it was the People; and in so doing they threw an intolerable Yoke of Slavery from off their necks. Thofe very Soldiers, who you say did it, were not Foreigners, but our own Country-men, and a great part of the People; and they did it with the consent, and at the desire of almost all the rest of the People, and not without the Authority of the Parliament neither. *Was it the People that cut off part of the House of Commons, forcing some away? &c.* Yes, I say, it was the People. For whatever the better and founder part of the Senate did, in which the true power of the People resided,
Defence of the People of England,

why may not the People be said to have done it? What if the greater part of the Senate should choose to be Slaves, or to expose the Government to sale, ought not the lesser number to interpose, and endeavour to retain their Liberty, if it be in their power? But the Officers of the Army and their Soldiers did it. And we are beholden to those Officers for not being wanting to the State, but repelling the Tumultuary violence of the Citizens and Mechanics of London, who, like that Rabble that appeared for Clodius, had but a little before beset the very Parliament House? Do you therefore call the right of the Parliament, to whom it properly and originally belongs to take care of the Liberty of the People both in Peace and War, a Military Power? But 'tis no wonder that those Traitors that have dictated these passages to you, should talk at that rate; so that profligate faction of Anthony and his adherents used to call the Senate of Rome, when they armed themselves against the Enemies of their Country, The Camp of Pompey. And now I'm glad to understand that they of your party envy Cromwell, that most valiant General of our Army, for undertaking that Expedition in Ireland, (so acceptable to Almighty God) surrounded with a joyful crowd of his Friends, and prosecuted with the well-wishes of the people, and the prayers of all good men: For I question not but at the news of his many Victories there, they are by this time burst with spleen. I pass by many of your impertinencies concerning the Roman Soldiers. What follows is most notoriously false: The power of the people, say you, ceases where there is a King. By what Law or Right is that? Since it is known that almost all Kings, of what Nations soever, received their Authority from the people upon certain conditions; which if the King do not perform, I wish you would inform us, why
that Power, which was but a trust, should not return to the people, as well from a King, as from a Consul, or any other Magistrate. For when you tell us, that 'tis necessary for the Publick Safety, you do but trifle with us; for the safety of the Publick is equally concerned, whether it be from a King, or from a Senate, or from a Triumvirate, that the power where-with they were entrusted, revert to the people, upon their abuse of it; and yet you yourself grant that it may so revert from all sorts of Magistrates, a King only excepted. Certainly, if no people in their right wits ever committed the Government either to a King, or other Magistrates, for any other purpose than for the common good of them all, there can be no reason why, to prevent the utter ruin of them all, they may not as well take it back again from a King, as from other Governors; nay, and it may with far greater ease be taken from one, than from many. And to invest any mortal creature with a power over themselves, on any other terms than upon trust, were extreme madness; nor is it credible that any people since the Creation of the World, who had freedom of will, were ever so miserably silly, as either to part with the power for ever, and to all purposes, or to revoke it from those whom they had entrusted with it, but upon most urgent and weighty reasons. If dissensions, if Civil Wars, are occasioned thereby, there cannot any Right accrue from thence to the King, to retain that power by force of arms, which the people challenge from him as their own. Whence it follows that what you say, and we do not deny, That Governors are not lightly to be changed, is true with respect to the Peoples Prudence, not the King's Right; but that therefore they ought never to be changed, upon no occasion whatsoever, that does not follow by no means; nor have you hitherto alleged any thing, nor made appear any
Defence of the People of England,

Right of Kings to the contrary, but that all the people concurring, they may lawfully be deposed, when unfit for Government; provided it may be done, as it has been often done in your own Country of France, without any Tumults or Civil Wars. Since therefore the Safety of the People, and not that of a Tyrant, is the Supreme Law; and consequently ought to be alledged on the Peoples behalf against a Tyrant, and not for him against them: you that go about to pervert so sacred and so glorious a Law, with your fallacies and juglings; you who would have this Supreme Law, and which of all others is most beneficial to mankind, to serve only for the Impunity of Tyrants; let me tell you (since you call us Englishmen so often inspired, and Enthusiasts, and Prophets) let me, I say, be so far a Prophet, as to tell you, That the Vengeance of God and Man hangs over your head for so horrid a Crime; altho your subjecting all Mankind to Tyranny, as far as in you lies, which in effect is no better than condemning them to be devoured by wild Beasts, is in it self part of its own Vengeance; and whithersoever you fly, and wheresoever you wander, will first or last pursue you with its Furies, and overtake you, and cause you to rave worse than you do at present. I come now to your second Argument, which is not unlike the first: If the People may resume their Liberty, there would be no difference, say you, betwixt a Popular State and a Kingdom; but that in a Kingdom one man rules, and in a Popular State many. And what if that were true; would the State have any prejudice by it? But you yourself tell us of other differences that would be notwithstanding; to wit, of Time and Succession; for in popular States, the Magistrates are generally chosen yearly; whereas Kings, if they behave themselves well, are perpetual; and in most Kingdoms there is
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 169

a Succession in the same Family. But let them differ from one another, or not differ, I regard not those petty things: In this they agree, that when the Public Good requires it, the People may without doing injury to any, resume that Power for the Public Safety, which they committed to another for that end and purpose. But according to the Royal Law, by the Romans so called, which is mentioned in the Institutes, the People of Rome granted all their Power and Authority to the Prince. They did so by compulsion; the Emperor being willing to ratify their Tyranny by the Authority of a Law. But of this we have spoken before; and their own Lawyers, commenting upon this place in the Institutes, confess as much. So that we make no question but the People may revoke what they were forced to grant, and granted against their wills. But most rational it is to suppose, that the People of Rome transferred no other power to the Prince, than they had before granted to their own Magistrates; and that was a power to govern according to Law, and a revocable, not an absurd, tyrannical power. Hence it was that the Emperors assumed the Consular Dignity, and that of the Tribunes of the People; but after Julius Caesar, not one of them pretended to the Dictatorship: In the Circus Maximus they used to adore the People, as I have said already out of Tacitus and Claudian. But as heretofore many private persons have sold themselves into slavery, so a whole Nation may. Thou Goal-bird of a Knight, thou day-spirit, thou everlasting scandal to thy Native Countrey! The most despicable Slaves in the World ought to abhor and spit upon such a Factor for Slavery, such a publick Pander as thou art. Certainly if people had so enslaved themselves to Kings, then might Kings turn them over to other Masters, or sell them for Money; and yet we know that Kings cannot so
Defence of the People of England,
much as alienate the Demesnes of the Crown: And
shall he, that has but the Crown, and the Revenues
that belong to it, as an Usufructuary, and those given
him by the People, can he be said to have, as it were,
purchased the People, and made them his Propriety?
Tho you were bored through both ears, and went
barefoot, you would not be so vile and despicable,
so much more contemptible than all Slaves, as the
broaching such a scandalous Doctrine as this makes
you. But go on, and punish your self for your Ro-
gueries, as now you do, tho against your will. You
frame a long Discourse of the Law of War; which
is nothing to the purpose in this place: For neither
did Charles conquer us; and for his Ancestors, if it
were never so much granted that they did, yet have
they often renounced their Title as Conquerors.
And certain it is, That we were never so conquered,
but that as we swore Allegiance to them, so they
swore to maintain our Laws, and govern by them:
Which Laws, when Charles had notoriously violated,
taken in what capacity you will, as one who had
formerly been a Conqueror, or was now a perjured
King, we subdued him by force, he himself having
begun with us first. And according to your own
opinion, Whatever is acquired by War, becomes his
property that acquired it. So that how full soever
you are of words, how impertinent soever a babler,
whatever you prate, how great a noise soever you
make, what Quotations soever out of the Rabbins,
ths you make your self never so hoarse, to the end
of this Chapter, assure your self, That nothing of it
makes for the King, he being now conquered, but
all for us, who by God's assistance are Conquerors.
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 171

CHAP. VII.

To avoid two very great inconveniences, and, considering your own weight, very weighty ones indeed, you denied in the foregoing Chapter, That the Peoples Power was superior to that of the King; for if that should be granted, Kings must provide themselves of some other name, because the People would indeed be King, and some divisions in your System of Politicks would be confounded: the first of which inconveniences would thwart with your Dictionary, and the latter overthrow your Politicks. To these I have given such an answer as shows, That tho our own Safety and Liberty were the principal things I aimed the preservation of, yet withal, I had some consideration of salving your Dictionary, and your Politicks. Now, say you, I will prove by other arguments, That a King cannot be judged by his own Subjects; of which Arguments this shall be the greatest and most convincing, That a King has no Peer in his Kingdom. What? Can a King have no Peer in his Kingdom? What then is the meaning of those Twelve Ancient Peers of the Kings of France? Are they Fables and Trifles? Are they called so in vain, and in mock only? Have a care how you affront those Principal Men of that Kingdom: Who if they are not the King's Peers, as they are called, I am afraid your Dictionary, which is the only thing you are concerned for, will be found more faulty in France, than in England. But go to, let's hear your demonstration, that a King has no Peer in his own Kingdom. Because, say you, the People of Rome, when they had banish'd their King, appointed not one, but two Consuls; and the reason was, That if one of them should transgress the Laws, his Collegue might be a check to
Defence of the People of England,

him. There could hardly have been devised any thing more filthy: How came it to pass then, that but one of the Consuls had the bundles of Rods carried before him, and not both, if two were appointed, that each might have a Power over the other? And what if both had conspired against the Commonwealth? Would not the Case then be the very same that it would have been, if one Consul only had been appointed without a Colleague? But we know very well, that both Consuls, and all other Magistrates were bound to obey the Senate, whenever the Senate and the People saw, that the Interest of the Commonwealth so required. We have a famous instance of that in the Decemvirs, who tho they were invested with the Power of Consuls, and were the chief Magistrates, yet the Authority of the Senate reduced them all, tho they struggled to retain their Government. Nay, we read that some Consuls before they were out of office, have been declared Enemies, and Arms been taken up against them; for in those days no man looked upon him as a Consul, who acted as an Enemy. So War was waged against Antony, tho a Consul, by Authority of the Senate; in which being worsted, he would have been put to death, but that Octavius, affecting the Empire, sided with him to subvert the Commonwealth. Now whereas you say, That it is a property peculiar to Kingly Majesty, that the power resides in a single person; that's but a loose expression, like the rest of what you say, and is contradicted by your self a little after: For the Hebrew Judges, you say, ruled as long as they lived, and there was but one of them at a time: The Scripture also calls them Kings; and yet they were accountable to the great Council. Thus we see, That an itch of Vain-glory, in being thought to have said all that can be said, makes you hardly say any thing but contradictions. Then I ask, what kind of Government that was in
Anfwer to Salmafius for the King. 173

the **Roman** Empire, when sometimes two, sometimes three Emperors, reign'd all at once? Do you reckon them to have been Emperors, that is, Kings, or was it an **Aristocracy**, or a **Triumvirate**? Or will you deny, that the **Roman** Empire under **Antoninus** and **Verus**, under **Dioclesian** and **Maximian**, under **Constantine** and **Licinius**, was still but one entire Empire? If these Princes were not Kings, your three Forms of Government will hardly hold; if they were, then it is not an essential Property of a Kingly Government, to reside in a single person. If one of these offend, say you, then may the other refer the matter to the Senate, or the People, where he may be accused and condemned. And does not the Senate and the People then judge, when the matter is so referred to them? So that if you will give any credit to your self, there needs not one Collegue to judge another. Such a miserable Advocate as you, if you were not so wretched a fellow as you are, would deserve compassion; you lie every way so open to blows, that if one were minded for sports-sake to make a Pass at any part of you, he could hardly miss, let him aim where he would. '**Tis ridiculous, say you, to imagine,** That a King will ever appoint Judges to condemn himself. But I can tell you of an Emperor, that was no ridiculous person, but an Excellent Prince, and that was **Trajan**, who when he delivered a Dagger to a certain **Roman** Magistrate, as the custom was, that being the badg of his Office, frequently thus admonished him, "Take this Sword, and use it for me, if I do as I ought; if otherwise, against me; for Miscarriages in the Supreme Magistrate are less excusable." This **Dion** and **Aurelius Victor** say of him: You see here, that a worthy Emperor appointed one to judge himself, tho he did not make him his equal. **Tiberius** perhaps might have said as much out of Vanity and Hypocrifie; but 'tis almost a crime to imagine that so good and ver-
Defence of the People of England,
utuous a Prince as Trajan, did not really speak as he thought, and according to what he apprehended right and just. How much more reasonable was it that tho he were superior to the Senate in power, and might if he would, have refused to yield them any obedience, yet he actually did obey them, as by virtue of his office he ought to do, and acknowledged their Right in the Government to be superior to his own? For so Pliny tells us in his Panegyrick, "The Senate both desired and commanded you to be Consul a fourth time; you may know by the Obedience you pay them, that this is no word of Flattery, but of Power." And a little after, "This is the design you aim at, to restore our loft Liberty." And Trajan was not of that mind alone; the Senate thought so too, and were of opinion, That their Authority was indeed Supreme: For they that could command their Emperor, might judge him. So the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, when Cæsius Governor of Syria endeavoured to get the Empire from him, referred himself either to the Senate, or the People of Rome, and declared himself ready to lay down the Government, if they would have it so. Now how should a man determine of the Right of Kings better, and more truly, than out of the very mouths of the best of Kings? Indeed every good King accounts either the Senate, or the People, not only equal, but superior to himself by the Law of Nature. But a Tyrant being by nature inferior to all men, every one that is stronger than he, ought to be accounted not only his equal but superior: For as heretofore nature taught men from Force and Violence to betake themselves to Laws; so wherever the Laws are set at naught, the same dictate of nature must necessarily prompt us to betake our selves to Force again. "To be of this opinion, says Cicero pro Sestio, is a sign of Wisdom; to put it in practice, argues Courage and Resolu-
"tion; and to do both, is the effect of Vertue in its perfection." Let this stand then as a settled Maxim of the Law of Nature, never to be shaken by any Artifices of Flatterers, That the Senate, or the People, are superior to Kings, be they good or bad: Which is but what you yourself do in effect confess, when you tell us, That the Authority of Kings was derived from the People. For that power which they transferred to Princes, doth yet naturally, or as I may say virtually reside in themselves notwithstanding: for so natural causes that produce any effect by a certain eminency of operation, do always retain more of their own virtue and energy than they impart; nor do they by communicating to others, exhaust themselves. You see, the closer we keep to Nature, the more evidently does the Peoples Power appear to be above that of the Prince. And this is likewise certain, That the People do not freely, and of choice, settle the Government in their King absolutely, so as to give him a Propriety in it, nor by Nature can do so; but only for the Publick Safety and Liberty, which when the King ceases to take care of, then the People in effect have given him nothing at all: For Nature says the People gave it him to a particular end and purpose; which end, if neither Nature nor the People can attain, the Peoples Gift becomes no more valid, than any other void Covenant or Agreement. These Reasons prove very fully, That the People are superior to the King; and so your greatest and most convincing Argument, That a King cannot be judged by his People, because he has no Peer in his Kingdom, nor any Superior, falls to the ground. For you take that for granted, which we by no means allow. In a popular State, say you, the Magistrates being appointed by the People, may likewise be punished for their Crimes by the People: In an Aristocracy the Senators may be punished by their Collegues: But 'tis a
prodigious thing to proceed criminally against a King in his own Kingdom, and make him plead for his Life. What can you conclude from hence, but they who set up Kings over them, are the most miserable and most silly People in the World? But, I pray, what's the reason why the People may not punish a King that becomes a Malefactor, as well as they may popular Magistrates and Senators in an Aristocracy? Do you think that all they who live under a Kingly Government, were so strangely in love with Slavery, as when they might be free, to chose Vassalage, and to put themselves all and entirely under the dominion of one man, who often happens to be an ill Man, and often a Fool, so as whatever cause might be, to leave themselves no refuge in, no relief from the Laws nor the Dictates of Nature, against the Tyranny of a most outrageous Master, when such a one happens? Why do they then tender Conditions to their Kings, when they first enter upon their Government, and prescribe Laws for them to govern by? Do they do this to be trampled upon the more, and be the more laughed to scorn? Can it be imagined, that a whole People would ever so vilify themselves, depart from their own interest to that degree, be so wanting to themselves, as to place all their hopes in one Man, and he very often the most vain Person of them all? To what end do they require an Oath of their Kings, not to act any thing contrary to Law? We must suppose them to do this, that (poor Creatures!) they may learn to their sorrow, That Kings only may commit Perjury with impunity. This is what your own wicked Conclusions hold forth. If a King that is elected, promise any thing to his People upon Oath, which if he would not have sworn to, perhaps they would not have chose him, yet if he refuse to perform that promise, he falls not under the Peoples censure. Nay, tho' he swear to his Subjects at his Election, That he will
in Anfwer to Salmasius for the King. 177

adminifter Justice to them according to the Laws of the Kingdom; and that if he do not, they shall be discharged of their Allegiance, and himself ipso facto ceafe to be their King, yet if he break this Oath, 'tis God and not Man that must require it of him. I have transcribed these lines, not for their Elegance, for they are bar-
barously expressed; nor because I think there needs any anfwer to them, for they answer themselves, they explode and damn themselves by their notorious fal-
hood and loathfonmess: but I did it to recommend you to Kings for your great Merits; that among so
many places as there are at Court, they may put you into some Preferment or Office that may be fit for
you. Some are Princes Secretaries, some their Cup-
bearers, some Masters of the Revels; I think you
had beft be Master of the Perjuries to some of them. You fhan't be Master of the Ceremonies, you are
too much a Clown for that; but their Treachery and Perfidiousness fhall be under your care. But that
Men may fee that you are both a Fool and a Knave
to the highest degree, let us consider these laft afser-
tions of yours a little more narrowly; A King, fay
you, tho he fhew to his Subjects at his Election that he
will govern according to Law, and that if he do not, they fhall be discharged of their Allegiance, and he him-
felf ipso facto ceafe to be their King; yet can he not
be deposed or punished by them. Why not a King,
I pray, as well as popular Magiftrates? because in a
popular State, the People do not transfer all their
Power to the Magiftrates. And do they in the Cæfè
that you have put, vest it all in the King, when they
place him in the Government upon thofe terms ex-
prefly, to hold it no longer than he uses it well? Thereforë it is evident, that a King fhewn to obferve
the Laws, if he transgrefls them, may be punished and
depofed, as well as popular Magiftrates. So that you
can make no more ufe of that invincible Argument
of the Peoples transferring all their Right and Power
to the Prince; you your self have battered it down
with your own Engines. Hear now another most
powerful and invincible Argument of his, why Subjects
cannot judg their Kings, because he is bound by no Law,
being himself the sole Lawgiver. Which having been
proved already to be most false, this great reason
comes to nothing, as well as the former. But the
reason why Princes have but seldom been proceeded
against for personal and private Crimes, as Whore-
dom, and Adultery, and the like, is not because they
could not justly be punished even for such, but left
the People should receive more prejudice through
disturbances that might be occasioned by the King's
death, and the change of Affairs, than they would
be profited by the punishment of one Man or two.
But when they begin to be universally injurious and
insufferable, it has always been the Opinion of all
Nations, that then, being Tyrants, it is lawful to put
them to death any how, condemn'd or uncondemn'd.
Hence Cicero in his Second Philippick, says thus of
those that kill'd Cæsar, "They were the first that
ran through with their Swords, not a Man who
affected to be King, but who was actually setled
in the Government; which, as it was a worthy and
"godlike Action, so it's set before us for our imita-
tion." How unlike are you to him! Murder,
Adultery, Injuries, are not regal and publick, but pri-
"vate and personal Crimes. Well said Parasite! you
have obliged all Pimps and Profligates in Courts by
this Exprefion. How ingeniously do you act, both
the Parasite, and the Pimp, with the same breath?
A King that is an Adulterer, or a Murderer, may yet
govern well, and consequently ought not to be put to
death, because together with his Life he must lose his
Kingdom; and it was never yet allowed by God's Laws,
or Man's, that for one and the same Crime, a Man was
to be punished twice. Infamous foul-mouth Wretch! By the same reason the Magistrates in a popular State, or in an *Aristocracy*, ought never to be put to death, for fear of double Punishment; no Judge, no Senator must die, for they must lose their Magistracy too, as well as their Lives. As you have endeavoured to take all Power out of the Peoples hands, and vest it in the King, so you would all Majesty too: A delegated translaticious Majesty we allow, but that Majesty does chiefly and primarily reside in him, you can no more prove, than you can, that Power and Authority does. *A King, you say, cannot commit Treason against his People, but a People may against their King.* And yet a King is what he is for the People only, not the People for him. Hence I infer, that the whole Body of the People, or the greater part of them must needs have greater Power than the King. This you deny, and begin to cast up accounts. *He is of greater Power than any one, than any two, than any three, than any ten, than any hundred, than any thousand, than any ten thousand; be it so, He is of more Power than half the People.* I will not deny that neither; *Add now half of the other half, will he not have more Power than all those?* Not at all. Go on, why do you take away the Board? Do you not understand Progression in Arithmetick? He begins to reckon after another manner. *Has not the King, and the Nobility together, more Power?* No, Mr. Change-lin, I deny that too. If by the Nobility, whom you stile *Optimates*, you mean the Peers only; for it may happen, that amongst the whole number of them, there may not be one Man deserving that Appellation; for it often falls out, that there are better and wiser Men than they amongst the Commons, whom in conjunction with the greater, or the better part of the People, I should not scruple to call by the Name of, and take them for all the People. *But if the King*
Defence of the People of England,

is not superior in Power to all the People together, he is then a King but of single Persons, he is not the King of the whole Body of the People. You say well, no more he is, unless they are content he should be so. Now, balance your Accounts, and you will find that by miscasting, you have lost your Principal. The English say, that the Right of Majesty originally and principally resides in the People; which Principle would introduce a Confusion of all States. What, of an Aristocracy and Democracy? But let that pass. What if it should overthrow a Gynaeocracy too? (i.e. a Government of one or more Women) under which State or Form of Government, they say, you are in danger of being beaten at home; would not the English do you a kindness in that, you sheepish Fellow, you? But there's no hope of that. For 'tis most justly so ordered, since you would subject all Mankind to Tyranny abroad, that you yourself should live in a scandalous most unmanlike Slavery at home. We must tell you, you say, what we mean by the word People. There are a great many other things, which you stand more in need of being told: For of things that more immediately concern you, you seem altogether ignorant, and never to have learnt any thing but Words and Letters, nor to be capable of any thing else. But this you think you know, that by the word People, we mean the Common People only, exclusive of the Nobility, because we have put down the House of Lords. And yet that very thing shows, that under the word People, we comprehend all our Natives, of what Order and Degree soever; in that we have setted one Supreme Senate only, in which the Nobility also, as a part of the People (not in their own Right, as they did before; but representing those Burroughs or Counties, for which they may be chose) may give their Votes. Then you inveigh against the Common People, as being blind and brutish, ignorant of the art of govern-
ing; you say there's nothing more empty, more vain, more inconstant, more uncertain than they. All which is very true of your self, and it's true likewise of the Rabble, but not of the middle sort, amongst whom the most prudent Men, and most skilful in Affairs are generally found; others are most commonly diverted either by Luxury and Plenty, or by Want and Poverty, from Vertue, and the study of Laws and Government. There are many ways, you say, by which Kings come to the Crown, so as not to be beholden to the People at all for it; and especially, those that inherit a Kingdom. But those Nations most certainly be Slaves, and born to Slavery, that acknowledg any one to be their Lord and Master so absolutely, as that they are his inheritance, and come to him by descent, without any consent of their own; they deserve not the Appellation of Subjects, nor of Freemen, nor can they be justly reputed such; nor are they to be accounted as a Civil Society, but must be looked on as the Possessions and Estate of their Lord, and his Family: For I see no difference as to the Right of Ownership betwixt them, and Slaves, or Beasts. Secondly, They that come to the Crown by Conquest, cannot acknowledg themselves to have receiv'd from the People the Power they usurp. We are not now discoursing of a Conqueror, but of a conquered King; what a Conqueror may lawfully do, we'll discourse elsewhere; do you keep to your Subject. But whereas you ascribe to Kings that ancient Right that Masters of Families have over their Households, and take an example from thence of their Absolute Power; I have shown already over and over, that there is no likeness at all betwixt them. And Aristotle (whom you name so often) if you had read him, would have taught you as much in the beginning of his Politicks, where he says they judg amifs that think there is but little difference betwixt a King, and a Master of a
Defence of the People of England,

Family: For that there is not a numerical, but a specifical difference betwixt a Kingdom and a Family. For when Villages grew to be Towns and Cities, that Regal Domeftick Right vanished by degrees, and was no more owned. Hence Diodorus in his first Book says, That anciently Kingdoms were transmitted not to the former Kings Sons, but to those that had best deserved of the People. And Justin, "Originally, says he, the Government of Nations, and of Countries, was by Kings, who were exalted to that height of Majesty, not by popular Ambition, but for their Moderation which commended them to good Men." Whence it is manifest, that in the very beginning of Nations, that Fatherly and Hereditary Government gave way to Vertue, and the People’s Right: Which is the most natural reason and cause, and was the true rise of Kingly Government. For at first, Men entered into Societies, not that any one might insult over all the rest, but that in case any should injure other, there might be Laws and Judges to protect them from wrong, or at least to punish the wrong doers. When Men were at first dispers’d and scattered asunder, some wise and eloquent Men persuaded them to enter into Civil Societies; that he himself, say you, might exercise Dominion over them when so united. Perhaps you meant this of Nimrod, who is said to have been the first Tyrant. Or else it proceeds from your own malice only, and certainly it cannot have been true of those great and generous spirited Men, but is a Fiction of your own, not warranted by any Authority that I ever heard of. For all ancient Writers tell us, that those first Instituters of Communities of Men, had a regard to the good and safety of Mankind only, and not to any private advantages of their own, or to make themselves great or powerful. One thing I cannot pass by, which I suppose you intended for an
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 183

Emblem, to set off the rest of this Chapter: If a Consul, say you, had been to be accused before his Magistracy expired, there must have been a Dictator created for that purpose; tho' you had said before, that for that very reason there were two of them. Just so your Positions always agree with one another, and almost every Page declares how weak and frivolous whatever you say or write upon any Subject, is. Under the ancient English Saxon Kings, you say, the People were never called to Parliaments. If any of our own Countrymen had asserted such a thing, I could easily have convinced him that he was in an error. But I am not so much concerned at your mistaking our Affairs, because y'are a Foreigner. This in effect is all you say of the Right of Kings in general. Many other things I omit, for you use many Digressions, and put things down that either have no ground at all, or are nothing to the purpose, and my design is not to vie with you in Impertinence.

CHAP, VIII.

If you had published your own opinion, Salmasius, concerning the Right of Kings in general, without affronting any Persons in particular, notwithstanding this alteration of Affairs in England, as long as you did but use your own liberty in writing what your self thought fit, no English Man could have had any cause to have been displeased with you, nor would you have made good the opinion you maintain ever a whit the less. For if it be a positive Command both of Moses and of Christ himself, That all Men whatsoever, whether Spaniards, French, Italians, Germans, English or Scotch, should be subject to their Princes, be they good or bad, which you asserted, Pag.
to what purpose was it for you, who are a Foreigner and unknown to us, to be tampering with our Laws, and to read us Lectures out of them as out of your own Papers and Miscellanies, which, be they how they will, you have taught us already in a great many words, that they ought to give way to the Laws of God? But now it is apparent that you have undertaken the defence of this Royal Cause, not so much out of your own inclination, as partly because you were hired, and that at a good round price too, considering how things are with him that set you on work; and partly, 'tis like, out of expectation of some greater reward hereafter, to publish a scandalous Libel against the English, who are injurious to none of their Neighbours, and meddle with their own matters only. If there were no such thing as that in the case, is it credible that any Man should be so impudent or so mad, as tho he be a stranger, and at a great distance from us, yet of his own accord to intermeddle with our Affairs, and side with a Party? What the Devil, is it to you what the English do amongst themselves? What would you have, Pragmatical Puppy? What would you be at? Have you no concerns of your own at home? I wish you had the same concerns that that famous Olus, your fellow busy-body in the Epigram, had; and perhaps so you have; you deserve them I'm sure. Or did that Hotspur your Wife, who encouraged you to write what you have done for out-law'd Charles's fake, promise you some profitable Professors place in England, and God knows what Gratifications at Charles's Return? But assure your selves, my Mistress and my Master, that England admits neither of Wolves, nor Owners of Wolves: So that it's no wonder you spit so much Venom at our English Mastiffs. It were better for you to return to those Illustrious Titles of yours in France; first to that hunger-starved Lordship of yours
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 185

at *St. Lou; and in the next place to the Sacred Con-
stitution of the most Christian King. Being a Coun-
sellor to the Prince, you are at too great a distance
from your own Countrey. But I see full well that
she neither desires you, nor your Counsel; nor did it
appear she did, when you were there a few years ago,
and began to lick a Cardinal's Trencher; she's in the
right, by my troth, and can very willingly suffer such
a little Fellow as you, that are but one half of a Man,
to run up and down with your Mistress of a Wife,
and your Desks full of Trifles and Fooleries, till you
light some where or other upon a Stipend, large
enough for a Knight of the Grammar, or an Illustri-
ous Critick on Horseback; if any Prince or State has
a mind to hire a Vagabond Doctor that is to be sold
at a good round Price. But here's one that will bid
for you; whether you're a Merchantable Commodity
or not, and what you are worth we shall see by and
by. You say, The Parricides assert, that the Govern-
ment of England is not meerly Kingly, but that it is a
migt Government. Sir Thomas Smith, a Country-man
of ours in Edward the Sixth's days, a good Lawyer,
and a Statesman, one whom you your self will not
call a Parricide, in the beginning of a Book which
he wrote of the Commonwealth of England, asserts the
same thing, and not of our Government only, but of
almost all others in the World, and that out of Aris-
totle; and he says it is not possible that any Govern-
ment should otherwise subsist. But as if you thought
it a crime to say any thing, and not unsay it again,
you repeat your former threдbare Contradictions.
You say, There neither is nor ever was any Nation that
did not understand by the very name of a King, a Per-

* St. Lou, in Latin, Sanctus Lupus, Saint Wolf, is the name of
a place in France, where Salmasius had some small Estate, and was
called so from St. Lupus a German Bishop, who with St. German
came over into England, Anno Dom. 429.
for whose authority is inferior to God alone, and who is accountable to no other. And yet a little after you confess, that the name of a King was formerly given to such Powers and Magistrates, as had not a full and absolute right of themselves, but had a dependance upon the People, as the Suffetes among the Carthaginians, the Hebrew Judges, the Kings of the Lacedemonians, and of Arragon. Are you not very consistent with your self? Then you reckon up five several sorts of Monarchies out of Aristotle; in one of which only that Right obtain'd, which you say is common to all Kings. Concerning which I have said already more than once, that neither doth Aristotle give an instance of any such Monarchy, nor was there ever any such in being; the other four he clearly demonstrates that they were bounded by Established Laws, and the King's Power subject to those Laws. The first of which four was that of the Lacedemonians, which in his opinion did of all others best deserve the name of a Kingdom. The second was such as obtain'd among Barbarians, which was lasting, because regulated by Laws, and because the People willingly submitted to it; whereas by the same Author's opinion in his third Book, what King so ever retains the Soveraignty against the People's will, is no longer to be accounted a King, but a downright Tyrant; all which is true likewise of his third sort of Kings, which he calls Aesymnetes, who were chosen by the People, and most commonly for a certain time only, and for some particular purposes, such as the Roman Dictators were. The fourth sort he makes of such as reigned in the Heroical days, upon whom for their extraordinary merits the People of their own accord conferr'd the Government, but yet bounded by Laws; nor could these retain the Soveraignty against the will of the People: nor do these four sorts of Kingly Governments differ, he says, from
Tyranny in any thing else, but only in that these Governments are with the good liking of the People, and That against their will. The fifth sort of Kingly Government, which he calls ταυταςαίεια, or absolute Monarchy, in which the Supreme Power resides in the King’s Person, which you pretend to be the right of all Kings, is utterly condemn’d by the Philosopher, as neither for the good of Mankind, nor consonant to Justice or Nature, unless some People should be content to live under such a Government, and withal confer it upon such as excel all others in vertue. These things any man may read in the third Book of his Politicks. But you, I believe, that once in your life you might appear witty and florid, pleased yourself with making a comparison betwixt these five sorts of Kingly Government, and the five Zones of the World; betwixt the two extremes of Kingly power, there are three more temperate Species interposed, as there lie three Zones betwixt the Torrid and the Frigid. Pretty Rogue! what ingenuous comparisons he always makes us! May you for ever be banished, whither you your self condemn an absolute Kingdom to be, that is, to the frigid Zone, which when you are there, will be doubly cold to what it was before. In the mean while we shall expect that new fashioned sphere which you describe, from you our modern Archimedes, in which there shall be two extreme Zones, one Torrid, and the other Frigid, and three temperate ones lying betwixt. The Kings of the Lacedaemonians, you say, might lawfully be Imprisoned, but it was not lawful to put them to death. Why not? Because the Ministers of Justice, and some Foreign Soldiers, being surprized at the Novelty of the thing, thought it not lawful to lead Agis to his Execution, though condemn’d to die? And the People of Lacedemon, were displeased at his death, not because condemn’d to
Defence of the People of England,

die, though a King, but because he was a good man and popular, and had been circumvented by a faction of the great ones. Says Plutarch, "Agis was the first King that was put to death by the Ephori;" in which words he does not pretend to tell us what lawfully might be done, but what actually was done. For to imagine that such as may lawfully accuse a King, and imprison him, may not also lawfully put him to death, is a childish conceit. At last you be take your self to give an account of the Right of English Kings. There never was, you say, but one King in England. This you say, because you had said before, that unless a King be sole in the Government, he cannot be a King. Which if it be true, some of them, who I had thought had been Kings of England, were not really so; for to omit many of our Saxon Kings, who had either their Sons, or their Brothers Partners with them in the Government, it is known that King Henry II. of the Norman Race, reign'd together with his Son. Let them shew, say you, a President of any Kingdom under the Government of a single Person, who has not an absolute power; though in some Kingdoms more remifs, in others more intense. Do you shew any Power that's absolute, and yet remifs, you As? is not that power that's absolute, the Supreme Power of all? How can it then be both supreme and remifs? Whattoever Kings you shall acknowledg to be invested with a remifs (or a less) power, those I will easily make appear to have no absolute power; and consequently to be inferior to a People, free by nature, who is both its own Law giver, and can make the Regal Power more or less intense or remifs; that is, greater or less. Whether the whole Island of Britain was ancidently governed by Kings, or no, is uncertain. It's most likely that the form of their Government changed according to the Exigencies of the Times. Whence Tacitus says,
The Britains anciently were under Kings; now the great Men amongst them divide them into Parties and factions. When the Romans left them, they were about forty years without Kings; they were not always therefore under a Kingly Government, as you say they were. But when they were so, that the Kingdom was Hereditary, I positively deny; which that it was not, is evident both from the Series of their Kings, and their way of creating them: for the consent of the People is asked in express words. When the King has taken the accustomed Oath, the Archbishop stepping to every side of the Stage erected for that purpose, asks the People four several times in these words, Do you consent to have this Man to be your King? Just as if he spoke to them in the Roman Stile, Vultis, Jubetis hunc Regnare? "Is it "your pleasure, do you appoint this Man to reign?" Which would be needless, if the Kingdom were by the Law hereditary. But with Kings, Usurpation passes very frequently for Law and Right. You go about to ground Charles's Right to the Crown, who was so often conquered himself, upon the Right of Conquest. William, surnamed the Conqueror, forsooth, subdued us. But they who are not strangers to our History, know full well, that the Strength of the English Nation was not so broken in that one Fight at Hastings, but that they might easily have renewed the War. But they chose rather to accept of a King, than to be under a Conqueror and a Tyrant: They swear therefore to William, to be his Liege-men, and he swears to them at the Altar, to carry himself towards them as a good King ought to do in all respects. When he broke his Word, and the English betook themselves again to their Arms, being diffident of his Strength, he renewed his Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to observe the Ancient Laws of England. And therefore, if after
that he miserably oppressed the English, (as you say he did) he did it not by Right of Conquest, but by Right of Perjury. Besides, it is certain, that many Ages ago, the Conquerors and Conquered coalesced into one and the same People: So that that Right of Conquest, if any such ever were, must needs have been antiquated long ago. His own words at his death, which I give you out of a French Manuscript written at Caen, put all out of doubt, I appoint no Man (says he) to inherit the Kingdom of England. By which words, both his pretended Right of Conquest, and the Hereditary Right, were disclaim'd at his death, and buried together with him. I see now that you have gotten a place at Court, as I foretold you would; you are made the King's Chief Treasurer and Steward of his Court-Craft: And what follows, you seem to write ex Officio, as by virtue of your Office, Magnificent Sir. If any preceding Kings, being thereunto compelled by Factions of Great Men, or Seditions amongst the Common People, have receded in some measure from their Right, that cannot prejudice the Successor; but that he is at liberty to resume it. You say well; if therefore at any time our Ancestors have through neglect lost any thing that was their Right, why should that prejudice us their Posterity? If they would promise for themselves to become Slaves, they could make no such promise for us; who shall always retain the same Right of delivering our selves out of Slavery, that they had of enslaving themselves to any whomsoever. You wonder how it comes to pass that a King of Great Britain must now a days be looked upon as one of the Magistrates of the Kingdom only; whereas in all other Kingly Governments in Christendom, Kings are invested with a Free and Absolute Authority. For the Scots, I remit you to Buchanan: For France, your own Native Countrey, to which
in Answer to Salmastius for the King. 191

you seem to be a stranger, to Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, and Girardus a French Historian; for the rest, to other Authors, of whom none that I know of, were Independents: Out of whom you might have learned a quite other Lesson concerning the Right of Kings, than what you teach. Not being able to prove that a Tyrannical Power belongs to the Kings of England by Right of Conquest, you try now to do it by Right of Perjury. Kings profess themselves to reign By the Grace of God: What if they had professed themselves to be Gods? I believe if they had, you might have easily been brought to become one of their Priests. So the Archbishops of Canterbury pretended to Archbishop it by Divine Providence. Are you such a Fool, as to deny the Popes being a King in the Church, that you may make the King greater than a Pope in the State? But in the Statutes of the Realm the King is called our Lord. You are become of a sudden a wonderful Nomenclator of our Statutes: But you know not that many are called Lords and Masters, who are not really so: You know not how unreasonable a thing it is to judge of Truth and Right by Titles of Honour, not to say of Flattery. Make the same Inference, if you will, from the Parliament's being called the King's Parliament; for it is called the King's Bridle too, or a Bridle to the King: and therefore the King is no more Lord or Master of his Parliament, than a Horse is of his Bridle. But why not the King's Parliament, since the King summons them? I'll tell you why; because the Consuls used to indict a Meeting of the Senate, yet were they not Lords over that Council. When the King therefore summons or calls together a Parliament, he does it by virtue and in discharge of that Office, which he has received from the People, that he may advise with them about the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, not
his own particular Affairs. Or when at any time the Parliament debated of the King's own Affairs, if any could properly be called his own, they were always the last things they did; and it was in their choice when to debate of them, and whether at all or no, and depended not upon the King's Pleasure. And they whom it concerns to know this, know very well, that Parliaments anciently, whether summoned or not, might by Law meet twice a Year: But the Laws are called too, The King's Laws. These are flattering Ascriptions; a King of England can of himself make no Law: For he was not constituted to make Laws, but to see those Laws kept, which the People made. And you your self here confess, That Parliaments meet to make Laws: Wherefore the Law is also called the Law of the Land, and the Peoples Law. Whence King Ethelstan in the Preface to his Laws, speaking to all the People, I have granted you every thing, says he, by your own Law. And in the Form of the Oath, which the Kings of England used to take before they were made Kings, the People stipulate with them thus; Will you grant those just Laws, which the People shall chuse? The King answers, I will. And you are infinitely mistaken in saying, That when there is no Parliament sitting, the King governs the whole State of the Kingdom, to all intents and purposes, by a Regal Power. For he can determine nothing of any moment, with respect to either Peace or War; nor can he put any stop to the Proceedings of the Courts of Justice. And the Judges therefore swear, that they will do nothing judicially, but according to Law, though the King by Word, or Mandate, or Letters under his own Seal, should command the contrary. Hence it is that the King is often said in our Law to be an Infant; and to possess his Rights and Dignities, as a Child or a Ward does his: See the Mir-
ror, Cap. 4. Sect. 22. And hence is that common Saying amongst us, That the King can do no wrong: Which you, like a Rascal, interpret thus, Whatever the King does, is no Injury, because he is not liable to be punished for it. By this very Comment, if there were nothing else, the wonderful Impudence and Villany of this Fellow, discovers it self sufficiently. It belongs to the Head, you say, to command, and not to the Members: The King is the Head of the Parliament. You would not trifle thus, if you had any guts in your brains. You are mistaken again (but there's no end of your mistakes) in not distinguishing the King's Counsellors from the States of the Realm: For neither ought he to make choice of all of them, nor of any of these, which the rest do not approve of; but for electing any Member of the House of Commons, he never so much as pretended to it. Whom the People appointed to that Service, they were severally chosen by the Votes of all the People in their respective Cities, Towns, and Counties. I speak now of things universally known, and therefore I am the shorter. But you say, 'Tis false that the Parliament was instituted by the People, as the Worshippers of Saint Independence assert. Now I see why you took so much pains in endeavouring to subvert the Papacy; you carry another Pope in your belly, as we say. For what else should you be in labour of, the Wife of a Woman, a He-Wolf, impregnated by a She-Wolf, but either a Monster, or some new sort of Papacy? You now make He-Saints, and She-Saints, at your pleasure, as if you were a true genuine Pope. You absolve Kings of all their sins; and as if you had utterly vanquish'd and subdu'd your Antagonist the Pope, you adorn your self with his spoils. But because you have not yet prosligated the Pope quite, till the second and third and perhaps the fourth and fifth Part of your
Defence of the People of England,

Book of his Supremacy come out, which Book will nauseate a great many Readers to death, sooner than you'll get the better of the Pope by it; let it suffice you in the mean time, I beseech you, to become some Antipope or other. There's another She-Saint, besides that Independency that you deride, which you have Canoniz'd in good earnest; and that is, the Tyranny of Kings: You shall therefore by my consent be the High-Priest of Tyranny; and that you may have all the Pope's Titles, you shall be a Servant of the Servants not of God, but of the Court. For that Curse pronounced upon Canaan, seems to stick as close to you, as your Shirt. You call the People a Beast. What are you then your self? For neither can that Sacred Consistory, nor your Lordship of St. Lou, exempt you its Master from being one of the People, nay, of the Common People; nor can make you other than what you really are, a most loathsome Beast. Indeed, the Writings of the Prophets shadow out to us the Monarchy and Dominion of Great Kings by the Name, and under the Resemblance of a Great Beast. You say, That there is no mention of Parliaments held under our Kings, that reigned before William the Conqueror. It is not worth while to jangle about a French word: The thing was always in being; and you your self allow that in the Saxon times, Concilia Sapientum Wittena-gemots, are mentioned. And there are wise Men among the Body of the People, as well as amongst the Nobility. But in the Statute of Merton made in the twentieth year of King Henry the 3d, the Earls and Barons are only named. Thus you are always imposed upon by words, who yet have spent your whole Life in nothing else but words; for we know very well that in that age, not only the Guardians of the Cinque-Ports, and Magistrates of Cities, but even Tradesmen are sometimes called Barons;
and without doubt they might much more reasonably call every Member of Parliament, tho never so much a Commoner, by the Name of a Baron. For that in the fifty second Year of the same King's Reign, the Commoners as well as the Lords were summoned, the Statute of Marlbridge, and most other Statutes, declare in express words; which Commoners King Edward the Third, in the Preface to the Statute-Staple, calls, Magnates Comitatum, The Great Men of the Counties, as you very learnedly quote it for me; those to wit, That came out of the several Counties, and served for them; which number of Men constituted the House of Commons, and neither were Lords, nor could be. Besides, a Book more Ancient than those Statutes, called, Modus habendi Parliamenta, i. e. The manner of holding Parliaments, tells us, That the King, and the Commons may hold a Parliament, and enact Laws, tho the Lords, the Bishops, are absent; but that with the Lords, and the Bishops, in the absence of the Commons, no Parliament can be held. And there's a reason given for it, viz. because Kings held Parliaments and Councils with their People before any Lords or Bishops were made; besides, the Lords serve for themselves only, the Commons each for the County; City, or Burrough that sent them. And that therefore the Commons in Parliament represent the whole Body of the Nation; in which respect they are more worthy, and every way preferable to the House of Peers. But the power of Judicature, you say, never was invested in the House of Commons. Nor was the King ever possessed of it: Remember tho, that originally all Power proceeded, and yet does proceed from the People. Which Marcus Tullius excellently well shows in his Oration, De lege Agraria, Of the Agrarian Law: "As all Powers, Authorities, and pubick Administrations ought to be derived from
"the whole Body of the People; so those of them "ought in an especial manner so to be derived, "which are ordained and appointed for the Com-"mon Benefit and Interest of all; to which Im-"ployments every particular Person may both give "his Vote for the chusing such Persons, as he thinks "will take most care of the Publick, and withal by "voting and making interest for them, lay such "Obligations upon them, as may entitle them to "their Friendship, and good Offices in time to "come." Here you see the true rise and original of Parliaments, and that it was much ancieneter than the Saxon Chronicles. Whilst we may dwell in such a light of Truth and Wisdom, as Cicero's Age afforded, you labour in vain to blind us with the darkness of obscurer times. By the saying whereof I would not be understood to derogate in the leaft from the Authority and Prudence of our Ancestors, who most certainly went further in the enacting of good Laws, than either the Ages they lived in, or their own Learning or Education seem to have been capable of; and tho sometimes they made Laws that were none of the best, yet as being conscious to themselves of the Ignorance and Infirmity of Human Nature, they have conveyed this Doctrine down to Posterity, as the foundation of all Laws, which likewise all our Lawyers admit, That if any Law, or Custom, be contrary to the Law of God, of Nature, or of Reason, it ought to be looked upon as null and void. Whence it follows, that tho it were possible for you to discover any. Statute, or other publick Sanction, which ascribed to the King a Tyrannical Power, since that would be repugnant to the Will of God, to Nature, and to right Reason, you may learn from that general and primary Law of ours, which I have just now quoted, that it will be null and void. But you will never be able to find that any such Right
of Kings has the least Foundation in our Law. Since it is plain therefore, that the Power of Judicature was originally in the People themselves, and that the People never did by any Royal Law part with it to the King, (for the Kings of England neither use to judge any Man, nor can by the Law do it, otherwise than according to Laws settled and agreed to: *Fleta, Book 1. Cap. 17.*) it follows, that this Power remains yet whole and entire in the People themselves. For that it was either never committed to the House of Peers, or if it were, that it may lawfully be taken from them again, you your self will not deny. But, *It is in the King’s Power,* you say, *to make a Village into a Burrough, and that into a City;* and consequently, the King does in effect create those that constitute the Commons House of Parliament. But, I say, that even Towns and Burroughs are more ancient than Kings; and that the People is the People, tho they should live in the open Fields. And now we are extreamly well pleased with your Anglishisms, *COUNTY COURT,* *THE TURNE,* HUNDREDA: you have quickly learnt to count your hundred Jacobusses in English.

*Quis expedivit Salmaſio suam HUNDREDAM?*  
*Picamque docuit verba noſtra conari?*  
*Magifter artis venter, & Jacobæi*  
*Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii Regis.*  
*Quod si dolof ſpes refulſerit nummi,*  
*Ipsæ Antichrifti modò qui Primatum Papæ*  
*Minatus uno eſt diſſipare ſuſſlatu,*  
*Cantabit ultrō Cardinalitiōm melos.*

Who taught Salmaſius, that French chatt’ring Pye,  
To aim at English, and HUNDREDA cry?  
The starving Rascal, flush’d with just a Hundred English Jacobusses, HUNDREDA blunder’d.
Defence of the People of England,

An out-law'd King's last stock.—A hundred more, Would make him pimp for th' Antichristian Whore; And in Rome's praise employ his poyson'd Breath, Who threatn'd once to ftink the Pope to death.

The next thing you do is to trouble us with a long Discourse of the Earls and the Barons, to show that the King made them all; which we readily grant, and for that reason they were most commonly at the King's beck; and therefore we have done well to take care, that for the future they shall not be Judges of a Free People. You affirm, That the Power of calling Parliaments as often as he pleases, and of dissolving them when he pleases, has belonged to the King time out of mind. Whether such a vile, mercenary Foreigner as you, who transcribe what some Fugitives dictate to you, or the express Letter of our own Laws are more to be credited in this matter, we shall enquire hereafter. But say you, there is another Argument, and an invincible one, to prove the power of the Kings of England superior to that of the Parliament; the King's Power is perpetual and of course, whereby he administers the Government singly without the Parliament; that of the Parliament is extraordinary, or out of course, and limited to particulars only, nor can they enact any thing so as to be binding in Law, without the King. Where does the great force of this Argument lie? in the words of course. and perpetual? Why, many inferior Magistrates have an ordinary and perpetual Power, those whom we call Justices of Peace. Have they therefore the Supreme Power? And I have said already, that the King's Power is committed to him, to take care, by interposing his Authority, that nothing be done contrary to Law, and that he may see to the due observation of our Laws, not to top his own upon us: and consequently that the King has no Power out of his Courts; nay all the ordinary power
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

is rather the Peoples, who determine all Controversies themselves by Juries of Twelve Men. And hence it is that when a Malefactor is asked at his Arraignment, *How will you be tried?* he answers always according to Law and Custom, *by God and my Country*; not by God and the King, or the King’s Deputy. But the Authority of the Parliament, which indeed and in truth is the Supreme Power of the People committed to that Senate, if it may be called extraordinary, it must be by reason of its Eminence and Superiority; else it is known they are called *Ordines*, and therefore cannot properly be said to be *extra ordinem, out of order*; and if not actually, as they say, yet virtually they have a perpetual Power and Authority over all Courts and ordinary Magistrates, and that without the King. And now it seems our barbarous terms grate upon your Critical Ears, forsooth! whereas, if I had leisure, or that if it were worth my while, I could reckon up so many Barbarisms of yours in this one Book, as if you were to be chastiz’d for them as you deserve, all the School-boys Ferula’s in *Christiendom* would be broken upon you; nor would you receive so many pieces of Gold as that wretched Poet did of old, but a great many more Boxes o’th’ ear. You say, ’Tis a Prodigy more monstrous than all the most absurd Opinions in the World put together, that the Bedlams should make a distinction betwixt the King’s Power and his Person. I will not quote what every Author has said upon this Subject; but if by the words *Persönam Regis*, you mean what we call in English, the *Person of the King*; *Chrysóstom*, who was no Bedlam, might have taught you, that it is no absurd thing to make a distinction betwixt that and his Power; for that Father explains the Apostle’s command of being subject to the Higher Powers, to be meant of the thing, the Power it self, and not of the Persons of the Magistrates. And why may not I say
that a King, who acts any thing contrary to Law, acts so far forth as a private Person, or a Tyrant, and not in the capacity of a King invested with a Legal Authority? If you do not know that there may be in one and the same Man more Persons or Capacities than one, and that those Capacities may in thought and conception be severed from the man himself, you are altogether ignorant both of Latin and Common Sense. But this you say to absolve Kings from all sin and guilt; and that you may make us believe that you are gotten into the Chair yourself, which you have pull'd the Pope out of. The King, you say, is supposed not capable of committing any crime, because no punishment is consequent upon any crime of his. Whoever therefore is not punished, offends not; it is not the thief, but the punishment that makes the Thief. Salmachius the Grammarian commits no Socleisms now, because he is from under the Ferula; when you have overthrown the Pope, let these, for God's sake, be the Canons of your Pontificate, or at least your Indulgences, whether you shall choose to be called the High-Priest St. Tyranny, or St. Slavery. I pass by the reproachful Language which towards the latter end of the Chapter you give the State of the Commonwealth, and the Church of England; 'tis common to such as you are, you contemptible Varlet, to rail at those things most, that are most praiseworthy. But that I may not seem to have asserted any thing rashly concerning the Right of the Kings of England, or rather concerning the Peoples Right with respect to their Princes; I will now allèd out of our ancient Histories a few things indeed of many, but such as will make it evident that the English lately tried their King according to the settled Laws of the Realm, and the Customs of their Ancestors. After the Romans quitted this Island, the Britains for about forty years were sui juris, and without any
Kings at all. Of whom those they first set up, some they put to death. And for that, Gildas reprehends them, not as you do, for killing their Kings, but for killing them uncondemned, and (to use his own words) *Non pro veri examinatione*, without enquiring into the matter of Fact. Vortigern was for his Incestuous Marriage with his own Daughter condemn'd (as Nennius informs us, the most ancient of all our Historians next to Gildas) by St. German and a General Council of the Britains, and his Son Vortimer set up in his stead. This came to pass not long after St. Augustine's death, which is enough to discover how futileous you are, to say, as you have done, that it was a Pope, and Zachary by name, who first held the lawfulness of judging Kings. About the year of our Lord, 600, Morcantius, who then reign'd in Wales, was by Oudeceus Bishop of Landaff, condemn'd to Exile, for the Murder of his Uncle, though he got the Sentence off by bestowing some Lands upon the Church. Come we now to the Saxons, whose Laws we have, and therefore I shall quote none of their Precedents. Remember that the Saxons were of a German Extract, who neither invested their Kings with any absolute, unlimited power, and consulted in a Body of the more weighty affairs of Government; whence we may perceive that in the time of our Saxon Ancestors Parliaments (the name it self only excepted) had the Supreme Authority. The name they gave them, was Councils of Wise-men; and this in the Reign of Ethelbert, of whom Bede says, *That he made Laws in imitation of the Roman Laws, cum concilio sapientum; by the advice, or in a Council of his Wise-men. So Edwyn, King of Northumberland; and Ina King of the West-Saxons, having consulted with their Wise-men, and the Elders of the People, made new Laws. Other Laws K. Alfred made, by the advice in like manner of his Wise-men; and he says himself, That it was by
Defence of the People of England,

the consent of them all, that they were commanded to be observed. From these and many other like places, it is as clear as the Sun, that chosen Men even from amongst the Common People, were Members of the Supreme Councils, unless we must believe that no Men are wise, but the Nobility. We have likewise a very ancient Book, called the Mirror of Justices, in which we are told, That the Saxons, when they first subdued the Britains, and chose themselves Kings, required an Oath of them, to submit to the Judgment of the Law, as much as any of their Subjects, Cap. 1. Sect. 2. In the same place 'tis said, that it is but just that the King have his Peers in Parliament, to take Cognizance of wrongs done by the King, or the Queen; and that there was a Law made in King Alfred's time, that Parliaments should be holden twice a year at London, or oftner, if need were: Which Law, when through neglect it grew into disuse, was revived by two Statutes in King Edward the Third's time. And in another ancient Manuscript, called Modus tenendi Parliamenta, we read thus, "If the " King dissolve the Parliament before they have dif- " patcht the business, for which the Council was " summon'd, he is guilty of Perjury; and shall be re- " puted to have broken his Coronation Oath." For " how can he be said to grant those good Laws, which " the People chuse, as he is sworn to do, if he hinders " the People from chusing them, either by summoning " Parliaments seldom, or by dissolving them sooner " than the Publick Affairs require, or admit? And that " Oath, which the Kings of England take at their Co- " ronation, has always been looked upon by our Law- " yers, as a most sacred Law. And what remedy can " be found to obviate the great Dangers of the whole " State (which is the very end of summoning Parlia- " ments) if that Great and Auguft Assembly may be " dissolved at the pleasure many times of a silly, head-
strong King? To absent himself from them, is certainly less than to dissolve them; and yet by our Laws, as that Modus lays them down, the King neither can, nor ought to absent himself from his Parliament, unless he be really indisposed in Health; nor then neither, till twelve of the Peers have been with him to inspect his Body, and give the Parliament an account of his Indisposition. Is this like the Carriage of Servants to a Master? On the other hand, the House of Commons, without whom there can be no Parliament held, tho summoned by the King, may withdraw, and having made a Secession, expostulate with the King concerning Male-administration, as the same Book has it. But, which is the greatest thing of all, amongst the Laws of King Edward, commonly called the Confessor, there is one very excellent, relating to the Kingly Office; which Office, if the King do not discharge as he ought, Then, says the Law, *He shall not retain so much as the Name of a King.* And left these words should not be sufficiently understood, the Example of Chilperic King of France is subjoyn'd, whom the People for that Cause deposed. And that by this Law a wicked King is liable to Punishment, that Sword of King Edward, called Curtana, denotes to us, which the Earl of Chester used to carry in the Solemn Procession at a Coronation; *A token, says Matthew Paris, that he has Authority by Law to punish the King, if he will not do his Duty:* and the Sword is hardly ever made use of but in Capital Punishments. This same Law, together with other Laws of that good King Edward, did William the Conqueror ratifie in the Fourth Year of his Reign, and in a very full Council held at Verulam, confirm'd it with a most solemn Oath: And by so doing, he not only extinguish'd his Right of Conquest, if he ever had any over us, but subjected himself to be judged according to the Tenor of this very Law. And his
Son Henry swore to the observance of King Edward's Laws, and of this among the rest; and upon those only terms it was, that he was chosen King, whilst his Elder Brother Robert was alive. The same Oath was taken by all succeeding Kings, before they were crowned. Hence our Ancient and Famous Lawyer Bracton, in his first Book, Chap. 8. There is no King in the case, says he, where Will rules the roaft, and Law does not take place. And in his Third Book, Chap. 9. A King is a King so long as he rules well; he becomes a Tyrant when he oppresses the People committed to his Charge. And in the same Chapter, The King ought to use the Power of Law and Right, as God's Minister and Vice-gerent; the Power of wrong is the Devils, and not Gods; when the King turns aside to do Injustice, he is Minister of the Devil. The very same words almost another ancient Lawyer has, who was the Author of the Book, called Fleta; both of them remembered that truly Royal Law of King Edward, that Fundamental Maxim in our Law, which I have formerly mentioned, by which nothing is to be accounted a Law, that is contrary to the Laws of God, or of Reason; no more than a Tyrant can be said to be a King, or a Minister of the Devil a Minister of God. Since therefore the Law is chiefly right Reason, if we are bound to obey a King, and a Minister of God; by the very same Reason, and the very same Law, we ought to resist a Tyrant, and a Minister of the Devil. And because Controversies arise oftner about Names than Things, the same Authors tell us, that a King of England, tho he have not left the Name of a King, yet is as liable to be judged, and ought so to be, as any of the Common People. Bracton, Book i. Chap. 8. Fleta, Book i. Chap. 17. No Man ought to be greater than the King in the Administration of Justice; but he himself ought to be as little as the least in receiving Justice, if peccat,
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

if he offend. Others read it, si petat. Since our Kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether by the Name of Tyrants, or of Kings, it must not be difficult to assign their Legal Judges. Nor will it be amiss to consult the same Authors upon that point. Bracton, Book i. Chap. 16. Fleta, Book i. Chap. 17. The King has his Superiors in the Government; The Law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to wit, the Earls, and the Barons: Comites (Earls) are as much as to say, Companions; and he that has a Companion, has a Master; and therefore, if the King will be without a Bridle, that is, not govern by Law, they ought to bridle him. That the Commons are comprehended in the word Barons, has been shown already; nay, and in the Books of our ancient Laws they are frequently said to have been called Peers of Parliament: and especially in the Modus tenendi, &c. There shall be chosen (says that Book) out of all the Peers of the Realm, five and twenty Persons, of whom five shall be Knights, five Citizens, and five Burgeses; and two Knights of a County, have a greater Vote in granting and rejecting than the greatest Earl in England. And it is but reasonable they should, for they vote for a whole County, &c. the Earls for themselves only. And who can but perceive that those Patent Earls, whom you call Earls made by Writ (since we have now none that hold their Earldoms by Tenure) are very unfit Persons to try the King, who conferr'd their Honours upon them? Since therefore by our Law, as appears by that old Book, call'd The Mirror, the King has his Peers, who in Parliament have cognizance of wrongs done by the King to any of his People; and since it is notoriously known, that the meanest Man in the Kingdom may even in inferior Courts have the benefit of the Law against the King himself in case of any Injury, or Wrong sustained; how much more consonant to
Justice, how much more necessary is it, that in case the King oppress all his People, there should be such as have authority not only to restrain him, and keep him within bounds, but to judg and punish him? For that Government must needs be very ill, and most ridiculously constituted, in which remedy is provided in case of little Injuries done by the Prince to private Persons, and no remedy, no redress for greater, no care taken for the safety of the whole; no provision made to the contrary, but that the King may without any Law ruin all his Subjects, when at the same time he cannot by Law so much as hurt any one of them. And since I have shown that it is neither good manners, nor expedient, that the Lords should be the Kings Judges; it follows, that the Power of Judicature in that case does wholly, and by very good Right, belong to the Commons, who are both Peers of the Realm, and Barons, and have the Power and Authority of all the People committed to them. For since (as we find it expressly in our written Law, which I have already cited) the Commons together with the King, make a good Parliament without either Lords or Bishops, because before either Lords or Bishops had a Being, Kings held Parliaments with their Commons only; by the very same reason the Commons apart must have the Soveraign Power without the King, and a Power of judging the King himself, because before there ever was a King, they in the Name of the whole Body of the Nation held Councils and Parliaments, had the Power of Judicature, made Laws, and made the Kings themselves not to lord it over the People, but to administer their publick Affairs. Whom if the King, instead of so doing shall endeavour to injure and oppress, our Law pronounces him from time forward not so much as to retain the Name of a King, to be no such thing as a King; and if he be no King, what need we
trouble our selves to find out Peers for him? For being then by all good Men adjudged to be a Tyrant, there are none but who are Peers good enough for him, and proper enough to pronounce Sentence of Death upon him judicially. These things being so, I think I have sufficiently proved what I undertook, by many Authorities, and written Laws; to wit, that since the Commons have Authority by very good Right to try the King, and since they have actually tried him, and put him to Death, for the mischief he had done both in Church and State, and without all hope of amendment, they have done nothing therein but what was just and regular, for the Interest of the State, in discharging of their Trust, becoming their Dignity, and according to the Laws of the Land. And I cannot upon this occasion, but congratulate my self with the Honour of having had such Ancestors, who founded this Government with no less Prudence, and in as much Liberty as the most worthy of the Ancient Romans or Grecians ever founded any of theirs: and they must needs, if they have any knowledge of our Affairs, rejoice over their Posterity, who when they were almost reduced to Slavery, yet with so much Wisdom and Courage vindicated and asserted the State, which they so wisely founded upon so much Liberty, from the unruly Government of a King.

CHAP. IX.

I think by this time 'tis sufficiently evident that Kings of England may be judged even by the Laws of England; and that they have their proper Judges, which was the thing to be proved. What do you do farther? (for whereas you repeat many things that you have said before, I do not intend to repeat the answers that I have given them) 'Tis an
Defence of the People of England,
easiest thing to demonstrate even from the nature of the things for which Parliaments are summon'd, that the King is above the Parliament. The Parliament, you say, is wont to be assembled upon weighty affairs, such as wherein the safety of the Kingdom and of the People, is concerned. If therefore the King call Parliaments together, not for his own concerns, but those of the Nation, nor to settle those—neither, but by their own consent, at their own discretion, what is he more than a Minister, and as it were an Agent for the People? since without their Suffrages that are chosen by the People, he cannot enact the least thing whatsoever, either with relation to himself, or any body else? Which proves likewise that 'tis the King's duty to call Parliaments whenever the People desire it; since the Peoples and not the King's concerns are to be treated of by that Assembly, and to be ordered as they see cause. For although the King's assent be required for fashion sake, which in lesser matters, that concerned the welfare of private persons only, he might refuse, and use that form, the King will advise; yet in those greater affairs that concern'd the publick safety, and liberty of the People in general, he had no negative voice: for it would have been against his Coronation-Oath to deny his assent in such cases, which was as binding to him as any Law could be, and against the chief Article of Magna Charta, Cap. 29. "We will not deny to any man, nor will we "delay to render to every man Right and Justice." Shall it not be in the King's power to deny Justice, and shall it be in his power to deny the enacting of just Laws? Could he not deny Justice to any particular person, and could he to all his People? Could he not do it in inferior Courts, and could he in the Supreme Court of all? Or, can any King be so arrogant as to pretend to know what's just and profitable better than the whole body of the People? Especially, since "he
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 209

"is created and chosen for this very end and pur-
"pose, to do Justice to all," as Bracton says, Lib. 3.
Cap. 9. that is, to do Justice according to such Laws
as the People agree upon. Hence is what we find
King has no Prerogative that derogates from Justice
"and Equity." And formerly when Kings have refused
to confirm Acts of Parliament, to wit, Magna Charta,
and some others, our Ancestors have brought them
to it by force of Arms. And yet our Lawyers never
were of opinion that those Laws were less valid, or
less binding, since the King was forced to assent to
no more than what he ought in Justice to have af-
fented voluntarily, and without constraint. Whilst
you go about to prove that Kings of other Nations
have been as much under the power of their Senates
or Counsels, as our Kings were, you do not argue us
into Slavery, but them into Liberty. In which you
do but that over again, that you have from the very
beginning of your Discourse, and which some silly Le-
guleians now and then do, to argue unawares against
their own Clients. But you say, We confess that the
King wherever he be, yet is supposed still to be present in
his Parliament by virtue of his power; insomuch that
whatever is transacted there, is supposed to be done by
the King himself: and then as if you had got some
petty bribe or small morsel, and tickled with the re-
membrance of your Purse of Gold, We take, say you,
what they give us; and take a Halter then, for I'm
sure you deserve it. But we do not give it for granted,
which is the thing you thought would follow from
thence, That therefore that Court acts only by virtue
of a delegated Power from the King. For when we
say that the Regal Power, be it what it will, cannot
be absent from the Parliament, do we thereby ac-
knowledge that Power to be Supreme? Does not the
King's Authority seem rather to be transferred to the
Defence of the People of England,

Parliament, and, as being the lesser of the two, to be comprised in the greater? Certainly if the Parliament, may rescind the King's Acts whether he will or no, and revoke Privileges granted by him, to whomsoever they be granted: If they may set bounds to his Prerogative, as they see cause, if they may regulate his yearly Revenue, and the Expences of his Court, his Retinue, and generally all the concerns of his Household; If they may remove his most intimate Friends and Counsellors, and as it were pluck them out of his bosom, and bring them to condign punishment: Finally, if any Subject may by Law appeal from the King to the Parliament (all which things, that they may lawfully be done, and have been frequently practised, both our Histories and Records, and the most eminent of our Lawyers assure us) I suppose no man in his right wits will deny the Authority of the Parliament to be superior to that of the King. For even in an Interregnum the Authority of the Parliament is in being, and (than which nothing is more common in our Histories) they have often made a free Choice of a Successor, without any regard to a Hereditary descent. In short, the Parliament is the Supreme Council of the Nation, constituted and appointed by a most free People, and armed with ample power and authority, for this end and purpose; viz. to consult together upon the most weighty affairs of the Kingdom; the King was created to put their Laws in execution. Which thing after the Parliament themselves had declared in a publick Edict (for such is the Justice of their Proceedings, that of their own accord they have been willing to give an account of their actions to other Nations) is it not prodigious, that such a pitiful fellow as you are, a man of no authority, of no credit, of no figure in the world, a meer Burgundian slave, should have the impudence to accuse the Parliament of England,
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 211

asserting by a publick Instrument their own and their Countries Right, of a detestable and horrid Imposture? Your Country may be ashamed, you Rascal, to have brought forth a little inconsiderable fellow of such profligate impudence. But perhaps you have something to tell us that may be for our good: Go on, we'll hear you. What Laws, say you, can a Parliament enact, in which the Bishops are not present? Did you then, ye Mad-man, expel the Order of Bishops out of the Church to introduce them into the State? O wicked Wretch, who ought to be delivered over to Satan, whom the Church ought to forbid her Communion, as being a Hypocrite, and an Atheist, and no Civil Society of men to acknowledge as a member, being a publick Enemy, and a Plague-fore to the common Liberty of Mankind; who, where the Gospel fails you, endeavour to prove out of Aristotle, Halicarnassaeus, and then from some Popish Authorities of the most corrupt ages, that the King of England is the head of the Church of England, to the end that you may, as far as in you lies, bring in the Bishops again, his Intimates and Table-Companions, grown so of late, to rob and tyrannize in the Church of God, whom God himself has deposed and degraded, whose very Order you had heretofore asserted in Print that it ought to be rooted out of the world, as destructive of and pernicious to the Christian Religion. What Apostate did ever so shamefully and wickedly desert as this man has done, I do not say his own which indeed never was any, but the Christian Doctrine which he had formerly asserted? The Bishops being put down, who under the King, and by his permission held Plea of Ecclesiastical Causes, upon whom, say you, will that Jurisdiction devolve? O Villain, have some regard at least to your own Conscience; Remember before it be too late, if at least this admonition of mine come not too
Defence of the People of England,
late, remember that this mocking the Holy Spirit of God is an inexpiable crime, and will not be left unpunishd. Stop at last, and set bounds to your fury, left the Wrath of God lay hold upon you suddenly, for endeavouring to deliver the flock of God, his Anointed ones that are not to be touched, to Enemies and cruel Tyrants, to be cruelly and trampled on again, from whom himself by a high and stretched out arm had so lately delivered them; and from whom you your self maintained that they ought to be delivered, I know not whether for any good of theirs, or in order to the hardning of your own heart, and to further your own damnation. If the Bishops have no right to lord it over the Church, certainly much less have Kings, whatever the Laws of Men may be to the contrary. For they that know any thing of the Gospel know thus much, that the Government of the Church is altogether Divine and Spiritual, and no Civil Constitution. Whereas you say, That in Secular Affairs, the Kings of England have always had the Sovereign Power: Our Laws do abundantly declare that to be false. Our Courts of Justice are erected and suppressed, not by the King's Authority, but that of the Parliament; and yet in any of them, the meanest Subject might go to Law with the King: nor is it a rare thing for the Judges to give Judgment against him, which if the King should endeavour to obstruct by any Prohibition, Mandate, or Letters, the Judges were bound by Law, and by their Oaths not to obey him, but to reject such Inhibitions as null and void in Law. The King could not imprison any Man, or seize his Estate as forfeited; he could not punish any Man, not summoned to appear in Court, where not the King but the ordinary Judges gave Sentence; which they frequently did, as I have said, against the King. Hence our Bracton, lib. 3. cap. 9. The Regal Power,
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

fays he, is according to Law; he has no power to do any wrong, nor can the King do any thing but what the Law warrants. Those Lawyers that you have consulted, Men that have lately fled their Countrey, may tell you another tale, and acquaint you with some Statutes, not very ancient neither, but made in King Edward 4th's, King Henry 6th's, and King Edward 6th's days; but they did not consider, That what power soever those Statutes gave the King, was conferred upon him by Authority of Parliament, so that he was beholding to them for it; and the same power that conferr'd it, might at pleasure resume it. How comes it to pass that so acute a disputant as you, should suffer your self to be imposed upon to that degree, as to make use of that very Argument to prove the King's Power to be Absolute and Supreme, than which nothing proves more clearly, That it is subordinate to that of the Parliament? Our Records of the greatest Authority with us, declare, That our Kings owe all their Power, not to any Right of Inheritance, of Conquest, or Succession, but to the People. So in the Parliament Rolls of King Hen. 4. numb. 108. we read, That the Kingly Office and Power was granted by the Commons to King Henry the 4th, and before him, to his Predecessor King Richard the 2d. just as Kings use to grant Commissioners Places, and Lieutenantships to their Deputies, by Edicts and Patents. Thus the House of Commons ordered expressly to be entred upon record, "That they had granted to King Richard "to use the same good Liberty that the Kings of Eng- "land before him had used:" Which because that King abused to the subversion of the Laws, and contrary to the Oath at his Coronation, the same persons that granted him that power, took it back again, and deposed him. The same Men, as appears by the same Record, declared in open Parliament, "That
Defence of the People of England,

"having confidence in the Prudence and Moderation " of King Henry the 4th. they will and enaetric, That " he enjoy the fame Royal Authority that his An-

"ceftors enjoyed." Which if it had been any other than in the nature of a Truft, as this was, either those Houses of Parliament were foolish and vain, to give what was none of their own, or those Kings that were willing to receive as from them, what was already theirs, were too injurious both to them-

selves and their Posterity; neither of which is likely. A third part of the Regal Power, say you, is conver-

sant about the Militia; this the Kings of England have used to order and govern, without Fellow or Competitor. This is as false as all the rest that you have taken upon the credit of Fugitives: For in the first place, both our own Histories, and those of Foreigners, that have been any whit exact in the relation of our Affairs, declare, That the making of Peace and War, always did belong to the Parliament. And the Laws of St. Edward, which our Kings were bound to swear that they would maintain, make this appear beyond all exception, in the Chapter De Heretochns, viz. " That there were certain Officers appointed in " every Province and County throughout the King-

dom, that were called Heretochoys, in Latin Duces, " Commanders of Armies, that were to command the " Forces of the several Counties," not for the Ho-
nour of the Crown only, " but for the good of the " Realm. And they were chosen by the General " Council, and in the several Counties at publick " Assemblies of the Inhabitants, as Sheriffs ought " to be chosen." Whence it is evident, That the Forces of the Kingdom, and the Commanders of those Forces, were anciently, and ought to be ftill, not at the King's Command, but at the People's; and that this most reasonable and just Law obtained in this Kingdom of ours no less than heretofore it
In Answer to Salmastius for the King. 215

did in the Commonwealth of the Romans. Concerning which, it will not be amiss to hear what Cicero says, Philip. 1. "All the Legions, all the Forces of the Commonwealth, wheresoever they are, are the People of Rome's; nor are those Legions that deserted the Consul Antonius, said to have been Antony's, but the Commonwealth's Legions." This very Law of St. Edward, together with the rest, did William the Conqueror, at the desire and instance of the People, confirm by Oath, and added over and above, cap. 56. "That all Cities, Boroughs, Castles, should be so watched every night, as the Sheriffs, the Aldermen, and other Magistrates, should think meet for the safety of the Kingdom." And in the 6th Law, "Castles, Boroughs, and Cities, were first built for the Defence of the People, and therefore ought to be maintained free and entire, by all ways and means." What then? Shall Towns and Places of Strength in times of Peace be guarded against Thieves and Robbers by common Councils of the several Places; and shall they not be defended in dangerous times of War, against both Domestick and Foreign Hostility, by the Common Council of the whole Nation? If this be not granted, there can be no Freedom, no Integrity, no Reason in the guarding of them; nor shall we obtain any of those ends, for which the Law itself tells us, that Towns and Fortresses were at first founded. Indeed our Ancestors were willing to put any thing into the King's Power rather than their Arms, and the Garisons of their Towns; conceiving that to be neither better nor worse, than betraying their Liberty to the Fury and Exorbitancy of their Princes. Of which there are so very many instances in our Histories, and those so generally known, that it would be superfluous to mention any of them here. But the King owes protection to his Subjects;
Defence of the People of England,

and how can he protect them, unless he have Men and Arms at Command? But, say I, he had all this for the good of the Kingdom, as has been said, not for the destruction of his People, and the ruin of the Kingdom: Which in King Henry the 3d's time, one Leonard, a Learned Man in those days, in an Assembly of Bishops, told Ruslandus, the Pope's Nuncio and the King's Procurator, in these words; "All " Churches are the Pope's, as all Temporal things " are said to be the King's, for Defence and Pro-" tection, not his in Propriety and Ownership, as " we say; they are his to defend, not to destroy." The aforementioned Law of St. Edward, is to the same purpose; and what does this import more than a Trust? Does this look like absolute power? Such a kind of Power a Commander of an Army always has, that is, a delegated Power; and yet both at home and abroad he is never the less able to defend the People that choose him. Our Parliaments would anciently have contended with our Kings about their Liberty and the Laws of St. Edward, to very little purpose; and 'twould have been an unequal match betwixt the Kings and them, if they had been of opinion, that the Power of the Sword belonged to him alone: for how unjust Laws soever their Kings would have imposed upon them, their Charter, tho never so great, would have been a weak Defence against Force. But say you, What would the Parliament be the better for the Militia, since without the King's Assent they cannot raise the least Farthing from the People towards the maintaining it? Take you no thought for that: For in the first place, you go upon a false supposition, That Parliaments cannot impose Taxes without the King's Assent, upon the People that send them, and whose concerns they undertake. In the next place, you are so officious an enquirer into other mens matters, cannot but have heard, That
the People of their own accord, by bringing in their Plate to be melted down, raised a great Sum of Money towards the carrying on of this War against the King. Then you mention the largeness of our King's Revenue: You mention over and over again Five Hundred and Forty Thousands: That those of our Kings that have been eminent for their Bounty and Liberality, have used to give Large Boons out of their own Patrimony. This you were glad to hear; 'twas by this Charm, that those Traytors to their Countrey allured you, as Balaam the Prophet was enticed of old, to curse the People of God, and exclaim against the Judicial Dispensations of his Providence. You Fool! what was that unjust and violent King the better for such abundance of Wealth? What are you the better for it? Who have been no partaker of any part of it, that I can hear of (how great hopes soever you may have conceiv'd of being vastly enriched by it) but only of a hundred pieces of Gold, in a Purse wrought with beads. Take that reward of thine Iniquity, Balaam, which thou hast loved, and enjoy it. You go on to play the Fool; The setting up of a Standard is a Prerogative that belongs to the King only. How so? Why because Virgil tells us in his Æneis, "That Turnus set up a Stander on the top of the Tower at Laurentum, for " an Ensign of War." And do not you know, Grammarian, that every General of an Army does the same thing? But, says Aristotle, The King must always be provided of a Military Power, that he may be able to defend the Laws; and therefore the King must be stronger than the whole body of the People. This man makes Consequences just as Oenus does Ropes in Hell; which are of no use but to be eaten by Asses. For a number of Soldiers given to the King by the People, is one thing; and the sole power of the Militia is quite another thing; the latter,
Aristotle does not allow that Kings ought to be Masters of, and that in this very place which you have quoted: He ought, says he, to have so many armed men about him, as to make him stronger than any one man, than many men got together; but he must not be stronger than all the People, Polit. lib. 3. cap. 4. Else instead of protecting them, it would be in his power to subject both People and Laws to himself. For this is the difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant: A King, by consent of the Senate and People, has about him so many armed men, as to enable him to resist Enemies, and suppress Seditions. A Tyrant, against the Will both of Senate and People, gets as great a number as he can, either of Enemies, or profligate Subjects to side with him against the Senate and the People. The Parliament therefore allowed the King, as they did whatever he had besides, the setting up of a Standard; not to wage War against his own People, but to defend them against such as the Parliament should declare Enemies to the State: If he acted otherwise, himself was to be accounted an Enemy; since according to the very Law of St. Edward, or according to a more sacred Law than that, the Law of Nature itself, he lost the name of a King, and was no longer such. Whence Cicero in his Philip. "He forfeits his Command in "the Army, and Interest in the Government, that "employs them against the State." Neither could the King compel those that held of him by Knight-Service, to serve him in any other War, than such as was made by consent of Parliament; which is evident by many Statutes. So for Customs and other Subsidies for the maintenance of the Navy; the King could not exact them without an Act of Parliament; as was resolved about twelve years ago, by the ablest of our Lawyers, when the King's Authority was at the height. And long before them,
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 219

Fortescue, an Eminent Lawyer, and Chancellor to King Henry the 6th, "The King of England," says he, "can neither alter the Laws, nor exact Subsidies without the People's consent;" nor can any Testimonies be brought from Antiquity, to prove the Kingdom of England to have been merely Regal. "The King," says Bracton, "has a Jurisdiction over all his Subjects;" that is, in his Courts of Justice, where Justice is administered in the King's name indeed, but according to our own Laws. "All are subject to the King;" that is, every particular man is; and so Bracton explains himself in the places that I have cited. What follows is but turning the same stone over and over again; (at which sport I believe you are able to tire Sisiphus himself) and is sufficiently answered by what has been said already. For the rest, if our Parliaments have sometimes complimented good Kings with submissive expressions, tho' neither favouring of Flattery nor Slavery, those are not to be accounted due to Tyrants, nor ought to prejudice the Peoples Right: good manners and civility do not infringe Liberty. Whereas you cite out of Sir Edw. Coke and others, "That the Kingdom of England is an Absolute Kingdom;" that is said with respect to any Foreign Prince, or the Emperor; because as Camden says, "It is not under the Patronage of the Emperor:" but both of them affirm that the Government of England resides not in the King alone, but in a Body Politick. Whence Fortescue in his Book de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. 9. "The King of England," says he, "governs his People, not by a merely Regal, but a Political Power; for the English are govern'd by Laws of their own making." Foreign Authors were not ignorant of this: Hence Philip de Comines, a Grave Author, in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries, "Of all the Kings' doms of the Earth," says he, "that I have any
Defence of the People of England,

"knowledge of, there is none in my opinion, where " the Government is more moderate, where the " King has less power of hurting his People, than " in England." Finally, 'Tis ridiculous, say you, for them to affirm that Kingdoms were ancients than Kings; which is as much as if they should say, that there was Light before the Sun was created. But with your good leave, Sir, we do not say that Kingdoms, but that the People were before Kings. In the mean time, who can be more ridiculous than you, who deny there was Light before the Sun had a being? You pretend to a curiosity in other mens matters, and have forgot the very first things that were taught you. You wonder how they that have seen the King upon his Throne, at a Session of Parliament (sub aureo et serico Coelo, under a golden and silken Heaven) under a Canopy of State, should so much as make a question whether the Majesty resided in him, or in the Parliament? They are certainly hard of belief, whom so lucid an Argument coming down from Heaven, cannot convince. Which Golden Heaven, you, like a Stoick, have so devoutly and seriously gaz'd upon, that you seem to have forgot what kind of Heaven Moses and Aristotle describe to us; for you deny that there was any Light in Moses's Heaven, before the Sun; and in Aristotle's you make three temperate Zones. How many Zones you observed in that Golden and Silken Heaven of the King's, I know not; but I know you got one Zone (a Purse) well tempered with a Hundred Golden Stars by your Astronomy.

