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DISCOURSES OF
VVARRE AND
single Combat,

Translated out of French by
J. Eliot.

LONDON
Printed by John Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop
right over against the great South doce of
Paules, 1591.
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD, THE
LORD ROBERT, EARLE OF ESSEX
and Ewe, Vicount of Hereford and Bourchier, Lord
Ferrers of Chartley, Bourchier and Louaine, Master of
the Queene's Maiesties House, and one of the
Knights of the most Honoroble
order of the Garter.

John Eliot wisheth all encrease of Ho-
nour and Vertue.

Am not ignorant (Right Honora-
rable) that divers famous Cap-
taines, braue men, and renowned
Martialistes, some strangers, and
some of our owne Nation also
haue largely and learnedly dis-
coursed of warre, like expert fould-
diars and men of great skil and sufficient knowledge in
the conduct of armes & policie of martiall discipline.
Nevertheless, I haue presumed to present unto your
Lo. these discourses of Warre and Single Combat,
written lately by a French gentleman, and by him de-
dicated to no worse personage, then to the Maiestie of
the most christian King: and now by mee translated,
because I sawe them to be by the Author excellently
handled, containing matter most godly worth the rea-
ding of all Christian fouldiars; setting downe the an-

cient.
The Authors Epistle Dedicatorie to
the most Christian King of France
and Navarre, &c.

Feare not (most Christian and mightie
King) that Archidamus come to call
me intollable, as upon a time he did Per-
riander, for he that commended the fame
of a skilfull Phisition, to be saluated by the
name of a paltric Poet. But as for me,
I am no good Phisition: I meane, I am
not excellent in the profession that I use: and I feare mee,
Apelles will serve mee, as he served the savoury Shoomaker,
that sound fault with his picture, and bid me with his Nis-
sutor ultra crepitam: medle with mine owne art, and let
other mens mysteries alone. I can aswre Apelles well y-
ough, that in my Discourse I have not gone beyonde my
profession: for I take not upon me to make my selfe as wife
a Captaine, as was Caesar, Pompey, Alexander, or Ep-
aminondas: nor I teach not how a man as armes should be
equipped, and borne in the wars, how well fortysed, or
how feebleuerie place of defence ought to be esteemed by
the counterpoise of forces that assault: what number of men
ought to be in an army, how many should be harquebuziers,
how manie pikemen, how manie horsemen, how a Fortresse
or a Cittie should be assized or defended, how a battell ought
to be ranged and set in order, how an assault may be given,
The epistle to the King of France.

or sustained, how an ambush may be laid, and how a skirmish should be made, or how to perform other exploits of war: all these things are besides my purpose, and left unto those that make absolute profession of arms, who have written and spoken like men of knowledge, well science, and experience. The rules that I set down, though simplicy the conscience, and show how it is expedient that every man march uprightly according to the ancient policies of military profession, set down unto us in the word of God. Having finished this little discourse of war, I have thought it not impertinent to penne another little Treatise of Combat, the which I have joined to the other, for that the abuse is most commonlie practised in time of warre, and ought necessary ly to be reformed. For if two have anie quarrell or difference between them, they must trie and end it by the combat, all justice troden under foot. If he he a gentleman of a companie, a man at armes, yea but a single soldier, he must not pocket up the least looking in the face awry, the least given, or the least inuorie that is, but he must crave revenge, to the field they must man to man, to trie their manhood, or else his honour and reputation is lost, and he be counted but a coward and a dastard. By this means it commeth to passe daily that we have so manie murders and manslaughters committed in time of warre, what by the furious and outrageous minds of some men, who seeke nothing but quarrelling and fighting: and what by the nonchallance and negligence of Captaines and chief leaders, that take no order for the reformation of these excessive riots in good time: so manie that be serviceable to Prince and Country, upon a broach lose their lives: and when they are slain, it is late to raise the dead againe. These are the moistues, most re doubted Sir, that perswaded me to write these discourses of

The epistle to the king of France.

of Warre and Combat, the which I cannot dedicate to any other Prince, but onely to your maiestie. For having this honour to be yours and no mans else, the benefite of all that I am able to do, belongeth to you onely by good right. And seeing that the mightieest hath created and elected you to be Gardian and defender of his Church: and that besides from your tender yeares upward, you haue had the warres still on your shoulders, I could find no other Prince that manageth armes daily, fitter and more worthie of this subject, then your Maiestie. Receive then most Christian King (if it please you) these two sall Treatises to your royl protection, and show them your gracious favour, that under your authORITY they may see the light, and present themselves boldly to the view and handling of all good Christians, carrying in their forbeads the title and inscription of your sacred Maiestie. The which, Sir, I beseech the God of Heaven to have always in his most safe and holy keeping. From Castel Geloux the 5 of October 1590.

Your most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient servant

B. de Logue.
A Discourse of Warre.

Chapter 1.

Whether it bee lawfull for a Christian Prince, or Magistrate to make warre.

All men are not of opinion, that the Christian Prince, or civil Magistrate may warre with a safe conscience against the enemies of his estate, or of the Church. But I hold the contrary, and I prove it by five reasons.

The first reason is, because God hath so expressly commanded. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: Avenge the children of Israel upon the Midianites, and afterward thou shalt bring again to thy people; then spake Moses unto the people saying: Arm ye some of you into the warre, and let upon Midian, and avenge the quarrel of the Lord upon him. You shall send to the warre a thousand of every tribe, out of every tribe of Israel, &c.

The second reason is, because God himself hath at sundry times counselleth, and taught his servants, how they ought to govern themselves in warre. Deut. 20. 1. & 2. 14, 2 Chr. 20. 16.

The third reason is, because God himselfe in holy writ is called the God of Hostes; and the Lord God of battels. Likewise, that just warres are called the battels of God.

The fourth reason is, because many Kings and Princes
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are highly commended in holy writ, for that they had warred valiantly against their enemies. Abraham with a little band of men warred against four tirannous kings, whom he discomfited, and so by that means recovered his cousin Lot, and all his wives, servants, goods and cattle, that they had taken from him in pillage, thanking God the gier of so great a victory.

Moses and Joshua have so hotly pursued the warres, and in so great earnest; that without any companions in courage, and valour there have never bin found any able to surmount them.

Jonathan sonne of King Saul was a mighty and valiant Captain, and a man fearing God, as signally be theved by the great overruling he gave to the Philistines;

Gideon hath bin a man not of the least renome for martiall affairs.

But amongst the most famous warriours that ever were, David hath bin one of the most excellent and most remarkable: he laboured in warre the Philistines, the Scyrians, and many other nations and peoples.

V.
The fist reason is, because Jesus Christ and his Disciples have allowed the warre. Marcius affirmed in the newe Alliance, that is to say, in the Gospell, all warres are prohibited, and that it is not lawful for any Christian to wage warre, because our Saviour Christ said unto St. Peter: Put vp thy sword into thy sheath: for whosoever shall smite with the sword, shall perish with the sword. But I answer, that this saying of our Saviour is to be understood of particular revenge, as by and by we shall declare more at large. For as touching the rest that Jesus and his Disciples, have at no time prohibited lawful and just warres, it appeareth by these places of holy Scriptures. The Centurion laid unto Jesus Christ: I am a man set under the power of another man, and I have under me Soldiers, and I lay into one goe, and he goeth: and to another come, and he committeth. To whom Christ answered not, that he should forsake and leave quite all warfaring: but commending him, he laid to the multitude that

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That followed him, I say vnto you, I have not found so great faith not in Israel.

The Soulubers demanded John Baptist, saying: and we, Luk. 14, what shall we do? John said not unto them: lay down your armies, for it displeaseth God: but he told them plainly what they should do. Hurt no man, neither trouble any man wrongfullie, and be content with your wages.

Saint Peter baptize Cornelius the Centurion of the band A.D.10. of Italians, who was the first fruits of the Gentiles; and never exalted him to leave his charge.

The Apostle to the Hebrews praiseth those captaines and Heb.11,13. guides of warre, who by faith have encountered with forces of outraine kingdoms, and have continued themselves valiantly in fight repulsing strangers encroaching on their territories.

The sith reason is grounded on the law of armes, and the lawful use of the sword: for the Prince beareth not the sword Rom. 13,4. in vain, faith St. Paul, because he is the servant of God, for the safeguard of the god, and the punishment of the wicked.

Now if it be lawful for a prince to punish a small number of offenders, by a small number of his servants and officers: why shall it not be lawful for him, to punish a multitude by a greater number, when necessity shall urge him therunto?

It is then apparent by these sith reasons, which I have alleged, that it is lawful for christian Princes and magistrates to wage warre when necessity shall require. And that which the Arabaptistes reply to the contrary, is most sciolous and of no force. Say they, it is written in the law of God, Thou shalt not kill: and in the Gospell, Resil not euill. And so likewise Christ said to Saint Peter, Put vp thy sword into thy sheath: for whosoever shall smite with the sword, shall perish with the sword. I answer: by these words of our Saviour, private revenge is forbidden, and not publice revenge, which is executed by the magistrat, according to law, by the commandment of God; for thenes private men have not received the sword from God, if they take it in hand, to use it, and strike, having no authority from their superior, they

Exo.10.
Mat.5. 39.
Mat.16,51.
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are ipso facto seditionis periculœ, sed to both the Latin, albeit the cause seem'd ill. But when the prince delivered to the sword, which God hath given into his hand to dispose, it is an other thing. For if he cause the offender to die, he by that means is as if he had a gibber by sentence of a Judge, be it in wares, it is not he, to speak properly, who both this execution, but it is God himself who both it, by the sword which he hath committed into his hands, as into his Lieutenant, and that according to law and right. Boundless innumerable, that the prince or magistrate execute justice, as becometh the servant of God, without any private grudge or pretence of revenge. So to be himself should also be a murtherer, and should transgress the commandment of God. But let us proceed to declare the causes of warre.

Chapter 2.

Of the causes that may move a christian Prince or Magistrate to make warre.

Cæsar, that thou have perfect knowledge of that which thou wouldst undertake (as he was one of the 7. leges) and then put the latter in practice to effect it. And indeed a man ought not to undertake any action unless good and lawful occasions move him thereunto; otherwise God breatheth out his anger upon the action, and causeth it his malvolition. If then christian princes or magistrates will undertake warre upon some hope conceiv'd of good success, the causes thereof must be set downe before hand to be just and lawful. The causes then are two:

1. Guise, that may move into warre. One, that represseth the gods of this world, and the natural life of man; and this is of two sorts.

First when it commeth to the point of repulsing the violences and inuries of tyrants that give the quiet: for if it cannot be denied

of christian Warre.

of the law of God and man it is tolerable for innocency to defend it sole by some means, when it is injured or outraged, and that nature hath not in human grained in the hearts of all living creatures a desire to preserve and maintain their lives and gods: who will then be the that is lawfull for a Prince to take arms and to go to the field to defend his state, and to keep his subjects from the fury of the invaders? Moses giveth a very good example heretofore, fighting against the Canaanites, and against Og the king of the Amalechites.

King Josaphat giveth us also an example, giving battell against the Ammonites and the Moabites, who were issued out to set upon him.

David left us also a notable example, repulsing the Philistines which warred on him. And his own sonne Abijalom, who was up in armies against him with his men of warre, by the advice and counsil of Achitophel.

But best worthy to be marked is this: David hearing and knowing that the Amalechites had burned Siceleg, and taken his wives that were there prisoners with them, asked counsil of the Lord, if he should pursue the army of the Amalechites: And the Lord answered him that he should, and he took four hundred men with him, and pursued his enemies, till at last he vanquished and overcame them, and recovered all that they had carryed away before.

Secondly, when it commeth to the point of restoring those that are allyed and have concluded some league of amity with us being unwarrantly opposed: For christian Princes may conclude amity with their next neighbour nations, so that nothing be done against the honours of God. Some one will say, that the honours and jurisdictions are distinct and that it is against all right to invade one another.

If warre that indeed is ill done to unedge one upon another, when invasion is pretended to each others territories (and as to the Arbitrater of whom Cicero maketh mention to appoyant to himself, which is yet in controversy. But here the case standeth otherwise, when it cometh to the
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push, to invade and enroach upon others, to defend the right of those that are allainced and confederate unto us.

I. Sam. 11. 1. So it was that Absalom, being persuaded by the Gadarenes, gave them and against the five kingdoms, which was upon them, in so much that he raised the siege from before Gath, and dissolved the five kingdoms.

1 Sam. 11. 1. So it was that Saul relieved the town of Libe, alleged by Naam the Ammonite, a most cruel and tyrannous prince, in so much, that Saul carried along together by the spirit of God, caused the siege to be raised, and put to flight all the Ammonites.

Gen. 14. 14. So it was that Abraham, the father of the faithful, caused three hundred and eighty-five of his own servants, both in his own house, to be armed and set in order to fight to his nephew Lot, and to take him by force out of the hands of his enemies, who had taken him prisoner, and carried him and all his substance away with them.

The second cause why Christian Princes may wage warre, concerneth Religion: for they decree themselves, that no warre may be waged for the maintenance of Christian Religion. True it is, that the Church hath nothing to do to forward or support in taking arms; but so it is, that it may indubitably be defended and preserved by the means of arms. When it followeth, that princes and Christian magistrates may wage warre. First against Apostates, that fall from the faith.

Deut. 13. There is an express commandment given from God, touching this, that what town soever shall revolt from him and from his service, shall be destroyed, and all that continue rebel and obstinate, then to be razed. But in the third chapter we will sufficiently discourse this point, and the how far Christian Princes and magistrates may constrain their heretical oretics by lawful warre.

Secondly, Christian Princes may war for the defence of the Church, when a prince being enemy of God, and an Idolater would offer violence and oppose it, to the end to establish a

of Christian Warre.

secure religion, and to support the truth. For God hath given them in charge, and made a covenant with them, commanding them to maintain it, and to have great care thereof, and not only of some particular members: but of all the whole and entire house thereof. For it is but one called by the name of Catholick or universal; as also in old time there was in Jerusalem, but one temple, a figure and type of the same Church.

When Christian Princes are confederate they promise and give oaths solemnly, faithfully to protect this Church, and to employ the temporal sword which is there given them, to safeguard and defend thereof. And for the same effect having the same sword in their hands, they turn themselves to the four corners of the world: towards the East, the West, the North and South, there urging solemnly to perform the said promises by which the people are to signify, that they take them into their protection and safeguard the universal Church, so as much as in them lies they do, against all those that would undertake to assail and oppose the same. This is to be understood of the true Church, not of the abuse used under the popish empire.

Also all Princes and Christian Princes are, or ought to be members of this Church. Therefore they have this interest therein, so that they are bound in conscience to preserve it safe and in God's estate, and to keep it from all danger. The Philistines that is on the sea in his ships, ought to stand in fear of shipwreck, because he is in jeopardy as well as the rest. The governor of a city ought to fear the surprising of the same, because he is in as great danger as the rest of the citizens. So Christian Princes and Princes, and all Magistrates, ought for the true knowledge of God, ought greatly to fear the ruin of the Church of God, so if it be ruined, with it they must needs be ruined also.

But especially they ought to uphold it, because they are the tutors and guardians thereof: because they are the servants of God: because the two tables of the law have been delivered into their hands, because that to them belongeth the care, not only
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Aye, of the honest demeanour thereof, but also of the scale and godliness, as faith the holy scripture.

When a prophet Aggeus exhorted the Jews, after their coming back the from Babylon, to rebuild the Temple of God, he advised not himself only to the people and to their priests, but also unto Zorobabel the chief ruler of Judah, which he shewed evidently that not only private men and ministers ought to do, as much as they in them, but for the supplying and perfecting of the Church, but also all Christian princes and magistrates whatsoever. The private men so; their part ought to take heed, that they be true members of this church. The ministers, that they ereth both private men and magistrates truly and sincerely to do their duty. The magistrates, that they endeavour to help and stop the ruine and corruption of the church, and to make it safe from all ills; both within and without; not in establishing of laws contrary to the laws of God: but in making every one to receive the laws of God, and maintaining it boldly against all the errors of false prophets, and against the violence of insolence and tyrannous princes.

At the building of the Temple by the ordinance of the Elders, and by their conduct, one part of the people carried wood, and the other part carried weapons, and some in one hand, and some in the other hand; and the men carried a gavel, to the end if their enemies came to disturb them at their work, they might be provided for them, to chase them away.

The ten tribes under the conduct of Iòaah exiruped the Jews with their companions, of the tribes of Gad, and Manasse, because they had erected an altar against the word of God.

Judas Machabeus fought against the armie of Antiochus, who would offer violence, and shew in down the religion of the Jews (which then was the true religion) and compass them to receive the religion of the Pagans.

Eusebius recteth an history of the Armenians, who being compelled by the emperor Maximus to change the

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To shew of christian religion into idolatry, because of his friends his mortal enmity: of a people before in league of amity with him, his captall absurers, so that to defend themselves with strong hand against his twisted dominions, they both warred and suppon him, charmed him hardly, and pursued him in sight very near.

The name Eusebius witnesseth, that Constantine the great, Lit. 10. c. 3 and Licinius (beethen in law) and copartners in the Empire, Licinius commanding in the East, and Constantine in the West, neither of them having any authority over the other: at the length Licinius raised a great persecution against the Christians in his dominion, disturbing the exercise of their religion, banishing them out of all places, putting many of them to death, with many kindes of barbarous cruelty, till Constantine set upon him, and made open warre upon him so long, that at the last he was forced to moderate hymselfe, and to accord unto Christians the free exercise of their religion. Which thing Licinius having confirmed by solemn promis, after a quiet space returned to barbarous againe, and as belowe (against his faith and prouince) did begin to persecute Christians fiercely. Wherefore Constantine set upon him againe, purposed him, toke him, and caused him to be bainte by his own soldiers in the towne of Thracienice. And it is a thing to be noted, since that time all Diuines do generally commend that act of Constandine that they say in him is verified the promise contained in Egy: That Kings shalbe thy nourishing fathers, and Queens shall be thy nourishing mothers; speaking of the Church.

Wee reade the name of that worthy enterprise, that the French with the greatest part of the people of Europe, to the number of three hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, under the charge and conduct of Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, made against the recibants and infidels, to recover Jerusalem and the holy land.

When may Christian princes make warre for the safeguard of the true religion: and indeed (as we have said) they are established of God by the same purpose: and they are most expressly
A Discourse of christian Wars.

Church, the true faith, and religion.

But is it sufficiently proved, at wares for matters of religion are not contrary to the vocation of christian princes and magistrates: Let us proceed, and examine what a christian prince ought to do, when he met with Christ and punish his heretical subjects, either by war or by some other, according to the default committed.

Chapter III.

That a prince may challice by warre, or otherwise, his heretical subjects, but with some moderation: And yet not before he have convinced them to be heretics by the word of God.

ere knowledge and conscience are necessarily to be had. The Christian prince ought indeed to drive away all heretics from among his subjects, if there be found among them any such: and he ought to challice and punish them, either by warre, or else by some other means of justice, lawful and approved. For in this error were the Princes, the Donatists, that no man ought to be troubled or molested for his religion, much less punished: but that every one might live freely after his own fantasie. S. Augustine himselfe was sometime of this opinion, but afterward retired his erroure, appoising that christian princes might punish heretics: as appearreth in the epistle that be wrote to Bonifacius.

This law is made in the booke of Codex: That whosoever maketh sacrifice to strange Gods, or offereth unto the soueraigne Lord, should be slain. In the booke of Numbers it is said,

Ex. 31:10. that

Lewi. 24. 14, & 16.
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Deut. 18:10. And in Deuterieon: That the Prophet which shall presume to speake a word in the name of God, which he hath not commanded him to speake, or that speaketh in the name of strange Gods, the same Prophet shall dye.

That by whom should these executions of Gods justice be done, but by the prince or magistrate? We heare before that God commanded, that the city that should revolt from him also from his true religion should bee set upon by warre, and if it bee obstinate and rebellious, that it should bee razed.

1 Tim. 1:19. That which some allege, that St. Paul was content only to recommunicate Hymeneus and Alexander, who had made shipwrecke of their faith: and that he commanded Titus to recommunicate after the like manner all heretiques, after the first and second admonition, maketh nothing against the execution of the christian prince or magistrate. For St. Paul doth not say there, how the prince ought to behave himselfe in such a case, but theeweth that the pattern of the church is in lyke matter. No man doubteth, but the inconstant person ought to be punished by the magistrate: albeit St. Paul writing to the Cozathians, speaketh nothing more of the inconstant person that was amongst them, but only his counsell was to recommunicate him; and the reason is, because he there spake unto the Consistory of the congregation, and not unto the civil magistrate, making a great difference betweene the office of the one and of the other.

Then by this that we have already saie, it appeareth that the christian prince may, and ought to suppress all hereticall subiects, either by warre or by any other lawfull means, so that it be done with judgement and some moderation.

And first he must make a difference betweene unmeeknes, obstinate and contumacious heretiques, who are the letters or fire, the plague, and chief captains, to consume, infect, and leade others headlong into perversion: and betweene the yong ignorant people, who are lesseured and aduised by them.
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fore I must hear them before I can condemn them, yea were they Turks, Jews, Sarazins, or Devils.

And thereupon, although they asserted the King many times that the doctrine of those of Cabrieses and of Merlinlou had been often condemned by the Councils, and namely by the Council of Lateran: nevertheless he persevered in his holy adultery, and said: I will not stand my conscience to fear, to be so truly in judgment upon the sole authority of condemnation set down by the Councils, but I will have the hearing of the persons accused, before I proceed to condemn them.

A most glorious saying: for indeed it is not sufficient that men be accused to be heretics, if they be not convinced to be such by the holy scriptures. For if the sole accusation would suffice to condemn a man, there is no kind of innocence but leastly his right.

Let us now see what mischief warre bringeth, to the end that Christian princes do not use it, but in time of good occasion and of great necessity.

Chapter IIII.

That because of the great inconveniences and mischiefs that accompany warre, princes ought not to attempt it, except in time of great extremity.

Cesids the Spartan king, and Aristotle were wont to say, that a king ought to govern his people, as a father hath his children. For so also in ancient time kings were called by an Hebrew word, Abimelech, which signifies, My father the king. Now the father governeth his children in lenity and godliness, and not in rigour, so with Marthanas the Lawyer: The king then ought to rule his people in lenity and godliness, and not in rigour: but he both the contrary, when he cruelly, them with warre. For it is not to rule in prosperity and lenity, to exercise such tyrannical government over his people, namely by cruel warre, which is the very scourge of the people, far more unseasonable and hurtful then for warre of strangers. Let us then see, what mischief warre bringeth unto a commonwealth in general.