CHAP. X.

Since this whole Controversy, whether concerning the Right of Kings in general, or that of the King of England in particular, is rendered difficult
and intricate, rather by the obstinacy of Parties, than by the nature of the thing itself; I hope they that prefer Truth before the Interest of a Faction, will be satisfied with what I have alleged out of the Law of God, the Laws of Nations, and the Municipal Laws of my own Countrey, That a King of England may be brought to Trial, and put to Death. As for those whose minds are either blinded with Superstition, or so dazled with the Splendor and Grandure of a Court, that Magnanimity and true Liberty do not appear so glorious to them, as they are in themselves, it will be in vain to contend with them, either by Reason and Arguments, or Examples. But you Salmfius, seem very absurd, as in every other part of your Book, so particularly in this, who tho you rail perpetually at the Independents, and revile them with all the terms of Reproach imaginable, yet assert to the highest degree that can be, the Independency of a King, whom you defend; and will not allow him to owe his Sovereignty to the People, but to his Descent. And whereas in the beginning of your Book you complain'd that he was put to plead for his Life, here you complain, That he perish'd without being heard to speak for himself. But if you have a mind to look into the History of his Trial, which is very faithfully publish'd in French, it may be you'll be of another opinion. Whereas he had liberty given him for some days together, to say what he could for himself, he made use of it not to clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but to disprove the Authority of his Judges, and the Judicature that he was called before. And whenever a Criminal is either mute, or says nothing to the purpose, there is no Injustice in condemning him without hearing him; if his Crimes are notorious, and publickly known. If you say that Charles died as he lived, I agree with you: If you say that he died pioufly, holily, and at ease, you may
Defence of the People of England,

remember that his Grandmother Mary, Queen of Scots, an infamous Woman, died on a Scaffold with as much outward appearance of Piety, Sanctity, and Constancy, as he did. And left you should ascribe too much to that presence of mind which some common Malesactors have so great a measure of at their death; many times despair, and a hardened heart puts on as it were a Vizor of Courage; and Stupidity, a shew of Quiet, and Tranquillity of Mind: Sometimes the worst of Men desire to appear good, undaunted, innocent, and now and then religious, not only in their life, but at their death; and in suffering death for their villanies, use to act the last part of their hypocrisy and cheats, with all the show imaginable; and like bad Poets or Stage-players, are very ambitious of being clapp'd at the end of the Play. Now, you say, you are come to enquire who they chiefly were, that gave Sentence against the King. Whereas it ought first to be enquired into, how you, a Foreigner, and a French Vagabond, came to have any thing to do to raise a question about our Affairs, to which you are so much a Stranger? And what Reward induced you to it? But we know enough of that, and who satisfied your curiosity in these matters of ours; even those Fugitives, and Traitors to their Countrey, that could easily hire such a vain Fellow as you, to speak ill of us. Then an account in writing, of the state of our Affairs, was put into your hands by some hair-brain'd, half-Protestant, half-Papist Chaplain or other, or by some sneaking Courtier, and you were put to translate it into Latin; out of that you took these Narratives, which, if you please, we'll examine a little: Not the hundred thousandth part of the People consented to this Sentence of Condemnation. What were the rest of the People then that suffer'd so great a thing to be transacted against their will? Were they Stocks and Stones, were they mere Trunks of Men
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 223
only, or such Images of Britains, as Virgil describes to have been wrought in Tapistry?

*Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea Britanni.*

And Britains interwove held up the Purple Hangings.

For you describe no true Britains but painted ones, or rather Needle-wrought Men instead of them. Since therefore it is a thing so incredible that a warlike Nation should be subdued by so few, and those of the dregs of the People (which is the first thing that occurs in your Narrative) that appears in the very nature of the thing it self to be most false. *The Bishops were turn'd out of the House of Lords by the Parliament it self.* The more deplorable is your Madness (for are you not yet sensible that you rave) to complain of their being turn'd out of the Parliament, whom you yourself in a large Book endeavour to prove ought to be turn'd out of the Church. *One of the States of Parliament, to wit, the House of Lords, consisting of Dukes, Earls, and Viscounts, was removed.* And deservedly were they removed; for they were not deputed to sit there by any Town or County, but represented themselves only; they had no Right over the People, but (as if they had been ordained for that very purpose) used frequently to oppose their Rights and Liberties. They were created by the King, they were his Companions, his Servants, and as it were, Shadows of him. He being removed, it was necessary they should be reduced to the same Level with the Body of the People, from amongst whom they took their rise. *One part of the Parliament, and that the worst of all, ought not to have assumed that Power of judging and condemning the King.* But I have told you already, that the House of Commons was not only the chief part of our Parliament, while we had
Defence of the People of England,

Kings, but was a perfect and entire Parliament of it self, without the Temporal Lords, much more without the Bishops. But, The whole House of Commons themselves were not admitted to have to do with the Trial of the King. To wit, that part of them was not admitted, that openly revolted to him in their Minds and Councils; whom, tho they stil’d him their King, yet they had so often acted against, as an Enemy. The Parliament of England, and the Deputies sent from the Parliament of Scotland, on the 13th of January, 1645, wrote to the King, in answer to a Letter of his, by which he desired a deceitful Truce, and that he might treat with them at London; that they could not admit him into that City, till he had made Satisfaction to the State for the Civil War that he had raised in the three Kingdoms, and for the Deaths of so many of his Subjects slain by his Order; and till he had agreed to a true and firm Peace upon such Terms as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms had offered him so often already, and should offer him again. He on the other hand either refused to hear, or by ambiguous Answers eluded their just and equal Proposals, tho most humbly presented to him seven times over. The Parliament at last, after so many years patience, left the King should overturn the State by his Wiles and Delays, when in Prison, which he could not subdue in the Field, and left the vanquish’d Enemy pleased with our Divisions, should recover himself, and triumph unexpectedly over his Conquerors, vote that for the future they would have no regard to him, that they would send him no more Proposals, nor receive any from him: After which Vote, there were found even some Members of Parliament, who out of the hatred they bore that invincible Army, whose Glory they envied, and which they would have had disbanded, and sent home with disgrace, after they had deserved so well of their Na-
in Answer to Salmasius for the King.

tion, and out of a servile compliance with some Seditious Ministers, finding their opportunity, when many, whom they knew to be otherwise minded than themselves, having been sent by the House it self to suppress the Presbyterians, who began already to be turbulent, were absent in the several Counties, with a strange Levity, not to say Perfidiousness, vote that that inveterate Enemy of the State, who had nothing of a King but the Name, without giving any Satisfaction or Security, should be brought back to London, and restored to his Dignity and Government, as if he had deserved well of the Nation by what he had done. So that they preferr'd the King before their Religion, their Liberty, and that very celebrated Covenant of theirs. What did they do in the mean time, who were found themselves, and saw such pernicious Councill on foot? Ought they therefore to have been wanting to the Nation, and not provide for its safety, because the Infection had spread it self even in their own House? But, who secluded those ill affected Members? The English Army, you say: So that it was not an Army of Foreigners, but of most valiant, and faithful, honest Natives, whose Officers for the most part were Members of Parliament; and whom those good secluded Members would have secluded their Country, and banished into Ireland; while in the mean time the Scots, whose Alliance began to be doubtful, had very considerable Forces in four of our Northern Counties, and kept Garisons in the best Towns of those Parts, and had the King himself in Custody; whilst they likewise encouraged the tumultuating of those of their own Faction, who did more than threaten the Parliament, both in City and Country, and through whose means not only a Civil, but a War with Scotland too shortly after brake out. If it has been always accounted praise-worthy in private Men to assist the State, and promote the publick
Defence of the People of England,

Good, whether by Advice or Action; our Army sure was in no fault, who being ordered by the Parliament to come to Town, obey'd and came, and when they were come, quell'd with ease the Faction and Up-roar of the King's Party, who sometimes threatened the House it self. For things were brought to that pass, that of necessity either we must be run down by them, or they by us. They had on their side most of the Shopkeepers and Handicrafts-men of London, and generally those of the Ministers, that were most factious. On our side was the Army, whose Fidelity, Moderation, and Courage were sufficiently known. It being in our Power by their means to retain our Liberty, our State, our common Safety, do you think we had not been Fools to have lost all by our negligence and folly? They who had had places of Command in the Kings Army, after their Party were subdued, had laid down their Arms indeed against their Wills, but continued Enemies to us in their Hearts; and they flock'd to Town, and were here watching all opportunities of renewing the War. With these Men, tho' they were the greatest Enemies they had in the World, and thirsted after their Blood, did the Presbyterians, because they were not permitted to exercise a Civil, as well as an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over all others, hold secret Correspondence, and took measures very unworthy of what they had formerly both said and done; and they came to that Spleen at last, that they would rather enthrall themselves to the King again, than admit their own Brethren to share in their Liberty, which they likewise had purchased at the price of their own Blood; they chose rather to be lorded over once more by a Tyrant, polluted with the Blood of so many of his own Subjects, and who was enraged, and breath'd out nothing but revenge against those of them that were left, than endure their Brethren and Friends to
be upon the square with them. The Independents, as they are called, were the only men, that from first to last kept to their point, and knew what use to make of their Victory. They refus’d (and wisely, in my opinion) to make him King again, being then an Enemy; who when he was their King, had made himself their Enemy: Nor were they ever the less averse to a Peace, but they very prudently dreaded a new War, or a perpetual Slavery under the name of a Peace. To load our Army with the more reproaches, you begin a silly confused Narrative of our Affairs; in which tho I find many things false, many things frivolous, many things laid to our charge, for which we rather merit; yet I think it will be to no purpose for me to write a true relation, in answer to your false one. For you and I are arguing, not writing Histories, and both sides will believe our reasons, but not our narrative; and indeed the nature of the things themselves is such, that they cannot be related as they ought to be, but in a set History; so that I think it better, as Salutā said of Carthage, rather to say nothing at all, than to say but a little of things of this weight and importance. Nay, and I scorn so much as to mention the praises of great Men, and of Almighty God himself (who in so wonderful a course of Affairs ought to be frequently acknowledged) amongst your Slanders and Reproaches. I'll therefore only pick out such things as seem to have any colour of argument. You say, the English and Scotch promised by a Solemn Covenant, to preserve the Majesty of the King. But you omit upon what terms they promised it; to wit, if it might consist with the safety of their Religion and their Liberty. To both which, Religion and Liberty, that King was so averse to his last breath, and watcht all opportunities of gaining advantages upon them, that it was evident that his Life was dangerous to their Religion, and the cer-
tain ruin of their Liberty. But then you fall upon the King's Judges again: If we consider the thing aright, the conclusion of this abominable action must be imputed to the Independents, yet so as the Presbyterians may justly challenge the glory of its beginning and progress. Hark, ye Presbyterians, what good has it done you? How is your Innocence and Loyalty the more cleared by your seeming so much to abhor the putting the King to death? You your selves in the opinion of this everlasting talkative Advocate of the King, your accuser, went more than half-way towards it; you were seen acting the fourth Act and more, in this Tragedy; you may justly be charged with the King's death, since you shew'd the way to it; 'twas you and only you that laid his head upon the Block. Wo be to you in the first place, if ever Charles his Posterity recover the Crown of England; assure your selves, you are like to be put in the Black List. But pay your Vows to God, and love your Brethren who have delivered you, who have prevented that calamity from falling upon you, who have salved you from inevitable ruin, tho' against your own wills. You are accused likewise for that some years ago you endeavoured by sundry Petitions to lessen the King's authority, that you publisht some scandalous Expressions of the King himself in the Papers you presented him with in the name of the Parliament; to wit, in that Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the 26th of May 1642, you declar'd openly in some mad Positions that breath'd nothing but Rebellion, what your thoughts were of the King's authority: Hotham by order of Parliament shut the gates of Hull against the King; you had a mind to make a trial by this first act of Rebellion how much the King would bear. What could this Man say more if it were his design to reconcile the minds of all English Men to one another, and alienate them wholly from the King? for he gives them here to understand, that
if ever the King be brought back, they must not only expect to be punished for his Father's death, but for the Petitions they made long ago, and some Acts that past in full Parliament, concerning the putting down the Common-Prayer and Bishops, and that of the Triennial Parliament, and several other things that were enacted with the greatest consent and applause of all the People that could be; all which will be look'd upon as the Seditions and mad Positions of the Presbyterian. But this vain fellow changes his mind all of a sudden; and what but of late, when he considered it aright, he thought was to be imputed wholly to the Presbyterian, now that he considers the same thing from first to last, he thinks the Independents were the sole Actors of it. But even now he told us, The Presbyterian took up Arms against the King, that by them he was beaten, taken captive, and put in prison; Now he says, this whole Doctrine of Rebellion is the Independents Principle. O! the faithfulness of this Man's Narrative. How consistent he is with himself! What need is there of a Counter Narrative to this of his, that cuts its own Throat? But if any man should question whether you are an honest Man or a Knave, let him read these following lines of yours: It is time to explain whence and at what time this Sect of Enemies to Kingship first began. Why truly these rare Puritans began in Queen Elizabeths time to crawl out of Hell, and disturb not only the Church, but the State likewise; for they are no less plagues to the latter than to the former. Now your very speech bewrays you to be a right Balaam; for where you designed to spit out the most bitter Poyson you could, there unwittingly and against your will you have pronounced a Blessing. For it's notoriously known all over England that if any endeavoured to follow the example of those Churches, whether in France or Germany, which they accounted best reformed,
and to exercise the publick Worship of God in a more pure manner, which our Bishops had almost universally corrupted with their Ceremonies and Superstitions; or if any seemed either in point of Religion or Morality to be better than others, such persons were by the Favoucers of Epifcopacy termed Puritans. These are they whose Principles you say are so opposite to Kingship. Nor are they the only persons, most of the Reformed Religion, that have not sucked in the rest of their principles, yet seem to have approved of those that strike at Kingly Government. So that while you inveigh bitterly against the Independents, and endeavour to separate them from Christ's flock, with the same breath you praise them; and those Principles which almost every where you affirm to be peculiar to the Independents, here you confess have been approved of by most of the Reformed Religion. Nay you are arrived to that degree of impudence, impiety and apostacy, that though formerly you maintained Bishops ought to be extirpated out of the Church, root and branch, as so many pests and limbs of Antichrist, here you say the King ought to protect them, for the saving of his Coronation-Oath. You cannot show your self a more infamous Villain than you have done already, but by abjuring the Protestant Reformed Religion, to which you are a scandal. Whereas you tax us with giving a Toleration of all Sects and Heresies, you ought not to find fault with us for that; since the Church bears with such a profligate Wretch as you yourself, such a vain Fellow, such a Lyar, such a Mercenary Slanderer, such an Apostate, one who has the impudence to affirm, That the best and most pious of Christians, and even most of those who profess the Reformed Religion, are crept out of Hell, because they differ in opinion from you. I had best pass by the Calumnies that fill up the rest of this Chapter, and those pro-
in Answer to Salmastius for the King. 231
digious Tenets that you ascribe to the Independents, to render them odious; for neither do they at all concern the Cause you have in hand, and they are such for the most part as deserve to be laugh’d at, and despised, rather than receive a serious Answer.

CHAP. XI.

YOU seem to begin this Eleventh Chapter, Salmastius, though with no modesty, yet with some sense of your weakness and trifling in this Discourse. For whereas you proposed to your self to enquire in this place, by what authority sentence was given against the King? you add immediately, which nobody expected from you, that ‘tis in vain to make any such enquiry; to wit, because the quality of the persons that did it, leaves hardly any room for such a question. And therefore as you have been found guilty of a great deal of Impudence and Sauciness in the undertaking of this Cause, so since you seem here conscious of your own impertinence, I shall give you the shorter answer. To your question then; by what authority the House of Commons either condemn’d the King themselves, or delegated that Power to others; I answer, they did it by virtue of the Supreme Authority on Earth. How they come to have the Supreme Power, you may learn by what I have said already, when I refuted your Impertinences upon that Subject. If you believed your self that you could ever say enough upon any Subject, you would not be so tedious in repeating the same things so many times over. And the House of Commons might delegate their Judicial Power by the same reason, by which you say the King may delegate his, who received all he had from the People. Hence in that Solemn League and Covenant that you object to us, the Par-
Defence of the People of England,

Parliaments of England and Scotland solemnly protest and engage to each other, to punish the Traitors in such manner as the Supreme, Judicial Authority in both Nations, or such as should have a delegate power from them, should think fit. Now you hear the Parliaments of both Nations protest with one voice, that they may delegate their Judicial Power, which they call the Supreme; so that you move a vain and frivolous Controversy about delegating this power. But, say you, there were added to those Judges that were made choice of out of the House of Commons, some Officers of the Army, and it never was known that Soldiers had any right to try a Subject for his life. I'll silence you in a very few words: You may remember that we are not now discoursing of a Subject, but of an Enemy; whom if a General of an Army, after he has taken him Prisoner, resolves to despatch, would he be thought to proceed otherwise than according to Custom and Martial Law, if he himself with some of his Officers should sit upon him, and try and condemn him? An Enemy to a State made a Prisoner of War, cannot be lookt upon to be so much as a Member, much less a King in that State. This is declar'd by that Sacred Law of St. Edward, which denies that a bad King is a King at all, or ought to be call'd so. Whereas you say, it was not the whole but a part of the House of Commons that try'd and condemned the King, I give you this answer: The number of them, who gave their Votes for putting the King to death, was far greater than is necessary according to the custom of our Parliaments to transact the greatest Affairs of the Kingdom, in the absence of the rest; who since they were absent through their own fault (for to revolt to the common Enemy in their hearts is the worst sort of absence) their absence ought not to hinder the rest who continued faithful to the cause, from preserving the State;
which when it was in a tottering condition, and al-
most quite reduced to Slavery and utter Ruin, the
whole body of the People had at first committed to
their fidelity, prudence and courage. And they acted
their parts like men; they set themselves in oppo-
sition to the unruly wilfulness, the rage, the secret
designs of an inveterate and exasperated King; they
prefer'd the common Liberty and Safety before their
own; they out-did all former Parliaments, they out-
did all their Ancestors in Conduct, Magnanimity
and Stediness to their cause. Yet these very men
did a great part of the People ungratefully desert in
the midst of their undertaking, tho they had pro-
mised them all fidelity, all the help and assistance
they could afford them. These were for Slavery
and Peace with sloth and luxury upon any terms:
Others demanded their Liberty, nor would accept
of a Peace that was not sure and honourable. What
should the Parliament do in this case? ought they to
have defended this part of the People, that was found
and continued faithful to them and their Country,
or to have sided with those that deserted both? I
know what you will say they ought to have done.
You are not Eurylochus, but Elpenor, a miserable en-
chanted Beast, a filthy Swine, accustomed to a fordid
Slavery even under a Woman; so that you have not
the least relish of true Magnanimity, nor consequently
of Liberty which is the effect of it: You would have
all other men Slaves, because you find in your self
no generous, ingenuous inclinations; you say no-
thing, you breath nothing but what's mean and serv-
ile. You raise another scruple, to wit, That he was
the King of Scotland too, whom we condemn'd; as if he
might therefore do what he would in England. But
that you may conclude this Chapter, which of all
others is the most weak and insipid, at least with
some witty querk, There are two little words, say
Defence of the People of England,
you, that are made up of the same number of Letters, and differ only in the placing of them, but whose significations are wide asunder, to wit, Vis and Jus, (might and right.) 'Tis no great wonder that such a three letter’d man as you, (Fur a Thief) should make such a Witticism upon three Letters: 'Tis the greater wonder (which yet you assert throughout your Book) that two things so directly opposite to one another as those two are, should yet meet and become one and the same thing in Kings. For what violence was ever acted by Kings, which you do not affirm to be their Right? These are all the passages that I could pick out of nine long Pages, that I thought deserved an answer. The rest consists either of repetitions of things that have been answered more than once, or such as have no relation to the matter in hand. So that my being more brief in this Chapter than in the rest, is not to be imputed to want of diligence in me, which, how irksom for ever you are to me, I have not slackned, but to your tedious impertinence, so void of matter and sense.

CHAP. XII.

Wit, Salmasius, that you had left out this part of your Discourse concerning the King’s crimes, which it had been more advisible for your self and your party to have done; for I’m afraid left in giving you an answer to it, I should appear too sharp and severe upon him, now he is dead, and hath received his punishment. But since you chose rather to discourse confidently and at large upon that Subject, I’ll make you sensible, that you could not have done a more inconsiderate thing, than to reserve the worst part of your cause to the last, to wit that of ripping up and enquiring into the Kings Crimes; which
when I shall have proved them to have been true and most exorbitant, they will render his memory unpleasant and odious to all good men, and imprint now in the close of the Controversy, a just hatred of you, who undertake his defence, on the Readers minds. Say you, *His accusation may be divided into two parts, one is conversant about his Morals, the other taxeth him with such faults as he might commit in his publick capacity.* I'll be content to pass by in silence that part of his life that he spent in Banquetings, at Plays, and in the conversation of Women; for what can there be in Luxury and Excess, worth relating? And what would those things have been to us, if he had been a private person? But since he would be a King, as he could not live a private Life, so neither could his Vices be like those of a private Person. For in the first place, he did a great deal of mischief by his Example: In the second place, all that time that he spent upon his lust, and in his sports, which was a great part of his time, he stole from the State, the Government of which he had undertaken. Thirdly and lastly, he squandered away vast Sums of Money, which were not his own, but the publick Revenue of the Nation, in his Domestick Luxury and Extravagance. So that in his private life at home he first began to be an ill King. But let us rather pass over to those Crimes *that he is charged with on the account of misgovernment.* Here you lament his being condemned as a Tyrant, a Traitor, and a Murderer. That he had no wrong done him, shall now be made appear. But first let us define a Tyrant, not according to vulgar conceits, but the judgment of Aristotle, and of all Learned Men. He is a Tyrant who regards his own welfare and profit only, and not that of the People. So Aristotle defines one in the Tenth Book of his Ethicks, and elsewhere, and so do very many others. Whether Charles
Defence of the People of England,

regarded his own or the Peoples good, these few things of many that I shall but touch upon, will evince. When his Rents and other publick Revenues of the Crown would not defray the Expences of the Court, he laid most heavy Taxes upon the People; and when they were squandred away, he invented new ones; not for the benefit, honour, or defence of the State, but that he might hoard up, or lavish out in one House, the Riches and Wealth, not of one but of three Nations. When at this rate he broke loose, and acted without any colour of Law to warrant his proceedings, knowing that a Parliament was the only thing that could give him check, he endeavoured either wholly to lay aside the very calling of Parliaments, or calling them just as often, and no oftner, than to serve his own turn, to make them entirely at his devotion. Which Bridle when he had cast off himself, he put another Bridle upon the People; he put Garisons of German Horse and Irish Foot in many Towns and Cities, and that in time of Peace. Do you think he does not begin to look like a Tyrant? In which very thing, as in many other Particulars, which you have formerly given me occasion to instance (though you scorn to have Charles compared with so cruel a Tyrant as Nero) he resembled him extremely much. For Nero likewise often threatened to take away the Senate. Besides he bore extreme hard upon the Consciences of good men, and compelled them to the use of Ceremonies and Superstitious Worship, borrowed from Popery, and by him re-introduced into the Church. They that would not conform, were imprisoned or banisht. He made War upon the Scots twice for no other cause than that. By all these actions he has surely deserved the name of a Tyrant once over at least. Now I'll tell you why the word Traitor was put into his Indictment: When he assured
his Parliament by Promises, by Proclamations, by Imprecations, that he had no design against the State, at that very time did he lift Papists in Ireland, he sent a private Embassador to the King of Denmark to beg assistance from him of Arms, Horses and Men, expressly against the Parliament; and was endeavouring to raise an Army first in England, and then in Scotland. To the English he promised the Plunder of the City of London, to the Scots, that the four Northern Counties should be added to Scotland, if they would but help him to get rid of the Parliament, by what means soever. These Projects not succeeding, he sent over one Dillon a Traitor, into Ireland with private Instructions to the Natives, to fall suddenly upon all the English that inhabited there. These are the most remarkable instances of his Treasons, not taken up upon hear-say and idle reports, but discovered by Letters under his own Hand and Seal. And finally I suppose no man will deny that he was a Murderer, by whose order the Irish took Arms, and put to death with most exquisite Torments, above a hundred thousand English, who lived peaceably by them, and without any apprehension of danger; and who raised so great a Civil War in the other two Kingdoms. Add to all this, that at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight, the King openly took upon himself the guilt of the War, and clear’d the Parliament in the Confession he made there, which is publicly known. Thus you have in short why King Charles was adjudged a Tyrant, a Traytor, and a Murderer. But, say you, why was he not declared so before, neither in that Solemn League and Covenant, nor afterwards when he was delivered to them, either by the Presbyterians or the Independents, but on the other hand was receiv’d as a King ought to be, with all reverence? This very thing is sufficient to persuade any rational man, that the Parliament entred not into
Defence of the People of England,

any Councils of quite deposing the King, but as their last refuge, after they had suffered and undergone all that possibly they could, and had attempted all other ways and means. You alone endeavour maliciously to lay that to their charge, which to all good men cannot but evidence their great Patience, Moderation, and perhaps a too long forbearing with the King's Pride and Arrogance. But in the month of August, before the King suffered, the House of Commons, which then bore the only sway, and was governed by the Independents, wrote Letters to the Scots, in which they acquainted them that they never intended to alter the Form of Government that had obtain'd so long in England under King, Lords, and Commons. You may see from hence, how little reason there is to ascribe the deposing of the King, to the principles of the Independents. They, that never used to dissemble and conceal their Tenets, even then, when they had the sole management of affairs, profess, That they never intended to alter the Government. But if afterwards a thing came into their minds, which at first they intended not, why might they not take such a course, tho before not intended, as appear'd most advisable, and most for the Nation's Interest? Especially when they found that the King could not possibly be intreated or induced to assent to those just demands that they had made from time to time, and which were always the same from first to last. He persisted in those perverse sentiments with respect to Religion and his own Right, which he had all along espoused, and which were so destructive to us; not in the least altered from the man that he was, when in Peace and War, he did us all so much mischief. If he assented to any thing, he gave no obscure hints that he did it against his will, and that whenever he should come into power again, he would look upon such his assent as null and void. The same thing his Son declared
by writing under his hand, when in those days he ran away with part of the Fleet, and so did the King himself by Letters to some of his own party in London. In the mean time, against the avowed sense of the Parliament, he struck up a private Peace with the Irish, the most barbarous Enemies imaginable to England, upon base dishonourable terms; but whenever he invited the English to Treaties of Peace, at those very times with all the power he had, and interest he could make, he was preparing for War. In this case, what should they do, who were intrusted with the care of the Government? Ought they to have betrayed the safety of us all to our most bitter Adversary? Or would you have had them left us to undergo the Calamities of another seven years War, not to say worse? God put a better mind into them, of preferring, pursuant to that very solemn League and Covenant, their Religion, and Liberties, before those thoughts they once had, of not rejecting the King; for they had not gone so far as to vote it; all which they saw at last (tho indeed later than they might have done) could not possibly subsist, as long as the King continued King. The Parliament ought and must of necessity be entirely free, and at liberty to provide for the good of the Nation, as occasion requires; nor ought they so to be wedded to their first Sentiments, as to scruple the altering their minds, for their own, or the Nation's good, if God put an opportunity into their hands of procuring it. But the Scots were of another opinion; for they, in a Letter to Charles, the King's Son, call his Father a most Sacred Prince, and the putting him to death, a most execrable Villany. Do not you talk of the Scots, whom you know not; we know them well enough, and know the time, when they called that same King, a most execrable person, a Murderer, and Traitor; and the putting a Tyrant to death a most sacred action. Then
you pick holes in the King's Charge, as not being properly penn'd; and you ask why we needed to call him a Traitor and a Murderer, after we had stiled him a Tyrant; since the word Tyrant, includes all the crimes that may be: And then you explain to us grammatically and critically, what a Tyrant is. Away with those Trifles, you Pedagogue, which that one definition of Aristotle's, that has lately been cited, will utterly confound; and teach such a Doctor as you, That the word Tyrant (for all your concern is barely to have some understanding of words) may be applied to one, who is neither a Traitor nor a Murderer. But the Laws of England do not make it Treason in the King to stir up Sedition against himself or the People. Nor do they say, That the Parliament can be guilty of Treason by deposing a bad King, nor that any Parliament ever was so, tho they have often done it; but our Laws plainly and clearly declare, that a King may violate, diminish, nay, and wholly lose his Royalty. For that expression in the Law of St. Edward, of losing the name of a King, signifies neither more nor less, than being deprived of the Kingly Office and Dignity; which befel Chilperic King of France, whose example, for illustration sake, is taken notice of in the Law itself. There is not a Lawyer amongst us that can deny, but that the highest Treason may be committed against the Kingdom as well as against the King. I appeal to Glanvile himself, whom you cite, "If any man attempt to put the King to death, or "raise Sedition in the Realm, it is High Treason." So that attempt of some Papists to blow up the Parliament-House, and the Lords and Commons there with Gunpowder, was by King James himself, and both Houses of Parliament, declared to be High Treason, not against the King only, but against the Parliament and the whole Kingdom. 'Twould be to no purpose to quote more of our Statutes, to prove so
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 241

clear a Truth; which yet I could easily do. For the thing itself is ridiculous, and absurd to imagine, That High Treason may be committed against the King, and not against the People, for whose good, nay, and by whose leave, as I may say, the King is what he is: So that you babble over so many Statutes of ours to no purpose; you toil and wallow in our Ancient Law-Books, to no purpose; for the Laws themselves stand or fall by Authority of Parliament, who always had power to confirm or repeal them; and the Parliament is the sole Judg of what is Rebellion, what High Treason (laeia Majestas) and what not. Majesty never was vested to that degree in the Person of the King, as not to be more conspicuous, and more august in Parliament, as I have often shown: But who can endure to hear such a senseless Fellow, such a French Mountebank as you, declare what our Laws are? And, you English Fugitives, so many Bishops, Doctors, Lawyers, who pretend that all Learning and Ingenuous Literature is fled out of England with your selves, was there not one of you that could defend the King's Cause and your own, and that in good Latin also, to be submitted to the judgment of other Nations, but that this brain-sick, beggarly Frenchman must be hired to undertake the Defence of a poor indigent King, surrounded with so many Infant-Priests and Doctors? This very thing I assure you, will be a great imputation to you amongst Foreigners; and you will be thought deservedly to have lost that Cause that you were so far from being able to defend by Force of Arms, as that you cannot so much as write in behalf of it. But now I come to you again, Goodman Gooscap, who scribble so finely; if at least you are come to your self again; for I find you here towards the latter end of your Book, in a deep sleep, and dreaming of some voluntary Death or other that's nothing to the purpose. Then you deny that 'tis
Defence of the People of England,

possible for a King in his right wits to embroil his People in Seditious, to betray his own Forces to be slaughtered by Enemies, and raise Factions against himself. All which things having been done by many Kings, and particularly by Charles the late King of England, you will no longer doubt, I hope, especially being addicted to Stoicism, but that all Tyrants, as well as profligate Villains, are downright mad. Hear what Horace says, “Whoever through a senseless Stupidity, or any other cause whatsoever, hath his Understanding so blinded, as not to discern truth, the Stoicks account of him as of a mad-man: And such are whole Nations, such are Kings and Princes, such are all Mankind; except those very few that are Wise.” So that if you would clear King Charles from the Imputation of acting like a Mad-man, you must first vindicate his integrity and show that he never acted like an ill man. But a King, you say, cannot commit Treason against his own Subjects and Vassals. In the first place, since we are as free as any People under Heaven, we will not be impos’d upon by any Barbarous Custom of any other Nation whatsoever. In the second place, Suppose we had been the King’s Vassals; that Relation would not have obliged us to endure a Tyrant to reign and lord it over us. All subjection to Magistrates, as our own Laws declare, is circumscribed, and confined within the bounds of Honesty and the Publick Good. Read Leg. Hen. 1. Cap. 55. The obligation betwixt a Lord and his Tenants, is mutual, and remains so long as the Lord protects his Tenant; (this all our Lawyers tell us) but if the Lord be too severe and cruel to his Tenant, and do him some heinous Injury, The whole Relation betwixt them, and whatever Obligation the Tenant is under by having done Homage to his Lord, is utterly dissolv’d and extinguish’d. These are the very words of Bracton and Fleta. So that
in Answer to Salmasius for the King. 243

in some Case, the Law itself warrants even a Slave, or a Vassal to oppose his Lord, and allows the Slave to kill him, if he vanquish him in Battle. If a City, or a whole Nation may not lawfully take this Course with a Tyrant, the Condition of Freemen will be worse than that of Slaves. Then you go about to excuse King Charles's shedding of Innocent Blood, partly by Murders committed by other Kings, and partly by some Instances of Men put to death by them lawfully. For the matter of the Irish Massacre, you refer the Reader to Eikonóv Basiliké; and I refer you to Eiconoclastes. The Town of Rochel being taken, and the Townsmen betray'd, assistance shown but not afforded them, you will not have laid at Charles's door; nor have I any thing to say, whether he was faulty in that business or not; he did mischief enough at home; we need not enquire into what Misdemeanors he was guilty of abroad. But you in the mean time would make all the Protestant Churches, that have at any time defended themselves by force of Arms against Princes, who were profess'd Enemies of their Religion to have been guilty of Rebellion. Let them consider how much it concerns them for the maintaining their Ecclesiastical Discipline, and asserting their own Integrity, not to pass by so great an Indignity offered them by a Person bred up by and amongst themselves. That which troubles us most, is, that the English likewise were betray'd in that Expedition. He, who had design'd long ago to convert the Government of England into a Tyranny, thought he could not bring it to pass, till the Flower and Strength of the Military Power of the Nation were cut off. Another of his Crimes was, the causing some words to be struck out of the usual Coronation-Oath, before he himself would take it. Unworthy and abominable Action! The act was wicked in itself; what shall be said of him that un-
dertakes to justify it? For, by the Eternal God, what greater breach of Faith, and Violation of all Laws can possibly be imagin’d? What ought to have been more sacred to him, next to the Holy Sacraments themselves, than that Oath? Which of the two do you think the more flagitious Person, him that offends against the Law, or him that endeavours to make the Law equally guilty with himself? Or rather him who subverts the Law itself, that he may not seem to offend against it? For thus, that King violated that Oath which he ought most religiously to have sworn to; but that he might not seem openly and publickly to violate it, he craftily adulterated and corrupted it; and left he himself should be accounted perjur’d, he turn’d the very Oath into a Perjury. What other could be expected, than that his Reign would be full of Injustice, Craft, and Misfortune, who began it with so detestable an Injury to his People? And who durst pervert and adulterate that Law which he thought the only Obstacle that stood in his way, and hindred him from perverting all the rest of the Laws? But *that Oath* (thus you justify him) *lays no other Obligation upon Kings, than the Laws themselves do*; and *Kings pretend that they will be bound and limited by Laws, tho' indeed they are altogether from under the Power of Laws*. Is it not prodigious, that a Man should dare to express himself so sacrilegiously, and so senselessly, as to assert that an Oath sacredly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, may be dispensed with, and set aside as a little insignificant thing, without any Cause whatsoever! *Charles himself refutes you, you Prodigy of Impiety:* Who thinking that Oath no light matter, chose rather by a Subterfuge to avoid the force of it, or by a Fallacy to elude it, than openly to violate it; and would rather falsify and corrupt the Oath, than manifestly forswear himself after he had taken it. But, *The
King indeed swears to his People, as the People do to him; but the People swear Fidelity to the King, not the King to them. Pretty Invention! Does not he that promises, and binds himself by an Oath to do any thing to, or for another, oblige his Fidelity to them that require the Oath of him? Of a truth, every King swears Fidelity, and Service, and Obedience to the People, with respect to the performance of whatever he promises upon Oath to do. Then you run back to William the Conqueror, who was forced more than once to swear to perform, not what he himself would, but what the People, and the great Men of the Realm requir'd of him. If many Kings are Crown'd without the usual Solemnity, and Reign without taking any Oath, the same thing may be said of the People; a great many of whom never took the Oath of Allegiance. If the King by not taking an Oath be at Liberty, the People are so too. And that part of the People that has sworn, swore not to the King only, but to the Realm, and the Laws, by which the King came to his Crown; and no otherwise to the King, than whilst he should act according to those Laws, that the Common People, that is, the House of Commons, should chuse; (Quas Vulgus elegerit.) For it were folly to alter the Phrase of our Law, and turn it into more genuine Latin. This Clause (Quas Vulgus elegerit) Which the Commons shall chuse; Charles before he was crown'd, procured to be razed out. But, say you, without the Kings assent the People can chuse no Laws; and for this you cite two Statutes, viz. Anno 37 H. 6. Cap. 15. and 13 Edw. 4. Cap. 8. but those two Statutes are so far from appearing in our Statute-Books, that in the years you mention, neither of those Kings enacted any Laws at all. Go now and complain, that those Fugitives who pretended to furnish you with matter out of our Statutes, imposed upon you in it; and let other People in the
mean time stand astonish'd at your Impudence and Vanity, who are not ashamed to pretend to be thoroughly vers'd in such Books, as it is so evident you have never look'd into, nor so much as seen. And that Clause in the Coronation Oath, which such a brazen-faced Brawler as you call fictitious, The King's Friends, you say yourself, acknowledg that it may possibly be extant in some Ancient Copies, but that it grew into disuse, because it had no convenient signification. But for that very reason, did our Ancestors insert it in the Oath, that the Oath might have such a signification as would not be for a Tyrant's conveniency. If it had really grown into disuse, which yet is most false, there was the greater need of reviving it; but even that would have been to no purpose, according to your Doctrine: *For that Custom of taking an Oath, as Kings now-adays generally use it, is no more, you say, than a bare Ceremony.* And yet the King, when the Bishops were to be put down, pretended that he could not do it by reason of that Oath. And consequently, that reverend and sacred Oath, as it serves for the Kings turn, or not, must be solemn and binding, or an empty Ceremony: Which I earneстыlly entreat my Country-men to take notice of, and to consider what manner of a King they are like to have, if he ever come back. For it would never have entred into the thoughts of this Rascally foreign Grammarian to write a Discourse of the Rights of the Crown of England, unless both Charles Stuart now in Banishment, and tainted with his Fathers Principles, and those Profligate Tutors that he has along with him, had industriously suggested to him what they would have writ. They dictat'd to him, *That the whole Parliament were liable to be proceeded against as Traitors, because they declar'd without the Kings Assent all them to be Traitors, who had taken up Arms against the Parliament of England; and that Parliaments were*
but the King's Vassals: That the Oath which our Kings take at their Coronation, is but a Ceremony: And why not that a Vassal too? So that no reverence of Laws, no sacredness of an Oath, will be sufficient to protect your Lives and Fortunes, either from the Exorbitance of a furious, or the Revenge of an exasperated Prince, who has been so instructed from his Cradle, as to think Laws, Religion, nay, and Oaths themselves ought to be subject to his Will and Pleasure. How much better is it, and more becoming your selves, if you desire Riches, Liberty, Peace, and Empire, to obtain them assuredly by your own Vertue, Industry, Prudence and Valour, than to long after, and hope for them in vain under the Rule of a King? They, who are of opinion that these things cannot be compass'd but under a King, and a Lord; it cannot well be expressed how mean, how base, I do not say, how unworthy thoughts they have of themselves; for in effect, what do they other than confess, that they themselves are lazy, weak, senseless, silly Persons, and fram'd for Slavery both in Body and Mind? And indeed all manner of Slavery is scandalous and disgraceful to a freeborn ingenious Person; but for you, after you have recovered your lost Liberty, by God's Assistance, and your own Arms; after the performance of so many valiant Exploits, and the making so remarkable an Example of a most Potent King, to desire to return again into a Condition of Bondage and Slavery, will not only be scandalous and disgraceful, but an impious and wicked thing; and equal to that of the Israelites, who for desiring to return to the Egyptian Slavery, were so severely punish'd for that ffordid, lavish Temper of mind, and so many of them destroy'd by that God, who had been their Deliverer. But what say you now, who would perswade us to become Slaves? The King, say you, had a Power of pardoning such as were guilty of Treason, and
Defence of the People of England,

other Crimes; which evinces sufficiently that the King himself was under no Law. The King might indeed pardon Treason, not against the Kingdom, but against himself; and so may any body else pardon wrongs done to themselves; and he might, perhaps, pardon some other Offences, tho' not always; but does it follow, because in some Cases he had the Right of saving a Malefactor's life, that therefore he must have a Right to destroy all good Men? If the King be impleaded in an inferior Court, he is not obliged to answer, but by his Attorney: Does it therefore follow, that when he is summoned by all his Subjects to appear in Parliament, he may chuse whether he will appear or no, and refuse to answer in Person? You say, That we endeavour to justify what we have done by the Hollanders Example; and upon this occasion, fearing the loss of that Stipend with which the Hollanders feed such a Murrain and Pest as you are, if by reviling the English, you should consequentially reflect upon them that maintain you, you endeavour to demonstrate how unlike their Actions and ours are. The Comparison that you make betwixt them, I resolve to omit (tho' many things in it are most false, and other things flattery all over, which yet you thought your self obliged to put down, to deserve your Pension.) For the English think they need not alledg the Examples of Foreigners for their Justification. They have Municipal Laws of their own, by which they have acted; Laws with relation to the matter in hand, the best in the World: They have the Examples of their Ancestors, great and gallant Men, for their imitation, who never gave way to the Exorbitant Power of Princes, and who have put many of them to death, when their Government became insupportable. They were born free, they stand in need of no other Nation, they can make what Laws they please for their own good Govern-
Anfwer to Salmasius for the King.

One Law in particular they have a great veneration for, and a very Ancient one it is, enacted by Nature itself, That all Human Laws, all Civil Right and Government must have a respect to the safety and welfare of good Men, and not be subject to the Lufts of Princes. From hence to the end of your Book, I find nothing but Rubbish and Trifles, pick'd out of the former Chapters; of which you have here raised so great a heap, that I cannot imagine what other desigh you could have in it, than to presage the ruin of your whole Fabrick. At last, after an infinite deal of tittle tattle you make an end, calling God to witness, that you undertook the defence of this Cause, not only because you were desired so to do, but because your own Conscience told you, that you could not possibly undertake the Defence of a better. Is it fit for you to intermeddle with our matters, with which you have nothing to do, because you were desired, when we our selves did not desire you? to reproach with contumelious and opprobrious Language, and in a Printed Book, the Supreme Magiftracy of the English Nation, when according to the authority and power that they are entrusted with, they do but their duty within their own Jurisdiction, and all this without the least injury or provocation from them? (for they did not so much as know that there was such a man in the world as you.) And I pray by whom were you desired? By your Wife, I suppose, who, they say, exercises a Kingly Right and Jurisdiction over you; and whenever she has a mind to it, (as Fulvia is made to speak in that obscene Epigram, that you collected some Centoes out of, Pag. 320.) cries, Either write, or let's fight; That made you write perhaps, left the Signal should be given. Or were you asked by Charles the Younger, and that profligate Gang of Vagabond Courtiers, and like a second Balaam call'd upon by another Balak
Defence of the People of England,
to restore a desperate Cause by ill writing, that was lost by ill fighting? That may be; but there's this difference, for he was a wise understanding man, and rid upon an Ass that could speak, to curse the People of God: Thou art a very talkative Ass thy self, and rid by a Woman, and being surrounded with the healed heads of the Bishops that heretofore thou hadst wounded, thou seem'st to represent that Beast in the Revelation. But the say that a little after you had written this Book, you repented of what you had done. 'Tis well if it be so; and to make your repentance publick, I think the best course that you can take will be, for this long Book that you have writ, to take a Halter, and make one long Letter of your self. So Judas Iscariot repented, to whom you are like; and that young Charles knew, which made him send you the Purse, Judas his Badg; for he had heard before, and found afterward by experience, that you were an Apostate and a Devil. Judas betray'd Christ himself, and you betray his Church; you have taught heretofore that Bishops were Antichristian, and you are now revolted to their Party. You now undertake the Defence of their Cause, whom formerly you damn'd to the pit of Hell. Christ delivered all men from Bondage, and you endeavour to enslave all Mankind. Never question, since you have been such a Villain to God himself, his Church, and all Mankind in general, but that the same fate attends you that befel your equal, out of despair rather than repentance, to be weary of your life, and hang your self, and burst asunder as he did; and to send before-hand that faithless and treacherous Conscience of yours, that railing Conscience at good and holy men, to that place of torment that's prepared for you. And now I think, through God's assistance, I have finisht the Work I undertook, to wit, the defence of the Noble Actions
of my Country-men at home and abroad, against the raging and envious madness of this distracted Sophister; and the asserting of the common Rights of the People against the unjust domination of Kings, not out of any hatred to Kings, but Tyrants: Nor have I purposely left unanswered any one argument alleged by my adversary, nor any one example or authority quoted by him, that seem'd to have any force in it, or the least colour of an argument. Perhaps I have been guilty rather of the other extreme, of replying to some of his fooleries and trifles, as if they were sold arguments, and thereby may seem to have attributed more to them than they deserved. One thing yet remains to be done, which perhaps is of the greatest concern of all, and that is, That you, my Country-men, refute this adversary of yours your selves; which I do not see any other means of your effecting, than by a constant endeavour to outdo all mens bad words by your own good deeds. When you laboured under more sorts of oppression than one, you betook your selves to God for refuge, and he was graciously pleased to hear your most earnest Prayers and Desires. He has gloriously delivered you the first of Nations, from the two greatest mischiefs of this life, and most pernicious to Vertue, Tyranny and Superstition; he has endued you with greatness of mind to be first of Mankind, who after having conquered their own King, and having had him delivered into their hands, have not scrupled to condemn him judicially, and pursuant to that Sentence of Condemnation, to put him to death. After the performing so glorious an Action as this, you ought to do nothing that's mean and little, not so much as to think of, much less to do any thing but what is great and sublime. Which to attain to, this is your only way; as you have subdued your Enemies in Field, so to make appear, that unarmed, and
in the highest outward Peace and Tranquillity, you of all Mankind are best able to subdue Ambition, Avarice, the love of Riches, and can best avoid the corruptions that Prosperity is apt to introduce, (which generally subdue and triumph over other Nations) to show as great Justice, Temperance and Moderation in the maintaining your Liberty, as you have shown Courage in freeing your selves from Slavery. These are the only Arguments by which you will be able to evince that you are not such Persons as this Fellow represents you, Traitors, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Madmen; that you did not put your King to death out of any ambitious design, or a desire of invading the Rights of others, not out of any seditious Principles or sinister Ends; that it was not an act of Fury or Madness; but that it was wholly out of love to your Liberty, your Religion, to Justice, Vertue, and your Country, that you punished a Tyrant. But if it should fall out otherwise (which God forbid) if as you have been valiant in War, you should grow debauch'd in Peace, you that have had such visible demonstrations of the Goodness of God to your selves, and his Wrath against your Enemies; and that you should not have learned by so eminent, so remarkable an Example before your Eyes, to fear God, and work Righteousness; for my part, I shall easily grant and confess (for I cannot deny it) whatever ill men may speak or think of you, to be very true. And you will find in a little time, that God's Displeasure against you, will be greater than it has been against your Adversaries, greater than his Grace and Favour has been to your selves, which you have had larger experience of, than any other Nation under Heaven.
Letters of State

During the Administration of the Commonwealth, and the Protectors Oliver and Richard Cromwel.

LETTERS written in the Name of the Parliament.

The Senate and People of England, to the most Noble Senate of the City of Hamborough.

OR how long a Series of past Years, and for what important Reasons the Friendship enter'd into by our Ancestors with your most Noble City, has continu'd to this day, we both willingly acknowledg, together with your selves; nor is it a thing displeasing to us, frequently also to call to our remembrance. But as to what we understand by your Letters dated the 25th of June, that some of our People deal not with that Fidelity and Probity, as they were wont to do in their Trading and Commerce among ye; we presently referr'd it to the Consideration of certain Persons well skill'd in those matters, to the end they might make a more strict enquiry into the Frauds of the Clothiers and other Artificers of the Woolen Manufacture. And we farther promise to take such effectual care, as to make you sensible of our unalterable Intentions, to preserve sincerity and justice among our selves, as also never to neglect any good Offices
Letters of State written in

of our kindness that may redound to the welfare of your Commonwealth. On the other hand, there is something likewise which we not only require, but which Equity it self, and all the Laws of God and Man demand of your selves, That you will not only conserve inviolable to the Merchants of our Nation their Privileges, but by your Authority and Power defend and protect their Lives and Estates, as it becomes your City to do. Which as we most earnestly desir'd in our former Letters; so upon the repeated Complaints of our Merchants that are daily made before us, we now more earnestly soliciite and request it: they complaining, That their safety, and all that they have in the World, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledg themselves to have reap'd some Benefit for a short time of our former Letters sent you, and to have had some respite from the Injuries of a sort of profligate People; yet since the coming of the same Coc—m to your City (of whom we complain'd before) who pretends to be honour'd with a sort of Embasfly from —— the Son of the lately deceas'd King, they have been assaulted with all manner of ill Language, Threats, and naked Swords of Ruffians and Homicides, and have wanted your accustom'd Protection and Defence; insomuch, that when two or three of the Merchants, together with the President of the Society, were hurry'd away by surprize aboard a certain Privateer, and that the rest implor'd your Aid, yet they could not obtain any Assistance from you, till the Merchants themselves were forc'd to embody their own strength, and rescue from the hands of Pirates the Persons seiz'd on in that River, of which your City is the Mistrefs, not without extream hazard of their Lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brough 'em home again, and as it were by force of Arms recover'd 'em from an ignominious Captivity, and carry'd the Pirates
themselves into Custody; we are inform'd that Coc—m was so audacious as to demand the release of the Pirates, and that the Merchants might be deliver'd Prisoners into his hands. We therefore again, and again, beseech and adjure ye, if it be your intention that Contracts and Leagues, and the very antient Commerce between both Nations should be preserv'd, the thing which you desire, That our People may be able to assure themselves of some certain and firm support and reliance upon your Word, your Prudence and Authority; that you would lend 'em a favourable Audience concerning these matters, and that you would inflict deserved Punishment as well upon Coc—m, and the rest of his Accomplices in that wicked act, as upon those who lately assaulted the Preacher, hitherto unpunish'd, or command 'em to depart your Territories; nor that you would believe that expell'd and exil'd Tarquins are to be prefer'd before the Friendship, and the Wealth, and Power of our Republick. For if you do not carefully provide to the contrary, but that the enemies of our Republick shall presume to think lawful the committing of any Violences against us in your City, how unsafe, how ignominious the Residence of our People there will be, do you consider with your selves. These things we recommend to your Prudence and Equity, your selves to the Protection of Heaven.

Westminster, Aug. 10. 1649.

To the Senate of Hamborough.

YOUR conspicuous Favour in the doubtful Condition of our Affairs, is now the reason, that after Victory and prosperous Success, we can no longer question your good Will and friendly Inclination towards us. As for our parts, the War being almost
now determin'd, and our Enemies every where van-
quish'd, we have deem'd nothing more just, or more con
ducing to the firme Establishment of the Repub-
lick, then that they who by our means (the Almighty
being always our Captain and Conductor) have either
recover'd their Liberty, or obtain'd their Lives and
Fortunes, after the pernicious Ravages of a Civil War,
of our free Gift and Grace, should testify and pay in
exchange to their Magistrates Allegiance and Duty
in a solemn manner, if need requir'd: More especially
when so many turbulent and exasperated Persons,
more then once receiv'd into Protection, will make
no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidi-
ously, and raising new Disturbances. To that purpose
we took care to enjoin a certain form of an Oath, by
which all who held any Office in the Common-wealth,
or being fortify'd with the Protection of the Law,
enjoy'd both Safety, Ease, and all other conveniences
of Life, should bind themselves to Obedience in words
prescrib'd. This we also thought proper to be sent
to all Colonies abroad, or where-ever else our People
resided for the convenience of Trade; to the end that
the Fidelity of those over whom we are set, might
be prov'd and known to us as it is but reasonable and
necessary. Which makes us wonder so much the
more at what our Merchants write from your City,
that they are not permitted to execute our Commands
by some or other of your Order and Degree. Cer-
tainly what the most Potent United Provinces of the
Low Countries, most jealous of their Power and their
Interests, never thought any way belonging to their
inspection, namely whether the English Foreigners
swore Fidelity and Allegiance to their Magistrates at
home, either in these or those Words, how that should
come to be so suspected and troublesome to your City,
we must plainly acknowledg that we do not under-
stand. But this proceeding from the private incli-
nations or fears of some, whom certain Vagabond Scots, expell'd their Country, are said to have en-
forc'd by Menaces, on purpose to deter our Mer-
chants from swearing Fidelity to us, we impute not
to your City. Most earnestly therefore we intreat
and conjure ye (for it is not now the interest of Trade,
but the honour of the Republick it self that lies at
stake) not to suffer any one among ye, who can have
no reason to concern himself in this Affair, to inter-
pose his Authority, whatever it be, with that Su-
premacy which we challenge over our own Subjects,
not by the judgment and opinion of Foreigners, but
by the Laws of our Country; for who would not
take it amiss, if we should forbid your Hamburgers,
refiding here, to swear Fidelity to you that are their
Magistrates at Home? Farewel.

Jan. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince Philip the Fourth,
King of Spain. The Parliament of the Common-
wealth of England, Greeting.

We send to your Majesty Anthony Ascham, a
person of Integrity, Learned, and descended
of an ancient Family, to treat of matters very ad-
vantagous, as we hope, as well to the Spanish, as to
the English Nation. Wherefore in friendly manner,
we desire that you would be pleas'd to grant, and
order him a Safe and Honourable Passage to your
Royal City, and the same in his return from thence;
readily prepar'd to repay the kindness when occasion
offers. Or if your Majesty be otherwise inclin'd,
that it may be signify'd to him with the soonest,
what your Pleasure is in this particular, and that he
may be at liberty to depart without molestation.

Feb. 4. 1649.
To the most Serene and Potent Prince Philip the Fourth, King of Spain. The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, Greeting.

What is the Condition of our Affairs, and by what heinous Injuries provok'd and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our Liberty by force of Arms; what constituted form of Government we now make use of, can neither be conceal'd from your Majesty, nor any other Person who has but cast an impartial Eye upon our Writings publish'd on these Occasions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our Fidelity, our Equity, and Patience, manifest to all men, and justly meriting their Approbations; as also to defend our Authority, Honour, and Grandeur, against the infamous Tongues of Exiles and Fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign Nations, after having subdu'd and vanquish'd the Enemies of our Country through the miraculous Assistance of Heaven, we openly and cordially profess our selves readily prepar'd to have Peace and Friendship, more desirable than all enlargement of Empire, with our Neigh- bour Nations. For these reasons we have sent into Spain to your Majesty, Anthony Ascham, of approv'd Dexterity and Probity, to treat with your Majesty concerning Friendship, and the accustom'd Com- merce between both Nations; or else, if it be your Pleasure, to open a way for the ratifying of new Ar- ticles and Alliances. Our Request therefore is, that you will grant him free Liberty of Access to your Majesty, and give such Order that care may be taken of his Safety and Honour, while he resides a Pub- lick Minister with your Majesty; to the end he may freely propose what he has in charge from us, for
the Name of the Parliament. 259

the Benefit, as we hope, of both Nations; and cer-
tify to us with the soonest, what are your Majesty's
sentiments concerning these matters.

Westminster, Feb. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of
Portugal. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of
England, Greeting.

After we had suffer'd many, and those the ut-
moft Mischiefs of a faithless Peace, and inter-
tine War, Our being reduc'd to those Exigencies,
that if we had any regard to the safety of the Re-
publick, there was a necessity of altering for the
chiefeft part the form of Government, is a thing
which we make no question is well known to your
Majesty, by what we have both publiquely written and
declar'd in justification of our Proceedings. To
which, as it is but reason, if credit might be rather
given than to the most malicious Calumnies of loose
and wicked men; perhaps we should find those Per-
sons more amicably inclin'd, who now abroad have
the worst sentiments of our Actions. For as to what
we justify our selves to have justly and strenuously
perform'd after the Example of our Ancestors, in
pursuance of our Rights, and for recovery of the
native Liberty of Englishmen, certainly it is not the
work of Human force or wit to eradicate the per-
verse and obstinate Opinions of People wickedly in-
clin'd concerning what we have done. But after all,
in reference to what is common to us with all foreign
Nations, and more for the general Interest on both
sides, we are willing to let the World know, that
there is nothing which we more ardently desire, than
that the Friendship and Commerce which our Peo-
ple have been accustom'd to maintain with all our.
Letters of State written in Neighbours, should be enlarg'd and settled in the most ample and solemn manner. And whereas our People have always driven a very great Trade, and gainful to both Nations, in your Kingdom; we shall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any Impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foresee that all our Industry will be in vain, if, as it is reported, the Pyrates and Revolters of our Nation shall be suffer'd to have refuge in your Ports, and after they have taken and plunder'd the laden Vessels of the English, shall be permitted to fell their Goods by publick Outcries at Lisbon. To the end therefore that a more speedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Mischief, and that we may be more clearly satisfy'd concerning the Peace which we desire, we have sent to Your Majesty the most noble Charles Vane, under the Character of our Agent, with Instructions and a Commission, a plenary Testimonial of the Trust we have repos'd, and the Employment we have conferr'd upon him. Him therefore we most earnestly desire your Majesty graciously to hear, to give him Credit, and to take such Order that he may be safe in his Person and his Honour, within the bounds of your Dominions. These things, as they will be most acceptable to us, so we promise, whenever occasion offers, that the same Offices of kindness to your Majesty shall be mutually observ'd on all our parts.

Westminster, Feb. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of Portugal. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Greeting.

Almost daily and most grievous Complaints are brought before us, that certain of our Seamen and Officers who revolted from us the last Year, and
treacherously and wickedly carry'd away the Ships with the Command of which they were entrusted, and who having made their escape from the Port of Ireland, where being blockt up for almost a whole Summer together, they very narrowly avoided the Punishment due to their Crimes, have now betaken themselves to the Coast of Portugal, and the mouth of the River Tagus; that there they practise furious Piracy, taking and plundering all the English Vessels they meet with failing to and fro upon the account of Trade; and that all the adjoining Seas are become almost impassable by reason of their notorious and infamous Robberies. To which increasing Mischief, unless a speedy Remedy be apply'd, who does not see but that there will be a final end of that vast Trade so gainful to both Nations, which our People were wont to drive with the Portugueses? Wherefore we again and again request Your Majesty, that you will command those Pyrates and Revolters to depart the Territories of Portugal: And that if any pretended Embassadors present themselves from * * * * * * * that you will not vouchsafe to give them Audience; but that you will rather acknowledg us, upon whom the Supream Power of England, by the conspicuous Favour and Assistance of the Almighty, is devolv'd; and that the Ports and Rivers of Portugal, may not be bar'd and defended against your Friends and Confederates Fleet, no less serviceable to your Emolument, than the Trade of the English.

To Philip the Fourth, King of Spain.

HOW heinously, and with what Detestation your Majesty resented the villanous Murder of our Agent, Anthony Ascham, and what has hitherto been done in the prosecution and punishment of his Assassinates, we have been given to understand, as well
by your Majesty's own Letters, as from your Embassador Don Alphonfo de Cardenos. Nevertheless, so often as we consider the horridness of that bloody Fact, which utterly subverts the very Foundations of Correspondence and Commerce, and of the Privilege of Embassadors, most sacred among all Nations, so villainously violated without severity of Punishment, We cannot but with utmost importunity repeat our most urgent suit to your Majesty, That those Parricides may with all speed imaginable be brought to Justice, and that you would not suffer their merited Pains to be suspended any longer by any delay or pretence of Religion. For tho' most certainly we highly value the Friendship of a Potent Prince; yet it behoves us to use our utmost endeavours, that the Authors of such an enormous Parricide should receive the deserved Reward of their Impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful Mind acknowledge that Civility, of which by your Command, our People were not unsensible, as also your surpassing Affection for us, which lately your Embassador at large unfolded to us: Nor will it be displeasing to us to return the same good Offices to your Majesty, and the Spanish Nation, whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheless, if Justice be not satisfy'd without delay, which we still most earnestly request, we see not upon what foundations a sincere and lasting Friendship can subsist. For the preservation of which, however, we shall omit no just and laudable occasion; to which purpose we are likewise apt to believe that the presence of your Embassador does not a little conduce.
To the Spanish Embassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

The Council of State, so soon as their weighty Affairs would permit 'em, having carried into Parliament the four Writings, which it pleas'd your Excellency to impart to the Council upon the 19th of December last, have receiv'd in Command from the Parliament to return this Answer to the first Head of those Writings, touching the villainous Assaslinates of their late Agent, Anthony Ascham.

The Parliament have so long time, so often, and so justly demanded their being brought to deserved Punishment, that there needs nothing further to be said on a thing of so great importance, wherein (as your Excellency well observ'd) his Royal Majefty's Authority it self is so deeply concern'd, that unless Justice be done upon such notorious Offenders, all the foundations of Human Society, all the ways of preserving Friendship among Nations, of necessity must be overturn'd and abolish'd. Nor can we apprehend by any Argument drawn from Religion, that the Blood of the Innocent, shed by a propenfely malicious Murder, is not to be aveng'd. The Parliament therefore once more most urgently press'd, and expects from his Royal Majefty, according to their first Demands, That Satisfaction be given 'em effectually, and sincerely in this matter.

To the most Serene Prince Leopold, Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Low Countries, under King Philip.

So soon as word was brought us, not without a most grievous Complaint, that Jane Puckering, an Heiress of an illustrious and opulent Family, while
yet by reason of her Age, she was under Guardians, not far from the House wherein she then liv'd at Greenwich, was violently forc'd from the Hands and Embraces of her Attendants; and of a sudden in a Vessel to that purpose ready prepar'd, carri'd off into Flanders by the Treachery of one Walsh, who has endeavour'd all the ways imaginable, in contempt of Law both Human and Divine, to constrain a wealthy Virgin to Marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of present Death. We deeming it proper to apply some speedy Remedy to so enormous and unheard-of piece of Villany, gave order to some Persons to treat with the Governours of Newport and Oßend (for the unfortunate Captive was said to be landed in one of those two places) about rescuing the free-born Lady out of the Hands of the Ravisher. Who, both out of their singuler Humanity and love of Vertue, lent their assisting Aid to the young Virgin in servitude, and by down-right Robbery rifl'd from her Habitation: So that to avoid the violence of her imperious Masters, she was as it were deposited in a Nunnery, and committed to the charge of the Governess of the Society. Wherefore the same Walsh to get her again into his Clutches, has commenc'd a Suit against her in the Ecclesiastical Court of the Bishop of Ypre, pretending a Matrimonial Contraet between him and her. Now in regard that both the Ravisher and the Ravish'd Person, are Natives of our Country, as by the Witnesses upon their Oaths abundantly appears; as also for that the splendid Inheritance after which most certainly the Criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our Territories; so that we conceive that the whole cognizance and determination of this Cause belongs solely to our selves: Therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himself the Husband, here let him commence his Suit, and demand the delivery of the Person whom he claims for
his Wife. In the mean time, this it is that we moft earnestly request from your Highness, which is no more then what we have already requested by our Agent residing at Brufles, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways misus'd Virgin, born of honest Parents, but pyrated out of her Native Coun-
try, to return, as far as lies in your Power, with freedom and safety home again. This not only We upon all opportunities offer'd, as readily prepar'd to return the fame Favour and Kindness to your High-
ness, but also Humanity it self, and that fame hatred of Infamy, which ought to accompany all Persons of Vertue and Courage in defending the Honour of the Female Sex, seem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

Westminfter, March 28. 1650.

To the moſt Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of Portugal.

Understanding that Your Majesty hath both ho-
nourably receiv'd our Agent, and immediately given him a favourable Audience, we thought it be-
came us to assure your Majesty without delay, by speedy Letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us, and that there is nothing which we have decreed more sacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not first provok'd, the Peace, the Friendship and Commerce, now for some time settl'd between us and the greatest number of other Foreign Nations, and amongst the rest with the Portugueses. Nor did we send the English Fleet to the mouth of the River Tagus with any other in-
tention or design, then in pursuif of Enemies so often put to flight, and for recovery of our Vessels, which being carry'd away from their Owners by Force and
Letters of State written in

Treachery, the same Rabble of Fugitives conducted to your Coasts, and even to Lisbon it self, as to the most certain Fairs for the sale of their Plunder. But we are apt to believe that by this time almost all the Portugueses are abundantly convinc'd, from the flagitious manners of those People, of their Audacioufness, their Fury and their Madness. Which is the reason we are in hopes that we shall more eaaily obtain from your Majesty, First, That you will, as far as in you lies, be assistant to the most illustrious Edward Popham, whom we have made Admiral of our new Fleet, for the subduing those detested Freebooters, and that you will no longer suffer 'em, together with their Captain, not Guests, but Pyrats, not Merchants, but the Pefts of Commerce, and Violaters of the Law of Nations, to harbour in the Ports and under the shelter of the Fortresses of your Kingdom; but that where-ever the Confines of Portugal extend themselves, you will command 'em to be expell'd as well by Land as by Sea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at least that with your leave it may be lawful for us with our proper Forces to affail our own Revolters and Sea-Robbers; and if it be the pleasure of Heaven, to reduce 'em into our Power. This, as we have earnestly desired in our former Letters, so now again with the greatest ar-dency and importunity we request of your Majesty. By this, whether Equity, or act of Kindness, you will not only enlarge the fame of your Justice over all well govern'd and civil Nations, but also in a greater measure bind both us and the People of England, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the Portugueses, to your self and to your Subjects. Farewel. Westminster, 27 April, 1650.
To the Hamburghers.

More then once we have written concerning the Controversies of the Merchants, and some other things which more nearly concern the Dignity of our Republick, yet no Answer has been return'd. But understanding that Affairs of that nature can hardly be determin'd by Letters only, and that in the mean time certain seditious Persons have been sent to your City by ********* authoriz'd with no other Commission than that of Malice and Audaciousness, who make it their business utterly to extirpate the ancient Trade of our People in your City, especially of those whose fidelity to their Country is most conspicuous; therefore we have commanded the worthy and most eminent Richard Bradshaw to reside as our Agent among ye, to the end he may be able more at large to treat and negotiate with your Lordships such Matters and Affairs, as are interwoven with the Benefit and Advantages of both Republicks. Him therefore we request ye, with the soonest to admit to a favourable Audience; and that in all things that Credit may be given to him, that Honour paid him, as is usual in all Countries, and among all Nations paid to those that bear his Character. Farewel.

Westminster, April 2. 1650.

To the Hamburghers.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

That your Sedulities in the Reception of our Agent were so cordial and so egregious, we both gladly understand, and earnestly exhort ye that you would persevere in your good Will and Affection towards us. And this we do with so much the greater vehem
mence, as being inform'd that the same Exiles of ours, concerning whom we have so frequently written, now carry themselves more insolently in your City than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatening language in a most despiteful manner against our Resident. Therefore once more by these our Letters we would have the safety of his Person, and the Honour due to his Quality, recommended to your Care. On the other side, if you inflict severe and timely Punishment upon those Fugitives and Ruffians, as well the old ones as the new comers, it will be most acceptable to us, and becoming your Authority and Prudence.

Westminster, May 31. 1650.

To Philip the Fourth, King of Spain.

To our infinite sorrow we are given to understand, That Anthony Ascham, by us lately sent our Agent to your Majesty, and under that Character most civilly and publickly receiv'd by your Governours, upon his first coming to your Royal City, naked of all defence and guard, was most bloodily murder'd in a certain Inn, together with John Baptista de Ripa his Interpreter, butcher'd at the same time. Wherefore we most earnestly request your Majesty, That deserved Punishment may be speedily inflicted upon those Parricides already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to custody, who have not only presum'd to wound our selves through his sides, but have also dar'd to stab as it were to the very Heart, your Faith of Word and Royal Honour. So that we make no question but what we so ardently desire, would nevertheless be done effectually, by a Prince of his own accord so just and pious, though nobody requir'd it. As to what remains we make it our farther suit, That the breathless Carcass may be deliver'd to his Friends and Attendants to be
brought back and inter'd in his own Country, and that such care may be taken for the security of those that remain alive, as is but requisite; till having obtain'd an Answer to these Letters, if it may be done, they shall return to us the Witnesses of your Piety and Justice.

Westminster, June 28. 1650.

To the most Excellent Lord, Anthony John Lewis de la Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, Governor of Andalusia. The Council of State constituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.

We have receiv'd Advice from those most accomplish'd Persons, whom we have lately sent with our Fleet into Portugal in pursuit of Traitors, and for the recovery of our Vessels, that they were most civilly receiv'd by your Excellency, as often as they happen'd to touch upon the Coast of Gallaecia, which is under your Government, and assisted with all things necessary to those that perform long Voyages. This Civility of yours, as it was always most acceptable to us, so it is now more especially at this time, while we are sensible of the ill will of others in some places towards us without any just cause giv'n on our side: Therefore we make it our request to your Illustrious Lordship, that you will persevere in the same good Will and Affection to us, and that you would continue your Favour and Assistance to our People, according to your wonted Civility, as often as our Ships put in to your Harbours: and be assure'd that there is nothing which we desire of your Lordship in the way of Kindness, which we shall not be able to repay both to you and yours, whenever the like occasion shall be offer'd us.

Westminster, Nov. 7. 1650.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Council,

J. Bradshaw, President.
To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of Dantzick.

Magnificent and most Noble Lords, our dearest Friends;

Many Letters are brought us from our Merchants trading upon the Coast of Borussia, wherein they complain of a grievous Tribute impos'd upon 'em in the Grand Council of the Polanders, enforcing 'em to pay the tenth part of all their Goods for the Relief of the King of Scots, our Enemy. Which in regard it is plainly contrary to the Law of Nations, that Guestis and Strangers should be dealt withal in such a manner; and most unjust that they should be compell'd to pay publick Stipends in a Foreign Commonwealth to him from whom they are, by God's Assistance, deliver'd at home; we make no question but that out of respect to that Liberty, which as we understand you your selves enjoy, you will not suffer so heavy a Burden to be laid upon Merchants in your City, wherein they have maintain'd a continual Amity and Commerce, to the extraordinary Advantage of the place for many years together. If therefore you think it convenient to undertake the Protection of our Merchants trading among ye, which we assuredly expect as well from your Prudence and Equity, as from the Dignity and Grandeur of your City; We shall take that care, that you shall be sensible from time to time, of our grateful acceptance of your Kindness, as often as the Dantzichers shall have any dealings within our Territories, or their Ships, as frequently it happens, put into our Ports.

Westminster, Febr. 6. 1650.
To the Portugal Agent.

Most Illustrious Lord,

We receiv'd your Letters dated from Hampton the 15th of this Month, wherein you signify, That you are sent by the King of Portugal to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; but say not under what Character, whether of Embassador, or Agent, or Envoy, which we would willingly understand by your Credential Letters from the King, a Copy of which you may send us with all the speed you can. We would also further know, whether you come with a Plenary Commission, to give us Satisfaction for the Injuries, and to make Reparation for the Damages which your King has done this Republick, protecting our Enemy all the last Summer in his Harbours, and prohibiting the English Fleet, then ready to affail Rebels and Fugitives, which our Admiral had pursu'd so far; but never restraining the Enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word that you have ample and full Commission to give us Satisfaction concerning all these Matters, and send us withal a Copy of your Recommendatory Letters, we shall then take care, that you may with all speed repair to us upon the Publick Faith: At which time, when we have read the King's Letters, you shall have liberty freely to declare what further Commands you have brought along with you.


We have receiv'd your Highness's Letters, dated April 22. 1651. and deliver'd to us by your Resident, Signor Almerick Salvetti, wherein we readily
perceive how greatly your Highness favours the English Name, and the Value you have for this Nation; which not only our Merchants, that for many Years have traded in your Ports, but also certain of our young Nobility, either travelling through your Cities, or residing there for the improvement of their Studies, both testify and confirm. Which as they are things most grateful and acceptable to us; we also on our parts make this Request to your Highness, That your Serenity will persevere in your accustomed good Will and Affection towards our Merchants, and other Citizens of our Republick, travelling through the Tuscan Territories. On the other side, we promise and undertake, as to what concerns the Parliament, That nothing shall be wanting which may any way conduce to the Confirmation and Establishment of that Commerce and mutual Friendship that now has been of long continuance between both Nations, and which it is our earnest wish and desire should be preserved to perpetuity by all Offices of Humanity, Civility, and mutual Observance.

Westminster, Jan. 20. 1651.


Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, out of their earnest desire to continue and preserve the ancient Friendship and mutual Com-
merce between the *English* Nation and your City, not long since sent thither Richard Bradshaw Esq. with the Character of our Resident; and among other Instructions tending to the same purpose, gave him an express Charge to demand Justice against certain Persons within your Jurisdiction, who endeavour'd to murder the *Preacher* belonging to the *English* Society, and who likewise laid impious hands upon the Deputy-President, and some of the principal Merchants of the same Company, and hurri'd 'em away aboard of a Privateer. And although the aforesaid Resident, upon his first Reception and Audience, made known to your Lordships in a particular manner the Commands which he receiv'd from us; upon which it was expected that you would have made those Criminals ere this a severe Example of your Justice: yet when we understood our Expectations were not answer'd, considering with our selves what danger both our People and their Estates were in, if sufficient Provision were not made for their Security and Protection against the Malice of their Enemies, We again sent Orders to our aforesaid Resident, to represent to your Lordships our Judgment upon the whole Matter; as also to exhort and perswade ye, in the Name of this Republick, to be careful of preserving the Friendship and Alliance contracted between this Commonwealth and your City, as also the Traffick and Commerce no less advantageous for the Interest of both; and to that end, that you would not fail to protect our Merchants, together with their Privileges, from all Violation, and more particularly against the Insolencies of one Garmes, who has carry'd himself contumeliously toward this Republick, and publickly cited to the *Chamber of Spire*, certain Merchants of the *English* Company residing in your City, to the great contempt of this Commonwealth, and trouble of our Merchants; for which we expect such
Letters of State written in Reparation, as shall be consentaneous to Equity and Justice.

To treat of these Heads, and whatever else more largely belongs to the common Friendship of both Republicks, we have order'd our Resident aforesaid to attend your Lordships, requesting that ample Credit may be given to him in such Matters as he shall propose relating to these Affairs.

*Westminster, Mar. 12. 1651.*

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and subscrib'd Speaker, &c.

---

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Christiana, Queen of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c. Greeting.*

Most Serene Queen;

We have receiv'd and read your Majesty's Letters to the Parliament of England, dated from Stockholm the 26th of September last, and deliver'd by Peter Spering Silvercroon, and there is nothing which we more vehemently and cordially desire, than that the ancient Peace, Traffick and Commerce of long continuance between the English and Swedes, may prove diurnal, and every day encrease. Nor did we question but that your Majesty's Embassador was come amply instructed to make those Proposals chiefly which should be most for the Interest and Honour of both Nations, and which we were no less readily prepar'd to have heard, and to have done effectually that which should have been thought most secure and beneficial on both sides. But it pleas'd the Supreme Moderator and Governour of all things, that before he had desir'd to be heard as to those Matters which he had in charge from your Majesty to propound to the Parliament, he departed this Life, (whose loss we took with that heaviness and sorrow, as be-
The Name of the Parliament.

came Persons whom it no less behov'd to acquiesce in the Will of the Almighty) whence it comes to pass that we are prevented hitherto from knowing your Majesty's Pleasure, and that there is a stop at present put to this Negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no less then by these our Letters, which we have given to our Messenger on purpose sent with these unhappy Tydings, to signify to your Majesty, how acceptable your Letters, how grateful your publick Minister were to the Parlament of the Commonwealth of England; as also how earnestly we expect your Friendship, and how highly we shall value the Amity of so great a Princess; assuring your Majesty, that we have those Thoughts of encreasing the Commerce between this Republick and your Majesty's Kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the highest Importance, which for that reason will be most acceptable to the Parlament of the Commonwealth of England. And so we recommend your Majesty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

Westminster, March — 1651.

Seal'd with the Parlament Seal, and Subscrib'd, Speaker, &c.

The Parlament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene and Potent Prince, Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, Greeting.

The Merchants of this Commonwealth, who trade in your Majesties Territories, make loud Complaints of extraordinary Violence and Injuries offer'd 'em, and of new Tributes impos'd upon 'em by the Governours and other Officers of your Ports and Places where they traffick, and particularly in the Canary Islands, and this against the Articles of the League solemnly ratifi'd by both Nations on the account of Trade; the truth of which Complaints
they have confirm'd by Oath. And they make it out before us, that unless they can enjoy their Privileges, and that their Losses be repair'd; lastly, That except they may have some certain Safeguard and Protection for themselves and their Estates against those Violences and Injuries, they can no longer traffick in those Places. Which Complaints of theirs being duly weigh'd by us, and believing the unjust Proceedings of those Ministers, either not at all to have reach'd your Knowledg, or else to have been untruly represented to your Majesty, we deem'd it convenient to send the Complaints themselves, together with these our Letters, to your Majesty. Nor do we question but that your Majesty, as well out of your love of Justice, as for the sake of that Commerce no less gainful to your Subjects than our People, will command your Governours to desist from those unjust Oppressions of our Merchants, and so order it, that they may obtain speedy Justice, and due Satisfaction for those Injuries done 'em by Don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman, and others; and that your Majesty will take care that the Merchants aforesaid may reap the Fruit of those Articles; and be so far under your Protection, that both their Persons and their Estates may be secure and free from all manner of Injury and Vexation. And this they believe they shall for the greatest part obtain, if your Majesty will be pleas'd to restore 'em that Expedient, taken from 'em, of a Judg Conservator, who may be able to defend 'em from a new Consulship more uneasie to 'em; lest if no shelter from Injustice be allowed 'em, there should follow a necessity of breaking off that Commerce which has hitherto brought great Advantages to both Nations, while the Articles of the League are violated in such a manner.

To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of Venice, and the most Illustrious Senate.

Most Serene Prince, most Illustrious Senate, our dearest Friends;

Certain of our Merchants, by name John Dickins, and Job Throkmorton, with others, have made their Complaints unto us, That upon the 28th of November 1651, having seiz'd upon a hundred Buts of Caveare in the Vessel called the Swallow, riding in the Downs, Isaac Taylour Master, which were their own proper Goods, and laden aboard the same ship in the Muscovite Bay of Archangel, and this by the Authority of our Court of Admiralty; in which Court, the Suit being there depending, they obtain'd a Decree for the delivery of the said Buts of Caveare into their possession, they having first given Security to abide by the Sentence of that Court: And that the said Court, to the end the said Suit might be brought to a Conclusion, having written Letters, according to custom, to the Magistrates and Judges of Venice; wherein they requested liberty to cite John Piatti to appear by his Proctor in the English Court of Admiralty, where the Suit depended, and prove his Right: Nevertheless that the said Piatti, and one David Rutts a Hollander, while this Cause depends here in our Court, put the said John Dickins, and those other Merchants, to a vast deal of trouble about the said Caveare, and solicit the Seizure of their Goods and Estates as forfeited for Debt. All which things, and whatever else has hitherto been done in our foresaid Court, is more at large set forth in those Letters of Request aforementioned'd; which after we had view'd, we thought proper to be transmitted to the most Serene Republick of Venice, to
the end they might be assipliant to our Merchants in this Cause. Upon the whole therefore, it is our earnest Request to your Highness, and the most I1-luftrious Senate, That not only those Letters may obtain their due Force and Weight; but also that the Goods and Estates of the Merchants, which the foresaid Piatti and David Rutts, have endeavour'd to make liable to Forfeiture, may be discharg'd; and that the said Defendants may be referr'd hither to our Court, to try what Right they have in their Claim to this Caveare. Wherein your Highness, and the most Serene Republick will do as well what is moft just in it felf, as what is truly becoming the spotles Amity between both Republicks: And laftly, what will gratefully be recompenc'd by the good Will and kind Offices of this Republick, whenever Occafion offers.

Whitehall, Feb. — 1652.
Seal'd with the Seal of the Council, and Subscrib'd President of the Council.

To the Spanifh Embaffador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE Council of State, according to a Command from the Parlament, dated the 2d of March, having taken into ferior deliberation your Excellencies Paper of the 15th of February, deliver'd to the Commissionerers of this Council, wherein it feem'd good to your Excellency to propose that a Reply might be given to two certain Heads therein specify'd as previous, returns the following Answer to your Excellency.

The Parlament when they gave an Answer to those things which were propos'd by your Excellency at your first Audience, as also in those Letters which
they wrote to the most Serene King of Spain, gave real and ample Demonstrations how grateful and how acceptable that Friendship and that mutual Alliance which was offer'd by his Royal Majesty, and by your self in his Name, would be to 'em; and how fully they were resolv'd, as far as in them lay, to make the same Returns of Friendship and good Offices.

After that, it seem'd good to your Excellency, at your first Audience in Council upon the 19th of December Oldstyle, to propound to this Council, as a certain Ground or Method for an auspicious Commencement of a stricter Amity, that some of their Body might be nominated, who might hear what your Excellency had to propose; and who having well weigh'd the benefit that might redound from thence, should speedily report the same to the Council. To which request of yours that satisfaction might be given, the Council appointed certain of their number to attend your Excellency, which was done accordingly. But instead of those things which were expected to have bin propounded, the Conference produc'd no more than the abovemention'd Paper: To which the Answer of the Council is this.

When the Parliament shall have declar'd their Minds, and your Excellency shall have made the Progress as above expected, we shall be ready to confer with your Excellency, and to treat of such Matters as you shall propose in the Name of the King your Master, as well in reference to the Friendship already concluded, as the entering into another more strict and binding; or as to any thing else which shall be offer'd by our selves in the Name of this Republick: And when we descend to Particulars, we shall return such Answers as are most proper, and the Nature of the thing propos'd shall require.

The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, to the most Serene Prince Frederick the Third, King of Denmark, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene and Potent King,

We have receiv'd your Majesty's Letters, dated from Copenhagen the 21st of December last, and deliver'd to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England by the Noble Henry Willemsem Rosenwyng de Lynsacker, and most gladly perus'd 'em, with that affection of mind which the Matters therein profounded justly merit, and request your Majesty to be fully perswaded of this, That the same Inclinations, the same Desires of continuing and preserving the ancient Friendship, Commerce, and Alliance for so many Years maintain'd between England and Denmark, which are in your Majesty, are also in us. Not being ignorant, that though it has pleas'd Divine Providence, beholding this Nation with such a benign and favourable Aspect, to change for the better the receiv'd Form of the former Government among us; nevertheless, that the same Interests on both sides, the same common Advantages, the same mutual Alliance and Free Traffick which produc'd the former Leagues and Confederacies between both Nations, still endure and obtain their former Force and Virtue, and oblige both to make it their common study, by rendring those Leagues the most beneficial that may be to each other, to establish also a nearer and founded Friendship for the time to come. And if your Majesty shall be pleas'd to pursue those Counsels which are manifested in your Royal Letters, the Parliament will be ready to embrace the same with all Alacrity and Fidelity, and to contribute all those things to the utmost of their power,
The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to
the most Illustrious and Magnificent, the Proconsuls
and Senators of the Hanse-Towns, Greeting.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends;

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, has both receiv'd and perus'd your Letters of
the 16th of January last, deliver'd by your Publick
Minister Leo ab Aysema, and by their Authority have
given him Audience; at what time he declar'd the
cordial and friendly Inclinations of your Cities to
ward this Republick, and desir'd that the ancient
Friendship might still remain on both sides. The
Parlament therefore, for their parts, declare and af-
sure your Lordships, That they deem nothing more
grateful to themselves, than that the same Friendship
and Alliance which has hitherto bin maintain'd be-
tween this Nation and those Cities, should be re-
new'd, and firmly ratify'd; and that they will be
ready upon all occasions fitly offer'd, what they pro-
mise in Words, solemnly to perform in real Deeds;
and expect that their ancient Friends and Confede-
rates should deal by them with the same Truth and Integrity. But as to those things which your Resident has more particularly in charge, in regard they were by us refer’d entire to the Council of State, and his Proposals were to be there consider’d, they transacted with him there, and gave him such Answers, as seem’d most consentaneous to Equity and Reason, of which your Resident is able to give you an Account; whose Prudence and conspicuous Probity proclaim him worthy the publick Character by you conferr’d upon him.

Westminster, April — 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parlament, in the Name, and by the Authority of it, Subscrib’d, Speaker, &c.

The Parlament of the Common-wealth of England, to the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of Hamborough, Greeting.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

The Parlament of the Common-wealth of England has receiv’d and perus’d your Letters, dated from Hamborough the 15th of January last, and deliver’d by the Noble Leo ab Aysema, yours and the rest of the Hanseatic Cities Resident, and by their own Authority gave him Audience; and as to what other particular Commands he had from your City, they have refer’d ’em to the Council of State, and gave ’em Orders to receive his Proposals, and to treat with him as soon as might be, concerning all such things as seem’d to be Just and Equal: which was also done accordingly. And as the Parlament has made it manifest, that they will have a due regard to what shall be propos’d by your Lordships, and have
testify'd their singular Goodwill toward your City, by sending their Resident thither, and commanding his Abode there; so on the other side they expect and deservedly require from your Lordships, that the same Equity be return'd to them, in things which are to the Benefit of this Republick, either already propos'd, or hereafter to be propounded by our said Resident in their Name to your City, ancietly our Friend and Confederate.

Westminster, April — 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parliament, in the Name, and by the Authority of it, Subscrib'd, Speaker, &c.


The Council of State being inform'd by Letters from Charles Longland, who takes care of the Affairs of the English in your Highnesses Court of Leghorn, that lately fourteen Men of War, belonging to the United Provinces, came into that Harbour, and openly threatned to sink or burn the English Ships that were riding in your Port; but that your Serenity, whose Protection and Succour the English Merchants implor'd, gave Command to the Governour of Leghorn, that he should assist and defend the English Vessels, they deem'd it their Duty to certify to your Highness how acceptable that Kindness and Protection which you so favourably afforded the English Nation, was to this Republick; and do promise your Highness that they will always keep in remembrance the Merit of so deserving a Favour, and will be ready upon all occasions to make the same returns of Friendship and good Offices to your People, and to do all
things else which may conduce to the preservation and continuance of the usual Amity and Commerce between both Nations. And whereas the Dutch Men of War, even in the time of Treaty offer’d by themselves, were so highly perfidious, as to fall upon our Fleet in our own Roads, (in which foul Attempt, God, as most just Arbiter, shew’d himself offended and opposite to their Design) but also in the Ports of Foreigners endeavour’d to take or sink our Merchant Vessels; we thought it also necessary to send this Declaration also of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to your Highness, the publishing of which was occasion’d by the Controversies at present arisen between this Republick and the United Provinces. By which your Highness may easily perceive how unjust and contrary to all the Laws of God and of Nations those People have acted against this Republick; and how cordially the Parliament labour’d, for the sake of publick Tranquillity, to have retain’d their pristin Friendship and Alliance. White-Hall, July 29. 1652.

In the Name, and by the Authority of the Council, subscrib’d, President.

To the Spanish Embassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE Council of State, upon mature deliberation of that Paper which they receiv’d from your Excellency, May 27 1652. as also upon that which your Excellency at your Audience the 9 of this Month deliver’d to the Council, return this Answer to both those Papers: That the Parliament, &c. was always very desirous of preserving the firm Friendship and good Peace settled at present between this Republick and his Royal Majesty of Spain, from the time that first your Excellency signify’d the tendency of
his Majesty's Inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the same to the benefit and advantage of both Nations. And this the Council of State in the Name, and by Command of the Parliament, in their Papers oftimes made known to your Excellency; and particularly, according to your Excellency's desire, made choice of Commissioners to attend and receive from your Excellency such Proposals as might conduce to the same purpose. At which meeting, instead of making such Proposals, it seem'd good to your Excellency only to propound some general Matters, as it were previous to a future Conference, concerning which it seem'd to the Council that the Parliament had in former Papers fully made known their Sentiments. Nevertheless, for more ample and accumulative satisfaction, and to remove all Scruples from your Excellency concerning those Matters which they at that time propos'd, the Council in that Paper, dated \( \text{31 March, 10 April} \), declar'd themselves ready to come to a Conference with your Excellency concerning those things which you had in charge from his Royal Majesty, as well in reference to the pristin Amity, as to any farther Negotiation; as also touching such Matters as should be exhibited by us, in the name of this Republick; and when we came to such Particulars as were to the purpose, and the nature of the thing requir'd, then to give convenient Answers. To which it seem'd good to your Excellency to make no Reply, nor to proceed any farther in that Affair for almost two Months. About that time the Council receiv'd from your Excellency your first Paper, dated \( \text{27 May, 6 June} \), wherein you only made this Proposal, That the Articles of Peace and League between the late King Charles and your Master, dated the \( \text{6 of November 1630} \), might be review'd, and that the several Heads of it might be either enlarg'd or left out according to the present condition of times
and things, and the late Alteration of Government. Which being no more than what we our selves briefly and clearly signify'd in our foresaid Paper of the 31 March, the Council expected that some particular Articles would have bin propounded out of that League, with those Amplifications and Alterations of which you made mention; since otherwise it is im-
possible for us to return any other Answer concerning this matter than what we have already given. And whereas your Excellency in your laft Paper seems to charge us with delay, the Council therefore took a second review of the foresaid Paper of the 6 of Jun. and of what was therein propounded, and are still of opinion, that they have fully satisfy'd your Excellency in that former Paper: to which they can only farther add, That so soon as your Excellency shall be pleas'd, either out of the Leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame such Conditions as shall be accommodated to the present state of Things and Times, upon which you desire to have the foundations of Friendship laid on your side, they will immediately return you such Answers as by them shall be thought just and reasonable, and which shall be sufficient Testimonials that the Parliament still perseveres in the same desires of preserving an untainted and firm Amity with the King your Master, and that on their parts they will omit no honest Endeavours, and worthy of themselves, to advance it to the highest Perfection.

Furthermore the Council deems it to be a part of their Duty, that your Excellency should be put in mind of that Paper of ours, dated Jan. 30. 1651. to which in regard your Excellency has return'd no Answer as yet, we press and expect that satisfaction be given to the Parliament, as to what is therein mention'd.
The Answer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Embassadors Extraordinary from the King of Denmark and Norway, deliver'd to the Commissioners of the Council, to the Answer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.

To the end that Satisfaction may be given to the foresaid Lords Embassadors in reference to the Answer of the Council to the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth Article, the Council consents that this following Clause shall be added at the end of their Answers: That is to say, besides such Colonies, Islands, Ports and Places under the Dominion of either Party, to which it is by Law provided that no body shall resort upon the account of Trade or Commerce, unless upon special leave first obtain'd of that Party to which that Colony, Island, Port or Places belong.

The receiving of any Person into any Ship that shall be driven in by stress of Weather into the Rivers, Ports or Bays belonging to either Party, shall not render that Vessel liable to any trouble or search, by the Answer of the Council to the eleventh Article, as the foresaid Lords Embassadors in their Reply seem to have understood, unless it be where such a receiving shall be against the Laws, Statutes, or Custom of that Place where the Vessel put in, wherein it seems to the Council, that there is nothing of severity ordain'd, but what equally conduces to the security of both Republicks.

As to the proving the Property of such Ships and Goods as shall be cast a shore by Shipwrack, the Council deems it necessary that an Oath be administered in those Courts which are already, or shall hereafter be constituted, where the Claimers may be
severally heard, and every body's Right be deter-
min'd and adjudg'd, which cannot be so clearly and
strictly done by written Certificates, whence many
Scruples and Doubts may arise, and many Frauds
and Deceits creep into that fort of Proof, which it
concerns both Parties to prevent. The Council also
deems it just, that a certain time be prefix'd, before
which time, whoever does not prove himself the
lawful Owner of the said Goods, shall be excluded
to avoid Suits. But as to the manner of putting
perishable Goods to sale that are cast ashore by Ship-
wrack, the Council thinks it meet to propose the
way of selling by inch of Candle, as being the most
probable means to procure the true Value of the
Goods for the best advantage of the Proprietors.
Nevertheless, if the foresaid Lords Embassadors shall
propose any other method already found out which
may more properly conduce to this end, the Council
will be no hinderance, but that what is just may be
put in practice. Neither is it to be understood, that
the Consideration of this matter shall put any stop
to the Treaty.

As to the Punishment of those who shall violate
the propounded Treaty, the Council has made that
Addition which is mention'd in their Answer to the
fourteenth Article, for the greater force and efficacy
of that Article, and thereby to render the League it
self more firm and lasting.

As to the last Clause of the fourteenth Article,
we think it not proper to give our Assent to those
Leagues and Alliances, of which mention is made in
the foresaid Answers, and which are only generally
propounded, before it be more clearly apparent to
us what they are. But when your Excellencies shall
be pleas'd to explain those Matters more clearly to
the Council, we may be able to give a more express
Answer to those Particulars.
A Reply of the Council of State to the Answer of the foresaid Lords Embassadors, which was return'd to the six Articles propounded by the Council aforesaid, in the Name of the Republik of England.

The Council having view'd the Commissions of the foresaid Lords Embassadors, giving them Power to transact with the Parliament or their Commissioners, concerning all things expedient to be transacted in order to the reviving the old Leagues or adding new ones, believ'd indeed the foresaid Lords to have bin furnish'd with that Authority as to be able to return Answers, and negotiate all things, as well such as should be propounded by this Republik, as on the behalf of the King of Denmark and Norway, and so did not expect the Replies which it has pleas'd the foresaid Lords Embassadors to give to the first, second, third and fifth Demand of the Council, whereby of necessity a stop will be put to this Treaty, in regard it is but just in it self, and so resolv'd on in Council to comprehend the whole League, and to treat at the same time as well concerning those things which regard this Republik, as those other Matters which concern the King of Denmark and Norway. Wherefore it is the earnest desire of the Council, that your Excellencies would be pleas'd to return an Answer to our first, second, third and fifth Demand.

As to the fourth Article concerning the Customs of Gluckstadt, in regard they are now abolish'd, as your Excellencies have mention'd in your Answer, the Council presses that their Abrogation may be ratifi'd by this Treaty, lest they should be re-impos'd hereafter.

As to the sixth Article concerning Pyracy, the
Letters of State Written in

Council inserted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the establishing of Trade in common, which is much disturb’d by Pyrates and Sea-Robbers. And whereas the Answer of the Lords Embassadors, as to this Article, relates only to Enemies, but makes no mention of Pyrates, the Council therefore desires a more distinct Reply to it.

And whereas the foresaid Lords Embassadors in their Reply to the Answer of the Council have pass’d over both their tenth Article, and the Answer of the Council to it, the Council have thought it necessary to add this following Article to their following Demands:

That the people and Inhabitants of the Republick of England trading into any Kingdoms, Regions, or Territories of the King of Denmark and Norway, shall not for the future pay any more Customs, Tribute, Taxes, Duties or Stipends, or in any other manner than the People of the United Provinces, or any other Foreign Nation that pays the least, coming in or going out of Harbour; and shall enjoy the same and as equally ample Freedom, Privileges and Immunities, both coming and going, and so long as they shall reside in the Country, as also in fishing, trading, or in any other manner which any other People of a Foreign Nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foresaid Kingdoms, and throughout the whole Dominions of the said King of Denmark and Norway: Which Privileges also the Subjects of the King of Denmark and Norway shall equally enjoy throughout all the Territories and Dominions of the Republick of England.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

The Council of State understanding, as well by your Highness's Agent here residing, as by Charles Longland, chief Factor for the English at Leghorn, with what Affection and Fidelity your Highness undertook the Protection of the English Vessels putting into the Port of Leghorn for shelter, against the Dutch Men of War threatening 'em with nothing but Ransack and Destruction, by their Letters of the 29th of July (which they hope are by this time come to your Highness's hands) have made known to your Highness how grateful and how acceptable it was to 'em; and at the same time sent to your Serenity a Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England concerning the present Differences between this Republick and the United Provinces. And whereas the Council has again bin inform'd by the same Charles Longland, what further Commands your Highness gave for the security and defence of the English Vessels, notwithstanding the opposite Endeavours of the Dutch, they deem'd this opportunity not to be pass'd over, to let your Highness understand once more, how highly they esteem your Justice and singular Constancy in defending their Vessels, and how acceptable they took so great a piece of Service. Which being no mean testimony of your solid Friendship and Affection to this Republick, your Highness may assure your self, that the same Offices of Kindness and good Will towards your Highness shall never be wanting in us; such as may be able to demonstrate how firmly we are re-
Letters of State Written in folv'd to cultivate both long and constantly, to the utmost of our Power, that Friendship which is between your Serenity and this Republick. In the mean time we have expressly commanded all our Ships upon their entrance into your Ports, not to fail of paying the accustom'd Salutes by firing their Guns, and to give all other due Honours to your Highness.


Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and subscrib'd, President.

To the Spanish Embassador, Alphonfo de Cardenas.

Most Excellent Lord,

Your Excellency's Letters of the 11 of *November* 1652, deliver'd by your Secretary, together with two Petitions inclos'd, concerning the Ships, the *Sampson* and *San Salvadore*, were read in Council. To which the Council returns this Answer, That the English Man of War meeting with the aforesaid Ships, not in the *Downs*, as your Excellency writes, but in the open Sea, brought 'em into Port as Enemies Ships, and therefore lawful Prize; and the Court of Admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all Causes of this nature, have undertaken to determin the Right in dispute. Where all Parties concern'd on both sides shall be fully and freely heard, and you may be assur'd that Right shall take place. We have also sent your Excellency's request to the Judges of that Court, to the end we may more certainly understand what progress they have made in their proceeding to Judgment. Of which so soon as we are rightly inform'd, we shall take care that such Orders shall be given in this matter, as shall correspond with Justice, and become the Friendship that is between
this Republick and your King. Nor are we less confident, that his Royal Majesty will by no means permit the Goods of the Enemies of this Commonwealth to be conceal'd, and escape due Confiscation under the shelter of being own'd by his Subjects.

White-Hall, Nov. 11. 1652.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and subscrib'd,
William Masmam, President.

To the Spanish Embassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

But lately the Council has bin inform'd by Captain Badiley, Admiral of the Fleet of this Republick in the Streights, that after he himself, together with three other Men of War, had for two days together engag'd eleven of the Dutch, put into Porto Longone, as well to repair the Damages he had receiv'd in the Fight, as also to supply himself with Warlike Ammunition; where the Governour of the Place perform'd all the good Offices of a most just and courteous Person, as well towards his own, as the rest of the Men of War under his Conduct. Now in regard that that same Place is under the Dominion of the most Serene King of Spain, the Council cannot but look upon the singular Civility of that Garifon to be the copious fruit of that stricter mutual Amity so auspiciously commenc'd; and therefore deem it to be a part of their Duty to return their Thanks to his Majesty for a Kindness so opportunely receiv'd, and desire your Excellency to signify this to your most Serene King, and to assure him that the Parlament of the Commonwealh of England will be always ready to make the same returns of Friendship and Civility upon all occasions offer'd.

Westminster, Nov. 11. 1652.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and subscrib'd,
William Masmam, President.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has receiv'd your Letters dated from Florence, August 17. concerning the restitution of a certain Ship laden with Rice, which Ship is claim'd by Captain Cardi of Leghorn. And though the Judges of our Admiralty have already pronounce'd Sentence in that Cause against the foresaid Cardi, and that there be an Appeal depending before the Delegates; yet upon your Highness's Request, the Parliament, to testify how much they value the good Will and Alliance of a Prince so much their Friend, have given order to those who are entrusted with this Affair, that the said Ship, together with the Rice, or at least the full Price of it be restor'd to the foresaid Captain Cardi; the fruit of which Command his Proctor here has effectually already reap'd. And as your Highness by favourably affording your Patronage and Protection to the Ships of the English in your Port of Leghorn, has in a more especial manner ty'd the Parliament to your Serenity; so will they, on the other side, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their Offices of sincere Friendship and good Will towards your Highness may be solidly effectual and permanent; withall recommending your Highness to the Divine Benignity and Protection of the Almighty.

Westminster, Nov. 1652.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Commonwealth, and subscrib'd, Speaker, &c.
The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene and Potent Prince, King of Denmark, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King,

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have receiv'd Information from their Admiral of that Fleet so lately sent to Copenhagen, your Majesty's Port, to convoy our Merchants homeward bound, that the foresaid Ships are not permitted to return along with him, as being detain'd by your Majesty's Command; and upon his producing your Royal Letters declaring your Justifications of the matter of Fact, the Parliament denies that the Reasons laid down in those Letters for the detaining of those Ships are any way satisfactory to 'em. Therefore that some speedy Remedy may be appli'd in a matter of so great moment, and so highly conducing to the prosperity of both Nations, for preventing a greater perhaps ensuing mischief, the Parliament have sent their Resident at Hamborough, Richard Bradshaw, Esquire, a Person of great Worth and known Fidelity, with express Commands to treat with your Majesty, as their Agent also in Denmark, concerning this Affair: And therefore we entreat your Majesty to give him a favourable Audience and ample Credit in whatever he shall propose to your Majesty on our behalf, in reference to this matter; in the mean time recommending your Majesty to the Protection of Divine Providence.

Westminster, Nov. 6, 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parliament, and in their Name, and by their Authority, subscrib'd, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has receiv’d your Highness’s Letters, dated June 1, 1652. and deliver’d by Lorenzo Pallutio, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours, and the cordial Inclinations of the Senate toward this Republick, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their singular Affection and good Will towards the most Serene Republick of Venice; which they shall be always ready to make manifest both really and sincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom also all the ways and means that shall be propounded to ’em for the preserving or encreasing mutual Friendship and Alliance, shall be ever most acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray that all things prosperous, all things favourable, may befall your Highness and the most Serene Republick.

Westminster, December, 1652.

Seal’d with the Parliament-Seal, and subscrib’d, Speaker, &c.


Although the Parliament of the Republick of England some time since redoubl’d their Commands to all the chief Captains and Masters of Ships arriving in the Ports belonging to your Highness, to carry themselves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming observance and Duty to a most Serene Prince, whole Friendship this Republick so earnestly endeavours to preserve, as having bin oblig’d by so many great Kind-
nesses; an Accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the Insolence, as they hear, of Captain Appleton in the Port of Leghorn, who offer'd Violence to the Sentinel then doing his Duty upon the Mole, against the Faith and Duty which he owes this Republick, and in contempt of the Reverence and Honour which is justly owing to your Highness: the relation of which Action, as it was really committed, the Parliament has understand'd by your Letters of the 7th and 9th of December, dated from Florence; as also more at large by the most Worthy Almeric Salvetti, your Resident here. And they have so sincerely laid to heart your Highness's Honour, which is the main concern of this Complaint, that they have referr'd it to the Council of State, to take care that Letters be sent to Capt. Appleton, to come away without stop or stay by Land, in order to his giving an Account of this unwonted and extraordinary Act (a Copy of which Letters is sent herewith enclos'd) who so soon as he shall arrive, and be accus'd of the Fact, we promise that such a course shall be taken with him, as may sufficiently testify that we no less heinously brook the violation of your Right, than the infringement of our own Authority. Moreover, upon mature Debate concerning the recover'd Ship, call'd the Phœnx of Leghorn, which Affair is also related and press'd by your Highness and your Resident here, to have bin done by Captain Appleton, contrary to promise given, whereby he was oblig'd not to fall upon even the Hollanders themselves within sight of the Lanthorn; and that your Highness, trusting to that Faith, promis'd security to the Hollanders upon your word; and therefore that we ought to take care for the satisfaction of those who suffer damage under the Protection of your Promise; the Parliament begs of your Excellency to be assur'd, That this Fact, as it was committed without
their Advice or Command, so it is most remote from their Will and Intention that your Highness should undergo any Detriment or Diminution of your Honour by it. Rather they will make it their business that some Expedient may be found out for your Satisfaction, according to the nature of the Fact upon Examination of the whole matter. Which that they may so much the more fully understand, they deem it necessary that Captain Appleton himself should be heard, who was bound by the same Faith, and is thought by your Excellency at least to have consented to the violation of it; especially since he is so suddenly to return home. And so soon as the Parliament has heard him, and have more at large conferr'd with your Resident concerning this matter of no small moment, they will pronounce that Sentence that shall be Just, and consequentaneous to that extream good-will which they bear to your Highness, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferr'd upon 'em. Of which, that your Highness might not make the least question in the mean time, we were willing to certify your Highness by this Express on purpose sent, that we shall omit no opportunity to testify how greatly we value your Friendship.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and Subscrib'd, Speaker, &c.

The Council of State of the Republick of England, to the most Serene Prince, Frederick, Heire of Norway, Duke of Sleswick, Holfsatia, Stormaria, Ditmarsh, Count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhort, Greeting.

Though it has pleas'd the most wise God, and most merciful Moderator of all things, besides the Burden which he laid upon us in common with
our Ancestors, to wage most just Wars in defence of our Liberty against Tyrannical Ufurpation, signally also to succour us with those Auspices and that Divine Assistance, beyond what he afforded to our Predecessors, that we have bin able not only to extinguish a Civil War, but to extirpate the Causes of it for the future, as also to repel the unexpected Violences of Foreign Enemies; nevertheless, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the same Favour and Benignity of the Supreme Deity towards us, we are not so pufh up with the success of our Affairs, but that rather instructed in the singular Justice and Providence of God, and having had long experience our selves, we abominate the thoughts of War, if possible to be avoided, and most eagerly embrace Peace with all men. Therefore as hitherto we never were the first that violated or desir'd the violation of that Friendship, or those antient Privileges of Leagues that have bin ratify'd between us and any Princes or People whatever; so your Highness, in consideration of your antient amity with the English, left us by our Ancestors, may with a most certain Assurance, promise both your self and your People all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Lastly, as we highly value, which is no more then what is just and reasonable, the testimonies of your Affection and good Offices offer'd us, so we shall make it our business that you may not at any time be sensible of the want of ours, either to your self or yours. And so we most heartily recommend your Highness to the Omnipotent Protection of the Almighty God.

Whitehall, July—1653.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and Subscrib'd, President.
To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Most Illustrious Lord,

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have receiv'd an extraordinary Congratulation from your Excellency, most kindly and courteously deliver'd to us by word of mouth by Herman Mylius, your Counsellor and Doctor of Laws; who wish'd all things lucky and prosperous, in your Name, to the Parliament and English Interest, and desir'd that the Friendship of this Republick might remain inviolable within your Territories. He also desir'd Letters of safe Conduct, to the end your Subjects may the more securely trade and sail from place to place; together with our Orders to our public Ministers abroad, to be aiding and assisting to your Excellency and your Interests with their good Offices and Counsels. To which Requests of his we willingly consented, and granted both our Friendship, the Letters desir'd, and our Orders to our Publick Ministers under the Seal of the Parliament. And though it be some Months ago since your Publick Minister first came to us, however that delay neither arose from any unwillingness on our part to assent to the request made in your Excellency's Name, or that your Deputy was at any time wanting in his Sedulity (whose Solicitations were daily and earnest with all the Diligence and Importunity that became him, to the end he might be dispatch'd) but only it happen'd so, that at that time the greatest and most weighty Affairs of the Republick were under Debate and serious Negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your Illustrious Lordship, left any body through a false construction of this delay, should think those Favours unwillingly or hardly obtain'd, which were
moft gladly granted by the Parlament of the Commonwealth of England. In whose Name these are commanded to be Sign’d,

*Henry Scobel,* Clerk of the Parlament.

*To the most Illustrious and Noble Senators,* Scultets, Landam, *and Senators of the Evangelick Cantons of Switzerland, Zurick, Bern, Glaris, Bale, Schaffhusen, Appenzel; also of the Confederates of the same Religion in the Country of the Grifons, of Geneva, St. Gall, Mulhausen and Bienne; our dearest Friends.*

*Your Letters,* most Illustrious Lords and dearest Confederates, dated December 24. full of civility, good-will, and singular affection towards us and our Republick, and what ought always to be greater and more sacred to us, breathing Fraternal and truly Christian Charity; we have receiv’d. And in the first place we return Thanks to Almighty God, who has rais’d and establish’d both you and so many noble Cities, not so much intrench’d and fortifi’d with those enclosures of Mountains, as with your innate Fortitude, Piety, most prudent and just Administration of Government, and the Faith of mutual Confederacies, to be a firm and inaccessible shelter for all the truly Orthodox. Now then that you, who over all Europe were the first of Mortals who after deluges of barbarous Tyrants from the North, Heaven prospering your Valour, recover’d your Liberty, and being obtain’d, for so many Years have preserv’d it untainted with no less Prudence and Moderation; that you should have such noble sentiments of our Liberty recover’d; that you, such sincere Worshippers of the Gospel, should be so constantly persuaded of our Love and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, is that
which is most acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to Peace, with a Pious and Affectionate intent, as we are fully assur'd, certainly such an Admonition ought to be of great weight with us; as well in respect of the thing itself which you perswade, and which of all things is chiefly to be desir'd, as also for the great Authority which is to be allow'd your Lordships above others in this particular, who in the midst of loud tumultuous Wars on every side, enjoy the sweets of Peace both at home and abroad, and have approv'd yourselves the best example to all others of embracing and improving Peace; and lastly, for that you perswade us to the very thing which we our selves of our own accords, and that more than once, consulting as well our own, as the interest of the whole Evangelical Communion, have begg'd by Embassadors, and other publick Ministers, namely, Friendship and a most strict League with the United Provinces. But how they treated our Embassadors sent 'em to negotiate, not a bare Peace, but a brotherly Amity and most strict League; what Provocations to War they afterwards gave us, how they fell upon us in our own Roads in the midst of their Embassadors Negotiations for Peace and Alliance, little dreaming any such Violence, you will abundantly understand by our Declaration set forth upon this subject, and sent you together with these our Letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's Assistance, though prosperous hitherto, so to carry our selves, that we may neither attribute any thing to our own Strength or Forces, but all things to God alone, nor be insolently put up with our Success; and we still retain the same ready Inclinations to embrace all occasions of making a just and honest Peace. In the mean time your selves, Illustrious and most excellent Lords, in whom this pious and noble Sedulity, out of meer Evangelical Affection, exerts it self to reconcile and
pacify contending Brethren, as ye are worthy of all applause among men, so doubtless will ye obtain the Celestial Reward of Peace-makers with God; to whose supreme Benignity and Favour we heartily recommend in our Prayers both you and yours, no less ready to make returns of all good Offices both of Friends and Brethren, if in any thing we may be serviceable to your Lordships.

Westminster, Octob. 1653.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and Subscrib'd, Speaker, &c.

To the Spanish Embassador.

Most Illustrious Lord,

Upon grievous Complaints brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the Society of Merchants of Foy in England, that a certain Ship of theirs call'd the Ann of Foy, an English Ship by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in her return home to the Port of Foy about Michaelmas last, was unjustly, and without any cause set upon and taken by a certain Privateer of Ostend, Erasmus Bruer Commander, and the Seamen unworthily and barbarously us'd: The Council of State wrote to the Marquis of Leda concerning it (a Copy of which Letter we also send enclos'd to your Excellency) and expected from him, that without delay Orders would have bin given for the doing of Justice in this matter. Nevertheless, after all this, the foresaid Noel, together with the said Company make further heavy Complaint, that altho our Letters were deliver'd to the Marquess, and that those Merchants from that time forward betook themselves to Bruges to the Court there held for Maritim Causes, and there asserted and prov'd their Right, and the Verity of their Cause, yet that Justice was deni'd 'em; and that they were so hardly dealt with, that though the Cause had bin
ripe for Trial above three Months, nevertheless they could obtain no Sentence from that Court, but that their Ship and Goods are still detain'd, notwithstanding the great Expences they have bin at in prosecuting their Claim. Now your Excellency well knows it to be contrary to the Law of Nations, of Traffick, and that Friendship which is at present settl'd between the English and Flemings, that any Offender should take any English Vessel, if bound for England with English Goods; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarously done to the English Seamen by that Commander, deserves a rigorous Punishment. The Council therefore recommends the whole matter to your Excellency, and makes it their request that you would write into Flanders concerning it, and take such speedy care that this business may no longer be delay'd, but that Justice may be done in such a manner that the foresaid Ship, together with the Damages, Costs and Interest, which the English have sustaint'd and bin out of Purse, by reason of that illegal Seizure, may be restor'd and made good to 'em by the Authority of the Court, or in some other way; and that care be taken that hereafter no such Violence may be committed, but that the Amity between our People and the Flemings may be preserv'd without any Infringement.

Sign'd in the Name, and by the Command of the Council of State, appointed by Authority of Parlament.

To the Marquis of Leda.

Great Complaints are brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the Company of Foy Merchants, concerning a Ship of theirs, call'd the Ann of Foy, which being an English Vessel by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in
her return home to her own Port about Michaelmas last, was taken unawares by a Freebooter of Oftend, Erasmus Bruer Commander. It is also further related, that the Oftenders, when the Ship was in their Power, us'd the Seamen too inhumanly, by setting lighted Match to their Fingers, and plunging the Master of the Ship in the Sea till they had almost drown'd him, on purpose to extort a false Confession from him, that the Ship and Goods belong'd to the French. Which though the Master and the rest of the Ships Crew resolutely deni'd, nevertheless the Oftenders carri'd away the Ship and Goods to their own Port. These things, upon strict enquiry and examination of Witnesses, have bin made manifest in the Admiralty Court in England, as will appear by the Copies of the Affidavits herewith sent your Lordship. Now in regard that that same Ship, call'd the Ann of Foy, and all her lading of Merchandize and Goods belong truly and properly to the English, so that there is no apparent reason why the Oftender should seize by force either the one or the other, much less carry away the Master of the Ship, and use the Seamen so unmercifully: and whereas according to the Law of Nations, and in respect to the Friendship between the Flemings and English, that Ship and Goods ought to be restor'd, we make it our earnest request to your Excellency, that the English may have speedy Justice done, and that Satisfaction may be given for their Losses, to the end the Traffick and Friendship which is between the English and Flemings may be long and inviolably preserv'd.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, understanding that several of the People of this City daily resort to the Houses of your Ex-
Letters of State written in

cellency and other Embassadors and Publick Ministers from Foreign Nations here residing, meerly to hear Mass, gave Order to the Council of State to let your Excellency understand, That whereas such Resort is prohibited by the Laws of the Nation, and of very evil Example in this our Republick, and extremly scandalous, that they deem it their duty to take care that no such thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all such Assemblies for the future. Concerning which, 'tis our desire that your Excellency should have a fair Advertisement, to the end that henceforth your Excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the People of this Republick to hear Mass in your House. And as the Parliament will diligently provide that your Excellencies Rights and Privileges shall be preserv'd inviolable, so they perswade themselves that your Excellency, during your abode here, would by no means that the Laws of this Republick should be violated by your self or your Attendants.

A Summary of the particular real Damages sustaine'd by the English Company, in many Places of the East-Indies, from the Dutch Company in Holland.

1. The Damages comprehended in the sixteen Articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298555 Royals ½, which is of our Money . . . . . . 74638 15 0

2. We demand Satisfaction to be given for the incomes of the Island of Pularon, from the year 1622. to this time, of two hundred thousand Royals ¼, besides
the future Expence, till the right of Jurisdiction over that Island be restored in the same Condition as when it was wrested out of our Hands, as was by League agreed to, amounting of our Money to.

3. We demand Satisfaction for all the Merchandize, Provision and Furniture taken away by the Agents of the Dutch Company in the Indies, or to them deliver'd, or to any of their Ships bound thither, or returning home; which Sum amounts to 80635 Royals, of our Money.

4. We demand Satisfaction for the Customs of Dutch Merchandize laden on board their Ships in Persia, or landed there from the year 1624, as was granted us by the King of Persia, which we cannot value at less than fourscore thousand Royals.

5. We demand Satisfaction for four Houses maliciously and unjustly burnt at Jocatra, together with the Warehouses, Magazines and Furniture, occasion'd by the Dutch Governor there, of all which we had Information from the Place itself, after we had exhibited our first Complaints; the Total of which Damage we value at.

6. We demand Satisfaction for 32899 pound of Pepper taken out
Letters of State written in

of the Ship *Endymion* in 1649, the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>l.</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of which Damage amounts to 6000 0 0

\[ \text{220796 15 0} \]

\[ \text{A Summary of some particular damages sustaine'd also from the Dutch East-India Company.} \]

1. **For** Damages sustaine'd by those who besieg'd *Bantam*, whence it came to pass that for six years together we were excluded from that Trade, and consequently from an opportunity of laying out in Pepper six hundred thousand Royals, with which we might have laden our homeward bound Ships; for want of which lading they rotted upon the Coast of *India*. In the mean time our Stock in *India* was wafted and consum'd in Mariner's Wages, Provision and other Furniture; so that they could not value their Loss at les than twenty hundred and four thousand Royals . . . . . . 600000 0 0

2. More for Damages by reason of our due part lost of the Fruits in the *Molucca Islands*, *Banda* and *Amboyna*, from the time that by the slaughter of our men we were thence expell'd, till the time that we shall be satisfi'd for our Loss and Expences; which space of time from the year 1622,
the Name of the Parliament.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>l.</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td>309</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. We demand Satisfaction for one hundred and two thousand nine hundred fifty nine Royals, taken from us by the Mogul's People, whom the Dutch protected in such a manner, that we never could repair our Losses out of the Money or Goods of that People which lay in their junks, which we endeavour'd to do, and was in our Power had not the Dutch unjustly defended 'em. Which lost Money we could have trebled in Europe, and value at . . . . . . . . 77200 o o

4. For the Customs of Persia, the half part of which was by the King of Persia granted to the English, Anno 1624. Which to the year 1629, is valued at eight thousand Royals; to which add the four thousand Lib. which they are bound to pay since 1629, which is now one and twenty Years, and it makes up the Sum of . . . . . . 84000 o o

From the first Account . . . 220796 15 o

Sum Total . . . . . . 1681996 15 o

The Interest from that time will far exceed the Principal.
Letters
Written in the Name of Oliver
The Protector.

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Most Illustrious Lord,

By your Letters dated January 20, 1654. I have been given to understand, that the noble Frederick Matthias Wolisfo, and Christopher Griphianer were sent with certain Commands from your Illustrious Lordship into England; who when they came to us, not only in your Name congratulated our having taken upon us the Government of the English Republick, but also desir'd that you and your Territories might be comprehended in the Peace which we are about to make with the Low-Countries, and that we would confirm by our present Authority the Letters of safe Conduct lately granted your Lordship by the Parlament. Therefore in the first place we return your Lordship our hearty thanks for your friendly Congratulation, as it becomes us; and these will let you know that we have readily granted your two Requests. Nor shall you find us wanting upon any opportunity, which may at any time make manifest our Affection to your Lordship. And this we are apt to believe you will understand more at large from your Agents, whose Fidelity and Diligence in this Affair of yours, in our Court, has been eminently con-
Letters in the Name of the Protector. 311

spicuous. As to what remains, we most heartily with the Blessings of Prosperity and Peace, both upon you and your Affairs.

Your Illustrious Lordship’s most Affectionate,

Oliver

Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Most Illustrious Lord,

We receiv’d your Letters, dated May 2. from Oldenburgh, most welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of singular Civility and Good-will towards us, as because they were deliver’d by the hand of the most Illustrious Count Antony, your beloved Son; which we look upon as so much the greater Honour, as not having trusted to Report, but with our own Eyes, and by our own Observation discern’d his Vertues becoming such an illustrious Extraction, his noble Manners and Inclinations, and lastly his extraordinary Affection toward our selves. Nor is it to be question’d but he displays to his own People the same fair hopes at home, that he will approve himself the Son of a most worthy and most excellent Father, whose signal Vertue and Prudence has all along so manag’d Affairs, that the whole Territory of Oldenburgh for many years has enjoy’d a profound Peace, and all the blessings of Tranquillity in the midst of the raging confusions of War thundring on every side. What reason therefore why we should not value such a Friendship that can so wisely and providently shun the Enmity of all men? Lastly, Most Illustrious Lord, ’tis for your Magnificent* Present that we return you Thanks;

* The Horses which threw him out of the Coach-box.
Letters written in the

but 'tis of Right, and your Merits claim, that we are cordially

Your Illustrious Lordship's most Affectionate,

Oliver, &c.

Westminster, June 29. 1654.

Superscrib'd, To the most Illustrious Lord, Antony Gunther, Count in Oldenburgh, and Delmenhorst, Lord in Jehvern and Kniphausen.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus King of the Sweeds, Goths, and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, Duke of Esthonia, Carelia, Breme, Verden, Stettin in Pomerania, Cassubia and Vandalia; Prince of Rugia, Lord of Ingria, Wismaria; as also Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavaria, Cleves, and Monts, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene King,

Though it be already divulg'd over all the World that the Kingdom of the Sweeds is translated to your Majesty with the extraordinary Applause and Desires of the People, and the free Suffrages of all the Orders of the Realm; yet that your Majesty should rather chuse that we should understand the welcome News by your most friendly Letters, than by the common voice of Fame, we thought no small Argument both of your good will toward us, and of the Honour done us among the first. Voluntarily therefore, and of Right we congratulate this accession of Dignity to your egregious Merits, and the most worthy guerdon of so much Vertue. And that it may be lucky and prosperous to your Majesty, to the Nation of the Sweeds, and the true Christian Interest, which is also what you chiefly wish, with joint
Supplications we implore of God. And whereas your Majesty assures us, That the preserving entire the League and Alliance lately concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of Sweden shall be so far your care, that the present Amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but if possible, every day encrease and grow to a higher Perfection, to call it into question, would be a piece of Impiety, after the Word of so great a Prince once interpos’d, whose surpassing Fortitude has not only purchas’d your Majesty a hereditary Kingdom in a Foreign Land, but also could so far prevail, that the most august Queen, the Daughter of Gustavus, and a Herofs so matchless in all degrees of Praise and masculine Renown, that many Ages backward have not produc’d her equal, surrender’d the most just possession of her Empire to your Majesty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore ’tis our main desire, your Majesty should be every way assur’d, that your so singular Affection toward us, and so eminent a signification of your Mind can be no other than most dear and welcome to us; and that no Combat can offer it self to us more glorious, than such a one wherein we may, if possible, prove victorious in out-doing your Majesty’s Civility by our kind Offices that never shall be wanting.

Westminster, July 4. 1654.
Your Majesty’s most Affectionate,

Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the most Illustrious Lord, Lewis Mendez de Haro.

What we have understood by your Letters, most Illustrious Lord, that there is an Embassador already nominated and appointed by the most Serene
Letters written in the

King of Spain, on purpose to come and congratulate our having undertaken the Government of the Republick, is not only deservingly acceptable of it self, but render'd much more welcome and pleasing to us by your singular Affection, and the speed of your Civility, as being desirous we should understand it first of all from your self. For, to be so belov'd and approv'd by your Lordship, who by your Vertue and Prudence have obtain'd so great Authority with your Prince, as to preside, his equal in Mind, over all the most important Affairs of that Kingdom, ought to be so much the more pleasing to us, as well understanding that the Judgment of a surpassing Person cannot but be much to our Honour and Ornament. Now as to our cordial Inclinations toward the King of Spain, and ready Propensity to hold Friendship with that Kingdom, and encrease it to a stricter Perfection, we hope we have already satisfi'd the present Embassador, and shall more amply satisfy the other so soon as he arrives. As to what remains, Most Illustrious Lord, we heartily wish the Dignity and Favour wherein you now flourish with your Prince, perpetual to your Lordship; and that whatever Affairs you carry on for the Publick Good, may prosperously and happily succeed.

Whitehall, Sept. 1654.

Your Illustrious Lordship's most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus Adolphus, King of the Sweeds, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Being so well assur'd of your Majesty's good Will towards me by your last Letters, in answer to which I wrote back with the same Affection, me-thinks I should do no more than what our mutual
Amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful Tidings to reciprocal Joy, so when contrary Accidents fall out, that I should lay open the Sense and Grief of my Mind to your Majesty, as my dearest Friend. For my part this is my Opinion of my self, That I am now advanc’d to this degree in the Commonwealth, to the end I should consult in the first place, and as much as in me lies, the common Peace of Protestants. Which is the reason, that of necessity it behoves me more grievously to lay to heart what we are sorry to hear concerning the bloody Conflicts and mutual Slaughters of the Bremeners and Swedes. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our Friends, they should so spitefully combat one against another, and with so much danger to the Interests of the Protestants; and that the Peace of Munster, which it was thought would have prov’d an Asylum and Safeguard to all the Protestants, should be the occasion of such an unfortunate War, that now the Arms of the Swedes are turn’d upon those whom but a little before, among the rest, they most stoutly defended for Religion's sake; and that this should be done more especially at this time when the Papists are said to persecute the Reformed all over Germany, and to return to their intermitted for some time Oppressions, and their pristin Violencies. Hearing therefore that a Truce for some days was made at Breme, I could not forbear signifying to your Majesty, upon this opportunity offer’d, how cordially I desire, and how earnestly I implore the God of Peace, that this Truce may prove successfully happy for the Good of both Parties, and that it may conclude in a most firm Peace, by a commodious Accommodation on both sides. To which purpose, if your Majesty judges that my assistance may any ways conduce, I most willingly offer and promise it, as in a thing, without question, most acceptable to the most Holy God. In
the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beseech the Almighty to direct and govern all your Counsels for the common Welfare of the Christian Interest, which I make no doubt but that your Majesty chiefly desires.

Whitehall, Octob. 26. 1654.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

To the Magnificent and most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the City of Breme.

By your Letters deliver'd to us by your Resident Henry Oldenburgh, that there is a difference kindled between your City and a most potent Neighbour, and to what straits you are thereby reduc'd, with so much the more Trouble and Grief we understand, by how much the more we love and embrace the City of Breme, so eminent, above others, for their Profession of the Orthodox Faith. Neither is there anything which we account more sacred in our wishes, than that the whole Protestant Name would knit and grow together in brotherly Unity and Concord. In the mean time, most certain it is, that the common Enemy of the Reformed rejoices at these our Dissensions, and more haughtily every where exerts his Fury. But in regard the Controversie which at present exercises your contending Arms, is not within the power of our decision, we implore the Almighty God, that the Truce begun may obtain a happy issue. Assuredly, as to what you desir'd, we have written to the King of the Swedes, exhorting him to Peace and Agreement, as being most chiefly grateful to Heaven, and have offer'd our Assistance in so pious a Work. On the other side we likewise exhort your selves to bear an equal Mind, and by no means to
refuse any honest Conditions of Reconciliation. And so we recommend your City to Divine Protection and Providence.

*Whitehall, Octob. 26. 1654.*

Your Lordship's most Affectionate,

*Oliver,*


Oliver, Protector of the Republick of England, To the most Illustrious Prince of Tarentum.

Our Love of Religion apparently made known in your Letters to us deliver'd, and your excelling Piety and singular Affection to the Reformed Churches, more especially considering the Nobility and Splendor of your Character, and in a Kingdom too wherein there are so many and such abounding hopes propos'd to all of eminent Quality that revolt from the Orthodox Faith, so many Miseries to be undergone by the resolute and constant, gave us an occasion of great Joy and Consolation of Mind. Nor was it less grateful to us, that we had gain'd your good Opinion, upon the same account of Religion, which ought to render your Highness most chiefly belov'd and dear to our selves. We call God to witness, That whatever hopes or expectations the Churches, according to your relation, had of us, we may be able one day to give them satisfaction, if need require, or at least to demonstrate to all Men how much it is our desire never to fail 'em. Nor should we think any fruit of our Labours, or of this Dignity or Supream Employment which we hold in our Republick, greater than that we might be in a condition to be serviceable to the Enlargement, or the Welfare, or which is more sacred, to the Peace of the Reformed Church. In the mean time, we exhort
Letters written in the

and beseech your Lordship to remain steadfast to the last minute in the Orthodox Religion, with the same Resolution and Constancy as you profess it receiv'd from your Ancestors with Piety and Zeal. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy your self, or your religious Parents, nor in consideration of what you have deserv'd of us, though we wish all things for your own sake that we can wish more noble or advantageous to your Lordship, than that you would take such Methods, and apply your self to such Studies, that the Churches, especially of your Native Country, under the Discipline of which your Birth and Genius have render'd you Illustriously happy, may be sensible of so much the more asfuir'd Security in your Protection, by how much you excel others in Luztre and Ability.

Whitehall, April —, 1654.

Oliver, the Protector, &c. To the most Serene Prince,
Immanuel Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont,
Greeting.

Most Serene Prince,

Letters have been sent us from Geneva, as also from the Dauphinate, and many other Places bordering upon your Territories, wherein we are given to understand, That such of your Royal Highness's Subjects as profess the Reformed Religion, are commanded by your Edict, and by your Authority, within three days after the Promulgation of your Edict, to depart their native Seats and Habitations, upon pain of capital Punishment, and Forfeiture of all their Fortunes and Estates, unless they will give Security to relinquish their Religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman Catholick Faith. And that when they apply'd themselves to your Royal
Highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a Revocation of the said Edict, and that being receiv'd into pristin favour, they might be restor'd to the Liberty granted 'em by your Predecessors, a part of your Army fell upon 'em, most cruelly flew several, put others in Chains, and compell'd the rest to fly into desert Places, and to the Mountains cover'd with Snow, where some hundreds of Families are reduc'd to such Distreßs, that 'tis greatly to be fear'd they will in a short time all miserably perish through Cold and Hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not chuse but be touch'd with extream Grief and Compassion for the Sufferings and Calamities of this afflicted People. Now in regard we must acknowledg our selves link'd together not only by the same tye of Humanity, but by joynt Communion of the same Religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our Duty to God, to brotherly Charity, or our Profession of the same Religion, if we should only be affect'd with a bare Sorrow for the Misery and Calamity of our Brethren, and not contribute all our Endeavours to relieve and succour 'em in their unexpected Adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your Royal Highness, that you would call back to your Thoughts the Moderation of your most serene Predecessors, and the Liberty by them granted and confirm'd from time to time to their Subjects the Vaudois. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all question was most grateful to God, who has been pleas'd to reserve the Jurisdiction and Power over the Conscience to himself alone, so there is no doubt but that they had a due consideration of their Subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in War, and always obedient in Peace. And as your Royal Serenity in other things most laudably
follows the Footsteps of your immortal Ancestors, so we again and again beseech your Royal Highness not to swerve from the Path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchsafe to abrogate both this Edict, and whatsoever else may be decreed to the Disturbance of your Subjects upon the account of the Reform’d Religion; that you would ratify to them their conceded Privileges and pristin Liberty, and command their Losses to be repair’d, and that an end be put to their Oppressions. Which if your Royal Highness shall be pleas’d to see perform’d, you will do a thing most acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miserable in dire Calamity, and most highly oblige all your Neighbours that profess the Reformed Religion, but more especially our selves, who shall be bound to look upon your Clemency and Benignity towards your Subjects, as the fruit of our earnest Solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good Offices, and lay the solid Foundations not only of establishing, but encreasing Alliance and Friendship between this Republick and your Dominions. Nor do we les promise this to our selves from your Justice and Moderation; to which we beseech Almighty God to encline your Mind and Thoughts. And so we cordially implore just Heaven to bestow upon your Highness and your People the Blessings of Peace and Truth, and prosperous Success in all your Affairs.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

Oliver, Protector of the Republick of England, to the most Serene Prince of Transilvania, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince,

By your Letters of the 16th of November, 1654. you have made us sensible of your singular good Will and Affection toward us; and your Envoy, who
deliver'd those Letters to us, more amply declar'd your desire of contracting Alliance and Friendship with us. Certainly for our parts, we do not a little rejoice at this Opportunity offer'd us to declare and make manifest our Affection to your Highness, and how great a value we justly set upon your Person. But after fame had reported to us your egregious Merits and Labours undertaken in behalf of the Christian Republick, when you were pleas'd that all these things, and what you have farther in your Thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting the Christian Interest, should be in friendly manner imparted to us by Letters from your self, this afforded us a more plentiful occasion of Joy and Satisfaction, to hear that God, in those remoter Regions, had rais'd up to himself so potent and renowned a Minister of his Glory and Providence: And that this great Minister of Heaven, so fam'd for his Courage and Success, should be desirous to associate with us in the common Defence of the Protestant Religion, at this time wickedly assail'd by Words and Deeds. Nor is it to be question'd but that God, who has infus'd into us both, though separated by such a spacious Interval of many Climates, the same Desires and Thoughts of defending the Orthodox Religion, will be our Instrucror and Author of the ways and means whereby we may be assistant and useful to our selves and the rest of the Reformed Cities, provided we watch all Opportunities that God shall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of 'em. In the mean time we cannot without an extream and penetrating Sorrow forbear putting your Highness in mind how unmercifully the Duke of Savoy has persecuted his own Subjects, professing the Orthodox Faith, in certain Valleys, at the feet of the Alps. Whom he has not only constrain'd by a most severe Edict, as many as refuse to embrace the Catholick Religion, to for-
fake their native Habitations, Goods and Estates, but has fall'n upon ’em with his Army, put several most cruelly to the Sword, others more barbarously tormented to Death, and driven the greatest number to the Mountains, there to be consum'd with Cold and Hunger, exposing their Houses to the Fury, and their Goods to the Plunder of his Executioners. These things, as they have already been related to your Highness, so we readily assure ourselves, that so much Cruelty cannot but be grievously displeasing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your Aid and Succour to those miserable Wretches, if there be any that survive so many Slaughters and Calamities. For our parts, we have written to the Duke of Savoy, beseeching him to remove his incens’d Anger from his Subjects; as also to the King of France, that he would vouchsafe to do the same; and lastly, to the Princes of the Reformed Religion, to the end they might understand our Sentiments concerning so fierce and savage a piece of Cruelty. Which though first begun upon those poor and helpless People, however threatens all that profess the same Religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves in general, and consulting the common Safety; which is the Course that we shall always follow, as God shall be pleas’d to direct us. Of which your Highness may be assur’d, as also of our Sincerity and Affection to your Serenity, whereby we are engag’d to wish all prosperous Success to your Affairs, and a happy issue of all your Enterprizes and Endeavours, in asserting the Liberty of the Gospel, and the Worshippers of it.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.
Oliver Protector, to the most Serene Prince, Charles Gustavus Adolphus, King of the Swedes, Greeting.

We make no question but that the fame of that most rigid Edict has reach'd your Dominions; whereby the Duke of Savoy has totally ruin'd his Protestant Subjects inhabiting the Alpine Valleys, and commanded 'em to be exterminated from their native Seats and Habitations, unless they will give security to renounce their Religion receiv'd from their Forefathers, in exchange for the Roman Catholick Superstition, and that within twenty days at farthest; so that many being kill'd, the rest stript to their Skins, and expos'd to most certain Destruction, are now forc'd to wander over desert Mountains, and through perpetual Winter, together with their Wives and Children, half dead with Cold and Hunger: and that your Majesty has laid it to heart, with a pious Sorrow and compassionate Consideration we as little doubt. For that the Protestant Name and Cause, although they differ among themselves in some things of little Consequence, is nevertheless the same in general, and united in one common Interest, the hatred of our Adversaries, alike incens'd against Protestants, very easily demonstrates. Now there is no body can be ignorant, that the Kings of the Swedes have always joyn'd with the Reformed, carrying their Victorious Arms into Germany in defence of the Protestants without distinction. Therefore we make it our chief Request, and that in a more especial manner to your Majesty, that you would solicit the Duke of Savoy by Letters, and by interposing your intermediating Authority, endeavour to avert the horrid Cruelty of this Edict, if possible, from People no
Letters written in the

less Innocent than Religious. For we think it superfluous to admonish your Majesty whither these rigorous Beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the Protestants in general. But if he rather chuse to listen to his Anger, than to our joint Intreaties and Intercessions; if there be any Tye, any Charity or Communion of Religion to be believ'd and regarded, upon Consultations duly first communicated to your Majesty, and the chief of the Protestant Princes, some other course is to be speedily taken, that such a numerous multitude of our innocent Brethren may not miserably perish for want of Succour and Assistance. Which in regard we make no question but that it is your Majesty's Opinion and Determination, there can be nothing in our Opinion more prudently resolv'd, than to joyn our Reputation, Authority, Counsels, Forces, and whatever else is needful, with all the speed that may be, in pursuance of so pious a Design. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty.

Oliver Protector, &c. to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

We make no question but that you have already bin inform'd of the Duke of Savoy's Edict, set forth against his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys at the feet of the Alps, ancient Professors of the Orthodox Faith; by which Edict they are commanded to abandon their Native Habitations, stript of all their Fortunes, unless within twenty days they embrace the Roman Faith; and with what Cruelty the Authority of this Edict has rag'd against a needy and harmless People, many being slain by the Soldiers, the rest plunder'd and driven from their Houses, together with their Wives and Children, to combat
Cold and Hunger among desert Mountains, and perpetual Snow. These things with what commotion of Mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the Calamities of Brethren pierc'd your Breasts, we readily conjecture from the depth of our own Sorrow, which certainly is most heavy and afflictive. For being engag'd together by the same Tye of Religion, no wonder we should be so deeply mov'd with the same Affections upon the dreadful and undeserved Sufferings of our Brethren. Besides, that your conspicuous Piety and Charity toward the Orthodox, wherever overborn and oppress'd, has bin frequently experienc'd in the most urging Straits and Calamities of the Churches. For my own part, unless my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I should desire more willingly to be overcome, than in Good-will and Charity toward Brethren of the same Religion, afflicted and wrong'd in their quiet Enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the Peace and Safety of the Churches before my particular Interests. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our Power, we have written to the Duke of Savoy, even almost to Supplication, beseeching him that he would admit into his Breast more placid Thoughts and kinder Effects of his Favour toward his most Innocent Subjects and Suppliants; that he would restore the Miserable to their Habitations and Estates, and grant 'em their pristine Freedom in the Exercise of their Religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefest Princes and Magistrates of the Protestants, whom we thought most nearly concern'd in these Matters, that they would lend us their Assistance to intreat and pacify the Duke of Savoy in their behalf. And we make no doubt but you have done the same, and perhaps much more. For this so dangerous a Precedent, and lately renew'd Severity of utmost Cruelty toward the Re-
formed, if the Authors of it meet with prosperous Success, to what apparent Dangers it reduces our Religion, we need not admonish your Prudence. On the other side, If the Duke shall once but permit himself to be aton'd, and won by our united Applications, not only our afflicted Brethren, but we our selves shall reap the noble and abounding Harvest and reward of this laborious Undertaking. But if he still persist in the same obstinate Resolutions of reducing to utmost Extremity those People, among whom our Religion was either disseminated by the first Doctors of the Gospel, and preserv'd from the Defilement of Superstition, or else restor'd to its pristine Sincerity long before other Nations obtain'd that Felicity, and determines their utter Extirpation and Destruction; we are ready to take such other Course and Counsels with your selves, in common with the rest of our Reformed Friends and Confederates, as may be most necessary for the preservation of Just and Good Men, upon the brink of inevitable Ruin; and to make the Duke himself sensible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy Oppressions and Calamities of our Orthodox Brethren. Farewel.

To the Evangelick Cities of Switzerland.

W e make no question but the late Calamity of the Piemontois, professing our Religion, reach'd your Ears before the unwelcome News of it arriv'd with us: Who being a People under the protection and jurisdiction of the Duke of Savoy, and by a severe Edict of their Prince commanded to depart their Native Habitations, unless within three days they gave Security to embrace the Roman Religion, soon after were assault'd by armed Violence, that turn'd their Dwellings into Slaughter-houses,
while others, without Number, were terrifi'd into Banishment, where now naked and affliicted, without House or Home, or any Covering from the Weather, and ready to perish through hunger and cold, they miserably wander thorough desert Mountains, and depths of Snow, together with their Wives and Children. And far less reason have we to doubt, but that so soon as they came to your knowledg, you laid these things to heart, with a Compassion no less sensible of their multipli'd Miseries, than our selves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next Neighbours to the Sufferers. Besides, that we have abundant proof of your singular Love and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, of your Constancy in retaining it, and your Fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the more strict Communion of Religion, that you, together with our selves, are all Brethren alike, or rather one Body with those unfortunate People, of which no Member can be affliicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the rest; we thought it convenient to write to your Lordships concerning this Matter, and let you understand how much we believe it to be the general Interest of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common Aid and Succour, to relieve our exterminated and indigent Brethren; and not only to take care for removing their Miseries and Afflictions, but also to provide that the Mischief spread no farther, nor incroach upon our selves in general, encourag'd by Example and Success. We have written Letters to the Duke of Savoy, wherein we have most earnestly besought him, out of his wonted Clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his most faithful Subjects, and to restore 'em, almost ruin'd as they are, to their Goods and Habitations. And we are in hopes, that by these our Intreaties, or rather by the united Intercessions of us
all, the most Serene Prince at length will be aton'd, and grant what we have requested with so much importunity. But if his Mind be obstinately bent to other Determinations, we are ready to communicate our Consultations with yours, by what most prevalent means to relieve and re-establish most innocent Men, and our most dearly beloved Brethren in Christ, tormented and overlaid with so many Wrongs and Oppressions; and preserve 'em from inevitable and undeserved Ruin. Of whose Welfare and Safety, as I am assur'd, that you, according to your wonted Piety, are most cordially tender; so, for our own parts, we cannot but in our Opinion prefer their Preservation before our most important Interests, even the safeguard of our own Life. Farewel.

O. P.

Westminster, May 19. 1655.

Superscrib'd, To the most Illustrious and Potent Lords, the Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons and Confederate Cities of Switzerland, Greeting.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King;

By your Majesty's Letters which you wrote in answer to ours of the 25th of May, we readily understand, that we fail'd not in our Judgment, that the inhuman Slaughter, and barbarous Massacres of those Men who profess the Reformed Religion in Savoy, perpetrated by some of your Regiments, were the Effects neither of your Orders nor Commands. And it afforded us a singular occasion of Joy, to hear that your Majesty had so timely signifi'd to your Colonels and Officers, whose violent Precipitancy in-
gag'd 'em in those inhuman Butcheries without the encouragement of lawful Allowance, how displeasing they were to your Majesty; that you had admonish'd the Duke himself to forbear such Acts of Cruelty; and that you had interpos'd with so much Fidelity and Humanity, all the high Veneration paid you in that Court, your near Alliance and Authority, for restoring to their ancient Abodes those unfortunate Exiles. And it was our hopes, That that Prince would in some measure have condescended to the good Pleasure and Intercessions of your Majesty. But finding not any thing obtain'd, either by your own, nor the Intreaties and Importunities of other Princes in the Cause of the Distressed, we deem'd it not foreign from our Duty to send this Noble Person, under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy, to the Duke of Savoy, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply sensible we are of such exasperated Cruelties inflicted upon the Professors of the same Religion with our selves, and all this too out of a hatred of the same Worship. And we have reason to hope a Success of this Negotiation so much the more prosperous, if your Majesty would vouchsafe to employ your Authority and Assistance once again with so much the more urgent Importunity; and as you have undertaken for those Indigent People, that they will be Faithful and Obedient to their Prince, so you would be graciously pleas'd to take care of their Welfare and Safety, that no farther Oppressions of this nature, no more such dismal Calamities may be the Portion of the Innocent and Peaceful. This being truly royal and just in itself, and highly agreeable to your Benignity and Clemency, which every where protects in soft security so many of your Subjects professing the same Religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your Majesty. Which Act of yours, as it will more closely bind to your Subjection
Letters written in the

all the *Protestants* throughout your spacious Dominions, whose Affection and Fidelity to your Predecessors and your self in most important Diftresses have bin often conspicuously made known; so will it fully convince all Foreign Princes, that the Advice or Intention of your Majesty were no way contributory to this prodigious Violence, whatever inflam'd your Ministers and Officers to promote it. More especially, if your Majesty shall inflict deserved Punishment upon those Captains and Ministers, who of their own Authority, and to gratifie their own Wills, adventur'd the perpetrating such dreadful Acts of Inhumanity. In the mean while, since your Majesty has assur'd us of your justly merited Aversion to these most inhuman and cruel Proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a secure Sanctuary and Shelter within your Kingdom to all those miserable Exiles that shall flye to your Majesty for Protection; and that you will not give permission to any of your Subjects to assist the Duke of Savoy to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your Majesty, how highly we esteem and value your Friendship: In testimony of which, we farther affirm there shall never be wanting upon all occasions the real assurances and effects of our Protestation.

*White-Hall, July 29, 1655.*

Your Majesty's most affectionate,

*Oliver*


To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal Mazarine.

*H*aving deemed it necessary to send this Noble Person to the King with Letters, a Copy of which is here enclos'd, we gave him also farther in charge to salute your Excellency in our Name, as
having entrusted to his Fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your Eminency. In reference to which Affairs, I intreat your Eminency to give him entire Credit, as being a Person in whom I have repos’d a more than ordinary Confidence.

White-Hall, July 29. 1655.

Your Eminency’s most affectionate,

Oliver


Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, to the moft Serene Prince, Frederick III. King of Denmark, Norway, &c.

With what a severe and unmerciful Edict Immanuel Duke of Savoy has expell’d from their Native Seats his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys of Piemont, Men otherwise harmless, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the Purity of Religion; and after a dreadful slaughter of some numbers, how he has expos’d the rest to the Hardships of those desert Mountains, stript to their Skins, and barr’d from all Relief, we believe your Majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but your Majesty is touch’d with a real Commiseration of their Sufferings, as becomes so puissant a Defender and Prince of the Reformed Faith: For indeed the Institutions of Christian Religion require, that whatever Mischiefs and Miseries any part of us undergo, it should behave us all to be deeply sensible of the same: Nor does any Man better than your Majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your Piety and Prudence, what dangers the Success and example of this Fact portend to our selves in particular, and to the whole Protestant Name in general. We have written the more willingly to your self, to the end we might assure your Majesty, that the same Sor-
row which we hope you have conceiv'd for the Calamity of our most innocent Brethren, the same Opinion, the same Judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and sincerely our own. We have therefore sent our Letters to the Duke of Savoy, wherein we have most importunately besought him to spare those miserable People that implore his Mercy, and that he would no longer suffer that dreadful Edict to be in force: Which if your Majesty and the rest of the Reformed Princes would vouchsafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is some hope that the Anger of the most Serene Duke may be asswag'd, and that his Indignation will relent upon the Intercession and Importunities of his Neighbour Princes. Or if he persist in his Determinations, we protest our selves ready, together with your Majesty, and the rest of our Confederates of the Reformed Religion, to take such speedy methods as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the Distresses of so many miserable Creatures, and provide for their Liberty and Safety. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty with all Prosperity.

White-hall, May — 1655.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. to the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of Geneva.

We had before made known to your Lordships our excessive Sorrow for the heavy and unheard of Calamities of the Protestants inhabiting the Valleys of Piemont, whom the Duke of Savoy persecutes with so much Cruelty, but that we made it our business that you should at the same time understand that we are not only affected with the multitude of their Sufferings, but are using the utmost of our En-
deavours to relieve and comfort 'em in their Distresses. To that purpose we have taken care for a gathering of Alms to be made throughout this whole Republick; which upon good grounds we expect will be such, as will demonstrate the Affection of this Nation toward their Brethren labouring under the burden of such horrid Inhumanities; and that as the Communion of Religion is the same between both People, so the sense of their Calamities is no less the same. In the mean time while the Collections of the Money go forward, which in regard they will require some time to accomplish, and for that the Wants and Neccesfities of those deplorable People will admit of no delay, we thought it requisite to remit beforehand two thousand Pounds of the Value of England, with all possible speed to be distributed among such as shall be judg'd to be most in present need of Comfort and Succour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the Miseries and Wrongs of those most innocent People have affected your selves, and that you will not think amiss of any Labour or Pains where you can be assisting to their Relief, we made no scruple to commit the paying and distributing this Sum of Money to your Care; and to give ye this farther trouble, that according to your wonted Piety and Prudence, you would take care that the said Money may be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end that though the Sum be small, yet there may be something to refresh and revive the most poor and needy, till we can afford 'em a more plentiful Supply. And thus, not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble imposed upon ye, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the Hearts of all his People professing the Orthodox Religion, to resolve upon the common Defence of themselves, and the mutual Assistance of each other against their imbitter'd and most implacable Enemies: In the prosecution of which we should rejoice that
Letters written in the

our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the Church. Farewel.

*Fifteen hundred Pounds of the foresaid two thousand will be remitted by Gerard Hench from Paris, and the other five hundred Pounds will be taken care of by Letters from the Lord Stoup.*

*June 8. 1655.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

to the most Serene Prince, the Duke of Venice.

*Most Serene Prince,*

As it has bin always a great occasion of rejoicing to us when ever any prosperous Success attended your Arms, but more especially against the common Enemy of the Christian Name; so neither are we sorry for the late Advantage gain’d by your Fleet, though as we understand, it happen’d not a little to the Detriment of our People: For certain of our Merchants, William and Daniel Williams, and Edward Beale, have set forth in a Petition presented to us, that a Ship of theirs, call’d the Great Prince, was lately sent by them with Goods and Merchandise to Constantinople, where the said Ship was detain’d by the Ministers of the Port, to carry Souldiers and Provisions to Crete; and that the said Ship being constrain’d to fail along with the same Fleet of the Turks, which was set upon and vanquish’d by the Gallies of the Venetians, was taken, carri’d away to Venice, and there adjudg’d lawful Prize by the Judges of the Admiralty. Now therefore in regard the said Ship was press’d by the Turks, and forc’d into their Service without the Knowledg or Consent of the Owners directly or indirectly obtain’d, and that it was impossible for her, being ship’d with Souldiers, to withdraw from the Engagement, we most earnestly request your Serenity, that you will remit that Sen-
tence of your Admiralty, as a Present to our Friendship, and take such care that the Ship may be restor’d to the Owners, no way deserving the Displeasure of your Republick by any Act of theirs. In the obtaining of which request, more especially upon our Intercession, while we find the Merchants themselves so well assure’d of your Clemency, it behoves us not to question it. And so we beseech the Almighty God to continue his prosperous Blessings upon your noble Designs, and the Venetian Republick.

Westminster, Decemb. 1655.

Your Serenity’s and the Venetian Republick’s most affectionate, Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
to the most Serene Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene King,

Certain of our Merchants, by name Samuel Mico, William Cockain, George Poyner, and several others, in a Petition to us have set forth, That in the year 1650. they laded a Ship of theirs, call’d the Unicorn, with Goods of a very considerable Value; and that the said Ship being thus laden with Silk, Oil, and other Merchandize, amounting to above thirty four thousand of our Pounds, was taken by the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of your Majesty’s Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea. Now it appears to us, that our People who were then in the Ship, by reason there was at that time a Peace between the French and us, that never had bin violated in the leaft, were not willing to make any Defence against your Majesty’s Royal Ships, and therefore overrul’d besides by the fair Promises of the Captains Paul and Terrery, who faithfully engag’d to dismiss our People, they paid their Obedience to the Maritime Laws, and pro-
duc'd their Bills of Lading. Moreover, we find that the Merchants aforesaid sent their Agent into France to demand Restitution of the said Ship and Goods: And then it was, that after above three Years flipt away, when the Suit was brought so far that Sentence of Restitution or Condemnation was to have bin given, that his Eminency Cardinal Mazarine acknowledg'd to their Factor Hugh Morel, the Wrong that has bin done the Merchants, and undertook that Satisfaction should be given, so soon as the League between the two Nations, which was then under Negotiation, should be ratif'd and confirm'd. Nay, since that, his Excellency M. de Bourdeaux, your Majesty's Embassadour, assur'd us in express words, by the Command of your Majesty and your Council, That care should be taken of that Ship and Goods in a particular Exception, apart from those Controversies, for the decision of which a general Provision was made by the League; of which promise, the Embassadour, now opportunely arriv'd here to solicit some business of his own, is a Testimony no way to be question'd. Which being true, and the right of the Merchants in redeeming their Ship and Goods so undeniably apparent, we most earnestly request your Majesty, that they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is justly their due, but that your Majesty will admit the grant of this Favour, as the first fruits of our reviv'd Amity, and the lately renew'd League between us. The refusal of which, as we have no reason to doubt, so we beseech Almighty God to bless with all Prosperity both your Majesty and your Kingdom.


Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver

Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.
To the Evangelic Cities of Switzerland.

In what Condition your Affairs are, which is not the best, we are abundantly inform'd, as well by your publick Acts transmitted to us by our Agent at Geneva, as also by your Letters from Zurick, bearing date the 27th of December. Whereby, although we are sorry to find your Peace, and such a lasting League of Confederacy broken; nevertheless since it appears to have happen'd through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverseness of your Adversaries are contriving new occasions for ye to make known your long-ago experience'd Fortitude and Resolution in defence of the Evangelick Faith. For as for those of the Canton of Schwits, who account it a capital Crime for any person to embrace our Religion, what they are might and main designing, and whose instigations have incens'd 'em to resolutions of Hostility against the Orthodox Religion, no body can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that most detestable slaughter of our Brethren in Piemont. Wherefore, most beloved Friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's Assistance still continue, Magnanimous and Resolute; suffer not your Privileges, your Confederacies, the Liberty of your Consciences, your Religion itself to be trampled under foot by the worshippers of Idols; and so prepare your selves, that you may not seem to be the Defenders only of your own Freedom and Safety, but be ready likewise to aid and succour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring Brethren, more especially those most deplorable Piedmontois; as being certainly convinc'd of this, that a Passage was lately intended to have bin open'd over their slaughter'd Bodies to your sides. As for our part be assur'd, that we are
no less anxious and solicitous for your Welfare and Prosperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our Republick; or as if the Axes of the Schwits Canton had bin sharpen'd for our Necks, or that their Swords had bin drawn against our Breastts, as indeed they were against the bosoms of all the Reformed. Therefore so soon as we were inform'd of the Condition of your Affairs, and the obstinate Animosities of your Enemies, advising with some sincere and honest Persons, together with some Ministers of the Church most eminent for their Piety, about sending to your Assistance such Succour as the present posture of our Affairs would permit, we came to those Results which our Envoy Pell will impart to your Consideration. In the mean time we cease not to implore the Blessing of the Almighty upon all your Counsels, and the Protection of your most just Cause, as well in War as in Peace.

Westminster, Jan. —, 1655.

Your Lordships and Worships most Affectionate, Oliver,


Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus, by the Grace of God King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, &c.

Most Serene King,

Seeing it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a Communication of Concerns among Friends, whether in Prosperity or Adversity; it cannot but be most grateful to us, that your Majesty should vouchsafe to impart unto us by your Letters the most pleasing and delightful part of your Friendship, which is your joy. In regard it is a
mark of singular Civility, and truly Royal, as not to live only to a man's self, so neither to rejoice alone, unless he be sensible that his Friends and Confederates partake of his gladness. Certainly then, we have reason to rejoice for the Birth of a young Prince born to such an excellent King, and sent into the World to be the Heir of his Father's Glory and Vertue; and this at such a lucky season, that we have no less cause to congratulate the Royal Parent with the memorable Omen that befel the famous Philip of Macedon, who at the same time receiv'd the Tydings of Alexander's Birth, and the Conquest of the Illyrians. For we make no question, but the wresting of the Kingdom of Poland from Papal Subjection, as it were a Horn dismembred from the Head of the Beast, and the Peace so much desir'd by all Good men, concluded with the Duke of Brandenburg, will be most highly conducing to the Tranquillity and Advantage of the Church. Heaven grant a Conclusion correspondent to such signal beginnings; and may the Son be like the Father in Vertue, Piety, and Renown, obtain'd by great Achievements. Which is that we wish may luckily come to pass, and which we beg of the Almighty, so propitious hitherto to your Affairs.


Your Majesty's Most Affectionate,

Oliver,


To the King of Denmark.

Most Serene and Potent Prince,

John Freeman and Philip Traves, Citizens of this Republick, by a Petition presented to us, in their own and the Name of several other Merchants of
Letters written in the

London, have made a Complaint, That whereas about the Month of March in the year 1653. they freighted a certain Ship of Sunderburgh, call'd the Saviour, Nicolas Weinskinks Master, with Woollen Cloth, and other Commodities to the Value of above three thousand Pound, with Orders to the Master that he should fail directly up the Baltick for Dantzick, paying the usual Tribute at Elfenore, to which purpose in particular they gave him Money; nevertheless that the said Master, perfidiously and contrary to the Orders of the said Merchants, slipping by Elfenore without paying the usual Duty, thought to have proceeded in his Voyage, but that the Ship for this reason was immediately seiz'd and detain'd with all her Lading. After due consideration of which Complaints, we wrote in favour of the Merchants to your Majesty's Embassador residing at London, who promis'd, as they say, that as soon as he return'd to your Majesty, he would take care that the Merchants should be taken into Consideration. But he being sent to negotiate your Majesty's Affairs in other Countries, the Merchants attended upon him in vain, both before and after his departure; so that they were forc'd to send their Agent to prosecute their Right and Claim at Copenhagen, and demand Restitution of the Ship and Goods; but all the benefit they reap'd by it, was only to add more expences to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away; the Goods being condemn'd to Confiscation, and still detain'd: Whereas by the Law of Denmark, as they set forth in their Petition, the Master is to be punish'd for his Offence, and the Ship is to be condemn'd, but not the Goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon 'em, in regard the Duty which is to be paid at Elfenore, as they tell us, is but very small. Wherefore seeing our Merchants seem to have given no cause of Proscription, and for that
the Master confess'd before his Death, that this damage befel them only through his neglect; and the Father of the Master deceas'd, by his Petition to your Majesty, as we are given to understand, by laying all the blame upon his Son, has acquitted the Merchants, we could not but believe the detaining of the said Ship and Goods to be most unjust; and therefore we are confident, that so soon as your Majesty shall be rightly inform'd of the whole matter, you will not only disapprove of these Oppressions of your Ministers, but give command that they be call'd to an account, that the Goods be restor'd to the Owners or their Factors, and Reparation made 'em for the Losses they have sustain'd. All which we most earnestly request of your Majesty, as being no more than what is so just and consonantaneous to reason, that a more equitable demand, or more legal Satisfaction cannot well be made, considering the Justice of our Merchants Cause, and which your own Subjects would think but fair and honest upon the like occasions.

To the most Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of Portugal, &c.

Most Serene King,

The Peace and Friendship which your Majesty desir'd, by your noble and splendid Embassay sent to us some time since, after certain Negotiations begun by the Parliament, in whom the Supream Power was vested at that time, as it was always most affectionately wish'd for by us, with the assistance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the Administration of the Government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy Conclusion, and as we hope, as a sacred Act, have rati-
fi'd it to perpetuity. And therefore we send back to your Majesty your extraordinary Embassador, the Lord John Roderigo de Sita Meneses, Count of Pennaguiada, a Person both approv'd by your Majesty's judgment, and by us experienc'd to excel in Civility, Ingenuity, Prudence and Fidelity, besides the merit-ed applause which he has justly gain'd by accomplishing the ends of his Embassy, which is the Peace which he carries along with him to his Country. But as to what we perceive by your Letters dated from Lisbon the second of April, that is to say, how highly your Majesty esteems our Amity, how cordially you favour our Advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the Government of the Republick upon us, which you are pleas'd to manifeft by sing-ular Testimonies of Kindness and Affection, we shall make it our business, that all the World may understand, by our readiness at all times to serve your Majesty, that there could be nothing more ac-ceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we less earnest in our Prayers to God for your Majesty's safety, the welfare of your Kingdom, and the prosperous success of your Affairs.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver, &c.


Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

Certain Merchants, our Country-men, Thomas Baffel, Richard Beare, and others their Co-Partners, have made their Complaints before us, That a certain Ship of theirs, the Edmund and John,
in her Voyage from the Coast of Brasile to Lisbon, was set upon by a Privateer of Flushing, call'd the Red-Lyon, commanded by Lambert Bartelton, but upon this condition, which the writing sign'd by Lambert himself testifies, That the Ship and whatsoever Goods belong'd to the English should be restored at Flushing: where when the Vessel arriv'd, the Ship indeed with what peculiarly belong'd to the Seamen was restored, but the English Merchants Goods were detain'd and put forthwith to sale: For the Merchants who had receiv'd the Damage, when they had su'd for their Goods in the Court of Flushing, after great Expences for five years together, lost their Suit by the pronouncing of a most unjust Sentence against 'em by those Judges, of which some being interested in the Privateer, were both Judges and Adversaries, and no less criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your Equity and uncorrupted Faith, to which at last they fly for Succour; and which they believ'd they should find the more inclinable to do 'em Justice, if assisted by our Recommendation. And men are surely to be pardon'd, if, afraid of all things in so great a struggle for their Estates, they rather call to mind what they have reason to fear from your Authority and high Power, than what they have to hope well of their Cause, especially before sincere and upright Judges: Though for our parts we make no question, but that induc'd by your Religion, your Justice, your Integrity, rather than by our Intreaties, you will give that Judgment which is just and equal, and truly becoming your selves. God preserve both you and your Republick to his own Glory, and the defence and succour of his Church.

Westminster, April 1. 1656.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Most Serene Prince,

Peter Julius Coit having accomplish'd the Affairs of his Embasy with us, and so acquitted himself, that he is not by us to be dismiss'd without the Ornament of his deserved Praises, is now returning to your Majesty. For he was most acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own sake, which ought with us to be of high Consideration, as for his own deserts in the diligent acquittal of his Trust. The Recommendation therefore which we receiv'd from you in his behalf, we freely testify to have bin made good by him, and deservedly given by your self; as he on the other side is able with the same Fidelity and Integrity to relate and most truly to declare our singular Affection and Observance toward your Majesty. It remains for us to beseech the most merciful and all-powerful God to bless your Majesty with all Felicity, and a perpetual course of Victory over all the Enemies of his Church.

Westminster, April 17. 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene Prince,

John Dethic, Mayor of the City of London for this Year, and William Wakefield Merchant, have made their Addresses to us by way of Petition, complaining, That about the middle of October, 1649. they freighted a certain Ship call'd the Jonas of London, Jonas Lightfoot Master, with Goods that were to be sent to Ostend; which Vessel was taken in the Mouth of the River Thames, by one White of Barking, a Pyrate, robbing upon the Seas by virtue of a Commission from the Son of King Charles deceas'd, and carry'd to Dunkirk, then under the Jurisdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your Majesty's Edict in the Year 1647, renew'd in 1649. and by some other Decrees in favour of the Parliament of England, as they find it recorded, it was enacted, That no Vessel or Goods taken from the English, in the time of that War, should be carry'd into any of your Majesty's Ports to be there put to sale, they presently sent their Factor Hugh Morel to Dunkirk, to demand Restitution of the said Ship and Goods from M. Lestrade then Governor of the Town; more especially finding them in the place for the most part untouch'd, and neither exchang'd or fold. To which the Governor made answer, That the King had bestow'd that Government upon him of his free Gift for Service done the King in his Wars, and therefore he would take care to make the best of the Reward of his Labour. So that having little to hope from an Answer so unkind and unjust, after a great Expence of Time and Money, the Factor return'd...
home. So that all the remaining hopes which the Petitioners have, seem wholly to depend upon your Majesty's Justice and Clemency, to which they thought they might have the more easy access by means of our Letters; and therefore that neither your Clemency nor your Justice may be wanting to People despoil'd against all Law and Reason, and contrary to your repeated Prohibitions, we make it our Request. Wherein, if your Majesty vouchsafe to gratify us, since there is nothing requir'd but what is most just and equitable, we shall deem it as obtain'd rather from your innate Integrity, than any Intreaty of ours.

Westminster, May —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver,


Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

John Brown, Nicholas Williams, and others, Citizens of London, have set forth in their Petition to us, that when they had every one brought in their Proportions, and freighted a certain Ship call'd the Good-hope of London, bound for the East-Indies, they gave Orders to their Factor to take up at Amsterdam two thousand four hundred Dutch Pounds, to insure the said Ship; that afterwards this Ship in her Voyage to the Coast of India was taken by a Ship belonging to the East-India Company; upon which they who had engag'd to insure the said Vessel refus'd to pay the Money, and have for this six Years by various delays eluded our Merchants, who with extraordinary
Diligence, and at vast Expences, endeavour'd the recovery of their just Right. Which in regard it is an unjust Grievance that lies so heavy upon the Petitioners, for that some of those who oblig'd themselves are dead or become insolvent, therefore that no farther Losses may accrue to their former Damages, we make it our earnest Request to your Lordships, that you will vouchsafe your Integrity to be the Harbour and Refuge for People tos'd so many Years, and almost shipwrack'd in your Courts of Justice, and that speedy Judgment may be given according to the Rules of Equity and Honesty in their Cause, which they believe to be most just. In the mean time we wish you all Prosperity to the Glory of God, and the Welfare of his Church.

Westminster, May —, 1656.

Your High and Mighty Lordships most Affectionate, Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

The same Persons in whose behalf we wrote to your Lordships in September the last year, Thomas and William Lower, the lawful Heirs of Nicholas Lower deceas'd, make grievous Complaints before us, that they are oppress'd either by the Favour or Wealth of their Adversaries, notwithstanding the Justice of their Cause; and when that would not suffice, although our Letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain
Letters written in the Possession of the Inheritance left 'em by their Father's Will. From the Court of Holland, where the Suit was first commenc'd, they were sent to your Court, and from thence hurry'd away into Zeeland, (to which three Places they carry'd our Letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your supream Judicature; for where the supream Power is, there they expect supream Justice. If that hope fail 'em, eluded and frustrated, after being so long toss'd from post to pillar for the recovery of their Right, where at length to find a resting place they know not. For as for our Letters, if they find no benefit of these the fourth time written, they can never promise themselves any advantage for the future from flighted Papers. However it would be most acceptable to us, if yet at length, after so many contempts, the injur'd Heirs might meet with some Relief by a speedy and just Judgment, if not out of respect to any Reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own Equity and Justice. Of the last of which we make no question, and confidently presume you will allow the other to our Friendship.

Westminster, May —, 1656.
Your High and Mighty Lordship's most Affectionate, Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene King,

Whereas there is a considerable Sum of Money owing from certain Portugal Merchants of the Brasile Company to several English Merchants,
upon the account of Freightage and Demorage, in the Years 1649 and 1650, which Money is detain’d by the said Company by your Majesties Command, the Merchants before-mention’d expected that the said Money should have been paid long since according to the Articles of the last League, but now they are afraid of being debarr’d all hopes and means of recovering their Debts; understanding your Majesty has order’d, That what Money is owing to ’em by the Brasile Company, shall be carry’d into your Treasury, and that no more than one half of the Duty of Freightage shall be expended toward the Payment of their Debts; by which means the Merchants will receive no more than the bare Interest of their Money, while at the same time they utterly lose their Principal. Which we considering to be very severe and heavy upon ’em, and being overcome by their most reasonable Supplications, have granted ’em these our Letters to your Majesty; chiefly request-ing this at your hands, to take care that the aforesaid Brasile Company may give speedy Satisfaction to the Merchants of this Republick, and pay ’em not only the Principal Money which is owing to ’em, but the five Years Interest; as being both just in itself, and conformable to the League so lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in most friendly manner we request from your Majesty.

From our Palace at Westminster,

July —, 1656.

Your Majesty’s most Affectionate,

Oliver,

Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene King,

As it is but just that we should highly value the Friendship of your Majesty, a Prince so potent and so renown'd for great Achievements; so is it but equally reasonable that your Extraordinary Embassador, the most illustrious Lord Christiern Bond, by whose Sedulity and Care a strict Alliance is most sacredly and solemnly ratifi'd between us, should be most acceptable to us, and no less deeply fix'd in our esteem. Him therefore, having now most worthily accomplish'd his Embassy, we thought it became us to send back to your Majesty, though not without the high Applause which the rest of his singular Vertues merit; to the end, that he who was before conspicuous in your esteem and respect, may now be sensible of his having reap'd still more abundant fruits of his Sedulity and Prudence from our Recommendation. As for those things which yet remain to be transacted, we have determin'd in a short time to send an Embassy to your Majesty for the settling of those Affairs. In the mean time Almighty God preserve in Safety so great a Pillar of his Church, and of Swedeland's Welfare.

From our Palace at Westminster,

July —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the most Serene Prince Lewis King of France.

Most Serene King, our most dear Friend
and Confederate;

Certain Merchants of London, Richard Baker and others, have made their Complaint in a Petition to us, That a certain hir’d Ship of theirs, call’d the Endeavour, William Jopp Master, laden at Teneriff with three hundred Pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for London, in her Voyage between Palma and that Island, upon the 21st of November, in the Year 1655. was taken by four French Vessels, seeming Ships of Burden, but fitted and mann’d like Privateers, under the Command of Giles de la Roche their Admiral, and carri’d with all her Freight, and the greatest part of the Seamen to the East-Indies, whether he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put ashore upon the Coast of Guiney) which the said Giles affirm’d he did with that intent, that none of ’em might escape from so remote and barbarous a Country, to do him any harm by their Testimony. For he confess’d he had neither any Commission to take the English Vessels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm Peace at that time between the French and our Republick: But in regard he had design’d to revittle in Portugal, from whence he was driven by contrary Winds, he was constrain’d to supply his necessities with what he found in that Vessel; and believ’d the Owners of his Ships would satisfy the Merchants for their Loss. Now the Loss of our Merchants amounts to sixteen thousand English Pounds, as will easily be made appear by Witnesses upon Oath. But if it shall be lawful, upon such tri-
vial Excuses as these, for Pyrates to violate the most religious Acts of Princes, and make a sport of Merchants for their particular Benefits, certainly the Sanctity of Leagues must fall to the ground, all Faith and Authority of Princes will grow out of date, and be trampled under foot. Wherefore we not only request your Majesty, but believe it mainly to concern your Honour, that they who have adventur'd upon so slight a pretence to violate the League and most sacred Oath of their Sovereign, should suffer the Punishment due to so much Perfidiousness and daring Insolence; and that in the mean time the Owners of those Ships, though to their Loss, should be bound to satisfy our Merchants for the vast Detriment which they have so wrongfully sustain'd. So may the Almighty long preserve your Majesty, and support the Interest of France against the common Enemy of us both.

From our Palace at Westminster,
Aug. —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England,
To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarine.

Most Eminent Lord,

Having an occasion to send Letters to the King, we thought it likewise an offer'd opportunity to write to your Eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the subject of our writing from the sole and only Person, whose singular Prudence governs the most important Interests of the French Nation, and the most weighty Affairs of the Kingdom with equal Fidelity, Counsel and Vigilance. Not without reason we complain, in short, to find
that League by your self, as it were a crime to doubt, most sacredly concluded, almost the very same day contemn'd and violated by one Giles a French-man, a petty Admiral of four Ships, and his Associates equally concern'd, as your Eminency will readily find by our Letters to the King, and the Demands themselves of our Merchants. Nor is it unknown to your Excellency, how much it concerns not only inferior Magistrates, but even Royal Majesty it self, that those first Violators of solemn Alliances should be severely punish'd. But they, perhaps, by this time being arriv'd in the East-Indies, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undisturb'd possession the Goods of our People as lawful Prize won from an Enemy, which they robb'd and pillag'd from the Owners, contrary to all Law, and the pledg'd Faith of our late sacred League. However, this is that which we request from your Eminency, That whatever Goods were taken from our Merchants by the Admiral of those Ships, as necessary for his Voyage, may be restor'd by the Owners of the same Vessels, which was no more than what the Rovers themselves thought just and equal; which, as we understand, it lies within your Power to do, considering the Authority and Sway you bear in the Kingdom.

From our Palace at Westminster,
Aug. —, 1656.
Your Eminencies most Affectionate,
Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dear Friends and Confederates;

We make no doubt but that all Men will bear us this Testimony, That no Considerations, in contracting Foreign Alliances, ever sway'd us beyond those of defending the Truth of Religion, or that we accounted any thing more sacred, than to unite the Minds of all the Friends and Protectors of the Protestants, and of all others who at least were not their Enemies. Whence it comes to pass, that we are touch'd with so much the more grief of Mind, to hear that the Protestant Princes and Cities, whom it so much behoves to live in Friendship and Concord together, should begin to be so jealous of each other, and so ill dispos'd to mutual Affection; more especially, that your Lordships and the King of Sweden, than whom the Orthodox Faith has not more magnanimous and courageous Defenders, nor our Republick Confederates more strictly conjoin'd in Interests, should seem to remit of your Confidence in each other; or rather, that there should appear some too apparent Signs of tottering Friendship and growing Discord between ye. What the Causes are, and what Progress this Alienation of your Affection has made, we protest our selves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least Diffension arisen among Brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the Protestant Interests. Which if they should gather strength, how prejudicial it would prove to the Protestant Churches,
what an occasion of Triumph it would afford our Enemies, and more especially the Spaniards, cannot be unknown to your Prudence, and most industrious Experience of Affairs. As for the Spaniards, it has already so enliven'd their Confidence, and rais'd their Courage, that they made no scruple by their Embassador residing in your Territories, boldly to obtrude their Counsels upon your Lordships, and that in reference to the highest Concerns of your Republick; presuming partly with Threats of renewing the War, to terrify; and partly with a false prospect of Advantage to solicit your Lordships to forfake your ancient and most faithful Friends, the English, French and Danes, and enter into a strict Confederacy with your old Enemy, and once your domineering Tyrant, now seemingly aton'd; but what is most to be fear'd, only at present treacherously fawning to advance his own Designs. Certainly he, who of an inveterate Enemy, lays hold of so slight an occasion of a sudden to become your Counsellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his Infolency stop, if once he could but see with his eyes, what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to say, Division, and a Civil War among the Protestants? We are not ignorant that your Lordships, out of your deep Wisdom, frequently revolve in your Minds what the Posture of all Europe is, and what more especially the Condition of the Protestants: That the Cantons of Switzerland adhering to the Orthodox Faith, are in daily expectation of new Troubles to be rais'd by their Country-men embracing the Popish Ceremonies; scarcely recover'd from that War, which for the sake of Religion was kindled and blown up by the Spaniards, who suppli'd their Enemies both with Commanders and Money: That the Councils of the Spaniards are still contriving to
continue the Slaughter and Destruction of the Piemontois, which was cruelly put in execution the last Year: That the Protestants under the Jurisdiction of the Emperor, are most grievously harass'd, having much ado to keep possession of their native Homes: That the King of Sweden, whom God, as we hope, has rais'd up to be a most stout Defender of the Orthodox Faith, is at present waging with all the Force of his Kingdom, a doubtful and bloody War with the most Potent Enemies of the Reformed Religion: That your own Provinces are threatened with hostile Confederacies of the Princes your Neighbours, headed by the Spaniards; and lastly, that we our selves are busied in a War proclaim'd against the King of Spain. In this posture of Affairs, if any Contest should happen between your Lordships and the King of Sweden, how miserable would be the condition of all the Reformed Churches over all Europe, expos'd to the Cruelty and Fury of unfanctifi'd Enemies? These Cares not slightly seize us; and we hope your Sentiments to be the same; and that out of your continu'd Zeal for the common Cause of the Protestants, and to the end the present Peace between Brethren professing the same Faith, the same hope of Eternity, may be preserv'd inviolable, your Lordships will accommodate your Counsels to these Considerations, which are to be preferr'd before all others; and that you will leave nothing neglected that may conduce to the establishing Tranquillity and Union between your Lordships and the King of Sweden. Wherein if we can any way be useful, as far as our Authority, and the Favour you bear us will sway with your Lordships, we freely offer our utmost Assistance, prepared in like manner to be no less serviceable to the King of Sweden, to whom we design a speedy Embassy, to the end we may declare our Sentiments at large concerning these Matters. We
Name of Oliver the Protector.

hope moreover, that God will bend your Minds on both sides to moderate Counsels, and so restrain your Animosities, that no Provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to fester your Differences to extremity: But that on the other side both Parties will remove whatever may give offence or occasion of jealousy to the other. Which if you shall vouchsafe to do, you will disappoint your Enemies, prove the Consolation of your Friends, and in the best manner provide for the Welfare of your Republick. And this we beseech you to be fully convinc'd of, that we shall use our utmost care to make appear, upon all occasions, our extraordinary Affection and Good-will to the States of the United Provinces. And so we most earnestly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his Blessings of Peace, Wealth and Liberty, upon your Republick; but above all things to preserve it always flourishing in the Love of the Christian Faith, and the true Worship of his Name.

From our Palace at Westminster,

Aug. — 1656.

Your High and Mightinesses most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector


Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene Prince;

Upon the 11th of July last, Old-file, we receiv'd by Thomas Maynard the Ratification of the Peace negotiated at London by your extraordinary Embassador; as also of the private and preliminary Articles, all now confirm'd by your Majesty: And by our Letters from Philip Meadows, our Agent at Lisbon, dated the same time, we understand that our
Ratification also of the same Peace and Articles, was
by him, according to our Orders sent him, deliver'd
to your Majesty: And thus the Instruments of the
foremention'd Ratification being mutually inter-
chang'd on both sides in the beginning of June laft,
there is now a firm and settl'd Peace between both
Nations. And this Pacification has given us no
small occasion of Joy and Satisfaction, as believing
it will prove to the common Benefit of both Na-
tions, and to the no flight detriment of our common
Enemies, who as they found out a Means to disturb
the former League, so they left nothing neglected to
have hinder'd the renewing of this. Nor do we
question in the leaft, that they will omit any occasion
of creating new Matter for Scandals and Jealousies
between us. Which we however have constantly
determin'd, as much as in us lies, to remove at a re-
 mote distance from our thoughts; rather we so ear-
 nestly desire, that this our Alliance may beget a mu-
tual Confidence, greater every day than other, that
we shall take them for our Enemies, who shall by
any Artifices endeavour to molest the Friendship by
this Peace establisht between our selves and both
our People. And we readily perswade our selves,
that your Majesty's Thoughts and Intentions are the
fame. And whereas it has pleas'd your Majesty, by
your Letters dated the 24th of June, and some days
after the delivery by our Agent of the interchang'd
Instrument of confirm'd Peace, to mention certain
Clauses of the League, of which you desir'd some
little Alteration, being of small moment to this Re-
publick, as your Majesty believes, but of great im-
portance to the Kingdom of Portugal; we shall be
ready to enter into a particular Treaty in order to
those Proposals made by your Majesty, or whatever
else may conduce, in the judgment of both Parties,
to the farther establishment and more strongly fast-
ning of the League: wherein we shall have those
due Considerations of your Majesty and your Sub-
jects, as also of our own People, that all may be sa-
tisfi’d; and it shall be in your choice, whether these
things shall be negotiated at Lisbon, or at London.
However, the League being now confirm’d, and duly
seal’d with the Seals of both Nations, to alter any
part of it, would be the same thing as to annul the
whole; which we are certainly affur’d your Majesty
by no means desires to do. We heartily wish all
things lucky, all things prosperous to your Majesty.

From our Palace at Westminster,
August — 1656.
Your Majesty’s most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Serene Prince John King of Portugal.

Most Serene King;

We have receiv’d the unwelcome News of a
wicked and inhuman Attempt to have mur-
der’d our Agent Philip Meadows, residing with your
Majesty, and by us sent upon the blessed Errand of
Peace; the hainousness of which was such, that his
Preservation is only to be attributed to the protection
of Heaven. And we are given to understand, by
your Letters dated the 26th of May last, and deliver’d
to us by Thomas Maynard, that your Majesty, justly
incens’d at the horridness of the Fact, has commanded
enquiry to be made after the Criminals, to the end
they may be brought to condign Punishment: But
we do not hear that any of the Ruffians are yet ap-
prehended, or that your Commands have wrought
any effect in this Particular. Wherefore we thought
it our Duty openly to declare, how deeply we resent this barbarous Outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: And therefore we make it our Request to your Majesty, That due Punishment may be inflicted upon the Authors, Associates, and Encouragers of this abominable Fact. And to the end that this may be the more speedily accomplish’d, we farther demand, That Persons of Honesty and Sincerity, well-wishers to the Peace of both Nations, may be entrusted with the Examination of this Business, that so a due Scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious Contrivance, to the end both Authors and Assistants may be the more severely punish’d. Unless this be done, neither your Majesty’s Justice, nor the Honour of this Republick can be vindicated; neither can there be any stable assurance of the Peace between both Nations. We wish your Majesty all things fortunate and prosperous.

From our Palace at Whitehall,
August — 1656.
Your Majesty’s most Affectionate,
Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Illustrious Lord, the Conde d’Odemira.

Most Illustrious Lord,

Your singular Good-will towards us and this Republick, has laid no mean Obligation upon us, nor slightly ti’d us to acknowledgment. We readily perceiv’d it by your Letters of the 25th of June last, as also by those which we receiv’d from our Agent Philip Meadows, sent into Portugal to conclude the Peace in Agitation, wherein he inform’d us of your extraordinary Zeal and Diligence to promote the Pa-
cification, of which we most joyfully receiv'd the last Ratification; and we persuade our selves, that your Lordship will have no cause to repent either of your Pains and Diligence in procuring this Peace, or of your Good-will to the English, or your Fidelity towards the King, your Sovereign; more especially considering the great hopes we have that this Peace will be of high Advantage to both Nations, and not a little inconvenient to our Enemies. The only Accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this Negotiation, was that unhallow'd Villany nefariously attempted upon the Person of our Agent, Philip Meadows: The conceal'd Authors of which intended piece of Inhumanity, ought no less diligently to be sought after, and made Examples to Posterity, than the vilest of most openly detected Assassinates. Nor can we doubt in the least of your King's Severity and Justice in the punishment of a Crime so horrid, nor of your Care and Sedulity to see that there be no remissness of Prosecution, as being a person bearing due Veneration to the Laws of God, and Sanctity among Men, and no less zealous to maintain the Peace between both Nations; which never can subsist if such inhuman Barbarities as these escape unpunish'd and unrevenge'd. But your abhorrence and detestation of the Fact is so well known, that there is no need of insisting any more at present upon this unpleasing Subject. Therefore, having thus declar'd our Good-will and Affection to your Lordship, of which we shall be always ready to give apparent Demonstrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the Blessings of Divine Favour and Protection upon you, and all yours.

From our Palace at Westminster,

Aug. — 1656.

Your Lordship's most affectionate,

Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. to the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

Being assur'd of your Majesty's Concurrence both in Thoughts and Counsels, for the defence of the Protestant Faith against the Enemies of it, if ever, now at this time most dangerously vexatious; though we cannot but rejoice at your prosperous Successes, and the daily tidings of your Victories, yet on the other side we cannot but be as deeply afflicted to meet with one thing that disturbs and interrupts our Joy; we mean the bad News intermix'd with so many welcome Tidings, that the antient Friendship between your Majesty and the States of the United Provinces, looks with a dubious Aspect, and that the Mischief is exasperated to that height, especially in the Baltic Sea, as seems to bode an unhappy Rupture. We confess our selves ignorant of the Causes; but we too easily foresee that the Events, which God avert, will be fatal to the Interests of the Protestants. And therefore, as well in respect to that most strict Alliance between us and your Majesty, as out of that Affection and Love to the Reformed Religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be sway'd, we thought it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the United Provinces to Peace and Moderation, so now to persuade your Majesty to the same. The Protestants have Enemies every where enow and to spare, inflam'd with inexorable Revenge; they never were known to have conspir'd more perniciously to our Destruction, witness the Valleys of Piedmont, still reaking with the Blood and Slaughter of the miserable; witness Austria, lately turmoil'd with the Emperor's Edicts and Proscriptions; witness Switzerland. But to what purpose is it in many
Name of Oliver the Protector.

words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of so many Calamities? Who so ignorant, as not to know that the Counsels of the Spaniards, and the Roman Pontiff, for these two Years have fill’d all these Places with Conflagrations, Slaughter, and Vexation of the Orthodox? If to these Mischiefs there should happen an access of Diffension among Protestant Brethren, more especially between two Potent States, upon whose Courage, Wealth and Fortitude, so far as human Strength may be reli’d upon, the Support and Hopes of all the Reformed Churches depend, of necessity the Protestant Religion must be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of Destruction. On the other side, if the whole Protestant Name would but observe perpetual Peace among themselves with that same brotherly Union as becomes their Profession, there would be no occasion to fear what all the Artifices or Puissance of our Enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal Concord and Harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And therefore we most earnestly request and beseech your Majesty to harbour in your Mind propitious thoughts of Peace, and Inclinations ready bent to repair the Breaches of your pristin Friendship with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffer’d the decays of Mistakes or Misconstruction. If there be any thing wherein our Labour, our Fidelity and Diligence may be useful toward this Composure, we offer and devote all to your service. And may the God of Heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious Resolutions, which together with all Felicity, and a perpetual course of Victory we cordially wish to your Majesty.

From our Palace at Westminster,

Aug. — 1656.

Your Majesty’s most affectionate,

Oliver


Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

IT has bin represented to us, by William Cooper, a Minister of London, and our Country-man, that John le Maire of Amsterdam, his Father-in-law, about three and thirty Years ago devis’d a Project, by which the Revenues of your Republick might be very much advanc’d without any burden to the People, and made an Agreement with John Vandenbrook to share between ’em the Reward which they should obtain for their Invention, which was the setting of a little Seal to be made use of in all the Provinces of your Territories, and for which your High and Mightinesses promis’d to pay the said Vandenbrook and his Heirs the yearly Sum of 3000 Gilders, or 300 English Pounds. Now although the use and method of this little Seal has bin found very easy and expeditious, and that ever since great Incomes have thereby accru’d to your High and Mightinesses, and some of your Provinces, nevertheless nothing of the said Reward, tho’ with much importunity demanded, has bin paid to this day; so that the said Vandenbrook and le Maire being tir’d out with long delays, the Right of the said Grant is devolv’d to the foresaid William Cooper, our Country-man; who desirous to reap the fruit of his Father-in-law’s Industry, has petition’d us, that we would recommend his just Demands to your High and Mightinesses, which we thought not reasonable to deny him. Wherefore, in most friendly wise, we request your High and Mightinesses favourably to hear the Petition of the said William Cooper, and to take such care that the Reward and Stipend,
so well deserv'd, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the Arrears of the Years already pass'd. Which not doubting but your High and Mightinesses will vouchsafe to perform, as what is no more than just and becoming your Magnificence, we shall be ready to show the same favour to the Petitions of your Country-men upon any occasions of the same nature, whenever presented to us.

From our Palace at White-Hall,

September — 1656.

Your High and Mightinesses most affectionate,

Oliver,

Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Lewis, King of France.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

Against our will it is that we so often trouble your Majesty with the Wrongs done by your Subjects, after a Peace so lately renew'd. But as we are fully perswaded that your Majesty disapproves their being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the Complaints of our People. That the Ship Anthony of Dieppe was legally taken before the League, manifestly appears by the Sentence of the Judges of our Admiralty-Court. Part of the Lading, that is to say, four thousand Hides, Robert Brown, a Merchant of London, fairly bought of those who were entrusted with the Sale, as they themselves testify. The same Merchant, after the Peace was confirm'd, carri'd to Dieppe about two hundred of the same Hides, and there having sold 'em to a Cur-
Letters written in the

rier, thought to have receiv'd his Money, but found it stopp'd and attach'd in the hands of his Factor; and a Suit being commenc'd against him, he could obtain no favour in that Court: Wherefore, we thought it proper to request your Majesty, that the whole matter may be refer'd to your Council, that so the said Money may be discharg'd from an unjust and vexatious Action. For if Acts done and adjug'd before the Peace, shall after Peace renew'd be call'd into question and controversy, we must look upon assurance of Treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of these Complaints, if some of these Violators of Leagues be not made severe and timely Examples to others. Which we hope your Majesty will speedily take into your Care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchsafe his most holy Protection.

From our Palace at White-Hall,

September — 1656.

Your Majesty's most affectionate,

Oliver, Protector


Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England,
&c. To the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene King,

The Peace being happily concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of Portugal, and what refers to Trade being duly provided for and ratifi'd, we deem'd it necessary to send to your Majesty Thomas Maynard, from whom you will receive these Letters, to reside in your Dominions, under the Character and Employment of a Consul, and to take care of the Estates and Interests of our Merchants.
Now in regard it may frequently so fall out, that he may be enforc'd to desire the Privilege of free Admission to your Majesty, as well in matters of Trade, as upon other occasions for the Interest of our Republick, we make it our request to your Majesty, that you will vouchsafe him favourable Access and Audience, which we shall acknowledg as a singular demonstration and testimony of your Majesties good Will towards us. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty with all Prosperity.

*From our Court at Westminster,*

*October — 1656.*

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector


*To the King of the Swedes.*

Most Serene and Potent King,

Although your Majesty's wonted and spontaneous Favour and Good-will toward all deserving men be such, that all recommendations in their behalf may seem superfluous, yet we were unwilling to dismiss without our Letters to your Majesty, this noble Person, *William Vavassour* Knight, serving under your Banners, and now returning to your Majesty: Which we have done so much the more willingly, being inform'd, that formerly following your Majesty's fortunate Conduct, he had lost his Blood in several Combats to assert the noble Cause for which you fight. Insomuch, that the succeeding Kings of Sweedland in remuneration of his Military Skill, and bold Achievements in War, rewarded him with Lands and Annual Pensions, as the Guerdons of his Prowess. Nor do we question but that he may be
of great use to your Majesty in your present Wars, who has been so long conspicuous for his Fidelity and Experience in Military Affairs. 'Tis our desire therefore that he may be recommended to your Majesty according to his Merits; and we also farther request, That he may be paid the Arrears due to him. This, as it will be most acceptable to us, so we shall be ready upon the like occasion, whenever offer'd, to gratify your Majesty, to whom we wish all Happiness and Prosperity.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector


Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend

and Confederate;

Thomas Evans, a Master of a Ship, and our Country-man, has presented a Petition to us, wherein he sets forth, that in the years 1649, and 1650, he serv'd the Brasile Company with his Ship the Scipio, being a Vessel of four hundred Tuns, and of which he was Master: that the said Ship was taken from him, with all the Lading and Furniture by your Majesties Command; by which he has receiv'd great Damage, besides the los of six years gain arising out of such a Stock. The Commissioners by the League appointed on both sides for the deciding Controversies, valu'd the whole at seven thousand of our Pounds, or twice as many Milreys of Portugal Money, as they made their report to us. Which Loss falling so heavy upon the foresaid Thomas, and being constrain'd to make a Voyage to Lisbon for the recovery of his Estate, he
humbly besought us that we would grant him our Letters to your Majesty in favour of his demands. We therefore, although we wrote the last year in behalf of our Merchants in general to whom the Brásile Company was indebted, nevertheless that we may not be wanting to any that implore our Aid, request your Majesty, in regard to that Friendship which is between us, that consideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your Majesty would give such Orders to all your Ministers and Officers, that no obstacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay, what is owing to him from the Brásile Company, or any other Persons. God Almighty bless your Majesty with perpetual Felicity, and grant that our Friendship may long endure.

From our Palace at Westminster,

Octob. — 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector


Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England,

&c. To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful,

James and Patrick Hays, Subjects of this Commonwealth, have made grievous Complaint before us, That they being lawful Heirs of their Brother Alexander, who dy'd Intestate, were so declar'd by a Sentence of your Court pronounc'd in their behalf against their Brother's Widow; and the Estates of their deceas'd Brother, together with the Profits, only the Widows Dowry excepted, being adjudg'd to them by virtue of that Sentence; nevertheless, to
this very day they could never reap any benefit of their Pains and Expences in obtaining the said Judg-
ment, notwithstanding their own declar'd Right, and Letters formerly written by King Charles in their behalf; for that the great Power and Wealth of Albert van Eyzen, one of your Chief Magistrates, and with whom the greatest part of the Goods was de-
posited, was an Opposition too potent for them to surmount, whilst he strove all that in him lay that the Goods might not be restor'd to the Heirs. Thus disappointed and tir'd out with delays, and at length reduc'd to utmost Poverty, they are become sup-
pliants to us that we would not forfake 'em, wrong'd and oppress'd as they are in a Confederated City. We therefore believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to suffer any Country-man of ours in vain to desire our Patronage and Succour in distress, make this request to your Lordships, which we are apt to think we may easily obtain from your City, That the Sentence pronounc'd in behalf of the two Brothers may be ratifi'd and duly executed according to the Intents and Purposes for which it was given; and that you will not suffer any longer delay of Justice, by any Appeal to the Chamber of Spire, upon any pretence whatever: For we have requir'd the Opin-
ions of our Lawyers, which we have sent to your Lordships fairly written and sign'd. But if intreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of necessity (and which is no more than according to the customary Law of Nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the severity of Retaliation must take its course; which we hope your Prudence will take care to prevent.

From our Palace at Westminster,

Octob. 16. 1656.

Your Lordships most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Lewis, King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

We are apt to believe that your Majesty receiv'd our Letters dated the 14th of May, of the last year, wherein we wrote that John Dethic, Mayor of London that year, and William Waterford, Merchant, had by their Petition set forth, That a certain Vessel call'd the Jonas, freighted with Goods upon their Accomp't, and bound for Dunkirk, then under the Jurisdiction of the French, was taken at the very Mouth of the Thames, by a Sea-Rover, pretending a Commission from the Son of the late King Charles: Which being directly contrary to your Edicts, and the Decrees of your Council, That no English Ship taken by the Enemies of the Parliament, should be admitted into any of your Ports, and there put to sale, they demanded Restitution of the said Ship and Goods from M. Lestrade, then Governor of the Town, who return'd 'em an answer no way becoming a Person of his Quality, or who pretended Obedience to his Sovereign; That the Government was conferr'd upon him for his good Service in the Wars, and therefore he would make his best advantage of it, that is to say, by right or wrong; for that he seem'd to drive at: As if he had receiv'd that Government of your Majesties free Gift, to authorize him in the robbing your Confederates, and contemning your Edicts set forth in their favour. For what the King of France forbids his Subjects any way to have a hand in, that the King's Governor has not only suffer'd to be committed in your Ports,
Letters written in the

but he himself becomes the Pirate, seizes the Prey, and openly avouches the Fact. With this Answer therefore the Merchants departed, altogether baffl'd and disappointed; and this we signifi'd by our Letters to your Majesty the last year with little better success; for as yet we have receiv'd no reply to those Letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reason was, because the Governor was with the Army in Flanders; but now he resides at Paris, or rather flutters unpunish'd about the City, and at Court, enrich'd with the Spoils of our Merchants. Once more therefore, we make it our request to your Majesty, which it is your Majesty's Interest in the first place to take care of, That no person whatever may dare to justify the wrongs done to your Majesty's Confederates by the contempt of your Royal Edicts. Nor can this cause be properly referr'd to the Commissioners appointed for deciding common Controversies on both sides; since in this Case, not only the rights of Confederates, but your Authority itself, and the Veneration due to the Royal Name, are chiefly in dispute. And it would be a wonder, that Merchants should be more troubled for their Losses, than your Majesty provok'd at Incroachments upon your Honour. Which while you disdain to brook, with the same labour you will demonstrate that you neither repent of your friendly Edicts in favour of our Republick, nor conniv'd at the Injuries done by your Subjects, nor neglected to give due respect to our demands.

From our Court at Westminster,
Novemb. — 1656.

Your Majesty's most bounden by Good-will,
by Friendship and Solemn League,
Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Frederick III.
King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals and Goths;
Duke of Sleswic, Holstia, Stormatia and Ditmarsh;
Count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

We receiv'd your Majesty's Letters, dated the 16th of February, from Copenhagen, by the most worthy Simon de Pitkum, your Majesty's Agent here residing. Which when we had perus'd, the demonstrations of your Majesty's Good-will towards us, and the importance of the Matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we design'd forthwith to send to your Majesty some Person, who being furnish'd with ample Instructions from us, might more at large declare to your Majesty our Counsels in that Affair. And tho we have still the same Resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leisure to think of a Person proper to be entrusted with those Commands which the weight of the matter requires; tho in a short time we hope to be more at liberty. In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your Majesty understand, that the present Condition of Affairs in Europe has employ'd the greatest part of our Care and Thoughts; while for some Years, to our great grief, we have beheld the Protestant Princes, and Supream Magistrates of the Reformed Republicks, (whom it rather behoves, as being engag'd by the common Tye of Religion and Safety, to combine and study all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual Defence) more and more at weakning Variance among themselves, and jealous of each other's Actions and
Letters written in the

Designs; putting their Friends in fear, their Enemies in hope, that the posture of Affairs bodes rather Enmity and Discord, than a firm Agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this sollicitude has fix'd it self so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparks of Jealousy between your Majesty and the King of Sweden; at least, that there is not that conjunction of Affections, which our Love and good Will in general toward the Orthodox Religion so importunately requires: Your Majesty, perhaps, suspecting that the Trade of your Dominions will be prejudic'd by the King of Sweden; and on the other side, the King of Sweden being jealous, that by your means the War, which he now wages, is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those Alliances which he seeks. 'Tis not unknown to your Majesty, so eminent for your profound Wisdom, how great the Danger is that threatens the Protestant Religion, should such suspicions long continue between two such potent Monarchs; more especially, which God avert, if any Symptom of Hostility should break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earnestly exhorted the King of Sweden, and the States of the United Provinces to Peace, and moderate Counsels (and are beyond expression glad to behold Peace and Concord renew'd between them, for that the Heads of that League are transmitted to us by their Lordships the States General) so we thought it our Duty, and chiefly becoming our Friendship not to conceal from your Majesty what our Sentiments are concerning these Matters, (more especially being affectionately invited so to do by your Majesty's most friendly Letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a most singular Testimony of your good Will toward us) but to lay before your eyes how great a necessity Divine Providence has impos'd upon us all
that profess the Protestant Religion, to study Peace among our selves, and that chiefly at this time, when our most embittered Enemies seem to have on every side conspir'd our Destruction. There's no necessity of calling to remembrance the Valleys of Piemont still besmear'd with the Blood and Slaughter of the miserable Inhabitants; nor Austria, tormented at the same time with the Emperor's Decrees and Proscriptions; nor the impetuous Onsets of the Popish upon the Protestant Switzers. Who can be ignorant that the Artifices and Machinations of the Spaniards, for some Years last past, have fill'd all these places with the confus'd and blended havock of Fire and Sword? To which unfortunate Pile of Miseries, if once the Reformed Brethren should come to add their own Disensions among themselves, and more especially two such potent Monarchs, the chiefest part of our Strength, and among whom so large a provision of the Protestants Security and Puiſſance lies ftor'd and hoarded up against Times of Danger, most certainly the Interests of the Protestants must go to ruin, and suffer a total and irrecoverable Eclipse. On the other side, If Peace continue firmly fix'd between two such powerful Neighbours, and the rest of the Orthodox Princes; if we would but make it our main Study to abide in brotherly Concord, there would be no cause, by God's assistance, to fear neither the Force nor Subtilty of our Enemies; all whose Endeavours and laborious Toils our Union alone would be able to dissipate and frustrate. Nor do we question but that your Majesty, as you are freely willing, so your Willingness will be constant in contributing your utmost Assistance to procure this blessed Peace. To which purpose we shall be most ready to communicate and join our Counsels with your Majesty; professing a real and cordial Friendship, and not only determin'd inviolably to observe the Amity so au-
Letters written in the picioufly contracted between us, but, as God shall enable us, to bind our present Alliance with a more strict and fraternal Bond. In the mean time, the same eternal God grant all things prosperous and successful to your Majesty.

*From our Court at White-hall,*

Decemb. — 1656.  
Your Majesties most closely united by Friendship, Alliance and good Will, Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Illustrious Prince and Lord, the Lord William, Lantgrave of Hess, Prince of Herefeldt, Count in Cutzenellebogen, Decia Ligenhain, Widda and Schaunburg, &c.

Most Serene Prince,

We had return'd an Answer to your Letters sent us now near a Twelvemonth since, for which we beg your Highness's Pardon, had not many, and those the most important Affairs of the Republick under our care, constrain'd us to this unwilling Silence. For what Letters could be more grateful to us, then those which are written from a most religious Prince, descended from religious Ancestors, in order to settle the Peace of Religion, and the Harmony of the Church? Which Letters attribute to us the same Inclinations, the same Zeal to promote the Peace of Christendom, not only in your own, but in the Opinion and Judgment of almost all the Christian World, and which we are most highly glad to find so universally ascrib'd to our selves. And how far our Endeavours have been signal formerly through-out these three Kingdoms, and what we have effected by our Exhortations, by our Sufferings, by our Con-
duct, but chiefly by Divine Assistance, the greatest part of our People both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep Tranquillity of their Consciences. The same Peace we have wish’d to the Churches of Germany, whose Dissentions have been too sharp, and of too long endurance; and by our Agent Dury, for many Years in vain endeavouring the same Reconciliation, we have cordially offer’d whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same Determinations, and wish the same fraternal Charity one among another, to those Churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle Peace among those Sons of Peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extream Grief, we more then abundantly understand. For that the Reformed, and those of the Augustan Confession, should cement together in a Communion of one Church, is hardly ever to be expected: 'Tis impossible by Force to prohibit either from defending their Opinions, whether in private Disputes, or by publick Writings. For Force can never consist with Ecclesiastical Tranquillity. This only were to be wish’d, that they who differ, would suffer themselves to be entreated, that they would disagree more civilly, and with more Moderation; and notwithstanding their Disputes, love one another; not imbitter’d against each other as Enemies, but as Brethren, dissenting only in Trifles, though in the Fundamentals of Faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and perswading these things, we shall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allow’d to human Force or Counsels: God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most Serene Prince, have left behind ye a noble Testimony of your Affection to the Churches, an eternal Monument becoming the Vertue of your Ancestors, and an Exemplar worthy to be follow’d by all Princes. It only then remains
Letters written in the
for us to implore the merciful and great God to
crown your Highness with all the Prosperity in other
things which you can wish for; but not to change
your Mind, then which you cannot have a better,
since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to
his Glory.

Westminster, March —, 1656.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England,
&c. To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of Curland.

Most Serene Prince,

We have been abundantly satisfy’d of your Af-
fection to us, as well at other times, as when
you kindly entertain’d our Embassador in his Journey
to the Duke of Muscovy, for some days together
making a stop in your Territories: Now we are no
less confident that your Highness will give us no less
obliging Testimonies of your Justice and Equity, as
well out of your own good Nature, as at our Re-
quest. For we are given to understand, That one
John Johnson, a Scotchman, and Master of a certain
Ship of yours, having faithfully discharg’d his Duty
for seven years together in the Service of your High-
ness, as to your Highness is well known, at length
deliver’d the said Ship, call’d the Whale, in the Mouth
of the River, according as the Custom is, to one of
your Pilots, by him to be carried safe into Harbour.
But it so fell out, that the Pilot being ignorant of his
Duty, though frequently warned and admonish’d by
the said Johnson, as he has prov’d by several Wit-
tnesses, the said Ship ran aground and split to pieces,
not through any fault of the Master, but through
the want of Skill, or Obstinacy of the Pilot. Which
being so, we make it our earnest Request to your High-
ness, That neither the said Shipwrack may be imputed
to the foremention'd Johnfon the Mafter, nor that he may upon that account be depriv'd of the Wages due to him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having lately suffer'd another Misfortune at Sea, he hopes however to support and comfort himself in the extremity of his Wants.

From our Court at Westminifter,
March —, 1657.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the Republick of Dantzick.

Most Noble and Magnificent, our dearest Friends;

We have always esteem'd your City flourishing in Industry, Wealth, and studious care to promote all useful Arts and Sciences, fit to be compar'd with any the most noble Cities of Europe. Now in regard that in this War that has long been hovering about your Confines, you have rather chosen to side with the Polanders, then with the Swedes; we are most heartily desirous, that for the sake of that Religion which you embrace, and of your ancient Commerce with the English, you would chiefly adhere to those Counsels which may prove most agreeable to the Glory of God, and the Dignity and Splendor of your City. Wherefore we intreat ye, for the sake of that Friendship which has been long establish'd between your selves and the English Nation, and if our Reputation have obtain'd any Favour or Esteem among ye, to set at liberty Count Conismark, conspicuous among the Principal of the Swedish Captains, and a Person singularly fam'd for his Conduct in War, but by the Treachery of his own People surpriz'd at Sea; wherein you will do no more then
what the Laws of War, not yet exasperated to the
heighth, allow; or if you think this is not so agree-
able to your Interests, that you will however deem
him worthy a more easy and less severe Confin-
ment. Which of these two Favours foever you shall
determin to grant us, you will certainly perform an
Act becoming the Reputation of your City, and
highly oblige besides the most famous Warriers and
most eminent Captains of all Parties: and lastly, lay
upon our selves an Obligation not the meanest; and
perhaps it may be worth your Interest to gratify us.

From our Court at Westminfter,
April — 1657.
Your Lordship's most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England,
Scotland, and Ireland, &c. To the most Serene and
Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and great Duke
of all Russia, sole Lord of Volodomaria, Moscow
and Novoragone, King of Cazan, Avaricam and Sy-
beria, Lord of Vobscow, great Duke of Smolenfsko,
Tuerscoy, and other Places. Lord and great Duke
of Novogrod, and the Lower Provinces of Cherni-
goy, Rezanfco, and others. Lord of all the Northern
Climes; also Lord of Eversco, Cartalinfca, and many
other Places.

All Men know how ancient the Friendship, and
how vast the Trade has been for a long train of
Years between the English Nation and the People
of your Empire: But that singular Vertue, most Au-
gust Emperor, which in your Majesty far outshines
the Glory of your Ancestor: and the high Opinion
which all the Neighbouring Princes have of it, more
especially moves us to pay a more then ordinary Ve-
Name of Oliver the Protector.

eration and Affection to your Majesty, and to desire the imparting of some things to your Consideration, which may conduce to the Good of Christendom and your own Interests. Wherefore, we have sent the most accomplish'd Richard Bradshaw, a Person of whose Fidelity, Integrity, Prudence, and Experience in Affairs, we are well assur'd, as having been imploy'd by us in several other Negotiations of this nature, under the Character of our Agent to your Majesty; to the end he may more at large make known to your Majesty our singular good Will and high Respect toward so puissant a Monarch, and transact with your Majesty concerning the Matters above-mention'd. Him therefore we request your Majesty favourably to receive in our Name, and as often as shall be requisite to grant him free Access to your Person, and no less gracious Audience; and lastly, to give the same Credit to him in all things which he shall propose or negotiate, as to our selves, if we were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty and the Russian Empire with all Prosperity.

From our Court at Westminster,
April —, 1657.
Your Majesty's most Affectionate, Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

The most honourable William Jepson, Colonel of Horse, and a Senator in our Parliament, who will have the Honour to deliver these Letters to your
Letters written in the

Majesty, will make known to your Majesty, with what Disturbance and Grief of Mind we receiv'd the News of the fatal War broke out between your Majesty and the King of Danemarke, and how much it is our cordial and real Endeavour, not to neglect any Labour or Duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that some speedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Mischief, and those Calamities averted, which of necessity this War will bring upon the common Cause of Religion; more especially at this time, now that our Adversaries unite their Forces and pernicious Counsels against the Profession and Professors of the Orthodox Faith. These and some other Considerations of great importance to the Benefit and Publick Interests of both Nations, have induc'd us to send this Gentleman to your Majesty under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy. Whom we therefore desire your Majesty kindly to receive, and to give Credit to him in all things which he shall have to impart to your Majesty in our Name; as being a Person in whose Fidelity and Prudence we very much confide. We also farther request, That your Majesty will be pleas'd fully to assure your self of our Good-will and most undoubted Zeal, as well toward your Majesty, as for the Prosperity of your Affairs. Of which we shall be readily prepar'd with all imaginable willingness of mind to give unquestionable Testimonies upon all occasions.

From our Court at Westminster,

August — 1657.

Your Majesty's Friend, and most strictly co-united Confederate, Oliver

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Lord Frederick William, Marquess of Brandenburgh, High Chamberlain of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of Magdeburgh, Prussia, Juliers, Cleves, Monts, Stettin, Pomerania, of the Caffiubiands and Vandals, as also of Silesia, Crofna and Carnovia, Burgrave of Norrinburgh, Prince of Halberstadt and Minda, Count of Mark and Ravenbergh, Lord in Ravenstein.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

Such is the Fame of your Highness's Vertue and Prudence, both in Peace and War, and so loudly spread through all the World, that all the Princes round about are ambitious of your Friendship: nor does any one desire a more faithful or constant Friend and Associate: Therefore to the end your Highness may know that we are also in the number of those that have the highest and most honourable thoughts of your Person and Merits, so well deserving of the Commonwealth of Christendom; we have sent the most Worthy Col. Will. Jepson, a Senator in our Parliament, in our Name to kiss your Highness's hands; and withal to wish the continuance of all Prosperity to your Affairs, and in words at large to express our Good-will and Affection to your Serenity; and therefore make it our Request, That you will vouchsafe to give him Credit in those Matters concerning which he has Instructions to treat with your Highness, as if all things were attested and confirm'd by our personal Presence.

From our Court at Whitehall, August — 1657.
Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of Hamborough.

Most Noble, most Magnificent and Worthy,

The most accomplished, Colonel William Jepson,
a Senator in our Parliament, being sent by us to the most serene King of Sweden, is to travel through your City; and therefore we have given him in command, not to pass by your Lordships unsaluted in our Name; and withal to make it our Request, That you will be ready to assist him upon whatsoever occasion he shall think it requisite to crave the Aid of your Authority and Counsel. Which the more willingly you shall do, the more you shall find you have acquir'd our Favour.

From our Court at Westm.
Aug. — 1657.

To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of Breme.

How great our Affection is toward your City, how particular our Good-will, as well upon the account of your Religion, as for the celebrated Splendor of your City, as formerly you have found; so when occasion offers, you shall be further sensible. At present, in regard the most accomplished Colonel William Jepson, a Senator in our Parliament, is to travel through Bremen with the Character of our Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Sweden, 'tis our pleasure that he salute your Lordships lovingly and friendly in our Name; and that if any Accident fall out, wherein your Assistance and Friendship may be
serviceable to him, that he may have free admission to desire it, upon the score of our Alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the less be wanting, by how much the more reason you will have to be assur'd of our singular Love and Kindness for your Lordships.

From our Court at Whitehall,
August — 1657.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Noble the Senators and Consuls of the City of Lubeck.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful, our dearest Friends;

Colonel William Jepson, a Person of great Honour, and a Senator in our Parlament, is to pass with the Character of a Publick Minister from your City to the King of Sweden, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we desire your Lordships, that if occasion require, upon the account of the Friendship and Commerce between us, you will be assistant to him in his Journey through your City, and the Territories under your Jurisdiction. As to what remains, it is our farther pleasure, that you be saluted in our Name, and that you be assur'd of our Good-will and ready Inclinations to serve your Lordships.

From our Court at Westminster,
August — 1657.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the City of Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful;

Philip Meadows, who brings these Letters to your Lordships, is to travel through your City with the Character of our Agent to the King of Denmark.
Therefore we most earnestly recommend him to your Lordships, that if any occasion should happen for him to desire it, you would be ready to aid him with your Authority and Assistance: And we desire that this our Recommendation may have the same weight at present with your Lordships as formerly it wont to have; nor shall we be wanting to your Lordships upon the same Opportunities.

From our Court at Whitehall,
August — 1657.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince Frederick Heir of Norway, Duke of Sleswic, Hollatia, and Ditmarsh, Count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

Colonel William Jepson, a Person truly noble in his Country, and a Senator in our Parliament, is sent by us, as our Envoy Extraordinary to the most Serene King of Sweden; and may it prove happy and prosperous for the common Peace and Interests of Christendom. We have given him Instructions, among other things, That in his Journey, after he has kiss'd your Serenities hands in our Name, and declar'd our former Good-will and constant Zeal for your Welfare, to request of your Serenity also, That being guarded with your Authority, he may travel with safety and convenience through your Territories. By which kind act of Civility, your Highness will in a greater measure oblige us to returns of answerable kindness.

From our Court at Westminster,
Aug. — 1657.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand Great Duke of Tuscany.

Most Serene Great Duke, our dearest Friend;

The Company of our Merchants, trading to the Eastern Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, by their Petition to us, have set forth, That William Ellis, Master of a Ship call’d the Little Lewis, being at Alexandria in Egypt, was hire’d by the Basha of Memphis, to carry Rice, Sugar, and Coffee, either to Constantiople or Smyrna, for the use of the Grand Seignior; but that contrary to his Faith and Promise given, he bore away privately from the Ottoman Fleet, and brought his Ship and Lading to Leghorn, where now he lives in possession of his Prey. Which villanous Act being of dangerous Example, as exposing the Christian Name to scandal, and the Fortunes of our Merchants living under the Turks to violence and ransom; we therefore make it our Request to your Highness, That you will give Command that the said Master be apprehended and imprison’d, and that the Vessel and Goods may remain under Seizure, till we shall have given notice of our Care for the restitution of those Goods to the Sultan: Affuring your Highness of our readiness to make suitable Returns of Gratitude whenever opportunity presents itself.

From our Court at Westm.

Septemb. — 1657.

Your Highness’s most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Lord Frederic William, Marquess of Brandenburgh, &c.

Most Serene Prince, our most dear Friend and Confederate;

By our last Letters to your Highness, either already or shortly to be deliver’d by our Embassador William Jepson, we have imparted the Substance of our Embassy to your Highness; which we could not do without some mention of your great Vertues, and demonstration of our own Good-will and Affection. Nevertheless, that we may not seem too superficially to have glided over your transcending Devotions of the Protestant Interests; we thought it proper to resume the same Subject, and pay our Respect and Veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of Mind, but somewhat more at large to your Highness: And truly most deservedly, when daily information reaches our Ears, That your Faith and Conscience, by all manner of Artifices tempted and assaile’d, by all manner of Arts and Devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any Violence be rent from your Friendship and Alliance with a most magnanimous Prince and your Confederate; And this, when the Affairs of the Swedes are now reduc’d to that condition, that in adhering to their Alliance, ’tis manifest that your Highness rather consults the common Cause of the Reformed Religion, than your own Advantage. And when your Highness is almost surrounded and besiege’d by Enemies, either privately lurking, or almost at your Gates; yet such is your Constancy and Resolution of Mind, such your Conduct and Prowess becoming a great General, that the burden and massy Bulk of the whole Affair, and the Event of this important War, seems to rest and depend upon your sole Determina-
Wherefore your Highness has no reason to question but that you may rely upon our Friendship and unfeigned Affection; who should think our selves worthy to be forsaken of all Mens good Word, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemish’d Fidelity, your Constancy, and the rest of your applauded Vertues; or should we pay less respect to your Highness upon the common score of Religion. As to those matters propounded by the most accomplish’d John Frederic Schlever, your Counsellor and Agent here residing, if hitherto we could not return an Answer, such as we desir’d to do, though with all assiduity and diligence labour’d by your Agent; we intreat your Highness to impute it to the present condition of our Affairs, and to be assur’d, that there is nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, than to be serviceable and assisting to your Interests, so bound up with the Cause of Religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of Mercy and Power, that so signal a Prowess and Fortitude may never languish or be oppress’d, nor be depriv’d the Fruit and due Applause of all your pious Undertakings.

From our Court at Westminster,
Sept. — 1657.
Your Highness’s most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector

To the most Excellent Lord, M. de Bourdeaux, Extraordinary Embassador from the most Serene King of France.

Most Excellent Lord;

Lucas Lucie Merchant of London, has made his Complaint to the most Serene Lord Protector, concerning a certain Ship of his, call’d the Mary; which in her Voyage from Ireland to Bayonne, being
Letters written in the

driven by Tempest into the Port of St. John de Luz, was there detain'd by virtue of an Arrest, at the Suit of one Martin de Lazan; nor could she be discharg'd till the Merchants had given Security to stand a Trial for the Property of the said Ship and Lading. For Martin pretended to have a great Sum of Money owing to him by the Parliament for several Goods of his, which in the Year 1642, were seiz'd by Authority of Parliament, in a certain Ship call'd the Santa Clara. But it is manifest, That Martin was not the Owner of the said Goods, only that he prosecuted the Claim of the true Owners Richard and Iriat, together with his Partner, whose Name was Antonio Fernendez; and that upon the said Martin and Antonio's falling out among themselves, the Parliament decreed that the said Goods should be stop'd till the Law should decide to which of the two they were to be restor'd. Upon this, Antony was desirous that the Action should proceed; on the other side, neither Martin, nor any body for him, has hitherto appear'd in Court: All which is evidently apparent by Lucas's Petition hereto annex'd. So that it seems most unreasonable, That he who refus'd to try his pretended Title with Antonio, to other Mens Goods, in our own Courts, should compel our People, and the true Owners, to go to Law for their own in a Foreign Dominion. And that the same is apparent to your Excellency's Equity and Prudence, the most Serene Lord Protector makes no question; by whom I am therefore commanded in a particular manner to recommend this fair and honest Cause of Lucas Lucie to your Excellency's Consideration; to the end that Martin, who neglects to try his pretended Right here, may not under that Pretence have an opportunity in the French Dominions to deprive others of their rightful Claims.

Westm. Octob. —, 1657.

Your Excellency's most Affectionate.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Serene Duke, and Senate of the Republick of Venice.

Most Serene Duke and Senate, our dearest Friends;

So numerous are the Tydings brought us of your fortunate Successes against the Turks, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occasion to employ our Pens, than in congratulating your Serenities for some signal Victory. For this so recently obtain'd, we give ye Joy, as being not only most auspicious and seasonable to your Republick; but which is more glorious, so greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Christians groaning under Turkish Servitude. More particularly we recommend to your Serenity and the Senate Thomas Galily, formerly Master of the Ship call'd the Relief, who for these five Years together has been a Slave; tho this be not the first time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary Exultation. He having receiv'd your Commands, to serve your Republick with his Ship, and engaging alone with several of the Enemies Gallies, sunk some, and made a great havock among the rest: but at length his Ship being burnt, the brave Commander, and so well deserving of the Venetian Republick, was taken, and ever since for five Years together, has endur'd a miserable Bondage under the Barbarians. To redeem himself he had not wherewithal; for whatsoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your Highness and the Senate, upon the account either of his Ship, his Goods, or for his Wages. Now in regard he may not want Relief, and for that the Enemy refuses to
discharge him upon any other condition, than by exchange of some other Person of equal Value and Reputation to himself; we most earnestly entreat your Highness, and the most Serene Senate; and the afflicted old Man, Father of the said Thomas, full of Grief and Tears, which not a little mov’d us, by our Intercession begs, That in regard so many prosperous Combats have made ye Masters of so many Turkish Prisoners, you will exchange some one of their Number, whom the Enemy will accept for so stout a Seaman taken in your Service, our Countryman, and the only Son of a most sorrowful Father. Lastly, That whatsoever is due to him from the Republick, upon the score of Wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to see it paid to his Father, or to whom he shall appoint to receive it. The Effect of our first Request, or rather of your Equity, was this, That the whole Matter was examin’d, and upon an exact stating of the Accounts the Debt was agreed; but perhaps by reason of more important Business intervening, no Payment ensu’d upon it. Now the Condition of the miserable Creature admits of no longer delay; and therefore some endeavour must be us’d, if it be worth your while to desire his Welfare, that he may speedily be deliver’d from the noisome stench of Imprisonment. Which, as you flourish no less in Justice, Moderation and Prudence, than in Military Fame and Victorious Success, we are confident you will see done, of your own innate Humanity and Free-will, without any Hesitation, without any Incitement of ours. Now that ye may long flourish, after a most potent Enemy subdu’d, our daily Prayers implore of the Almighty.

From our Court at Westminster,
Octob. —, 1657.

Your Highness’s most Affectionate, Oliver,
Protector of the Commonwealth
of England, &c.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

The most illustrious William Nuport, your extraordinary Embassador for some Years residing with us, is now returning to your Lordships; but with this condition, that after this respite obtain'd from your Lordships, he shall return again in a short time. For he has remain'd among us, in the discharge of his Trust, with that Fidelity, Vigilance, Prudence and Equity, that neither you nor we could desir e greater Vertue and Probity in an Embassador, and a Person of unblemished Reputation; with those inclinations and endeavours to preserve Peace and Friendship between us, without any fraud or dissimulation, that while he officiates the Duty of your Embassador, we do not find what occasion of scruple or offence can arise in either Nation. And we should brook his departure with so much the more anxiety of Mind, considering the present juncture of Times and Affairs, were we not assur'd, that no Man can better or more faithfully declare and represent to your Lordships, either the present condition of Affairs, or our Good-will and Affection to your Government. Being therefore every way so excellent a Person, and so well deserving both of yours and our Republick, we request your Lordships to receive him returning, such as we unwillingly dismiss him, laden with the real Testimonials of our Applauses. Almighty God grant all Prosperity to your Affairs, and perpetuate our Friendship, to his Glory, and the support of his Orthodox Church.

From our Court at Westminster,

November — 1657.

Your High and Mightinesses most devoted.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

George Downing is a Person of eminent Quality, and after a long trial of his Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in several and various Negotiations, well approv'd and valu'd by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships, dignify'd with the Character of our Agent, and amply furnish'd with our Instructions. We therefore desire your Lordships to receive him kindly, and that so often as he shall signify that he has anything to impart in our Name to your Lordships, you will admit him free Audience, and give the same Credit to him, and entrust him with whatsoever you have to communicate to us; which you may safely do, as if our selves were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your Lordships, and your Republick with all Prosperity, to the Glory of God, and the Support of his Church.

From our Court at White-Hall,
Decemb. — 1657.

Your High and Mightinesses most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

To the States of Holland.

There being an Alliance between our Republick and yours, and those Affairs to be transacted on both sides, that without an Agent and Interpreter, sent either by your selves, or from us, matters
of such great moment can hardly be adjusted to the advantage of both Nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both Republicks to send George Downing, a Person of eminent Quality, and long in our Knowledg and Esteem for his undoubted Fidelity, Probit and Diligence, in many and various Negotiations, dignifi'd with the Character of our Agent, to reside with your Lordships, and chiefly to take care of those things, by which the Peace between us may be preserv'd entire and diurnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the States, but also thought it requisite to give notice also of the same to your Lordships, supreme in the Government of your Province, and who make so considerable a part of the United Provinces; to the end you may give that reception to our Resident which becomes him, and that whatever he transacts with your High and Mighty States, you may assure your selves shall be as firm and irrevocable, as if our selves had bin present in the Negotiation. Now the most merciful God direct all your Counsels and Actions to his Glory, and the Peace of his Church.

Westminster, Decemb. — 1657.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand Great Duke of Tuscany.

Most Serene Great Duke, our much Honour'd Friend;

Our Highness's Letters, bearing date from Florence the 10th of November, gave us no small occasion of Content and Satisfaction; finding therein your Good-will towards us, so much the more conspicuous, by how much Deeds than Words, Performances than Promises, are the more certain
396 Letters written in the marks of a cordial Affection. For what we requested of your Highness, that you would command the Master of the Little Lewis, William Ellis, who most ignominiously broke his Faith with the Turks, and the Ship and Goods to be seiz'd and detain'd, till Restitution should be made to the Turks, left the Christian Name should receive any Blemish by Thieveries of the like nature; all those things, and that too with an extraordinary Zeal, as we most gladly understood before, your Highness writes that you have seen diligently perform'd. We therefore return our Thanks for the Kindness receiv'd, and make it our farther request, that when the Merchants have given Security to satisfie the Turks, the Master may be discharged, and the Ship, together with her Lading, be forthwith dismis'd, to the end we may not seem to have had more care perhaps of the Turks Interest, than our own Country-men. In the mean time we take so kindly this surpassing Favour done us by your Highness, and most acceptable to us, that we should not refuse to be branded with Ingratitude, if we should not ardently desire a speedy opportunity, with the same promptitude of Mind, to gratifie your Highness, whereby we might be enabl'd to demonstrate our readiness to return the same good Offices to so noble a Benefactor upon all occasions.

From our Court at Westminster,
Decemb. — 1657.
Your Highnesses most affectionate,
Oliver, &c.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most Invincible Friend and Confederate;

By your Majesty's Letters, dated the 21st of February from your Camp in Seland, we found many reasons to be affected with no small Joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole Christian Republick in general. In the first place, because the King of Denmark, being become an Enemy, not induc'd thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own Inclinations or Interests, but deluded by the Artifices of our common Adversaries, is reduc'd to that condition by your sudden irruption into the very Heart of his Kingdom, with very little Blood shed on either side, that what was really true, he will at length be perswaded that Peace would have bin more beneficial to him, than the War which he has enter'd into against your Majesty. Then again, when he shall consider with himself, that he cannot obtain it by any more speedy means, than by making use of our Assistance, long since offer'd him to procure a Reconciliation, in regard your Majesty so readily intreated by the Letters only deliver'd by our Agent, by such an easy concession of Peace, most clearly made it apparent how highly you esteem'd the Intercession of our Friendship, he will certainly apply himself to us; and then our Interposition in so pious a work, will chiefly require, that we should be the sole Reconciler and almost Author of that Peace, so beneficial to the Interests of the Protestants; which, as we hope, will suddenly
be accomplish'd. For when the Enemies of Religion shall despair of breaking your united Forces by any other means than setting both your Majesties at variance, then their own fears will overtake 'em, left this unexpected Conjunction, which we ardentely desire, of your Arms and Minds, should turn to the destruction of them that were the Kindlers of the War. In the mean time, most Magnanimous King, may your Prowefs go on and prosper; and the same felicity which the Enemies of the Church have admir'd in the progress of your Achievements, and the steady Career of your Victories against a Prince, now your Confederate, the same by God's Assistance, may you enforce 'em to behold once more in their Subversion.

From our Palace at Westminster,
March 30. 1658.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand Great Duke of Tuscany.

Most Serene Prince;

The Answer which we have given to your Agent here residing, we believe, will fully satisfy your Highness as to our Admiral, who but lately put into your Ports. In the mean time, John Hosier, Master of a Ship, call'd the Owner, has set forth in a Petition to us, that in April 1656, he hir'd out his Ship by a Charter-party Agreement, to one Joseph Arman, an Italian, who manifestly broke all the Covenants therein contain'd; so that he was enforc'd, left he should lose his Ship and Lading, together with his whole principal Stock, openly to set forth the fraud of his Freighter, after the manner of Merchants; and when he had caus'd it to be register'd by a Publick Notary,
to sue him at Leghorn. Joseph, on the other side, that he might make good one Fraud by another, combining with two other litigious Traders, upon a feign'd Pretence, by Perjury, seiz'd upon six thousand Pieces of Eight, the Money of one Thomas Clutterbuck. But as for his part, the said Hosier, after great Expences and loss of time, could never obtain his Right and Due at Leghorn: Nor durst he there appear in Court, being threaten'd as he was, and waylay'd by his Adversaries. We therefore request your Highness, that you would vouchsafe your Assistance to this poor opprest Man, and according to your wonted Justice, restrain the Insolence of his Adversary. For in vain are Laws ordain'd for the Government of Cities by the Authority of Princes, if Wrong and Violence, when they cannot abrogate, shall be able by Threats and Terror to frustrate the Refuge and Sanctuary of the Laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your Highness will speedily take care to punish a daring Boldness of this nature; beseeching Almighty God to bless your Highness with Peace and Prosperity.