Warre maketh all things peaceable, and causeth famine: for the soldiers tread down the fruits of the earth under their feet, pull the vines, steal, burn, whole towns and villages, spoil and rob men houses, take away men cattle, forage their herds, lie in wait for people men in the high ways hinder the traffique and concourse of merchants, and do commit many such like mischief, which for the most part cause great famine and scarcity.

Warre is cause of great sickness, and namely of the plague and contagion: it bringeth great famine to mould, with it: a man in the warre is all lodged, he must eat that which he findeth, and drink what he can come by, and oftentimes the aire is corrupted by the infect and stinking odours of a camp, and by the number of dead carcasses, as well of men as of horses, which lie scattering here and there not farre from the camp.

Warre causeth all Laws and justice to cease, the true service of God to be corrupted, so the free course thereof to be hindered.

Warre maketh all reason and equity to give to violence, abandoneth youth for wickedness, and lose hanging, causeth grasp of whose be subdued and let at naught, abstaintith all estates, and causeth them to degenerate, exalteth men of small quality, bringeth low honourable estates; bringeth in innovations and abolisheth, maintayneth disorder and confusion, interrupteth the Universities, and maketh all schools of learning (the femnaries of virtue) to cease, and make intermission, soweth the very seeds of all trouble and divition, entertaineth and fostermeth the rasallest sort of people, some that have gone about with a bag, and some that bare worn the rope. Maketh one neighbour not to know an other, to eate and destroy one another, taketh away by force the plowman from
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his trugage, and carrieth the Artian will hee, or will hee, from
hys Shop and family. As man is able to furnish so many con-
tributions as it exacteth. The poor man dyeth for hunger,
the innocent suffred wrong, wives and maidens are rausithed
and defiled, thousands of children made orphans and fatherles,
blasphemie and rening the name of God committed, mur-
ders, theftes, and adulteryes perpetrated daily, all execese used;
and what mithlie or villany is to be named, wherewith the
warre abounds not?

Some warre trained after it so many and infinite mis-
chieves, that worthily it is called the scourge of God. Thes-
ese Virgil says: No hope of health in warre, therefore we
demand peace. So alse Seneca fath: Peace is to be este-
emed above the greatest things of account, & abuse al the
riches and treasures of this world. And he which hath not
this peace in possession, ought to purchase it, and buy it dearly.

And the number of sentences fath: That man is mad who
liueth in peace, and yet will seeke warre: for peace (fath
he) bringeth abundance of good, & warre taketh it away
again, and scattereth it.

When princes which have this privilege to be christians,
if they love their people, as good fathers love their children,
they ought not to manage warre but in great neede, and in
case of extremity: and then to use it as a remedy very dan-
gerous and mortall, as is the hearing and infliction of any mem-
ber. And as the skilfull physician fath: Extreame remedies
must be applied to extreame maladies. But let us now
see with what lawses and rules they ought to wage warre if
necessea require.

Chapter V.

of christian Warre:

Certaine rules and lawes to be practised of those that
undertake to wage warre, to the end that God may
bless and prosper their actions.

D All things with advice (said Salomon)
and thus shalt never repent. How (fath
Socrates) these things are contrary to
good advice; hate, anger, and cour-
tenances. It falleth out often that warres
are not taken in hand upon good and law-
ful occasions: and so are cursed of Gods
mouth; and albeit they be upon good and lawful occasions tak-
ken in hand, it commeth not to passe yet, that being ill managed
and made in haste, or els being waged upon some excessime cho-
er and incommod, or for a thirst of lucr and courtenances, or by-
on some particular humour of cruy, they are also cursed of
God. Princes therefore have these issue rules to practice and
follow.

1. Rule.

That warres be not taken in hand, but for some great and
important affairs: as some are wherein we have spoken
a little before.

2. Rule.

That the Prince be not troubled upon every light occasion;
but where hee make warre, that hee aday by all meanes
possible to maintaine peace and concord: for if the end of war
be to seeke to conclude peace againe (as Cicero fath) without
all doubt the christian prince ought to procure and seeke all ho-
nest and lawfull meanes, whereas hee can think him selfe,
to partly and accord all differences, before he proceede to armes
and to warre: and above all things if he be well advisd, ought

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to be very mild and patient above all things in his sharpest afflictsions, and least temptations. Plato being asked by him at some time how a wise man should be known: an answer, where he had great and many troubles, if he overpassed them mildly and with much patience.

We read of Fabius Maximus, who by his great patience and long delay in taking his fate time, stopped and disappointed the furious rage of Hannibal, and averted the yoke which seemed almost invincible. So by this means he preserved the commonwealth of Rome from most imminent danger. And of very great standing and over great task be condemned as a rathers in all persons, especially it is to be blamed in princes, when they take in hand to make war. For (as a Drake port said) the second thoughts are commonly the wisest and the best.

5 Rule.

That no man warre, to the end to diurpe the gods and inheritances of other men. For that were best to go against the commandement of God, which he senteth to peace. Wherefore Alexander the great was as much a thistle, when he lacked any crosse, or when he did dissemble it with a strong and mighty army: as was Dromedes the little Pyrgi, that did but humme up and dance the sea in a little Bignambone, robbing here and there where he could come by a body. But (as one said very justly) all the world is as it were a great bed garnished with divers little coverings and little kernelets; every man drawing a piece to himselfe, and uncouering his next bedfellow.

If one demand whether Mydas or Crates was the better sole: whether Mydas for that hee made account of nothing in this world so much as of gold: or Crates, for that he was a great hummer of gold, being all that he had, into the sea: he that hath any reason, will say that Crates was the voice of the two: for Mydas drowned himselfe in his goldes, but Crates knowing that his gold was a great hinderance to his mindes, that he could not intend to apply his selfe by Philosophy, cast

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it into the sea, hoping it was better for him to drowne it, then it should diurne him. I bring in here this example of the wise Socrate, to condense the ambition of divers Christians, who not contented with their owne possessions, take by all means possible to en curses upon the possessions of other men: as were thee of king Pyrrhus, who having made an enterprise upon Italy, Cineas his right counsellor laid unto him: well (my lord the king) you pretend to be as little matter of all Italy? I may, faith he: and what will you do when you have got all? I will pass, faith he, into France and Spainne. And what will you do them? I will goe to subdue all Afrique. And after that what then? when I shall have subdued the world under my Dominion and subjection, I will bee (faith his) content, I will live at mine ease and rest myselfe. For Gods sake (said Cineas) my Lord tell me, what holdest thou, that if you will you are not in possession presently of this estate, what want poue what stand you in neede of to be content, for you are sure of ite by all these right demands and replies Cineas thought to make Pyrrhus persecte at last the vanity of his ambition: but he talked into a deafe man that would not hear.

And it is a maxim well veriied from all times, that every empire or kingdom enlarged by extictions and rapines, by encroaching upon the signitures and territories of other princes, must fall to decay at last, must be overthowed and ruined with in it selfe by civil warres, discentions, or other tumultuous noises.

4 Rule.

That the Prince that will undertake to warre against others, first let him knoue how to rule and overcome his owne passions and affections. For (as Socrates saith) it is a matter of greater difficulty, and a more vertuous art to overcome his owne will, then to overcome his enemies: And Plato saith, Hardly will he overcome his enemy, who knoweth not how to overcome himselfe. Let not then the Prince be carried away with his owne passions, especially by too much choler, by a particular desire of revenge, by hatred of,
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by other heed like affections, which hurt and hinder the true order of proceeding in right and justice.

It was a rare example of the choler of Senecus Cassius, of whom it is reported, that he did please better being troubled and moved, than otherwise: and that his abstraitures God in time to move him to anger, fearing lest in his angry mode he redoubled the censure that he used otherwise being not moved.

Anger (faith Cassiodorus) is the mother of all other vices: and the corruption of all virtues, as Aristotle saith. Take heed of anger (faith Varro) for it overthroweth all reason quite, and troubleth the understanding. The man (faith Cicero) that in his fury and anger will revenge himself of any other, and challege him presently, can never keep any mean betweene too much and too little.

But for the commons man, he wisseth inwardly, as Horace faith, and is content to scarp and part himselfe to hurt and undamge another.

5 Rule.

That the prince voged of necessity to warre, chose out wise Captaines and guides well experienced and valiant men.

For in the policy and counsel of the captaines and guides (as faith Publius) consisteth all the puissance and aduantage of the men at armes. Another said, he had rather have an army of partizans under the conduct of one Lycur, than an army of Lycur under the conduct of one harte. Cæsar soldiers being on a day chaced backe and put to flight, by Pompeius cornes, Pompey daring not to pursuie him in the chase long, Cæsar said that night secretly to his friends, that that same day his enemies had won the last victory, if they had had in their compaign, but one captaine or leader, that had known how to overcome his conquer.

Now a daies some such are made captaines that were never soldiers before, or at the least, good soldieres. So, forlacke of experience, before they were born in field, they are bound to disguis his hardye, in so much they dare not play charret worke.

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But wheninde they must lay about them and fight in god earnest, to make proofe of their valour, they are astonished, and their hart faileth them incontinent.

But above all things the Prince ought to make choice of such men for guides and leaders, as have the seare of God before their eyes. For oftentimes it cometh to passe, that for the wickédnes and perfecions of the Captaines and chieftes, God poureth out his anger upon all the pose people: as appeareth by that one example of Achar, who for taking spoile that were for him, the anger of God was kindled against all the Israelites.

6 Rule.

That he chose also for his men at armes and soldiers, men that fear God: for the victory depended not of the multitude of fighting men, but of the grace and favour of God.

We have many worthy exploits, which surpass all military discourses and reasons in Cæsar, accompanied only with a few valiant and hardy men at armes. For with how few a number did he entrepis to subdue Egypt, to set upon the armies of Scipio and Luba, and attacked his enterprise: His forces were by ten partes more feble then theirs. With howe poore equipage at the strait of Hellespontus, durst he assaile, fetch in, and force to yield Lucius Cassius? He had but a little barqueroll, and the other had ten great ships of warre: nevertheless he achiev'd his enterprise. With howe barde means did he hazard himselfe to affligge Mercy, and yet he had but tender and meane forces. Within the towne there were 70000, men of defence, and without the walles were the Gaulois camped against him, to make him raise the siege to 9 number of 100000, horsemen, and 240000, footmen; non obstant all this he encountered first with the succoure, and vanquished them in fight, and afterwaards compelled those within the walles to raise to his mercy.

Now if the pagan Cæsar hath done so valiant exploits, repelling the confidence of his enemie, not in the great number of
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his soldiers, but in the godluee of his fortune (to speake after the manner of the Papians) and in the bawer of his men at arms. What shall our Christian captains doe, who have their men of warre, not onely courageus and valiant, but also such as have above all things the fear of God before their eyes; albeit they be not very many in number? and whereas the body of a manie cannes ought to consist but of an indifferent and moderate number of men: for these huge and mighty armies consisting of men unnumerable almost, do very seldom do anything worth the speaking of. But those armies that are reigned with certaine modest bawes, for the most part do achieve most glorious exploits, and igniually when they are all sincere and true Christians.

Hether have relation the holy histories of Gedem, of Barue, of Sampson, of Lephas, of David, and of divers other captains and guiders in warlike affaires: who (as the Apostle Heb. 11.33, faith to the strews) by faith have encountered with foraigne kingdomes, and turned to flight the cannes of Alians and strangers.

And who doubteth, but that most famous and great victory which the king of Nauarre had in a battle this last yeare against the Duke of Loore in Contra, hath relation and referreth it to this place? The victor that offered up the prisoners unto God, immediately after so great a victory to give him thanks therefore, wrought very well so that, which he faith: Our armes hath encountered, but the armes of the Lord hath vanquished. To conclude, it is not an hard matter for God to loose with a small number of people, that which the holy scripture affirmeth to be true.

7 Rule.

That good and holy laws have course and vigour in Christian armies, and not only in tounes and Cities, but also abroad in the mouth of the compaignye. For this sentence, that the laws ceale, are of no force in warre, is not of God but of the Devil.

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But it is expedient, that these laws be common to all, and that they hold under, not onely soldierys, but also the Chieftains and Captaines, from the least in the campes to the greatest, in such sort that none advantage be taken of these laws, as was by the lawes of Anachariss, which were compared to the Spiders webbe: for as the webbe of the Spider kepep the little flies, and pulled the prisoners till the Spider came, and broke when the great flies fell in, leteth them goe: so Anachariss lawes punished those of small and base quality, and let the mighty and great ones escape unpunished. And it is in lawes commonly, as in the poets carouse: Which spareth the crowe, and putteth the poore pigeons to paine.

Papinius the Laturc chose rather to die, then to excuse the parodie of the Emperour Caracalla.

Zaleucus enacte in his lawes, that whosoever should be found to commit adultery, should have both his eyes put out; II. cap. 5. It fell out that his owne some was convicted of this crime, wherefore his father would in any wise have the law executed upon him: so that he did it, and thus the accursed on his person, entreating him to repine what the displeasure, and to paye him some thing in the matter: but seeing he was accousted into the people, because he would not have his lawes violated, and to be made without effect: to satisfy the law, he put but one of his owne eyes, and commanded that his sones should have one of his eyes put forth in like manner.

Archadimus being asked, who were the chiefest governours of the City of Sparta, gave answer: the lawes and the magistrates lawfully established in authority. Agestlaus king of the fine city of Sparta said, that the captain general in warre is bound to follow and do that which the lawes command him, and to prosecute justice, without the which, all prosecute is nothing worth. It is a very hard thing (sayd the emperour Theodosius and Valentinian) for his Magistrates to rule somewhat, to declare that he has a Prince, confounded to all good lawes. To conclude, saith Augustine, the law guideth all face and power in martiall affaires, and giveth great vigour and lustre to justice and equity.
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And indeed, how much the more matters are hazed and troubled (as in warre) by so much the more have they neede of some good order and reglement. If a Carpenter or Shipwright candisbe into his square, his rule, and his compass; how shall he be able to make? If the pilott, when three areth a great tempest at sea, do call away his bellling, his cart, his oar, and his strake, how shall he be able to conduct his ship with judgement to the place whither he pretendeth to goe? So by experience every day what is done in warre. There is no mischief, that soldiers do not put daily in practice against the pope and people. In warres the living are silent, and men at arms will have no execution of justice. Those that is pleased is open and just; but that is all. Besides these, there is nothing done according to justice and right. So maruellous though many times the enemy get the upper hand.

3 Rule.

That the leaders and Captaines bee valiant and courageous in all such difficulties, as of custom fall out in exploits of warre. The cunning Pilot is known and tried in tempestuous weather at sea; so in a calm weather seamen can play the cunning navigator. Metellus was wont to say, that it was a common and easy matter to do well where no danger was: but that the part of a brave and valiant man was, to behave himselfe well in matters of great difficulty and danger. Wurtius, faith one, reacheth to hard matters full of difficulty and danger. Hee hideth his selfe and is as it were unknown, in safe places, but appareth and theeweth his selfe where any difficulty pretendeth it selfe. Where restoration facility for her companion, he is painfull and full of care and tootle: the dweltheth upon the top of an high roche, and the way that goeth to her is rough, narrow, and full of pitches and thrones. To bee briefe, difficulty setteth the price of vertue.

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That Captaines be diligent and painfull, and in no wise pale and languish. Diligence, faith Hinn is the mother of riches, the health of the body, and the safeguard of the soule. And againe by great diligence a man commeth soone to perfection. I am come, said Cesar, I have seene, I have got the victory.

The sluggish idlers of the emperor Theophilus, caused him to lose the battell that he fought against the Agarens, and yet after he had lost the field he was so lazy, and thoughtfull, that he could not make any shift to five and retire. But Manuel, a chief captain in his armie, making him by the side, and driving him away by force of armes, to awake him out of his dozly sluggines, told him plainly, if he would not follow and make away speedily, he would kill him with his owne hands: so (faith he) it is better to thou shalt lose thy life, then being taken prisoner to ruine the empire.

But as aubstinence is a punishment to the gourmand gratton, so forry to the djonken wine driner, thirst to the prodigall spendall, chearip to the filthy smatterer, study to the idle loiterer: so labour and diligence is a racke and torment to an idle person that hath little mind of affairs committed to his charge. But military profession hath nothing of impossibility or difficulty in it: were it not for our nonchallancy and slugginesse that maketh things to seem impossible and difficult. Many Captaines now a days content themselves with very small deliberation in their affaires: but for their pains and diligence in any exploit or enterprise, they implore that but to the ballies, and very slieely God too. They referre all to their officers, their officers to their soldiers: so putting trust the one in the other, they overpass oftentimes the bounds of their deuore: and at the last being parted and surprized by the craftie wiles of their enemies, they are faine to yield and be overcome.
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To Rule.

That nothing be entered up or attempted without asking abufe at the mouth of God. A curse fall on those rebellicious children, with the Lord, that take counfale, but not of me, and weave their webbe, and not by the counfale of my spirit, to the end they may beprey upon finne who walk to goe downe into Egypt, and have asked no queftion at my mouth to fortify themfelves in the might of Pharao, and to put their fhalt in the shadow of Egypt.

Prayer must be then made unto God, before any thing be attempted, but not feebly, or from the teeth or lips outward, but inwardly from the heart, with reverence, honor, and careful regard due unto the deues Majesty; for prayer is an action to desire to be fide onely by the lungs and tongue; it ought to proceed from the very entrails of the heart, and from a devout and religious conaffance: and therefore all armies ought to have true fafeons and miniflers to make prayers and applications, and to do other their charges enjoyned them of God. For the Lord hath willed and commanded, that there fhould be priests to sacrifices in the wars of old time, as also now be hath appointed minifters of the true religion for the fame purpose.

Rule.

That the armies put their trust in God alone, and not in the help of man. A curse fall uppon them, that go downe into Egypt for aid, with the Lord, and put their trust in horfes, & their confidence in charriots, becaufe they are many in number, & in their horfemen becaufe they are lufy & strong, and have no regard to the holy one of Israel, and alfe no queftion at the Lord. And a little after: The Egyptians are men and not Gods, and their horfes are flein, and not spirit. The Lord shall stretch forth his hand, and then fhall the helper fall: and hee that should bee helped shall fall.

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fall together with him, and they fhall all together be destroyed.

The side of men may deceify and delude those that put their confidence therein, as are the huge and mighty armies, the great force of people, the aduantage and fullinefs of hopes, all aged before out of the prophet; as David himfelfe could well tell in his 53 Psalm. There is no king that can be faied by the multitude of an holt, neither is any mighty man delivered by much strength. Likewise, a horse is counted but a vaine thing to faue a man, neither fhall he deliver any man by his great strength. Examples hereof are evident in many places of holy writ, in the holt of Pharaoh, in Goliath of the arme of Scenachet, king of Assyrians: in many battles fought in our daies, namely in that most famous victory which the king of Saurare got against the duke of Focez, 1587, whereof we spake before.

But the side and helpe of God is most sure to be trusted to, and infallible. As appeared be the Israelites warring under their captain Joaf against the Amalechites: for it is said, that when Moyses held up his hand, the people of Israel vanquished, and overcame: but when he plucked backe his hand, Amalec overcame. By the lifting vp of Moyses hand, the appearance of God is underftood.

There is also another notable example of the same in Asa, king of Israel: for Hanani to make him acknowledge his fault in joyning his forces with Benadad, King of Syria, perceiving him to repole more confidence in him then in the helpe of the Lord, in the warre, that he had against Baafa, king of Israel, told him in this wise. Because thou haft trusted in the king of Syria, and not in the Lord thy God, therefore is the holt of the king of Syria escaped out of thy hand. Had not the Ethiopians and Lybians an exceeding great holt, with an innumerable company of charriots & horfemen? and yet becaufe thou trustedft in the Lord, he deliuered them into thyne hand. For the eies of the Lord behold all the earth to strengthen them that are of a perfect hart towards him. Herein thou haft done foolishly, and therefore
Therefore from henceforth thou shalt have warre.

In this aid of God did David trust: and rest himselfe when he fought against the great grant Goliath, The Lord God faith be, who hath delivered me out of the claves of the Lyon, and from betweene the paws of the Beare: he shall deliver me also from the hand of this Philistian; which the Lord perform'd in pride.

Like wise loath that fighting against the Ammonites and the Moabites: O Lord, faith be, the God of our fathers, art not thou the God of heaven, and ragniset over all the kingdores of the heathen? in thy hand is power and might, and no man may with stand thee. Behold, the children of Ammon and Moab come to call vs out of our possession, which thou hast given vs to inherit. O our God, wilt thou not judge them? for we have not power & might ynow to resist so great a multitude that come against us, and we know not what to do, but our eyes looke unto thee. &c.

In like manner Moses exhorted the Israelites to goe vp into the land of the Amorites, &c., &c., how shall we goe vp? Our brethren base discouraged our harts laying the people are more in number, and taller than wee, and they have strong cities walled up to heaven, and there wee have seen the forms of the Giant Enachim: but I lay vp to you, heead not, and be not afraid of them: the Lord purposeth which goeth before vs, he shall fight for you, as he did in Egypt and in the wilderness.

So the people of God seeing their king to march so valiantly before their enemies in a warre so doubtfull and dangerous, prayed for him, prefishing his victory, alluring themselves as he had then already obtained it, rending harry thanks into God, alledging for all reason: some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God; they are cast down and fallen, but we are risen and stand vpright.

Psal. 10:8.

As sa Paul faith very well: If God be on our side, who can be against vs? And the holy Prophet David faith in another place: Let God arise, & let his enemies be scattered; let

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let them also that hate him, flye before him.

Like as the smoke vanisheth, so shall he drive them away: and like as the wave melteth before the fire, so shall the vngodly perish at the prescence of God.

Very true it is, that we ought not to continue ordinary meanes of humane aid, seeing that they be lawful to be used but there must be such as God hath lawfully appointed, and we must take heed that we leane not on them to much.

12. Rule.

That the armies above all things be Godly and holy, if wee will have them work godly effect. The Lord thy God Deu. 13:1. walketh in the midstle of the campe to saue and deliver thee, and to make thine enemies flee before thee: therefore shall thy campe bee pure, that he see none vncleane thing in it, and so turne himselfe from thee.