From our Court at Westminster, April 7. 1658.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, and most August Friend and Confederate;

Your Majesty may call to mind, that at the same time, when the renewing the League between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many Advantages from thence accruing to both Nations, and the many Annoyances thence attending the common Enemy, sufficiently testify those
dreadful Butcheries that beset the Piemontois, and that we recommended with great fervency of Mind and Compassion, their Cause on all sides forsaken and afflicted, to your Commiseration and Protection. Nor do we believe that your Majesty, of yourself, was wanting in a Duty so pious, that we may not say, be- seeming common Humanity, as far as your Authority, and the Veneration due to your Person, could prevail with the Duke of Savoy. Certain we are, that neither our selves, nor many other Princes and Cities were wanting in our Performances, by the Interpo- sition of Embassies, Letters, and Intreaties. After a most bloody Butchery of both Sexes, and all Ages, at length Peace was granted, or rather a certain clandestine Hostility cover'd over with the name of Peace. The Conditions of Peace were agreed in your Town of Pignerol; severe and hard, but such as those miserable and indigent Creatures, after they had suffer'd all that could be endur'd that was oppressive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but observ'd, as hard and unjust as they were. But by false Constructions, and various Evasions, the Assurances of all these Articles are eluded and violated: Many are thrust out from their ancient Abodes; many are forbid the Exercise of their Religion, new Tributes are exacted, a new Citadel is impos'd upon them; from whence the Souldiers frequently making Excursions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new Levies are privately preparing against 'em, and all that embrace the Protestant Religion are commanded to depart by a prefix'd day; so that all things seem to threaten the utter ex- termination of those deplorable Wretches, whom the former Maffacre spar'd. Which I most earnestly be- seech and conjure ye, Most Christian King, by that Right Hand which sign'd the League and Friendship between us, by that same goodly Ornament of your Title
Name of Oliver the Protector.

of Most Christian, by no means to suffer, nor to permit such liberty of Rage and Fury uncontroll'd, we will not say, in any Prince, (for certainly such barbarous Severity could never enter the Breast of any Prince, much less so tender in Years, nor into the female thoughts of his Mother) but in those sanctified Cut-throats, who professing themselves to be the Servants and Disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into this World to save Sinners, abuse his meek and peaceful Name and Precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the Innocent. Rescue, you that are able in your towering Station, worthy to be able, rescue so many Suppliants prostrate at your feet, from the hands of Ruffians, who lately drunk with Blood, again thirst after it, and think it their safest way to throw the Odium of their Cruelty upon Princes. But as for you, great Prince, suffer not, while you reign, your Titles, nor the Confines of your Kingdom, to be contaminated with this same Heaven-offending Scandal, nor the peaceful Gospel of Christ to be desir'd with such abominable Cruelty. Remember that they submitted themselves to your Grandfather Henry, most friendly to the Protestants, when the victorious Lesdiguières pursu'd the retreating Savoyard o're the Alpes. There is also an Instrument of that Submission register'd among the publick Acts of your Kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, That from that time forward the Piemontois should not be deliver'd over into the Power of any Ruler, but upon the same Conditions upon which your invincible Grandfather receiv'd them into his Protection. This Protection of your Grandfather, these Suppliants now implore from you as Grandchild. 'Tis your Majesty's part, to whom those People now belong, to give 'em that Protection which they have chosen, by some exchange of Habitation, if they desire it, and it may
be done: Or if that be a Labour too difficult, at least to succour 'em with your Patronage, your Commis-

feration, and your admittance into Sanctuary. And there are some Reasons of State to encourage your

Majesty not to refuse the Piemontois a safe Asylum in your Kingdom: But I am unwilling that you, so
great a King, should be induc'd to the defence and succour of the miserable by any other Arguments
than those of your Ancestor's pledg'd Faith, your own

Piety, Royal Benignity and Magnanimity. Thus

the immaculate and intire Glory of a most egregious

Act will be your own, and you will find the Father

of Mercy, and his Son, King Christ, whose Name and

Doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious Inhu-

manity, so much the more favourable and propitious
to your Majesty, all your days. The God of Mercy

and Power infuse into your Majesty's Heart a Resolu-
tion to defend and save so many innocent Christians,

and maintain your own Honour.

Westminster, May — 1658.

To the Evangelick Cities of the Switzers.

Illustrious and most Noble Lords, our
dearlest Friends;

How heavy and intolerable the Sufferings of the

Piemontois, your most afflicted Neighbours, have

bin, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with

by their own Prince, for the sake of their Religion,

by reason of the fierceness of the Cruelties, we almost
tremble to remember, and thought it superfluous to

put you in mind of those things, which are much

better known to your Lordships. We have also seen

Copies of the Letters which your Embassadors, Pro-
moters and Witnesses of the Peace concluded at Pig-
nerol, wrote to the Duke of Savoy, and the President
of his Council at Turin; wherein they set forth, and make it out, that all the Conditions of the said Peace are broken, and were rather a Snare than a Security to those miserable People. Which Violation continued from the Conclusion of the Peace to this very moment, and still grows more heavy every day than other; unless they patiently endure, unless they lay themselves down to be trampled under foot, plash'd like Mortar, or abjure their Religion, the same Calamities, the same Slaughters hang over their Heads, which three years since made such a dreadful havock of them, their Wives and Children; and which, if it must be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole Race. What shall such miserable Creatures do? in whose behalf no Intercession will avail, to whom no breathing time is allow'd, nor any certain place of Refuge. They have to do with wild Beasts, or Furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former Murders has wrought no Compassion upon their Countrymen, no sense of Humanity, nor satiated their ravenous thirst after Blood. Most certainly these things are not to be endur'd, if we desire the safety of our Brethren the Piemontois, most antient Professors of the Orthodox Faith, or the welfare of our Religion itself. As for our selves, so far remote, we have not been wanting to assist 'em as far as in us lay, nor shall we cease our future Aid. But you, who not only lie so near adjoining, as to behold the Butcheries, and hear the outcries and shrieks of the Distressed, but are also next expos'd to the fury of the same Enemies; consider for the sake of the Immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: consult your Prudence, your Piety, and your Fortitude; what succour, what relief and safeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your Neighbours and Brethren, whom must else undoubtedly and speedily perish. Cer-
taintly the same Religion is the cause, why the same Enemies seek also your Perdition; why, at the same time the last year, they meditated your ruin, by intestine Broils among your selves. It seems to be only in your power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this most antient Scien of the purer Religion, in these remainders of the Primitive Believers; whose preservation, now reduc'd to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next Turn be not your own. These Admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly Love, we are not quite as yet cast down: For what lies only in our Power so far distant, as we have hitherto, so shall we still employ our utmost Endeavours, not only to procure the safety of our Brethren upon the precipice of danger, but also to relieve their Wants. May the Almighty God vouchsafe to both of us that Peace and Tranquillity at home, that settlement of Times and Affairs, that we may be able to employ all our Wealth and Force, all our Studies and Counsels in the defence of his Church against the Rage and Fury of her Enemies.

From our Court at White-hall,
May —, 1658.

To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

The late most grievous Cruelties, and most bloody Slaughters perpetrated upon the Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piemont, within the Duke of Savoy's Dominions, occasion'd the writing of the inclos'd Letters to his Majesty, and these other to your Eminency. And as we make no doubt but that such Tyranny, Inhumanities, so rigorously inflicted upon
harmless and indigent People, are highly displeasing and offensive to the most Serene King; so we readily perswade our selves, that what we request from his Majesty in behalf of those unfortunate Creatures, your Eminency will employ your endeavour, and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our Intercessions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquir'd more good-will and affection to the French Nation, among all the neighbouring Professors of the Reformed Religion, than that Liberty and those Privileges, which by publick Acts and Edicts are granted in that Kingdom to the Protestants. And this among others was one main Reason, why this Republick so ardently desir'd the Friendship and Alliance of the French People. For the settling of which we are now treating with the King's Embassador, and have made those progresses, that the Treaty is almost brought to a Conclusion. Besides that, your Eminency's singular Benignity and Moderation, which in the management of the most important Affairs of the Kingdom, you have always testified to the Protestants of France, encourages us to expect what we promise to our selves from your Prudence and Generosity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a stricter Alliance between this Republick and the Kingdom of France, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good Offices, of Civility and Kindness: And of this we desire your Eminency to rest assur'd.

Your Eminency's most Affectionate.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our most August Friend and Confederate;

IT being the intention of Thomas Viscount Falconbridge, our Son-in-Law, to travel into France, and no less his desire, out of his profound Respect and Veneration to your Majesty, to be admitted to kiss your Royal Hands; though by reason of his pleasing Conversation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheless not doubting but he will in a short time return from the Court of so great a Prince, celebrated for the resort of so many prudent and courageous Persons, more nobly prepar’d for great Performances, and fully accomplish’d in whatsoever may be thought most laudable and vertuous, we did not think it fit to put a stop to his generous Resolutions. And though he be a Person, who, unless we deceive our selves, carries his own Recommendations about him, wherefoe’re he goes; yet if he shall find himself somewhat the more favour’d by your Majesty for our sake, we shall think our selves honour’d and oblig’d by the same Kindness. God Almighty long preferve your Majesty in safety, and continue a lasting Peace between us, to the common Good of the Christian World.

From our Court at White-Hall,
May — 1658.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

Having recommended to the most Serene King, Thomas Viscount Falconbridge our Son-in-Law, desirous to see France; we could not but acquaint your Eminency with it, and recommend him in like manner to your self, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our Recommendation first given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he shall reap by residing in your Country, which he hopes will not be small, he cannot but be beholden for the greatest part of it to your Favour and Good-will; whose single Prudence and Vigilancy supports and manages the grand Affairs of that Kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful Obligation your Eminency shall lay upon him, you may be assur'd you lay upon our selves, and that we shall number it among your many Kindnesses and Civilities already shew'd us.

Westminster, May — 1658.

Oliver, Protector, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

Having sent the most illustrious Thomas Bellasis, Viscount Falconbridge, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate the King upon his arrival in the Camp at Dunkirk, I gave him Order to attend and with your Eminency long Life and Health in our Name,
Letters written in the

and to return Thanks to your Eminency, by whose Fidelity, Prudence and Vigilancy, it chiefly comes to pass, that the Affairs of France are carri’d on with such Success in several parts, but more especially in near adjoining Flanders, against our common Enemy the Spaniard; from whom we hope that open and armed Courage now will soon exact a rigorous account of all his Frauds and Treacheries. Which that it may be speedily done, we shall not be wanting, either with our Forces, as far as in us lies, or with our Prayers to Heaven.

*From our Court at White-Hall,*

*May — 1658.*


*Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Friend and Confederate;*

*So soon as the News was brought us, That your Majesty was arriv’d in your Camp, and was fate down with so considerable an Army before Dunkirk, that infamous nest of Pyrates, and place of Refuge for Sea-robbers, we were greatly overjoy’d, in certain assurance that in a short time now, with God’s Assistance, the Seas will be more open and less infested by those plundering Rovers; and that your Majesty, by your Military Prowess, will now take speedy Vengeance of the Spanish Frauds; by whom one Captain was by Gold corrupted to the betraying of Hesden, another treacherously surpriz’d at Ossend. We therefore send the most Noble, Thomas Viscount Falconbridge, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate your Majesty’s arrival in your Camp so near us, and that your Majesty may understand from*
his own Lips, with what Affection we labour the
Prosperity of your Achievements, not only with our
united Forces, but with our cordial Prayers, that
God would long preserve your Majesty, and perpe-
tuate our establisht Friendhsip, to the common
Good of the Christian World.

From our Court at Westminster,
May — 1658.

To the moft Serene Prince, Ferdinand Grand Duke
of Tuscany.

Most Serene Great Duke,

In regard your Highness in all your Letters has
ever signifi'd your extraordinary Affection toward
us, we are not a little griev'd, that either it should
be so obscurely imparted to your Governors and
Ministers, or by them so ill interpreted, that we can
reap no benefit or sign of it in your Port of Leghorn,
where your Friendship toward us ought to be most
clearly and truly understood: Rather, that we should
find the Minds of your Subjects daily more averse
and hostile in their demeanour toward us. For how
unkindly our Fleet was lately treated at Leghorn,
how little accommodated with necessary Supplies, in
what a Hostile manner twice constrain'd to depart
the Harbour, we are sufficiently given to understand
as well from undoubted Witnesses upon the Place,
as from our Admiral himself, to whose Relation we
cannot but give Credit, when we have thought him
worthy to command our Fleet. Upon his first ar-
ival in January, after he had caus'd our Letters to
be deliver'd to your Highness, and all Offices of Ci-
vility had pass'd between our People and yours;
when he desir'd the Accommodation of Porto Fer-
raro; answer was made, it could not be granted,
Letters written in the

left the King of Spain, that is to say our Enemy, should be offended. And yet what is there which a Prince in Friendship more frequently allows to his Confederate, than free entrance into his Ports and Harbours? Or what is there that we can expect from a Friendship of this nature, more ready to do us unkindness than befriend us, or aid us with the smallest Assistance, for fear of provoking the displeasure of our enemies? At first indeed, Prattick was allow'd, though only to two or three of our Seamen out of every Ship, who had the Favour to go ahoar. But soon after, it being nois'd in the Town, that our Ships had taken a Dutch Vessel laden with Corn for Spain, that little Prattick we had was prohibited; Longland, the English Consul, was not permitted to go aboard the Fleet; the liberty of taking in fresh Water, which is ever free to all that are not open Enemies, was not suffer'd, but under armed Guards, at a severe rate; and our Merchants which reside in the Town, to the vast emolument of your People, were forbid to visit their Countrymen, or assist 'em in the least. Upon his last arrival, toward the latter end of March, no body was suffer'd to come ahoar. The fifth day after, when our Admiral had taken a small Neapolitan Vessel which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great shot were made at our Fleet from the Town, though without any damage to us. Which was an Argument, that what provok'd your Governors without a cause, as if the Rights of your Harbour had bin violated, was done out at Sea, at a great distance from your Town, or the Jurisdiction of the Castle. Presently our Long-boats sent to take in fresh Water, were assail'd in the Port, and one taken and detain'd? which being redemanded, answer was made, That neither the Skiff nor the Seamen should be restor'd, unless the Neapolitan Vessel were dismis'd;
though certain it is, that she was taken in the open Sea, where it was lawful to seize her. So that ours, after many Inconveniences suffer'd, were forc'd at length to set fail, and leave behind 'em the Provi-
sion, for which they had paid ready Money. These things, if they were not done by your Highness's Consent and Command, as we hope they were not, we desire you would make it appear by the punish-
ment of the Governour, who so easily presum'd to violate his Master's Alliances; but if they were done with your Highness's Approbation and Order, we would have your Highness understand, that as we always had a singular value for your Friendship, so we have learnt to distinguish between Injuries and acts of Kindness.

From our Court at White-hall,
May — 1658.
Your good Friend, so far as we may,
Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most
August Confederate and Friend;

By so speedily repaying our profound Respect to your Majesty, with an accumulation of Honour, by such an illustrious Embassy to our Court; you have not only made known to us, but to all the People of England, your singular Benignity and Generosity of Mind, but also how much you favour our Reputation and Dignity: for which we return our most cordial Thanks to your Majesty, as justly you have merited from us. As for the Victory which God has given,
Letters written in the
most fortunate, to our united Forces, against our Enemies, we rejoice with your Majesty for it; and that our People in that Battel were not wanting to your Assistance, nor the Military Glory of their Ancestors, nor their own pristine Fortitude, is most grateful to us. As for Dunkirk, which as your Majesty wrote, you were in hope was near Surrender: 'tis a great addition to our Joy to hear from your Majesty such speedy Tidings, that it is absolutely now in your victorious hands; and we hope moreover, that the loss of one City will not suffice to repay the twofold Treachery of the Spaniard, but that your Majesty will in a short time write us the welcome News of the Surrender also of the other Town. As to your Promise, That you will take care of our Interests, we mistrust it not in the least, upon the Word of a most Excellent King, and our most assured Friend, confirm'd withal by your Embassador, the most accomplish'd Duke of Crequi. Lastly, We beseech Almighty God to prosper your Majesty and the Affairs of France, both in Peace and War.
Westminster, June — 1658.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal Mazarine.

Most Eminent Lord;

While we are returning Thanks to the most Serene King, who to honour and congratulate us, as also to intermix his Joy with ours for the late glorious Victory, has sent a splendid Embassay to our Court; we should be ungrateful, should we not also by our Letters pay our due Acknowledgments to your Eminency; who to testify your Good-will towards us, and how much you make it your study to do us all the Honour which lies within your Power, have sent
your Nephew to us, a most excellent and most accomplish'd young Gentleman; and if you had any nearer Relation, or any Person whom you valu'd more, would have sent him more especially to us, as you declare in your Letters; adding withal the Reason, which coming from so great a Personage, we deem no small advantage to our Praise and Ornament; that is to say, to the end that they who are most nearly related to your Eminency in Blood, might learn to imitate your Eminency, in shewing Respect and Honour to our Person. And we would have it not to be their meanest Strife to follow your Example of Civility, Candour, and Friendship to us; since there are not more conspicuous Examples of extraordinary Prudence and Vertue to be imitated than in your Eminency; from whence they may learn with equal Renown to govern Kingdoms, and manage the most important Affairs of the World. Which that your Eminency may long and happily administer, to the prosperity of the whole Realm of France, to the common Good of the whole Christian Republick, and your own Glory, we shall never be wanting in our Prayers to implore.

From our Court at Whitehal,
June — 1658.
Your Excellency's most Affectionate.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.
To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our dearest
Confederate and Friend;

As often as we behold the busy Counsels, and various Artifices of the common Enemies of Religion, so often do we revolve in our Minds how
Letters written in the
necessary it would be, and how much for the Safety of the Christian World, that the Protestant Princes, and most especially your Majesty, should be united with our Republick in a most strict and solemn Con-federacy. Which how ardently and zealously it has been fought by our selves, how acceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the Affairs of Swedeland, had been in that posture and condition, if the said League could have been sacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a seasonable Succour to the other, we declar'd to your Embassadors, when first they enter'd into Treaty with us upon this Subject. Nor were they wanting in their Duty; but the same prudence which they were wont to shew in other things, the same Wisdom and Sedulity they made known in this Affair. But such was the perfidiousness of our wicked and restless Countrymen at home, who being often receiv'd into our Protection, ceas'd not however to machinate new Disturbances, and to resume their formerly often frustrated and dissipated Conspiracies with our Enemies the Spaniards, that being altogether taken up with the preservation of ourselves from surrounding Dan-gers, we could not bend our whole Care, and our entire Forces, as we wish'd we could have done, to defend the common Cause of Religion. Nevertheless what lay in our Power, we have already zealously perform'd; and whatever for the future may conduce to your Majesty's Interests, we shall not only shew our selves willing, but industrious to carry on, in Union with your Majesty, upon all occasions. In the mean time we most gladly congratulate your Majesty's Victories, most prudently and courageously achiev'd, and in our daily Prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your Majesty a steady course of Conquest and Felicity, to the Glory of his Name.

From our Court at Whitehall,
June — 1658.
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the most Serene Prince, the King of Portugal.

Most Serene King, our Friend and Confederate;

John Buffield of London Merchant, has set forth in a Petition to us, That in the Year 1649, he deliver'd certain Goods to Anthony, John and Manuel Ferdinando Caftaneo, Merchants in Tamira, to the end that after they had fold 'em, they might give him a just Account, according to the Custom of Merchants: After which, in his Voyage for England, he fell into the hands of Pirats; and being plunder'd by 'em, receiv'd no small Damage. Upon this News, Antony and Manuel, believing he had been kill'd, presently look'd upon the Goods as their own, and still detain 'em in their hands, refusing to come to any Account; covering this Fraud of theirs with a Sequestration of English Goods that soon after ensu'd. So that he was forc'd the last Year, in the middle of Winter, to return to Portugal and demand his Goods, but all in vain. For that the said John and Anthony could by no fair means be perswaded, either to deliver the said Goods, or to come to any Account; and which is more to be admir'd, justifi'd their private detention of the Goods, by the Publick Attainder. Finding therefore that being a Stranger, he should get nothing by contending with the Inhabitants of Tamira in their own Countrey, he betook himself for Justice to your Majesty; humbly demanded the Judgment of the Conservator, appointed to determine the Causes of the English; but was sent back to the Cognizance of that Court, from which he had appeal'd. Which though in it self not unjust, yet seeing it is evident that the Merchants of Tamira make an ill use of your Pub-
lick Edict to justify their own private Cozenage, we make it our earnest Request to your Majesty, that according to your wonted Clemency you would rather refer to the Conservator, being the proper Judge in these Cases, the Cause of this poor Man, afflicted by many Casualties, and reduc'd to utmost Poverty, to the end he may recover the Remainder of his Fortunes from the faithless Partnership of those People. Which when you rightly understand the Business, we make no question, but will be no less pleasing to your Majesty to see done than to our selves.

From our Court at Westminster,
Aug. 1658.

To the most Serene Prince Leopold, Arch-Duke of Austria, Governour of the Low Countries, under Philip King of Spain.

Most Serene Lord;

Charles Harbord Knight, has set forth in his Petition to us, that having sent certain Goods and Household-stuff out of Holland to Bruges under your Jurisdiction, he is in great danger of having them arrested out of his hands by Force and Violence. For that those Goods were sent him out of England in the Year 1643, by the Earl of Suffolk, for whom he stood bound in a great Sum of Money, to the end he might have wherewithal to satisfy himself, should he be compell'd to pay the Debt. Which Goods are now in the possession of Richard Greenville Knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in custody, and made a violent seizure of the same, under pretence of we know not what due to him from Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, by virtue of a certain Decree of our Court of Chancery, to which those Goods, as being the Earl's, were
justly liable; whereas by our Laws, neither the Earl now living, whose Goods they are, is bound by that Decree, neither ought the Goods to be seiz'd or detain'd; which the Sentence of that Court, now sent to your Serenity, together with these Letters, positively declares and proves. Which Letters the said Charles Harbord has desir'd of us, to the end we would make it our Request to your Highness, that the said Goods may be forthwith discharg'd from the violent Seizure, and no less unjust Action of the said Richard Greenville, in regard it is apparently against the Custom and Law of Nations, that any Person should be allow'd the liberties to sue in a Foreign Jurisdiction upon a Plaint wherein he can have no relief in the Country where the Cause of Action first arose. Therefore the Reason of Justice it self, and your far celebrated Equanimity encourag'd us to recommend this Cause to your Highness; assuring your Highness, that whenever any Dispute shall happen in our Courts concerning the Rights and Properties of your People, you shall ever find us ready and quick in our Returns of Favour.

Westminster

Your Highness's most Affectionate,

Oliver,

Letters

Written in the Name of Richard
The Protector.

Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis
King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

O soon as our most Serene Father, Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, by the Will of God so ordaining, departed this Life upon the Third
of September, we being lawfully declar'd
his Successor in the Supream Magistracy, tho in the
Extremity of Tears and Sadness, could do no less,
than with the first Opportunity by these our Letters
make known a Matter of this Concernment to your
Majesty; by whom, as you have been a most cordial
Friend to our Father and this Republick, we are
confident the mournful and unexpected Tidings will
be as sorrowfully received. Our business now is, to
request your Majesty, that you would have such an
Opinion of us, as of one who has determin'd nothing
more religiously and constantly than to observe the
Friendship and Confederacy contracted between your
Majesty and our Renowned Father; and with the
same Zeal and good Will to confirm and establish the
Leagues by him concluded, and to carry on the same
Counsels and Interests with your Majesty. To which
Letters in the Name of the Protector. 419

intent it is our pleasure that our Embassador residing at your Court, be empower'd by the same Commission as formerly; and that you will give the same Credit to what he transacts in our Name, as if it had been done by our selves. In the mean time we wish your Majesty all Prosperity.

From our Court at White-hall,
Sept. 5. 1658.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

Tho nothing could fall out more bitter and grievous to us, than to write the mournful News of our most Serene and most Renowned Father's Death; nevertheless, in regard we cannot be ignorant of the high Esteem which he had for your Eminency, and the great Value which you had for him; nor have any reason to doubt, but that your Eminency, upon whose Care the Prosperity of France depends, will no less bewail the Loss of your constant Friend, and most united Confederate, we thought it of great moment, by these our Letters, to make known this Accident so deeply to be lamented, as well to your Eminency as to the King; and to assure your Eminency, which is but Reason, that we shall most religiously observe all those things which our Father of most Serene Memory was bound by the League to see confirm'd and ratify'd: and shall make it our business, that in the midst of your mourning for a Friend so faithful and flourishing in all vertuous Applause, there may be nothing wanting to preserve the Faith of our Confederacy. For the conservation of which on your part also, to the good of both Nations, may God Almighty long preserve your Eminency.

Westminster, Sept. 1658.
Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

When we consider with ourselves that it will be a difficult matter for us to be Imitators of our Father’s Vertues, unless we should observe and endeavour to hold the same Confederacies which he by his Prowess acquir’d, and out of his singular Judgment thought most worthy to be embrac’d and observ’d; your Majesty has no reason to doubt, but that it behoves us to pay the same Tribute of Affection and good Will, which our Father of most Serene Memory always paid to your Majesty. Therefore altho in this beginning of our Government and Dignity I may not find our Affairs in that Condition, as at present to answer to some Particulars which your Embassadors have propos’d, yet it is our Resolution to continue the League concluded by our Father with your Majesty, and to enter our selves into a stricter Engagement; and so soon as we shall rightly understand the State of Affairs on both sides, we shall always be ready on our part, to treat of those things which shall be most chiefly for the united Benefit of both Republicks. In the mean time God long preserve your Majesty to his Glory, and the Defence and Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

From our Court at Westminster,
Octob. 1658.
Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

We have receiv'd two Letters from your Majesty, the one by your Envoy, the other transmitted to us from our Resident Philip Meadows, whereby we not only understood your Majesty's unfeigned Grief for the Death of our most Serene Father, in Expressions setting forth the real Thoughts of your Mind, and how highly your Majesty esteem'd his Prowess and Friendship, but also what great hopes your Majesty conceiv'd of our selves advanc'd in his room. And certainly, as an Accumulation of paternal Honour in deeming us worthy to succeed him, nothing more noble, more illustrious, could befal us than the Judgment of such a Prince; nothing more fortunately auspicious could happen to us, at our first entrance upon the Government, than such a Congratulator; nothing lastly that could more vehemently incite us to take possession of our Father's Vertues, as our lawful Inheritance, than the Encouragement of so great a King. As to what concerns your Majesty's Interests, already under Consideration between us, in reference to the common Cause of the Protestants, we would have your Majesty have those Thoughts of us, that since we came to the Helm of this Republick, tho the Condition of our Affairs be such at present, that they chiefly require our utmost Diligence, Care, and Vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more Sacred, and that there is not any thing more determin'd by Us, than as much as in us
letters, never to be wanting to the League concluded by our Father with your Majesty. To that end, we have taken care to send a Fleet into the Baltic Sea, with those Instructions which our Agent, to that purpose empower'd by us, will communicate to your Majesty, whom God preserve in long Safety, and proper with Success in the Defence of his Orthodox Religion.

From our Court at Westminster,
Octob. 13. 1658.

Richard, Protector, To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and most Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

We send to your Majesty, nor could we send a Present more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble Sir George Ascue Knight, not only fam'd in War, and more especially for his Experience in Sea Affairs, approv'd and try'd in many desperate Engagements, but also endu'd with singular Probity, Modesty, Ingenuity, Learning, and for the Sweetness of his Disposition caref'sd by all Men; and which is the sum of all, now desirous to serve under the Banners of your Majesty, so renown'd o're all the World for your Military Prowes. And we would have your Majesty be fully assur'd, that whatever high Employment you confer upon him, wherein Fidelity, Fortitude, Experience, may shine forth in their true Lustre, you cannot entrust a Person more faithful, more courageous, nor easily more skilful. Moreover, as to those things we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majesty, we request that he may have quick Access, and favourable Audience, and that you will vouchsafe the same
Credit to him as to our selves, if personally present: Lastly, that you will give him that Honour as you shall judge becoming a Person dignify'd with his own Merits and our Recommendation. Now God Almighty prosper all your Affairs with happy Success, to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

*From our Court at Whitehall, October, 1658.*


*Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest*

*Friend and Confederate;*

Samuel Piggot of London Merchant, in a Petition deliver'd to Us, sets forth, that he lately sent from London into France, upon the account of Trade, two Vessels, the one call'd the Post, Tiddie Jacob Master, the other the Water-Dog, Garbrand Peters Master. That from France, being laden with Salt, they fail'd for Amsterdam; at Amsterdam the one took in Ballast only; the other laden with Herrings, in Copartnership with one Peter Heinbergh, sail'd away for Stettin in Pomerania, which is under your Jurisdiction, there to unlade her Freight; but now he hears that both those Vessels are detain'd somewhere in the Baltic Sea by your Forces; notwithstanding that he took care to send a Writing with both those Ships, seal'd with the Seal of the Admiralty Court, by which it appear'd that he alone was the lawful Owner of both the Vessels and Goods, that part excepted which belong'd to Heinbergh. Of all which, in regard he has made full proof before us, we make it our Request to your Majesty (to prevent the Ruin
and utter Shipwrack of the poor Man's Estate by the loss of two Ships at one time) that you would command your Officers to take care for the speedy discharge of the said Vessels. God long preserve your Majesty to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of Westfriesland.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

Mary Grinder Widow, in a Petition presented to us, has made a most grievous Complaint, that whereas Thomas Killegrew, a Commander in your Service, has ow'd her for these eighteen Years a considerable Sum of Money, she can by her Agents neither bring him to pay the said Money, nor to try his Title at Law to the same, if he has any. Which that he may not be compell'd to do by the Widow's Attorney, he has petition'd your Highnesses, that no body may be suffer'd to sue him for any Money that he owes in England. But should we signify no more than only this to your Highnesses, that she is a Widow, that she is in great want, the Mother of many small Children, which her Creditor endeavours to deprive of almost all that little Support they have in this World, we cannot believe we need make use of any greater Arguments to your Lordships, so well acquainted with those Divine Precepts forbidding the Oppression of the Widow and the Fatherless, to perfwade ye not to grant any such Privilege upon a bare Petition, to the fraudulent Subverter of the Widow's Right: and which for the same reason we assure our selves you will never admit.

From our Court at Westminster,

Jan. 27. 1658.
Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Confederate and Friend;

We have been given to understand, and that to our no small Grief, That several Protestant Churches in Provence were so maliciously affronted and disturb'd by a certain turbulent Humourist, that the Magistrates at Grenoble, who are the proper Judges of such Causes, thought him worthy of exemplary Punishment: But that the Convention of the Clergy which was held not far from those places obtain'd of your Majesty, that the whole matter should be remov'd up to Paris, there to be heard before your Royal Council. But they not having as yet made any Determination in the Business, those Churches, and more especially that of Yvoire, are forbid to meet for the Worship of God. Most earnestly therefore we request your Majesty, That in the first place you would not prohibit those from preaching in publick, whose Prayers to God for your Safety and the Prosperity of your Kingdom, you are so free to suffer; then that the Sentence given against that impertinent Disturber of Divine Service, by the proper Judges of those Causes at Grenoble, may be duly put in execution. God long preserve your Majesty in Safety and Prosperity; to the end that if you have any good Opinion of our Prayers, or think 'em prevalent with God, you may be speedily induc'd to suffer the same to be publickly put up to Heaven by those Churches, now forbid their wonted Meetings.

Westminster, Feb. 18. 1658.
To the most eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal;

The most illustrious Lady, late Wife of the deceased Duke of Richmond, is now going into France, together with the young Duke her Son, with an intention to reside there for some time. We therefore most earnestly request your Eminency, That if any thing fall out, wherein your Authority, Favour and Patronage may be affisting to 'em, as Strangers, you would vouchsafe to protect their Dignity, and to indulge the Recommendation of it not the meanest, in such a manner, that if any addition can be made to your Civility toward all People, especially of illustrious Descent, we may be sensible our Letters have obtain'd it. Withal, your Excellency may assure your self, your Recommendation, whenever you require the like from us, shall be of equal Force and Value in our Esteem and Care.

Westminster, Feb. 29. 1658.

Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, John, King of Portugal.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our Friend and Confederate;

Although there are many things which we are bound to impart by writing to a King our Friend, and in strict Confederacy with our Republick, yet there is nothing which we ever did more willingly, than what we do at this present, by these our Letters to congratulate this last Victory, so glorious to the Kingdom of Portugal, obtain'd against
our common Enemy the Spaniard. By which, how great an Advantage will accrue not only to your own, but to the Peace and Repose of all Europe, and that perhaps for many Years, there is no body but understands. But there is one thing more, wherein we must acknowledg your Majesty's Justice, the most certain pledg of Victory; That Satisfaction has been given by the Commissioners appointed at London, according to the 24th Article of the League, to our Merchants, whose Vessels were hir'd by the Brasile Company. Only there is one among 'em still remaining, Alexander Bence of London Merchant, whose Ship call'd the Three Brothers, John Wilks Master, being hir'd and laden, and having perform'd two Voyages for the said Company, yet still they refuse to pay him his Wages according to their Covenants; when the rest that only perform'd single Voyages are already paid. Which why it should be done, we cannot understand, unless those People think, in their Judgment, that Person more worthy of his Hire, who did 'em only single Service, than he who earn'd his Wages twice. We therefore earnestly request your Majesty, that Satisfaction may be given for his Service truly perform'd, to this same single Alexander, to whom a double Stipend is due; and that by virtue of your Royal Authority you would prefix the Brasile Company as short a day as may be, for the payment of his just due, and repairing his losses; seeing that their Delays have been the occasion that the Loss sustain'd by the Merchant has very near exceeded the Money it self which is owing for his Wages. So God continue your Majesty's prosperous Successes against the common Enemy.

From our Court at Westminster,
Feb. 23. 1658.

Most Eminent Lord;

By Letters to your Eminency, about eight Months since, dated June 13. we recommended to your Eminency the Cause of Peter Pet, a Person of singular Probity, and in all Naval Sciences most useful both to us and our Republick. His Ship call'd the Edward, in the Year 1646. as we formerly wrote, was taken in the mouth of the Thames by one Bascon, and sold in the Port of Boulogne; and though the King in his Royal Council, the 4th of November, 1647. decreed, That what Money the Council should think fitting to be given in recompence of the Loss, should be forthwith paid in Satisfaction to the Owner; nevertheless, as he sets forth, he could never reap the Benefit of that Order. Now in regard we make no question but that your Eminency, at our Desire, gave strict Command for the speedy execution of that Decree; we make it therefore our renew'd Request, that you would vouchsafe to examine where the Impediment lies, or through whose Neglect or Contumacy it came to pass, that in ten Years time the King's Decree was not obey'd; and employ your Authority so effectually, that the Money then decreed, which we thought long since satisfy'd, may be speedily demanded and paid to our Petitioner. Thus your Eminency will perform an Act most grateful to Justice, and lay moreover a singular Obligation upon our selves.

From our Court at Westminster,
Feb. 25, 1658.
The two following Letters, after the Deposition of Richard, were written in the Name of the Parliament Restor'd.


To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend;

Since it has pleas'd the most merciful and omnipotent God, at whose Disposal only the Revolutions of all Kingdoms and Republicks are, to restore us to our pristin Authority, and the suprem Administration of the English Affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place to make it known to your Majesty, and to signify moreover as well our extraordinary Affection to your Majesty, so potent a Protestant Prince, as also our most fervent Zeal to promote the Peace between your Majesty and the King of Denmark, another most powerful Protestant King, not to be reconcil'd without our Assistance and the good Offices of our Affection. Our Pleasure therefore is, that our Extraordinary Envoy Philip Meadows be continued in the same Employment with your Majesty, with which he has been hitherto entrusted from this Repubick. To which end we empower him by these our Letters to make Proposals, act and negotiate with your Majesty, in the same manner as was granted him by his last Recommendations: and whatsoever he shall transact and conclude in our Name, we faithfully promise and engage, by God's Assistance, to confirm and ratify. The same God long support your Majesty, the Pillar and Support of the Protestant Interests.

Westminster, May 15. 1659.


To the most Serene Prince Frederick, King of Denmark.

Most Serene King, and most dear Friend;

Seeing it now is come to pass, that by the Will and Pleasure of the most merciful and powerful God, the supreme Moderator of all things, we are restored to our pristine Place and Dignity, in the Administration of the Publick Affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place, that a Revolution of this Government should not be conceal'd from your Majesty's notice, a Prince both our Neighbour and Confederate; and withal, to signify how much we lay to heart your ill Success: which you will easily perceive by our Zeal and Diligence, that never shall be wanting in us to promote and accomplish a Reconciliation between your Majesty and the King of Sweden. And therefore we have commanded our Extraordinary Envoy with the most Serene King of Sweden, Philip Meadowes, to attend your Majesty, in our Name, in order to these Matters, and to impart, propound, act and negotiate such things as we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majesty: and what credit you shall give to him in this his Employment, we request your Majesty to believe it given to our selves. God Almighty grant your Majesty a happy and joyful Deliverance out of all your Difficulties and afflicting Troubles, under which you stand so undauntedly supported by your Fortitude and Magnanimity.

Westminster, May 15. 1659.

A Manifesto
Of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.

Published by Consent and Advice of his Council.

Wherein is shewn the Reasonableness of the Cause of this Republick against the Depredations of the Spaniards.

Written in Latin by John Milton, and first printed in 1655; Translated into English in 1738.

Hat the motives whereby we have been lately induced to make an attack upon certain islands in the West Indies, which have been now for some time in the hands of the Spaniards, are exceeding just and reasonable, every one will easily see, who considers in what a hostile manner that king and his subjects have all along, in those parts of America, treated the English nation; which behaviour of theirs as it was very unjust at the beginning, so ever since with the same injustice they have persevered in it, in a direct contrariety to the common law of nations, and to particular articles of alliance made betwixt the two kingdoms.
It must indeed be acknowledged, the English for some years past have either patiently borne with these injuries, or only defended themselves; which may possibly give occasion to some to look upon that late expedition of our fleet to the West Indies, as a war voluntarily begun by us, instead of considering that this war was first begun and raised by the Spaniards themselves, as in reality it will be found to be, and (though this republic have done all that lay in their power to establish peace and commerce in those parts) hitherto kept up and carried on by them with the greatest eagerness.

That the Spaniards themselves are the occasion of this war, will evidently appear to every one who considers how, as oft as they find opportunity, without any just cause, and without being provoked to it by any injury received, they are continually murdering, and sometimes even in cold blood butchering, any of our countrymen in America they think fit; while in the mean time they seize upon their goods and fortunes, demolish their houses and plantations, take any of their ships they happen to meet with in those seas, and treat the sailors as enemies, nay, even as pirates. For they give that opprobrious name to all, except those of their own nation, who venture to sail in those seas. Nor do they pretend any other or better right for so doing, than a certain ridiculous gift of the Pope on which they rely, and because they were the first discoverers of some parts of that western region: by virtue of which name and title, which they arrogate to themselves, they maintain that the whole power and government of that western world is lodged only in their hands. Of which very absurd title we shall have occasion to speak more fully, when we come to consider the causes assigned by the Spaniards for their thinking themselves at liberty to exercise all sorts of hostilities against our countrymen in America, to such
the Commonwealth of England, &c. 433

a degree, that whoever are driven upon those coasts by stress of weather or shipwreck, or any other accident, are not only clapt in chains by them as prisoners, but are even made slaves; while they, notwithstanding all this, are so unreasonable as to think, that the peace is broken, and very much violated by the English; and that even in Europe, if they attempt any thing against them in those parts, with a view to make reprisals, and to demand restitution of their goods.

But though the King of Spain’s ambassadors in our country, depending on a Spanish faction which had always a very considerable influence in the last king’s council, as well as his father’s, did not scruple to make a great many unreasonable complaints and ridiculous demands upon the most trivial accounts, whenever the English did any thing of this kind; yet those princes, though too much attached to the Spaniards, would by no means have the hands of their subjects bound up, when the Spaniards thought they should have the free use of theirs. On the contrary, they allowed their subjects to repel force by force, and to consider such of the Spaniards, as could not be brought at any rate to keep the peace in those parts, as enemies. So that about the year 1640, when this affair was debated in the last king’s council, and when the Spanish ambassador desired that some ships bound for America, lying in the mouth of the river, and just ready to weigh anchor, should be stop’d, as being capable of doing mischief to the Spaniards in that part of the world; and when at the same time he refused the English, who asked it of him by some members of the council appointed for that purpose, the privilege of trading to the West Indies, it was nevertheless resolved upon, that these ships should pursue their intended voyage, which accordingly they did.

6  F F
Thus far the aforesaid princes were not wanting to their subjects, when they made war in those places privately for their own interest, though, by reason of the power of the above mentioned Spanish faction, they would not espouse their cause publicly, in the way they ought to have done, and in a manner suitable to the ancient glory of the English nation. And certainly, it would have been the most unbecoming and disgraceful thing in the world for us, who by the kind providence of God had in our possession so many ships equipped and furnished with every thing requisite to a war by sea, to have suffered these ships rather to have grown worm-eaten and rot at home for want of use, than to have been employed in avenging the blood of the English, as well as that of the poor Indians, which in those places has been so unjustly, so cruelly, and so often shed by the hands of the Spaniards: since God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. And surely God will one time or other take vengeance on the Spaniards, who have shed so much innocent blood, who have made such terrible havoc among the poor Indians, slain so many thousands of them with the utmost barbarity, done them so many injuries, and harassed and persecuted them in such a miserable manner, whatever time that may happen, and by whose hand soever it may be executed.

But in order to justify our conduct, there is no need of having recourse to the common relation that men have to one another, which is no other than that of brethren, whereby all great and extraordinary wrongs done to particular persons ought to be considered as in a manner done to all the rest of the human race; since their having so often robbed and murdered our own countrymen was cause sufficient.
of itself, for our having undertaken that late expedi-
tion, and has given us abundant reason to avenge
ourselves on that people; to pass by at present a great
many other reasons, and to take into consideration
our own safety for the future, and likewise that of
our allies, especially those among them who are of
the orthodox religion; and to omit several other
causes, whereby we were prompted to this expedi-
tion, of which we have no need at present to give a
particular enumeration, since our principal design at
this time is to declare and shew to the world the
justice and equity of the thing itself, and not to reckon
up all the particular causes of it. And that we may
do this with the greater perspicuity, and explain
generals by particulars, we must cast our eyes back a
little upon things that are past, and strictly examine
all the transactions betwixt the English and Spaniards,
consider what has been the state of affairs on both
sides, so far as may respect the mutual relation of the
two kingdoms, both since the first discovery of America,
and since the Reformation: which two great events,
as they happened much about the same time, so they
produced every where vast changes and revolutions,
especially amongst the English and Spaniards, who
since that time have conducted and managed their
affairs in a very different, if not quite contrary, way
to what they did formerly. For though the last king
and his father, against the will of almost all their
subjects, patched up any way two leagues with the
Spaniards; yet the different turns of the two nations,
proceeding from the difference of their religious prin-
ciples, and the perpetual dissensions that were in the
West Indies, together with the jealousies and suspi-
cions which the Spaniards had all along of the Eng-
lish (being always mightily afraid of losing their
treasures in America), have not only frustrated all the
late attempts made by this Commonwealth to obtain
a peace upon reasonable and honourable terms, but were likewise the principal reasons why Philip II. in Queen Elizabeth's reign, broke that ancient league, that had subsisted so long, without any violation, betwixt this nation and his ancestors of the house of Burgundy and Castile; and having made war upon that queen, proposed to subdue this whole nation: which very thing in the year 1588 he attempted with all his might, while in the mean time he was treating about the establishment of a peace; which certainly cannot but be still deeply rooted in the minds of the English, and will not easily be extirpated. And though after that there was some kind of peace and commerce in Europe (and it was of such fort, that no Englishman durst profess his own religion within any part of the Spanish dominions, or have the Holy Bible in his house, or even aboard a ship), yet in the West Indies the Spaniard from that time has never allowed them either to enjoy peace, or to have the privilege of trading; contrary to what was expressly stipulated concerning both these things in that league of the year 1542, concluded between Henry VIII. King of England, and the Emperor Charles V., in which, peace and free commerce were expressly established between these two princes and their people, through every part of their respective dominions, through all their ports and territories, without any exception of the West Indies, which was then subject to that emperor.

But as to that article, of a peace to be maintained on the part of both nations through all the countries of the world; this is indeed plainly contained in all the treaties of peace that were ever betwixt them, nor is there any exception relating to commerce in any of these treaties, till that which was made in the year 1604, with which that in the year 1630 does perfectly agree. In which two last treaties it was
the Commonwealth of England, &c. 437

resolved upon, that both nations should have a privilege of trading in every part of one another's dominions, in all those places where, before the war between Philip II. King of Spain, and Elizabeth Queen of England, there was any commerce, according to what was usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties made before that time. These are the very individual words of those treaties, which do plainly leave the matter dubious and uncertain, and so King James was satisfied to make peace with Spain any how, since he only renewed the very same treaty which had been concluded a little before the death of Queen Elizabeth, who charged her deputies when it was in agitation, among other things, to insist warmly on having a privilege of trading to the West Indies.

But King James, who was mightily desirous of making peace with the Spaniards, was content to leave that clause so expressed, as both parties might explain it in their own way, and as they judged would be most for their own advantage; though these words, According to what is usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties, are so to be understood as it is reasonable they should, according to what in justice ought to be done, and not according to what has been done on the part of the Spaniards, to their manifest violation (which has afforded perpetual matter of complaint to the English, and has been an occasion of continual quarrels betwixt the two nations) it is most evident from the express words of ancient treaties, that the English had a privilege both of peace and commerce, through all the Spanish dominions.

Moreover, if the way of observing ancient treaties and agreements is to be taken from their manifest violation, the Spaniards have some pretence for explaining that clause, in the last treaties, as debarring the English from all manner of commerce in these
Manifesto of the Lord Protector of parts. And for all that, during one half the time that intervened betwixt the forefaid treaty in the year 1542, and the beginning of the war betwixt Philip II. and Elizabeth, so far as we can judge from the manner in which things were carried on, it would appear that trading in these places was as much allowed as prohibited. But when the Spaniards would permit no commerce at all, they and the English came from the exchange of goods to that of blows and wounds; and this not only before the war broke out betwixt Philip and Elizabeth, but likewise after a peace was made in the year 1604 by King James, and another by his son in 1630, and yet so as not to stop the course of trade through Europe. However, the King of Spain, after this late interruption of our trade, has now judged that the contests in America may be extended to Europe itself.

But we neither insist on the interpretation of treaties, nor the right of commerce by virtue of these treaties, or on any other account, as if this contest of ours with Spain were necessarily to be founded on these. This is built on the clearest and most evident reasons in the world, as will presently appear. Nevertheless, there are some things of such a nature, that though it be not so necessary to found a war upon them, yet they may very justly be obstacles to the establishing of a peace, or at least to the renewing of an alliance, in which these things are not granted, which have either been granted in former pacts, or may reasonably be expected. And this may serve as an answer to that question; Why, since we have renewed the ancient treaties we had formerly made with all other nations, we have not done the same with Spain? And may serve to convince the world, that in the articles of alliance we have not, as is objected, demanded his right eye, far less both eyes, by our refusing to be liable to the cruel and bloody In-
quisition, in those places where we have been allowed to traffic, but have only insisted upon having such a privilege of carrying on trade, as we were not to be deprived of, either by ancient treaties, or the law of nature. For though the King of Spain has assumed to himself a power of prescribing us the laws and bounds of commerce, by authority of a law made by the Pope, whereby he discharges all traffic with Turks, Jews, and other infidels:* and though under this pretence, even in time of peace, his ships of war, in other places besides the West Indies, have taken and plundered our ships; and though by the same authority of the Pope, and under pretence of a certain gift he has from him, he claims the Indians for his subjects, as if forsooth they also were subject unto him, who are neither under his authority nor protection: yet we maintain, that neither the Pope nor the King of Spain is invested with any such power, as either to rob them of their liberty, or us of the privilege of conversing and trading with them, which we have by the law of nature and nations, but especially with those who, as we formerly observed, are not under the power and government of the King of Spain.

Another obstacle to our renewing an alliance with Spain is sufficiently manifest, and at the same time very remarkable; which is this, that any of our ambassadors and public ministers who are sent into that kingdom, either for the sake of cultivating a good understanding, or about any other business, betwixt

* William Stephens of Bristol and some other London merchants, in the years 1606 and 1607, trading with those people who live on the coast of Morocco with three vessels, some ships belonging to the King of Spain that were pirating along these coasts, having come upon them in the bay of Saffia and the harbour of Santa Cruz, while they were lying at anchor, plundered them, without giving any other reason for their doing it than this, that the king their master would not allow of any commerce with infidels; and the loss these merchants sustained at that time was computed at more than 2000L.
the two Commonwealths, are altogether uncertain of their lives, the king being tied down to such opinions, as hinder him from providing for their safety against murderers, so as they may not be always in the most imminent danger; whose privileges, in order to keep up and preserve friendship between princes and Commonwealths, have by the law of nations been always considered as inviolable, and as a thing much more sacred than those altars of refuge, whose privileges, built on the authority of the Pope and the Church of Rome, have been hitherto applied to elude the force of laws and justice, which we demanded should be put in execution against the murderers of Mr. Anthony Ascham, who was sent by this Republic into Spain, to procure and establish friendship betwixt the two nations. For which barbarous murder there has never as yet been any satisfaction made, nor punishment inflicted on the authors of it, nor could this ever be obtained, though it was demanded by the Parliament;* and in their name several times urged with the greatest warmth by the

* This is evident from the Parliament's letter, signed by the hand of the Speaker, to the King of Spain, in the month of January, 1650, the words whereof are as follow. We demand of your Majesty, and insist upon it, that public justice be at length satisfied for the barbarous murder of Anthony Ascham our resident at your court, and the rather, that after we have seen condign punishment inflicted on the authors of such a detestable crime, we may be in no fear hereafter to send our ambassador to your royal court, to lay before you such things as may be equally advantageous to your Majesty and our Commonwealth. On the contrary, if we should suffer that blood, the shedding whereof was a thing in many respects so remarkably horrible, to pass unrevened, we must of necessity be partakers in that detestable crime in the sight of God, our only deliverer and the eternal fountain of our mercies, and in the eye of the whole English nation; especially if ever we should send any other of our countrymen into that kingdom, where murder is allowed to go quite unpunished. But we have so great an opinion of your Majesty, that we will not easily be brought to believe that your royal authority is subjected to any other power superior to it within your own dominions.
the Commonwealth of England, &c. 441

Council of State. And this has been hitherto one continued obstacle, and a very just one too, to the renewing of an alliance betwixt the two nations; nay, if we consider how other nations have frequently acted in like cases, it may be considered as a very just cause for a war.

But as to the disputes that have arisen in the West Indies, though we, both in the continent itself, and in the islands, have plantations as well as they, and have as good, nay, a better right to possess them, than the Spaniards have to possess theirs, and though we have a right to trade in those seas, equally good with theirs; yet without any reason, or any damage sustained, and that when there was not the least dispute about commerce, they have been continually invading our Colonies in a hostile way, killing our men, taking our ships, robbing us of our goods, laying waste our houses and fields, imprisoning and enslaving our people: this they have been doing all along till these present times, wherein they have of late engaged in an expedition against them.

For which reason, contrary to what used to be done formerly in the like case, they have detained our ships and merchants, and confiscated their goods almost every where through the Spanish dominions; so that whether we turn our eyes to America or Europe, they alone are undoubtedly to be considered as the authors of the war, and the cause of all the inconveniences and all the bloodshed with which it may possibly be attended.

There are a great many instances of the most cruel and barbarous treatment, the English have perpetually met with from the Spaniards in the West Indies; and that even in time of peace, both since the year 1604, when the peace was patched up by King James, till the time that the war broke out again, and since that last peace, which was concluded in the year 1630,
to this very day. We shall only mention a few of them.*

After a peace was concluded in the year 1605, a ship called the Mary, Ambrose Birch Commander, was trading on the north coast of Hispaniola: the master being allured with promises of a safe and free commerce, by one Father John and six of his accomplices, to go ashore to see some goods, twelve Spaniards in the mean time while going aboard to see the English goods, while the English suspecting no frauds were showing them their wares, the priest giving a signal from the shore, the Spaniards every man drew his dagger, and stabbed all the English that were in the ship, except two who leaped into the sea, and the rest ashore were put to death with an unparalleled cruelty; the master himself stript of his cloths, and fastened to a tree, was exposed naked to be bit by the flies and vermin. And after he had continued in this miserable case for the space of twenty hours, a negro hearing his groans came to the place, and as he was just on the point of expiring, stabbed him with a spear. This ship with her goods was valued at 5400l.

Another ship called the Archer was taken at St.

* As a ship called the Ulysses was trading along the coast of Guiana, the merchants and sailors happened to go ashore, by the persuasions of Berry, governor of that place, who had promised, nay, even sworn that they should receive no hurt; nevertheless there were thirty of them taken and committed to prison. Upon which the governor writes a letter to the merchant, acquainting him, that he had indeed taken thirty of his men, and that because some foreigners, who had come there to trade with them, had defrauded him of 20,000 ducats, which, if he would send him, he swore he would restore all his men, and allow him the liberty of commerce. The merchant sent him the sum he demanded, part in ready money, part in goods, which after the governor had received, he ordered all the thirty men to be fastened to trees and strangled, except the chirurgeon, who was reserved, to cure the governor of a certain disease. This ransom, together with other damages sustained there, was computed at 7000l.
the Commonwealth of England, &c. 443

Domingo, and all the sailors put to death. She was reckoned worth 1300l.

Another ship, called the Friendship of London, with her loading, was taken by Lodowic Fajard, Admiral of the Spanish fleet, all her goods confiscated, and the merchants and mariners thrown into the sea, except one boy who was reserved for a slave. This ship with her loading was estimated at 1500l.

The sailors going ashore out of another ship, called the Scorn, (the Spaniards having solemnly sworn they would do them no prejudice,) were all nevertheless bound to trees and strangled. The ship with all her goods was seized, and the merchants, to whom she belonged, lost at this time 1500l.

In the year 1606, a ship, called the Neptune, was taken at Tortuga by the Spanish guarda costas, valued at 4300l.*

The same year, another ship, called the Lark, was taken by Lodowic Fajard, and confiscated with all her loading, valued at 4570l.

Another, called the Cæsar and Pollux, was taken by the Spaniards at Florida, by whom she was confiscated, and all her sailors either killed or made slaves; for they were never heard of afterwards. This vessel with her loading was valued at 15000l.†

In the year 1608, a Plymouth ship called the Richard, commanded by Henry Challins, fitted out at the expense of Lord Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, Ferdinand Gorges, Knight, and others, to go to Virginia, happening to be driven by stress of

* John Davis lost two ships with all their goods, and the Spaniards slew all the men that were aboard of them, to the entire loss of that voyage, and this was computed at 3500l.

† Another ship belonging to some London merchants, John Lock commander, was taken by the Spanish fleet, at the isle of Tortuga, because she had been trading there, and had felled some trees; for this she was confiscated, most of the sailors put to death, and the rest condemned to the galleys. This was esteemed a loss of 5300l.
weather upon the southern part of the Canary Islands, in her way from thence to the coast of Virginia, she chanced to fall in with eleven Spanish ships returning from St. Domingo, who seized her; and though the captain, to rescue himself out of their hands, produced a royal pass-port, yet the ship with all her goods was confiscated, the captain himself barbarously used by them and sent to the galleys. This was a damage of more than 2500l.

A ship, called the Aid, was served much the same way by Lodowic Fajard, having been taken under pretence of friendship; she too with her goods was confiscated, and all the sailors sent to the galleys, where some were cudgelled to death for refusing to ply the oars. Which vessel with her goods, by the Spaniards' own estimation, was worth 7000l.

The same year another ship, called the Gallant Anne, William Curry Commander, as she was trading at Hispaniola, was likewise confiscated with all her goods, and all the sailors hanged; each of them, by way of ridicule, having a piece of paper sewed to his coat, which had these words written upon it, Why came ye hither? This ship with her burden was valued at 8000l. These instances do sufficiently show what kind of peace the Spaniards maintained with us during the reign of King James, who was always very much afraid of breaking the peace with them. And we may also plainly discover the same acts of hostility and barbarous treatment ever since the last peace, which was made in the year 1630, to this very day. For this end we will first speak a little of those colonies, that were planted by some noblemen of this nation, in the isle of Catelina, which they call the isle of Providence, and the island of Tortuga, by them called the isle of Association. These islands about the year 1629, being then quite uninhabited, having neither men nor cattle in them, were seized by the English, who at that time were at war
the Commonwealth of England, &c. 445

with the Spaniards. The year following, when peace was established betwixt the two nations, the Spaniards having made no exception about these islands, King Charles, in a charter under the great-seal of England, declared himself master of the isle of Providence and some other islands adjacent to it, which he thought no way inconsistent with this peace, and gave them in possession to some noblemen and their heirs, and next year he extended this grant to the isle of Tortuga.

And though the above-mentioned planters had got possession of these islands by the king's grant, and though this grant was exceeding well founded, first on the law of nature, since neither the Spaniards, nor any other people whatever, were in possession of these places when they seized them; and secondly, on the right of war, since they were taken possession of in time of war, and were not excepted in the articles of peace, whence it follows from the second article of the last treaty, that the title of the Spaniards to these islands (even supposing they had had one) was made null by their own consent: and though likewise, neither the aforesaid company of planters in general, nor any one of them in particular by any action of theirs, had given any just cause of offence, either to the King of Spain or to any of his subjects, till they had first in a violent manner attacked our ships and colonies, and had slain several of the English, and set fire to their houses: yet the Spaniards, being firmly resolved to break the peace in these places, about the 22nd of January 1632, without any the least provocation, betwixt the isle of Tortuga and the Cape of Florida, in a hostile manner fell upon a certain ship belonging to the Company, called the Sea-Flower, on her return from the isle of Providence, in which engagement they slew some of the men aboard that ship, and wounded others.

After this, about the year 1634, the isle of Tor-
tuga was attacked by four ships belonging to the Spaniards, without any injury done on the part of the English, in which attack upwards of sixty were slain, many wounded and taken prisoners, their houses burnt down and quite demolished, their most valuable goods carried off by the Spaniards, and the English almost wholly driven out of that island; of whom some were hanged, others carried to the Havanna, and detained in the most abject slavery. One Grymes, who had been a gunner in Tortuga, was distinguished from the rest, by a death remarkably cruel. Some of them flying for refuge to a certain desert island called Santa Cruz, were again set upon by the Spaniards, who even pursued them thither with three galleys in the month of March 1636, of whom forty were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, and used with the utmost barbarity.

In the year 1635, July 24th, the Spaniards, with two great ships and one galley, made likewise an attack upon the isle of Providence, and they fought for several hours, but at that time they were repulsed and forced to give over their enterprise. However, they attempted the same thing a second time, about the year 1640, with twelve ships, some large, and some of a lesser size, whereof the admiral's ship was called the Armadillo of Carthagena, one of the greater galleys of the royal plate-fleet, and having sent a great number of soldiers ashore, they were confident of making themselves masters of the whole island; but yet were repulsed with a great deal of damage, and forced to retreat. Nevertheless, having equipped another fleet, they returned a little after, when the planters, at variance among themselves, did not so much employ their thoughts about what method they should take to defend themselves, as about the terms upon which they might most advantageously surrender; which terms, upon their giving up the island,
they found no difficulty to obtain. But the island was by this means wrested out of the hands both of
the planters and the Commonwealth, of whom the
former sustained the loss of more than 80,000l. and
the latter, besides the loss of the island, hereby received
a very open and public affront. After the Spaniards
had thus made themselves masters of the isle of Pro-
vidence, a ship bringing some passengers hither, who
wanted to transport themselves to this place from
New-England, the Spaniards by stratagem having
found means to get her brought within gun-shot, (the
people in the ship knowing nothing of their late con-
quiest of that island,) she was in great danger of being
taken, and with very much difficulty rescued herself;
the master of the ship, a very honest and worthy man,
was killed by a bullet-shot from the island.

Nor were the Spaniards content to confine the acts
of hostility, which they have exercised upon the
people of that colony, within the boundaries of Ame-
rica, but have also treated them in the same hostile
manner in Europe. For in the year 1638, December
25th, a ship belonging to that same Company, called
the Providence, Thomas Newman Commander, two
leagues from Dungeness on the very coast of England,
was assaulted and taken by Sprengfeld, captain of a
privateer belonging to Dunkirk, to which place this
ship was brought, and her cargo detain'd, which
even by the computation of many persons in that
place, was reckoned to amount to the sum of 30,000l.
As for the sailors, some were slain, some wounded,
and the rest, after having been treated with the
greatest inhumanity in their own ship, were hurried
away to Dunkirk, where they met with much the
same usage, till they found some way to make their
escape; and though the owners demanded satisfaction
in the most earnest manner, and the last king by his
resident Mr. Balthaser Gerber, and both by letters
written with his own hand, and the hand of Secretary Coke, asked reparation on their behalf; yet they could neither procure the restitution of their goods, nor the least compensation for these losses.

But there are other examples of the Spanish cruelty, which are of a later date, and still more shocking; such as that of their coming from Porto Rico and attacking Santa Cruz about the year 1651, an island that was not formerly inhabited, but at that time possessed by an English colony governed by Nicol. Philips, who with about an hundred more of the colony was barbarously murdered by the hands of the Spaniards, who besides this attacked the ships in the harbour, plundered their houses and razed them from the very foundation; and when they could find no more to sacrifice to their fury (the rest of the inhabitants having fled to the woods), returning to Porto Rico, they gave the miserable remnant, who were well nigh famished, time to remove from Santa Cruz, and to betake themselves to some other neighbouring islands. But a little time thereafter, they returned in quest and pursuit of those who skulked in the woods; but they had the good fortune to find a way of making their escape, and stealing away privately to other islands.

In the same year 1631, a ship belonging to John Turner being driven into the harbour of Cumanagola by tempestuous winds, was seized by the governor of that place, and confiscated with all her lading.

The same was done to Captain Cranley's ship and her goods.*

And in the year 1650, a certain vessel pertaining to Samuel Wilson, laden with horses, was taken on the high seas in her way to Barbadoes, and carried to

* And also to one belonging to John Bland, commanded by Nicol. Philips, in the very same harbour.
the Commonwealth of England, &c. 449

the Havanna. Both the ship and her goods were confiscated, most of the sailors imprisoned, and like slaves obliged to work at the fortifications.

The same hardships were endured by the sailors aboard a certain ship of Barnstable about two years since, which in her return from some of our plantations in the Carribee Islands, springing a leak hard by Hispaniola, the sailors to save themselves, being obliged to get into the long boat, got ashore, where they were all made slaves, and obliged to work at the fortifications.

By these, and many more examples of the same kind too long to be reckoned up, it is abundantly evident, the King of Spain and his subjects think they are no way bound by any condition of peace to be performed to us on their part in these places, since they have habitually exercised all sorts of hostilities against us, nay have even done such things as are more insufferable, and more grievous, than open acts of hostility; and since that cruelty, with which they usually treat the English in America, is so contrary to the articles of peace, that it does not so much as seem suitable to the laws of the most bloody war: however, in that embargo of the King of Spain, by which he orders our merchant ships and their goods to be seized and confiscated, the whole blame is laid upon the English, whom he brands with the odious names of treaty-breakers and violaters of the most sacred peace, and likewise of free commerce, which he pretends to have so religiously maintained on his part, and gives out that we have violated the laws of peace and commerce with such strange and professed hostility, that we attempted to besiege the town of St. Domingo in the isle of Hispaniola. Which is the only cause he offers, why the goods of the English are confiscated in Spain, and the trading people confined; though this is likewise aggravated by his boasted
Manifsto of the Lord Protector of humanity; for he maintains that he in the most friendly way received our fleets into his harbours,* where it could be of any advantage for them to enter, and that his ministers did not at all require of us a strict observance of the articles of peace, that were agreed to by the two crowns, which forbids both parties to enter a harbour with more than six or eight ships of war.

But as he, by talking in this strain, acquits our fleets of all trespasses and violations of treaty in these harbours, since if any such thing as is objected has been done and passed over, it has been done by the allowance of himself and his ministers; and as it is exceeding manifest, that he has not been so favourable for nought, if he will but reflect with himself what vast profits he has received from our fleets, so on the other hand, that the king and his ministers have not at all in fact observed the agreements he speaks of, in the twenty-third article of which, the following provision is made in the most express terms; That if any differences should happen to arise betwixt the two Commonwealths, the subjects on both sides should be advertised, that they should have six months from the time of the advertisement to transport their effects, during which time there should be no arrest, interrupting, or damaging, of any man's person or goods. In which affair, that king truly has shown but very little regard to those contracts, which he charges us with having broken, as appears from that late confiscation of our

* But Swanley, our admiral, was not so civilly treated in Sicily, in the harbour of Drepano, when in the year 1653, about the month of June, his ship called the Henry Bonaventure, together with a large and very rich Dutch ship called the Peter, which he had taken, was by the treachery of the Spanish governor in that place, taken by seven Dutch ships, under the command of the younger Trump in the very harbour, no further than a small gun's shot from the bulwarks, whereby the merchants, to whom that ship belonged, lost more than 63,000l.
goods. But what he declares in that edict concerning the acts of hostility committed in the West Indies, their being to be considered as a violation of peace and free commerce in these parts, is a new and quite different explanation from what has ever been pronounced hitherto by either of the two Republics, though both parties have frequently had occasions to declare their judgment about this matter.

But seeing the King of Spain has declared both by word and deed, that the articles of peace ought to be thus understood, it follows, that by so many acts of hostility committed against the English in these parts, and which first began on his side, and have been continued from the very time of the last concluded treaty, as was formerly observed, to this very day; hence I say it follows, that he seems to be convinced, that the sacred bonds of friendship have been first broken on his side. Which thing is so clear and manifest, that our adversaries themselves in this controversy are ashamed to deny the fact, and choose rather to dispute with us concerning the right of possession; which must be in the following manner; as the King of Spain, among his other titles, has assumed that of King of the Indies, so they affirm, that the whole Indies and Indian Sea, both south and north, belong to him, and that they are all enemies and pirates, who approach these places without his commission. Which if it were true, both we and all other nations ought to leave and restore to him all our possessions there, and having brought back whatever colonies we have sent thither, should beg his pardon for the injury we have done him; but if we consider a little more narrowly the truth and reasonableness of this title, we shall find that it is built upon a very slender and weak foundation, to have such a vast pile of war and contentions erected upon it, as the present is likely to be. They pretend to
have a double title, one founded upon the Pope’s gift, and another upon their having first discovered those places. As to the first, we know the Pope has been always very liberal in his gifts of kingdoms and countries, but in the mean time we cannot but think, that in so doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whose vicar he professes himself, who would not so much as allow himself to be appointed a judge in the dividing of inheritances, far less give any one whole kingdoms at his pleasure, like the Pope, who has thought fit to make a present of England, Ireland, and some other kingdoms.

But we deny his being invested with any such authority, nor do we think there is any nation so void of understanding, as to think that so great power is lodged in him, or that the Spaniards would believe this or acquiesce in it, if he should require them to yield up as much as he has bestowed. But if the French and others, who acknowledge the Pope’s authority in ecclesiastical matters, have no regard to this title of the Spaniards, it cannot be expected we should think of it any otherwise. And so we leave this point, as not deserving a fuller answer.

Nor is the other title of any greater weight, as if the Spaniards in consequence of their having first discovered some few parts of America, and given names to some islands, rivers, and promontories, had for this reason lawfully acquired the government and dominion of that new world. But such an imaginary title founded on such a silly pretence, without being in possession, cannot possibly create any true and lawful right. The best right of possession in America is that, which is founded on one’s having planted colonies there, and settled in such places as had either no inhabitants, or by the consent of the inhabitants, if there were any; or at least, in some of the wild and uncultivated places of their country, which they
were not numerous enough to replenish and improve; since God has created this earth for the use of men, and ordered them to replenish it throughout.

If this be true, as the Spaniards will be found to hold their possessions there very unjustly, having purchased all of them against the will of the inhabitants, and as it were plucked them out of their very bowels, having laid the foundations of their empire in that place, in the blood of the poor natives, and rendered several large islands and countries, that were in a tolerable case when they found them, so many barren desarts, and rooted out all the inhabitants there; so the English hold their possessions there by the best right imaginable, especially those islands where the Spaniards have fallen upon their colonies, and quite demolished them; which islands had no other inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all slain by the Spaniards, who had likewise deserted these places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them: so that by the law of nature and nations they belong to any who think fit to take possession of them, according to that common and well-known maxim in law, *Such things as belong to none, and such as are abandoned by their former possessors, become his property who first seizes them.* Although, granting we had beat the Spaniards out of those places where we have planted our colonies, out of which they had at first expelled the inhabitants, we should have possessed them with better right, as the avengers of the murder of that people, and of the injuries sustained by them, than the Spaniards their oppressors and murderers. But since we have settled our colonies in such places as were neither possessed by the natives nor the Spaniards, they having left behind them neither houses nor cattle, nor any thing that could by any means keep up the right of possession, the justness of our title to these places was so much the
more evident, and the injuries done us by the Spaniards so much the more manifest, especially our right to those places that were seized while the two nations were at war with each other, such as the isles of Providence and Tortuga, which if the Spaniards could have shown to be theirs, by any former title which they have not yet produced, yet since they have not done it in the last treaty of peace, by the second article of this treaty, they have for the future cut themselves off from all such pretence, and if they had any right, have now lost it. It is unnecessary to talk any further upon this argument.

There is no intelligent person but will easily see how empty and weak those reasons are, that the Spaniard has for claiming to himself alone an empire of such a vast and prodigious extent. But we have said this much, in order to show the weakness of those pretences, whereby the Spaniards endeavour to justify themselves for having treated us with so much cruelty and barbarity in the West Indies, for having enslaved, hanged, drowned, tortured, and put to death our countrymen, robbed them of their ships and goods, and demolished our colonies, even in the time of profound peace, and that without any injury received on their part; which cruel usage and havoc, made among our people, and such as were of the same orthodox faith with them, as oft as the English call to remembrance, they cannot miss to think that their former glory is quite gone, and their ships of war become entirely useless, if they suffer themselves to be any longer treated in such a disgraceful manner: and moreover, to be not only excluded from all free commerce in so great and opulent a part of the world, but likewise to be looked upon as pirates and robbers, and punished in the same manner as they, if they presume to sail in those seas, or so much as look that way; or, in fine, have any intercourse or dealing even with our own colonies that are settled there.
Concerning the bloody Spanish Inquisition we shall say nothing, this being a controversy common to all Protestants, nor shall we speak of the many seminaries of English priests and Jesuits nestling under the protection of the Spaniards, which is a perpetual cause of stumbling, and very great danger to the Commonwealth; since what we principally propose is, to shew the grounds and reasons of the controversies in the West Indies, and we are confident we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that necessity, honour, and justice, have prompted us to undertake this late expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to war with the Spaniards, since they will not allow us to be at peace with them: and then honour, and justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such unsufferable injuries to be done our countrymen, as those we have shown to have been done them in the West Indies.

And truly they see but a very little way, who form their notion of the designs and intentions of the Spaniards, according to that friendly aspect, with which the present declension of their affairs has obliged them to look upon us in these parts of the world, (that face which they have put on being only a false one,) for it is certain they have the same mind, and the very same desires, which they had in the year 1588, when they endeavoured to subdue this whole island; nay, it is certain their hatred is more inflamed, and their jealousies and suspicions more increased by this change of the state of our affairs, and of the form of our Republic. But if we omit this opportunity, which by reason of some things that have lately happened, may perhaps give us an occasion to fall upon some way, whereby through the assistance of God we may provide for our safety, against this old and implacable enemy of our religion and country; it may
happen, he will recover such a degree of strength, as will render him as formidable and hard to be endured as before. One thing is certain, he always will and cannot but have the greatest indignation against us. Meanwhile, if we suffer such grievous injuries to be done our countrymen in the West Indies, without any satisfaction or revenge; if we suffer ourselves to be wholly excluded from that so considerable a part of the world; if we suffer our malicious and inveterate enemy (especially now, after he has made peace with the Dutch) to carry off without molestation, from the West Indies, those prodigious treasures, whereby he may repair his present damages, and again bring his affairs to such a prosperous and happy condition, as to deliberate with himself a second time, what he was thinking upon in the year 1588; namely, whether it would be more adviseable to begin with subduing England, in order to recover the United Provinces, or with them, in order to reduce England under his subjection; without doubt he will not find fewer, but more, causes why he should begin with England. And if God should at any time permit those intentions of his to have their desired effect, we have good ground to expect, that the residue of that cruel havoc, he made among our brethren at the foot of the Alps, will be first exercised upon us, and after that upon all Protestants; which, if we may give credit to the complaints that were made by those poor orthodox Christians, was first designed and contrived in the court of Spain, by those friers whom they call missionaries.

All these things being considered, we hope the time will come, when all, but especially true Englishmen, will rather lay aside their private animosities among themselves, and renounce their own proper advantages, than through an excessive desire of that small profit to be made by trading to Spain (which
cannot be obtained but upon such conditions as are
dishonourable and in some sort unlawful, and which
may likewise be got some other way;) expose, as they
now do, to the utmost danger, the souls of many
young traders, by those terms upon which they now
live and trade there, and suffer the lives and fortunes
of many Christian brethren in America, and in fine,
the honour of this whole nation, to be exposed, and,
what of all is the most momentous and important, let
slip out of their hands the most noble opportunities
of promoting the glory of God, and enlarging the
bounds of Christ's kingdom: which, we do not doubt,
will appear to be the chief end of our late expedition
into the West Indies against the Spaniards, to all who
are free of those prejudices which hinder people
from clearly discerning the truth.
A Declaration,
Or, Letters Patents for the Election
Of this present King of Poland
John the Third,

Elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Dom. 1674.

CONTAINING

The Reasons of this Election, the great Vertues and Merits of the said Serene Elect, his eminent Services in War, especially in his last great Victory against the Turks and Tartars, wherof many Particulars are here related, not published before.

Now faithfully translated from the Latin Copy.

In the Name of the most Holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

E Andrew Trezebicki, Bishop of Cracovia, Duke of Severia, John Gembicki of Uladislaup and Pomerania, &c. Bishops to the number of Ten.
STANISLAUS WARSZYCKI, Castellan of Cracovia; ALEXANDER MICHAEL LUBOMIRSKI of Cracovia, &c. Palatins to the number of 23.
A Declaration, &c.

CHRISTOPHERUS GRZYMALTOWSKI of Pofnania, ALEXANDER GRATUS de Tarnow of Sandimer: Castellans to the number of 24.

HILAREUS POLUBINSKI, High Marshal of the great Dukedom of Lituania, CHRISTOPHERUS PAC, High-Chancellor of the great Dukedom of Lituania, Senators and great Officers, to the number of 75.

WE Declare by these our present Letters unto all and single Persons whom it may concern: Our Commonwealth being again left widowed by the unseasonable Death of that famous MICHAEL late King of Poland, who having scarce reigned full five years, on the tenth day of November, of the year last past, at Leopolis, changed his fading Crown for one Immortal; in the sense of so mournful a Funeral and fresh Calamity, yet with an undaunted Courage, mindful of her self in the midst of Dangers, forbore not to seek Remedies, that the World may understand she grows in the midst of her losses; it pleased her to begin her Counsels of preserving her Country, and delivering it from the utmost chances of an Inter-reign, from the Divine Deity (as it were by the only motion of whose Finger, it is easie that Kingdoms be transferred from Nation to Nation, and Kings from the lowest State to Thrones); and therefore the business was begun according to our Country-Laws, and Ancestors Institutions. After the Convocation of all the States of the Kingdom ended, in the month of February at Warsaw, by the common consent of all those States, on the day decreed for the Election the 20th of April: At the report of this famous Act, as though a Trumpet had been founded, and a Trophy of Vertue erected, the wishes and desires of Forein Princes came forth of their own accord into the Field of the Polonian Liberty, in a famous strife of Merits and good-will towards the Commonwealth, every one
Declaration for the Election

bringing thir Ornaments, Advantages and Gifts to the Commonwealth: but the Commonwealth becoming more diligent by the prodigal ambition used in the last Interreign and Factions, and disagreeings of minds, nor careless of the future, considered with her self whether firm or doubtful things were promised, and whether she should seem from the present state to transfer both the old and new Honours of Poland into the possession of strangers, or the military Glory, and thir late unheard of Victory over the Turks, and Blood spilt in the war, upon the purple of some unwarlike Prince; as if any one could so soon put on the love of the Country, and that Poland was not so much an enemy to her own Nation and Fame, as to favour strangers more than her own; and Valour being found in her, she should suffer a Guest of new Power to wax proud in her: therefore she thenceforth turned her thoughts upon som one in her own Nation, and at length abolished (as she began in the former Election) that reproach cast upon her, under pretence of a secret Maxim, That none can be elected King of Poland, but such as are born out of Poland; neither did she seek long among her Citizens whom she should prefer above the rest (for this was no uncertain or suspended Election, there was no place for delay); for although in the equality of our Nobles many might be elected, yet the vertue of a Hero appeared above his equals: therefore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine instinct turned upon the High Marshal of the Kingdom, Captain of the Army, John Sobieski. The admirable vertue of the Man, the High Power of Marshal in the Court, with his supreme command in Arms, Senatorial Honour, with his civil Modesty, the extraordinary Splendor of his Birth and Fortune, with open Courtesie, Piety towards God, Love to his Fellow-Citizens in words and deeds, Constancy,
of John III. King of Poland.