It is a maxim for doubt in the former rule, that if God be in the midstle of our host, to conduct and preserve it, the effect shall alwaies be good and happy. This is it also, that the first article of this sentence & Moyses, containeth on the contrary side then if God bee not in the midstle of our hostes, and be not continued and govern of them, there is no hope to be had of any victory. Therefore Moyses said unto the Israelites, that would have gone vp into the land of Canaan, to fight against their enemies: no, do not goe vp in any wise to fight at all, (for the Lord is not with you) lest ye be discomfited by your enemies.

But how is this, that the Lord shall bee in the midstle of our hostes? It is (faith Moyses) if they be godly and holy, so that God be none vnclene thing amongst them. There are these things that ought to incite vs to be Godly and holy, or to live holily at warre.

First the honour and reverence which we owe of bounden duty unto Gods divine majesty: for as the coat and livery of Princes, is the mark whereby men at armes and soldiers are known: so the sanctity of life, which we pretend and
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their proceeding from a truth, and from his very heart sincerely, is the true liuer, whereof we ought to be reckoned to be the servants of God, and soldiers fighting under his banner. If we have a good captain at warre, shall not we endeavour by all means possible to obey him: and if any thing in us displease him, to amend it by and by. And shall we not do as much unto God? For what honor (shall it bee for) him to have such men at arms and soldiers that are disollute, of noahy life and conversation?

Secondly, the great extremity and danger wherein we are daily, while we bee in war. For when perils do threaten us on every side, and death it selfe is before our eyes, and both poincke us forwards behind, and horrible as it is, the compus round about: ought we not then to have so much the more great care and fear of God, and to much the more have a great regard to think of our conscience. If you stand not in fear of men {said one in Virgil} nor the weapon of valiant men, yet fear the Gods. Do as S. Auguinline said better. Stand you in fear of nothing, fear God?

Thirdly the promise that God hath made us, to be victorious over our enemies, if we be vertuous, godly, and holy: and his threat to the contrary. If you walke in myne ordinances faith the Lord, you shall have your enemies, and they shall fall before you upon the sword. Five of you shall have an hundred, and an hundred of you shall have ten thousand to fight.

Likewise, if thine enemies come vpon you one way, they shall flye before you an hundred waiies. And to the contrary: If you shall despise and transgresse mine ordinances faith he, I will set my face against you, and ye shall fall before your enemies, and ye shall flye being pursued.

Likewise, the Lord shall make you fall before your enemies: ye shall come out one way against them, and flye before waiies before them.

And to this end is the grievous complaint that God made of his people. That my people would have harkened vnto me: for if Iiaell had walked in my waiies, I should have have

Chapter VI.

Whether it bee lawfull in Christian warres to lay ambuses, and to use policy to surprise the enemy.
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to kill his neighbour secretly, he ought to be put to death.

Psa. 1:10.

The case is condemned as murder, for Abner and Amasi, Tryphon, that slew Antiochus, Alcymus, that slew the Jews; Israel, that slew God's hosts. And to verify this David speaking to God, saith: Thou shalt destroy them that speak lying, the Lord will abhorre both the bloodthirsty and deceitful man.

But if one obser the act of Ahul, who slew Eglon king of Moab by a policy: so that act of lael, who with a snare and a hammer knocked Siga in the head, and so killed him whilst he was asleep: the reason is easy, that these particular examples ought not to be taken in consequence. For God hath raised up these personages to create his judgement by extraordinary means. And we must understand this, that their acts in that matter are such and execrable, because God hath blessed them, and approved them by his most holy word.

But touching princes, captains, and officers in wars, in actions of their proper charge, and namely in exploits of warfare: there is a consideration a part to be made. For it be lawful for them to take and hang the thief, the robber, the assailer, and others of like quality: if they cannot do open execution, why may they not do it secretly by rule and policy? and if this may be done lawfully at home, why not abroad in war?

Aug. 1134.

Saint Augustine was of this mind, and the examples he adduced are found in the holy scriptures.

The children of Israel fighting against the Beniamites, cut the same out to live before them, and by this policy getting them out a great way into the campagne, having open daces ambulances against their coming, overthrew and slew them en masse.

Josia being commanded of God to arm himselfe against the town of Ham, having chosen out thirty thousand mighty and valiant men of warre, caused them to approach the towne by night, and laid unto them. Behold, you shall lay an ambulance on the back side of the towne, be not farre off from the city, but be all ready. I, and all the people that are with

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with me, will approch the city. And when the riuell out against vs, as they did at the first time, we will ste before them: for they will pursue us till we have brought them a good way out of the city: for they will lay, they fly before vs, as at the first time, and we will fly before them: but you shall rise quickly out of the ambush, and conquer the city, for the Lord God shall deliver it into your hands, and so it came to passe.

There are many other like examples in the holy Scripture which prove manifestly, that christian princes, &c. magistrates may with a safe conscience lay ambulances, and use policies in warr, to surprize and overtake their enemies. But we must take heed that in such actions nothing be attempted or done against the faith professed, nor against godlines and piety.

Wherefore herein Cleomines is worthy to bee condemned, who having confirmed a truce with the Argians for 7. daies, the thirt day after let upon them whilst they were all sleeping, and to slue and overthrow them all, alleging for his reason, that the truce he concluded, was made but for 5 daies, and not for the nights. This was an unrighteou sin that God himselfe afterwards reengaged. Hardly would enter the paitemet Caesar have done the like: so upon a time warring upon Ariobulus, as he parted with him, there happened a great tumult betwixt the two armies, which began through the fault of Ariobulus himselfe. In this tumult Caesar perceiveth he had great advantage of his enemy, yet was his to scrupulous, or of so good conscience, that he would not take that advantage, fearing lest he should have bin lako afterwards to have gone against the law of arms. And it behoveth here to bring in the counsel and policy that Lyden and Cicero giueth: that is: if the skinne of the Lion will not serve, to lay unto it a peace of the Foxes skinne: for we must put a distinction between subtility and treachery. Treachery is of dolous malice, whereas subtility is condemned as not intrinsically to be bid. Who hath once lost his faith (faith Seneca) hath nothing more to loss: and Cicero faith, by two wais is injury offered: Cicocia, either by force, or scrawd: scrawd is proper to the Foxes,
force to the Lyon: both ought to be far from a man, but
sworn ought alwayes to be had in detestation.

Spare a worthy sentence, worthy also a Christian man, yet
spoken by a pagan. He saith moreover, that faith or pro-
mise made is not to be violated towards the very en-
emy.

So then let the fierce captains and guides at warre make
no difficulty to the policy, and rule of warre, to surprise and
take their enemies at advantage, if it be possible, so that by
no means they violate their promise given, nor suffer the
faith by any treachery or hostility.

Chapter VII.

Of the resolution that men of warre and Souldiers
ought to have, either to live or die when they
come to battle.

There reach our point yet to be hand-
ed, concerning the resolution that
men at arms ought to have in mar-
tiall affairs: and without all doubt,
resolution in all things may do very
much. And that is the cause why phis-
icians require a good hart of their pa-
tients, before they minister unto them
any phisicke, to the end their good hart and resolution may
help them sooner to recover health, and supply for want of me-
dicine. I say then that the principal part of the wisdom of
a warrior consistheth in this wholly, that he resolve himselfe
in any time not to feare death: and in this point do not onely
all the sectes of philosophers encounter, but also all the wri-
tings of the learned doctors agree, in exhorting us to contemn
and despise death. The remedy of the vulgar set against the
feare and apprehenson of death, is not to thinke on it, but to
receive the deaths wound without thinking of remembrisng it.

Pet. Caius Julius the noble Roman, doth toe, for being con-
demned to die by Caligula, even when the executioner held
by his hand to strike of his head, a certaine philosophther asked
him: Tell Caius, tell me, whereupon thou thinkest now? I
thought (faih he) in my spirit to be ready and watchfull, as
were as I could, to see if in this instant of death to boast
and sobaine, I could perceiue the dissolging of my soule, and to
see together the has any sensing or perceiving of her alone going
forth of my body, or not. The dangers of warre do repre-
sent unto us indeed death very sobaine and horrible. But
death commeth sobaine also upon vs, when we live at grea-
test quiet, and in our dearest delicacies, as some have very wel
noted in these examples following.

A certaine Duke of Britanny was stifled in the preste of
people at Pope Clements entering into Lyons. One of the
kings of France was slaine sobaine at tine. Aeschicles was
knock in the head with the scale of a Tortoise, that fell out of
the beake of an Eagle flying in saire: another was choked
with the kernel of a raisin sticking in his throat, another with a
hare, another died with the picke of a needle in his linger.
Another of the Emperours died with the scratch of a comb in
cutting his head. Aemilius Lepidus take his death by biting
his foot against the threshold of his doore. Caius Julius a
Philosopher, applying a plaster of ointment to a mans eies
that were sicke, death came and closed up his abone eies sobaine.
Cornelius Gallus a Judge, Tigillius captaine of the watch
in Rome, Lewis some to Gui de Gonfague Marquis of
Montuio, died all three sobaine betweene Womens thighs,
and there was their end. These examples so rife and ordi-
narie (to the which we may add an infinite of these, which be-
ing well at ease and in health, eating, and drinking, even now
merely, and within an houre dead) to justify the exhor- التن
and good counsaila of Homer.

Twixt hope and hate, twixt anger, care and feare.

Thinke every houre thine end of life draws neare.

And that was the cause that the Egyptians used in their
A Discourse

of Christian Warre.

all men prolong not their lives alike, nor with like disposition as did the Punicus Xenophilus, who lived in perfect health an hundred and five years, having never in all that space the least apprehension of any malady or paine. Whie we without any exception all, either young or old. The time before we were born was none of ours, neither is that time any of ours, that commeth after our death.

There is nothing more certaine then death, and nothing more uncertaine then the hour and moment of death, death is common to all and no man may avoid it. It is but a kind of travail. It is the period and last degree of all miseries and travels of this life, faith Saint John. It is our last paine, faith Lucan. Of others it is called the sovereign felicity of nature, the dose into liberty, a sovereign medicine, good for all diseases, the marke whereby all mankinde knoweth. Why then do we fear it so much? Death (faith Hermes) is as the fall of an arrow, and our life is as the time, when it is shot out of the bow till it light on the ground.

Our life is, as it were a pison (faith the holy scripture) it is like a pilgrimage, or alast voyage, as a vapour which is seen a little, and by and by vanished away, as a shadow, which passeth away swiftly, as an image, a puff of wind, as the weavers shuttle which glideth through the cloth quickly, as a flower that soon fade, as a shadow that followeth a man bare at the breius, and Apeth now here behind him.

What is then this mortal life, that were make so much account of it? and what is this death that we should so much fear it? The very faws heine fearfull to little children, when they come before them masked. So played death with us: so let us but plucke the maske or visard from his face, and all dread and fear will vanish away. Socrates saith, that a man should not fear death, for death hath in it none other bitternesse but only fear, and the apprehension of fear that one conceieth. Those that by some violent haps are fallen into a wound, and those that have but more then half discovered, or more then half hanged and strangled, may well say, that in some respect they have looked death in the face, being
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...ing to come into him as they were. It hath nothing then in it, that to be feared: and the reason is to be noted, which is this: that the sling of death, which is sinne, is brought to nothing, and that death is the last enemy that Christ overcame in his victory: to be briefe, after death we have no place to be taken hold of by any other misfortune. Even as before the comming of death (as the wise man Solomon said to his Cratius) no man can engage of our good fortune or bad by reason of the great variety and changes of humane affaires. For what is there in this world permanent and durable? Vanity of vanities (faith the sage Salomon), and all is but vanity.

Democritus finding the State of humane actions to bee vain and ridiculous, mocking and gravning, was wont to laugh alwayes when he came abroad into any company. He found the same condition most wretched and miserable, had some pity with him, and wept alwayes bitterly. Diogenes came somewhat near the humour of the first, for hee was safe rowling up and downe in his tounge, made none account of worldly riches, esteemed not any weight of the pomp and magnificence of men, whom hee made account to bee, as it were flies, or as it were bladders full of wind. It is our best seacraft upon then (if God have ordained it) to passe quickly the last pace, that we may bee happy in heaven, after our terrestrial pilgrimage. The merchant will be so joyfull to arrive at a city whether he hath long travelled, taking great duties for his trafficke: and shall wee bee so joyfull to arrive at Death, whether we goe daily following our vocation? The poore is glad when hee is safe come home againe to his owne being, after hee hath wearied himselfe with so many busie, and ridden many a weary journey. The Pilot is glad for joy, when he striketh safe in the washed haven, after that he hath noted long time in great danger upon the stormy waues of the swellling Sea. The man at armes that runneth for a game within the lites, is glad when he commeth at the end of his race, to carry away the ringe, and win the price of the game: And the soueraine shall he suffer himselfe to be sluggish with la des of christian Warre.

...es and feares, when hee shall see himselfe in the middell of the battaille, or in the middell of any other explict, to see himselfe and his life honorably: so as God bath appointed him?

We read that among the Romans Brutus, the two Decius, and some others: and among the Greeks Codrus, king of Athens, Themistocles, and others who killed themselves for none other reason, but for the benefit of their country. And shall we make so great difficulty in facing more lawful and just vocation then they? yet not for the bee, but for the sake of our owne patrie: If we bee in so famous a place, and for so use a cause, how much more tragically and more honorably shall our death bee, then the death of those pagans was? Pythagoras was wont to say, that it was better to bee with honne, then to live with shame: and therefore upon a time slipping a fodder which ran from the fight, he laid upon him: thou dost very ill fellow to flie from an honorable death, to live with dishonour and shame.

It is very true (as Socrates said) that we ought not to make small account of our enemies, and stand in fear of the. For (as he) he they never so few and simple, but they may annoy us easily. And (as another faith) there are no beatings and slurs in the world so much to be feared of men, as men; and againe, we ought not to redouble them so much, as though they had our lives at their devotion.

If then we must needs fight, let us fight: if we must needs die, let vs die like: wise, god and godly men, honourably in our vocation: yet must wee take heede that we do not abuse the secret counsel of God. It is written that the Bedouins a mungrel nation with the Sarazins, against whom the king Saint Lewis fought in the holy land, beloved fiercely, that the dyes and bowers of every one were prettied and counted from all eternity, by a certaine predestination inevitable, so that they went to warre quite naked, having only that they had a white sheet to cover their body withall, and had no weapons.
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weapons but only every man a Carbiet or other after the time.

Ez. 35. 8.

what is to abuse the decree of God himselfe, and to propose our ignorance before his knowledge. For thus saith the Lord: My thoughts are not your thoughts, and my ways are not your ways: for as farre as the heavens are higher than the earth, so far do my ways exceed yours, and my thoughts yours. So likewise the Judges do abuse Fatum, after the manner of the Stoics.

Albeit then that the ordinance of God be the souveraine & principal cause, of all that happeneth in this world: yet are there some second causes which in their order ought to come in assistation, seeing that God himselfe both sometimes use himselfe therewith, and will also that we use them. Then no man ought to say: If I shall die with this harquebuzado, or with this cannon-shot I shall die: if I shall not die, then I shall not die. I cannot happen my death, although I think myselfe upon my enemies, neither can I give it any further off, although I recolle and rumm a way. So, that is a tempering of God, and to meddle with his judgement, which is altogether unknowne to be: and such sincerity (albeit not out so well to every one, as it did to Iason Phereus, of whom it is reported, that having an apostume in his breast, and being abandoned of all positions and surgeons, as one past care making none other accompt but to die, ran headlong in a battail amongst the thickest throng of his enemies, and by great chance had a wound cleane overthwart his body, so full upon the place of his apostume, that by and by it brake out of him; not long after was healed. This was in him not good fortune, (as one would say) but the especiall favour of God, who directed his advice against his intention, and corrected it.

I do not say, but if the occasions of warre require that one should stand fast and strong against the harquebuzadoes and cannon-shot, it were very unwise, and cowardly done to waike like a duckle, to voltige, 13 runne hither and thither, or to range to the quarter for fear of a blow; but plant himselfe and stand full in the Cannons mouth, or to hazard himselfe to farre more the play of the harquebus, rashly and without discretion,
A TREATISE
OF SINGLE
COMBATE.

Wherein is disclosed this question,

Whether it be lawful for Christians to
discuss a difference or controversy by single combat,
or not.

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Chapter I.

Whether a King or Soueraigne Prince may with a safe conscience grant the combat.

The first question, touching the single Combat, that is, between two men, to the end to decide and end any matter in controversie, is this: whether the King or soueraigne Prince may grant and accord with safe conscience the combat. I say and hold, he may not, and prove it by these reasons.

First, because the affection of the King or Prince, who granteth the combat, cannot bee good and right, but contrary to charity and to the deuoure of justice and equity: For either he hateth both the combatants, or he loueth them both, or else he loueth and hateth the one more then the other.

If he hate them both, over and besides that he is a murderer in his hart, hee oth not well to make them away by such means. For if the Prince be ordained of God, but to minister and execute laws and justice, and cannot put to death any but those whom the law condemneth to die: and moreover, if it be not lawfull to revenge his owne quarrell, not by the way of
A Discourse

of Single Combat.

justice, (for that the law saith) that a Judge cannot be judge of his own cause: but shall it then be lawful for him to revenge himselfe by the way of combat, wherein the innocent and the faulty person are both alike exposed to the danger of death?

If he love them both, yet he is cruel towards them, in that he doth not by his absolute authority, or else by arbitrarions make some agreemeent betwixt them, and take up the matter: seeing it cannot be but a matter of certaine disputes or wrongs, thwarting the one or the other to their discontentment: whereof the folly would thinketh, the point of honor and reputation of every man wholly dependeth.

If he love but hate the one more than the other, it cannot be but that he be transported with some particular affection or passion: for who soever should sound the depth of his hart, ought well anouch that he would never grant the combat, but suppose hope, that he whom he affectioned most should get the victory.

The contrary whereof felleth out for the most part, as we doe daily. It is not that then sit against the person of charity and justice.

The second reason is, because the combat is sometime granted to the great prejudice of the innocent: for considering the Prince is ordained for the common good of every one, and that by the denoue of justice, he ought alwayes to defend the innocent: why doth he then put him in jeopardy of his life, gearing as well to the culpable person, as unto him, equal weapons, and equal power to kill who can, the other? And so himselfe is not so guilty and culpable of homicide by the lawes. For soever the person culpable, hath oftentimes the upper hand, and prevaileth, and собственно because of his advantage, if he have choice of arms before the other, followeth it not then the contrary, that the combat is contrary to the denoue of justice.

This reason is alleged in the Decretals, De zerg. vulg. Cap. 7.

The third reason is, that albeit the culpable be overcome and slain, nevertheless in the execution of him the Prince hath gone farre beyond the bounds of justice. For the denoue of justice requireth, that those who are employed for the execution and punish-

ment of offenders, should be both of all sorts, and free from all desire of revenge: in so much that when a Judge hath condemned a transgresser to die, he ought not to deliver him into the hands of such an hangman, whom he knoweth addicted to be his sworn and professed enemy, and where in his hart nothing else but to take vengeance of him by executing him to death. Now the Prince that both accuse and grant the combat, both he as much so, for in him he deliver the culpable person to have his punishment: it is not to the fury and choler of his adversarie partie, that is innocent: for he may be assured, that both of them be putted by with anger gnawed inwardly at the hart with envy, with full of hatred and malice against all lawful and right proceeding, that the Prince should make him executioner in his owne quarrell: Then this is no more to be called justice, but revenge.

The fourth reason is, because the Prince would punish him that should be culpable, as it were by adventure or chance medly, in respect of the Prince. For although the time of all combat, as also of all other things dependeth upon God onely; yet so it is, that the Prince, who both take upon him to appoint and command them, without knowing at all right the causes of both, who hath right or wrong, appointed and commaneddeth them by chance and adventure. And I say you, what else may a man call that, but to tempt God (as the holy Canons affirme), foolishly and rashly to have God make miracles at our appetite. For is it not to tempt God, to attempt by combat to know what God will have done of this man or that man, cleare contrary to all reason and order of justice.

I conclude, that being justice ought to give every man his owne, and that it ought not to be admitted by chance or adventure, but with god and sufficient knowledge of every cause, and by that which we have already allegeden, is sufficiently proved that the combat is against these points: it followeth thence that the Prince, who is minister of justice, cannot with a god sufficient grant the combat, to hold any contempt betweene
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Arguments whereby some maintain that the King or Prince souvereign may grant the combat; and the refutation thereof.

It is true, that however God will have done is most just, because it is God that will have it so; but that which the King or Prince will have done, if it be just, it must be to prepare himself to have it done. For if he will have it so, and that it is just of it own selfe, and agreeable to the will of God.

Anaxarchus (as Plutarchus reciteth) saith that the Alexander toppon a time being very heavy for the death of his friends Clitus, whom he had slaine a little before with his own hands: that Themis and justice set hard by kings and sires, as they did by Jupiter's side, to confirm that incontinent, that they thought good of; but it is farre otherwise, for Themis and justice set toppon the top of kings and sires, to punish them if they violate the majesty of their laws. Wherefore farre becomer kings and souvereign princes is that tyrannicall notion, saying of the goodwife to her husband in the Pa-
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truth, Yet he be destitute of sufficient witness to prove his accusation to be true. What shall then these Judges do here? they can not condemn the party accused by the lawes, because it is necessary the accusatour should have some witness. I answer, that if the Judges may not condemn the party accused, for that the accusatour is able to produce no witness, yet may they condemn the accusatour for a calumniator and slanderer; for there are many good lawes made for calumniators, sycophants and false accusatours, according to their desert and offence, to cause them to take heed how they offend therein. And I pray you tell me, is it but a small crime to take away from a man his good name, and name, the which (as saith Salomon) we ought to set more hope by, than by all the treasures and riches of the world.

They reply againe, that the accusatour may have spoken nothing but a truth; and that his accusation being just, the Judges should do him injury to punnish him. I answer, that the accusatour cannot excuse himselfe, but that he is a calumniator, for that he both esteem against the beteoure of charity. For if he have spoken that which is false, and burdened him with a lie, he is a manifest sycophant, and a malicious slanderer. And therefore deserveth he well to be punished accordingly as the lawes set down.

If he sayd truly in his accusation, yet offended he against charity (which considereth the multitude of sinners) in deluding that which is secret and unknowne, and such a one ought to be reputed for an injurious person, and a blackening slanderer. For he is not only to be accused, but also an injurious person, slanderer, that falsly accuseth another, but he also that reproacheth a man with any secret fault, to damn and hurt him. And therefore in so much that he both accuseth him, not of any good meaning towards him to reprove him, but of an ill will to damn him if he could, he ought to have such punishment inflicted upon him as the lawes have appointed.

To conclude, they bring against us the famous combats fought by David and Goliath, spoken of in the holy scriptures. I answer them, that it is but one particular example, which may not be called in consequence: for God hath called by David to execute his judgement by an extraordinary mean. And besides

besides, it was enemy against enemy, for the service of all the common people. But it was nothing like those private quarrels between two men, which live under one and the same policy, and under the same lawes, where the prince commandeth them to abide their difference by the single combat, man to man.

Chapter III.

Of the Combat undertaken by private authority.

Come nowe to another case, which is: if the Combat be not lawfull when it is granted by the prince or soueraigne magistrate, much lesse is it lawfull, when it is under taken by private men, without the authority of their superiour government. For all b engeance taken by private authority, is condemned as a thing contrary to the profession of Christians.

Yet the Combat wherein second parlers are admitted, is lesse tolerable, and farre more unwise. For what equity is this? A man prateh his friend to call one to the combat with a second: he accepteth the combat, and defendeth a friend of his to second him: his friend agreeeth to his second. It falleth out of ten that both these are friends, and peradventure of kinne, or else allied by blood. Notwithstanding all this, they must needs fight without any respect either of amity or affinity; and such is the ill use oftentimes, the one killeth the other, or else both of them, the one killeth the other before they goe from the place. By what law of God, or man may this combat be justified? What apparence of equity may one see in this? but that it is manifest that all private revenge is forbidden and condemned, as contrary to the vocation and deuise of Christians: see here the reasons.

First God both forbid it: Thou shalt not kill, saith his Lorde: and St. Paul saith; Avenge nor your selves, but rather Eze. 34.
of single Combat.

unto God, as we pardon them that trespass against us:
What say we there else, but that we offer him by our soules
bole of all honour and vengeance?

But if it be not lawful for the civil magistrat, to put to death
the transgressors, without giving him before some time and
leisure to repent himself, so scarce lett he destroy the soule with
the body; how shall it be lawful for a private man to revenge
himselfe of his neighbour, by ensnaring upon a soule both
his body and soule? If he who hatth his neighbour is a mur-
therer, how shall not he be, that hateth his neighbour, let-
teth up his hand to be renegado of vengeance?

But if he kill him outright, that is the greatest offence of all,
for the murthre is marvellously aggravated; who in shed-
deth the blood of a man (as the Lord in his law) by man
shall his blood be shed also. Likewise: Yee shall take no
price for the life of the murthrener, who is wicked, worthy
to die, but let him die the death. And a little after: See that
yee pollute not the land wherein you dwell; for blood de-
syleth the land, and the land can none otherwise be clem-
bled of the blood that is shed, but by the blood of him that
hath shed blood. And in the Gospel, All they that shall take
the sword, shall perish with the sword. And againe: If any
man kill with the sword, he must be killed with the sword.

But he, here is a saying more fearfull and horrible then these:
The murthrener shall not inherit the kingdome of God.

And as for him, who is overcome in combat, and knoweth
what base and noble resolution will excite him? The Death of Ca-
to Vetricenis (no displeasure to the judgment and opinion of
popular) who made a hole into his owne belly with his sword,
and pulled out his bowels with his owne hands, to the end he
would not fall into his enimies handes, cannot be excused
by the word of God, the onely rule of our actions (no displeasure
also to companies of lusty cutters and whoolebucklers, that
follow our faire players) hee that loseth his life in a single com-
batt for his owne quarrell, and to please and satisfy the motions
of his owne mind, is no more to be excused, then the other wav-
nes for all talk of vertue is taken away from that action, neither can
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it be named by the title of magnanimity and constancy.

One demanded Caesar upon a time, what death be thought the best to bee desired: That which is best thought of before (faith he) and the mostest. But the Christian may not altogether allow this answer. For: if we have not leisure to think of our death earnestly before hand, and with a perfect mind, and steadfast understanding to take it full in the face, even then when it cometh weare vs to strike vs: with what confidence can we resolve to receive it, when it cometh upon us indeed? How these which we in combat, having their minds purposed and bent to revenge, to hilt and day, having their deaths blow on a sapling, so farre are they from having any leisure to premeditate of their death, as contrariwise they are ever and hourly to cast themselves headlong into the nets of death, even as a man should rune blindfold into the sea.

So, I have alleged reasons sufficient against private revenge, the which is more agreeable to the nature of brute beasts than of reasonable men. For: brute beasts be subject of reason, to prosecute their right, and have no superior to do them justice: and to this purpose did Socrates answer a clown, that in his anger had stroke him on the face. If I were an Ass (faith he) I should kick against this. Moreover how many troubles hath this desire of revenge in it selfe: what pains and vexations both it require of vs? How insensible is the sense of revenge: how hurtfull is the answering thereof? She maketh thee take no quiet rest in thine house, and thou hast no allowance to bee in the fields: she tosseth thee with continual care, she tormenteth thee with ten thousand fears, the carrying thy judgement and reason clean out of their proper seats, and playeth the tyrant over them. When thou thinkest thy selfe safe, then she threateneth thee worst: she is insomuch with thee, the greater thy to thee the bar, the swifter thy. Why then wilt thou suffer her to harbour in thy breast: why dost thou give place to her violence, to incur the small distraction and undoing, thou deceivest thy selfe if thou thinke by her means to achieve any honourable or virtuous act. The honour that is wonne by her, hath all ground, and that virtue should be vain, and of small

of single Combat.

accempt, that taketh recommendation from so vile a passion of the mind. While men have allowed set before themselves more full actions to purchase and unime their honour, and to be witness of the praise of vertue.

Honour is a thing so precious, and vertue a thing so noble of it selfe, to depend of a superfluous honour, so base and vilious, as the desire of vengeance is.

Chapter III.

The reasons of those that justify the combat undertaken by prudent men to bee lawfull, and the refutation thereof.

At thou wilt make answer, and say: this man hath injured and provoked me first, and therefore must I needs call him sith to be revenged of him, and to bee even with him. I answer thee with that, that our Saviour Jesus Christ hath said: that we should not require euill for euill, nor one injury for another. But to the contrary: love your enemies (faith he) bleste them that curse you: do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which hate you to persevere you, be of a patient mind (faith St. Paul) forbearing one another. If any man have a quarrell against another, as Christ forgave you, even so doe ye. And St. Peter faith: Jesus Christ hath suffered for vs, leaving vs an example that ye should follow his steps, which did not sinne, neither was there any guile found in his mouth, when he was reviled, reviled not againe: when hee suffered injury, hee threatened not, but committed the vengeance to him that judgeth righteously. By these commandments, and by this example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, patience and suffering is Christ enowned us, and all private revenge absolutely and expr...
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Tho' laieth, that this man or that man hath first provoked and injured the patient, I allow that to be true: but will thou do so dishonour in the presence of Tertullian's faith: what difference is there betwixt the first provoker and the revenger, but that the one beginneth to do mischief, and the other followeth by and by. Dion was resolved in that matter: his friends upon a time exhorted him to be revenged on Hercules, and thereafter, of whom he had received some injury; But he made them answer. It may not be, that Dion by choler flaine his vertue. True it is, the lawes of men say, it is more suit to be revenged of an injury offered, then to offer an injury: albeit nature it selle shewheth that both do proceed from the selle same infirmity.

I say moreover, that those which take revenge, requiting evil for evil, doe redouble the mischief, and (as Origines faith) doe sinne more grievously then they, who were the first provokers. For it may be that the first provokers have offended by inconsideration and unwares, either not knowing, that the hurt or injury that they did, was hurt or injury, or not knowing that it was so great and damnos as it was; which they, that to be revenged do mischief, by no means can pretend.

Thou objectest yet, that the combat is still used nowadays amongst them who follow the wares, and make profession of arms. Custom and time have brought it to this passe, thou sayest. I answer, that the matter is not alike in combat, as it is in money or coin, in the putting away whereof, we care no more for the weight and value of the piece, but every man taketh it for so much as it is current, according to the common value and approbation thereof, we speake no more of the value, but of the use. But what if in Lacedemonia he be lawful to pick and steal? shall it be then won done to pick and steal? In Germany and in Switzerland they are very much acquainted: but honest men so a man to be drunken. At Rome & in divers other places, where the common thieves are yet suffered, the custome & usage permitted such women to make merchandize and profit of their owne bodies, and suffereth men to be naught with them. Therefore who saith not be condemned. Let I say, that neither be not custome, nor time can cut of or derogate any thing from the laues of God: but they all aggravate the offences and wrongs of men. So we may give any scope to liberty to men to offend, for that were an enorm, and he is farre deceived, who to reigne himselfe well, regardeth what is accustomed and wont to be done, and not that which ought to be done. So also there is no proscriptio of time able to satisfy those, who violate the laues. There is no appealing to the time: vices are in use, and not in the times and seasons.

To what ende then sapph thou, do I carry my sword at my side? Thou sayest, I wear the sword at any time, either in time of peace or in time of warre, not to revenge mine own quarrell: for thou art no magistrate, but to help the magistrate to goerne and rule the country in peace, to repulse the enemy, to stop his incursions, to keep him from robbing and spoiling the Country, to chace away and hauish vices farre from thine country: in summe, to defend and maintaine godlines, law, justice, and the common weale. If thou be a good Christian, doth thy sword any thing at all dispence with thee, from doing theicks of God: Christians: doth it give thee any greater knowledge, then it both to the merchant or artificer, who carrie not to abuse their vacation.

Thou wilt say then, mine enemy hath called me faith to have a blow or two with me, and to fight with me. I answer: if thy enemy will destroy thee, wilt thou defer thy selfe also, if he will offend God, wilt thou offend God as well as he? he calleth the faith to kill thee, and thou wilt goe faith to kill him. If he calleth the fair, to goe both together to call your selves downe headlong from the top of a tower, or of a bridge into the water wouldst thou follow him, or goe with him rather considering him to be mad, furious, and out of his wit, and thy selfe to be wise and well advised, shouldst thou not take heed of the danger wherein he calleth himselfe wilfully: For knowest thou not that the danger of one man, proceedeth commonly from another man. Think then (saith Seneca) of the danger
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that may befall thee by a man. But think of all that befalls
whereunto nature both binds thee. Think of the one, to the
two thou be not offended: but think of the other to the
two thou offend no man. In the Combat there is as much oc-
casion to stand in feare as in hope. The very apprehension of
both trouble a man mercifully. It maketh a man chafe and
fret, it maketh him tremble and quake, it maketh him lose
pale and wan, it maketh him blithe and cry out in his ima-
gination, to thinke of the bloues he shal abide, and of that
which shal chance unto him.

Call not then thy selfe headlong (faith the wise man Cleo-
bulus of India) into danger, but beware thou dost hazard thy
selfe, regard the end, and see how thou mayst escape it.

Of the point of honor and reputation.

But mine honour and reputation, faith he, lyeth upon it:
if I goe not out with him into the field, I shal be counted
but a coward. Here the baine glory of man, which is a
madishn in him naturally and originally in-grafted, the veldt
her selfe signally, what she is. For (as Epicerus faith) man
hath nothing of his owne, but the use of his ambition, pride,
and of his other passions: a strange case. Man is the weakest,
and the most miserable creature of all other, without the feare
of God: and yet (as Pliny faith) the proudest and the boldest
of ambition. If thou wouldst lay but unto the selfe, the feare
thought of that which is in the soule regenerated, as the lead
of that which remaineth yet whole and sounde in the nature cor-
rupted, which cannot altogether be effaced and blotted out
thereunder by time, thou wouldst lay the selfe in those things,
and say as the Poet: Vide meliora, proboque
deteriora sequer.: I see the best, and allow of it, yet I fol-
low that which is worst. This feare is naturally rooted in us,
but let us amend it by the use of reason: as Socrates, who con-
tending a fault, that some found in his philosophie, said: It is
in deed my natural inclination, but I have exprest it by phi-
losophy.

Touching

of single Combat.

Touching the rest, I say first, that it is great misrule, that
this point of honor (which in this place is but a baine and light
opinion, incurted by the Devil) hath found place among so
many god and honest men, and that Kings and Princes allow of
it: for (no displeasure to theirmajesties, and excellences) they
know themselfes in a great contradiction. For if a man be cal-
led to the field to fight with another, and kill him, the King shall
not suffer him to live, unless he give him a pardon; and yet if he
do not goe to the field, the King shall count him a coward, and
his honour shalbe thereby enparged. But how can these things
agree? For if he have done an honourable act, what needeth he
any pardon? or if he have neede of a pardon, what act of honor
hath he done? Is not this a paine contradiction, that if a man
take the lye of another, or suffer any other injury, he should by
and by, by the King, according to the devile and lawes of armes
be degraded of his nobility and honour: and yet if he revenge
the matter, the same king by the civill law shall inflict upon
him sentence of death: what a pity is this! God to the lawes to
have justice for an offense committed against thyne honour, &
they shall tell the, that thou disturbedst the selfe. So to armes
against the lawes, they shall tell thee, that thou oughtest to be
punished by the lawes. What justice is this? what policy is
this? In one and the very selfe same thing, by and by the lawes
must give place to armes, and by and by armes to the lawes.
Here may one fully perceive the inconstancy of men, concerning
their simple judgements and foolish fantasies: much like to the
Cameleon, which changeth colour in every place that it com-
meth unto: so much like the sheepe of whom the poets saie,
that upon a time she desirde her mother to make her a garmet,
that might be fit for her, and handsome for her body. How can
that bee Daulther (faith his mother) seying the body kepedh
never at one Rate, but it is volatile, that it changeth every
day?

Secondly, thou sayst, thyne honour is lost if thou do not go
out into the field to meet thyne enemies. And is not thy con-
science lost also, if thou do go forth? Demosthenes had a wise
saying: that the beginning of every vertuous act, is consultation.
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and deliberation, the progress of going forwards, is magnanimity and confidence; the end and perfection is peace and honor, with tranquility of mind and conscience.

Life indirc is a death, if the honor or good name be lost. But thou mayst not take the shadow for the body. Thy error perchance of the too great force and subsequence of0 itself, that thou bearest to thine own imaginations: as the poets make Narcissus to have but enamell'd with the love of his own shadow; and so was Pygmalion overmuch and troubled with the impulsion of an Image of Juno, that he fell in love with it, as though it had been alive.

Tell me, wilt thou live in honour? live then like a good Christian. Wilt thou make known thy care thou hast of thine own credit, and after this live to make thyself famous in the mouth of many? Endeavour then that thy name be no further, then the virtue and good report thereof be spread, and may carry it: and that it remain for a memorial and example to the posterity, to be worne in the fear of God; and do not as Trogus Pompeius speaks of one Herodotus: Titus Livius of one M. Iulius Capitolius, who were desirous of great fame and honours for their naughty deeds.

Cursed is that honour and fame. Wilt thou mis Compute the matter in taking dishonour for honour: and so both thy pace to steale, and to make thyself famous in the mouth of many, and to have thyself famous in the mind of posterity. If this would lay the truth, I say that I am never so much concerned in the matter of the aire rather than to be honest, that I should think it better to be honest than to be dishonest, and therefore the Poet says true, That virtue doth decease, by the appearance and shadow of virtue. So that when the question is of the point of honour, we ought not to speake of it, nor estimate it after our own judgment and opinion, but according to that which is in it selfe, and in it own natural.

For that which men imagin for honour in this respect, is like the Atomics of Epicure, the Idea of Plato, and the numbers of Pythagoras: which are things too uncertain, and need great dispute to prove them. To take this for honour, is to feed of the aire of the wind: as those, whom Plutarch reporteth to be in a certaine place of India, who have no mouth at all, but feed and nourish themselves with the smell of certaine sweet odours. There is the name of the thing, and the thing it selfe: and the name of the thing is no part of the thing, nor any part of the things substance. The name, is but a name which both comprehends in it selfe, some qualities which cannot be attributed to the thing.

Wilt thou call it honour, to do that which God forbiddeth thou hast no other honour to obey God, and thy dishonour to disobey him? If thy lawful prince prohibit thee any thing upon such occasions, and for good reasons, wilt thou not then say, mine honour bindeth mee not to do it, for that the king hath commanded me contrariwise? Wilt thou then make more account of men than of God? God forbiddeth thee to revenge, and thou sayest, thy good name, is thine honour is taken away, if thou not do revenge. God forbiddeth thee to kill thy neighbour: and thou sayest, thine honour is lost, if thou do not kill him. A manifest falsehood, and imposition of thine own false opinion.

There is nothing more honorable for a Christian, than to have and keep under his own passions by reason. This is no dishonour, no discredit not to bee able to do that which a man would. But it is both dishonour and discredit to be willing to do that which a man ought not to be willing to do: and yet the greatest dishonour that is, is to doe that which God and his lawes forbid.

But, faith another, they will call in my teeth, that I am afraid of death, the which waiteth for me, either there, or in another place, and I shall be esteemed a very Palton and a coward, if I decline to revenge the wrongs that hath bin offered me. I answer first to this, that to put a mans life in no danger, where occasion of danger is, is to be no wiser than Parson.
of single Combat.

...
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they from above or from below. Let it suffice thee to be ensnared of God, of those that fear God, who can judge of thine actions, and of all others by the word of God: for nothing is worthy of praise, or blame, nothing, but that which is approved of, rejected by God. And his judgment that is not here planted and seed in God's word, doth curse him much: and in fear of true honour bringeth forth to his mind monsters and fantasticcall Chinese, where nothing is to be had but mere illusions, and lying images of true honour.

Chapter V.

Remedies against Single Combat.

Hitherto we have but opened the sore; now we must set the some remedies for it, if it be possible. Now the remedies against combat in mine opinion ought to be taken partly of private men, partly of these governments, and civil Magistrates. As for private men, we know there are some so active, and of such a boiling nature, and such that love quarrelling and brawling, so well, that at the peril of their own salvation they utterly contemne the life of all vertue, which helps to buzzle and moderate the boiling force of their immoderate passions. As it is reported of a certaine fellow, that would not have his pleasure to tak away the alteration of his fever, to the end he might not lose the great pleasure he took in drinking and bussing. His opinion that a man hath committed from a savage humour, vagrant without any budge or cap in his spirit, who hath none other stirring and moving in it else, but even as the frenches and humours of the body carry him. But as he that loueth the health of his body, being in perfect health, doth take great pleasure to practise the rule of regimen of health, that he keep and mainaine himselfe long time in health: even so he that

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that he that loueth that his soule be well regiled and governed, and he that hath well ordered and guidt it, as a man vertuous and wise, both take great delight in the precepts and means that he hath learned, to prefile and keep it from falling into vice.

I say then to private men, that make profession of armes, that they banish out of their hart all ambition and pride. For this plague is the only cause of quarrelling and brawling: for as a certaine Romane said, it is the nature and property of the ambitious man to contemne men of simple and low estate, to envy those of higher and greater condition, and to agree and live in charity with none of his equals, men of as good quality as himselfe. Let private men then be purged and cleane void of this vice of ambition: let them be meke, courteous, and gentle towards every man, and in no wise opiniatrous nor quarrellous. Let them be careful to keepe thirsty and concord of mind, by the hand of peace: let them do nothing by fierce or vain glory: but in humility of hart let every man think better of another then of himselfe. Let them be charitable, for charity is not. Let them put the seal of discretion in their bodies, and weigh them well before they utter them. Let them live in god amity and brotherly charity one with another: so as the Pharaoh in Egypt, Concord makes but little things grow and increase, and discord plucketh all quite by by the root, and bussing by and by great and mighty things to naught: and in this concord, as faith our favour Jesu Christ considered the preservation not only of whole families, cities, provinces and earthly kingdoms, but also of the Church which is the house and family of God.

And because the devil is very subtile to sow dissensions among men, let them not more themselves lightly one against another, for every small wrong or inury that is offered them. Let them be patient, ready to forgive, and ready to suffer wrong and injury, without any desire or thirst of revenge, because they are Christians, and ought to follow the example our favour Jesu Christ. If the work fall out, let them have recourse to their superiors, and prosecute their right by such way of justice as is obtained for them by God: always praised, they do it not,
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not to seek any vengeance, and pretend not to use the Magistrate, as an instrument to execute their wicked will. For it is the duty of the Magistrate to preserve the honour and good name of his subjects, as well as their goods and lives, as well as the holy Scripture.

Rom. 13:3.
1 Pet. 3:14.

See here is the summe of that I had to say of the first remedy of Combat concerning the part of prince men. The second remedy toucheth Princes and Rulers. It is, that they employ their authority to take some Specie for this dangerous mischief. It is evidently seen, that the pleasure that divers take, their Non-challam, fault of knowledge, and lack of conscience hath caused them to grant this cosine to great fighters and fray-makers, to let them put in a face with them, to hold them up by the chine, and to have secrete intelligence with the in the practice of this combating: so that the superior governours have of purpose given over their authority to the inferiour magistrates, because they would not use it in this matter their own selves: and the inferior have abused this power to abuse the body of justice, in tending under the right of their superiors.

It is then first of all needfull that Kings and Sovereigns Princes bide their subjects, for their benefit and good in common, and that they make strict decrees upon this matter, according to law and justice, forbid upon grievous paines this cosine of Single Combat, so small noise makes: and that they cause proclamations to be made through all places of their dominions, to the end no man pretend hereafter any cosine at cause of ignorance: or if they have once so done already, yet that they do it not once again, a command all their officers, namely all their chiefe Captaines of war to lay their hands to the execution of this their ordinance. If they doe this, they shall deserve great commendations, and honour, doing much for the benefit in common.

Plutarche Paithe Flaminius, for that hee being borne to commands, knew not only how to commande according to the lawes, but also the lawes themselves, when common necessitie would require. And who wouldth then, but honesty bever-
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know that Apothecaryugges have little vigoure, when they are taken pleasantly and with a sweet taste. The effects hereof in time shall shew themselves to be profitable and wholesome, if it please God to further and bless them. Then I beseech God that they take some effect and deepe roote in the harts of the readers which make profession of armes, and abuse the lawfull usage thereof: as sometime it did in the hart of Polemon, a pung, licentious and unruly Greek, who by chance going to heare but one good lesson of a Philosopher, with the knowledge and learning that he bought away, uppon a great change he changed and amended his former lewd life wherein he had so long before continued. But to God about be all laudable beginning all good proceeding, and all happy ending: and to the same God be all glory, might, and power now and for evermore.

Amen.