Faithfulness, and Clemency towards his very enemies, and what noble things soever can be said of a Hero, did lay such Golden Chains on the Minds and Tongues of all, that the Senate and People of Poland and of the great Dukedom of Lithuania, with Suffrages and agreeing Voices named and chose him thir King; not with his seeking or precipitate counsel, but with mature Deliberations continued and extended till the third day.

Certainly it conduced much for the honour of the most serene Elect, the Confirmation of a free Election, and the eternal praise of the People electing, that the great business of an Age was not transacted in one day, or in the shadow of the night, or by one casual heat: for it was not right that a Hero of the Age should in a moment of time (and as it were by the cast of a Die) be made a King, when as Antiquity by an antient Proverb has delivered, that Hercules was not begot in one night; and it hath taught that Election should shine openly under a cleer Sky in the open Light.

The most serene Elect took it modestly that his Nomination should be deferred till the third day, plainly shewing to endeavour, left his sudden facility of assent being suspected, might detract from thir Judgment, and the World might be enforced to believe by a more certain Argument, that he that was so chosen was elected without his own ambition, or the envy of corrupted Liberty; or was it by the appointed Counsel of God that this debate continued three whole days, from Saturday till Munday, as if the Cotimian Victory (begun on the Saturday, and at length on the third day after accomplished, after the taking of the Cotimian Castle) had been a lucky presage of his Royal Reward; or, as if with an auspicious Omen, the third day of Election had alluded to the Regal name of John the Third.
The famous Glory of War paved his way to the Crown, and confirmed the favour of Suffrages to his most serene Elect. He the first of all the Polonians shewed that the Scythian swiftness (troublesom here-tofore to all the Monarchies of the World) might be repressed by a standing Fight, and the terrible main Battalion of the Turk might be broken and routed at one stroke. That we may pass by in silence the antient Rudiments of Warfare which he stoutly and gloriously managed under the Conduct and Authority of another, against the Swedes, Moscovites, Borussians, Transylvanians, and Cossacks: though about sixty Cities taken by him from the Cossacks be less noised in the mouth of Fame; yet these often and prosperous Battels were a Prelude to greatest Victories in the memory of man. Miriads of Tartars had over-run within this six years with thir plundering Troops the Coast of Podolia, when a small force and som shattered Legions were not sufficient against the hostile assault, yet our General knowing not to yield, shut himself up (by a new stratagem of War) in Pod-hajecy, a strait Castle, and fortified in haste; wherby he might exclude the cruel destruction which was hastening into the bowels of the Kingdom, by which means the Barbarian deluded and routed, took Conditions of Peace; as if he had made his inroad for this only purpose, that he might bring to the most serene Elect matter of Glory, Victory.

For these four last years the famous Victories of Sobietski have signalized every year of his warlike Command on the Cossacks and Tartarians both joined together, the most strong Province of Braclavia, as far as it lies between Hypanis and Tyral, with thir Cities and warlike people, were won from the Cossack Enemy.

And those things are beyond belief which two years ago the most serene Elect, after the taking of
Camenick (being undaunted by the Siege of Leopolis) performed to a miracle by the hardnefs and fortitude of the Polonian Army, scarce consisting of three thousand men, in the continual course of five days and nights, sustaining life without any food, except wild herbs; setting upon the Tartarians, he made famous the names of Narulum, Niemicrovia, Konarnum, Kalufia, obscure Towns before, by a great Overthrow of the Barbarians. He flew three Sultans of the Crim Tartars, descended of the royal Gietian Family, and so trampled on that great force of the Scythians, that in these later years they could not regain thir Courage, or recollect the Forces. But the felicity of this last Autumn exceeded all his Victories; when-as the Fortifications at Chocimum, famous of old, were posseffed and fortified by above forty thousand Turks, in which three and forty years ago the Polonians had sustaied and repreffed the Forces of the Ottoman Family, drawn together out of Asia, Africa, and Europe, fell to the ground within a few hours, by the only (under God) imperatorious Valour and Prudence of Sobietfki; for he counted it his chief part to go about the Watches, order the Stations, and personally to inftect the preparations of warlike Ordinance, to encourage the Soldiers with voice, hands, and countenance, wearied with hunger, badnefs of weather, and three days standing in Arms; and he (which is moft to be admired) on Foot at the head of the Foot-forces made through, and forced his way to the Battery, hazarding his life devoted to God and his Country; and therupon made a cruel slaughter within the Camp and Fortifications of the Enemy; while the desperation of the Turks whetted thir valour, and he performed the part of a moft provident and valiant Captain: at which time three Bashaws were lain, the fourth scarce passed with difficulty the swift River of Tyras; eight thousand
Declaration for the Election

Janizaries, twenty thousand chosen Spahies, besides the more common Souldiers were cut off; the whole Camp with all thir Ammunition, and great Ordnance, besides the Assyrian and Phrygian Wealth of luxurious Asia, were taken and pillaged; the famous Castle of Cotimia, and the Bridg over Tyras, strong Fortresses, equal to Castles on each side the River, were additions to the Victory. Why therefore should not such renown'd Heroic Valour be crowned with the legal reward of a Diadem? All Christendom have gôn before us in example, which being arrived to the recovery of Jerusalem under the conduct of Godfrey of Bulloin, on thir own accord gave him that Kingdom, for that he first scaled the walls of that City. Our most serene Elect is not inferior, for he first also ascended two main Fortresses of the Enemy.

The moment of time adorns this Victory unheard of in many ages, the most serene King Michael dying the day before, as it were signifying therby that he gave way to so great Valour, as if it were by his command and favour, that this Conqueror might so much the more gloriously succeed from the Helmet to the Crown, from the Commander's Staff to the Scepter, from his lying in the Field to the Regal Throne.

The Commonwealth recalled the grateful and never to be forgotten memory of his renowned Father, the most Illustrious and excellent James Sobietzki, Castellan of Cracovia, a Man to be written of with sedulous care, who by his Golden Eloquence in the publick Councls, and by his hand in the Scene of War, had so often amplified the State of the Commonwealth, and defended it with the Arms of his Family. Neither can we believe it happened without Divine Providence, that in the same place wherein forty years ago his renowned Father, Em-
of John III. King of Poland.

bassador of the Polonian Commonwealth, had made Peace and Covnants with Cimanus the Turkish General, his great Son should revenge with his Sword the Peace broke (Heaven it self upbraiding the perfidious Enemy). The rest of his Grandfires and Great-Grandfires, and innumerable Names of famous Senators and great Officers have as it were brought forth light to the serene Elect by the emulous Greatneas and Glory of his Mother's descent, especially Stanislaus Zelkiewius, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, and General of the Army, at whose Grave in the Neighbouring fields, in which by the Turkish rage in the year 1620 he died, his victorious Nephew took full revenge by so remarkable an overthrow of the Enemy: The immortal valour and fatal fall of his most noble Uncle Stanislaus Danilovitus, in the year 1635, Palatin of Russia, doubled the Glory of his Ancestors; whom desirous of Honour, and not enduring that sluggifh Peace wherein Poland then slept secure, Valour and youthful Heat accited at his own expence and private forces into the Tauric fields; that by his footing, and the antient warlike Polonian Disciplin, he might lead and point the way to these merits of Sobietski, and being slain by Cantimiz the Tartarian Cham, in revenge of his Son by him slain, he might by his Noble Blood give lustre to this Regal Purple. Neither hath the people of Poland forgot the most illustrious Marcus Sobietski elder Brother of our most serene Elect, who when the Polonian Army at Batto was routed by the Barbarians, although occasion was offer'd him of escape, yet chose rather to die in the overthrow of such valiant men, a Sacrifice for his Country, then to buy his life with a dishonourable retreat; perhaps the divine Judgment so disposing, whose order is, that persons pass away and fail, and causes and events happen again the same; that by
the repeated fate of the Huniades, the elder Brother of great hopes removed by a lamented slaughter, might leave to his younger Brother surviving the readier passage to the Throne. That therefore which we pray may be happy, auspicious, and fortunate to our Orthodox Commonwealth, and to all Christendom, with free and unanimous Votes, none opposing, all consenting and applauding, by the right of our free Election, notwithstanding the absence of those which have been called and not appeared; We being led by no private respect, but having only before our eyes the Glory of God, the increase of the antient Catholic Church, the safety of the Commonwealth, and the dignity of the Polish Nation and Name, have thought fit to elect, create, and name, JOHN in Zolkiew and Zloczew Sobietski, Supreme Marshal General of the Kingdom, General of the Armies, Governour of Neva, Bara, Strya, Loporovient, and Kaluffen, most eminently adorned with so high endowments, merits and splendor, to be KING of Poland, Grand-Duke of Lituania, Russia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Kyovia, Volhinnia, Poldachia, Podolia, Livonia, Smolenjo, Severia, and Czerniechovia, as we have elected, created, declared, and named him: I the aforesaid Bishop of Cracovia (the Archiepiscopal See being vacant) exercizing the Office and Authority of Primat, and by consent of all the States thrice demanded, opposed by none, by all and every one approved, conclude the Election; promising faithfully that we will always perform to the same most serene and potent Elect Prince, Lord John the third, our King, the same Faith, Subjection, Obedience, and Loyalty, according to our Rights and Liberties, as we have performed to his blessed Ancestor, as also that we will crown the same most serene Elect in the next Assembly at Cracovia, to that end ordained, as our true King and Lord, with
the Regal Diadem, with which the Kings of Poland were wont to be crown'd, and after the manner which the Roman Catholic Church before-time hath observed in anointing and inaugurating Kings, We will anoint and inaugurate him: Yet so as he shall hold fast and observe first of all the Rights, Immunities both Ecclesiastical and Secular, granted and given to us by his Ancestor of blessed memory; as also these Laws which we our selves in the time of this present and former Inter-reign, according to the Right of our Liberty, and better preservation of the Commonwealth, have established. And if moreover the most Serene Elect will bind himself by an Oath to perform the conditions concluded with those persons sent by his Majesty before the exhibition of this present Decree of Election, and will provide in best manner for the performance of them by his authentic Letters; which Decree of Election we by Divine aid desirous to put in execution, do send by common consent, to deliver it into the hands of the most Serene Elect, the most illustrious and reverend Lord Bishop of Cracovia, together with some Senators and chief Officers, and the illustrious and magnificent Benedictus Sapieha, Treasurer of the Court of the Great Dukedom of Lituania, Marshal of the Equestrian Order; committing to them the same Decree of intimating an Oath, upon the aforesaid premises, and receiving his Subscription; and at length to give and deliver the same Decree into the hands of the said Elect, and to act and perform all other things which this Affair requires. In assurance whereof the Seals of the Lords Senators, and those of the Equestrian Order deputed to sign, are here affixed.

Given by the hands of the most illustrious and reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Andrew Olszowski, Bishop of Culma and Pomisania, High Chancel-
lor of the Kingdom, in the general ordinary Assembly of the Kingdom, and great Dukedom of *Lituania*, for the Election of the new King. *Warsaw* the 22d day of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1674.

In the presence of *Franciscus Pražmouski*, Provost of *Guesna*, Abbot of *Sieciethovia*, chief Secretary of the Kingdom; *Joannes Malachowski*, Abbot of *Mogila*, Referendary of the Kingdom, &c. with other great Officers of the Kingdom and Clergy, to the number of fourscore and two. And the rest very many great Officers, Captains, Secretaries, Courtiers, and Inhabitants of the Kingdom, and Great Dukedom of *Lituania*, gathered together at *Warsaw* to the present Assembly of the Election of the Kingdom and great Dukedom of *Lituania*.

Assistants at the solemn Oath taken of his sacred Majesty on the 5th day of the Month of *June*, in the Palace at *Warsaw*, after the Letters Patents delivered upon the Covenants, and Agreements, or Capitulations, the most Reverend and Excellent Lord *Francisco Bonvifi*, Archbishop of *Theffalonica*, Apostolick Nuntio; Count *Christopherus a Scaffgotsch*, *Caecareus Tuscanus de Forbin, de Jafon*, Bishop of *Marsetilles* in France, *Joannes* free-barron *Hoeverbec*, from the Marquefs of *Brandenburg*, Embassador, and other Envoyes and Ministers of State.
A Brief History of Moscovia,
and of other less known Countries
lying Eastward of Russia as far as Cathay.
Gather'd from the Writings of
several Eye-witnesses.

The Preface.

The study of Geography is both profitable
and delightful; but the Writers therof,
though some of them exact enough insert-
ting down Longitudes and Latitudes, yet
in those other relations of Manners, Religion, Go-
vernment, and such like, accounted Geographical,
have for the most part miss'd their proportions. Some
too brief and deficient satisfy not; others too volumi-
 nous and impertinent cloy and weary out the
Reader, while they tell long Stories of absurd Super-
fictions, Ceremonies, quaint Habits, and other petty
Circumstances little to the purpose. Wherby that
which is useful, and only worth observation, in such
a wood of words, is either overflipp'd, or soon forgot-
ten; which perhaps brought into the mind of some
men more learned and judicious, who had not the
leisure or purpose to write an entire Geography, yet
at least to assay something in the description of one
or two Countries, which might be as a Pattern or
Example to render others more cautious herafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induc'd Paulus Jovius to describe only Moscovy and Britain. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with Moscovy, as being the most northern Region of Europe reputed civil; and the more northern parts thereof, first discovered by English Voyages. Wherin I saw I had by much the advantage of Jovius. What was scatter'd in many Volumes, and observ'd at several times by Eye-witnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the Reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert Authors; who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern Bounds of Russia, to the Walls of Cathay, in several late Journeys made thither overland by Russians, who describe the Countries in their way far otherwise than our common Geographers. From proceeding further, other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published; that so many things remarkable, dispers'd before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collecting them.
Moscovia: or, Relations of Moscovia, as far as hath been discovered by English Voyages; gather'd from the Writings of several Eye-witnesses: And of other less known Countries lying Eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, lately discovered at several times by Russians.

CHAP. I.

A brief Description.

He Empire of Moscovia, or as others call it, Russia, is bounded on the North with Lapland and the Ocean; Southward by the Crim Tartar; on the West by Lituania, Livonia, and Poland; on the East by the River Ob, or Oby, and the Nagayan Tartars on the Tolga as far as Afsracan.

The north parts of this Country are so barren, that the Inhabitants fetch thir Corn a thousand miles,¹ and so cold in Winter that the very Sap of thir Wood-fewel burning on the fire, freezes at the Brands-end where it drops. The Mariners which were left a ship-board in the first English Voyage thither, in going up only from thir Cabins to the Hatches,² had

¹ Hack. 251. ² Ibid. vol. 1. 248.
thir breath so congeal'd by the cold, that they fell
down as it were stiff'd. The Bay of Saint Nicholas,
where they first put in, lyeth in 64 degrees; call'd
so from the Abby there built of Wood, wherein are
20 Monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and
great Drunkards: thir Church is fair, full of Images
and Tapers. There are besides but 6 Houses, wherof
one built by the English. In the Bay over against
the Abby is Rose Island, full of damask and red
Roses, Violets, and wild Rosemary; the Isle is in
circuit 7 or 8 miles; about the midst of May the
Snow there is cleard, having two months been melt-
ing; then the ground in 14 days is dry, and Gras
knee-deep within a month; after September Frost
returns, and Snow a yard high: it hath a House
built by the English near to a fresh fair Spring.
North-east of the Abby on the other side of Duina,
is the Castle of Archangel, where the English have
another House. The River Duina beginning about
700 miles within the Country, having first receiv'd
Pinega, falls here into the Sea, very large and swift,
but shallow. It runneth pleasantly between Hills
on either side; beset like a Wilderness with high
Fir, and other Trees. Thir Boats of Timber without
any Iron in them, are either to sail, or to be
drawn up with Ropes against the stream.

North-east beyond Archangel standeth Lampas, where twice a year is kept a great Fair of Ruffes,
Tartars, and Samoeds; and to the Land-ward Mezen,
and Slobotca, two Towns of Traffick between the
River Pechora, or Petzora, and Duina: To Seaward
lies the Cape of Candinos, and the Island of Col-
govie, about 30 leagues from the Bar of Pechora in
69 degrees.
A Brief History of Moscovia.

The River *Pechora* or *Petzora* holding his Course through *Siberia*, how far the *Russians* therabouts know not, runneth into the Sea at 72 mouths, full of Ice; abounding with Swans, Ducks, Geese and Partridges, which they take in *July*, fell the Feathers, and salt the Bodies for Winter Provision. On this River spreading to a Lake stands the Town of *Pustozera* in 68 degrees, having some 80 or 100 Houses, where certain Merchants of *Hull* winter’d in the year 1611. The Town *Pechora*, small and poor, hath 3 Churches. They traded there up the River four days journey to *Ousztzila* a small Town of 60 Houses. The *Russians* that have travail’d, say that this River springs out of the Mountains of *Fougoria*, and runs through *Permia*. Not far from the Mouth thereof are the Straits of *Vaiguts*, of which herafter: more Eastward is the Point of *Naramzy*, and next to that the River *Ob*; beyond which the *Muscovites* have extended lately thir dominion. Touching the *Riphaean* Mountains, whence *Tanais* was antiently thought to spring, our men could hear nothing; but rather that the whole Country is Champain, and in the northmost part huge and deset Woods of Fir, abounding with black Wolves, Bears, Buffs, and another Beast call’d Rosso-makka, whose Female bringeth forth by passing through some narrow place, as between two Stakes, and so prefleth her Womb to a disburthening. Travelling southward they found the Country more pleasant, fair, and better inhabited, Corn, Pasture, Medows, and huge Woods. *Arkania* (if it be not the same with *Archangel*) is a place of English Trade, from whence a days journey distant, but from Saint *Nicholas* a 100 Verfts, *Colmogro* stands on the *Duina*; a great Town not wall’d, but scatter’d. The English have here Lands of thir own, given them by the Em-

---

7 Ibid. *Pure.*  
8 *Pure.* 549, 545, 551.  
9 *Hack.* 376.
peror, and fair Houses; not far beyond, Pinega running between Rocks of Alabaster and great Woods, meets with Duina. From Colmogro to Ustiug are 500 Verfts or little miles, an antient City upon the Confluence of Juga and Sucana into Duina, which there first receives his name. Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great City so nam'd of the River which passes through the midst; it hath a Castle wall'd about with Brick and Stone, and many wooden Churches, two for every Parish, the one in Winter to be heated, the other us'd in Summer; this is a Town of much Traffick, a 1000 miles from Saint Nicholas. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under open Sky by the River side, and no other provifion, only what they bring with them. From Wologda by Sled they go to Yerasslave on the Volga, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs 2700 Verfts to the Caspian Sea, having his head Spring out of Bealozera, which is a Lake, amidst wherof is built a strong Tower, wherein the Kings of Moscovy reserve their Treasure in time of War. From this Town to Rosfove, then to Pereslave a great Town situate on a fair Lake; thence to Mosco.

Between Yerasslave and Mosco, which is 200 miles, the Country is so fertile, so populous and full of Villages, that in a forenoon 7 or 800 Sleds are usually seen coming with Salt Fish, or laden back with Corn. Mosco the chief City, lying in 55 degrees, distant from Saint Nicholas 1500 miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the Suburbs, but rudely built; thir Houses and Churches most of Timber, few of Stone, thir Streets unpav'd; it hath a fair Castle four-square, upon a Hill, two miles about,
with Brick Walls very high, and some say 18 foot thick, 16 Gates, and as many Bulwarks; in the Castle are kept the chief Markets, and in Winter on the River being then firm Ice. This River Moscua on the south-west side incloses the Castle, wherein are nine fair Churches with round gilded Towers, and the Emperor’s Palace; which neither within nor without is equal for state to the King’s Houses in England, but rather like our Buildings of old fashion, with small Windows, some of Glasses, some with Lattices, or Iron Bars.

They who travail from Mosco to the Caspian, go by Water down the Moscua to the River Occa;\(^{14}\) then by certain Castles to Rezan, a famous City now ruinate; the 10th day to Nyshnovogrod, where Occa falls into Volga, which the Tartars call Edel. From thence the 11th day to Cazan a Tartan City of great Wealth hertofore, now under the Russian; wall’d at first with Timber and Earth, but since by the Emperor Vasilywitch with free Stone. From Cazan to the River Cama, falling into Volga from the Province of Permia, the People dwelling on the left side are Gentiles, and live in Woods without Houses,\(^{15}\) beyond them to Astracan, Tartars of Mangat, and Nagay; on the right side those of Crimme. From Mosco to Astracan is about 600 Leagues. The Town is situate in an Island on a Hill-side wall’d with Earth, but the Castle with Earth and Timber; the Houses, except that of the Governor’s, and some few others, poor and simple; the Ground utterly barren, and without Wood: they live there on Fish, and Sturgeon especially; which hanging up to dry in the Streets and Houses, brings whole swarms of Flies, and infection to the Air, and oft great Pestilence. This Island in length 12 leagues, 3 in breadth, is the

---

\(^{14}\) Hack. 325.  
\(^{15}\) Ibid. 334.
Russian limit toward the Caspian, which he keeps with a strong Garison, being 20 Leagues from that Sea, into which Volga falls at 70 mouths. From Saint Nicholas, or from Mosco to the Caspian, they pass in 46 days and nights, most part by Water.

Westward from Saint Nicholas 1200 miles is the City Novogrod 58 degrees, the greatest Mart-town of all this Dominion, and in bigness not inferior to Mosco. The way thither is through the western bottom of Saint Nicholas Bay, and so along the Shore full of dangerous Rocks to the Monastery Solofky, wherein are at least 200 Monks; the People therabout in a manner Savages, yet Tenants to those Monks. Thence to the dangerous River Owiga, wherein are Waterfalls as steep as from a Mountain, and by the violence of thir descent kept from freezing: so that the Boats are to be carried there a mile over land; which the Tenants of that Abby did by command, and were guides to the Merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the Town Povenfa standing within a mile of the famous Lake Onega 320 miles long, and in som places 70, at narrowest 25 broad, and of great depth: Thence by som Monasteries to the River Swire; then into the Lake Ladiscay much longer then Onega; after which into the River Volhujky, which through the midst of Novogrod runs into this Lake, and this Lake into the Baltick found by Narv and Revel. Thir other Cities toward the western bound are Plefco, Smolensko, or Vobso.

The Emperor exerciseth absolute power: if any man die without male Issue, his Land returns to the Emperor. Any rich man who through age or other impotence is unable to serve the Publick, being inform'd of, is turn'd out of his Estate, and forc'd with his Family to live on a small Pension, while some

16 Hack. 365.
17 Ibid. 243.
other more deserving is by the Duke's authority put into possession. The manner of informing the Duke is thus. Your Grace, faith one, hath such a Subject, abounding with Riches, but for service of the State unmeet, and you have others poor and in want, but well able to do thir Country good service. Immediately the Duke sends forth to enquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, faith he, you have too much Living, and are unserviceable to your Prince; less will serve you, and the rest maintain others who deserve more. The man thus call'd to impart his Wealth repines not, but humbly answers, that all he hath is God's and the Duke's, as if he made restitution of what more justly was another's than parted with his own. Every Gentleman hath rule and justice over his own Tenants: if the Tenants of two Gentlemen agree not, they seek to compose it; if they cannot, each brings his Tenant before the high Judg of that Country. They have no Lawyers, but every man pleads his own Cause, or else by Bill or Answer in writing delivers it with his own hands to the Duke: yet Justice, by corruption of inferior Officers, is much perverted. Where other proof is wanting, they may try the matter by personal Combat, or by Champion. If a Debtor be poor, he becomes bondman to the Duke, who lets out his labour till it pay the Debt; till then he remains in bondage. Another trial they have by Lots. 18

The Revenues of the Emperor are what he lift, and what his Subjects are able; and he omits not the coarsest means to raise them: for in every good Town there is a drunken Tavern, call'd a Curfemay, which the Emperor either lets out to farm, or bestows on some Duke, or Gentleman 19 in reward of his Service, who for that time is Lord of the whole Town, rob-

18 Hack. 309.
19 Ibid. 314.
bing and spoiling at his pleasure, till being well en-
richt, he is sent at his own charge to the Wars, and
there squeeze’d of his ill got wealth; by which means
the waging of War is to the Emperor little or nothing
chargeable.

The Russian armeth not less in time of war then
30000 men,²⁰ half of whom he takes with him into
the Field, the rest bestows in Garisons on the Bor-
ders. He presteth no Husbandman or Merchant, but
the Youth of the Realm. He useth no Foot, but
such as are Pioneers, or Gunners, of both which sort
30000. The rest being Horsemen, are all Archers,
and ride with a short Stirrup after the Turkish. Thir
Armour is a Coat of Plate, and a Scull on thir Heads.
Some of thir Coats are cover’d with Velvet, or cloth
of Gold; for they desire to be gorgeous in Arms, but
the Duke himself above measure; his Pavilion co-
ver’d with Cloth of Gold or Silver, set with precious
Stones. They use little Drums at the Saddle bow
instead of Spurs, for at the sound therof the Horses
run more swiftly.

They fight without order;²¹ nor willingly give
battail, but by stealth or ambush. Of Cold and hard
Diet marvelously patient; for when the Ground is
cover’d with Snow floz’n a yard thick, the common
Souldier will lie in the Field two months together
without Tent, or covering over head; only hangs
up his Mantle against that part from whence the
Weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him
down before it, with his Back under the Wind: his
Drink the cold Stream mingl’d with Oat-meal, and
the same all his Food: his Horse fed with green
Wood and Bark, stands all this while in the open
Field, yet does his service. The Emperor gives no
pay at all, but to Strangers; yet repaies good deserts

²⁰ Hack. 239, 250. ²¹ Ibid. 314, 250.
in War with certain Lands during life; and they who oftentimes are sent to the Wars, think themselves most favour'd, tho' serving without Wages. On the 12th of December yearly, the Emperor rides into the Field, which is without the City, with all his Nobility, on Jennets and Turky Horses in great state; before him 5000 Harquebusiers, who shoot at a Bank of Ice, till they beat it down; the Ordnance, which they have very fair of all sorts, they plant against two wooden Houses filled with Earth at least 30 feet thick, and beginning with the smallest, shoot them all off thrice over, having beat those two Houses flat. Above the rest 6 great Cannon they have, whose Bullet is a yard high, so that a man may see it flying: then out of Mortar-pieces they shoot Wild-fire into the Air. Thus the Emperor having seen what his Gunners can do, returns home in the same order.

They follow the Greek Church, but with excess of Superstitions: thir Service is in the Russian Tongue. They hold the Ten Commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the Law, which Christ by his Death on the Cross hath abrogated: the Eucharist they receive in both kinds. They observe 4 Lents, have Service in thir Churches daily, from two hours before dawn to evening; yet for Whordom, Drunkenness and Extortion none worse than the Clergy.

They have many great and rich Monasteries, where they keep great hospitality. That of Trojetes hath in it 700 Friers, and is wall'd about with Brick very strongly, having many pieces of Brass Ordnance on the Walls; most of the Lands, Towns, and Villages within 40 miles belong to those Monks, who

22 Hack. 316. 23 Ibid. 253. 24 Ibid. 242, 321. 25 Ibid. 320.
are also as great Merchants as any in the Land. During Easter Holy-daies when two Friends meet, they take each other by the hand; one of them saying, The Lord is risen; the other answering, It is so of a truth; and then they kiss, whether Men or Women. The Emperor esteemeth the Metropolitan next to God, after our Lady and Saint Nicholas, as being his spiritual Officer, himself but his temporal. But the Muscovites that border on Tartaria are yet Pagans.

When there is love between two, the Man among other trifling Gifts, sends to the Woman a Whip, to signify, if she offend, what she must expect; and it is a Rule among them, that if the Wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks her self not belov'd, and is the worse; yet are they very obedient, and stir not forth but at some Seasons. Upon utter dislike the Husband divorces; which Liberty no doubt they receiv'd first with thir Religion from the Greek Church, and the Imperial Laws.

Thir Dead they bury with new Shoos on thir Feet, as to a long Journey, and put Letters testimonial in thir hands to Saint Nicholas or Saint Peter, that this was a Ruffe of Ruffes, and dy'd in the true Faith, which, as they believe, Saint Peter having read, forthwith admits him into Heaven.

They have no Learning, nor will suffer to be among them: Thir greatest Friendship is in drinking: they are great Talkers, Liars, Flatterers and Dissemblers. They delight in gros Meats and noy-som Fish; thir Drink is better, being sundry sorts of Meath; the best made with Juice of a sweet and crimson Berry call'd Maliena, growing also in

26 Hack. 318. 27 Ibid. 320, 254. 28 Ibid. 322. 29 Ibid. 314. 30 Ibid. 242, 254, 323. 31 Ibid. 241, 314.
France; other sorts with Black-cherry, or divers other Berries: another drink they use in the Spring drawn from the Birch-tree Root, whose Sap after June dries up. But there is no People that live so miserably as the Poor of Russia; if they have Straw and Water, they make shift to live; for Straw dry'd and stampt in Winter time is thir Bread; in Summer Grafs and Roots; at all times Bark of Trees is good Meat with them; yet many of them die in the Street for hunger, none relieving or regarding them.

When they are sent into Foreign Countries, or that Strangers come thither, they are very sumptuous in apparel, else the Duke himself goes but meanly.

In Winter they travail only upon Sleds, the Ways being hard and smooth with Snow, the Rivers all froz'n: one Horse with a Sled will draw a man 400 miles in 3 days; in Summer the way is deep, and travailing ill. The Russian of better sort goes not out in Winter, but on his Sled; in Summer on his Horse: in his Sled he sits on a Carpet, or a white Bears skin; the Sled drawn with a horse well deckt, with many Fox or Wolve-tails about his neck, guided by a Boy on his back, other Servants riding on the tail of the Sled.

The Russian Sea breeds a certain Beast which they call a Morse, who seeks his Food on the Rocks, climbing up with help of his Teeth; wherof they make as great account as we of the Elephant's tooth.

32 Hack. 323. 33 Ibid. 239.
34 Ibid. 314. 35 Ibid. 252.
Of Samoedia, Siberia, and other Countries North East, subject to the Muscovites.

North East of Russia lieth Samoedia by the River Ob. This Country was first discover'd by Oneke a Russian; who first trading privately among them in rich Furs, got great Wealth, and the knowledge of their Country; then reveal'd his discovery to Boris Protector to Theodor, shewing how beneficial that Country gain'd, would be to the Empire. Who sending Ambassadors among them gallantly attir'd, by fair means won their subjection to the Empire, every Head paying yearly two skins of richest Sables. Those Messengers travelling also 200 leagues beyond Ob Eastward, made report of pleasant Countries, abounding with Woods and Fountains, and people riding on Elks and Lofhes; others drawn on Sleds by Rain-deer; others by Dogs as swift as Deer. The Samoeds that came along with those Messengers, returning to Mosco, admir'd the stateliness of that City, and were as much admir'd for excellent Shooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far distant as hardly could be discern'd.

The River Ob\(^1\) is reported by the Russians to be in breadth the failing of a Summer's day: but full of Islands and Shoals, having neither Woods, nor, till of late, Inhabitants. Out of Ob they turn into the River Tawze. The Russians have here, since the Samoeds yielded them subjection, two Governours with 3 or 400 Gunners; have built Villages and some small Castles; all which place they call Mon-

\(^1\) Purch. part 3. 543, 540.
gozey or Molgomsay. Further up-land they have also built other Cities of Wood, consisting chiefly of Poles, Tartars and Russes, fugitive or condemned men; as Vergateria, Siber, whence the whole Country is nam'd Tinna, thence Tobolsca on this side Ob, on the Rivers Irtis, and Tobol, chief Seat of the Russian Governour; above that, Zergolta in an Island of Ob, where they have a Custom-house, beyond that on the other side Ob, Narim, and Tooina now a great City. Certain Churches also are erected in those Parts; but no man forc'd to Religion; beyond Narim eastward on the River Telta is built the Castle of Congoscoi, and all this Plantation began since the year 1590. with many other Towns like these. And these are the Countries from whence come all the Sables and rich Furs.

The Samoeds have no Towns or certain place of abode, but up and down where they find Mosfs for their Deer; they live in companies peaceably, and are govern'd by some of the antientest amongst them, but are Idolaters. They shoot wondrous cunningly: their Arrow heads are sharpned Stones, or Fisb-bones, which latter serve them also for Needles; their Thread being the Sinews of certain small Beasts, wherewith they sow the Furs which clothe them; the furry side in Summer outward, in Winter inward. They have many Wives, and their Daughters they sell to him who bids most; which, if they be not lik'd, are turn'd back to their Friends, the Husband allowing only to the Father what the Marriage Feast offered him in. Wives are brought to bed there by their Husbands, and the next day go about as before. They till not the ground; but live on the Flesh of those wild Beasts which they hunt. They are the

2 Purch. part 3. 524, 526. 3 Ibid. 526, 527. 4 Ibid. 522, 555.
only Guides to such as travail Jougoria, Siberia, or any of those North-East parts in Winter; being drawn on Sleds with Bucks, riding post day and night, if it be moon-light, and lodg on the Snow under Tents of Deer Skins in whatever place they find enough of white Moss to feed thir Sled-Stags, turning them loose to dig it up themselves out of the deep Snow: another Samoed stepping to the next Wood, brings in store of firing: round about which they lodg within thir Tents, leaving the top open to vent Smoak; in which manner they are as warm as the Stoves in Russi. They carry Provision of meat with them, and partake besides of what Fowl or Venison the Samoed kills with shooting by the way; thir drink is melted Snow. Two Deer being yok'd to a Sled riding post, will draw 200 miles in 24 hours without resting, and laden with thir Stuff will draw it 30 miles in 12.

CHAP. III.

Of Tingoesia, and the Countries adjoining Eastward as far as Cathay.

Beyond Narim and Comgoscoi, the Souldiers of those Garisons travailing by appointment of the Russi. Governour in the year 1605. found many goodly Countries not inhabited; many vast Deserts and Rivers, till at the end of ten weeks they spy'd certain Cottages and Herds, or companies of People, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and signify'd to the Samoeds and Tartars, which were Guides to the Russi. Souldiers, that they were call'd Tingoesi; that thir dwelling was on the great River

5 Purch. par. 3. 548. 1 Ibid. 527.
Jenissée. This River is said to be far bigger than Ob;² distant from the Mouth therof 4 days and nights sailing; and likewise falls into the Sea of Naramzie: it hath high Mountains on the East, some of which cast out Fire, to the West a plain and fertile Country, which in the spring time it overflows about 70 leagues; all that time the Inhabitants keep them in the Mountains, and then return with their Cattel to the Plain. The Tingoesi are a very gentle Nation, they have great swoln Throats,³ like those in Italy that live under the Alps; at persuasion of the Samoeds they forthwith submitted to the Russian Government: and at their request travelling the next year to discover still Eastward, they came at length to a River, which the Savages of that place call'd Pifida;⁴ somewhat less than Jenissée; beyond which hearing oft-times the towling of Brazen Bells, and somtimes the noise of Men and Horses, they durst not pass over; they saw there certain Sails afar off, square, and thércfore suppos'd to be like Indian or China Sails, and the rather for that they report that great Guns have been heard shot off from those Vessels. In April and May they were much delighted with the fair prospect of that Country, replenish'd with many rare Trees, Plants and Flowers, Beasts and Fowl. Some think here to be the Borders of Tangut in the north of Cathay.⁵ Some of those Samoeds about the year 1610, travel'd so far till they came in view of a white City, and heard a great din of Bells, and report there came to them Men all arm'd in Iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611 divers out of Cathay, and others from Alteen Czar, who styles himself the golden King, came and traded at Zergolta, or Surgoot, on the River Ob, bringing with

² Pur. 527, 551, 546, 527.
³ Ibid. 528.
⁴ Ibid. 528.
⁵ Ibid. 543, 546.
them Plates of Silver. Wherupon Michael Pheodorowick the Russian Emperor, in the year 1619. sent certain of his people from Tooma to Alteen, and Cathay, who return'd with Ambassadors from those Princes. These relate, that from Tooma in ten days and a half, three days wherof over a Lake, where Rubies and Saphirs grow, they came to the Alteen King, or King of Alty; through his Land in five weeks they pass'd into the Country of Sheromugaly, or Mugalla, where reigned a Queen call'd Manchica; whence in four days they came to the Borders of Cathay, fenc'd with a stone Wall, 15 fathom high; along the side of which, having on the other hand many pretty Towns belonging to Queen Manchica, they travail'd ten days without seeing any on the Wall till they came to the Gate; where they saw very great Ordnance lying, and 3000 men in watch. They traffic with other Nations at the Gate, and very few at once are suffered to enter. They were travelling from Tooma to this Gate 12 weeks; and from thence to the great City of Cathay ten days. Where being conducted to the House of Ambassadors, within a few days there came a Secretary from King Tambur with 200 Men well apparell'd, and riding on Asses, to feast them with divers sorts of Wine, and to demand thir Message; but having brought no Presents with them, they could not be admitted to his sight; only with his Letter to the Emperor they return'd as is aforesaid to Tobolsca. They report that the Land of Mugalla reaches from Bogbar to the North Sea, and hath many Castles built of Stone four-square, with Towers at the Corners cover'd with glazed Tiles; and on the Gates Alarum-Bells, or Watch-Bells, twenty pound weight of Metal; thir Houses built also of Stone, the Ceelings cunningly

6 Pur. 797. 7 Ibid. 799.
A Brief History of Moscovia.

Painted with Flowers of all Colours. The People are Idolaters; the Country exceeding fruitful. They have Asses and Mules, but no Horses. The people of Cathay say that this great Wall stretches from Bogbar to the North Sea, four months journey, with continual Towers a Flight shot distant from each other, and Beacons on every Tower; and that this Wall is the bound between Mugalla and Cathay. In which are but five Gates; those narrow, and so low that a Horse-man sitting upright cannot ride in. Next to the Wall is the City Shirokalga; it hath a Castle well furnish'd with short Ordnance and small shot, which they who keep watch on the Gates, Towers and Walls, duly at Sun-set and rising discharge thrice over. The City abounds with rich Merchandize, Velvets, Damaskes, Cloth of Gold and Tissue, with many sorts of Sugars. Like to this is the City Yara, thir Markets smell odoriferously with Spices, and Tayth more rich than that. Shirooan yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to Cathaia the Imperial City is two days journey, built of white stone four square, in circuit four days going, corner'd with four white Towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the Wall, white intermingl'd with blew, and Loop-holes furnisht with Ordnance. In midst of this white City stands a Castle built of Magnet, where the King dwells, in a sumptuous Palace, the top wherof is overlaid with Gold. The City stands on even ground encompass'd with the River Youga, 7 days journey from the Sea. The People are very fair, but not warlike, delighting most in rich Traffick. These Relations are refer'd hither, because we have them from Russians; who report also, that there is a Sea beyond Ob, so warm that all kind of Sea-Fowl live

8 Pur. 806.
A Brief History of Moscovia.

therabout as well in Winter as in Summer. Thus much briefly of the Sea and Lands between Russia and Cathay.

CHAP. IV.

The Succession of Moscovia Dukes and Emperors, taken out of thir Chronicles by a Polack, with some later Additions.¹

The Great Dukes of Muscovy derive thir Pedegree, though without ground, from Augustus Cæsar: whom they fable to have sent certain of his Kindred to be Governours over many remote Provinces; and among them, Prussia over Prussia; him to have had his Seat on the eastern Baltic Shore by the River Wixel; of whom Rurek, Sinaus, and Truoor descended by the fourth Generation, were by the Russians, living then without Civil Government, sent for in the year 573. to bear rule over them, at the perswasion of Gostomilsius chief Citizen of Novogrod. They threfore taking with them Olecus thir Kinfman, divided those Countries among themselves, and each in his Province taught them Civil Government.

Ivorson of Rurek, the rest dying without Issue, became Successor to them all; being left in nonage under the protection of Olechus. He took to Wife Olha Daughter to a Citizen of Plesco, of whom he begat Stojlaus; but after that being slain by his Enemies, Olha his Wife went to Constantinople, and was there baptiz'd Helena.

Stojlaus fought many Battels with his Enemies; but was at length by them slain, who made a Cup of his Scull engrav'n with this Sentence in Gold;

¹ Hack. vol. i. 221.
A Brief History of Moscovia.

Seeking after other Mens he left his own. His Sons were Teropolchus, Olega, and Volodimir.

Volodimir having slain the other two, made himself sole Lord of Russia; yet after that fact inclining to Christian Religion, had to Wife Anna Sister of Basilius and Constantine Greek Emperors; and with all his People in the year 988, was baptiz'd, and call'd Basilius. Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before that time Basilius the Greek Emperor sent a Bishop to them; at whose preaching they not being mov'd, but requiring a Miracle, he after devout Prayers, taking the Book of Gospel into his hands, threw it before them all into the Fire; which remaining there unconsum'd, they were converted.

Volodimir had eleven Sons, among whom he divided his Kingdom; Boriflus and Glebus for thir holy Life register'd Saints; and thir Feast kept every year in November with great solemnity. The rest, through contention to have the sole Government, ruin'd each other, leaving only Jaroslaus inheritor of all.

Volodimir Son of Jaroslaus kept his Residence in the antient City Kiow upon the River Boristenes. And after many conflicts with the Sons of his Uncles; and having subdu'd all, was call'd Monomachus. He made war with Constantine the Greek Emperor, wafted Thracia; and returning home with great spoils to prepare new War, was appeas'd by Constantine, who sent Neophytus Bishop of Ephesus, and Eustathius Abbot of Jerusalem, to present him with part of our Saviour's Cross, and other rich Gifts, and to salute him by the name of Czar, or Caesar; with whom he thenceforth enter'd into league and amity.

After him in order of descent Vuszevolodus, George, Demetrius.

Then George his Son, who in the year 1237. was slain in battle by the Tartar Prince Bathy, who subdu'd Muscovia, and made it tributary. From that
time the Tartarians made such Dukes of Russia, as they thought would be most pliable to their ends; of whom they requir'd, as oft as Ambassadors came to him out of Tartary, to go out and meet them, and in his own Court to stand bare-headed, while they were and deliver'd their Message. At which time the Tartars wasted also Polonia, Silezia, and Hungaria, till Pope Innocent the Fourth obtain'd peace of them for 5 years. This Bathy say the Russians was the Father of Tamerlan, whom they call Temirkutla.

Then succeeded Jaroslau the Brother of George, then Alexander his Son.

Daniel the Son of Alexander was he who first made the City of Mosco his Royal Seat, builded the Castle, and took on him the Title of Great Duke.

John the Son of Daniel was firnamed Kaleta, that word signifying a Scrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his Alms.

His Son Simeon dying without Issue left the Kingdom to John his next Brother; and he to his Son Demetrius, who left two Sons, Basilius and George.

Basilius reigning had a Son of his own name, but doubting left not of his own Body, through the suspicion he had of his Wife's Chastity, him he disinherits, and gives the Dukedom to his Brother George.

George putting his Nephew Basilius in prison, reigns; yet at his death, either through remorse or other cause, surrenders him the Dukedom.

Basilius unexpectedly thus attaining his supposed right, enjoy'd it not long in quiet; for Andrew and Demetrius the two Sons of George counting it injury not to succeed their Father, made war upon him, and surprizing him on a sudden, put out his Eyes. Notwithstanding which the Boiaren's, or Nobles kept their Allegiance to the Duke though blind, whom therefore they call'd Cziemnox.
John Vasilyich his Son was the first who brought the Russian name out of obscurity into renown. To secure his own Estate he put to death as many of his Kindred as were likely to pretend; and still'd himself great Duke of Wolodimiria, Muscovia, Novogardia, Czar of all Russia. He won Plesco the only walled City in all Muscovy, and Novogrod the richest, from the Lituanians, to whom they had been subject 50 years before; and from the latter carried home 300 Waggon laden with Treasure. He had war with Alexander King of Poland, and with the Livonians; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his Daughter Helena, whom he had to wife, from the Greek Church to the Roman; with the Livonians for no other cause, but to enlarge his bounds: though he were often foil'd by Plettebergius great Master of the Prussian Knights. His Wife was Daughter to the Duke of Tyverisky; of her he begat John, and to him resigned his Dukedom, giving him to Wife the Daughter of Steven, Palatine of Moldavia, by whom he had Issue Demetrios, and deceas'd soon after. Vasilyich therefore reaffuming the Dukedom, married a second Wife, Sophia Daughter to Thomas Palæologus; who is said to have receiv'd her Dowry out of the Pope's Treasury, upon promise of the Duke to become Roman. This Princess of a haughty mind, often complaining that she was married to the Tartars Vassal, at length by continual persuasions, and by a wile found means to ease her Husband, and his Country of that Yoke. For whereas till then the Tartar had his Procurators, who dwelt in the very Castle of Mosco, to oversee State-affairs, she fain'd that from Heaven she had been warn'd to build a Temple to Saint Nicholas on the same place where the Tartar Agents had thir House. Being therfore delivered of a Son, she made it her request to the Prince of Tartary, whom she had invited to the baptizing, that he would give her
that House, which obtaining, she raz'd to the ground, and remov'd those Overseers out of the Castle; and so by degrees dispossession'd them of all which they held in Russia. She prevail'd also with her Husband to transfer the Dukedom from Demetrius the Son of John deceas'd to Gabriel his eldest by her.

Gabriel no sooner Duke, but chang'd his name to Basilius, and set his mind to do nobly; he recover'd great part of Muscovy from Vitoldus Duke of Lithuania; and on the Boristhenes won Smolensko and many other Cities in the Year 1514. He divorc'd his first Wife, and of Helena Daughter to Duke Glinski begat Juan Vasilевич.

Juan Vasilевич being left a Child, was committed to George his Uncle and Protector; at 25 years of age he vanquish'd the Tartars of Cazan and Astrakan, bringing home with him thir Princes captive; made cruel War in Livonia, pretending right of inheritance. He seem'd exceedingly devout; and wheras the Russians in thir Churches use, out of zeal and reverence to knock thir Heads against the ground, his Forehead was seldom free of swellings and bruises, and very often seen to bleed. The cause of his rigour in Government he allieg'd to be the malice and treachery of his Subjects. But some of the Nobles, incited by his cruelty, call'd in the Crim Tartar, who in the Year 1571. broke into Russia, burnt Mosco to the ground: He reigned 54 years, had three Sons, of which the eldest being strook on a time by his Father, with grief therof dy'd; his other Sons were Pheodor and Demetrius. In the time of Juan Vasilевич the English came first by Sea into the north parts of Russia.

Pheodor Juanowick being under age, was left to the protection of Boris, Brother to the young Empress,
A Brief History of Moscovia.

and third Son by adoption in the Emperour's Will. 3 After 40 daies of mourning, the appointed time of Coronation being come, the Emperour issuing out of his Palace, 4 the whole Clergy before him, enter'd with his Nobility the Church of Blaveshina or Bleffedness; whence after Service to the Church of Michael, then to our Lady Church, being the Cathedral. In the midst wherof a Chair of Majesty was plac'd, and most unvaluable Garments put upon him; there also was the imperial Crown set on his Head by the Metropolitan, who out of a small Book in his hand read Exhortations to the Emperour of Justice and peaceable Government. After this rising from his Chair he was invested with an upper Robe, so thick with Orient Pearls and Stones, as weigh'd 200 pounds, the Train born up by 6 Dukes; his Staff imperial was of a Unicorn's Horn three foot and a half long, beset with rich Stones; his Globe and six Crowns carried before him by Princes of the Blood; his Horse at the Church door stood ready with a Covering of imbrodered Pearl, Saddle and all sutable, to the value of 300000 Marks. There was a kind of Bridg made three waies, 150 fathom long, three foot high, two fathom broad, wheron the Emperour with his Train went from one Church to another above the infinite throng of People making loud Acclamations: At the Emperour's returning from those Churches they were spread under-foot with Cloth of Gold, the Porches with red Velvet, the Bridges with Scarlet and Stammel-cloth, all which, as the Emperour pass'd by, were cut and snatch't by them that stood next; besides new minted Coins of Gold and Silver cast among the People. The Empress in her Palace was plac't before a great open Window in rich and shining Robes, among her Ladies. After this the Emperor came

3 Hack. vol. i. 466. 4 Horsey.
into Parliament, where he had a Banquet serv'd by his Nobles in princely order; two standing on either side his Chair with Battel-axes of Gold; three of the next Rooms great and large, being set round with Plate of Gold and Silver, from the ground up to the roof. This Triumph lasted a week, wherein many royal Pastimes were seen: after which election was made of the Nobles to new Offices and Dignities. The conclusion of all was a Peal of 170 Brafs Ordnance two miles without the City, and 20000 Harquebuzes twice over: and so the Emperour with at least 50000 Horse return'd through the City to his Palace, where all the Nobility, Officers, and Merchants brought him rich Prefents. Shortly after the Emperour by direction of Boris conquer'd the large Country of Siberia, and took Prisoner the King therof: he remov'd also corrupt Officers and former Taxes. In sum, a great alteration in the Government follow'd, yet all quietly and without Tumult. These things reported abroad struck such awe into the neighbour Kings, that the Crim Tartar, with his Wives also, and many Nobles valiant and personable men, came to visit the Ruffian. There came also 12 hundred Polis Gentlemen, many Circassians, and People of other Nations to offer service; Ambassadors from the Turk, the Persian, Georgian, and other Tartar Princes; from Almany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark. But this glory lasted not long through the treachery of Boris, who procured the Death first of Demetrius, then of the Emperour himself, wherby the Imperial Race after the succession of 300 years was quite extinguish'd.

Boris adopted, as before was said, third Son to Juan Vasiliewich, without impeachment now ascended the Throne; but neither did he enjoy long what he had so wickedly compass'd, divine revenge raising up against him a Counterfeit of that Demetrius whom
he had caus’d to be murthered at Ouglets. This Upstart, strength’d with many Poles and Coffacks, appears in arms to claim his right out of the hands of Boris, who sent against him an army of 20000 Men, many of whom revolted to this Demetrius: Peter Basman the General returning to Mosco with the empty Triumph of a reported Victory. But the Enemy still advancing, Boris one day, after a plentiful Meal, finding himself heavy and pain’d in his Stomach, laid him down on his Bed; but e’re his Doctors, who made great haste, came to him, was found speechless, and soon after dy’d with grief, as is suppos’d, of his ill success against Demetrius. Before his death, though it were speedy, he would be thorn, and new christn’d. He had but one Son, whom he lov’d so fondly, as not to suffer him out of sight; using to say he was Lord and Father of his Son, and yet his Servant, yea his Slave. To gain the Peoples love, which he had lost by his ill getting the Empire, he us’d two Policies; first he caus’d Mosco to be fired in four Places, that in the quenching therof he might shew his great care and tenderness of the People; among whom he likewise distributed so much of his Bounty, as both new built thir Houses, and repair’d thir Losses. At another time the People murmuring that the great Pestilence which had then swept away a third part of the Nation, was the punishment of thir electing him, a Murtherer, to reign over them, he built Galleries round about the utmost Wall of Mosco, and there appointed for one whole month 20000 pound to be given to the Poor, which well nigh stopp’d their Mouths. After the death of Boris, Peter Basman, thir only hope and refuge, though a young man, was sent again to the Wars, with him many English, Scots, French, and

5 1604. Purc. par. 3. 750.
A Brief History of Moscovia.

Dutch; who all with the other General Galeeche fell off to the new Demetrius, whose Messengers coming now to the Suburbs of Mosco, were brought by the Multitude to that spacious Field before the Castle Gate, within which the Council were then fitting, many of whom were by the Peoples threatening call’d out and constrain’d to hear the Letters of Demetrius openly read: which, long ere the end, wrought so with the Multitude, that furiously they broke into the Castle, laying violence on all they met; when strait appear’d coming towards them two Messengers of Demetrius formerly sent, pitifully whipt and roasted, which added to thir rage. Then was the whole City in an uproar, all the great Counsellors Houses ransack’t, especially of the Godonova’s, the Kindred and Family of Boris. Such of the Nobles that were best belov’d, by entreaty prevail’d at length to put an end to this Tumult. The Empress flying to a safer place, had her Collar of Pearl pull’d from her Neck; and by the next Message command was given to secure her with her Son and Daughter. Wherupon Demetrius by general consent was proclaim’d Emperor. The Empress now seeing all lost, counsel’d the Prince her Son to follow his Father’s example, who, it seems, had dispatcht himself by Poyson; and with a desperate courage beginning the deadly Health, was pledg’d effectually by her Son; but the Daughter only sipping, escap’d. Others ascribe this deed to the secret Command of Demetrius, and Self-murther imputed to them, to avoid the envy of such a Command.

Demetrius Evanowich, for so he call’d himself, who succeeded, was credibly reported the Son of Gregory Peupoloy a Russe Gentleman, and in his younger years to have been shorn a Friar, but escap-
ing from the Monastery, to have travel'd Germany
and other Countries, but chiefly Poland: where he
attain'd to good sufficiency in Arms and other Ex-
perience; which rais'd in him such high thoughts,
as grounding on a common belief among the Russ-
ians, that the young Demetrius was not dead, but
convey'd away, and their hatred against Boris, on
this foundation with some other circumstances, to
build his hopes no lower than an Empire; which
on his first discovery found acceptance so generally,
as planted him at length on the Royal Seat: but
not so firmly as the fair beginning promis'd; for in
a short while the Russians finding themselves abus'd
by an Impostor, on the sixth day after his Marriage,
observering when his Guard of Poles were most secure,
rushing into the Palace before break of day, drag'd
him out of his Bed, and when he had confess'd the
fraud, pull'd him to pieces; with him Peter Basman
was also slain, and both thir dead Bodies laid open
in the Market-place. He was of no presence, but
otherwise of a princely disposition; too bountiful,
which occasion'd some exactions; in other matters
a great lover of Justice, not unworthy the Empire
which he had gotten, and lost only through great-
ness of mind, neglecting the Conspiracy, which he
knew the Russians were plotting. Some say thir
hatred grew, for that they saw him alienated from
the Russian Manners and Religion, having made Bu-
chinskoy a learned Protestant his Secretary. Some
report from Gilbert's relation, who was a Scot, and
Captain of his Guard, that lying on his Bed awake,
not long before the Conspiracy, he saw the appear-
ance of an aged man coming toward him, at which
he rose, and call'd to them that watch'd; but they
denied to have seen any such pass by them. He re-
turning to his Bed, and within an hour after troubl'd
again with the same Apparition, sent for Buchinskoy,
telling him he had now twice the same night seen an aged man, who at his second coming told him, that though he were a good Prince of himself, yet for the injustice and oppression of his inferiour Ministers, his Empire should be taken from him. The Secretary counsell’d him to embrace true Religion, affirming that for lack therof his Officers were so corrupt. The Emperor seem’d to be much mov’d, and to intend what was persuad’d him. But a few daies after, the other Secretary, a Ruffian, came to him with a drawn Sword, of which the Emperour made flight at first; but he after bold words assaulted him, strait seconded by other Conspirators, crying Liberty. Gilbert with many of the Guard oversuddenly surpris’d, retreated to Coluga a Town which they fortify’d; most of the other Strangers were massacred, except the English, whose mediation sav’d also Buchinskoy. Shufky who succeeded him reports in a Letter to King James otherwise of him; that his right name was Gryshca the Son of Boughdam; that to escape punishment for Villanies done, he turn’d Fryar, and fell at last to the Black Art; and fearing that the Metropolitan intended therefor to imprison him, fled into Lettow; where by counsel of Sigismund the Poland King, he began to call himself Demetry of Ouglitts; and by many Libels and Spies privily sent into Mosco, gave out the same; that many Letters and Messengers therupon were sent from Boris into Poland, and from the Patriarch, to acquaint them who the Runnagate was: but the Polanders giving them no credit, furnish’d him the more with Arms and Money, notwithstanding the League; and sent the Palatine Sandameronko and other Lords to accompany him into Russia, gaining also a Prince of the Crim Tartars to his aid; that the Army of Boris hearing of his sudden death, yielded to this Gryshca, who taking to wife the Daughter of
Sandamersko, attempted to root out the Russian Clergy, and to bring in the Roman Religion, for which purpose many Jesuits came along with him. Whereupon Shufky with the Nobles and Metropolitans conspiring against him, in half a year gather'd all the Forces of Moscovia, and surprising him found writing under his own hand all these his intentions; Letters also from the Pope and Cardinals to the same effect, not only to set up the Religion of Rome, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refus'd. Vasily Evanowitch Shufky, after the slaughter of Demetry or Gryshca, was elected Emperor, having not long before been at the Block for reporting to have seen the true Demetrius dead and buried; but Gryshca not only recall'd him, but advanc'd him to be the instrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of 50; nobly descended, never married, of great wisdom reputed, a favourer of the English; for he sav'd them from rising in the former Tumults. Some say he modestly refus'd the Crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him; yet after that growing jealous of his Title, remov'd by Poyson and other means all the Nobles that were like to stand his Rivals; and is said to have consulted with Witches of the Samoeds, Lappians, and Tartarians, about the same fears; and being warn'd of one Michalowich to have put to death three of that name, yet a fourth was reserv'd by Fate to succeed him, being then a Youth attendant in the Court, one of those that held the golden Axes, and least suspected. But before that time he also was supplanted by another reviving Demetrius brought in by the Poles; whose counterfeited Hand, and strange relating of private Circumstances, had almost deceiv'd Gilbert himself, had not thir Persons been utterly unlike;

7 Post Christ 1606. 8 Purc. par. 3. 769; &c.
A Brief History of Moscovia.

but Gryshca's Wife so far believ'd him for her Husband, as to receive him to her Bed. Shusky besie'd in his Castle of Mosco, was adventurously supply'd with some Powder and Ammunition by the English; and with 2000 French, English and Scots, with other Forces from Charles King of Sweden. The English after many miseries of Cold, and Hunger, and assaults by the way, deserted by the French, yielded most of them to the Pole near Smolensko, and serv'd him against the Russ. Mean while this second Demetrius being now rejected by the Poles, with those Russians that sided with him, laid siege to Mosco: Zolkiewsky for Sigismund King of Poland beleaguers on the other side with forty thousand Men, whereof 1500 English, Scotch and French. Shusky despairing success, be-takes him to a Monastery; but with the City is yielded to the Pole, who turns now his force against the Counterfeit Demetrius; he seeking to fly, is by a Tartar slain in his Camp. Smolensko held out a Siege of two years, then surrend'r'd. Shusky the Emperor carried away into Poland, there ended miserably in prison. But before his departure out of Muscovy the Poles in his name sending for the chief Nobility, as to a last farewell, cause them to be entertain'd in a secret place, and there dispatch'd: by this means the easier to subdue the People. Yet the Poles were starv'd at length out of those Places in Mosco which they had fortify'd. Wherin the Russians who besie'd them, found, as is reported, 60 Barrels of Man's Flesh powdered, being the Bodies of such as dy'd among them, or were slain in fight.

After which the Empire of Russia broke to pieces, the prey of such as could catch, every one naming himself, and striving to be accounted that Demetrius

9 Post Chrift 1609. 10 Purc. 779.
11 Fansonius. 12 Post Chrift 1612.
of Ouglitts. Some chose Uladislaus King Sigismund's Son, but he not accepting, they fell to a popular Government, killing all the Nobles under pretence of favouring the Poles. Some overtures of receiving them were made, as some say, to King James, and Sir John Meric and Sir William Russel impoy'd therin. Thus Russia remaining in this confusion, it happ'nd that a mean man, a Butcher dwelling in the North about Duina, inveighing against the baseness of thir Nobility, and the corruption of Officers, uttered words, that if they would but choose a faithful Treasurer to pay well the Souldiers, and a good General (namning one Pozarfsky a poor Gentleman, who after good service don liv'd not far off retir'd and neglected) that then he doubted not to drive out the Poles. The People assent, and choose that General; the Butcher they make thir Treasurer, who both so well discharg'd thir Places, that with an Army soon gather'd they raise the siege of Mosco, which the Polanders had renew'd; and with Boris Licin, another great Souldier of that Country, fall into consultation about the choice of an Emperour, and chose at last Michalowich, or Michael Pheodorowich, the fatal Youth, whose name Shusky so fear'd.

Michael Pheodorowich thus elected by the valour of Pozarfsky and Boris Licin, made them both Generals of his Forces, joining with them another great Commander of the Cossacks, whose aid had much befriended him; the Butcher also was made a Councillor of State. Finally a Peace was made up between the Russians and the Poles; and that partly by the mediation of King James.

---

13 Purc. par. 3. 790.  
14 Post Chrif 1613.
The first discovery of Russia by the North East, 1553, with the English Embassies and Entertainments at that Court, until the year 1604.

The Discovery of Russia by the Northern Ocean, made first of any Nation that we know by English-men, might have seem'd an Enterprize almost heroic, if any higher end than the excessive love of Gain and Traffick, had animated the design. Nevertheless that in regard that many things not unprofitable to the knowledge of Nature, and other Observations are hereby come to light, as good events oftentimes arise from evil occasions, it will not be the worst labour to relate briefly the beginning, and prosecution of this adventurous Voyage, until it became at last a familiar Passage.

When our Merchants perceiv'd the Commodities of England to be in small request abroad, and foreign Merchandize to grow higher in esteem and value than before, they began to think with themselves how this might be remedied. And seeing how the Spaniards and Portugals had encreas'd thir Wealth by discovery of new Trades and Countries, they resolv'd upon some new and strange Navigation. At the same time Sebastien Chabota, a man for the knowledge of Sea-affairs much renown'd in those days, happen'd to be in London. With him first they consult; and by his advice conclude to furnish out three Ships for the search and discovery of the northern parts. And having heard that a certain Worm is bred in that Ocean, which many times eateth through

---

1 Hac. vol. i. 243, 234.
the strongest Oak, they contrive to cover some part of the Keel of those Ships with thin sheets of Lead; and victual them for 18 months; allowing equally to thir journey, thir stay, and thir return. Arms also they provide, and store of Munition with sufficient Captains and Governours for so great an Enterprise. To which among many, and some void of experience that offer'd themselves, Sir Hugh Willowby a valiant Gentleman earnestly requested to have the charge. Of whom before all others both for his goodly personage, and singular skill in the services of War, they made choice to be Admiral, and of Richard Chancelor, a man greatly esteem'd for his skill, to be chief Pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards Deputy of Ireland, who coming where the Adventurers were gather'd together, though then a young man, with a grave and eloquent Speech commended Chancelor unto them.

After this, they omitted no enquiry after any person that might inform them concerning those North-easterly parts to which the Voyage tended; and two Tartarians then of the King's Stable were sent for; but they were able to answer nothing to purpose. So, after much debate, it was concluded that by the 20th of May the Ships should depart. Being come near Greenwich, where the Court then lay, presently the Courtiers came running out, the Privy Council at the Windows, the rest on the Towers and Battlements. The Mariners all apparell'd in watchet or sky-coloured Cloth, discharge thir Ordnance; the noise wherof, and of the People shouting, is answer'd from the Hills and Waters with as loud an Echo: Only the good King Edward, then sick, beheld not this sight, but dy'd soon after. From hence putting into Harwich, they staid long, and lost much time. At length passing by Shetland, they kenn'd a far off Ægelands, being an innumerable sort of Islands call'd Roft Islands in 66.
degrees. Thence to *Lofoot* in 68, to *Seinam* in 70 degrees; these Islands belong all to the Crown of *Denmark*. Whence departing, Sir Hugh Willowby set out his Flag, by which he call’d together the chief men of his other Ships to counsel; where they conclude, in case they happen’d to be scatter’d by Tempeft, that *Wardhouse*, a noted Haven in *Finmark* be the appointed place of thir meeting. The very same day afternoon so great a Tempeft arose, that the Ships were some driv’n one way, some another in great peril. The General with his loudest voice call’d to *Chancelor* not to be far from him; but in vain, for the Admiral failing much better than his Ship, and bearing all her Sails, was carried with great swiftnesse soon out of sight; but before that, the Ship-boat striking against her Ship was overwhelmed in view of the *Bonaventure*, wherof *Chancelor* was Captain. The third Ship also in the same Storm was lost. But Sir Hugh Willowby escaping that Storm, and wandring on those desolate Seas till the 18th of *September*, put into a Haven where they had weather as in the depth of Winter; and there determining to abide till Spring, sent out three men South-West to find Inhabitants; who journey’d three days, but found none; then other three went Westward four days journey, and lastly three South East three days; but they all returning without news of People, or any sign of Habitation, Sir Hugh with the Company of his two Ships abode there till January, as appears by a Will since found in one of the Ships; but then perish’d all with cold. This River or Haven was *Arzina* in *Lapland* near to *Kegor*, where they were found dead the year after by certain *Russian* Fishermen. Wherof the English Agent at *Moscovia* having notice, sent and recover’d the

---

Ships with the dead Bodies and most of the Goods, and sent them for England; but the Ships being unstaunch, as is suppos'd, by thir two years wintring in Lapland, sunk by the way with their dead, and them also that brought them. But now Chancelor with his Ship and Company thus left, shap'd his course to Ward-house, the place agreed on to expect the rest; where having staid seven days without tidings of them, he resolves at length to hold on his Voyage; and sail'd so far till he found no night, but continual day and Sun clearly shining on that huge and vast Sea for certain days. At length they enter into a great Bay, nam'd, as they knew after, from Saint Nicholas; and spying a Fisher-boat, made after him to know what People they were. The Fishermen amaz'd with the greatness of his Ship, to them a strange and new sight, sought to fly; but overtak'n, in great fear they prostrate themselves, and offer to kiss his feet; but he raising them up with all signs and gestures of courtezie, sought to win thir Friendship. They no sooner dismift, but spread abroad the arrival of a strange Nation, whose humanity they spake of with great affection; wherupon the People running together, with like return of all courteous usage receive them; offering them Victuals freely; nor refusing to traffick, but for a Loyal Custom which bound them from that, without first the consent had of thir King. After mutual demands of each other's Nation, they found themselves to be in Russia, where Juan Vasiliiwich at that time reign'd Emperor. To whom privily the Governour of that place sending notice of the strange Guests that were arriv'd, held in the mean while our Men in what suspense he could. The Emperor well pleas'd with so unexpected a Message, invites them to his Court, offering them Post-horsey at his own charge, or if the journey seem'd overlong, that they might freely traffic where they were. But
A Brief History of Moscovia.

Were this Messenger could return, having lost his way, the Muscovites themselves, loth that our men should depart which they made shew to do, furnish’d them with Guides and other Conveniences to bring them to thir King’s Presence. Chancelor had now gon more than half his journey, when the Sled-man sent to Court meets him on the way; delivers him the Emperor’s Letters; which when the Russes understood, so willing they were, to obey the Contents therof, that they quarrell’d and strove who should have the preferment to put his Horses to the Sled. So after a long and troublesome journey of 1500 miles he arrived at Mosco. After he had remain’d in the City about 12 days, a Messenger was sent to bring them to the King’s House. Being enter’d within the Court-Gates, and brought into an outward Chamber, they beheld there a very honourable Company, to the number of a hunder’d, fitting all apparell’d in Cloth of gold down to thir Ancles: next conducted to the Chamber of Presence, there sate the Emperor on a lofty and very Royal Throne; on his Head a Diadem of gold, his Robe all of Goldsmiths work, in his Hand a Chrysfal Sceptre garnish’d and beset with precious Stones; no less was his Countenance full of Majesty. Beside him stood his chief Secretary; on his other side the great Commander of Silence, both in Cloth of gold; then sate his Council of 150 round about on high Seats, clad all as richly. Chancelor nothing abash’d, made his obeysance to the Emperor after the English manner. The Emperor having taken and read his Letters, after some enquiry of King Edward’s Health, invited them to dinner, and till then dismiss’d them. But before dismission the Secretary presented thir Present bare-headed; till which time they were all cover’d; and before admittance our men had charge not to speak, but when
the Emperor demanded ought. Having sat two hours in the Secretary's Chamber, they were at length call'd in to dinner; where the Emperor was set at Table, now in a Robe of Silver, and another Crown on his Head. This place was call'd the golden Palace, but without cause, for the English-men had seen many fairer; round about the room, but at distance, were other long Tables; in the midst a Cupboard of huge and massive goblets, and other Vessels of gold and silver; among the rest four great Flagons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of Towers and Dragons heads. The Guests ascended to thir Tables by three steps; all apparell'd in Linen, and that lin'd with rich Furs. The Messes came in without order, but all in Chargers of Gold, both to the Emperor, and to the rest that din'd there, which were two hundred Persons; on every Board also were set Cups of gold without number. The Servitors one hundred and forty were likewise array'd in gold, and waited with Caps on thir heads. They that are in high favour, sit on the same Bench with the Emperor, but far off. Before Meat came in, according to the custom of thir Kings, he sent to every Guest a slice of Bread; whom the Officer naming, saith thus, John Basilrwich Emperor of Russ, &c. doth reward thee with Bread, at which words all men stand up. Then were Swans in several pieces serv'd in, each piece in a several Dish, which the Great Duke sends about as the Bread, and so likewise the Drink. In dinner time he twice chang'd his Crown, his Waiters thrice thir Apparel; to whom the Emperor in like manner gives both Bread and Drink with his own hands; which they say is done to the intent that he may perfectly know his own Household; and indeed when Dinner was done, he call'd his Nobles every one before him by name; and by this time
Candles were brought in, for it grew dark; and the English departed to their Lodgings from Dinner, an hour within night.

In the year 1555 Chancelor made another Voyage to this place with Letters from Queen Mary; had a House in Mosco, and Diet appointed him; and was soon admitted to the Emperor's Presence in a large room spread with Carpets; at his entering and salutation all stood up, the Emperor only sitting, except when the Queen's Name was read or spoken; for then he himself would rise: at Dinner he sat bare-headed, his Crown and rich Cap standing on a Pinnacle by. Chancelor returning for England, Ofep Napea Governour of Wologda came in his Ship Ambassador from the Ruffs; but suffering Shipwrack in Pettislego, a Bay in Scotland, Chancelor, who took more care to save the Ambassador than himself, was drown'd, the Ship rifled, and most of her lading made booty by the People therabout.

In the year 1557 Ofep Napea returned into his Country with Anthony Jenkinson who had the command of four tall Ships. He reports of a Whirlpool between the Roft Islands and Lofoot call'd Malestrand; which from half ebb till half flood is heard to make such a terrible noise, as shakes the Door-rings of Houses in those Islands ten mile off; Wales that come within the Current therof make a pitiful cry; Trees carried in and cast out again, have the ends and boughs of them so beaten, as they seem like the stalks of bruized Hemp. About Zeinam they saw many Whales very monstrous hard by thir Ships; wherof some by estimation sixty foot long; they roard hideously, it being then the time of thir engendring. At Wardhoufe he faith the Cattel are fed with Fith. Coming to Mosco, he found the Emperor sitting aloft

4 Hack. 258, 263, 465. 5 Ibid. 286. 6 Ibid. 310, &c.
in a Chair of State, richly Crown'd, a Staff of gold in his hand wrought with costly stone. Distant from him sat his Brother, and a Youth the Emperor's Son of Casan, whom the Russi had conquer'd; there din'd with him diverse Ambassadors, Christian and Heathen, diversely apparell'd; his Brother with some of the chief Nobles sat with him at Table: the Guests were in all six hundred. In Dinner-time came in six Musicians, and standing in the midst, sung three several times, but with little or no delight to our men; there din'd at the same time in other Halls two thousand Tartars who came to serve the Duke in his Wars. The English were set at a small Table by themselves direct before the Emperor; who sent them diverse Bowls of Wine and Meath, and many Dishes from his own hand: the Messes were but mean, but the change of Wines and several Meaths were wonderful. As oft as they din'd with the Emperor, he sent for them in the morning, and invited them with his own Mouth. On Christmas-day being invited, they had for other provision as before; but for store of gold and silver Plate excessive; among which were twelve Barrels of silver, hoop'd with fine gold, containing twelve gallons a piece.

1560. Was the first English traffick to the Narve in Livonia, till then conceal'd by Danskers and Lubeckers.

1561. The same Anthony Jenkinson made another Voyage to Mosco; and arriv'd while the Emperor was celebrating his Marriage with a Circassian Lady; during which time the City Gates for three days were kept shut; and all men whatsoever straitly commanded to keep within thir Houses, except some of his Household; the cause wherof is not known.

1566. He made again the same Voyage; which

---

7 Hack. 317. 8 Ibid. 311.
now men usually made in a month from London to Saint Nicholas with good Winds, being seven hundred and fifty leagues.

1568. Thomas Randolf, Esquire, went Ambassador to Muscovy, from Queen Elizabeth; and in his passage by Sea met nothing remarkable save great store of Whales, whom they might see engendering together, and the Sperma-ceti swimming on the Water. At Colmogro he was met by a Gentleman from the Emperor, at whose charge he was conducted to Mosco: but met there by no man, not so much as the English; lodg'd in a fair House built for Ambassadors; but there confin'd upon some suspicion which the Emperor had conceav'd; sent for at length after seventeen weeks delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrow'd Horse, his men on foot. In a Chamber before the Presence were sitting about three hundred Persons, all in rich Robes taken out of the Emperor's Wardrobe for that day; they sat on three ranks of Benches, rather for shew than that the Persons were of honour; being Merchants and other mean Inhabitants. The Ambassador saluted them, but by them unsaluted pass'd on with his Head cover'd. At the Presence-door being receiv'd by two which had been his Guardians, and brought into the midst, he was there will'd to stand still, and speak his message from the Queen; at whose name the Emperor stood up, and demanded her health: then giving the Ambassador his Hand to kiss, fell to many questions. The Present being deliver'd, which was a great silver Bowl curiously grav'n, the Emperor told him he din'd not that day openly because of great affairs; but, faith he, I will send thee my Dinner, and augment thy Allowance. And so dismissing him, sent a Duke richly apparell'd soon

9 Hack. 373.
after to his Lodging with fifty Persons, each of them carrying Meat in silver Dishes cover’d; which himself deliver’d into the Ambassador’s own hands, tasting first of every Dish, and every sort of Drink; that don, set him down with his Company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The Emperor sent back with this Ambassador another of his own call’d Andrew Savin.

1571. Jenkinson made a third Voyage; but was stay’d long at Colmogro by reason of the Plague in those Parts; at length had audience where the Court then was, near to Pereslave; to which place the Emperor was return’d from his Swedish War with ill success: and Mosco the same year had been wholly burnt by the Crim; in it the English house, and diverse English were smother’d in the Sellars, multitudes of people in the City perish’d, all that were young led captive with exceeding spoil.

1583. Juan Basilvitch\(^{10}\) having the year before sent his Ambassador Pheodor Andrewich about matters of Commerce, the Queen made choice of Sir Jerom Bowes, one of her Household, to go into Russia; who being attended with more than 40 Persons, and accompanied with the Russian returning home, arriv’d at St. Nicolas. The Dutch by this time had intruded into the Muscovy-Trade; which by privilege long before had been granted solely to the English; and had corrupted to thir side Shalkan the Chancellor, with others of the great ones; who so wrought, that a Creature of thir own was sent to meet Sir Jerom at Colmogro, and to offer him occasions of dislike: Until at Vologda he was receiv’d by another from the Emperor; and at Yeraslave by a Duke well accompanied, who presented him with a Coach and ten Geldings. Two miles from Mosco met him four

---

\(^{10}\) Hack. vol. i. 458.
Gentlemen with two hundred horse, who after short salutation, told him what they had to say from the Emperor, willing him to alight, which the Ambas-

sador soon refus'd, unless they also lighted; wheron they stood long debating; at length agreed, great dis-

pute follow'd, whose foot should first touch the ground. Thir Message deliver'd, and then embrac-

ing they conducted the Ambassador to a house at Mosco, built for him purposely. At his going to

Court he and his followers honorably mounted and apparell'd, the Emperor's Guard were set on either

side all the way about 6000 hot. At the Court-

gate met him four Noblemen in cloth of Gold, and

rich Fur-caps, embroider'd with Pearl and Stone;

then four others of greater degree, in which passage

there stood along the Walls, and sat on Benches seven

or eight hundred men in colour'd Sattins and gold. At

the Presence-door met him the chief Herald, and

with him all the Great Officers of Court, who brought

him where the Emperor sat: there were set by him

three Crowns of Muscovy, Cazan and Astracan; on

each side stood two young Noblemen, costly appa-

rell'd in white; each of them had a broad Ax on

his shoulder; on the Benches round sat above a hun-
dred Noblemen. Having giv'n the Ambassador his

hand to kiss, and enquir'd of the Queen's health, he

will'd him to go fit in the place provided for him,
nigh ten paces distant; from thence to send him the

Queen's Letters and Present. Which the Ambassa-
dor thinking not reasonable, step'd forward; but the

Chancellor meeting him, would have taken his Let-
ters; to whom the Ambassador said, that the Queen

had directed no Letters to him; and so went on and
deliver'd them to the Emperor's own hands; and

after a short withdrawing into the Council-Cham-

ber, where he had Conference with som of the

Council, he was call'd in to dinner: about the midst
wherof, the Emperor standing up drank a deep Carouse to the Queen's Health, and sent to the Ambassador a great Bowl of Rhenish Wine to pledg him. But at several times being call'd for to treat about Affairs, and not yielding ought beyond his Commission, the Emperor not wont to be gain-say'd, one day especially broke into passion, and with a stern Countenance told him, he did not reckon the Queen to be his fellow: for there are, quoth he, her betters. The Ambassador not holding it his part, whatever danger might ensue, to hear any derogate from the Majesty of his Princess, with like courage and countenance told him, that the Queen was equal to any in Christendom who thought himself greatest; and wanted not means to offend her Enemies whomsoever. Yea, quoth he, what faift thou of the French and Spanish Kings? I hold her, quoth the Ambassador, equal to either. Then what to the German Emperor? Her Father, quoth he, had the Emperor in his pay. This answer mislik'd the Duke so far, as that he told him, were he not an Ambassador, he would throw him out of doors. You may, said the Ambassador, do your will, for I am now fast in your Country; but the Queen I doubt not will know how to be reveng'd of any injury offer'd to her Ambassador. Wherat the Emperor in great sudden bid him get home; and he with no more reverence than such usage requir'd, saluted the Emperor, and went his way. Notwithstanding this, the Muscovite, soon as his mood left him, spake to them that stood by, many praises of the Ambassador, wishing he had such a Servant, and presently after sent his chief Secretary to tell him that whatever had pass'd in words, yet for his great respect to the Queen, he would shortly after dispatch him with honour and full contentment, and in the mean while he much enlarg'd his entertainment. He also desir'd
that the Points of our Religion might be set down, and caus'd them to be read to his Nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had fought in marriage the Lady Mary Hastings, which took not effect, the Lady and her Friends excusing it, he now again renew'd the motion to take to Wife some one of the Queen's Kinswomen, either by sending an Ambassado, or going himself with his Treasure into England. Now happy was that Nobleman whom Sir Jerom Bows in public favour'd; unhappy they who had oppos'd him: for the Emperor had beaten Shalkan the Chancellor very grievously for that cause, and threatn'd not to leave one of his race alive. But the Emperor dying soon after of a Surfeit, Shalkan, to whom then almost the whole Government was committed, caus'd the Ambassador to remain close Prisoner in his House nine weeks. Being sent for at length to have his dispatch, and slightly enough conducted to the Council-Chamber, he was told by Shalkan that this Emperor would condescend to no other agreements than were between his Father and the Queen before his coming: and so disarming both him and his Company, brought them to the Emperor with many affronts in their passage, for which there was no help but patience. The Emperor saying but over what the Chancellor had said before, offer'd him a Letter for the Queen: which the Ambassador, knowing it contain'd nothing to the purpose of his Embassey, refus'd, till he saw his danger grow too great; nor was he suffer'd to reply, or have his Interpreter. Shalkan sent him word that now the English Emperor was dead; and hasten'd his departure, but with so many disgraces put upon him, as made him fear some mischief in his journey to the Sea; having only one mean Gentleman sent with him to be his Convoy: he commanded the English
Merchants in the Queen’s name to accompany him, but such was his danger, that they durst not. So arming himself and his Followers in the best wise he could, against any outrage, he at length recover’d the Shoar of Saint Nicholas. Where he now resolved to send them back by his Conduct some of the affronts which he had receiv’d. Ready therefore to take Ship, he causes three or four of his valiantest and discreetest men to take the Emperor’s Letter, and disgraceful Present, and to deliver it, or leave it at the Lodging of his Convoy, which they safely did; though follow’d with a great Tumult of such as would have forc’d them to take it back.

1584. At the Coronation of Pheodor the Emperor, Jerom Horsay being then Agent in Russia, and call’d for to Court with one John de Wale a Merchant of the Netherlands and a subject of Spain, some of the Nobles would have prefer’d the Fleming before the English. But to that our Agent would in no case agree, saying he would rather have his Legs cut off by the Knees, than bring his Present in course after a Subject of Spain. The Emperor and Prince Boris perceiving the Controversy, gave order to admit Horsay first: who was dismiss’d with large Promises, and seventy Messes with three Carts of several Meath sent after him.

1588. Dr. Giles Fletcher went Ambassador from the Queen to Pheodor then Emperor; whose Relations being judicious and exact, are best read entirely by themselves. This Emperor upon report of the great Learning of John Dee the Mathematician, invited him to Mosco with offer of two thousand pounds a year, and from Prince Boris one thousand Marks; to have his Provision from the Emperor’s Table, to

11 Hack. 508.
be honourably receiv'd, and accounted as one of the chief men in the Land. All which Dee accepted not.

1604. Sir Thomas Smith was sent Ambassador from King James to Boris then Emperor; and stayed some days at a place five miles from Mosco till he was honourably receiv'd into the City; met on horseback by many thousands of Gentlemen and Nobles on both sides the way; where the Ambassador alighting from his Coach, and mounted on his Horse, rode with his Trumpets sounding before him; till a Gentleman of the Emperor's Stable brought him a Genet gorgeously trapt with Gold, Pearl, and Stone, especially with a great Chain of plated Gold about his Neck, and Horses richly adorn'd for his Followers. Then came three great Noblemen with an Interpreter offering a Speech; but the Ambassador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief Compliment found means to put it by. Thus alighting all, they saluted, and gave hands mutually. Those three after a tedious preamble of the Emperor's Title thrice repeated, brought a several Compliment of three words apiece, as namely, the first, To know how the King did; the next, How the Ambassador; the third, That there was a fair House provided him. Then on they went on either hand of the Ambassador, and about six thousand Gallants behind them; still met within the City by more of greater quality to the very Gate of his lodging: where fifty Gunners were his daily Guard both at home and abroad. The Preflaves or Gentlemen assign'd to have the care of his entertainment, were earnest to have had the Ambassador's Speech and Message given them in writing, that the Interpreter, as they pretended, might the better translate it; but he admonish'd them of thir foolish demand. On the day of his audience other Gennets were sent him and his Attendants to ride on, and
two white Palfreys to draw a rich Chariot, which was parcel of the Present; the rest wherof was carried by his Followers through a lane of the Emperor’s Guard; many Messengers posting up and down the while, till they came through the great Castle, to the uttermost Court-gate. There met by a great Duke, they were brought up stairs through a Stone-gallery, where stood on each hand many in fair Coats of Persian Stuff, Velvet, and Damask. The Ambassador by two other Counsellors being led into the presence, after his obeysance don, was to stay and hear again the long Title repeated; then the particular Presents; and so deliver’d as much of his Embassy as was then requisite. After which the Emperor arising from his Throne, demanded of the King’s health; so did the young Prince. The Ambassador then deliver’d his Letters into the Emperor’s own hand, though the Chancellor offer’d to have taken them. He bore the Majesty of a mighty Emperor; his Crown and Sceptre of pure Gold, a Collar of Pearls about his neck, his Garment of crimson Velvet embroider’d with precious Stone and Gold. On his right Side stood a fair Globe of beaten Gold on a Pyramis with a Cross upon it; to which before he spake, turning a little he crost himself. Not much less in splendour on another Throne sat the Prince. By the Emperor stood two Noblemen in Cloth of Silver, high Caps of black Fur, and Chains of gold hanging to thir Feet; on thir Shoulders two Poleaxes of gold, and two of silver by the Prince; the ground was all cover’d with Arras or Tapistry. Dismist, and brought in again to dinner, they saw the Emperor and his Son seated in state, ready to dine; each with a Skull of Pearl on thir bare Heads, thir Vestments chang’d. In the midst of this Hall seem’d to stand a Pillar heap’d round to a great height with massy Plate curiously wrought
with Beasts, Fishes, and Fowl. The Emperor's Table was serv'd with two hundred Noblemen in Coats of gold; the Princess Table with young Dukes of Casan, Astracan, Siberia, Tartaria and Circassia. The Emperor sent from his Table to the Ambassador, thirty dishes of Meat, to each a Loaf of extraordinary fine Bread. Then follow'd a number more of strange and rare dishes pil'd up by half dozens, with boil'd, roast and bak't, most part of them besawc'd with Garlick and Onions. In midst of dinner calling the Ambassador up to him, he drank the King's health, who receiving it from his hand, return'd to his place, and in the same Cup being of fair Chrysfal pledg'd it with all his Company. After dinner they were call'd up to drink of excellent and strong Meath from the Emperor's hand; of which when many did but sip, he urg'd it not; saying he was best pleas'd with what was most for thir health. Yet after that, the same day he sent a great and glorious Duke, one of them that held the golden Poleax, with his Retinue, and sundry sorts of Meath to drink merrily with the Ambassador, which some of the English did, until the Duke and his Followers light-headed, but well rewarded with thirty yards of Cloth of gold, and two standing Cups, departed. At second audience the Ambassador had like reception as before: and being dismiss'd, had dinner sent after him with three hundred several dishes of Fis'h, it being Lent, of such strangenesfs, greatnesf and goodnesf, as scarce would be credible to report. The Ambassador departing, was brought a mile out of the City with like honour as he was first met; where lighting from the Emperor's Sled, he took him to his Coach, made fast upon a Sled; the rest to thir Sleds, an easy and pleasant passage.
Names of the Authors from whence these Relations have been taken: being all either Eye-witnesses, or immediate Relaters from such as were.

The Journal of Sir Hugh Willowby.
Discourse of Richard Chancelor.
Another of Clement Adams taken from the mouth of Chancelor.
Notes of Richard Johnson, Servant to Chancelor.
The Protonotaries Register.
Two Letters of Mr. Hen. Lane.
Several Voyages of Jenkinson.
Southam and Sparks.
The Journal of Randolf the Embassador.
Another of Sir Jerom Bowes.
The Coronation of Pheodor, written by Jerom Horfey.
Gourdon of Hull's Voyage to Pechora.
The Voyage of William Pursglove to Pechora.
Of Jofias Logan.
Heffel Gerardus, out of Purchas, part 3. l. 3.
Russian Relations in Purch. 797. ibid. 806. ibid.
The Embassage of Sir Thomas Smith.
Papers of Mr. Hackluit.
Jansonius.
Index.

ARON, his priesthood no pattern to ground episcopacy on, vol. i. 111.
Abimelech, Remarks on the manner of his death, vi. 66.
Abraham, commanded by God to send away his irreligious wife, ii. 40. His paying tithes to Melchisedec, no authority for our paying them now, iii. 347, 361, 378.
Abramites, the example of the ancient fathers for image-worship, i. 89.
Accidence, Reasons for joining it and grammar together, iv. 431.
Acworth, University-Orator, the memory of Bucer and Fagius celebrated by him, ii. 291.
Adam, left free to choose, ii. 418. Created in the image of God, ii. 145. His alliance with Eve, nearer than that of any couple since, ii. 160.
Adda, succeeds his father Ida in the kingdom of Bernicia, iii. 129.
Adminius, son of Cunobeline, banished his country, flees to the Emperor Caligula, and stirs him up against it, iii. 47.
Adultery, not the only reason for divorce, according to the law of Moses, ii. 18. Not the greatest breach of matrimony, ii. 45. Punished with death, by the Law, ii. 239. Our Saviour's sentence relating to it, explained, ii. 244.
Æduans, in Burgundy, employ the Britons to build their temples and public edifices, iii. 83.
Aganippus, a Gaulish king, marries Cordella, daughter of King Leir, iii. 17. Restores her father to his throne, iii. 19.
Agatha, Decree of the council there, concerning divorce, ii. 268.
Agricola, son of Severianus, spreads the Pelagian doctrine in Britain, iii. 104.
Aidan, a Scotch Bishop, sent for by Oswald, to settle religion, iii. 154. Has his episcopal seat at Lindisfarne, ibid. Dies for grief of the murder of Osuin, iii. 157.
Alaric, takes Rome from the Emperor Honorius, iii. 92.
Alban, of Verulam, with others, suffers martyrdom under Dioclesian, iii. 84.
AlbanaDs, one of the three sons of Brutus, that has Albania, now Scotland, for his share in the kingdom, iii. 13.
Albert, said to have shared the kingdom of the East-angles with Humbeanna after Elfwald, iii. 187.
Albina, said to be the eldest of Dioclesian's fifty daughters, iii. 5. From her the name Albion derived, ibid.
Albion, the ancient name of this island, iii. 4, 5. Whence derived, ibid.
Alciat, his opinion concerning divorce, ii. 282.
Aldred slaying Ethelwald, usurps the kingdom of the Northumbrians, iii. 176.
Aldfrid, recall'd from Ireland, succeeds his brother Eofrid in the Northumbrian kingdom, iii. 167. Leaves Osfred, a child, to succeed him, iii. 169.
Index.

Aldulf, nephew of Ethelwald, succeeds King of the East-angles, iii. 186.

Alcatus, treacherously slays his friend Carausius, iii. 82. Is overthrown by Aseclepiodotus, and slain, iii. 83.

Alemannus, reported one of the four sons of Hiltion, descended from Japhet; of whom the Alemanni or Germans, iii. 5.

Alfage, Archbishop of Canterbury, inhumanely used by the Danes, iii. 251. Killed by Thrum, a Dane, in commisération of his misery, iii. 252.

Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwold, and successor of his brother Ethelred, encounters the Danes at Wilton, iii. 202. Routes the whole Danish power at Edindon, and brings them to terms, iii. 205. He is said to have bestowed the East-angles upon Gydro, a Danish king, who had been lately baptized, iii. 206. A long war afterwards maintained between him and the Danes, iii. 207, 208. He dies in the 30th year of his reign, and is buried at Winchelsea, iii. 211. His noble character, iii. 211, 212.

Alfwold, driving out Eardulf, usurps the kingdom of Northumberland, iii. 185.

Algar, Earl of Howland, now Holland, Morcard, lord of Brunne, and Olgot, governor of Lincoln, kill a great multitude of Danes in battle, with three of their kings, iii. 199. Overpowered by numbers, and drawn into a snare, Algar dies, valiantly fighting, iii. 200.

Algar, the son of Leofric, banished by King Edward, joins Griffin Prince of South-Wales, iii. 285, 286. Unable to withstand Harold Earl of Kent, submits to the King, and is restored, iii. 286. Banished again, he recovers his earldom by force, iii. 287.

Alipius, made deputy of the British province, in the room of Martinus, iii. 86.

Alta, begins the kingdom of Deira in the south part of Northumberland, iii. 128.

Alvic, King of Kent, after Ethelbert the Second, iii. 177. With him dying, ends the race of Hengist, iii. 181.

Ambassador. See French, Spanish, &c.

Ambassadors of Christ, who style themselves so, iii. 380. Not to ask maintenance of those to whom they are sent, ibid.

Ambrose, his notion of wedlock, ii. 267. Excommunicated Theodosius, i. 520. His conduct to that emperor remarked, vi. 93. Refits the higher powers, contrary to his own doctrine, vi. 121.

Ambrosius Aurelianus, dreaded by Vortigern, iii. 118. Defeats the Saxons, iii. 119. Uncertain whether the son of Constantine the usurper, or the same with Merlin, and son of a Roman consul, iii. 119. Succeeds Vortigern as chief monarch of the ille, ibid.

Ames, Dr. his definition of marriage, ii. 171.

Anabaptists, accused of denying infants their right to baptism, iii. 409.

Anaelus, the friend of King Pandraeus, taken in fight by Brutus, iii. 8. Forced by Brutus to betray his countrymen, ibid.

Andragus, one in the catalogue of ancient Britifh kings, iii. 26.

Andrews, bishop, and the primitive of Armagh, maintain that church-government is to be patterned from the law, i. 107. Their arguments for episcopacy examined, i. 113.

Androgeus, one of Lud’s sons, has London assigned him, and Kent, iii. 27. Forfakes his claim to the kingdom, and follows Caesar’s fortune, iii. 47.
Index. 523

Angels, of the seven Asian churches, whether to be taken collectively, or individually, i. 226.
Anger, and laughter, why first seated in the breast of man, i. 186.
Animadversions on the Remonstrants's Defence against Smeectymnuus, i. 184.
Anlaf the Dane, with his army of Irifh, and Conftantine King of Scotland, utterly discomfited by King Atheltan, iii. 223, 224.
Anna sucedes Sigebert in the kingdom of the East-angles, iii. 156. Is slain in war by Penda the Mercian, iii. 158.
Anthony, Mark, quoted by Salmasius for the prerogative royal, vi. 52.
Antigonus, the brother of King Pandrasus, taken in fight by Brutus, iii. 8.
Antinomianifme and Familifme, con sidered, ii. 55.
Antioch, had not the name of Theopolis, till Juftinian's time, i. 79.
Antiquity, custom, canons, and council, no warrant for superstitious practices, i. 220.
Antoninus, fet against the Caledonians, by his father Severus, iii. 79. After whose death he takes hostages, and departs to Rome, ibid.
Apocalypse, of St. John, the majeftic image of a ftately tragedy, i. 146.
Apology for Smeectynnuus, i. 250.
Aphafes, instituted prebifters to govern the church, i. 129. Appointed a number of grave and faithful brethren to affift the minifter of each congregation, i. 164. Not properly bishops, i. 463.
Arcadia, Sir Philip Sidney's; K. C.'s prayer ftolen thence, i. 346.
Archibald, deposed for his tyranny, iii. 24. Being restored by his brother, he then reigns worthy, iii. 25.
Archimaihus, one in the number of ancient Britifh kings, iii. 26.
Areopagitica, Speech for unlicensed printing under that title, ii. 395.
Areopus, judges of, condemn the books of Protagoras to be burned, ii. 401.
Aretius, his opinion concerning divorce, ii. 281.
Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, his wife's bold reply to the Emprefs Julia, iii. 78.
Arians and Socinians, their notions of the Trinity, iii. 410.
Ariminum, Synod of more than 400 bishops appointed to assemble there, by Conftantius, iii. 85.
Arifotle, his definition of a king, ii. 459. Reckons up five sorts of monarchies, vi. 42. Salmasius's extract from his third book of politics, vi. 128. Commends the kingdom of the Lacedemonians, vi. 163. His definition of a tyrant, vi. 235.
Arminians, their tenets, iii. 410.
Armorica in France, peopled by Britons that fled from the Saxons, iii. 115.
Army, Englifh, offered the spoil of London, if they would destroy the parliament, i. 359. Obedience and fidelity to the supreme magiftrates recommended to them, iii. 402.
Aron, a Britifh martyr under Diocefian, iii. 84.
Artbur, the victory at Badon-hill, by some ascribed to him, which by others is attributed to Ambrofe, iii. 123, 124. Who he was, and whether the author of such famous acts as are related of him, iii. 124, 125.
Artis Logicae plenior Institutio, v. 1.
Arviragus, engaging against Claudius, keeps up the battle to a victory, by perforating his flain brother Guiderius, iii. 50.
Ascham, Anthony, fent as agent to Spain, from the Englifh Commonwealth, vi. 257. Juflice demanded
of the King of Spain against his murderers, vi. 268.

Affaracus, a Trojan prince, joins with Brutus against Pandraeus, iii. 7.

Assembly of divines, Tract of divorce addresed to them, ii. 3.

Athanajius, his notion concerning kings, vi. 93.

Athelstan, the son of King Edward the elder, by a concubine, solemnly crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, iii. 221. The conspiracy of one Alfred and his accomplices against him discovered, ibid. He gives his sister Edgith to Sitric the Dane, but drives Anlaf and Guthfert out of their kingdom, iii. 222. The story of his dealing with his brother Edwin questioned as improbable, ibid. He overthrows a vast army of Scotch and Irish, under Anlaf and Constantine, King of Scotland, iii. 223, 224. He dies at Gloucefter, and is buried at Malmfbury, iii. 226. His character, iii. 226, 227.

Athens, their magistrates took notice only of two forts of writings, ii. 400.

Attacots invade the south coast of Britain, iii. 86.

Auguf tus, Libels burnt, and the authors punifhed by him, ii. 402.

Aulus Plautius sent against Britain by the Emperor Claudius, iii. 48. He overthrows Caractacus and Togodumnus, ibid. Is very much put to it by the Britons, iii. 49. Sends to Claudius to come over, and joins with him, ibid. Leaves the country quiet, and returns triumphant to Rome, iii. 50, 51.

Aurelius Conanus, a Britifh king, one of the five that is said to have reigned toward the beginning of the Saxon heptarchy, iii. 132.

Autfin, what he accounted a becoming solace for Adam, ii. 155. Allows fornication a sufficient cause for divorce, ii. 268. His opinion why God created a wife for Adam, ii. 361. A maintainer of the clergy's right to tithes, iii. 357. Sent with others from Rome, to preach the Gospel to the Saxons, iii. 138. Is received by King Ethelbert, who hears him in a great assembly, iii. 139. Is ordained archbishop of the English, iii. 140. Hath his seat at Canterbury, iii. 141. Summons together the Britifh bishops, requiring them to conform with him in points wherein they differ, iii. 142. Upon their refusal, he flirs up Ethelfred against them, to the slaughter of 1200 monks, iii. 144.

Autfria, archduke of, fee Leopold.

Autarchy, mentioned by Marcus Aurelius, what it is, vi. 56.

Authorities, for the difference of bishops and prefbyters, not to be depended on, i. 78.

BACON, Sir Francif, his complaint of the bishops' partiality in licensing pamphlets, i. 189.


Badon-bill, the ill improvement the Britifh made of their sucess there, iii. 129.

Banger, monks of, live by their own labour, iii. 142. Go to a conference with Autfin, ibid.

Baptifm, sacrament of, feems cancelled by the sign added thereto, i. 155.

Barclay, traduces the English as to their religious tenets, i. 134.

Bardus, one of the first race of kings, fabled to have reigned in this ifland, iii. 4. Descended from Samothes, iii. 3.

Bafif, his opinion as to divorce, ii. 266. Calls the bishops slaves of slaves, i. 467.

Barb, by whom built, iii. 16. Its medicinal waters dedicated to Minerva, ibid.
Bees, the government among them quoted to prove the pope's supremacy, vi. 41.

Belfast, representation and exhortation of the presbytery there, ii. 549. Remarks on them, 567, &c.

Belgic, Helvetia, and Geneva, their churchmen remarkable for learning, i. 239.

Belinus succeeds his father Dunwallo, iii. 21. His contentions with his brother Brennus, ibid. Their reconciliation, iii. 22. Built the tower of London, ibid.

Beorn, precedes Ethelred in the kingdom of the East-angles, iii. 187.

Bericus, fleeing to Rome, persuades the Emperor Claudius to invade this island, iii. 48.

Berinus, a bishop sent by Pope Honorius, converts the West-Saxons and their kings to Christianity, iii. 155.

Bernicia, kingdom of, in Northumberland, begun by Ida, the Saxon, iii. 128.

Bernulf, usurping the kingdom of Mercia from Keolwulf, is overthrown by Ecbert at Ellandune, iii. 186. Fleeing to the East-angles, is by them slain, ibid.

Besa, his interpretation of the word πρεσβυτέρον, i. 223. His opinion, of regulating sin by apostolic laws, not found, ii. 96. His testimony concerning Martin Bucer, ii. 289. His notion concerning divorce, ii. 280.

Bible, put by the papists in the first rank of prohibited books, ii. 413.

Bigot, Emeric, letter to, v. 399.

Birthric, King of the West Saxons after Kinwulf, iii. 178. Secretly seeks the life of Ecbert, iii. 183. Is poisoned by a cup which his wife had prepared for another, iii. 184.

Bishop and deacon, the only ecclesiastical orders mentioned in the Gospel, i. 92.

Bishopric, the author's opinion of it, i. 304.

Bishops, have been as the Canaanites and Philistines to this kingdom, i. 41. By their opposition to King John, Normandy lost, he depofed, and the kingdom made over to the pope, ibid. No bishop, no king, an absurd position, i. 42. Sometimes we read of two in one place, i. 86. Not an order above presbyters, ibid. Elected with contention and bloodshed, i. 122. St. Paul's description of and exhortation to them, i. 217. Not to be compared with Timothy, i. 225. If made by God, yet the bishopric is the king's gift, i. 239. Most potent, when princes happen to be most weak, i. 462.

Bladud, the son of Rudhuddibras, builds Caerbadus, or Bath, iii. 16.

Bleduno, one in the number of the ancient Britifh kings, iii. 26.

Blegabredus, his excellency in music, iii. 26.

Blindness, infirmities of men of worth afflicted with, iv. 267.

Boadicia, the wife of Praetutagus, together with her daughters, abused by the Roman soldiers, iii. 58. Commands in chief in the Britifh army against the Romans, iii. 61. Vanquifhed by Suetonius, supposed to have poisoned herself, iii. 62.

Bodin, though a papif, affirms presbyterian church-discipline to be befit, i. 160.

Bonomattai, Benedict, letters to, v. 379.

Bonojus, endeavouring to make himself emperor, but vanquifhed by Probus, hangs himself, iii. 80. A sarcasm on his drunkennefs, ibid.

Books, the heinous crime of killing good ones, ii. 400. Some good,
some bad; left to each man's discretion, ii. 409. Tho' of papists suffered to be fold and read, iii. 417.

Bordaelloes, author's defence from the accusation of frequenting them, i. 266—268.

Boris procures the death of the Emperor of Russia, and then ascends the throne, vi. 494. His method to procure the people's love, vi. 495.

Bowes, Sir Jerom, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Russia, his reception and negotiations at that court, vi. 511—515.

Bradston, the power of kings limited, according to him, vi. 212.

Bradshaw, John, character of, iv. 299.

Bradshaw, Richard, sent as agent from the English commonwealth to Hamborough, vi. 267.

Brandenburg, Frederic William, Marquis of, Oliver's letters to him, vi. 383, 388.

Bras, Lord Henry de, letters to, v. 401, 405.

Breme, the protector's letters to the confuls and senators of that city, vi. 316, 384.

Brennus and Belinus, the sons of Dunwallo Molmuthius, contend about the kingdom, iii. 21. After various conflicts, reconciled by their mother Conuvenna, iii. 22. They turn their united forces into foreign parts, but Belinus returns and reigns long in peace. ibid.

Britain, history of the affairs thereof altogether obscure and uncertain, until the coming of Julius Cæsar, iii. 2. Inhabited before the flood probably, iii. 3. By whom first peopled, ibid. Named first Samothea from Samothes, iii. 4. Next Albion, and whence, iii. 4, 5. Fruitful of courageous men, but not of able governors, iii. 100.

Britomarus, mentioned by Florus, a Briton, iii. 22.

Britons, about forty years without a king, after the Romans quitted the island, vi. 200. Stoutly oppose Cæsar at his landing, iii. 32, 33. Offer him terms of peace, iii. 34. Their manner of fighting, iii. 36, 40. A sharp dispute between the Britons and the Romans near the Stowre in Kent, iii. 38. Defeated by Cæsar, and brought anew to terms of peace, iii. 43. Their nature and customs, iii. 44, 45. Their massacre of the Romans, iii. 60. This revenge by the Romans, iii. 62. Lived formerly promiscuously and incessuouly, iii. 79. They are acquitted of the Roman jurisdiction by the Emperor Honorius, not able to defend them against their enemies, iii. 92. Again supplicate Honorius for aid, who spares them a Roman legion, iii. 102. And again a new supply, ibid. Their submissive letters to Athius the Roman consul, iii. 106. Their luxury and wickedness, and corruptions of their clergy, iii. 108, 130, 131. Their embassy to the Saxons for their aid against the Scots and Picts, with the Saxons' answer, iii. 111, 112. Miserably harassed by the Saxons whom they called in, iii. 114. Route by Kerdic, iii. 121. By Kenric and Keaulin, iii. 128, 134. By Cuthulf, iii. 133. Totally vanquished Keaulin, iii. 135. Are put to flight by Kenwalk, iii. 161.

Brittenburgh, near Leyden, built or seized on by the Britons in their escape from Hengift, iii. 115.

Britte, named among the four sons of Hitlon, sprung from Japhet, and from him the Britons said to be derived, iii. 5.

Brook, Lord, for toleration, ii. 442.

Brownifts, who are so, according to Salmaflus, vi. 161.
Brutus, said to be descended from Æneas a Trojan prince, iii. 6. Retiring into Greece after having unfortunately killed his father, he delivers his countrymen from the bondage of Pandarafus, iii. 7. Marries Innogen, the eldest daughter of Pandarafus, iii. 9. Lands upon a desert ifland called Leogeicia, iii. 10. Where he consults the oracle of Diana, ibid. Meets with Corineus, iii. 11. Overcomes Gofarius Pictus, iii. 12. Arrives in this ifland, ibid. Builds Troja Nova, now London, iii. 13. Dies and is buried there, ibid.

Brutus furnamed Greenfield, succeeds Ebranc, and gives battle to Brunchild, iii. 15.

Bucer, Martin, testimonies of learned men concerning him, ii. 288, &c.

His opinion concerning divorce, embraced by the church of Strabburgh, ii. 296. His treatise of divorce dedicated to Edward VI. ii. 306. Remarkable conclusion of his treatise of divorce, ii. 339.

Buchanan, cenfured as an historian, iii. 90, 127, 141, 219.

Buckingham, duke of, accused of poisoning King James the First, i. 338.

Burked, reduces the north Welsh to obedience, iii. 94. Marries Ethelswida the daughter of King Ethelwulf, ibid. Driven out of his kingdom by the Danes, he flees to Rome, where dying, he is buried by the English school, iii. 203. His kingdom let out by the Danes to Kelwulf, ibid.

Burials, reasons against taking of fees for them, iii. 361.

CADWALLON, see Kedwalla.

Cæsar, the killing him commended as a glorious action by M. Tullius, vi. 152, 178. See Julius Cæsar.

Caius Sidius Geta, behaves himself valiantly against the Britons, iii. 49.

Caius Volusenus, sent into Britain by Cæfar, to make discovery of the country and people, iii. 31.

Caligula, a Roman emperor, his expedition against Britain, iii. 47.

Calvin, and Beza, the dissolvers of episcopacy at Geneva, i. 82.

Calvinists, taxed with making God the author of sin, iii. 409.

Camalodunum, or Maldon, the chief feat of Cymbeline, iii. 47. Made a Roman colony, iii. 52, 58.

Camber, one of the sons of Brutus, has allotted to him Cambria or Wales, iii. 13.

Cambridge, burnt by the Danes, iii. 250.

Cambridge university, thought to be founded by Sigebert king of the East-angles, iii. 156.

Cameron, his explanation of St. Paul’s manner of speaking, ii. 252.

Canterbury, by whom built, iii. 15. Partly taken and burnt by the Danes, iii. 251.

Canute, son of Swane, chosen king after his father's death by the Danifh army and fleet, iii. 253. Driven back to his ships by Ethelred, iii. 254. Returns with a great navy from Denmark, accompanied with Lachman king of Sweden, and Olav of Norway, iii. 255. Attacks London, but is repulsed, iii. 258. Divides the kingdom with Edmund by agreement, iii. 260. After Edmund's death reigns sole king, iii. 262. Endeavours the extirpation of the Saxon line, iii. 262, 263. settles his kingdom, and makes peace with the neighbouring princes, iii. 263. Cæfæs Edric, whose treason he had made use of, to be flain, and his body to be thrown over the city-wall, ibid. Subdues Norway, iii. 265. Goes to Rome, and offering there rich gifts, vows amendment of life, ibid. Dies at Shaftesbury, and buried at Winchester, iii. 266. His cen-
fure, ibid. His remarkable instance of the weakness of kings, iii. 268.

Capitis, one in the catalogue of the ancient British kings, iii. 26.

Capeirus, another of the same number, iii. 26.

Caratacus, the youngest son of Cunobeline, succeeds in the kingdom, iii. 48. Is overthrown by Aulus Plautus, iii. 48. Heads the Silures against the Romans, iii. 52. Betrayed by Cartismandua, to whom he fled for refuge, iii. 53. Sent to Rome, ibid. His speech to the Emperor, iii. 54. By the braveries of his carriage, he obtains pardon for himself and all his company, ibid.

Carus, grown rich with piracy, poises himself on this island, iii. 81. He fortifies the wall of Severus, iii. 82. In the midst of the great preparations of Constantius Chlorus against him, he is slain by his friend Alectus, ibid.

Carinus, sent by his father Carus the emperor, to govern Britain, is overcome and slain by Dioclesian, iii. 81.

Cairleil, by whom and when built, iii. 15.

Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, delivers Caratacus bound to the Romans, iii. 53. Defers her husband Venutius, and gives both herself and kingdom to Vellocatus, one of his squires, iii. 56.

Carvillus, the first Roman who fought divorce, and why, ii. 152.

Carvilius, a petty king in Britain, with three others, assails the Roman camp, iii. 43.

Caryl, Mr. (author of the comment on Job) remarks on his conduct as a licenier, ii. 348.

Cassibelan, one of the sons of Heli, gains the kingdom by common consent, iii. 27. Generosity to his brother's sons, ibid. Heads the Britons against Julius Caesar and the Romans, iii. 41. He is deferted by the Trinobantes, and why, iii. 42. Yields to Caesar, iii. 43. Dies, and is buried at York, iii. 44.

Cassius, how treated for killing Caligula, vi. 153.

Cataraeta, an ancient city in Yorkshire, burnt by Arnred a tyrant, iii. 177.

Catellus, an ancient British king, iii. 26.

Carbay, description of that country and inhabitants, vi. 486.

Cavaliers, some account of them, i. 412.

Cerdic, a Saxon prince lands at Cerdic-shore, and overthrows the Britons, iii. 121. Defeats their king Natanleod in a memorable battle, ibid. Finds the kingdom of the West-Saxons, iii. 123. See Kerdic.

Ceremonies, oppose the reason and end of the Gospel, i. 152. Humanize the end of Christ's coming in the flesh, i. 155.

Chancellor, Richard, his arrival at Moscow, and reception there, vi. 506.

Chaplains, what they are, i. 489.

Charity, the fulfilling of the law, ii. 9.—and mutual forbearance, means to abate popery, iii. 416.

Charles I. remarks on his devotion, i. 342, 343. How attended to the house of commons, i. 354. His conduct towards the Irish rebels, i. 430. His indecent behaviour in the play-house, vi. 113. Charged with poisoning his father, vi. 159. With several irregular actions, vi. 213. His flight to the Isle of Wight, iv. 316.

Charles II. declared he would never pardon those who put his father to death, though this was said to be his father's dying injunction, iv. 305.

Charles V. how he deceived many German cities, i. 428.
Index.

Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, letters from Oliver to, vi. 312, 314, 323, 338, 344, 350, 362, 367, 381, 397, 413. From Richard the protector, vi. 420, 421, 422, 423. From the parliament restored, vi. 429.

Chafity, the defence of it recommended, i. 271.

Chaucer, his character of the priests of his time, i. 33, 40.

Cheek, Sir John, his testimony concerning Martin Bucer, ii. 288.

Cberin, an ancient Britifh king, iii. 26.

Chrift, his method of instructing men, i. 278. His manner of teaching, ii. 132. Never exercised force but once, iii. 332.

christenings, reasons against taking fees for them, iii. 361.

Chriftiern, King of Denmark, his bloody revenge, ii. 487.

Christian, faith, received in Britain by King Lucius, iii. 75. Said to have been preached by Faganus and Deruvianus, ibid. Others say long before by Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of Arimathea, ibid. Upon what occasion preached to the Saxons, iii. 137, 138.

Christians, primitive, all things in common among them, ii. 231. Their behaviour to tyrants, vi. 121.

Christina, Queen of Sweden, letter to her from the English common-wealth, vi. 274. Her character, iv. 281.

Chrysanthus, the son of Marcianus a bishop, made deputy of Britain by Theodosius, iii. 89.

Chrysobom, St. was an admirer of Ariifophanes, ii. 401. His explanation of St. Paul's epistle relating to obedience to the higher powers, vi. 84, 199.

Church, of the reformation of the discipline of, in England, and the causes that have prevented it, i. 1. The likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the, iii. 337.

Church, not to be reformed while governed by prelates, i. 100. Its constitution and fabric set out in the prophecy of Ezekiel, i. 103. When able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her, i. 159. Her humility procures her the greatest respect, ibid. Deign of the prelates in calling the church our mother, i. 243. Demands our obedience when she holds to the rules of scripture, i. 507. Excommunicates not to destruction, iii. 333. Will not cease to persecute till it ceases to be mercenary, iv. 325.

Church of England, honours and preferments should not be the incitements to her service, i. 234, 235. Difference between the church of Rome and her, i. 507. Maintains that the word of God is the rule of true religion, and rejects implicit faith, iii. 407.

Church-discipline, dangerous to be left to man's invention, i. 102.

Church-government, its form prescribed in the Gospel, i. 97. Not to be patterned by the law, i. 107. Its government by prelates fosters papists and idolaters, i. 136. Its corrupted estate both the cause of tumult and civil wars, ibid. Its functions to be free and open to any christian man, i. 167.

Churchmen, sometimes preach their own follies, not the Gospel, i. 307. Time-servers, covetous, &c. i. 232. Their deficiency in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew learning, i. 310. Their weaknesses, in calling on the civil magistrate to assist them, iii. 321. By whom to be maintained, iii. 361. Lived at first upon the benevolence of their hearers, iii. 376.

Cicero, an enemy to tyranny, vi. 44. Approves the killing of Cæsar, vi. 152, 178. Affirms that all power proceeds from the people, vi. 195.
Index.

Cingetorix, a petty king in Britain, assails the Roman camp, iii. 42. Is taken prisoner by Cæsar, iii. 43.

Claudius, the emperor, is persuaded by Bericus, though a Briton, to invade this island, iii. 48. Sends Aulus Plautius hither with an army, ibid. He comes over himself and joins with Plautius, iii. 50. Defeats the Britons in a set battle, and takes Camulodunum, ibid. Returns to Rome, leaving Plautius behind, ibid. He has excessive honours decreed him by the senate, ibid.

Clemens Alexandrinus, no authority for bishops being above presbyters, to be found in his works, i. 88. His counsel to the presbyters of Corinth, i. 131.

Clergy, should be patterns of temperance, and teach us to contemn the world, i. 179. Advised not to gape after preferments, i. 233. Their condition in England, iv. 307.

Clergy, British, their bad character by Gildas, iii. 130.

Cliguellius, an ancient British king, iii. 26.

Clandus Albinus succeeds Pertinax in the government of Britain for the Romans, iii. 76. Is vanquished and slain in a battle against Septimus Severus, ibid.

Cloten, reigned king of Cornwall, iii. 20.

Clotenus, an ancient British king, iii. 26.

Cloud, one sometimes fiery, sometimes bloody; seen over all England, iii. 240.

Coillus, an ancient British king, iii. 26.

Coilus, the son of Marius, leaves the kingdom to Lucius, iii. 74.

Colaflerion, a defence of the doctrine and discipline of divorce, so called, ii. 343.

Comalus, and two other British kings, slain by Keaulin and his son, Cuthwin, iii. 134.

Comet, once seen in August 678, in manner of a fiery pillar, iii. 164. Two appear about the sun, iii. 170. Portending famine, and the troubled state of the whole realm, iii. 237. Or blazing star, seen to stream terribly over England, and other parts of the world, iii. 293.

Comius of Arras, sent by Cæsar to make a party among the Britons, iii. 31.

Commodus, slain by his own officers, declared an enemy to his country, vi. 154.

Commons, with the king, make a good parliament, vi. 195, 206. Their grant to King Richard II. and King Henry IV. vi. 213.

Commonwealth, of England, more equally balanced than any other civil government, i. 57. Means proposed to heal the ruptures in it, iii. 400. A free commonwealth delineated, iii. 455. Reasons for establishing one, iii. 420. Comes nearest to the government recommended by Chrift, iii. 428. Preferable to monarchy, iii. 397.

Conanus, Aurelius, an ancient British king, iii. 132.

Condian, a British king, vanquished and slain, iii. 134.

Conscience, not to be forced in religious matters, iii. 305.

Constans, the emperor put to death by the Christian soldiers, vi. 120. Of a monk made emperor, iii. 91. Reduces Spain, ibid. Displacing Gerontius, is opposed by him, and slain, ibid.

Constantine, makes war upon Lucinius, and why, vi. 119.

Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, saluted emperor after his father's death, iii. 84. His mother said to be Helena the daughter of Coillus a British prince, ibid. His eldest son enjoys this island, iii. 85. A common soldier of the
fame name saluted emperor, iii. 90. By the valour of Edobecus and Gerontius, he gains in France as far as Arles, iii. 91. By the conduct of his son Confants, and of Gerontius, he reduces all Spain, ibid. Gerontius displaced by him, calls in the Vandals against him, ibid. Besieged by Confantius Comes, he turns priest, is afterwards carried into Italy, and put to death, iii. 92.

Confantine, the son of Cador, sharply inveighed against by Gildas, iii. 132. He is said to have murdered two young princes of the blood royal, ibid.

Confantine, king of Scotland, joining with the Danes and Irish under Anlaf, is overthrown by Athelstan, iii. 223, 224.

Confantius Chlorus sent against Carausius, iii. 82. Defeats Alectus, who is slain in the battle, iii. 83. Is acknowledged by the Britons as their deliverer, ibid. Divides the empire with Galerius, iii. 84. Dies at York, ibid.

Confantius, the son of Confantine, overcomes Magnentius, who contended with him for the sole empire, iii. 85.

Consubstantiation, not a mortal error, iii. 409.

Contention, in ministers of the Gospel, scarce allowable even for their own rights, iii. 339.

Copulation, no longer to be esteemed matrimonial, than it is an effect of love, ii. 169.

Cordeilla's sincere answer to her father, begets his displeasure, iii. 17. She is married to Aganippus, a king in Gaul, ibid. She receives her father, rejected by his other daughters, with most dutiful affection, iii. 18. Restores him to his crown, and reigns after him, iii. 19. Vanquished, deposed, and imprisoned by her two sisters' sons, ibid.

Corineus, a Trojan commander, joins forces with Brutus, iii. 11. Slays Imbertus, ibid. Arrives with Brutus in this island, iii. 12. Cornwall from him denominated falls to his lot, ibid. Overcomes the giant Goemagog, iii. 13.

Corintians, governed by prelbyters, i. 122. Schism among them not remedied by episcopacy, ibid.

Coronation-Oath, some words said to be struck out of it, vi. 245.

Covenant, what it enjoined, ii. 573.

Council, General, what their power and employment, iii. 433. Should be perpetual, iii. 434. Influences of the perpetuity of such a council among other states, iii. 436.

Council, Saxon, of little authority, ii. 357.

Council of nobles and prelates at Calne in Wiltshire, killed and maimed by the falling in of the room, where they fate, iii. 238.

Council of State, their reply to the Danish ambassadors, &c. vi. 287, 289.

Councils and Fathers, an intangled wood, which papists love to fight in, iii. 406.

Courland, duke of, Oliver's letter to him, vi. 378.

Craig, John, his opinion of kings, ii. 474.

Cranmer, and the other bishops concur in setting aside the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, i. 8.

Crida, the first of the Mercian kingdom, iii. 134.

Criminal, more just to try one by a court of Justice, than to butcher him without trial, vi. 23.

Crowns, a clerical debate about the right shaving them, iii. 162.

Cromwell, his actions compared with those of the Earl of Ormonde, ii. 564. Envied for his success in Ireland, vi. 166. His state letters, vi. 310. v. 238. His character, iv. 317.

Cuichelm, the West Saxon, sends
Index.

Eumerus to affassinate King Edwin, iii. 148. Is baptized in Dorcefter, but dies the same year, iii. 155.

Cullen, council there, voted tithes to be God’s rent, iii. 357.

Cunedagius, the son of Regan, depofeth his aunt Cordelia, iii. 19. Shares the kingdom with his cousin Marganus, is invaded by him, meets him and overcomes him, ibid.

Cunedagius, a Britifh king, reigns one of five a little before the Saxons were settled, iii. 133.

Cunobeline, see Kymbeline.

Cutba, helps his father Keaulin against Ethelbert, iii. 129.

Cuthred, King of the West-Saxons, joins with Ethelbald the Mercian and gains a victory over the Welsh, iii. 173. He has a fierce battle with Ethelbald the Mercian, which he not long survives, iii. 174. A king of Kent of the fame name, iii. 184.

Cuthulf, the brother of Keaulin, vanquihes the Britons at Bedanford, and takes several towns, iii. 134.

Cuthulfe, see Keaulin.

Cyprian, unwilling to act without the affent of his affiHant laics, i. 165. Epifcopacy in his time, different from what it has been since, i. 195.

DANAUS, the story of him and his fifty daughters, vi. 146.

Danes, first appear in the weft, iii. 179. They flay the king’s gatherer of eutfoms, ibid. Landing at Lindisfarne in Yorkshire, they pillage that monastery, iii. 180. Attempting to spoil another monastery, they are cut off by the Englifh, iii. 181. Waffe and defroy Northumberland, iii. 188. They waffe Shepey in Kent, and engage with Ecbert, near the river Carr, iii. 191. Are put to flight by Ecbert, ibid. Their various succifs in the reign of Ethelwolfe, iii. 192, &c. Many great battles between them and the Englifh in the reign of Ethelred, iii. 200, 201, &c. Their whole army being defeated, they are brought to terms by King Alfreu, iii. 205. In the same king’s reign, several vaft fleets of Danes arrive with fresh supplies, iii. 206, &c. Many thousand were destroyed at Colchezter, and in their retreat from Maldon, iii. 218. A vaft army of them overthrown by King Athelftan, iii. 223. Maflacred by the Englisb in all parts of the land in the reign of King Ethelred, iii. 245.

Danifh ambaffadors, answers to them from the council of flate, vi. 287, 289.

Danius, reckoned among the ancient Britifh kings, iii. 23.

Danizick, complained of, for impofing a tribute on the Englifh merchants, for relief of the king of Scots, vi. 270. Oliver’s letter to the confuls and senators of that republic, vi. 379.

David, his exclamation in the 51ft Pfalm expalned, ii. 460. Abfolved by God himfelf from the guilt of his fn, vi. 59. His conduct towards Saul, accounted for, vi. 104. Compared with King Charles, vi. 113.

Dedication, remarks on one to our Saviour, i. 259.

Dee, John, the mathematician, invited to Moscow, vi. 515.


Deira, kingdom of, in Northumberland, set up Alla, the West-Saxon, iii. 128, 134.

Demetrius Ecanowich, Emperor of Russia, an imposfior, dragged out
of his bed, and pulled to pieces, vi. 497.

Denmark, King of, see Frederick III.

Deodate, Charies, letters to, v. 374, 376, 384.

Dervanianus, see Faganus.

Digression, concerning the affairs of church and state, in 1631, iii. 94, &c.

Dinobus, abbot of Bangor, his speech to Bishop Auffin, iii. 143.

Diocefsan, a king of Syria, and his fifty daughters, said to have been driven upon this island, iii. 4.

Diocefsan, the emperor, percutes his christian subjects, iii. 84.

Diodorus, his account how the Ethiopians punish criminals, vi. 141.

—of the succession to kingdoms, vi. 182.

Diogenes, his delineation of a king, vi. 144.

Dionysius, Alexandrinus, commanded in a vision to read any books whatever, ii. 409.

Dis, the first peopper of this island, as some fabulously affirm, the fame with Samothes, iii. 3.

Disciples, of Christ, their faying relating to marriage, explained, ii. 245.

Discipline, in the church, necessary to remove disorder, i. 98. Its definitive decrees to be speedy, but the execution of rigour slow, i. 158.

Dispensation, what it is, ii. 74.

Divines, advice to them not to be disturbers of civil affairs, ii. 488.

Divorce, arguments for it, addressed to the parliament and assembly, ii. 1, &c. Indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, a better reason for it than natural frigidity, ii. 21. Reasons for it, ii. 22, 28, 31, 32, 35, 47, 50, 51, 52. An idolatrous heretic to be divorced, when no hope of conversion, ii. 37. To prohibit divorce sought for natural causes, is against nature, ii. 47. Christ neither did nor could abrogate the law of divorce, ii. 57. Permitted for hardness of heart, not to be understood by the common exposition, ii. 60. How Moses allowed of it, ii. 80. The law of divorce not the premises of a succeeding law, ii. 88. A law of moral equity, ii. 92. Not permitted, from the custom of Egypt, ii. 94. Moses gave not this law unwillingly, ibid. Not given for wives only, ii. 99. Christ's sentence concerning it, how to be expounded, ii. 104. To be tried by conscience, ii. 120. Not to be restrained by law, ii. 126. Will occasion few inconveniences, ibid. No inlet to licence and confusion, ii. 181. The prohibition of it avails to no good end, ii. 193. Either never established or never abolished, ii. 204. Lawful to christians for many causes equal to adultery, ii. 275. Maintained by Wickef, Luther, and Melancthon, ii. 276. By Erasmus and Bucer, ii. 277. By Fagius, Peter Martyr, Beza, and others, ii. 278—282. What the ancient churches thought of divorce, ii. 312. St. Paul's words concerning it, explained, ii. 318. Commanded to certain men, ii. 319. Being permitted to God's ancient people, it belongs also to christians, ibid. Allowed by Christ for other causes beside Adultery, ii. 325. For what cause permitted by the civil law, ii. 326. Allowed by christian emperors, in case of mutual consent, ii. 333. Why permitted to the Jews, ii. 356. Why Milton wrote on the subject, iv. 291.


Domitian, the killing of him commended by Pliny, vi. 153.
Index.

Donaldus, said to have headed the Caledonians against Septimius Severus, iii. 79.

Donaldus, King of Scotland, brought to hard conditions by Obert and Ella, kings of Northumberland, iii. 195, 196.

Downam, bishop, his opinion of the opposers of the episcopal government, i. 211.

Druids, falsely alleged out of Caesar to have forbidden the Britons to write their memorable deeds, iii. 2. Uttering direful prayers, astonished the Romans, iii. 57. Their destruction in the isle of Anglesey, anciently Mona, ibid.

Drui, the third from Samothes, fabulously written the most ancient king in this island, iii. 4.

Drunkennes, how to be prevented, ii. 196.

Duina, river, account of its fall into the sea at Archangel, vi. 472.

Dunstan, sent by the nobles to pro-\line\prove King Edwy, for his luxury, iii. 231. Banished by the king, and his monastery rifed, ibid. Recalled by King Edgar, iii. 232. His miraculous escape when the rest of the company were killed by the fall of a house, iii. 238. His laying of Ethelred, at the time of his being baptized, iii. 239. His death and character, iii. 241.

Dunwalle Molmutius, son of Cloten, King of Cornwall, reduces the whole island into a monarchy, iii. 20. Said to be the first British king that wore a crown of gold, ibid. Establishes the Molmutine laws, ibid.

Durbus, King of the Picts, said to be slain by the joint forces of the Britons and Romans, iii. 103.

Dutch, summary of the damages received from them by the East India Company, vi. 306, 308.

Eadbald falls back to heathen-ism, iii. 145. Runs distracted, but afterwards returns to his right mind and faith, iii. 146. By what means it happened, ibid. He gives his first Edelburga in marriage to Edwin, iii. 148. Leaves his son Ercombert to succeed, iii. 155.

Eadbert, shares with his two brothers in the kingdom of Kent, iii. 170. His death, iii. 174. Eadbert, King of Northumberland, after Kelwolf, wars against the Piets, ibid. Joins with Unuift, King of the Piets, against the Britons in Cumberland, iii. 175. Forfakes his crown for a monk's hood, iii. 176.

Eadbright, usurping the kingdom of Kent, and contending with Kelnulf the Mercian, is taken prisoner, iii. 182.

Edelburga, by chance poisons her husband Birthric, with a cup which she had prepared for another, iii. 184. The choice proposed to her by Charles the Great, to whom she fled, ibid. He affigns her a rich monastery to dwell in as abbess, ibid. Detected of unchastity, she is expelled, ibid. And dies in beggary at Pavia, ibid.

Eandred, son of Eardulf, reigns 33 years King of Northumberland, after Alfwold, the usurper, iii. 185. Becomes tributary to Ecbert, iii. 188.

Eanfrid, the son of Edwin, converted and baptized, iii. 151.

Eanfrid, the son of Ethelsrid, succeeds in the kingdom of Bernicia, iii. 153. Slain, iii. 154.

Eardulf, supposd to have been slain by Ethelred, iii. 182. Is made King of the Northumbrians, in York, after Obald, ibid. In a war raised against him by his people, he gets the victor, iii. 182. Driven out of his kingdom by Alfwold, iii. 185.
Index.

Earth, whole, inhabited before the flood, iii. 3.
East-Angles, kingdom of, by whom erecelled, iii. 122. Reclaimed to christianity, iii. 155.
East-India Company, English, summary of their damages from the Dutch, vi. 306, 308.
East-Saxon, kingdom, by whom begun, iii. 122. The people converted by Melitus, iii. 142. They expel their bishop, and renounce their faith, iii. 145, 146. Are reconverted by means of Ofswi, iii. 158.
Ecfertb, succeeds his father, Ercombert, in the kingdom of Kent, iii. 162. Dying, leaves a suspicion of having slain his uncle's sons, Elbert and Egelbright, iii. 163.
Ecfertb, of the Welf-Saxon lineage, flees from Birthric's suspicion to Offa, and thence into France, iii. 183. After Birthric's decease is recalled, and with general applause made king, ibid. He subdues the Britons of Cornwall and beyond Severn, iii. 185. Overthrows Bernulf at Ellandune or Wilton, iii. 186. The East-Angles yield to his sovereignty, ibid. Drives Baldred, king of Kent, out of his kingdom, and cauls Kent and other provinces to submit, iii. 187. Withlaæ, of Mercia, becomes tributary to him, ibid. Gives the Danes battle by the river Carr, iii. 191. In another battle he puts to flight a great army of them, together with the Cornith men, ibid. He dies, and is buried at Winchester, ibid.
Eclesiastical Caufes, Treatise of Civil Power in, iii. 302.
Eclesiastical Jurifdiction, a pure tyrannical forgery of the prelates, i. 157.
Ecfertb, the son of Offa, the Mercian, within four months ends his reign, iii. 181.
Ecfrid, Ofswi's eldest son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Northumberland, iii. 162. Wins Lindsey from Wulfer the Mercian, iii. 163. He wars against Ethelred, the brother of Wulfer, iii. 166. He sends Bertus with an army to subdue Ireland, iii. 167. Marching against the Picts, is cut off with most of his army, ibid. His death revenged by Bertfrid, a Northumbrian captain, iii. 169.
Eclipse of the sun, followed by a petition, iii. 162. Another, obscuring almost his whole orb, as with a black shield, iii. 173.
Edan, a king of the Scots in Britain, put to flight by Ethelfrid, iii. 141.
Edelard, king of the Welf-Saxons, after Ina, molested with the rebellion of his kinman, Ofswald, iii. 173. Overcoming those troubles, dies in peace, ibid.
Edgar, the brother and successor of Ædwy, in the English monarchy, calls home Dunstan from banishment, iii. 232. His prosperous reign and favour towards the monks, ibid. His strict observance of justice, and care to secure the nation with a strong fleet, ibid. He is homaged and rowed down the river Dee, by eight kings, iii. 233. His expostulation with Kened, king of Scotland, iii. 234. He is cheated by the treacherous Duke Athelwald of Elfrida, iii. 235. Whom, avenging himself upon the said duke, he marries, iii. 235, 236. Attempting the chastity of a young lady at Andover, is pleasantly deceived by the mother, iii. 236, 237. Buried at Glaston abbey, iii. 233.
Edgar, furnamed Atheling, his right and title to the crown of England,
Index.

from his grandfather Edmund Ironside, iii. 286, 287. Excluded by Harold, son of Earl Godwin, iii. 292.

Edilbere, the brother and successor of Anna, in the kingdom of the East-angles, slain in a battle against Oswi, iii. 160.

Edilwalk, the South-Saxon, persuaded to christianity by Wulfer, iii. 164.

Edith, Earl Godwin's daughter, eminent for learning, iii. 275. Is married to Edward the Confessor, ibid. Is harshly divorced by him, iii. 281.

Edmund, crowned king of the East-angles, at Bury, iii. 195. His whole army put to flight by the Danes, he is taken, bound to a stake, and shot with arrows, iii. 200.

Edmund, the brother and successor of Athelflstan, in the English monarchy, frees Mercia, and takes several towns from the Danes, iii. 228. He drives Anlaf and Suthfrid out of Northumberland, and Dummail out of Cumberland, iii. 228, 229. The strange manner of his death, iii. 229.

Edmund, furnished Ironside, the son of Ethelred, set up by divers of the nobles against Canute, iii. 258. In several battles against the Danes, he comes off for the most part victorious, iii. 258, 259. At length confines to divide the kingdom with Canute, iii. 260. His death thought to have been violent, iii. 261.

Edred, third brother and successor of Athelflstan, reduces the Northumbrians, and puts an end to that kingdom, iii. 230. Dies in the flower of his age, and buried at Wincheffer, ibid.

Edric, the son of Edilwalk, king of the South-Saxons, slain by Kedwalla, the West-Saxon, iii. 165.

Edric, a descendant of Ermenred, king of the South-Saxons, iii. 165. Died a violent death and left his kingdom in disorder, iii. 165.

Edric, surnamed Streon, advanced by King Ethelred, marries his daughter Edgitha, iii. 248. He secretly murders two noblemen whom he had invited to his lodgings, iii. 254. He practises against the life of Prince Edmund, and revolts to the Danes, iii. 256. His cunning devices to hinder Edmund in the prosecution of his victories against Canute, iii. 259. Is thought by some to have been the contriver of King Edmund's murder, iii. 261. The government of the Mercians conferred upon him, iii. 263. Put to death by Canutus, and his head stuck upon a pole, and set upon the highest tower in London, ibid.

Education, of youth, rules for the method and progress of it, ii. 379, &c. That of the clergy generally at the public coll, iii. 381.

Edward the confessor, his law relating to the king's office, vi. 203. Said to be the first that cured the king's evil, iii. 292. To have cured blindness with the water wherein he washed his hands, ibid.

Edward VI., a committee appointed by him to frame ecclesiastical laws, ii. 284. Divorce allowed by those laws for other causes beside adultery, ii. 284. Acknowledges the Common-prayer book to be chiefly a translation of the mas' book, i. 455.

Edward, the elder, son and successor of King Alfred, iii. 213. Has war with Ethelwald his kinsman, who flits up the Danes against him, iii. 214. Builds Witham in Essex, iii. 216. He proves successful and potent, divers princes and great commanders of the Danes submitting to him, iii. 215,
Edward, furnamed the younger, Edgar's son, by his first wife Egelfteda, advanced to the throne, iii. 237. The contest in his reign between the monks and secular priests, iii. 238. Great mischief done by the falling of a house where the general council for deciding the controversy was held, ibid. Inhumanly murdered by the treachery of his step-mother Elfrida, iii. 238, 239.

Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, heir apparent to the crown, dies at London, iii. 286.

Edward, furnamed the confessor, the son of King Ethelred, by Emma, after Hardicnute's death is crowned at Winchester, iii. 275. Seizes on the treasures of his mother Queen Emma, ibid. Marries Edith, Earl Godwin's daughter, ibid. Makes preparation against Magnus, King of Norway, iii. 276. But next year makes peace with Harold Harfager, ibid. He advances the Normans in England, which proves of ill consequence, iii. 278. He is opposed by Earl Godwin, in the cause of Euflace of Boloign, banishes the earl, and divorces his daughter whom he had married, iii. 279, 280, 281. Entertains Duke William of Normandy, iii. 281. He sends Odo and Radulph, with a fleet, against Godwin, and his sons exercising piracy, iii. 282. Reconciliation at length made, he restores the earl, his sons and daughter, all to their former dignities, iii. 283. He is said to have designed Duke William of Normandy his successor to the crown, iii. 290. Buried at Weftminster, iii. 291, 292.

Edwi, the son and successor of Edmund, is crowned at Kington, iii. 230. He banishes Bifhop Dunstan, for reproving his wantonness with Algiva, iii. 231. The Mercians, and Northumbrians, set up his brother Edgar, ibid. With grief whereof he ends his days, and is buried at Winchester, ibid.

Edwin, thrown out of the kingdom of Deira, by Ethelfrid, iii. 146. Fleeing to Redwal, the East-angle, for refuge, is defended against Ethelfrid, iii. 147. He exceeds in power and extent of dominion all before him, iii. 147, 148. Marries Edelburga, the sister of Eadwald, iii. 148. He is wounded by an affassin from Cuihelm, ibid. The strange relation of his conversion to christianity, iii. 148, 149, &c. He persuades Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, to embrace the christian faith, iii. 152. He is slain in a battle against Kedwalla, iii. 153.

Edwin, duke of the Mercians. See Morcar.

Egyptians, their conduct toward kings, vi. 138.

Eikon Basilikè, whether written by King Charles, i. 336. Answers to the several heads of that tract; On the king's calling his last parliament, i. 337. Upon the Earl of Strafford's death, i. 347. Upon his going to the house of commons, i. 354. Upon the infidelity of the tumults, i. 359. Upon the bill for triennial parliaments, i. 369. Upon his retirement from Weftminster, i. 376. Upon the queen's departure, i. 387. Upon his repulse at Hull, and the fate of the Hothams, i. 390. Upon the lifting and raising of armies, i. 397. Upon seizing the magazines, i.
409. Upon the nineteen propositions, i. 417. On the rebellion in Ireland, i. 429. Upon the calling in of the Scots, i. 440. Upon the covenant, i. 445. Upon the many jealousies, &c. i. 449. Upon the ordinance against the Common-prayer book, i. 454. Upon the differences in point of church government, i. 460. Upon the Uxbridge treaty, &c. i. 468. Upon the various events of the war, i. 473. Upon the reformation of the times, i. 478. Upon his letters taken and divulged, i. 481. Upon his going to the Scots, i. 485. Upon the Scots delivering the king to the English, i. 487. Upon denying him the attendance of his chaplains, i. 489. Upon his penitential meditations and vows at Holmby, i. 493. Upon the army’s surprisal of the king at Holmby, i. 498. To the Prince of Wales, i. 503. Meditations on death, i. 516.

Eikonoclañtes, the author’s preface, i. 329. Reason of calling it so, i. 333.

Elanius, reckoned in the number of ancient British kings, iii. 23.

Eldadus, iii. 26.

Eldol, iii. 26.

Eledaucus, iii. 26.

Elfred, the father of King Edward the elder, her army of Mercians victorious against the Welsh, iii. 216. Takes Derby from the Danes, ibid. She dies at Tamworth, iii. 219.

Elfred, the son of King Ethelred, by Emma, betrayed by Earl Godwin, and cruelly made away by Harold, iii. 269.

Elfwald, succeeding Ethelred in Northumberland, is rebelled against by two of his noblemen, Osfald and Athelheard, iii. 177. He is slain by the conspiracy of Siggan, one of his nobles, iii. 178.

Elfwin, slain in a battle between his brother Ecfrid and Ethelred, iii. 166.

Elidure, his noble demeanor towards his deceased brother, iii. 24. After Archigallo’s death, he resumes the government, iii. 25.

Eliud, reckoned in the number of ancient British kings, iii. 26.

Elizabeth, queen, against presbyterian reformation, iii. 448.

Ella, the Saxon, lands with his three sons, and beats the Britons in two battles, iii. 120. He and his son Ciffa take Andredchefter, in Kent, by force, ibid. Begins his kingdom of the South-Saxons, ibid.

Ella, a king in Northumberland, iii. 195.

Elmer, a monk of Malmbury, fitted wings to his hands and feet, with which he flew more than a furlong, iii. 293.

Elvold, nephew of Ethelwald, reigns king of the East-Angles, after Alfred, iii. 186.

Embassador. See Ambassador, also French, Spaniñ, &c.

Emeric, succeeds Otha in the kingdom of Kent, iii. 129.

Emma, the daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy, married first to King Ethelred, iii. 245. Afterwards to Canute, iii. 263. Banished by her son-in-law Harold, she retires to Flanders, and is entertained by Earl Baldwin, iii. 269. Her treasures seized on by her son King Edward, iii. 275. She dies, and is buried at Winchester, iii. 281. A tradition concerning her questioned, ibid.

Emperors, of Rome, their custom to worship the people, vi. 88.

England, History of, iii. 1.

English nation, their pronunciation of the vowels censured, ii. 385. Its character, ii. 436. The wits of Britain preferred before the French by Julius Agricola, ii. 437. Had been foremoit in the refor-
mation, but for the perverseness of the prelates, ibid. Have learnt their vices under kingly government, vi. 85. When they began to imitate the French in their manners, iii. 278. Their effeminacy and dissoluteness made them an easy prey to William the Conqueror, iii. 300. Their putting Charles the First to death defended, vi. 1; iv. 247.

*Engilhmen*, to be trusted in the election of pastors, as well as in that of knights and burgesses, i. 57. Their noble achievements lessened by monks and mechanics, i. 145.

*Enniaunus*, an ancient Britifh king, depofed, iii. 26.

*Eorpwald*, the fon of Redwald, king of the Eaft-Angles, perfuaded to christianity by Edwin, iii. 152. He is slain in fight by Ricbert, a Pagan, ibid.

*Epipbanius*, his opinion of divorce, ii. 266.

*Episcopacy*, answers to several objections relating to the inconveniences of abolifhing it, i. 59. Insufficiency of testimonies for it from antiquity, and the fathers, i. 73. Not to be deduced from the apostolical times, i. 93. A mere child of ceremony, i. 110. Not recommended to the Corinthians by St. Paul, as a remedy againft schifm, i. 121. See Prelacy, and Prelatical Episcopacy.

*Erasmus*, writes his treatife of divorce, for the benefit of England, ii. 341.

*Ercbenwcin*, faid to be the erecutor of the kingdom of the Eaft-Saxons, iii. 122.

*Ercombert*, succeeds Eadbald in the kingdom of the Eaft-Saxons, orders the defroying of idols, ibid. The firft eablifher of Lent here, ibid. Is succeeded by his fon Ecbert, iii. 162.

*Eric*, see *Iric*.

*Ermenred*, thought to have had more right to the kingdom than Ercombert, iii. 155.

*Errours*, of service to the attainment of truth, ii. 410.

*Efcwin*, and Kentwin, the nephew and fon of Kingils, faid to have succeeded Kenwalk in the government of the Eaft-Saxons, iii. 163. Efcwin joins battle with Wulfer at Bedanhsdle, ibid.

*Eftridis*, beloved by Locrine, iii. 13. With her daughter Sabra thrown into a river, iii. 14.

*Ethelbald*, king of Mercia, after Ina, commands all the provinces on this fide Humber, iii. 171. He takes the town of Somerton, iii. 173. Fraudulently affaults part of Northumberland in Eadbert's abfence, ibid. His encounter at Becoford with Cuthred the Weft-Saxon, iii. 174. In a fight at Secandune is slain, iii. 175.

*Ethelbald*, and Ethelbert, fhare the Engilh Saxon kingdom between them after their father Ethelwolf, iii. 197. Ethelbald marries Judith, his father's widow, ibid. Is buried at Sherburn, ibid.


*Ethelbert*, Eadbald, and Alric, succeed their father Vicfred, in the kingdom of Kent, iii. 170.

*Ethelbert*, or *Pren*. See Eadbright.

*Ethelbert*, the fon of Ethelwolf, en-
joys the whole kingdom to himself, iii. 197. During his reign, the Danes waste Kent, iii. 198. Is buried with his brother at Sherburn, ibid.

**Etbelfrid**, succeeds Ethelric in the kingdom of Northumberland, iii. 135. He wafthes the Britons, iii. 141. Overthrows Edan, king of Scots, ibid. In a battle at Westchester, slays above 1200 monks, iii. 144.

**Etbelmund**, and Weolftan, in a fight between the Worceftershire men and Wiltshire men, slain, iii. 183.

**Etbelred**, succeeding his brother Wulfcr in the kingdom of Mercia, recovers Lindfey, and other parts, iii. 163. Invades the kingdom of Kent, ibid. A fore battle between him and Ecfrid the Northumbrian, iii. 166. After the violent death of his queen, he exchanges his crown for a monk's cowl, iii. 169.

**Etbelred**, the son of Mollo, the usurper Alcred being forfaken by the Northumbrians and deposed, crowned in his stead, iii. 177. Having caufed three of his noblemen to be treacherously slain, is driven into banifhment, ibid. After ten years' banifhment restored again, iii. 179. He cruelly and treacherously puts to death Oelf and Oelfwin, the sons of Elfwald, formerly king, iii. 180. And afterwards Ofred, who, though haffen a monk, attempted again upon the kingdom, ibid. He marries Elfled the daughter of Offa, ibid. And is miserably slain by his people, iii. 182.

**Etbelred**, the son of Eandred, driven out in his 4th year, iii. 192. Is reinfuffed, but slain the 4th year after, ibid.

**Etbelred**, the third son of Ethelwolf, the third monarch of the English Saxons, infefled with frefh inva-

fions of the Danes, iii. 198. He fights feveral great battles with them, iii. 201, 202. He dies in the 5th year of his reign, and is buried at Winburn, iii. 202.

**Etbelred**, the fon of Edgar by Efrida, crowned at Kingston, iii. 239. Dunftan at his baptism prefages ill of his future reign, ibid. New invasions of the Danes, and great fpoils committed by them in his reign, iii. 240, 241, &c. Being reduced to ftraits by the Danes, he retires into Normandy, iii. 253. Is recalled by his people, and joyfully received, iii. 254. Drives Canute the Dane back to his ships, ibid. He dies at London, iii. 257.

**Etbelric**, expels Edwin the fon of Alla out of the kingdom of Deira, iii. 134.

**Etbelwald**, the fon of Ofwald, taking part with the Mercians, withdraws his forces from the field, iii. 160.

**Etbelwald**, succeeds Edelhere in the kingdom of the East-Angles, iii. 160.

**Etbelwald**, furnamed Mollo, set up king of the Northumbrians in the room of Ofwulf, iii. 176. He slays in battle Ofwin, but is fet upon by Alcred, who affumes his place, ibid.

**Etbelwolf**, the second monarch of the English Saxons, of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious, iii. 191. He with his fon Ethelbald gives the Danes a total defeat at Ak-Lea, or Oat-Lea, iii. 193. Dedicates the tenth of his whole kingdom toward the maintenance of maffes and pfalms for his successor against the Danes, iii. 194. Goes to Rome with his fon Alfrid, ibid. Marries Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald of France, ibid. He is driven by a conspiracy to confign half his kingdom to his fon Ethelbald,
iii. 195. Dies and is buried at Winchester, iii. 196.

Ethelwulf, earl of Berkshire, obtains a victory against the Danes at Englefield, iii. 200, 201. In another battle is slain himself, iii. 201.

Etheldrith, wife of Eefrid, turns Nun, and made abbess of Ely, iii. 167.

Ethiopians, their manner of punishing criminals, vi. 141.

Eumerus attempts to assassinate King Edwin, iii. 148. Is put to death, ibid.

Euripides, introduces Theseus king of Athens speaking for the liberty of the people, vi. 163.

Eusebius, thought it difficult to tell who were appointed bishops by the apostles, i. 76. His account of Papias, and his infecting Ire- næus and other ecclesiastical writers with his errors, i. 83.

Euflace, count of Bologn, revenging the death of one of his servants, is fet upon by the citizens of Canterbury, iii. 278, 279. He complains to King Edward, who takes his part against the Canterburians, and commands Earl Godwin against them, but in vain, iii. 279.

Excommunication, the proper use and design of it, i. 64. Left to the church as a rough and cleansing medicine, i. 172.

Exhortation, to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state, i. 55.

FACTOR for religion, his business, ii. 431.

Faganus and Deruvianus said to have preached the Gospel here, and to have converted almost the whole island, iii. 75.

Fagius Paulus, his opinion concerning divorce, ii. 121. Testimonies of learned men concerning him, ii. 292. In the same fen-
timents with the author as to divorce, ii. 298. Agrees with Martin Bucer, ii. 278.

Famine, discord, and civil commotions among the Britons, iii. 104. Swane driven by famine out of the land, iii. 247.

Falbions, of the Romans imitated by the Britons, a secret art to prepare them for bondage, iii. 66.

Fathers, Primitive, in what manner they interpreted the words of Christ concerning divorce, ii. 262, &c.

Faöftus, incestuously born of Vortig and his daughter, lives a devout life in Glamorganshire, iii. 115, 116.

Fencing and wrestling recommended to youth, ii. 391.

Ferdinand II. grand duke of Tufcany, letters from the English republic to him, vi. 271, 283, 291, 294, 296. From Oliver, vi. 387, 395, 398, 409.

Fergus, king of Scots, said to be slain by the joint forces of the Britons and the Romans, iii. 103.

Ferrex, the son of Gorbogudo, slain in fight by his brother Porrex, iii. 19.

Flaccus, the printer, account of him, iv. 260.

Flattery, odious and contemptible to a generous spirit, iii. 268.

Fletcher, Dr. Giles, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Russia, vi. 515.

Forms of Prayer, not to be imposed, i. 311.

Fornication, what it is, ii. 111. A lawful cause of divorce, ii. 110. Why our Saviour ues this word, ii. 112. The Greek deficient in explaining it, ii. 237. To understand rightly what it means, we should have recourse to the Hebrew, ii. 238.

Index.

France, see Lewis, King of.

Francus, named among the four sons of Hiltion, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Franks said to be derived, iii. 5.

Frederic III. King of Denmark, letters to him from the council of flate, vi. 280, 295. From Oliver, vi. 331, 339, 373. From the parliament restored, vi. 430.

Frederic, prince, heir of Norway, &c. letter from the council of flate to him, vi. 298. From Oliver, vi. 386.

Freedom of writing, the good con-sequences of it, i. 191. Not allowed while the prelates had power to prevent it, i. 286. See Licensing.

French, according to Hotto man, at the first institution of kingship, reterred a power of choosing and depofing their princes, vi. 125. Their manners and language when introduced into England, iii. 278.

French ambaffador, Oliver's letter to the, vi. 389.

Friars, dying men persuaded by them to leave their effects to the church, i. 217.

Fulgenius, reckoned among the an- cient Britifh kings, iii. 26. The commander in chief of the Cale- donians against Septimius Severus, so called by Geoffrey of Mon- mouth, iii. 79.

GALGACUS, heads the Britons against Julius Agricola, iii. 69.

Galileo, imprifoned by the inqui- sition, for his notions in astronony, ii. 428.

Garden and Gardener, an allegorical story applied to the prelates, i. 231.

Genesis, ii. 24, explained, ii. 163.

Geneva, Oliver's letter to the confuls and senators of that city, vi. 332.

Gentry, reafon of their espousing prelates, i. 178.

Geography, its study both profitable and delightful, vi. 469.

Germanus, in a public disputation at Verulam, silences the chief of the Pelagians, iii. 105. He is intreated by the Britons to head them against the Picts and Saxons, ibid. He gains the victory by a religious stratagem, ibid. His death, iii. 109.

Gerontius, a Briton, by his valour advances the success of Constan- tine the usurper in France and Spain, iii. 91. Displaced by him, he calls in the Vandals against him, ibid. Deftroyed by his sol- diers, defends himself valiantly with the slaughter of 300 of his enemies, ibid. He kills his wife Nonniclia, refusing to outlive him, iii. 92. Kills himself, ibid.

Gerontius, the son of Eildure, not his immediate successor, iii. 26.

Gildas, his account of the Britons electing and depofing their kings, ii. 473. His bad character of the Britons, iii. 85, 107. After two eminent successes, iii. 130.


Godwin, Earl of Kent, and the West- Saxons, stand for Hardicanute, iii. 269. He betray Prince Elfred to Harold, ibid. Being called to account by Hardicnute, appeafes him with a very rich present, iii. 272. Earnestly exhorts Edward to take upon him the crown of England, iii. 274. Marries his daughter to King Edward, iii. 275. Raises forces in oppo- sition to the French whom the King favoured, iii. 279. Is ba- nished, iii. 280. He and his sons grow formidable, iii. 282, 283. Coming up to London with his ships, a reconcilation is suddenly made between him and the King, iii. 283. Sitting with the King at table, he suddenly sinks down dead, iii. 284.
Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, believed the first that peopled these west and northern climes, iii. 3.

Gonorill, gains upon her father King Leir, by dissimulation, iii. 16. Is married to Maglaunus duke of Albania, iii. 17. Her ingratitude to her father, ibid.

Gorbogudo, or Gorbodega, succeeds Kinmarcus in the kingdom, iii. 19.

Gorbonian, succeeds Morindus in the kingdom, iii. 24. His justice and piety, ibid.

Gospel, more favourable than the law, ii. 78. Imposes no subjecton to tyranny, vi. 69. Not contrary to reason and the law of nations, vi. 80.

Government, the reasons of its first establishment, ii. 456. Kingly, the conseqences of re-admitting it, iii. 426.

Grammar, Latin, what it is, iv. 433.

Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, commander in chief of the Roman armies in Britain, iii. 85.

Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards pope, procures the sending over of Abbot Auffin and others to preach the Gospel to the Saxons in this island, iii. 138.

Griffin, prince of South Wales, committing great spoil in Hereford, is pursued by Harold Earl of Kent, iii. 286. After a peace concluded he breaks his faith, and returns to hostillity, ibid. Is again reduced, ibid. Harold brings the Welsh to submission, iii. 287. Lurking about the country, he is taken and slain by Griffin, Prince of North Wales, iii. 288.

Griffith, Dr. brief notes on his sermon, iii. 389. Moves to be admitted physician to church and state, ibid. His address to the general, ibid. Compared to Dr. Manwaring, iii. 392. His geographical and historical mistakes, iii. 395.

Grotius, his observations concerning divorce, ii. 104, 110. His opinion concerning it, ii. 282.

Guendolen, the daughter of Corineus, is married to Locrine the son of Brutus, iii. 13. Being divorced by him, gives him battle, wherein he is slain, iii. 14. Causes Estricildis, whom Locrine had married, to be thrown into a river with her daughter Sabra, ibid. Governs 15 years for her son Madan, ibid.

Guenever, the wife of Arthur, kept from him in the town of Glafton, by Melvas a Britifh king, iii. 125.

Guiderius, said to have been the son of Cunobeline, and slain in a battle against Claudius, iii. 50.

Guitheline, succeeds his father Gurguntius Barbirus in the kingdom, iii. 23.

Gunbildis, the sister of Swane, with her husband Earl Palingus, and her young son, cruelly murdered, iii. 245.

Gourangonus, a king of Kent, before it was given to the Saxons, iii. 114.

Guortimer, the son of Vortiger, endeavours to drive out the Saxons, iii. 114. His success against them, iii. 116. Dying he commands his bones to be buried in the port of Stonar, ibid.

Gurguntius Barbirus, succeeds Belinus in the kingdom, overcomes the Dane, and gives encouragement to Bartholinus a Spaniard to settle a plantation in Ireland, iii. 22, 23. Another ancient Britifh king, named Gurguntius, iii. 26.

Gurgylus, succeeds Rivallo in the kingdom, iii. 19.

Gyrtba, son of Earl Godwin, accompanies his father into Flanders, together with his brothers Tofti and Swane, iii. 280. His noble advice to his brother Harold as he was ready to give battle to Duke
William of Normandy, iii. 297. Is slain in the battle, with his brother Harold and Leofwin, iii. 299.

Gyro, or Gotbrun, a Danish king, baptized by the name of Athelstan, and received out of the font by King Alfred, iii. 205, 206. The kingdom of the East-Angles said to be bestowed on him to hold of Alfred, iii. 206.

HAMBOROUGH, letters to the senate of that city, vi. 253, 255, 267, 272, 282, 369, 384, 385.

Hanfe Towns, letter to them from the English commonwealth, vi. 281.

Hardicnute, the son of Canute by Emma, called over from Bruges, and received as king, iii. 271. He calls Godwin and others to account about the death of Elfred, iii. 272. Enraged at the citizens of Worcester for killing his tax-gatherers, he sends an army against them, and burns the city, ibid. Kindly receives and entertains his half-brother Edward, iii. 273. Eating and drinking hard at a feast, he dies, and is buried at Winchester, ibid. Was a great epicure, ibid.

Hardnelf of Heart, permitted to wicked men, ii. 227.

Harold, surnamed Harefoot, the son of Canute, elected king by Duke Leofric and the Mercians, iii. 268. He banishes his mother-in-law Emma, iii. 269. His perfidiousness and cruelty towards Elfred the son of Ethelred, ibid. He dies, and is buried at Winchester, iii. 271.

Harold, son of Godwin, made Earl of Kent, and sent against Prince Griffin of Wales, iii. 286. He reduces him at last to the utmost extremity, iii. 287. Being cast upon the coast of Normandy, and brought to Duke William, he pro-
miles his endeavours to make him King of England, iii. 289, 290. He takes the crown himself, iii. 293. Puts off Duke William, demanding it, with a flighting answer, iii. 294. Is invaded by his brother Tofti, ibid. By Harold Harvager, King of Norway, whom he utterly overthrows and slays, together with Tofti, iii. 295, 296. Is invaded by Duke William of Normandy, iii. 296. Is overthrown at the battle of Haftings, and slain together with his two brothers Leofwin and Gyrtha, iii. 299.

Hartlib, Mr., tract of education addressed to him, ii. 379.

Hayward, his account of the liturgy in Edward VI.'s time, i. 197.

Heimbach, Peter, letter to, v. 398, 409.

Heli, an ancient British king, iii. 26.

Help-meet, the meaning of that word, ii. 157.

Helvius, Pertinax, succeeds Ulpius Marcellus in the government of Britain, iii. 76.

Heminius, his definition of marriage, ii. 171. His opinion concerning divorce, ii. 279.

Hengift and Horfa, with an army, land in the isle of Thanet, iii. 112. Hengift gains advantages of Vortigern, by marrying his daughter to him, iii. 113, 114. Takes on him the kingly title, iii. 117. His several battles against the Britons, ibid. His treacherous slaughter of three hundred British grandees under pretence of treaty, iii. 118. His death, iii. 120. His race ends with Alric, iii. 181.

Henninus, Duke of Cornwall, marries Regan, daughter of King Leir, iii. 17.

Henry II. reigned together with his son, vi. 188.

Henry VIII. on what account he began the reformation in this kingdom, ii. 124.
Herebert, a Saxon earl, slain with most part of his army, by the Danes, at Merefwar, iii. 192.

Herfy, according to the Greek, not a word of evil note, iii. 310. The word explained, ibid.

Herfy, or false religion, defined, iii. 408. Popery the greatest heresy, ibid.

Heretic, an idolatrous one ought to be divorced, after a convenient space allowed for conversion, ii. 37. He who follows the scripture, to the best of his knowledge, no Heretic, iii. 311. Who properly one, iii. 312.

Herod, a great zealot for the Mosaic law, ii. 239. Taxed of injustice by our Saviour, vi. 71.

Herod and Herodias, the story of them from Josephus, ii. 206.

Herodotus, his account of the behaviour of the Egyptians to their kings, vi. 139.

Hertford, built or repaired by King Edward, the son of Alfred, iii. 216.

Heffe, William Landgrave of, Oliver's letter to him, vi. 376.


Hewald, two priests of that name, cruelly butchered by the Saxons, whom they went to convert, iii. 168, 169.

Hierarchy, as dangerous to the crown, as a tetrarchy, or heptarchy, i. 53.

Hinguar, and Hubba, two Danish brethren, how they got footing by degrees in England, iii. 198, 199.

Hisrellings, the likeliest means to remove them out of the church, iii. 340, &c. Judas the first, Simon Magus the next hireling, iii. 343. How to be discovered, iii. 380. Soon frame themselves to the opinions of their pay-matters, iii. 385. Are the cause of atheism, iii. 386.

Hisston, said to be descended of Japhet, and to have had four sons who peopled the greatest part of Europe, iii. 5.

Histriornis, English, defective, obscure, and fabulous, iii. 171, 172.

History, remarks on writing, v. 402.

Holland, states of, abjured obedience to King Philip of Spain, ii. 476. Letters from Oliver to, vi. 364, 394.


Honourius, the emperor, sends aid twice to the Britons, against their northern invaders, iii. 102.

Horsa, the brother of Hengist, slain in the Saxon war against the Britons, iii. 116. His burial-place gave name to Horsted, a town in Kent, ibid.

Horsey, Jerom, agent in Russia, vi. 515.

Hotbam, Sir John, proclaimed a traitor by King Charles, i. 391. Indicted by the parliament, ibid. The king's remarks on his fatal end, i. 394.

Hull, reasons for the parliament's securing that place, i. 390. Petition to remove that magazine to London, i. 391.

Humbeanna, and Albert, said by some to have shared the kingdom of the East-Angles, after one Elf-wald, iii. 187.

Humber river, whence named, iii. 13.

Hus and Luther, the reformers before them called the Poor Men of Lyons, iii. 366.

Husband, or wife, deserted, whether at liberty to marry again, ii. 334.

Jago, or Lago, succeeds his uncle Gurguius in the kingdom, iii. 19.

James I., his behaviour after the powder-plot, i. 435. Compared with Solomon, vi. 67.

Iceniants, and Trinobantes, rise up in arms against the Romans, iii. 59.

Ida, the Saxon, begins the kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland, iii. 128.
Index.

Idwallo, learns by his brother’s ill success to rule well, iii. 26.

Idolatry, brought the heathen to heinous transgressions, iii. 419.

Idols, according to the papits, great means to stir up pious thoughts and devotion, iii. 414.

Jeroboam’s episcopacy, a parti-coloured and party-membered one, i. 118.

Jerome, St., his opinion, that custom only was the maker of prelacy, i. 119. Anselm of Canterbury, of the same opinion, ibid. Said to be whipped by the devil for reading Cicero, ii. 408. His behaviour in relation to Fabiola, ii. 313. His explanation of Matt. xix., ii. 267.

Jews, had no more right than Christians to a dispensation of the law relating to divorce, ii. 76. Did not learn the custom of divorce in Egypt, ii. 215. Their behaviour to their kings, vi. 103.

Ignatius, epistles attributed to him, full of corruptions, i. 79. Directs honouring the bishop before the king, ibid. His opinion no warrant for the superiority of bishops over prebyters, i. 91.

Ignorance and ecclesiastical thraldom, caution against them, ii. 342.

Immanuel, Duke of Savoy, Oliver’s letter to him in favour of his protestant subjects, vi. 318.

Immanueltius, plain by Caffibelan, iii. 42.

Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert, noblemen of Mercia, throw off Olwi, and set up Wulfer, iii. 161.

Imprimatur, the number of them necessary for the publication of a book where the inquisition is established, ii. 405.

Ina, suceeds Kedwalla in the kingdom of the West Saxons, iii. 168. Marches into Kent to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo, ibid. Is pacified by Vietred with a sum of money, and the delivering up of the accessoories, ibid. Vanquished Gerent, King of Wales, iii. 169. Slays Kenwulf and Albright, and vanquished the East-Angles, iii. 170. Dies at Rome, iii. 171.

Independents, their tenets, vi. 16. Commended for their firmness, vi. 227. Reflected on by Salmarius, vi. 229. Their superiority over the other parties, iv. 298.

Innianus, deposed for his ill courses, iii. 26.

Job, the book of, a brief model of the epic poem, i. 145.

John, the Baptist, in what sense called an angel, i. 227.

John, King, why deposed by his barons, ii. 559.

John III., elected King of Portugal, his encomium, vi. 458.

John IV., King of Portugal, letters to him, complaining of the taking and plundering English vessels, vi. 259, 260. Complimented by the council of state for favours received from him, vi. 265. Letters to him from Oliver, vi. 341, 348, 357, 359, 366, 368, 415. From Richard the protector, vi. 426.

John Phillips, his answer to the anonymous apology for the king and people, Latin, iv. 190.

Jones, Colonel Michael, his letter to the Earl of Ormond, ii. 545.

Jones, Richard, letters to, v. 397, 400, 404, 409.

Joseph, of Arimathea, said to have first preached the Christian faith in this island, iii. 75.

Josephus, his opinion that aristocracy is the best form of government, vi. 37.

Jovinus sent deputy into this island by the Emperor Valentinian, iii. 87.

Ireland inhabited and named Scotia by the Scots, before the north of Britain had that name, iii. 89.

Irenæus, cited to prove that Poly-
carp was made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles, i. 81. His testimony, when a boy, concerning bishops, as a superior order to presbyters, not to be regarded, i. 83. His absurd notions of Eve and the Virgin Mary, i. 84. If the patron of episcopacy to us, he is the patron of idolatry to the papists, ibid.

Iric, a Dane, made Earl of Northumberland, iii. 257. He is said by some to have made war against Malcolm, King of Scots, iii. 264. His greatness suspected by Canute, he is banished the realm, iii. 265. Judgments, for what cause sent, unknown to man, i. 500.

Julian, the apostate, forbids Christians the study of heathen learning, ii. 408.

Julius Agricola, the emperor's lieutenant in Britain, almost extirpates the Orдовices, iii. 65. Finishes the conquest of the Isle of Mona, ibid. His justice and prudence in government, iii. 65, 66. He brings the Britons to civility, arts, and an imitation of the Roman fashions, iii. 66. He receives triumphal honours from Titus, iii. 67. He extends his conquests to Scotland, subdues the Orcades and other Scotch islands, ibid. In several conflicts, comes off victorious, iii. 70, 71. He is commanded home by Domitian, iii. 72.

Julius Caesar, has intelligence that the Britons are aiding his enemies the Gauls, iii. 30. He sends Caius Volufenus to discover the nature of the people, and strength of the country, iii. 31. After him Comius of Arras, to make a party among the Britons, ibid. The stout refiilience he meets with from them at his landing, iii. 32, 33. He receives terms of peace from them, iii. 34. Lofes a great part of his fleet, iii. 35. Defeats the Britons, brings them anew to terms of peace, and sets sail for Belgia, iii. 37. The year following he lands his army again, iii. 38. He has a very sharp dispute with the Britons near the Stowre, in Kent, iii. 38, 39. Passes the Thames at Coway Stakes, near Oatlands, iii. 41. He receives terms of peace from the Trinobantes, iii. 42. He brings Caflibelan to terms, iii. 43. He leaves the island, ibid. Offers to Venus, the patroness of his family, a corset of British pearls, ibid. The killing him approved of by the best men of that age, vi. 152.

Julius Frontinus, the emperor's lieutenant in Britain, iii. 64. Tames the Silures, a warlike people, ibid. Julius Severus, governs Britain under Hadrian the emperor, iii. 73. Hadrian divides his conquests here by a wall eighty miles long, as his usual manner was in other frontiers, ibid. Julius, of Caerleon, a British martyr under Diocletian, iii. 84.

Junius, his wrong interpretation of a text, ii. 176.

Jure, Thomas, Milton's tutor, letters to, v. 369, 373.

Jurisdiction, in the church, most truly named ecclesiastical ceniture, i. 157. The nature and design of it, i. 230.

Justice, how perverted by a train of corruptions, i. 400. Above all other things the strongest, i. 518. Not in the king's power to deny it to any man, vi. 208.

Justin Martyr, his story of a Roman matron, ii. 263.

Justin, the historian, his account of the original of government, vi. 182.

Justinian's law, the three general doctrines of it, ii. 216.

KEARLE, surrenders the kingdom of Mercia, to his kinsman Penda, iii. 152.
Keaulin, succeeds his father Kenric, in the kingdom of the West Saxons, iii. 128. He and his son Cuthin slay three Britih kings at Deorham, iii. 134. Gives the Britons a very great rout at Fethan-leage, ibid. Routed by the Britons at Wodenbeorth, and, chased out of his kingdom, dies in poverty, iii. 135.

Kedwalla, or Cadwallon, a British king, joining with Penda the Mercian, slays Edwin in battle, iii. 153.

Kedwalla, a West-Saxon prince, returned from banishment, slays in fight Edelwalk, the South-Saxon, and after that Edric his successor, iii. 165. Going to the Isle of Wight, he devotes the fourth part thereof to holy uses, ibid. The sons of Arwald, king of that isle, slain by his order, ibid. He harasses the country of the South Saxons, iii. 166. Is repelled by the Kentish men, ibid. Yet revenges the death of his brother Mollo, ibid. Going to Rome, to be baptized, he dies there about five weeks after his baptism, iii. 168.

Kenred, the son of Ethelred, succeeds Kenred in the Mercian kingdom, iii. 169. Possessed with an evil spirit, dies in despair, iii. 170.

Kenulf, reigns king of the West Saxons after Keola, iii. 140. Makes war upon the South Saxons, iii. 144. Leaves the kingdom to his brother’s sons, iii. 144. 145.

Kenulf, adopted by Offric the Northumbrian, to be his successor in the kingdom, iii. 170. Becomes a monk in Lindisfarne, iii. 173.

Kenred, king of the Scots, does high honour to King Edgar, iii. 233. Receives great favours from him, iii. 233. Is challenged by him upon some words let fall, but soon pacifies him, iii. 234.

Kenelm, succeeding in the kingdom of Mercia, is murdered by order of his sister Quendrid, iii. 186.

Kenred, the son of Wulfer, succeeds Ethelred in the Mercian kingdom, iii. 169. He goes to Rome, and is there shorn a monk, ibid. Another Kenred succeeds in the kingdom of Northumberland, iii. 170.

Kenric, the son of Kerdic, overthrow the Britons that oppose him, iii. 121. Kills and puts to flight many of the Britons at Searlbrig, now Salisbury, iii. 128. Afterward at Beranvirig, now Banbury, ibid.

Kenswin, a West Saxon king, chases the Welsh Britons to the sea-shore, iii. 164.

Kenulf, has the kingdom of Mercia bequeathed him by Ecdeth, iii. 181. He leaves behind him the praise of a virtuous reign, iii. 185.

Kenulf, succeeses his father Kengils in the kingdom of the West Saxons, iii. 156. He is said to have discomfited the Britons at Pen, in Somersetshire, iii. 161. And giving battle to Wulfer, to have taken him prisoner, ibid. Leaves the government to Sexburga his wife, iii. 163.

Kenulf, entitled Clito, slain by Ina the West Saxon, iii. 170.

Kenulf, king of the West Saxons. See Kinulf.

Keola, the son of Cuthulf, succeeds his uncle Keaulin in the West Saxon kingdom, iii. 135.

Koito, the brother of Kenulf, the Mercian, after one year’s reign driven out by Bernulf, a usurper, iii. 186.

Keoele, overthrows the Danes at Wigganbeorch, iii. 193.

Kerdic, a Saxon prince, lands at Kerdichore, and overthrows the Britons, iii. 121. Defeats their king Natanleod in a memorable battle, ibid. Founds the kingdom of the West Saxons, iii. 123. He
overthrows the Britons at Kerdic's Ford, and fights with them at Kerdic's Leage, ibid.

Kinmarus, reckoned among the ancient British kings, iii. 23.

Kinegils, and Caicbelm, succeed Kelwulf in the kingdom of the West Saxons, iii. 144, 145. They make truce with Penda the Mercian, iii. 152. Are converted to the Christian faith, iii. 155. Kinegils leaves his son Kenwalk to succeed, iii. 156.

King, his flate and person likened to Samfon, i. 181.

King and a tyrant, the difference between them, vi. 218; iv. 255.

King of England, what actually makes one, ii. 477. Has two superiors, the law and his court of parliament, i. 383. As he can do no wrong, lo neither can he do right but in his courts, i. 418.

Kings and magistrates, tenure of, ii. 450.

Kings, to say they are accountable to none but God, overturns all law and government, ii. 460. Their power originally conferred on them, and chosen by the people, ii. 462, 465. Though strong in legions, yet weak at arguments, i. 329. Their office to see to the execution of the laws, i. 382. First created by the parliament, i. 418. Examples of kings deposed by the primitive British church, i. 521. Christ no friend to the absolute power of kings, vi. 69.

Kings, Hebrew ones, liable to be called in question for their actions, vi. 50.

Kings, Scottifh, no less than fifty, imprisoned or put to death, vi. 156.

Kings, turning monks, applauded by monkifh writers, iii. 173.

Kings-evil, by whom first cured, iii. 292.

Kinmarcus, succeeds Sifilus in the kingdom, iii. 19.

Kinwulf, or Kenwulf, (Sigebert being thrown out, and slain by a fwineherd,) falled king of the West Saxons, iii. 175. Behaves himself valorously in several battles against the Welsh, iii. 177. Put to the worft at Befington, by Offa the Mercian, ibid. Is routed and slain by Kineard, whom he had commanded into banifhment, iii. 178.

Knox, John, his depofing doctrine, ii. 474.

Kymeblin, or Cunobeline, the successor of Tenuantius, said to be brought up in the court of Augustus, iii. 47. His chief feat CaMalodunum, or Maldon, ibid.

Lacedemon, mufelus and unbookifh, minded nothing but the feats of war, ii. 401.

Laeventius, his opinion of divorce, ii. 265.

Laity, by consent of many ancient prelates, did participate in church offices, i. 164.

Language, its depravation portends the ruin of a country, v. 380.

Laughter, the good properties of it, i. 282.

Law, of God, agreeable to the law of nature, vi. 126.

Law, cannot permit, much less enact, permiffion of sin, ii. 60. That given by Moses, juft and pure, ii. 216. Law not bounding sin gives it enfranchifement, ii. 220. Superior to governors, vi. 80. Nothing to be accounted law that is contrary to the law of God, vi. 204.

Laws, common and civil, should be fet free from the vafflage and copyhold of the clergy, i. 58. The ignorance and ifiquity of the canon law, ii. 25.

Lawyers, none in Russia, vi. 477.

Laymen, the privilege of teaching anciently permitted to them, i. 164.

Learning, what sort recommended to ministers, iii. 383.
Index.

Learning and Arts, when began to flourish among the Saxons, iii. 162.
Leda, Marquis of, letter from the council of flate to him, vi. 304.
Leil, succees Brute Greenfield, and builds Caerleil, iii. 15.
Leir, King, his trial of his daughter's affection, iii. 16. Is restored to his crown by his daughter Cordella, iii. 19.
Lent, its first establishment in Britain, iii. 155.
Leo, Emperor, his law concerning divorce, ii. 271.
Leo of Aizema, letter to, v. 394.
Leof, a noted thief, kills King Edmund, iii. 229. Is hewed to pieces, ibid.
Leofric, Duke of Mercia, and Siward of Northumberland, sent by Hardecanute against the people of Worcester, iii. 272. By their counfel King Edward seizes on the treasures of his mother, Queen Emma, iii. 275. They raise forces for the King against Earl Godwin, iii. 280. Leofric's death and character, iii. 287.
Leofwine, son of Earl Godwin, after his father's banishment, goes over with his brother Harold into Ireland, iii. 281. He and Harold affift their father with a fleet against King Edward, iii. 282. He is slain with his brothers Harold and Girtha in the battle against William Duke of Normandy, iii. 299.
Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, his account of bishops not to be depended on, i. 74, 76.
Leopold, Archduke of Austria, letters to him from the parliament, vi. 263. From Oliver, vi. 416.
Lewis, King of France, Oliver's letters to him, vi. 328, 335, 345, 351, 365, 371, 399, 406, 408, 411. Letters to him from Richard the protector, vi. 418, 425.
Liberty, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men, i. 99. True, what, ii. 395. A lefs number may counsel a greater to retain their liberty, iii. 446. Can be preferred only by virtue, iv. 326.
Liberty, Christian, not to be meddled with by civil magistrates, iii. 305, 318, 325.
Libraries, public, recommended, iii. 384.
Licensers, the inconveniences attending their office, ii. 421.
Licensing, of books, crept out of the inquisition, ii. 400. Historical account of licensing, ibid. Not to be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts, ii. 414. Conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed, ii. 415. Not able to restrain a weekly libel against parliament and city, ii. 420. Italy and Spain not bettered by the licensing of books, ii. 421. The manifest hurt it does, ii. 422. The ill consequences of it, and discouragement to learning, ii. 431. First put in practice by anti-christian malice and mystery, ii. 434.
Linceus, said to be the husband of one of the feigned fifty daughters of Dioclesian, King of Syria, iii. 4. The only man saved by his wife, when the rest of the fifty flew their husbands, ibid.
Litany, remarks on it, i. 313.
Liturgy, confesses the service of God to be perfect freedom, i. 178. Reflections on the use of it, i. 197. Remarkson the arguments brought in defence of it, i. 199. Described as well as prelacy, i. 207. Reason of the use of liturgies, i. 208. Ar-
Index.

551

arguments against the use of them, i. 311. The inconveniences of them, i. 312. Taken from the papal church, i. 314. Neither liturgy nor directory should be imposed, i. 459.

Livy, praises the Romans for gaining their liberty, ii. 463. A good expositor of the rights of Roman kings, vi. 148.

Locrine, the eldest son of Brutus, has the middle part of this island called Lægria for his share in the kingdom, iii. 13.

Logice, Artis, plenior Institutio, v. 1.

Lollius Urbicus, draws a wall of turfs between the Frith of Dunbritton and Edinburgh, iii. 74.

London, first called Troja Nova, afterward Trinovantum, and said to be built by Brutus, iii. 13. Tower of, by whom built, iii. 22. Enlarged, walled about, and named from King Lud, iii. 26. New named Augusta, iii. 88. With many of her inhabitants by a sudden fire consumed, iii. 183. Danes winter there, iii. 203. The city burnt, iii. 240.

Loneliness, how indulgently God has provided against man's, ii. 156.

Lothair, succeeds his brother Ecbert in the kingdom of Kent, iii. 163. Dies of wounds received in battle against Edric, iii. 165.

Love, produces knowledge and virtue, i. 272. The son of Penury, begot of Plenty, ii. 30. How parbled by the ancients, ibid.

Lubec, Oliver's letter to the senators and consuls of that city, vi. 385.

Lucius, a king in some part of Britain, thought the first of any king in Europe who received the Christian faith, iii. 74. Is made the second by descent from Marius, ibid. After a long reign buried at Gloucester, iii. 75.

Lucifer, the first prelate angel, i. 108.

Lucretius, his Epicureism, published the second time by Cicero, ii. 403.

Lud, walls about Trinovant, and calls it Caer-Lud, Lud's town, iii. 26.

Ludgate, whence named, iii. 27.

Ludiken, the Mercian, going to avenge Bernulf, is surprized by the East-Angles and put to the sword, iii. 187.

Lupicus, went over deputy into this island by Julian the emperor, but soon recalled, iii. 86.

Lupus, bishop of Troyes, assistat to Germanus of Auxerre, in the reformation of the British church, iii. 105.

Luther, a monk, one of the first reformers, i. 248. His vehement writing against the errours of the Roman church commended, i. 280.

Lutherans, an errour charged upon them, iii. 409.

Lycurgus, how he secured the crown of Lacedemon to his family, vi. 102. Makes the power of the people superior to that of the king, vi. 163.

MADAN, succeeds his father Locrine, iii. 14.

Magistrates, civil, to be obeyed as God's vicegerents, i. 114. Should take care of the public sports and festival pastimes, i. 147. Their particular and general end, i. 161. Tenure of, ii. 450. Effeminate ones not fit to govern, i. 388. Not to use force in religious matters, iii. 310—331. Reasons against their so doing, iii. 324. Should fee that conscience be not inwardly violated, iii. 330.

Maglaunus, Duke of Albania, marries Gonoril eldest daughter of King Leir, iii. 17.

Maglocune, surname the Island Dragon, one of the five that reigned toward the beginning of the Saxon heptarchy, iii. 133. His wicked character, ibid.

Magus, son and successor of Samaethes, whom some fable to have
been the first peopler of this island, iii. 4.
Maimonides, his difference between the kings of Israel and those of Judah, vi. 50.
Malcolm, son of Kened King of Scots, falling upon Northumberland, is utterly overthrown by Uthred, iii. 257. Some say by Eric, iii. 264.
Malcolm, son of the Cumbrian king, made king of Scotland in the room of Macbeth, iii. 285.
Malcolm, King of Scotland, coming to visit King Edward, swears brotherhood with Tofti the Northumbrian, iii. 287. Afterward in his absence harasses Northumberland, ibid.
Mandubratius, son of Immanuentius, favoured by the Trinobantes against Caffibelan, iii. 42.
Marcus Aurelius, ready to lay down the government, if the senate or people required it, vi. 174.
Marganus, the son of Gonoril, deposes his aunt Cordelia, iii. 19. Shares the kingdom with his cousin Cunedagius, invades him, but is met and overcome by him, ibid.
Marganus, the son of Archigallo, a good king, iii. 26.
Marinaro, a learned Carmelite, why reproved by Cardinal Pool, ii. 200.
Marinus, the son of Arviragus, is said to have overcome the Piets, and slain their king Roderic, iii. 74.
Marriage, not properly so, where the most honest end is wanting, ii. 24. The fulfilling of conjugal love and helpfulness, rather than the remedy of lust, ii. 28. Love and peace in families broke by a forced continuance of matrimony, ii. 32. May endanger the life of either party, ii. 50. Not a mere carnal coition, ii. 52. Compared with other covenants broken for the good of men, ibid. No more a command than divorces, ii. 71. The words of the institution, how to be understood, ii. 83. The miseries in marriage to be laid on unjust laws, ii. 115. Different definitions of it, ii. 170. The grievance of the mind more to be regarded in it, than that of the body, ibid. Called the covenant of God, ii. 184. The ordering of it belongs to the civil power, ii. 306. Popes by fraud and force have got this power, ibid. Means of preferring it holy and pure, ii. 311. Allowed by the ancient fathers, even after the vow of single life, ii. 315. Chrift intended to make no new laws relating to it, ii. 320. The properties of a true chriftian marriage, ii. 330. What crimes dissolve it, ibid. Exploitations of the four chief places in Scripture treating of, ii. 133. A civil ordinance or houfhold contràct, iii. 364. The solemnizing of it recovered by the parliament from the encroachment of priests, ibid. See Divorce.
Marta, wife of King Guitheline, said to have instituted the law called Marchen Leege, iii. 23.
Martin V., pope, the first that excommunicated for reading heretical books, ii. 404.
Martinus, made deputy of the Britifh province, failing to kill Paulus, falls upon his own sword, iii. 86.
Martyr, Peter, his character of Martin Bucer, ii. 292. His opinion concerning divorce, ii. 278.
Martyrdom, the nature of it explained, i. 510.
Martyrs, not to be relied on, i. 290.
Mary, Queen of Scots, her death compared with King Charles's, vi. 222.
Massacre, of Paris, owing to the peace made by the protestants
with Charles IX., ii. 487. Irifh, more than 200,000 protestants murdered in it, ii. 560.

Matrimonv, nothing more disturbs the whole life of a Christian than an unfit one, ii. 35. See Marriage. Math. xix. 3, 4, &c. explained, ii. 205.

Maximianus Heracleus, forced to conclude a peace with Carausius, and yield him Britain, iii. 82.

Maximus, a Spaniard, usurping part of the empire, is overcome at length and slain by Theodosius, iii. 88, 89. Maximus a friend of Gerontius, is by him set up in Spain against Constantine the usurper, iii. 91.

Mazarine, Cardinal, Oliver's letters to him, vi. 330, 352, 404, 407, 412. Richard the protector's, vi. 419, 426, 428.

Medina Celi, Duke of, letter of thanks to him for his civil treatment of the English fleet, vi. 269.

Melitius, Jufius, and others, sent with Autfin to the conversion of the Saxons, iii. 140. He converts the East-Saxons, iii. 142. St. Paul's church in London built for his cathedral by Ethelbert, as that of Rochester for Jufius, ibid.

Mempricius, one of Brutus's council, persuades him to haften out of Greece, iii. 9.

Mempricius and Malim, succeed their father Madan in the kingdom, iii. 14. Mempricius treacherously slays his brother, gets sole possession of the kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at last devoured by wolves, ibid.

Mercia, kingdom of, first founded by Crida, iii. 134.

Mercian laws, by whom instituted, iii. 23.

Merianus, an ancient British king, iii. 26.

Micab, his lamentation for the loss of his gods, &c. i. 490.

Military Skill, its excellence consists in readily submitting to commanders' orders, i. 98.

Militia, not to be disposed of without consent of parliament, i. 414.

Milles, Hermann, letter to, v. 387.

Milton, the author, his account of himself, i. 269, &c. iv. 266, 286. Of his complaint in his eyes, v. 392.

Mimes, what they were, i. 261.

Minifter, different from the magistrate, in the excellence of his end, i. 169. Duties belonging to his office, i. 170. Whether the people are judges of his ability, i. 307.

Minifters, have the power of binding and loosing, i. 112. Their labours reflected on, by licencing the prefs, ii. 427. How distinguished in the primitive times from other christians, iii. 387.

Minifters, Presbyterian, account of their behaviour, when the bishops were preached down, vi. 29.

Minocan, an ancient British king, iii. 26.

Mitridates, why he endeavoured to stir up all princes against the Romans, vi. 17.

Mollo, the brother of Kedwalla, purfued, befet, and burnt in a house whither he had fled for shelter, iii. 166. His death revenged by his brother, ibid.

Molmutine Laws, what and by whom established in England, iii. 20.

Monarchy, said to have been first founded by Nimrod, i. 426. The ill consequences of readmitting it, iii. 441.

Monk, General, letter to him concerning the establishing of a free commonwealth, iii. 455.

Monks, invented new fetters to throw on matrimony, ii. 295. Dubious relates in civil matters, and very partial in ecclesiastic, iii. 93. One thousand one hundred and fifty of them massacred, iii. 144.

Morcar, the fon of Algar, made Earl of Northumberland in the room
Index.

of Tofti, iii. 288. He and Edwin duke of the Mercians put Tofti to flight, iii. 294. They give battle to Harold Harvager, king of Norway, but are worfted, iii. 295. They refue to set up Edgar, and at length swear fidelity to Duke William of Normandy, iii. 299. Mordred, Arthur's nephew, said to have given him in a battle his death wound, iii. 132. More, Alexander, defence of the author againft, iv. 332. Account of him, iv. 256. Morindus, the son of Elanius by Tanguelfela, a valiant man, but infinitely cruel, iii. 23. Is devoured by a sea monster, iii. 24. Mosco, fertility of the country between this city and Yeralfave, vi. 474. Said to be bigger than London, ibid. Method of travelling thence to the Caffian, vi. 475. Siege of it raised, and peace made with the Poles, by the mediation of King James, vi. 501. Moscovia, defcription of the empire, vi. 471. Excessive cold in winter there, ibid. Succeffion of its dukes and emperors, vi. 488. Moses, inftucted the Jews from the book of Genesis, what sort of government they were to be subject to, i. 95. Defigned for a lawgiver, but Christ came among us as a teacher, i. 237. Offended with the prophane speeches of Zippora, fent her back to her father, ii. 39. Why he permitted a bill of divorce, ii. 106. An interpreter between God and the people, vi. 63. Did not exercise an arbitrary power, vi. 75. Moulin, Dr. remarks on his argument for the continuance of bishops in the English church, i. 248. Mulmutius. See Dunwallo. Mufc, recommended to youth, ii. 391. NAASSAU, hose of, hinted at, as dangerous to a commonwealth, iii. 441. Natanleod or Nazaleod, supposed the fame with Uther Pendragon, iii. 121. Nations, at liberty to erect what form of government they like, ii. 456; vi. 36. Their beginning why obfure, iii. 1. Nazianzen, his wish that prelacy had never been, i. 467. Nature, her zodiac and annual circuit over human things, ii. 248. Nero, had no right to the succeffion, vi. 82. Comparifon between him and King Charles, vi. 159. Netherlands, saved from ruin by not trufting the Spanish king, ii. 487. Nonnichtia, wife of Gerontius, her revolution and death, iii. 92. Is highly praised by Sozomen, ibid. Nimrod, reputed by ancient tradi- tion, the firft that founded monarchy, i. 426. Ninnius, an author reputed to have lived about 1000 years ago, iii. 5. Norway, Prince Frederic heir of, the council of flate's letter to him, vi. 298. Oliver's letter to him, vi. 386. OBEDIENCE, defined, ii. 477. Ofa, and Ebfifa, Hengift the fon and nephew of, called over by him, iii. 114. They poifeied them- selves of Northumberland, ibid. Odemira, Conde de, Oliver's letter to him, vi. 360. Oenius, one in the catalogue of ancient Britifh kings, iii. 26. Oeric, or Oife, fuccefses his father Hengift in the kingdom of Kent, and from him the Kentifh kings called Oifings, iii. 120. He is otherwise called Efca, iii. 129. Offa, the fon of Siger, quits his kingdom of the East Saxons to go to Rome and turn monk, iii. 169, 174. Offa, defeating and flaying Beornred, becomes king of Mercia after Ethelbald, iii. 176. He subdues
a neighbouring people called Heft-ings, iii. 177. Gets the victory of Alric king of Kent at Ottenford, ibid. Inviting Ethelbrite king of the East-Angles to his palace, he there treacherously causes him to be beheaded, and seizes his kingdom, iii. 180. Had at first enmity, afterwards league with Charles the Great, iii. 181. He grants a perpetual tribute to the pope out of every house in his kingdom, ibid. He draws a trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British confines. His death, ibid.

Oldenburg, Count of, letter from the council of state to him, vi. 300. Letters from Oliver to him, vi. 310, 311.

Oldenburg, Henry, letters to, v. 399, 396, 403, 408.

Oliver, the protector, letters written in his name to several princes and potentates, vi. 310. In Latin, v. 238. His manifesto against the depredations of the Spaniards, vi. 431. In Latin, v. 345.

Ordonation, whether the order of bishops to be kept up to perform it, i. 228. Preaching as holy, and far more excellent, i. 229.

Origen, while a layman, expounded the scriptures publicly, i. 164. Permitted women to marry after divorce, ii. 265, 317.

Orefes, condemned to death for killing his mother, i. 522.

Ormond, Earl of, articles between him and the Irish, ii. 502. His letter to Colonel Jones, ii. 542. His proclamation of King Charles II. in Ireland, ii. 548. Remarks on the articles, &c. ii. 555.

Osbald, a nobleman exalted to the throne of the Northumbrians after Ethelred, iii. 182.

Osbert, reigns in Northumberland after the laft of the Ethelreds, iii. 193. Helping the Picts against Donaldus, King of Scotland, de-

feats the Scots at Stirlingbridge, with great slaughter, and takes the king prisoner, iii. 195.

Osfрид, and Eanfrid, the sons of Edwin, converted and baptized, iii. 151. Osfrid slain, together with his father, in a battle againft Kedwalla, iii. 153.

Osis, slain by his brother Typhon, vi. 138.

Ostac, and Cneban, two Saxon earls, slain by Keaulin at Wibbandun, iii. 129.

Osmund, king of the South-Saxons, iii. 176.

Osred, a child, succeeds Alfric in the Northumbrian kingdom, iii. 169. He is slain by his kindred, for his vicious life, iii. 170.

Osred, son of Alred, advanced to the kingdom of Northumberland, after Elfwald, is soon driven out again, iii. 179. Is taken and forcibly shaven a monk at York, iii. 180.

Ofric, the son of Elfric, baptized by Paulinus, succeeds in the kingdom of Deira, iii. 153. Turns apostate, and is slain by an eruption of Kedwalla, out of a besieged town, ibid. Another Ofric succeeds Kenred the second, iii. 170.

Ofric, Earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf of Berkshire, beat the Danes back to their ships, iii. 198.

Ostorius, sent viceprætor into Britain, in the room of Plautius the prætor, iii. 51. Routes the Britons, and improves his victory to the best advantage, iii. 52. Gives the government of several cities to Cogidunus, a British king, his ally, ibid. Defeats the Silures under the leading of Caraactus, iii. 53. Has afterwards bad success, iii. 55.

Ofrid, the wife of Ethelred, killed by her own nobles, iii. 169.

Olswald, brother of Eanfrid, living exiled in Scotland, is there baptized, iii. 153. With a small ar-
my utterly overthrows Kedwalla, iii. 154. Settles religion, and very much enlarges his dominions, ibid. Overcome and slain in battle by Penda, at Mafersfield, now Ofweftre, iii. 155.

Ofwi, succeeds his brother Oswald in the kingdom, iii. 156. He persuades Sigebert to receive the Christian faith, iii. 158. Routs Penda's vaft army, iii. 160. He subdues all Mercia, and the greatest part of the Pidish nation, ibid. Shaken off by the Mercian nobles, and Wulfer set up in his stead, iii. 161. His death, ii. 162.

Ofwin, the nephew of Edwin, shares with Ofwi in the kingdom of Northumberland, iii. 157. Coming to arms with him, he is overmatched, and slain by his command, ibid.

Ofwulf, has the crown of Northumberland relinquished to him by Eadbert, iii. 176. Slain by his own servants, ibid.

Otha, succeeds Esca in the kingdom of Kent, iii. 129.

Otter, and Roald, two Danifh leaders landing in Devonshire, their whole forces are scattered, and Roald slain, iii. 216.

Owiga, river, steep water-falls in it, vi. 476.

Oxford, burnt by the Danes, iii. 249.

PANDRASUS, a Grecian king, keeps the Trojans in servitude, iii. 7. Is beaten by Brutus, iii. 8.

Pablo, Padre, his judgment concerning the hierarchy of England, i. 41. Observes, that books were left to each one's confidence, to read or lay by, till after the year 800, ii. 404.

Papiſts, imitating the ceremonial law, fell into superftition, i. 111. Moft severe againſt divorce, yet moft easy to all licentiousneſs, ii. 118.


Paræus, his opinion that the Gospel requires perfeçter obedience than the law, refuted, ii. 79. His objection against divorce anſwered, ii. 128. His definition of marriage, ii. 170. Accuses the jesuit Maldonatus, ii. 203. His note on the entertainment of the young man in the Gospel, ii. 212.

Parallel, between a king and a matter of a family, very lame, vi. 132.

Parliament, the abfurdiety of calling it a convocation, i. 296. Commandment of their proceedings, i. 298. Praifed for their courage in punishing tyrants, ii. 485. Their guard dismissed, and another appointed, i. 360. By our old laws, to be held twice a year at London, i. 370. Not to be dissolved till grievances are redreſſed, i. 372. What the name originally signified, iii. 439. Above all positive law, iii. 398. Character of the long parliament in 1641, iii. 95, &c. Letters of state written in the name of the, vi. 253—306, 429, 430. In Latin, v. 186—234, 342, 343. Cautions on the choice of representatives in, iv. 328.

Paf};, of Chrift's church, his universal right to admonifh, i. 199. For his greatest labours, requires only common neceſsaries, i. 235.

Paforal Offie, the nature and dignity of it, i. 235.

Patriarchate, independent of the crown, affected by some prelates, i. 52.

Paul, St., his instruction to Timothy, for church-discipline, i. 104. Meaning of that text, Charity beelieving all things, ii. 116. His writings touching divorce explained, ii. 323. His different manner of speaking explained, ii. 250. Commands us to pray for kings, yet calls Nero a lion, vi. 89.

Paulinus, with Edelberga, endeavors to convert Northumberland to chriftianity, iii. 148. The man-
ner of his making King Edwin a convert, ibid, &c. He converts the province of Lindfey, and Blecca the governor of Lincoln, and builds a church in that city, iii. 152.

Paul’s, St. cathedral at London, by whom first built, iii. 142.

Paulus Jovius, his motives for describing only Britain and Muscovy, vi. 470.


Peada, prince of the Middle-Angles, is baptized with all his followers, iii. 157. Hath South Mercia conferred on him by Oswi, iii. 161. Slain by the treachery of his wife, ibid.

Peclora, a river in Siberia, abounding with divers sorts of fowl, which serve for winter provision, vi. 473.

Peers, twelve ancient ones of the kings of France, vi. 171.

Pelagius, a Briton, brings new opinions into the church, iii. 90. The Pelagian doctrine refuted by Germanus, iii. 105. Pelagians are judged to banishment by Germanus, iii. 109.

Penda, the son of Wibba, king of Mercia, has the kingdom surrendered to him by Kearle, iii. 152. He joins with Kedwalla against Edwin, iii. 153. He slays Oswald in battle, iii. 155. In another battle, Sigebert, iii. 156. In another, Anna, king of the East-Angles, iii. 158. He is slain in a battle against Oswi, iii. 160.

Penfiefel, reckoned in the number of ancientest Britifh kings, iii. 26.


Peredure, and Vigenius, expel their brother Eldure, and share the kingdom between them, iii. 25.

Perjury, an example of divine vengeance in Alfred, who conspired against King Athelftan, iii. 221.

Pern, Dr., his testimony concerning Martin Bucer, ii. 290.

Persians, their kings not absolute, vi. 141. Frequently murdered their princes, vi. 143.

Pefilence, prevents the invasion of the Scots and Picts, iii. 109.

Peter, St., commits to the prebyters only, full authority to feed the flock, and to episcopate, i. 106. His epistle concerning submission explained, vi. 77.

Petilius Cerealis, defeated by the Britons, iii. 59. He commands the Roman army in Britain, iii. 64.

Petronius Turpilianus, commands in chief in Britain, after Suetonius Paulinus, iii. 63.

Pharaon, the consequences of his fear of the Israelites, i. 460.

Pharifees, their question concerning divorce, ii. 336. Afraid lest Christ should abolish the judicial law, ii. 204.

Pharifees and Sadducees, though different sects, yet both met together in their common worship of God, iii. 409.

Philip de Comines, his opinion of the English government, vi. 219.

Philip IV., King of Spain, letters to him, vi. 257, 258. Letter to him complaining of the murder of Afcham, vi. 268. Another, desiring speedy punishment may be inflicted on the murderers, vi. 261. Another, complaining of the ill treatment of the English merchants, vi. 275.

Philo Judaeus, his definition of a king and a tyrant, vi. 37.

Piety and Justice, our foundresses, not the common or civil law, i. 62.

Pir, one of the ancientest race of Britifh kings, iii. 26.

Picts, and Scots, harafs the south coasts of Britain, iii. 87, &c. See Scots.
Index.

Picts, and Saxons, beaten by the Britons, through the pious conduct of Germanus, iii. 105.

Plato, recommended the reading of Ariftophanes to his scholar Dio- nysius, ii. 401. In his book of laws, lays a restraint on the freedom of writing, ii. 416. His laying of offspring, ii. 152. How he would have magistrates called, vi. 76.

Pliny, his compliment to Trajan, vi. 151. Commends the killing of Domitian, vi. 153.

Plow, a privilege of sanctuary granted them, iii. 20.

Poets, the corruption and bane of our youth, by their libidinous writings, i. 147.

Poets, elegiac, Milton's fondness of them in his youth, i. 269. True ones enemies to despotism, iv. 273.

Poland, declaration for the election of John the Third, king of, vi. 458.

Pool, Cardinal, his reproof of Marinaro, a Carmelite, ii. 200.

Pope, title of Most Holy Father, given him by a protestant prince, vi. 22. As a tyrant, may be lawfully rooted out of the church, vi. 98. Why accounted Antichrift, iii. 307.

Popery, as being idolatrous, not to be tolerated either in private or public, iii. 413. Means to hinder the growth of it, ibid. Amendment of life, the best means to avoid it, iii. 418. Reasons against tolerating it, iii. 317, 413.

Porrex, slays his brother Ferrex, iii. 19. Whole death is revenged by his mother Videna, iii. 20. Another of that name reckoned in the catalogue of kings, iii. 26.

Portsmouth, denominated from the landing of Porta, a Saxon prince, with his two sons Bida and Megla, iii. 121.

Portugal, see John IV.

Portugal, agent, letter from the parliament to the, vi. 271.

Power, civil, not to use force in religious matters, iii. 305, 318.

Prætianus, king of the Iceniens, leaving Caesar coheir with his daughters, caués the Britons to revolt, iii. 58.

Prayer, for the true church against her prelatical enemies, i. 68. Forms of prayer, not to be imposed on ministers, i. 200. The Lord's Prayer no warrant for liturgies, i. 202, 457. Extremo prayer commended, i. 457.

Preacher, his lips should give knowledge, not ceremonies, i. 154.

Prelates, their character since their coming to the see of Canterbury, i. 60. Caution against their designs, i. 63, 66. By their leaden doctrine, bring an unactive blindness of mind on the people, i. 124. Counsel given them, i. 129. Their negligence in Ireland, notorious in Queen Elizabeth's days, i. 135. Have disfigured true Christian religion with superfluous vestures, i. 154. Have proclaimed mankind unpurified and contagious, i. 169. Reason of their favouring Magna Charta in the time of popery, i. 177. Brand all with the name of schismatics, who find fault with their temporal dignities, and cruelty, i. 179. The greatest underminers and betrayers of the monarch, i. 181. What fidelity kings may expect from them, i. 182. Glorious actions of the peers and commons opposed by them, ibid. Motives for abolishing the prelatical order, ibid. More favour knowledge in one layman, than in a dozen prelates, i. 207. Their wealth, how acquired, i. 217. Their cruelty, i. 291. More base and covetous than Simon Magus, i. 324. Account of their conduct, ibid.

Prelacy, or Prelacy, weakens the regal power, i. 41, 44. Its fall cannot affect the authority of princes,
Index.

i. 44. Not the only church-government agreeable to monarchy, i. 55. Objections against reformation from prelaty, answered, i. 59. No more venerable than papacy, i. 60. Hath no foundation in the law or Gospel, i. 108, 111, 118. Prevents not schism, but rather promotes it, i. 120. Wedded with faction, never to be divorced, i. 123. Drew its original from schism, i. 124. A subject of discord and offence, i. 129. No free and splendid wit can flourish under it, i. 148. Opposes the reason and end of the Gospel, first, in her outward form, i. 150. Secondly, in her ceremonial doctrine, i. 152. Thirdly, in her jurisdiction, i. 156. More antichristian than Antichrist himself, i. 174. The mischief it does in the state, i. 175. A carnal doctrine, ibid. Has the fatal gift, to turn every thing it touches, into the dross of slavery, i. 178. A grand imposture, i. 186. Prelatical Episcopacy, whether to be deduced from theapothetical times, i. 72.—Jurisdiction, opposes the end of the Gospel, i. 156. Presbyterian, the only true church-government, i. 161. Aims at a compulsive power, ii. 574. Presbyterians, rallied for their conduct towards King Charles, ii. 453. Properly the men who first deposed, and then killed him, ii. 477. Advice to their minions, ii. 488. Their claim of tithes animadverted on, iii. 359. Priests, the liberty of it pleaded for, while the bishops were to be run down, ii. 430. Method for regulating it, ii. 448. See Licenfing. Priests, their policy the way to deprive us of our protestant friends, i. 45. Imparity among them annulled, i. 116. Printing, unlicensed, speech for the liberty of, ii. 395. If to be licenced, all recreations to be regulated also, ii. 417. Reasons for the free liberty thereof, ii. 428. Priscus Licinius, lieutenant in this island under Hadrian, iii. 73. Probus, subdues the usurper Bonosus, who falls in the battle, iii. 80. Prevents new risings in Britain, ibid. Professors, of true religion, brought to gross idolatry by heinous transgressions, iii. 419. Prolusiones Oratoriae, Lat. v. 411. Protagoras, his books commanded to be burnt by the judges of Areopagus, ii. 401. Protestants, exhorted to be thankful for reformation, i. 219. Some of them live and die in implicit faith, ii. 431. Affert it lawful to depose tyrants, vi. 31. Not obliged to believe as the state believes, iii. 306. More criminal than papists, if they force tender consciences, iii. 316. Reproved for depending too much on the clergy, iii. 388. Cannot persecute those who differ from them, without renouncing their own principles, iii. 411. Disputes among them should be charitably inquired into, ibid. Ought to allow a toleration, ibid. Polonian and French protestants tolerated among papists, ibid. Things indifferent not to be imposed by them, ibid. Puckering, Jane, an heiress, carried into Flanders, vi. 263. Reclaimed of the archduke, vi. 265. Punishment, of two forts, in this world and the other, i. 161. Severe ones in the reigns of King James and King Charles, complained of, i. 401. Purgatory, why rejected by prelaty, i. 173. Puritans, hated by King Charles I. i. 389. Who termed so, by the favourers of episcopacy, vi. 230. RAMUS, Peter, life of, in Latin, v. 178.
Index.

Randolf, Thomas, sent ambaffador from Queen Elizabeth to Mufcovy, vi. 510. Account of his audience of the emperor, ibid.

Readwulf, cut off with moft of his army by the Danes at Alvethehi, iii. 192.

Reason of church-government urged against prelty, i. 94.

Reason, the gift of God in one man as well as in a thousand, i. 203. Trusted to man to direft his choice, ii. 410.

Rebellion, in Ireland, should haften a reformation, i. 132.

Recreations, sometimes proper to relieve labour and intense thought, ii. 155.

Redercbius, reckoned among the ancient Britifh kings, iii. 26.

Redion, another Britifh king, iii. 26.

Redwald, king of the Eaft-Angles, wars againft Ethelfrid, and slays him, iii. 147. Erected an altar to Chrift, and another to his idols in the fame temple, ibid.

Reformation (of) in England, and the causes that have prevented it, i. 1.

Reformation, the want of this the cause of rebellion, i. 135. The ready way to quell the barbarous Irish rebels, i. 137.

Reformations, of the good kings of Judah, vehement and speedy, i. 60.

Reformed Churches abroad, ventured out of popery into what is called precise puritanifm, i. 60. Abolifhed epifcopacy, notwithstanding the testimonies brought to support it, i. 89.

Regin, fon of Gorbonian, a good king, iii. 26.

Religion, not wounded by difgrace thrown on the prelates, i. 284. The corrupters of it enemies to civil liberty, i. 300. Not promoted by force, iii. 319. What is true religion, iii. 407.

Remonftrant's defence againft Smec- tymmus, animadversions on, i. 184.

Rhee, unfortunate expedition against that ifland, i. 400.

Richard II., commons requested to have judgment declared againft him, ii. 472. How the parliament treated him, and his evil counfellors, i. 377.

Richard the protector, letters of state written in his name, vi. 418.

Ridley, bishop, at his degradement, diiled and condemned ceremonies, i. 61.

Rivallo, succeeds his father Cundagius, iii. 19.

Rivetius, his opinion concerning difpenfation, refuted, ii. 72.

Roald, a Danifh leader, slain near the Severn, iii. 216.

Robellers, Engliſh shipping sent againft them, i. 400.

Rollo, the Dane or Norman, having fought unsuccessfually here, turns his forces into France, and conquers Normandy, iii. 211.

Romans, their slaves allowed to speak their minds freely once a year, i. 190. At what time they came first to Britain, iii. 28. Land there under the conduft of Julius Ceſfar, iii. 33. Their sharp conflict with the Britons near the Stowre in Kent, iii. 38. The cruel maffacre of the Britons upon them, iii. 60. They leave the ifland, iii. 88. They come and aid the Britons againft the Scots and Piets, iii. 102. They help them to build a new wall, iii. 103. Instruct them in war, and take their laſt farewell, ibid.

Romanus, named among the four fons of Hiftion, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Romans fabled to be derived, iii. 5.

Rome, chriflian, not fo careful to prevent tyranny in her church, as pagan Rome was in the state, i. 160.
Russomakka, a beast so called, strange way of bringing forth her young, vi. 473.

Rowen, the daughter of Hengift, sent for over by her father, iii. 113. She presents King Vortigern with a bowl of wine by her father's command, ibid. She is upon the king's demand given him in marriage, iii. 114.

Rudaucus, king of Cambria, subdued in fight, and slain by Dunwallo Molmutius, iii. 20.

Rudbuddibras, succeeds his father Leil, and founds Canterbury, with several other places, iii. 15.

Runo, the son of Peredure, not immediate successor, iii. 26.

Rufia, ceremony and magnificence of the emperor's coronation, vi. 493. First discovery of it by the North-east, vi. 502. The English embassies and entertainments at that court, vi. 506. One of Queen Elizabeth's kinswomen demanded by the emperor for a wife, vi. 514. Oliver's letter to the emperor of, vi. 380.

Russians, account of their civil government, vi. 476. Their revenues, vi. 477. Military forces and discipline, vi. 478. Their religion and marriages, vi. 479, 480. Their burials and manners, vi. 480. Their habit, and way of travelling, vi. 481.

SABRA, thrown into the river, (thence called Sabrina) with her mother Eftrildis, by Guendolen, iii. 14.

Salluf, the chief of the Latin historians, v. 402.

Salmacis, caution against bathing in that stream, vi. 9.

Salmarius, remarks on his defence of the king, vi. 1. His opinion of episcopacy, vi. 12. Was once a counsellor at law, vi. 24. His complaint that executioners in vizards cut off the king's head, vi. 27. His definition of a king, vi. 33. Differs from himself in ecclesiastics and politics, vi. 100. Taxed with receiving a hundred Jacobuses as a bribe, vi. 133, 197. An advocate for tyranny, vi. 168. Lord of St. Lou, the meaning of that word, vi. 185, note. His Anglicifims remarked, vi. 197. See Defence of the People of England.

Samoedia, Siberia, and other countries, subject to the Muscovites, described, vi. 482. Manners of the inhabitants, vi. 483.

Samothes, the first king that history or fable mentions to have peopled this island, iii. 3.

Sampfon, kings compared to him, i. 181. Counted it no act of impiety to kill the enflavers of his country, vi. 104.

Samuel, deposed for the misgovernment of his sons, ii. 462. His scheme of sovereignty explained, vi. 42.

Samulius, recorded among the ancient British kings, iii. 26.

Sardanapalus, deprived of his crown by Arbaces, affihted by the priests, iv. 141.

Saron, the second king named among the successors of Samothes, iii. 4.

Satires, toothless, the impropriety of the epithet, i. 293.

Saul, a good king or a tyrant, according as it suits Salmarius, vi. 106.

Savoy, duke of. See Immanuel.

Saxons, parliaments in their time had the supreme power, vi. 201. Harsh the south coast of Britain, flay Nectaridius, and Bulchobaudes, iii. 87. Their character, iii. 110. Their original, ibid. Invited into Britain by Vortigern, aid the Britons against the Scots and Piets, ibid. They arrive, led by Hengift and Horla, iii. 112. They beat the Scots and Piets near Stamford, iii. 113. Fresh forces sent them over, and their bounds en-
larged, ibid. They waftle the land without resistance, iii. 114. Beaten by Guortimer in four battles, and driven into Thanet, iii. 116. Affainite three hundred Britons treacherously, and seize Vortigern, iii. 118. Most of them return into their own country, ibid. The rest defeated by Ambrosius Aurelianus, and the Britons, iii. 119.

Saxons and Picts. See Picts.

Schism, the apostles' way to prevent it, i. 127. Mitres the badges of schism, i. 128. May happen in a true church as well as in a false one, iii. 408.

Schismaticks, those only such, according to the prelates, who dislike their abominations and cruelties in the church, i. 125.

Seca, a Roman soldier, his extraordinary bravery in Britain, iii. 34. Is advanced on that account, ibid.

Scots writers, their opinion of kings, ii. 474. Nation, by whom first mentioned, iii. 80.

Scots, reasons for their ill-treatment of Queen Mary, ii. 475. King Charles a native king to them, i. 367.

Scots, Picts, and Attacots, harass the south coast of Britain, iii. 86. Overcome by Maximus, iii. 88. Scots possessed Ireland first, and named it Scotia, iii. 89. Scots and Picts beaten by the Romans, sent to the aid of the Britons, iii. 102. They make spoil and havoc with little or no opposition, iii. 104.

Scriptures, only, able to satisfy us of the divine constitution of episcopacy, i. 72. The only balance to weigh the fathers in, i. 90. To be relied on against all antiquity, i. 91. To be admired for their clearness, i. 97. The just and adequate measure of truth, i. 215. Several texts relating to marriage and divorce explained, ii. 144.

Reading the Scriptures diligently, a means to prevent the growth of popery, iii. 416.

Sea overwhelms several towns in England, with many thousands of inhabitants, iii. 254.

Sebhi, having reigned 30 years, takes the habit of a monk, iii. 163.

Sebert, the son of Sleda, reigns over the East-Saxons by permission of Ethelbert, iii. 142.

Sefts and schisms, among us, should hasten a reformation from prelacy, i. 132—and errors, permitted by God to try our faith, ibid. Sent as an incitement to reformation, i. 133. May be in a true church, as well as in a false one, iii. 408. Authors of them sometimes learned and religious men, iii. 410.

Segonax, one of the four petty kings in Britain that assaulted Caesar's camp, iii. 43.

Seius Saturninus, commands the Roman navy in Britain, iii. 74.

Selden, Mr. according to him, errors are of service to the attainment of truth, ii. 410.

Selred, the son of Sigebert the good, succeeds Offa in the East-Saxon kingdom, and comes to a violent end, iii. 174.

Senate, or council of state, proposed, iii. 403, 456. Not to be succesfive, iii. 434. Complaint from the English senate to the city of Hamborough, of the ill usages of their merchants, vi. 254.

Seneca, his opinion of punishing tyrants, ii. 466, vi. 152. Extortions the Britons, iii. 58.

Septimius Severus, the Roman emperor, arrives with an army in this island, iii. 77. His ill success against the Caledonians, iii. 78. Nevertheless goes on and brings them to terms of peace, ibid. Builds a wall across the island, from sea to sea, ibid. They taking arms again, he sends his son Antoninus against them, iii. 79. He dies at York, ibid.
Siger, the son of Sigebert the small, and Sebbi the son of Seward, succeed in the government of the East Saxons after Swithhelm's decease, iii. 162.

Silures, a people of Britain, choose Caractacus for their leader against the Romans, iii. 52. They continue the war against Offtorius and others, iii. 54.

Simonizf, who the first in England, iii. 163.

Simon Zelotes, by some said to have preached the christian faith in this island, iii. 75.

Sin, not to be allowed by law, ii. 62. Such an allowance makes God the author of it, ii. 68.

Sifilius, succeeds Jago, iii. 19.

Sifilius, the son of Guitheline, succeeds his mother Martia, iii. 23. Another of that name reckoned in the number of the ancient Britifh kings, iii. 26.

Siward, Earl of Northumberland, sent by Hardecnute, together with Leofric, against the people of Worcester, iii. 272. He and Leofric raise forces for King Edward against Earl Godwin, iii. 280. He makes an expedition into Scotland, vanquishes Macbeth, and placeth in his stead Malcolm son of the Cumbrian king, iii. 284. He dies at York in an armed posture, iii. 285.

Sleda, erects the kingdom of the East Saxons, iii. 122.

Smelýmnuus, animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against, i. 184. Author's reasons for undertaking its apology, i. 250.

Smith, Sir Thomas, in his commonwealth of England, asserts the government to be a mixed one, vi. 185.

Smith, Sir Thomas, sent ambassador from King James to the Emperor of Ruflia, vi. 516. His reception and entertainment at Mosco, ibid.

Sobietki, John, elected king of Poland, vi. 458. Encomium on his.
Index.

virtues and those of his ancestors, vi. 460.
Socinians, their notions of the Trinity, iii. 410.
Soldiers, their duties, iv. 306.
Solomon, his song, a divine pastoral drama, i. 146. His counsel to keep the king’s commandment, explained, vi. 38. Compared with King Charles, vi. 68.
Songs, throughout the law and prophets, incomparable above all the kinds of Lyric poesy, i. 146.
Sophocles, introduces Tiresias complaining that he knew more than other men, i. 140.
Sorboniats, devoted to the Roman religion, quoted by Salmasius, vi. 96.
South-Saxon, kingdom, by whom erected, iii. 120. South-Saxons, on what occasion converted to the Christian faith, iii. 164.
Saxomen, his account of the primitive bishops, i. 463. Commends a Christian soldier for killing Julian the apollate, vi. 121.
Spain, king of, see Philip IV.
—— prime minister of; letter from Oliver to, vi. 313.
Spalatto, bishop of, wrote against the Pope, yet afterwards turned papist, i. 245.
Spanheim, remarks on his notions of divorce, ii. 242.
Spaniards, manifesto against their depredations, vi. 431. In Latin, v. 345.
Spaniæb ambassador, letters from the parliament to the, vi. 263, 278, 284, 292, 293, 303, 305.
Sparta, kings of, sometimes put to death by the laws of Lycurgus, i. 522.
Spelman, Sir Henry, condemns the taking of fees at sacraments, marriages, and burials, iii. 363.
Spenfer, in his elegy of May, inveighs against the prelates, i. 238. His description of temperance, ii. 412.
States of the United Provinces, treated by us in an unfriendly manner, from principles inflamed by the prelates, i. 46. Oliver’s letter to them in favour of the Piedmontois, vi. 324. His other letters to them on different subjects, vi. 342, 346, 347, 354, 364, 393.
Staterius, king of Albany, is defeated and slain in fight by Dunwallo Molmarius, iii. 20.
Stilicho, repres'ts the invading Scots and Picts, iii. 89.
Strafford, earl of, an account of his behaviour and conduct, i. 347. Who guilty of his death, i. 352.
Studies, what fort proper for the education of youth, ii. 384.
Stuf and Withgar, the nephews of Kerdic, bring him new levies, iii. 122. They inherit what he won in the Isle of Wight, iii. 127.
Sturnius John, his testimony concerning Martin Bucer, ii. 289.
Subject, of England, what makes one, ii. 477.
Suetonius Paulinus, lieutenant in Britain, attacks the Isle of Anglesey, iii. 57.
Suidhelm, succeeds Sigebert in the kingdom of the East-Saxons, iii. 160. He is baptized by Kedda, ibid.
Sulpitius Severus, what he says of a king, vi. 137.
Superstition, the greatest of burdens, ii. 8.
Swane, makes great devastations in the west of England, iii. 246. He carries all before him as far as London, but is there repelled, iii. 252. Styled king of England, iii. 253. He fickens and dies, ibid.
Swane, the son of Earl Godwin, treacherously murders his kindman Beorn, iii. 276. His peace wrought with the king by Aldred Bishop of Worcester, iii. 277. Touched in conscience for the slaughter of Beorn, he goes barefoot to Rome, and returning home dies in Lycia, iii. 283.
Index.

Sweden, king of. See Charles César

Switzerland, letter to their evangelical cantons from the English commonwealth, vi. 301. From Oliver, vi. 326, 337, 402.

TACITUS, falsely quoted by Sallust, vi. 149. One of the greatest enemies to tyrants, ibid.

Tarentum, prince of, Oliver's letter to him, vi. 317.

Tarquins, enemies to the liberty of Rome, iii. 438.

Taximagus, a petty Britsh king, one of the four that assaulted Caesar's camp, iii. 43.

Tenuantius, one of the sons of Lud has Cornwall allotted him, iii. 27. Made king after the death of Caffibelan, iii. 47.

Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, ii. 450.

Tertullian, his opinion of divorce, ii. 264.

Tetrachordon, on the four chief Places in Scripture treating of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage, ii. 135.

Teudric, a warlike king of Britain, faid to have exchanged his crown for a hermitage, iii. 135. To have taken up arms again in aid of his fon Mowrc, ibid.

Theobald, the brother of King Ethelfrid, slain at Degsfaftan, iii. 141.

Theodore, a monk of Tarfus, ordained bishop of Canterbury, iii. 162. By his means the liberal arts and the Greek and Latin tongues flourished among the Saxons, ibid.

Theodosius, the emperor, held under excommunication for eight months, by St. Ambrofæ, Bishop of Milan, i. 63. His law concerning divorce, ii. 269. Decreed the law to be above the emperor, i. 522.

Theodosius, sent over by Valentinian, enters London victoriously, iii. 87. Sends for Civilis and Dulcitius, ibid. Punifhes Valentinus a Pannonian conspiring against him, ibid. Returns with applause to Valentinian, iii. 88.

Tiberius, his cruel wish, i. 114. Had no right to the succession, vi. 82.

Timothy, received ordination by the hands of the prebreftery, i. 112. Not bishop of any particular place, i. 225.

Tingoea, difcovered by the Ruf fians, vi. 484. Manners of the Tingofi, ibid.

Tithe, why to be aboli/ed under the Gospel, iii. 344. Dißallowed by foreign protestants, ibid. Au thorities brought by the advocates for tithes, iii. 347.

Titulus, succeeds his father Ufka in the kingdom of the East-angles, iii. 122.

Togodumnus, the second fon of Cunobeline, succeeds in the kingdom, iii. 48. Is overthrown by Aulus Plautius, ibid. Slain in battle, iii. 49.

Toledo, council of, allow of no cause of divorce, except for fornication, ii. 357.

Toleration, of differences not fundamental, recommended, ii. 443.

Tofti, the fon of Godwin, made Earl of Northumberland, in the room of Siward, iii. 285. He swears brotherhood with Malcolm, King of Scotland, iii. 287. Goes to Rome with Aldred, bishop of York, ibid. The Northumbrians expel him, iii. 288. A story of great outrage and cruelty, com-
mitted by him at Hereford, iii. 289. Driven out of the country by Edwin and Morcar, iii. 294. Joining with Harold Harvager, King of Norway, against his brother, is slain together with Harvager in the battle, iii. 295.

Tours city, whence named, iii. 12.

Trade flourishes most in free commonwealths, iii. 452.

Traditions of the church, diffonant from the doctrine of the apostles, in point of episcopacy, i. 87. Counted nearly equal to the written word in the ancient church, ii. 200. Strictly commanded to be rejected, iii. 407.

Trajan, his speech to the general of his praetorian forces, ii. 461. Pliny's compliment to him, vi. 151.

Transylvania, prince of, Oliver's letter to him, vi. 320.

Trebellius Maximus, sent into Britain in the room of Petronius Turpilianus, iii. 63.

Trinity, arian and fociian notions of the, iii. 410.

Trinobantes, fall off from Caflibelan, submit to Cæsar, and recommend Mandubratius to his protection, iii. 42. With the Iceniens rise up against the Romans, iii. 59.

True Religion (Of), Herefy, Schism, Toleration, and the best Means against the Growth of Popery, iii. 406.

Truth, the daughter of Heaven, nursed up between the doctrine and discipline of the Gospel, i. 81. Love of truth, true eloquence, i. 322. Errors of service to the attainment of, ii. 410. Of her coming into the world, and her treatment there, ii. 435. Needs no stratagem to make her victorious, ii. 444. According to Zorobabel, the strongest of all things, i. 517. Truth and justice compared, ibid.

Tullius Marcus, no friend to kings, vi. 44. Extols the killing of Cæ-

far in the senate, vi. 152, 178. Affirms that all power proceeds from the people, vi. 195.

Tumults, at Whitehall, not so dangerous as those at Sechem, i. 359. Who the probable cause of them, ibid. The effects of an evil reign, ibid.

Turkill, a Danish earl, assaults Canterbury, but is bought off, iii. 249. He swears allegiance to King Ethelred, that under that pretence he might stay and give intelligence to Swane, iii. 252. He leaves the English again, and joins with Canute, iii. 255. His greatness suspected by Canute, he is banished the realm, iii. 265.

Turklet, a Danish leader, submitting to King Edward, obtains leave of him to go and try his fortune in France, iii. 217.

Turks, what privileges they enjoy, i. 508.

Tuscany, great duke of, see Ferdinand.

Typographical luxury complained of by Milton, v. 398.

Tyranny, the opposers of it described, i. 299.

Tyrants, reasons for punishing them, ii. 450. What they are, ii. 465. Held not only lawful, but glorious and heroic to kill them, by the Greeks and Romans, ii. 466. Instances of several punished in the Jewish times, ii. 467. How they have been treated in christian times, ii. 469. Fear and envy good men, i. 453. More commendable to depose than to set up one, vi. 55. Examples of several deposed and put to death by christians, vi. 119. Submitted to by necessity only, vi. 134. Divine honours ascribed to such as killed them by the Grecians, vi. 145. Definition of a tyrant by Aristotle, vi. 235. Easily extirpated in Greece and Rome, iv. 248.
VALENTINIAN, his law of divorce, ii. 269. Sends over several deputies successively into this island, iii. 87.

Valerius Afraticus, vindicates the killing Caligula, vi. 154.

Valerius Publicola, for what reason he devised the Valerian law, vi. 153.

Vane, Charles, sent as agent from the English commonwealth to Lisbon, vi. 260.

Vatablus, his opinion of divorce, ii. 176.

Veëius Bolanus, sent into Britain in the room of Trebellius Maximus, iii. 64.

Vellacatus, married by Cartifmandua, iii. 56.

Venice, letters to the duke and senate, from the English council of state, vi. 277, 296. Others from Oliver, vi. 334, 391.

Venustius, a king of the Brigantes, deserted by his wife Cartifmandua, iii. 56. He rights himself against her by arms, ibid. Makes war successfully against those taking part with his wife, ibid.

Verannius, succeeds A. Didius in the Britith wars, iii. 57.

Vespasian, fighting under Plautius against the Britons, is rescued from danger by his son Titus, iii. 51. For his eminent services here, he receives triumphal ornaments at Rome, ibid.

Uffa, erects the kingdom of the East-angles, iii. 122. From him his successors called Uffings, ibid.

Vittorinus, a Moor, appeases a commotion in Britain, iii. 80.

Vittorinus, of Tolosa, made prefect of this island, iii. 90.

Vithred, the son of Ecbert, obtaining the kingdom of Kent, settles all things in peace, iii. 166. After thirty-four years reign, he deceaseth, iii. 170.

Videna, flays her son Ferrex in re-

venge of her other son Ferrex, iii. 20.

Vigenius and Peredure, expelling their brother Eldure, share the kingdom between them, iii. 25.

Virgil, misquoted for the unlimited power of kings, vi. 41.

Virius Lupus, has the north part of the government assigned him by Severus the emperor, iii. 76.

Virtue, ever highly rewarded by the ancient Romans, iii. 51. The only foundation of true liberty, iv. 326.

Ulfketel, duke of the East-angles, sets upon the Danes with great valour, iii. 246. His army defeated through the subtlety of a Danisb servant, iii. 250. He is slain with several other dukes, at the fatal battle of Assandune, iii. 260.

Ulpius Marcellus, sent lieutenant into Britain by Commodus, ends the war by his valour and prudence, iii. 75.

United Provinces, see States.

Vortigern, his character, iii. 110. Advised by his council to invite in the Saxons against the Scots and Picts, ibid. He bestows upon Hengift and the Saxons, the Isle of Thanet, iii. 112. Then all Kent upon a marriage with Rowen, Hengift's daughter, iii. 114. Condemned in a synod for incest with his daughter, he retires to a castle in Radnorshire, iii. 115. His son Guortimer dead, he resumes the government, iii. 117. Drawn into a snare by Hengift, iii. 118. Retiring again, is burnt in his tower, ibid.

Vortipor, reigns in Demetia, or South Wales, iii. 132.

Vows, remarks on those of King Charles, i. 495.

Urianus, reckoned in the number of ancient Britith kings, iii. 26.

Uther Pendragon, thought to be the same with Natanleod, iii. 121.

Uthred, submits himself with the
Northumbrians to Swane, iii. 252. To Canute, iii. 257. He was slain by Turebrand a Danith lord. His victory over Malcolm King of Scots, ibid.

Uxbridge, attack at Brentford, during the treaty there, i. 469.

Uxziab, thrust out of the temple for his opinioned zeal, i. 443. Thrust out of the temple as a leper by the priests, vi. 51. Ceased to be king, ibid.

WALDENSES, denied tithes to be given in the primitive church, iii. 356. Maintained their ministers by alms only, iii. 377.

Wedlock, exposition of several texts of Scripture relating to it, ii. 327. When unfit, ungodly, and discordant, to be dissolved by divorce, ii. 232. See Marriage, &c.

Wen, fable of the Wen, head and members of the body, i. 43.

Wesembeckius, his opinion concerning divorce, i. 282.

Weftfrietzland, letter from the protector Richard, to the states of that province, vi. 424.

Weftminster-Abbey, rebuilt and endowed by Edward the confessor, iii. 277.

Weft-Saxon kingdom, by whom erected, iii. 123. Weft-Saxons, and their king converted to the christian faith by Berinus, iii. 155.

Wibba, succeeds Crida in the Mercian kingdom, iii. 135.

Wickliffe, before the bishops in the reformation, i. 248.

Wilbrod, a priest goes over with 12 others to preach the Gospel in Germany, iii. 168. Countenanced by Pepin, chief regent of the Franks, and made first bishop of that nation, ibid.

Wilfred, bishop of the Northumbrians, deprived by Ecfrid of his bishopric, wanders as far as Rome, iii. 164. Returning, plants the Gospel in the Isle of Wight, and other places assigned him, ibid. Has the fourth part of that island given him by Kedwalla, which he befolows on Bertwin, a priest, his father's son, iii. 165.

Wilfrida, a nun, taken by force, and kept as a concubine by King Edggar, iii. 236.

William the Conqueror, swears to behave as a good king ought to do, iii. 300, vi. 189. Remarkable law of Edward the confessor, confirmed by him, vi. 215. Honourably entertained by King Edward, and richly dismiss'd, iii. 281. He bestraths his daughter to Harold, who swears to assist him to the crown of England, iii. 290. Sending after King Edward's death, to demand performance of his promise, is put off with a slight answer, iii. 294. He lands with an army at Haltings, iii. 296. Overthrows Harold, who, with his two brothers, is slain in battle, iii. 299. Crowned at Westminister by Aldred, archbishop of York, iii. 300.

William of Malmsbury, a better historian than any of his predecessors, iii. 172. His account of the dissolution of manners, both of the English clergy and laity, iii. 300.

Willowby, Sir Hugh, made admiral of a fleet, for the discovery of the northern parts, vi. 503. Puts into Arzina in Lapland, where he and his company perish with cold, vi. 504.

Wincbefter, by whom built, iii. 15.

Wine, if prohibited to be imported, might prevent drunkenness, ii. 196.

Wipped, a Saxon earl, slain at a place called Wippedsfleot, which thence took its denomination, iii. 117.

Withgar, see Stuf.

Withgarburgh, in the Isle of Wight, the burial-place of Withgar, iii. 127.

Withlaf, the successor of Ludiken, vanquished by Ecbert, to whom all Mercia becomes tributary, iii. 187.
Index.

Wologda, in Russia, winter and summer churches there, vi. 474.
Wolves, when and by whom rooted out of England, iii. 233.
Woman, that she should give law to man, said to be awry from the law of God and nature, iii. 23.
Writing, freedom of it to be allowed, ii. 430. The restraint of it a discouragement to learned and religious men, ibid. See Licensing.
Wulfer, the son of Penda, set up by the Mercian nobles, in the room of his brother Oswi, iii. 161. Said to have been taken prisoner by Kenwalk, the West Saxon, ibid. He takes and waistes the Ifle of Wight, but causes the inhabitants to be baptized, ibid. Gives the island to Ethelwald, king of South Saxons, ibid. Sends Jarumannus to recover the East Saxons, fallen off the second time from christi-anity, iii. 162. Lindsey taken from him by Eefrid of Northumberland, iii. 163. His death accompanied with the stain of simony, ibid.
Wulfberd, King Ethelwolf's chief captain, drives back the Danes at Southampton with great slaughter, iii. 192. He dies the same year, as it is thought, of age, ibid.
Wulketul, earl of Ely, overthrown with his whole army, by the Danes, iii. 200.

XENOPHON, according to him, tyrannicides were honoured by the people, vi. 145.
YMNER, King of Loegria, with others, slain in battle by Dunwallo Molmutius, iii. 20.
Youth, exercise and recreations proper for them, ii. 390.
ZEAL, poetical description of it, i. 279. Recommended by the Scripture, in reproving notorious faults, i. 280.
Zipporah, sent away by Moses for her prophanenes, ii. 40.
Zones, Salmafius's account of them, vi. 187.
Zorobabel, asserted truth to be the strongest of all things, i. 517.

FINIS.

CHISWICK PRESS:—PRINTED BY C. WHITTINGHAM,
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.
Milton, John
Works

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY