THE WORKS OF GERRARD WINSTANLEY

WITH AN APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO THE DIGGER MOVEMENT

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NEW YORK
RUSSELL & RUSSELL · INC

THE LAW OF FREEDOM IN A PLAT-FORM or TRUE MAGISTRACY RESTORED

THE title page is dated 1652 and the Dedicatory Epistle to Oliver Cromwell, November 5, 1651. Thomason dated his copy February 20, 1652. Winstanley's name appears both on the title page and at the end of the Epistle, and the initials J. W. at the end of the address to the reader.

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[3] TO HIS EXCELLENCY OLIVER CROMWEL, GENERAL OF THE COMMONWEALTHS ARMY IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND

SIR,

on hath honored you with the highest Honor of any man since Moses time, to be the Head of a People, who have cast out an Oppressing Pharaoh: For when the Norman Power had conquered our Forefathers, he took the free use of our English Ground from them, and made them his servants. And God hath made you a successful Instrument to cast out that Conqueror, and to recover our Land and Liberties again, by your Victories, out of that Norman hand.

That which is yet wanting on your part to be done, is this, To see the Oppressors power to be cast out with his person; And to see that the free possession of the Land and Liberties be put into the hands of the oppressed Commoners of England.

For the Crown of Honor cannot be yours, neither can those Victories be called Victories on your part, till the Land and Freedoms won be possessed by them who adventured person and purse for them.

Now you know Sir, that the Kingly Conqueror was not beaten by you onely as you are a single man, nor by the Officers of the Army joyned to you; but by the hand and assistance of the Commoners, whereof [4] some came in person, and adventured their lives with you; others stayd at home, and planted the Earth, and payd Taxes and Freequarter to maintain you that went to war.

So that whatsoever is recovered from the Conqueror, is recovered by a joynt consent of the Commoners: therefore it is all Equity, That all the Commoners who assisted you, should be set free from the Conquerors power with you: As Davids Law was, The spoyl shall be di-

vided between them who went to war, and them who stayd at home.

And now you have the Power of the Land in your hand, you must do one of these two things: First, either set the Land free to the oppressed Commoners, who assisted you, and payd the Army their wages: and then you will fulfil the Scriptures and your own Engagements, and so take possession of your deserved Honor.

Or secondly, you must onely remove the Conquerors Power out of the Kings hand into other mens, maintaining the old Laws still: And then your Wisdom and Honor is blasted for ever; and you will either lose your self, or lay the Foundation of greater Slavery to posterity

then you ever knew.

You know that while the King was in the height of his oppressing Power, the People onely whispered in private Chambers against him: But afterwards it was preached upon the house tops, That he was a Tyrant and a Traytor to Englands peace; and he had his overturn.

The righteous Power in the Creation is the same still: If you, and

those in power with you, should be found walking in the Kings steps, can you secure your selves or posterities from an overturn? Surely No.

The Spirit of the whole Creation (who is God) is about the Reformation of the World, and he will go forward in his work: For if he would not spare Kings, who have sat so long at his right hand, governing the World, neither will he regard you, unless your ways

be found more righteous then the Kings.

You have the eyes of the People all the Land over, nay I think I may say all neighboring Nations over, waiting to see what you will do: And the eyes of your oppressed friends, who lie yet under Kingly power, are waiting to have the possession given them of that Freedom in the Land, which was promised by you, if in case you prevailed. Lose not your Crown; take it up, and wear it. But know, that it is no Crown of Honor, till Promises and Engagements made by you be performed to your friends. He that continues to the end, shall receive the Crown. Now you do not see the end of your work, unless the Kingly Law and Power be removed as well as his person.

[5] Jonah's Gourd is a remembrancer to men in high places.

The worm in the Earth gnawed the root, and the Gourd dyed, and Jonah was offended.

Sir, I pray bear with me; my spirit is upon such a lock that I must

speak plain to you, lest it tell me another day, If thou hadst spoke plain, things might have been amended.

The Earth wherein your Gourd grows is the Commoners of Eng-

land.

The Gourd is that Power which covers you, which will be established to you by giving the People their true Freedoms, and not otherwise.

The root of your Gourd is the heart of the People, groaning under

Kingly Bondage, and desiring a Commonwealths Freedom in their English Earth.

The worm in the Earth, now gnawing at the root of your Gourd, is Discontents, because Engagements and Promises made to them by such

as have power, are not kept.

And this worm hath three heads: The first is a spirit waiting opportunities till a blasting wind arise to cause your Gourd to wither; and yet pretends fair to you, &c.

Another spirit shelters under your Gourd for a livelyhood, and will say as you say in all things; and these are called honest, yet no good friends to you nor the Commonwealth, but to their own bellies.

There is a third spirit, which is faithful indeed, and plain-dealing, and many times for speaking truth plainly he is cashiered, imprisoned, and crushed: And the Oppressions layd upon this spirit kindles the fire, which the two former waits to warm themselves at.

Would you have your Gourd stand for ever? Then cherish the root in the Earth; that is, the heart of your friends, the oppressed Commoners of England, by killing the Worm. And nothing will kill this worm, but performance of professions, words, and promises, that they may be made free men from Tyranny.

It may be you will say to me, What shall I do? I answer, You are in place and power to see all Burthens taken off from your friends, the Commoners of England. You will say, What are those Burthens?

I will instance in some, both which I know in my own experience, and which I hear the people dayly complaining of, and groaning under, looking upon you and waiting for Deliverance.

Most people cry, We have payd Taxes, given Freequarter, wasted our Estates, and lost our Friends in the Wars, and the Taskmasters multiply over us more then formerly. I have asked divers this question, Why do you say so?

[6] Some have answered me, That Promises, Oaths, and Engagements have been made as a Motive to draw us to assist in the Wars; That priviledges of Parliament and Liberties of Subjects should be preserved, and that all Popery, and Episcopacy, and Tyranny should be rooted out; and these promises are not performed: Now there is an opportunity to perform them.

For first, say they, The current of succeeding Parliaments is stopt, which is one of the greatest Priviledges (and peoples Liberties) for Safety and Peace; and if that continue stopt, we shall be more offended by an hereditary Parliament, then we were oppressed by an hereditary

King.

And for the Commoners, who were called Subjects, while the Kingly Conqueror was in power, have not as yet their Liberties granted them; I will instance them in order, according as the common whisperings are among the people.

For say they, The burdens of the Clergy remains still upon us, in a

three-fold nature.

First, If any man declare his Judgment in the things of God, contrary to the Clergies report, or the mind of some high Officers, they are cashiered, imprisoned, crushed, and undone, and made sinners for a word, as they were in the Popes and Bishops days; so that though their names be cast out, yet their High Commission Courts Power remains still, persecuting men for Conscience sake, when their actions are unblameable.

Secondly, In many Parishes there are old formal ignorant Episcopal Priests established; and some Ministers, who are bitter Enemies to Commonwealths Freedom, and Friends to Monarchy, are established Preachers, and are continually buzzing their subtle principles into the minds of the people, to undermine the Peace of our declared Commonwealth, causing a disaffection of spirit among neighbors, who otherwise would live in peace.

Thirdly, The burden of Tythes remains still upon our Estates, which was taken from us by the Kings, and given to the Clergy, to maintain them by our labours: so that though their preaching fill the minds of many with madness, contention, and unsatisfied doubting, because their imaginary and ungrounded Doctrines cannot be understood by them, yet we must pay them large Tythes for so doing; this is Oppression.

Fourthly, If we go to the Lawyer, we find him to sit in the Con-

querors Chair, though the Kings be removed, maintaining the Kings Power to the height, for in many Courts and cases of Law, the Wil of a Judg & Lawyer rules above the letter of the Law, and many Cases and Suits are lengthened to the great vexation of the Clients, and to the lodging of their Estates in the purse of the unbounded Lawyer: So that we see, though other men be under a sharp Law, yet many of the great Lawyers are not, but still do act their will, [7] as the Conqueror did; as I have heard some belonging to the Law say, What cannot size do?

Fifthly, Say they, If we look upon the Customs of the Law it self, it is the same it was in the Kings days, only the name is altered; as if the Commoners of England had paid their Taxes, Free-quarter, and shed their blood, not to reform, but to baptize the Law into a new name, from Kingly Law, to State Law; by reason whereof, the spirit of discontent is strengthened, to increase more Suits of Law, then formerly was known to be: And so as the Sword pulls down Kingly Power with one hand, the Kings old Law builds up Monarchy again with the other.

And indeed the main Work of Reformation lies in this, to reform the Clergy, Lawyers, and Law; for all the Complaints of the Land are

wrapped up within them three, not in the person of a King.

Shall men of other Nations say, That notwithstanding all those rare wits in the Parliament and Army of *England*, yet they could not reform the Clergy, Lawyer, and Law, but must needs establish all as the Kings left them?

Will not this blast all our Honor, and make all Monarchial Members laugh in their sleeves, to see the Government of our Common-

wealth to be built upon the Kingly Laws and Principles?

I have asked divers Souldiers what they fought for; they answered, they could not tell; and it is very true, they cannot tell indeed, if the Monarchial Law be established without Reformation. But I wait to see what will be done; and I doubt not but to see our Commonwealths Government to be built upon his own Foundation.

Sixthly, If we look into Parishes, the burdens there are many.

First, For the Power of Lords of Manors remains still over their Brethren, requiring Fines and Heriots; beating them off the free use of the Common Land, unless their Brethren will pay them Rent; exacting obedience, as much as they did, and more, when the King was in Power.

Now saith the people, By what Power do these maintain their Title over us? Formerly they held Title from the King, as he was the Conquerors Successor: But have not the Commoners cast out the King, and broke the band of that Conquest? Therefore in equity they are free from the slavery of that Lordly Power.

Secondly, In Parishes where Commons lie, the rich Norman Free-holders, or the new (more covetous) Gentry, over-stock the Commons with Sheep and Cattle; so that inferior Tenants and poor Laborers can hardly keep a Cow, but half starve her; so that the poor are kept poor still, and the Common Freedom of the Earth is kept from them, and the poor have no more [8] relief then they had when the King (or

Conqueror) was in power.

Thirdly, In many Parishes two or three of the great ones bears all the sway, in making Assessments, over-awing Constables and other Officers; and when time was to quarter Souldiers, they would have a hand in that, to ease themselves, and over-burden the weaker sort; and many times make large sums of money over and above the Justices Warrant in Assessments, and would give no accompt why, neither durst the inferior people demand an accompt, for he that spake should be sure to be crushed the next opportunity; and if any have complained to Committees or Justices, they have been either wearied out by delays and waiting, or else the offence hath been by them smothered up; so that we see one great man favored another, and the poor oppressed have no relief.

Fourthly, There is another grievance which the people are much troubled at, and that is this; Country people cannot sell any Corn or other fruits of the Earth in a Market Town, but they must either pay Toll, or be turned out of Town: Now say they, This is a most shameful thing, that we must part with our estates in Taxes and Free-quarter to purchase the Freedom of the Land, and the Freedom of the Towns, and yet this Freedom must be still given from us, into the hands of a covetous Norman Toll-Taker, according to the Kings old burdensom Laws, and contrary to the Liberty of a free Commonwealth.

Now saith the whisperings of the people, The inferior Tenants and Laborers bears all the burdens, in laboring the Earth, in paying Taxes and Free-quarter beyond their strength, and in furnishing the Armies with Souldiers, who bear the greatest burden of the War; and yet the Gentry, who oppress them, and that live idle upon their labours, carry away all the comfortable livelyhood of the Earth.

For is not this a common speech among the people, We have parted with our Estates, we have lost our Friends in the Wars, which we willingly gave up, because Freedom was promised us; and now in the end we have new Task-masters, and our old burdens increased: and though all sorts of people have taken an Engagement to cast out Kingly Power, yet Kingly Power remains in power still in the hands of those who have no more right to the Earth then our selves.

For say the people, If the Lords of Manors and our Task-masters hold Title to the Earth over us from the old Kingly power, behold that power is beaten and cast out.

And two Acts of Parliament are made. The one to cast out Kingly power, back'd by the Engagement against King and House of Lords. The other to make *England* a free Commonwealth.

[9] And if Lords of Mannors lay claim to the earth over us, from the Armies Victories over the King; then we have as much right to the Land as they, because our labours, and blood, and death of friends, were the purchasers of the Earths freedome as well as theirs.

And is not this a slavery, say the People, That though there be Land enough in *England*, to maintain ten times as many people as are in it, yet some must beg of their brethren, or work in hard drudgery for day wages for them, or starve, or steal, and so be hanged out of the way, as men not fit to live in the earth, before they must be suffered to plant the waste land for their livelihood, unlesse they will pay Rent to their brethren for it? wel, this is a burthen the Creation groans under; and the subjects (so called) have not their Birth-right Freedomes granted them from their brethren, who hold it from them by club law, but not by righteousness.

And who now must we be subject to, seeing the Conqueror is gone? I Answer, we must either be subject to a Law, or to mens wils. If to a Law, then all men in *England* are subjects, or ought to be, thereunto: but what Law that is to which every one ought to be subject is not yet established in execution. If any say the old Kings Laws are the Rule, then it may be Answered, That those Laws are so full of confusion, that few knows when they obey and when not, because they were the Laws of a Conqueror to hold the people in subjection to the

will of the Conqueror; therefore that cannot be the rule for every one: besides, we dayly see many actions done by State Officers, which they have no-Law to justifie them in, but their Prerogative will.

And again if we must be subject to men, then what men must we be subject to, seeing one man hath as much right to the earth as another, for no man now stands as a Conqueror over his Brethren by the Law of righteousness?

You will say, We must be subject to the Ruler; it is true, but not to suffer the Rulers to call the Earth theirs and not ours, for by so doing they betray their trust, and run into the line of Tyranny, and we lose our freedome, and from thence Enmity and Wars arise.

A Ruler is worthy double honour when he rules well, that is, when he himself is subject to the Law, and requires all others to be subject thereunto and makes it his work to see the Laws obeyed, and not his own will, and such Rulers are faithfull, and they are to be subjected unto us therein, for all Commonwealths Rulers are servants to, not Lords and Kings over the people. But you will say, Is not the Land your brothers? and you cannot take away another mans Right by claiming a share therein with him.

I Answer, It is his either by creation right, or by right of Conquest: If [10] by Creation right he call the earth his and not mine; then it is mine as well as his, for the Spirit of the whole Creation, who made us both, is no respecter of persons.

And if by Conquest he call the earth his and not mine, it must be either by the Conquest of the Kings over the Commoners, or by the Conquest of the Commoners over the Kings.

If he claim the earth to be his from the Kings Conquest, The Kings are beaten and cast out and that title is undone.

If he claim Title to the earth to be his from the Conquest of the Commoners over the Kings, then I have right to the Land as well as my brother, for my brother without me, nor I without my brother, did not cast out the Kings, but both together assisting with person and purse, we prevailed, so that I have by this Victory as equall a share in the earth which is now redeemed as my brother, by the Law of right-eousnesse.

If my brother still say he will be Landlord (through his covetous ambition) and I must pay him Rent, or else I shall not live in the Land, then does he take my right from me, which I have purchased by my

money in Taxes, free quarter and blood. And O thou Spirit of the whole Creation, who hath this Title to be called King of Righteousness, and Prince of Peace; judge thou between my brother and me, Whether this be righteous, &c.

And now, say the people, is not this a grievous thing that our brethren that will be Landlords right or wrong, will make Laws, and call for a Law to be made to imprison, crush, nay put to death, any that denies God, Christ, and Scripture; and yet they will not practise that golden Rule, Do to another as thou wouldst have another do to thee, which God, Christ, and Scriptures, hath Enacted for a Law? are not these men guilty of death by their own Law, which is the words of their own mouth? is it not a flat denyall of God and Scripture?

O the confusion and thick darkness that hath over-spread our Brethren is very great, I have no power to remove it, but lament it in the secrets of my heart; when I see Prayers, Sermons, Fasts, Thanksgiving, directed to this God in words and shews, and when I come to look for actions of obedience to the Righteous Law, suitable to such a profession, I finde them men of another Nation, saying, and not doing; like an old Courtier saying Your Servant, when he was an Enemy. I wil say no more, but groan and waite for a restoration.

Thus Sir, I have reckoned up some of those burdens which the people

groan under.

And I being sensible hereof was moved in my self, to present this Platform of Commonwealths Government unto you, wherein I have declared a full [11] Commonwealths Freedome, according to the Rule of Righteousness, which is Gods Word. It was intended for your view above two years ago, but the disorder of the Times caused me to lay it aside, with a thought never to bring it to light, &c. Likewise I hearing that M. Peters ¹ and some others Propounded this request, That the Word of God might be consulted with to finde out a healing Government, which I liked well, and waited to see such a Rule come forth, for there are good rules in the Scripture if they were obeyed and practised: thereupon

I laid aside this in silence, and said, I would not make it publick; but

¹ Hugh Peters was a member of a commission of twenty-one to amend the laws. He published a pamphlet, Good Work for a Good Magistrate, in 1651. Note Winstanley's very qualified approval of searching the Scriptures for just law; for him the glory of the Jewish commonwealth was that it had no beggars.

this word was like fire in my bones ever and anon, Thou shalt not bury thy talent in the earth, therefore I was stirred up to give it a resurrection, and to pick together as many of my scattered papers as I could finde, and to compile them into this method, which I do here present to you, and do quiet my own spirit.

And now I have set the candle at your door, for you have power in your hand, in this other added opportunity, to Act for Common Free-

dome if you will; I have no power.

It may be here are some things inserted which you may not like, yet other things you may like, therefore I pray you read it, and be as the industrious Bee, suck out the honey and cast away the weeds.

Though this Platform be like a peece of Timber rough hewd, yet the discreet workmen may take it, and frame a handsome building out

of it.

It is like a poor man that comes cloathed to your door in a torn country garment, who is unacquainted with the learned Citizens unsetled forms and fashions; take of the clownish language, for under that you may see beauty.

It may be you will say, If Tythes be taken from the Priests and Impropriators, and Copy-hold Services from Lords of Mannors, how shal they be provided for again; for is it not unrighteous to take their estates

from them?

I Answer, when Tythes were first enacted, and Lordly power drawn over the backs of the oppressed, the Kings and Conquerors made no scruple of Conscience to take it, though the people lived in sore bondage of poverty for want of it; and can there be scruple of conscience to make restitution of this which hath been so long stoln goods? It is no scruple arising from the Righteous Law, but from covetousness, who goes away sorrowfull to heare he must part with all to follow Righteousness and Peace.

But though you do take away Tythes, and the Power of Lords of Mannors, yet there will be no want to them, for they have the freedome of the Common stock, they may send to the Storehouses for what they want, and live more free then now they do, for now they are in care and vexation by servants, [12] by casualties, by being cheated in buying and selling, and many other incumbrances, but then they will be free from all, for the common Storehouses is every mans riches, not any ones.

Is not buying and selling a righteous Law? No, It is the Law of the Conqueror, but not the righteous Law of Creation: how can that be righteous which is a cheat? for is not this a common practise, when he hath a bad Horse or Cow, or any bad commodity, he will send it to the Market, to cheat some simple plain-hearted man or other, and when he comes home, will laugh at his neighbours hurt, and much more &c.

When Mankinde began to buy and sell, then did he fall from his Innocency; for then they began to oppress and cozen one another of their Creation Birth-right: As for example; If the Land belong to three persons, and two of them buy and sell the Earth, and the third give no consent, his Right is taken from him, and his posterity is engaged in a War.

When the Earth was first bought and sold, many gave no consent: As when our Crown Lands, and Bishops Lands were sold, some foolish Soldiers yeelded, and covetous Officers were active in it, to advance themselves above their Brethren: but many, who payd Taxes and Freequarter for the purchase of it, gave no consent, but declared against it, as an unrighteous thing, depriving posterity of their Birth-rights and Freedoms.

Therefore this buying and selling did bring in, and still doth bring in, discontents and wars, which have plagued Mankinde sufficiently for so doing. And the Nations of the world will never learn to beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and leave of warring, until this cheating device of buying and selling be cast out among the rubbish of Kingly power.

But shall not one man be richer then another?

There is no need of that; for Riches make men vain-glorious, proud, and to oppress their Brethren; and are the occasion of wars.

No man can be rich, but he must be rich, either by his own labors, or by the labors of other men helping him: If a man have no help from his neighbor, he shall never gather an Estate of hundreds and thousands a year: If other men help him to work, then are those Riches his Neighbors, as well as his; for they be the fruit of other mens labors as well as his own.

But all rich men live at ease, feeding and clothing themselves by the labors of other men, not by their own; which is their shame, and not their Nobility; for it is a more blessed thing to give then to receive: But rich men receive all they have from the laborers hand, and what

they give, they give away other mens labors, not their own; Therefore they are not righteous Actors in the Earth.

[13] But shall not one man have more Titles of Honor then another?

Yes: As a man goes through Offices, he rises to Titles of Honor, till he comes to the highest Nobility, to be a faithful Commonwealths man in a Parliament House. Likewise he who findes out any secret in Nature, shall have a Title of Honor given him, though he be a young man. But no man shall have any Title of Honor till he win it by industry, or come to it by age, or Office-bearing. Every man that is above sixty years of age shall have respect as a man of Honor by all others that are younger, as is shewed hereafter.

Shall every man count his Neighbors house as his own, and live together as one Family?

No: Though the Earth and Storehouses be common to every Family, yet every Family shall live apart as they do; and every mans house, wife, children, and furniture for ornament of his house, or any thing which he hath fetched in from the Storehouses, or provided for the necessary use of his Family, is all a propriety to that Family, for the peace thereof. And if any man offer to take away a mans wife, children, or furniture of his house, without his consent, or disturb the peace of his dwelling, he shall suffer punishment as an Enemy to the Commonwealths Government; as is mentioned in the Platform following.

Shall we have no Lawyers?

There is no need of them, for there is to be no buying and selling; neither any need to expound Laws; for the bare letter of the Law shall be both Judg and Lawyer, trying every mans actions: And seeing we shall have successive *Parliaments* every year, there will be Rules made for every action a man can do.

But there is to be Officers chosen yearly in every parish, to see the Laws executed according to the letter of the Laws; so that there will be no long work in trying of Offences, as it is under Kingly Government, to get the Lawyers mony, and to enslave the Commoners to the Conquerors prerogative Law, or Will. The sons of contention, Simeon and Levi, must not bear Rule in a free Commonwealth.

At the first view, you may say, this is a strange Government: but I pray judg nothing before tryal. Lay this Platform of Commonwealths Government in one scale, and lay Monarchy, or Kingly Government,

in the other scale, and see which give true weight to righteous Freedom and Peace. There is no middle path between these two; for a man must either be a free and true Commonwealths man, or a Monarchial tyrannical Royalist.

If any say, This will bring poverty; surely they mistake: for there will be plenty of all Earthly Commodities, with less labor and trouble then now it is under Monarchy. There will be no want, for every man may keep as [14] plentiful a house as he will, and never run into debt, for common stock pays for all.

If you say, Some will live idle; I answer, No: It will make idle persons to become workers, as is declared in the *Platform*; There shall be neither Beggar nor idle person.

If you say, This will make men quarrel and fight:

I answer, No: It will turn swords into plowshares, and settle such a peace in the Earth, as Nations shall learn War no more. Indeed the Government of Kings is a breeder of Wars, because men being put into the straits of poverty, are moved to fight for Liberty, and to take one anothers Estates from them, and to obtain Mastery. Look into all Armies, and see what they do more, but make some poor, some rich; put some into freedom, and others into bondage: And is not this a plague among Mankinde?

Well, I question not but what Objections can be raised against this Commonwealths Government; they shall finde an Answer in this Platform following. I have been something large, because I could not contract my self into a lesser volume, having so many things to speak of.

I do not say, nor desire, That every one shall be compelled to practise this *Commonwealths Government*; for the spirits of some will be Enemies at first, though afterwards will prove the most cordial and true friends thereunto.

Yet I desire, That the Commonwealths Land, which is the ancient Commons and waste Land, and the Lands newly got in, by the Armies Victories, out of the oppressors hands, as Parks, Forests, Chases, and the like, may be set free to all that have lent assistance, either of person or purse, to obtain it; and to all that are willing to come in to the practice of this Government, and be obedient to the Laws thereof: And for others, who are not willing, let them stay in the way of buying and selling, which is the Law of the Conqueror, till they be willing.

And so I leave this in your hand, humbly prostrating my self and it before you, and remain

Novemb. 5.

1651.

A true Lover of Commonwealths Government, Peace, and Freedom,

Jerrard Winstanley.

[15] TO THE FRIENDLY AND UNBYASSED READER

READER,

T was the Apostles advice formerly, to try all things, and to hold fast that which is best. This Platform of Government which I offer, is the Original Righteousness and Peace in the Earth, though he hath been buried under the clods of Kingly Covetousness, Pride and Oppression a long time.

Now he begins to have his Resurrection, despise it not while it is small; though thou understand it not at the first sight, yet open the door, and look into the house, for thou mayst see that which will satisfie thy heart in quiet rest.

To prevent thy hasty rashness, I have given thee a short Compendium of the whole.

First, Thou knowest that the Earth in all Nations is governed by buying and selling, for all the Laws of Kings hath relation thereunto.

Now this Platform following declares to thee the Government of the Earth without buying and selling, and the Laws are the Laws of a free and peaceable Commonwealth, which casts out every thing that offends; for there is no pricking Briar in all this holy Mountain of the righteous Law, or peaceable Ruler.

Every Family shall live apart, as now they do; every man shall enjoy his own wife, and every woman her own husband, as now they do; every Trade shall be improved to more excellency then now it is; all children shall be educated, and be trained up in subjection to parents and elder people more then now they are: The Earth shall be planted, and the fruits reaped, and carried into Store-houses by common assistance of every Family: The riches of the Store-houses shall be the Common Stock to every Family: There shall be no idle person nor Begger in the Land.

And because offences may arise from the spirit of unreasonable ignorance, therefore was the Law added.

For if any man abuse his neighbor, by provoking words, by striking his person, by offering offence to his neighbors wife or children, or to his house or furniture therein, or to live idle upon other mens labours, there are Laws to punish them sharply, and Officers to see those Laws executed, according to the right Order of Commonwealths Government, for the peace of every family in the Land.

[16] This Commonwealths Government unites all people in a Land into one heart and mind: And it was this Government which made Moses to call Abrahams seed, one house of Israel, though they were many Tribes and many Families: And it may be said, Blessed is the people, whose earthly Government is the Law of Common Righteousness.

While Israel was under this Commonwealths Government, they were a terror to all oppressing Kings in all Nations of the World; and so will England be, if this righteous Law become our Governor: But when the Officers of Israel began to be covetous and proud, they made a breach, or as Isaiah said, The Rulers of the people caused them to err; and then the Government was altered, and fell into the hand of Kings, like other Nations, and then they fled before their enemies, and were scattered.

The Government of Kings, is the Government of the Scribes and Pharisees, who count it no freedom, unless they be Lords of the Earth, and of their Brethren: But Commonwealths Government is the Government of Righteousness and Peace, who is no Respecter of persons.

Therefore Reader here is a tryal for thy sincerity; Thou shalt have no want of food, rayment, or freedom among Brethren in this way propounded: See now if thou canst be content, as the Scriptures say, Having food and rayment, therewith be content, and grudg not to let thy brother have the same with thee.

Dost thou pray and fast for Freedom, and give God thanks again for it? Why know that God is not partial; for if thou pray, it must be for Freedom to all; and if thou give thanks, it must be because Freedom covers all people, for this will prove a lasting Peace.

Every one is ready to say, They fight for their Country, and what they do, they do it for the good of their Country. Well, let it appear now that thou hast fought and acted for thy Countries Freedom: But if when thou hast power to settle Freedom in thy Country, thou takest the possession of the Earth into thy own particular hands, and makest

thy brother work for thee, as the Kings did, thou hast fought and acted for thy self, not for thy Country; and here thy inside hypocrisie is discovered.

But here take notice, That common Freedom, which is the Rule I would have practised, and not talked on, was thy pretence; but particular Freedom to thy self was thy intent. Amend, or else thou wilt be shamed, when Knowledg doth spread to cover the Earth, even as the waters cover the Seas. And so Farewell.

J.W.

[17] THE LAW OF FREEDOM IN A PLAT-FORM; or, TRUE MAGISTRACY RESTORED

CHAP. I.

HE great searching of heart in these days, is to finde out where true Freedom lies, that the Commonwealth of *England* might be established in Peace.

Some say, It lies in the free use of Trading, and to have all Pattents, Licenses, and Restraints removed: But this is a *Freedom* under the Will of a Conqueror.

Others say, It is true Freedom to have Ministers to preach, and for people to hear whom they will, without being restrained or compelled from or to any form of worship: But this is an unsetled Freedom.

Others say, It is true Freedom to have Community with all Women, and to have liberty to satisfie their lusts and greedy appetites: But this is the *Freedom* of wanton unreasonable Beasts, and tends to Destruction.

Others say, It is true *Freedom*, that the elder Brother shall be Landlord of the Earth, and the younger Brother a Servant: And this is but a half Freedom, and begets murmurings, wars, and quarrels.

All these, and such like, are Freedoms: but they lead to Bondage, and are not the true *Foundation-Freedom* which settles a Commonwealth in Peace.

True Commonwealths Freedom lies in the free Enjoyment of the Earth.

True *Freedom* lies where a man receives his nourishment and preservation, and that is in the use of the Earth: For as Man is compounded of the four Materials of the Creation, *Fire*, *Water*, *Earth*, and *Ayr*; so is [18] he preserved by the compounded bodies of these four, which are the fruits of the Earth; and he cannot live without them: for take

away the free use of these, and the body languishes, the spirit is brought into bondage, and at length departs, and ceaseth his motional action in the body.

All that a man labors for, saith Solomon, is this, That he may enjoy the free use of the Earth, with the fruits thereof. Eccles. 2. 24.

Do not the Ministers preach for maintenance in the Earth? the Lawyers plead causes to get the possessions of the Earth? Doth not the Soldier fight for the Earth? And doth not the Landlord require Rent, that he may live in the fulness of the Earth by the labor of his Tenants?

And so, from the Thief upon the high way to the King who sits upon the Throne, do not every one strive, either by force of Arms, or secret cheats, to get the possessions of the Earth one from another, because they see their Freedom lies in plenty, and their bondage lies in poverty?

Surely then, oppressing Lords of Manors, exacting Landlords, and Tythe-takers, may as well say, their brethren shall not breathe in the ayr, nor enjoy warmth in their bodies, nor have the moyst waters to fall upon them in showres, unless they will pay them Rent for it: As to say, Their brethren shall not work upon Earth, nor eat the fruits thereof, unless they will hire that liberty of them: for he that takes upon him to restrain his brother from the liberty of the one, may upon the same ground restrain him from the liberty of all four; viz. Fire, Water, Earth, and Ayr.

A man had better to have had no body, then to have no food for it; therefore this restraining of the Earth from brethren by brethren, is oppression and bondage; but the free enjoyment thereof is true Freedom.

I speak now in relation between the Oppressor and the oppressed; the inward bondages I meddle not with in this place, though I am assured that if it be rightly searched into, the inward bondages of the minde, as covetousness, pride, hypocrisie, envy, sorrow, fears, desperation, and madness, are all occasioned by the outward bondage, that one sort of people lay upon another.

And thus far natural experience makes it good, That true Freedom lies in the free enjoyment of the Earth.

If we look into the old Scriptures,

We finde, That when Israel had conquered the Nations, he took

possession of the Enemies Land, and divided it by lot among the Tribes, counting the Enjoyment of the Earth their perfect Freedom.

In the beginning of their wars they first sent Spies to view the Land of [19] Canaan, (Numb. 13. 23. to 33.) for the enjoyment of that was the Freedom they aymed at; for being so long in the barren wilderness, and children multiplying upon them, they wanted Land to live upon. Deut. 1. 28.

And when the Spies returned, and shewed them the fruits of the Land, and had declared what a fruitful Land it was, they were encouraged and restless till they were come thither; and when they heard bad tydings of the Land, their hearts fell, and they were discouraged.

And when the spirit of wisdom, courage and providence in them had subdued those Gyants, and had given the house of *Israel* the Land of *Canaan*, the Rulers and chief Officers of *Israels* Army did not divide the Land among themselves; but being faithful spirited men, they forthwith divided the Land by lot, to every Tribe his portion without exception.

And when *Israel* intreated the King of *Syhon*, to suffer him to pass through his land, he would not suffer him, but gathered all his people together and fought with Israel; And the Lord gave *Syhon* into *Israels* hand: And he took possession of his land.

So that we see by Scripture proof likewise, the land is that which every one place their freedom in.

If we look into the practise of Kings, and Conquerors,

Since the Scriptures of *Moses* were writ, we finde they placed their freedom in the enjoyment of the free use of the earth.

When William Duke of Normandy had conquered England, he took possession of the earth for his freedom, and disposed of our English ground to his friends as he pleased, and made the conquered English his servants, to plant the earth for him and his friends.

And all Kings, from his time to King Charles, were successors of that conquest; and all Laws were made to confirm that Conquest.

For there are his old Laws and Statutes yet to be read, that do shew how he allowed the conquered *English* but three pence, and four pence a day for their work, to buy them bread of their Task-masters; but the freedom of the earth he and his friends kept in their own hands.

And as Kings, so the old Gentry, and the new Gentry likewise, walk-

ing in the same steps, are but the successors of the Norman victory.

But are not the *Normans* and their power conquered, by the *Commoners* of *England*; And why then should we not recover the freedom of our land again, from under that yoak and power?

Then further, The Norman Conqueror made Laws, whereby this English earth should be governed, and appointed two national Officers

to see those Laws performed.

The first Officer was the Lawyer; And his work is conversant about [20] nothing but the disposing of the earth, and all Courts of Judicature, and Suits of Law, is about the ordering of the Earth; according to his Law made by him and his party.

The next Officer was the national Clergie; and their work was to perswade the multitude of people to let *William* the Conqueror alone with a quiet possession and government of the earth, and to call it his

and not theirs, and so not to rebell against him.

And they were to tell the people, that if they would acknowledge William Duke of Normandy and his Successors, to be their Lord, King and Ruler, and would be obedient to his Government; then they should live in the Haven, that is, in peace; and they should quietly enjoy their land which they rented, their houses and fruits of their labors without disturbance.

But if they would not acknowledg him to be their Lord, King, and Ruler, nor submit to his Government, then they should be cast into Hell; that is, into the sorrows of prisons, poverty, whips, and death: and their houses and riches should be taken from them, &c.

And this was a true prophetical and experimental Doctrine: for do we not see, that the Laws of a King, while a King, had the Power of life and death in them? And he who fell under the power of this Lord,

must pay the uttermost farthing, before he was released.

And for their pains for thus preaching, the King established by his Laws, that they should have the tenth of the encrease of all profits from the Earth, (I Sam. 8. 15.) placing their freedom where he placed his own, and that is in the use of the Earth brought into their hands by the labors of the enslaved men.

But in after times, when this National Ministry appeared to the people to be but hirelings, and as the people grew in knowledg they discovered their hypocrisic more and more, as they do in these days: Then this Clergy (the spirit of the old Pharisees) began to divine and

to deceive the people by a shew of holiness, or spiritual doctrine, as they call it, difficult to be understood by any but themselves; perswading the people to believe or fancy, That true Freedom lay in hearing them preach, and to enjoy that Heaven, which they say, every man who believes their doctrine, shall enjoy after he is dead: And so tell us of a Heaven and Hell after death, which neither they nor we know what wil be: So that the whole world is at a loss in the true knowledg thereof, as Solomon said, Who shall bring him to see what shall be after he is dead? Eccles. 3. 22. & 6. 11.

The former hell of prisons, whips and gallows they preached to keep the people in subjection to the King: but by this divined Hell after death, they preach to keep both King and people in aw to them, to uphold their trade [21] of Tythes and new rased Maintenance: And so having blinded both King and people, they become the god that rules: This subtle divining spirit is the Whore that sits upon many waters: This is Nahash the Amonite, that would not make peace with Israel, unless Israel would suffer him to put out their right eyes, and to see by his. I Sam. 11. 2.

For so long as the people call that a Truth which they call a Truth, and believe what they preach, and are willing to let the Clergy be the Keepers of their eyes and knowledg; that is as much as *Nahash* did, put out their eyes to see by theirs, then all is well, and they tell the people they shall go to Heaven.

But if the eyes of the people begin to open, and they seek to find knowledg in their own hearts, and to question the Ministers Doctrine, and become like unto wise-hearted *Thomas*, to believe nothing but what they see reason for:

Then do the Ministers prepare War against that man or men, and will make no Covenant of Peace with him, till they consent to have their right eyes put out, that is, to have their Reason blinded, so as to believe every Doctrine they preach, and never question any thing, saying, The Doctrine of Faith must not be tryed by Reason: No, for if it be, their Mystery of Iniquity will be discovered, and they would lose their Tythes.

Therefore no marvel though the National Clergy of England and Scotland, who are the Tything Priests and Lords of blinded mens spirits, stuck so close to their Master the King, and to his Monarchial oppressing Government; for say they, If the people must not work for

us, and give us Tythes, but we must work for our selves, as they do, our Freedom is lost: I, but this is but the cry of an Egyptian Taskmaster, who counts other mens freedom his bondage.

Now if the Earth could be enjoyed in such a maner as every one might have provision, as it may by this *Platform* I have offered, then will the Peace of the Commonwealth be preserved, and men need not act so hypocritically as the Clergy do, and others likewise, to get a living: But when some shall enjoy great possessions, and others who have done as much or more for to purchase Freedom, shall have none at all, and be made slaves to their brethren, this begets offences.

The glory of Israels Commonwealth is this, They had no Begger among them.

As you read, when they had conquered the Canaanites, and won that Land, by the purchase of the blood and labour, and by a joynt assistance throughout the whole Tribes of Israel; the Officers and Leaders of the people did not sell the Land again to the remainder of their Enemies, nor [22] buy and sell it among themselves, and so by cheating the people set up a new Oppression upon a new account; Neither did they fall a parting the Land before the crowning Victory was gotten: But they forbore the disposing of the Land till the War was over, and all the Tribes stuck close together till all the fighting work was done.

And when they saw the Enemies heart was broke, and that now they were the Masters of the field, then they quietly took possession of the Land as a free reward for all their hazards and labour.

The Officers and Leaders were careful to keep Promise and Engagements to the people, and there was no treachery found in them, as to inrich themselves with the Commonwealths Land, and to deprive others of the price of their Blood, and Free-quarter, and Taxes.

But they made Canon with all the Crown Lands therein, and all other forfeited Lands, which was gotten by a joynt Assistance of person and purse of all the Tribes. The Scriptures say, They made this Canon Land a common Treasury of livelyhood to the whole Commonwealth of *Israel*, and so disposed of it, as they made provision for every Tribe, and for every family in a Tribe, nay for every particular man in a family, every one had enough, no man was in want, there was no beggery among them.

They did not divide this Land only to particular men who went out

to War, but they who stayd at home had an equal share; they did not make one brother a Lord of Manor and Landlord, and other brothers to be servants to them: But seeing the Enemies were beaten, not by the Counsellors only, nor by the Leaders of the Army only, but by the common Souldiers also; and not only by them, but by the Laborers who staid at home to provide Victuals and Free-quarter: Therefore did the Counsellors and chief Officers of the Army agree to make provision for every one that assisted, either by person or purse; and this was pure Rightequeness.

And to those families in a Tribe which had many persons in it, to them they allotted more Land; and to those families which had less number of persons, they allotted less Land: So that not only the Tribes in general, but every family and person in a Tribe, younger brother as well as elder brother, he who wrought at home to provide food, as well as he that went to War, all had sufficient, there was no want, the Oppression of Beggary was not known among them; all burdens were taken of, and *Israel* in all his Tribes and Families was made a free Commonwealth in Power, as well as in Name. I Sam. 30. 24. Josh. 16. 17. & 18. Chapters.

And thus the Land was divided, and the whole Land was the Common Stock, every one had a brotherly freedom therein, for the freedom of the one was the freedom of the other, there was no difference in that they were [23] men of true faithful and publick spirits, not false-hearted.

And so likewise when *Esther* prevailed with King *Ahasuerus* for freedom, she did not seek her own freedom and interest, but the freedom of all her kindred and friends; for common Freedom was that which men of righteous spirits always fought after.

All that I shall say is this, O that those who pretend to set up a Gospel-Commonwealth in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, would not be worse then *Moses*, but rather exceed *Moses*, knowing that if this our English Commonwealths Government carry perfect Freedom in his hand, then shall the Law go forth from *England* to all the Nations of the World.

This Foundation being layd from the Example of *Israels* Commonwealth, and Testimony of Gods Word, I shall proceed how the Earth shall be governed for the Peace of a Common-wealth: But by the way, to prevent mistake, I shall insert

A short Declaration to take of Prejudice.

Some hearing of this Common Freedom, think there must be a Community of all the fruits of the Earth whether they work or no, therefore strive to live idle upon other mens labours.

Others, through the same unreasonable beastly ignorance, think there must be a Community of all men and women for Copulation, and so strive to live a bestial life.

Others think there will be no Law, but that every thing will run into confusion for want of Government; but this Platform proves the contrary.

Therefore because that transgression doth and may arise from ignorant and rude fancy in man, is the Law added.

That which true Righteousness in my Judgment calls Community, is this, To have the Earth set free from all Kingly Bondage of Lords of Manors, and oppressing Landlords, which came in by Conquest; as a Thief takes a true mans purse upon the high-way, being stronger than he.

And that neither the Earth, nor any fruits thereof, should be bought or sold by the Inhabitants one among another, which is a slavery the Kingly Conquerors have brought in, therefore he set his stamp upon silver, that every one should buy and sell in his name.

And though this be, yet shall not men live idle; for the Earth shall be planted and reaped, and the fruits carried into Barns and Storehouses by the assistance of every family, according as is shewed hereafter in order.

Every man shall be brought up in Trades and labours, and all Trades shall be maintained with more improvement, to the inriching of the Commonwealth, more then now they be under Kingly Power.

[24] Every Tradesman shall fetch Materials, as Leather, Wool, Flax, Corn, and the like, from the publike Store-houses to work upon without buying and selling; and when particular works are made, as Cloth, Shooes, Hats, and the like, the Tradesmen shall bring these particular works to particular shops, as it is now in practise, without buying and selling. And every family as they want such things as they cannot make, they shall go to these shops, and fetch without money, even as now they fetch with money, as hereafter is shewed how in order.

If any say, This will nurse Idleness; I answer, This Platform proves

the contrary, for idle persons and beggers will be made to work.

If any say, This wil make some men to take goods from others by violence, and call it theirs, because the Earth and fruits are a Common Stock; I answer, The Laws or Rules following prevents that ignorance: For though the Store-houses and publike Shops be commonly furnished by every families assistance, and for every families use, as is shewed hereafter how: yet every mans house is proper to himself, and all the furniture therein, and provision which he hath fetched from the Store-houses is proper to himself; every mans wife and every womans husband proper to themselves, and so are their children at their dispose till they come to age.

And if any other man endeavor to take away his house, furniture, food, wife, or children, saying, every thing is common, and so abusing the Law of Peace, such a one is a Transgressor, and shall suffer punishment, as by the Government and Laws following is expressed.

For though the publike Store-houses be a common Treasury, yet every mans particular dwelling is not common, but by his consent, and the Commonwealths Laws are to preserve a mans peace in his person, and in his private dwelling, against the rudeness and ignorance that may arise in Mankind.

If any man do force or abuse women in folly, pleading Community, the Laws following do punish such ignorant and unrational practise; for the Laws of a Commonwealth are Laws of moderate diligence, and purity of Manners.

Therefore I desire a patient reading of what hereafter follows; and when you have heard the extent of Commonwealths Government or Freedom, then weigh it in the ballance with Kingly Government or Bondage, and see whether brings most Peace to the Land, and establish that for Government.

For you must either establish Commonwealths Freedom in Power, making provision for every ones Peace, which is Righteousness; or else you must set up Monarchy again.

Monarchy is twofold; either for one King to rule, or for many to rule by Kingly Principles; for the Kings Power lies in his Laws, not in the Name: [25] And if either one King rule, or many rule by Kings Principles, much murmuring, grudges, troubles and quarrels may and will arise among the oppressed people upon every gained opportunity.

But if Common Freedom be found out, and ease the oppressed, it

prevents murmurings and quarrels, and establishes Universal Peace in the Earth.

Therefore seeing the Power of Government is in the hands of such as have professed to the World a godly Righteousness, more purely then that of oppressing Kings, without doubt their faithfulness and wisdom is required to be manifested in action, as well as in words.

But if they who profess more Righteousness and Freedom in words then the Kings Government was, and yet can find out no Government to ease the people, but must establish the Kings old Laws, though they give it a new name; I will leave the sentence, worthy such a profession and such a people, to be given by the heart of every rational man: And so I shall proceed how the Earth should be governed for the Peace of a Commonwealth.

CHAP. II. What is Government in general.

OVERNMENT is a wise and free ordering of the Earth, and the Manners of Mankind by observation of particular Laws or Rules, so that all the Inhabitants may live peaceably in plenty and freedom in the Land where they are born and bred.

In the Government of a Land there are three parts, viz. Laws, fit Officers, and a faithful Execution of those Laws.

First, There must be suitable Laws for every occasion, and almost for every action that men do; for one Law cannot serve in all seasons, but every season and every action have their particular Laws attending thereupon for the preservation of right order: As for example;

There is a time to plow, and the Laws of right understanding attends upon that work; and there is a time to reap the fruits of the Earth, and the Laws of right observation attending thereupon.

So that true Government is a right ordering of all actions, giving to every action and thing its due weight and measure, and this prevents confusion, as *Solomon* speaks, *There is a time for all things*; a time to make Promises and Engagements, and a time to see them performed; a right order in times of War, and a right order in times of Peace; every season and time having its Law or Rule suitable, and this makes a healthful Government, because it preserves Peace in a right order.

[26] Secondly, There must be fit Officers, whose spirits are so humble, wise, and free from Covetousness, as they can make the established Laws of the Land their Will; and not through pride and vain-glory,

make their Wills to rule above the Rules of Freedom, pleading Prerogative.

For when the right ordered Laws do rule, the Government is healthful; but when the Will of Officers rule above Law, that Government is diseased with a mortal disease.

Thirdly, There must be a faithful Execution of those Laws; and herein lies the very life of Government: For a right order in Government lies not in the Will of Officers without Laws, nor in Laws without Officers, nor in neither of them without Execution: But when these three go hand in hand, the Government is healthful; but if any one of these be wanting, the Government is diseased.

There is a twofold Government, a Kingly Government, and a Commonwealths Government.

What is Kingly Government or Monarchy?

Kingly Government governs the Earth by that cheating Art of buying & selling, and thereby becomes a man of contention, his hand is against every man, and every mans hand against him: and take this Government at the best, it is a diseased Government, and the very City Babylon, full of confusion: and if it had not a Club Law to support it, there would be no order in it, because it is the covetous and proud will of a Conqueror, enslaving a conquered people.

This Kingly Government is he who beats pruning hooks and plows, into spears, guns, swords, and instruments of War; that he might take his younger brothers Creation birth-right from him, calling the Earth his, and not his brothers, unless his brother will hire the Earth of him, so that he may live idle and at ease by his brothers labours.

Indeed this Government may well be called the Government of high-way men, who hath stoln the Earth from the younger brethren by force, and holds it from them by force; he sheds blood not to free the people from Oppression, but that he may be King and Ruler over an oppressed people.

The Scituation of this Monarchial Government

Lies in the will of Kings, *alias* Conquerors, setting up Lords of Manors, exacting Landlords, Tything Priests, and covetous Lawyers, with all those pricking bryars attending thereupon, to be Taskmasters to oppress the people, lest they should rise up in riches and power to

disthrone him, and so to share the Earth with him, redeeming their own Creation rights again, which this Kingly Government withholds from Mankind in all Nations; for he is [27] the great Man of Sin, who is now revealed, who sits in the Temple of God, ruling above all that is called God, and both by force and cheating policy takes the Peoples Freedoms from them. Exod. 1. 8. 2 Thes. 2. 8, 9.

This Kingly Government is he that makes the elder brethren freemen in the Earth, and the younger brethren slaves in the Earth, before they have lost their Freedom by transgression to the Law.

Nay he makes one brother a Lord, and another a servant, while they are in their Mothers womb, before they have done either good or evil: This is the mighty Ruler, that hath made the Election and Rejection of Brethren from their birth to their death, or from Eternity to Eternity.

He calls himself the Lord God of the whole Creation, for he makes one brother to pay rent to another brother for the use of the Water, Earth, and Ayr, or else he will not suffer him by his Laws and Lawyers to live above ground, but in beggery, and yet he will be called righteous.

And whereas the Scriptures say, That the Creator of all things (God) is no Respecter of persons, yet this Kingly Power doth nothing else but respect persons, preferring the rich and the proud; therefore he denies the Scriptures, and the true God of Righteousness, though he pray and preach of the Scriptures, and keep Fasts and Thanksgiving-days to God, to be a cloak to hide his Oppression from the people, whereby he shews himself to be the great Antichrist, and Mystery of Iniquity, that makes War with Christ and his Saints under pretence of owning him.

The great Law-giver of this Kingly Government,

Is Covetousness, ruling in the heart of Mankind, making one brother to covet a full possession of the Earth, and a lordly Rule over another brother, which he will have, or else he will inslave or kill his brother; for this is Cain, who killed Abel: and because of this, he is called the great red Dragon, the god of this world, the Oppressor, under which the whole Creation hath groaned a long time, waiting to be delivered from him.

The Rise of Kingly Government is twofold.

First, By a politick wit, in drawing the people out of Common Free-

dom into a way of Common Bondage; for so long as the Earth is a Common Treasury to all men, Kingly Covetousness can never raign as King: Therefore his first device was, to put the people to buy and sell the Earth and the fruits one to another; for this would beget discontents, and muddy the waters.

And when this spirit of Monarchy hath drawn the people into the way of buying and selling, and the people begin to vex one another,

then began his opportunity to raign.

For in that man wherein this Kingly spirit seats himself, he tells the people [28] that are wronged, Well, I'le ease you, and I'le set things to rights: And then he went about to establish buying and selling by Law, whereby the people had some ease for a time, but the cunning Machavilian spirit got strength thereby to settle himself King in the Earth.

For after some time the people through ignorance began to multiply Suits of Law one against another, and to quarrel and fight: Now saith this subtle spirit, Come follow me, to one sort of people that are oppressed, and stick to me, and we will fight with those who wrong you; and if we conquer them, then we will govern the Earth as we please, and they shall be our servants, and we will make them work for us.

Thereupon one sort of people followed one head, and another sort of people followed another head, and so Wars began in the Earth, and mankind fell a fighting, one part conquering and enslaving another: And now Man is faln from his innocency, and from the glory of the spirit of common Freedom, Love and Peace, into Enmity; every one striving to be King one over another; every one striving to be a Landlord of the Earth, and to make his brother his servant to work for him.

But still here is disorder, therefore this subtle spirit of darkness goes further, and tells the people, You must make one man King over you all, and let him make Laws, and let every one be obedient thereunto: And when the people consented thereunto, they gave away their Freedom, and they set up Oppression over themselves.

And this was the rise of Kingly Power; first, by Policy, drawing the people from a common enjoyment of the Earth, to the crafty Art of buying and selling: Secondly, to advance himself by the power of the Sword, when that Art of buying and selling had made them quarrel among themselves.

So that this spirit of Monarchy it is the spirit of Subtilty and Cov-

etousness, filling the heart of Mankind with enmity and ignorance, pride and vain-glory, because the strong destroys the weak; and so one Scripture calls this the Power and Government of the Beast, another Scripture calls it the god of this world, or the Devil: For indeed the Monarchial spirit is the power of darkness, for it is the great thick Cloud, that hath hid the light of the Sun of Righteousness from shining in his full strength a long time.

And though this Kingly spirit doth call buying and selling a righteous thing, thereby to put the simple younger brother upon it, yet he will destroy it as he pleaseth, by Pattents, Licenses, or Monopoliz-

ing.

Or else he will at his pleasure take away the riches which his younger brother hath got by trading, and so still lift up himself above his brother.

And as he rise to the Throne by the crafty Art of buying and selling, and by the Sword, so he is maintained upon the Throne by the same means.

[29] And the people now see, That Kingly Power is the Oppressor, and the Maintainers thereof are called Oppressors by the ancient Writers of the Bible.

This Kingly Power is the old Heaven, and the old Earth, that must pass away, wherein unrighteousness, oppression and partiality dwells.

For indeed we never read, that the people began to complain of Oppression, till Kingly Government rose up, which is the power of covetousness and pride; and which *Samuel* sets forth to be a plague and a curse upon the people in the first rise of it.

He will take your sons and your daughters to be his servants, and to run before his charets, to plant his ground, and to reap his harvest: He will take your fields, your Vineyards and Oliveyards, even the best of them, and give to his servants as pleaseth him: He will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his Officers, or Ministers. I Sam. 8.

And this was that god, who appointed the people to pay Tythes to the Clergy.

And many other Oppressions did the Kingly Government bring upon the People, as you may read at large in Samuel.

Read I Sam. 8. from Vers. 10. to 19.

The Winter's past, the Spring time now appears, Be gone thou Kingly Tyrant, with all thy Cavaliers. Thy day is past, and sure thou dost appear To be the bond-mans son, and not the free-born Heir.

Matt. 15. 13.

What is Commonwealths Government?

Commonwealths Government governs the Earth without buying and selling; and thereby becomes a man of peace, and the Restorer of ancient Peace and Freedom: he makes provision for the oppressed, the weak and the simple, as well as for the rich, the wise and the strong: He beats swords and spears into pruning hooks and plows; he makes both elder and younger brother Free-men in the Earth. Micah 4. 3, 4. Isai. 33. 1. & 65. 17. to 25.

All Slaveries and Oppressions, which have been brought upon Mankinde by Kings, Lords of Manors, Lawyers, and Landlords, and the Divining Clergy, are all cast out again by this Government, if it be right in power, as well as in name.

For this Government is the true Restorer of all long lost Freedoms, and so becomes the joy of all Nations, and the Blessing of the whole Earth: for this takes off the Kingly Curse, and makes Jerusalem a praise in the Earth. Therefore all you, who profess Religion and spiritual [30] things, now look to it, and see what spirit you do profess, for your profession is brought to tryal.

If once Commonwealths Government be set upon the Throne, then no Tyranny or Oppression can look him in the face and live.

For where Oppression lies upon brethren by brethren, that is no Commonwealths Government, but the Kingly Government still; and the mystery of Iniquity hath taken that peace-makers name to be a cloke to hide his subtil covetousness, pride, and oppression under.

O England, England, wouldst thou have thy Government sound and healthful? then cast about, and see, and search diligently to finde out all those burthens that came in by Kings, and remove them; and then will thy Commonwealths Government arise from under the clods, under which as yet it is buryed, and covered with deformity.

If true Commonwealths Freedom lie in the free Enjoyment of the Earth, as it doth, then whatsoever Law or custom doth deprive brethren of their Freedom in the Earth, it is to be cast out as unsavory salt.

The scituation of Commonwealths Government

Is within the Laws of common Freedom, whereby there is a provision for livelyhood in the Earth, both for elder and younger brother; and not the one enslaving the other, but both living in plenty and freedom.

The Officers, Laws, and Customs hereafter mentioned, or such like, according to such a method, may be the Foundation and Pillars of Commonwealths Government.

This Government depends not upon the Will of any particular man, or men; for it is seated in the spirit of Mankinde, and it is called the light, or son of righteousness and peace. The Tyrants in all ages have made use of this mans name, while he hath lien buryed, to cover their cheating mystery of Iniquity: for if common Freedom were not pretended, the Commoners of a Land would never dance after the pipe of self seeking wits.

This Commonwealths Government may well be called the antient of days; for it was before any other oppressing government crept in.

It is the Moderator of all oppression; and so is like *Moses* and *Joseph* in *Pharaohs* Court, and in time will be the Restorer of long lost Freedoms to the Creation, and delights to plant Righteousness over the face of the whole Earth.

The great Lawgiver in Commonwealth Government

Is the spirit of universal Righteousness dwelling in Mankinde, now rising up to teach every one to do to another as he would have another do to him, and is no respector of persons: and this spirit hath been killed [31] by the Pharisaical Kingly spirit of self-love, and been buryed in the dung-hill of that enmity for many years past.

And if these be the days of his resurrection to power, as we may hope, because the name of *Commonwealth* is risen and established in *England* by a Law, then we or our posterity shall see comfortable effects.

In that Nation, where this Commonwealths Government shall be first established, there shall be abundance of peace and plenty, and all Nations of the Earth shall come flocking thither to see his beauty, and to learn the ways thereof; and the Law shall go forth from that Sion, and that Word of the Lord from that Jerusalem, which shall govern the whole Earth. Micah 4. 1, 2.

There shall be no Tyrant Kings, Lords of Manors, Tything Priests, oppressing Lawyers, exacting Landlords, nor any such like pricking bryar in all this holy Mountain of the Lord God our Righteousness and Peace; for the righteous Law shall be the Rule for every one, and the Judg of all mens actions.

David desired rather to be a door keeper in this house of God, or Commonwealths Government, then to live in the tents of wickedness, which was the Kingly oppressing Courts.

If any go about to build up Commonwealths Government upon Kingly principles, they will both shame and lose themselves; for there is a plain difference between the two Governments.

And if you do not run in the right channel of Freedom, you must, nay you will, as you do, face about, and turn back again to Egyptian Monarchy: and so your names in the days of posterity shall stink and be blasted with abhorred infamy for your unfaithfulness to common Freedom; and the evil effects will be sharp upon the backs of posterity.

Therefore seeing England is declared to be a free Commonwealth, and the name thereof established by a Law; surely then the greatest work is now to be done, and that is to escape all Kingly cheats in setting up a Commonwealths Government, that the power and the name may agree together; so that all the Inhabitants may live in peace, plenty, and freedom, otherwise we shall shew our Government to be gone no further but to the half day of the Beast, or to the dividing of Time, of which there must be an over-turn. Dan. 7. 25. Rev. 12. 14.

For Oppression was always the occasion why the spirit of Freedom in the people desired change of Government.

When Samuels sons took bribes, and grew rich upon the common purse, and forgot to relieve the oppressed, That made the people forsake the Government by Judges, and to desire a Kingly Government. I Sam. 8. 3, 4.

[32] And the Oppressions of the Kingly Government have made this Age of the World to desire a *Commonwealths Government*, and the removal of the *Kings*; for the spirit of Light in Man loves Freedom, and hates Bondage.

And because the spirit in Mankinde is various within it self; for some are wise, some are foolish, some idle, some laborious, some rash, some milde, some loving and free to others, some envyous and covetous, some of an inclination to do as they would have others do to them: but

others seek to save themselves, and to live in fulness, though others perish for want,

Therefore because of this was the Law added, which was to be a Rule and Judg for all mens actions, to preserve common Peace and Freedom; as Paul writ, The Law was added because of Transgression, one against another.

The Haven gates are now set ope for English Man to enter: The Freedoms of the Earth's his due, if he will make adventure.

CHAP. III. Where began the first Original of Government in the Earth among Mankinde?

THE Original Root of Magistracy is common Preservation, and it rose up first in a private Family: for suppose there were but one Family in the World, as is conceived, Father Adams Family, wherein were many persons.

Therein Adam was the first Governor or Officer in the Earth, because as he was the first Father, so he was the most wise in contriving, and the most strong for labor, and so the fittest to be the chief Governor. For this is the golden Rule,

Let the wise help the foolish, and let the strong help the weak. Psa. 35. 10. Rom. 15. 1, 2.

But some may say here, That Adam was under no Law, but his Will was a Law to him and his houshold; therefore from the root from whence Magistracy first rose, it is clear, That Officers are to be under no Law, but their own Wills, and the people are to be subject thereunto. I answer:

The Law of Necessity, that the Earth should be planted for the common preservation and peace of his houshold, was the righteous Rule and Law to Adam, and this Law was so clearly written in the hearts of his people, that they all consented quietly to any counsel he gave them for that end.

[33] Therefore not *Adams* Will onely, but the Will of his People likewise, and the Law of common Preservation, Peace and Freedom, was the righteous Law that governed both *Adam* and his houshould.

But yet observe, That from the Father in a Family was the first rise of Magisterial Government, because Children wanting experience of their own preservation, therefore such as are experienced, are to propound the Law of Government to them: and therefore from Adam to this day, the Law of common Preservation is the Rule and Foundation of true Magistracy: and it is the work of all Magistrates to help the weak and the foolish.

There are two roots from whence Laws do spring.

The first root you see is common Preservation, when there is a principle in every one to seek the good of others, as himself, without respecting persons: and this is the root of the tree Magistracy, and the Law of Righteousness and Peace: and all particular Laws found out by experience, necessary to be practised for common Preservation, are the boughs and branches of that Tree.

And because, among the variety of Mankinde, Ignorance may grow up; therefore this Original Law is written in the heart of every man, to be his guide or leader: so that if an Officer be blinded by covetousness and pride, and that ignorance rule in him, yet an inferior man may tell him where he goes astray; for common Preservation and Peace is the Foundation Rule of all Government: and therefore if any will preach or practise Fundamental Truths, or Doctrine, here you may see where the Foundation thereof lies.

The second Root is Self preservation: when particular Officers seek their own Preservation, Ease, Honor, Riches, and Freedom in the Earth, and do respect persons that are in Power and Riches with them, and regard not the Peace, Freedom, and Preservation of the weak and foolish among Brethren.

And this is the root of the Tree Tyranny, and the Law of Unrighteousness, and all particular Kingly Laws found out by covetous Policy to enslave one brother to another, whereby bondage, tears, sorrows and poverty are brought upon many men, are all but the boughs and branches of that Tree, Tyranny; and such Officers as these are fallen from true Magistracy, and are no Members thereof, but the Members of Tyranny, who is the Devil and Satan.

And indeed this Tyranny is the cause of all Wars and Troubles, and of the removal of the Government of the Earth out of one hand into another, so often as it is, in all Nations.

[34] For if Magistrates had a care to cherish the peace and liberties of the common people, and see them set free from Oppression, they might sit in the chair of Government, and never be disturbed.

But when their sitting is altogether to advance their own interest, and to forget the afflictions of *Joseph*, or their brethren-that are under bondage: this is a forerunner of their own downfall, and oftentime proves the plague to the whole Land.

Therefore the work of all true Magistrates is to maintain the common Law, which is the root of right Government, and preservation and peace to every one; and to cast out all self-ended principles and interests, which is Tyranny and Oppression, and which breaks common peace.

For surely the disorderly actings of Officers break the peace of the Commonwealth more, then any men whatsoever.

All Officers in a true Magistracy of a Commonwealth are to be chosen Officers.

In the first Family, which is the Foundation from whence all Families sprang, there was the Father, he is the first link of the chain Magistracy. The necessity of the children that sprang from him doth say,

Father, do thou teach us how to plant the Earth, that we may live, and we will obey. By this choyce, they make him not onely a Father, but a Master and Ruler. And out of this root springs up all Magistrates and Officers, To see the Law executed, and to preserve Peace in the Earth, by seeing that right Government is observed.

For here take notice, That though the children might not speak, yet their weakness and simplicity did speak, and chose their Father to be their Overseer.

So that he who is a true Commonwealths Officer, is not to step into the place of Magistracy by policy, or violent force, as all Kings and Conquerors do; and so become oppressing Tyrants, by promoting their self-ended Interests, or Machiavilian Cheats, that they may live in plenty, and rule as Lords over their Brethren.

But a true Commonwealths Officer is to be a chosen one, by them who are in necessity, and who judg him fit for that work.

And thus a Father in a Family is a Commonwealths Officer, because the Necessity of the young children choose him by a joynt consent, and not otherwise.

Secondly, In a bigger Family, called a Parish, the body of the people are confused and disordered, because some are wise, some foolish, some

subtil and cunning to deceive, others plain-hearted, some strong, some weak, some rash, angry, some milde and quiet-spirited. By reason [35] whereof offences do arise among brethren, and their common peace is broken.

Therefore as Necessity hath added a Law to limit mens manners, because of Transgressions one against another,

So likewise doth the necessity of common peace move the whole body of the Parish to choose two, three, or more, within that circuit, to be their Overseers, to cause the unruly ones, for whom onely the Law was added, to be subject to the Law, or Rule, that so peace may be preserved among them in the planting of the Earth, reaping the fruits, and quiet enjoyment.

Thirdly, In every County, Shire, or Land, wherein the Families are encreased to a larger Commonwealth, the necessity of the people moves them still to choose more Overseers and Officers to preserve common peace.

And when the people have chose all Officers, to preserve a right Order in Government of Earth among them; then doth the same necessity of common Peace move the people to say to their Overseers and Officers,

Do you see our Laws observed for our preservation and peace, and we will assist and protect you: And this word assist and protect, implies,

The rising up of the people by force of Arms to defend their Laws and Officers against any Invasion, Rebellion, or Resistance, yea to beat down the turbulency of any foolish or self-ended spirit that endeavors to break their common Peace.

So that all true Officers are chosen Officers, and when they act to satisfie the necessity of them who chose them, then they are faithful and righteous servants to that Commonwealth, and then there is a rejoycing in the City.

But when Officers do take the possessions of the Earth into their own hands, lifting themselves up thereby to be Lords over their Masters, the people, who chose them; and will not suffer the people to plant the Earth, and reap the fruits for their livelyhood, unless they will hire the Land of them, or work for day-wages for them, that they may live in ease and plenty, and not work,

These Officers are fallen from true Magistracy of a Commonwealth,

and they do not act righteously; and because of this, sorrows and tears, poverty and bondages are known among Mankinde; and now that City mourns.

And surely if it be carefully looked into, the necessity of the people never chose such Officers, but they were either voluntary Soldiers of Officers chosen by them, who ran before they were called; and so by policy [36] and force they sat down in the chair of Government, strengthening one sort of people to take the free use of the Earth from another sort; and these are sons of bondage, and they act in darkness: by reason whereof the Prophet Esay cries out, Darkness hath covered the Earth, and thick darkness the people, for the Leaders of the people have caused them to err: I fear so, O England, &c.

All Officers in a Commonwealth are to be chosen new ones every year.

When publique Officers remain long in place of Judicature, they will degenerate from the bounds of humility, honesty, and tender care of brethren, in regard the heart of man is so subject to be overspred with the clouds of covetousness, pride, and vain-glory: for though at the first entrance into places of Rule they be of publique spirits, seeking the Freedom of others as their own; yet continuing long in such a place, where honors and greatness is coming in, they become selfish, seeking themselves, and not common Freedom; as experience proves it true in these days, according to this common Proverb,

Great Offices in a Land and Army have changed the disposition of many sweet spirited men.

And Nature tells us, That if water stand long, it corrupts; whereas running water keeps sweet, and is fit for common use.

Therefore as the necessity of common preservation moves the people to frame a Law, and to chuse Officers to see the Law obeyed, that they may live in peace:

So doth the same Necessity bid the People, and cries aloud in the ears and eyes of *England*, to chuse new Officers, and to remove the old ones, and to chuse State-Officers every year: And that for these Reasons;

First, To prevent their own evils: for when pride and fulness take hold of an Officer, his eyes are so blinded therewith, that he forgets he is a servant to the Commonwealth, and strives to lift up himself high above his Brethren, and oftentimes his Fall proves very great: witness the Fall of oppressing Kings, Bishops, and other State-Officers.

Secondly, To prevent the creeping in of Oppression into the Commonwealth again: for when Officers grow proud and full, they will maintain their greatness, though it be in the poverty, ruine, and hardship of their Brethren; Witness the practice of Kings and their Laws, that have crushed the Commoners of *England* a long time.

[27, i. e., 37] And have we not experience in these days, that some Officers of the Commonwealth are grown so mossy for want of removing, that they will hardly speak to an old acquaintance, if he be an inferior man, though they were very familiar before these Wars began? &c.

And what hath occasioned this distance among friends and brethren, but long continuance in places of honour, greatness and riches?

Thirdly, Let Officers be chosen new every year in love to our posterity; for if Burthens and Oppressions should grow up in our Laws and in our Officers for want of removing, as Moss and Weeds grow in some Land for want of stirring, surely it will be a foundation of misery, not easily to be removed by our posterity, and then will they curse the time that ever we their fore-fathers had opportunities to set things to rights for their ease, and would not do it.

Fourthly, To remove Officers of State every year will make them truly faithful, knowing that others are coming after who will look into their ways; and if they do not do things justly, they must be ashamed when the next Officers succeed: And when Officers deal faithfully in the Government of the Commonwealth, they will not be unwilling to remove: The Peace of *London* is much preserved by removing their Officers yearly.

Fifthly, It is good to remove Officers every year, that whereas many have their portions to obey, so many may have their turns to rule, and this will encourage all men to advance Righteousness and good Manners in hopes of Honor; but when money and riches bears all the sway in the Rulers hearts, there is nothing but Tyranny in such ways.

Sixthly, The Commonwealth hereby will be furnished with able and experienced men, fit to govern, which will mightily advance the Honor and Peace of our Land, occasion the more watchful care in the Education of children, and in time will make our Commonwealth of *England* the Lilly among the Nations of the Earth.

Who are fit to choose, and fit to be chosen Officers in a Commonwealth.

All uncivil livers, as drunkards, quarrelers, fearful ignorant men, who dare not speak truth, lest they anger other men; likewise all who are wholly given to pleasure and sports, or men who are full of talk; all these are empty of substance, and cannot be experienced men, therefore not fit to be chosen Officers in a Commonwealth, yet they may have a voyce in the choosing.

Secondly, All those who are interested in the Monarchial Power and Government, ought neither to choose nor be chosen Officers to manage Commonwealths Affairs, for these cannot be friends to common Freedom: And these are of two sorts.

[38] First, Such as have either lent money to maintain the Kings Army, or in that Army have been Souldiers to fight against the recovering of common Freedom, these are neither to choose, nor be chosen Officers in the Commonwealth as yet, for they have lost their Freedom; yet I do not say that they should be made servants, as the conquered usually are made servants, for they are our brethren and what they did, no doubt, they did in a conscionable zeal, though in ignorance.

And seeing but few of the Parliaments friends understand their Common Freedoms, though they own the name Commonwealth, therefore the Parliaments party ought to bear with the ignorance of the Kings party, because they are brethren, and not make them servants, though for the present they be suffered neither to choose nor be chosen Officers, lest that ignorant spirit of revenge break out in them to interrupt our common Peace.

Secondly, All those who have been so hasty to buy and sell the Commonwealths Land, and so to entangle it upon a new accompt, ought neither to choose nor be chosen Officers, for hereby they declare themselves either to be for Kingly Interest, or else are ignorant of Commonwealths Freedom, or both, therefore unfit to make Laws to govern a free Commonwealth, or to be Overseers to see those Laws executed.

What greater injury could be done to the Commoners of England, then to sell away their Land so hastily, before the people knew where they were, or what Freedom they had got by such cost and bloodshed as they were at? And what greater ignorance could be declared by Officers, then to sell away the purchased Land from the Purchasers, or

from part of them, into the hands of particular men to uphold Monarchial Principles?

But though this be a fault, let it be bore withall, it was ignorance of brethren; for *England* hath layn so long under Kingly slavery, that few knew what Common Freedom was: And let a restoration of this redeemed Land be speedily made by them who have the possession of it.

For there is neither Reason nor Equity, that a few men should go away with that Land and Freedom which the whole Commoners have paid Taxes, Free-quarter, and wasted their Estates, Healths and Blood to purchase out of Bondage, and many of them are in want of a comfortable livelyhood.

Well, these are the men that take away other mens Rights from them, and they are Members of the covetous generation of Self-seekers, therefore unfit to be chosen Officers, or to choose.

Who then are fit to be chosen Commonwealths Officers?

Why truly, choose such as have a long time given testimony by their actions to be Promoters of Common Freedom, whether they be Members in [39] Church fellowship, or not in Church fellowship, for all are one in Christ.

Choose such as are men of peaceable spirits, and of a peaceable conversation.

Choose such as have suffered under Kingly Oppression, for they will be fellow-feelers of others bondages.

Choose such as have adventured the loss of their Estates and Lives to redeem the Land from Bondage, and who have remained constant.

Choose such as are understanding men, and who are experienced in the Laws of peaceable and right ordered Government.

Choose men of courage, who are not afraid to speak the Truth; for this is the shame of many in *England* at this day, they are drowned in the dung-hill mud of slavish fear of men; these are covetous men, not fearing God, and their portion is to be cast without the City of Peace amongst the Dogs.

Choose Officers out of the number of those men that are above forty years of age, for these are most likely to be experienced men; and all these are likely to be men of courage, dealing truly, and hating Covetousness.

And if you choose men thus principled, who are poor men, as times go, for the Conquerors Power hath made many a righteous man a poor man; then allow them a yearly Maintenance from the Common Stock, until such time as a Commonwealths Freedom is established, for then there will be no need of such allowances.

What is the reason that most people are so ignorant of their Freedoms, and so few fit to be chosen Commonwealths Officers?

Because the old Kingly Clergy, that are seated in Parishes for lucre of Tythes, are continually distilling their blind Principles into the people, and do thereby nurse up Ignorance in them; for they observe the bent of the peoples minds, and make Sermons to please the sickly minds of ignorant people, to preserve their own riches and esteem among a charmed, befooled and besotted people.

CHAP. IV. What are the Officers Names in a free Commonwealth?

N a private Family, a Father, or Master, is an Officer. A Peace maker. A four-fold Office of Overseers. In a Town, City, or Parish, A Souldier. A Task-master. An Executioner. [40] A Judg. The Peace-makers of This is called either every Town withthe Judges Court, In a County or Shire, in that Circuit. or the County The Overseers and Senate. Soldiers attending thereupon. A Parliament. A Commonwealths Min-In a whole Land, istry. A Post-master. An Army.

All these Officers are like links of a Chain, they arise from one and the same root, which is necessity of Common Peace, and all their works tend to preserve Common Peace, therefore they are to assist each other, and all others are to assist them, as need requires, upon pain of punishment by the breach of the Laws: And the Rule of right Government being thus observed, may make a whole Land, nay the whole Fabrick of the Earth, to become one family of Mankind, and one well governed Commonwealth; as *Israel* was called *one house of Israel*, though it consisted of many Tribes, Nations and Family.

The Work of a Father or Master of a Family.

A Father is to cherish his children till they grow wise and strong, and then as a Master he is to instruct them in reading, in learning languages, Arts and Sciences, or to bring them up to labour, or employ them in some Trade or other, or cause them to be instructed therein, according as is shewed hereafter in the Education of Mankind.

A Father is to have a care that as all his children do assist to plant the Earth, or by other Trades provide necessaries; so he shall see that every one have a comfortable livelyhood, not respecting one before another.

He is to command them their work, and see they do it, and not suffer them to live idle; he is either to reprove by words, or whip those who offend, for the Rod is prepared to bring the unreasonable ones to experience and moderation:

That so children may not quarrel like beasts, but live in Peace, like rational men, experienced in yielding obedience to the Laws and Officers of the Commonwealth, every one doing to another as he would have another do to him.

The Work of a Peace-maker.

In a Parish or Town may be chosen three, four or six Peace-makers, or more, according to the bigness of the place; and their work is two-fold.

[41] First, In general to sit in Councel to order the Affairs of the Parish, to prevent troubles, and to preserve Common Peace, and here they may be called Councellors.

Secondly, If there arise any matters of offence between man and man, by reason of any quarrels, disturbance, or foolish actings, the offending parties shall be brought by the Souldiers before any one or more of these Peace-makers, who shall hear the matter, and shall endeavor to reconcile the parties, and make peace, and so put a stop to the rigor of the Law, and go no further.

But if the Peace-maker cannot perswade or reconcile the parties, then he shall command them to appear at the Judges Court at the time appointed to receive the Judgment of the Law.

If any matters of publike concernment fall out wherein the Peace of the City, Town or Country in one County is concerned, then the Peace-makers in every Town thereabouts shall meet, and consult about it; and from them, or from any six of them, if need require, shall issue forth any Order to inferior Officers.

But if the matters concern only the limits of a Town or City, then the Peace-makers of that Town shall from their Court send forth Orders to inferior Officers for the performing of any publike service within their limits.

Thirdly, If any proof be given that any Officer neglects his duty, a Peace-maker is to tell that Officer between them two of his neglect; and if the Officer continue negligent after this reproof, the Peace-maker shall acquaint either the County Senate, or the National Parliament therewith, that from them the offendor may receive condign punishment.

And it is all to this end, that the Laws be obeyed; for a careful Execution of Laws is the Life of Government.

And while a Peace-maker is careful to oversee the Officers, all Officers and others shall assist him, upon pain of forfeiture of Freedom, or other punishment, according to the Rules following.

One thing remember, That when any offendor is brought before any of these chief Peace-makers, then this is to be noted, that the offender hath rejected mercy once before by refusing to yield obedience to the Overseers, as is explained further hereafter.

The Work of an Overseer.

In a Parish or Town there is to be a fourfold degree of Overseers, which are to be chosen yearly.

[42] The first is an Overseer to preserve Peace, in case of any quarrels that may fall out between man and man: for though the Earth with her fruits be a common Treasury, and is to be planted and reaped by common Assistance of every family, yet every house, and all the furniture for ornament therein, is a propriety to the Indwellers; and when any family hath fetched in from the Store-houses or shops either

Clothes, food, or any ornament necessary for their use, it is all a propriety to that family.

And if any other family or man come to disturb them, and endeavor to take away furniture, which is the ornament of his neighbors house, or to burn, break, or spoyl wilfully any part of his neighbors houses, or endeavor to take away either the food or clothing which his neighbor hath provided for his use, by reason whereof quarrels and provoking words may arise:

This Office of Overseers is to prevent disturbance, and is an Assistance to the Peace-maker; and at the hearing of any such offence, this Overseer shall go and hear the matter, and endeavor to perswade the offendor, and to keep peace; and if friendship be made, and subjection be yielded to the Laws for the Peace of the Commonwealth, the offendor is only to be reproved for his rashness by this Overseer; and there is an end.

But if the offender be so violent, that he will not refrain his offence to his neighbor at this Overseers perswasion, but remain stiff and stubborn, this Overseer shall then give out an Order to the Souldier to carry the body of the offendor before the Councel of the Peace-makers, or before any one or more of them.

And if the offendor will not yield obedience to the Laws of Peace by the perswasion of the chief Peace-makers neither, then this is to be noted to be the second time that this offendor hath refused mercy.

Then shall the Peace-maker appoint him a day, and command him to appear before the Judges Court, either in the City or Country, where the offence is given, and there he shall receive sentence according to the rigor of the Law.

And if an Overseer should make peace, and do not send the offender to the Peace-makers Court, yet this shall be noted the first time of such a ones disobedience to the Laws.

And all this is to prevent quarrels and offences; and the chief Peacemakers or Counsellors may not always be at hand at the beginning of such disturbance, therefore this Overseer is an Assistance thereunto, and is a Member of that Court.

One man shall not take away that Commodity which another man hath first layd hands on, for any Commodity for use belongs to him that first layd [43] hands on it for his use; and if another come and say, I will have it, and so offences do arise, this Overseer shall go to them, or give order to the Souldier to bring the offender to him, and shall endeavor to make peace, either by giving the Commodity to him who first layd hands on it, or else by taking the Commodity from both, and bid them go to the Store-houses and fetch more, seeing the Store-houses are full, and afford plenty of the same Commodities, giving the offender a sharp reproof for offering to break the Peace, noting this to be the first time that such a one offered violence to break the Laws of Peace.

And all persons whatsoever shall assist the Overseers herein; and if any person strike or affront by words this Overseer, he shall give order to the Souldier to carry him before the Peace-makers, and from them the offender shall receive a Command to appear before the Judges Court, where he shall receive the sentence of the Law without mitigation.

For when a Peace-maker or Councellor doth appoint an offender to appear before the Judges Court, such an offender hath refused mercy twice.

All this is to be done in case of small offences; but if any offence be offered by any which comes within compass of death, there shall be no Peace-maker to be a Mediator aforehand, but the offendor shall be tryed by the Law.

The second Office of Overseership is for Trades.

And this Overseer is to see that young people be put to Masters, to be instructed in some labour, Trade, Science, or to be waiters in Storehouses, that none be idly brought up in any family within his Circuit.

Likewise this Overseer is to assist any Master of a family by his advice and counsel in the secrets of his Trades, that by the experience of the Elders, the young people may learn the inward knowledg of the things which are, and find out the secrets of Nature.

And seeing there are variety of Trades, there are to be chosen Overseers for every Trade, so many Overseers as the largeness of the Town and City requires; and the employment of this Overseer is not to work (unless he will himself) but to go from house to house to view the works of the people of every house belonging to his Trade and Circuit, and to give directions as he sees cause, and see that no youth be trained up in idleness, as is said.

And if this Overseer find any youth more capable and fit for another Trade then his own, he shall speak to some Overseers of another Trade, who shall provide him a Master, with the consent of his father, and appoint him what family to live in.

And if the father of a family be weak, sick, or naturally foolish, wanting [44] the power of wisdom and government, or should be dead before his children should be instructed; then the Overseers of this Trade, wherein the Father was brought up, are to put those Children into such Families, where they may be instructed, according to the Law of the Commonwealth.

One man may be an Overseer for twenty or thirty Families of Shoomakers; another for Smiths, another for Weavers of Cloth, another for the Keepers of Storehouses or Shops: for every Trade is to have an Overseer for that particular Trade.

And truly the Government of the Halls and Companies in London is a very rational and well ordered Government; and the Overseers of Trades may very well be called Masters, Wardens, and Assistants of such and such a Company, for such and such a particular Trade. Onely two things are to be practised to preserve peace.

The first is, That all these Overseers shall be chosen new ones every year. And secondly, The old Overseers shall not chuse the new ones, to prevent the creeping in of Lordly Oppression: but all the Masters of Families, and Freemen of that Trade, shall be the chusers, and the old Overseers shall give but their single voyce among them.

And as there are to be Overseers for Trades in Towns and Cities;

So there are to be chosen Overseers in the Country Parishes, to see the Earth planted; and in every Parish in the Country may be chosen four or six Overseers of Husbandry, to see the Ground planted within their Circuits, and to see that the work of Husbandry be done orderly, and according to Reason and skill.

Some Overseers to look after the Shepherds, and appoint out such men as are skilled in that work. Some Overseers to look after the Herdsmen. Some Overseers of them who look to Horses. And some for the Daries. And the work of these Overseers is to see that every Family send in their assistance to work, both in plowing and dressing the Earth, in that season of the year, in seed time; and in reaping the fruits of the Earth, and housing them in Storehouses in time of Harvest.

Likewise they are to see, that all Barns belonging to any Family, or

more publique *Storehouses* belonging to a Parish, be kept in sufficient repair. Likewise they are to see, that every Family do keep sufficient working tools for common use, as *Plows*, *Carts*, and furniture, according as every Family is furnished with men to work therewith: likewise Pickaxes, Spades, Pruning-hooks, and any such like necessary instrument.

Likewise it is the work of this Overseership to see, that Schoolmasters, Postmasters, and Minsters, do their several Offices, according to the Laws.

[45] Likewise this Overseership for Trades shall see, That no man shall be a House-keeper, and have Servants under him, till he hath served under a Master seven years, and hath learned his Trade: and the reason is, that every Family may be governed by stayd and experienced Masters, and not by wanton youth.

And this Office of Overseership keeps all people within a peaceable harmony of Trades, Sciences, or Works, that there be neither Beggar nor idle person in the Commonwealth.

The third Office of Overseership is to see particular Tradesmen bring in their Works to Storehouses and Shops, and to see the Waiters in Storehouses do their duty.

As there are particular Trades requiring strength, and some men are strong to perform such works; so there are some weak in body, whose employment shall be to be Keepers of Storehouses and Shops, both to receive in Commodities, and deliver out again, as any particular Family, or man, wants and comes for them.

As for example:

When Lether is tanned, it shall be brought into the Storehouses for Lether; and from thence Shoomakers, and Harness-makers, and such like, may fetch it as they need.

So for Linnen and Woolen Cloth, it is to be brought by the Weavers into the Storehouses or Shops, from whence particular Families of other Trades may fetch as they need: And so for any Commodity, as in the Law for Storehouses is declared.

Now the work of this Overseership is of the same nature with the other for Trades; onely this is to be imployed onely about the Oversight of Storehouses and shops.

And they are to see that particular Tradesmen, as Weavers of Linnen and Woolen Cloth, Spinners, Smiths, Hatters, Glovers, and such like, do bring in their Works into the shops appointed: And they are to see that the Shops and Storehouses within their several Circuits, be kept still furnished.

That when Families of other Trades want such commodities as they cannot make, they may go to the Shops and Storehouses where such commodities are, and receive them for their use, without buying or selling.

And as this Officer sees the particular Tradesmen to furnish the shops and Storehouses, so they shall see that the Keepers of the shops and Storehouses be diligent to wait, both to receive in, and deliver out again, according to the Law, any commodity under their charge.

[46] And if any Keeper of a Shop and Storehouse neglect his duty of his place, through idleness, or vain conversation, or pride, whereby just offence is given, the Overseers shall admonish him and reprove him: If he amend, all is well; if he doth not, he shall give order to the Soldiers to carry him before the Peace-Makers Court: and if he reform upon the reproof of that Court, all is well: but if he doth not reform, he shall be sent unto by the Officers to appear before the Judges Court, and the Judg shall pass Sentence, That he shall be put out of that House and Employment, and sent among the Husbandmen to work in the Earth: And some other shall have his place and house till he be reformed.

Likewise this Overseer shall see to it, That the Keepers of Shops and Storehouses do keep their Houses in sufficient repair: and when any house wants repair, the Keepers thereof shall speak to any of the Overseers for Trades, and they shall appoint either Brick-Layers, Masons, Smiths, or Carpenters forthwith to take the work in hand and finish it.

Fourthly, All ancient men, above sixty years of age, are general Overseers.

And wheresoever they go, and see things amiss in any Officer or Tradesman, they shall call any Officer or others to account for their neglect of Duty to the Commonwealths Peace: And these are called *Elders*.

And every one shall give humble respect to these, as to Fathers, and as to men of the highest experience in the Laws, for the keeping of Peace in the Commonwealth.

And if these see things amiss, and do speak, all Officers and others shall assist and protect them, to see the Laws carefully executed: and every one that affronts or abuses these in words or deeds, shall suffer punishment according to the sentence of the Judg.

And all these shall be generall assistances and encouragers of all Of-

ficers in the doing the work of their places.

And the Reason of all is this, That many eyes being watchfull, the

Laws may be obeyed, for to preserve Peace.

But if any of these Elders should vent their passion, or express envy against any one, and set up his own will above the Law, and do things contrary to Law, upon complaint, the Senators at the Judges Court shal examine the matter; if he be faulty the Judge shal reprove him the first time, but the second time he does so the Judge shall pronounce, That he shal lose his Authoritie and never beare Office nor generall over-sight more while he lives, onely he shal have respect as a man of Age.

[47] What is the Office of a Souldier?

A Souldier is a Magistrate as well as any other Officer, and indeed all State Officers are Souldiers for they represent power, and if there were not power in the hand of Officers, the spirit of rudeness would not be obedient to any Law or Government, but their own wils.

Therefore every year shall be chosen a Souldier, like unto a Marshal of a City, and being the chief he shall have divers Souldiers under him

at his command, to assist in case of need.

The work of a Souldier in times of Peace, is, to fetch in Offenders, and to bring them before either Officer or Courts, and to be a protection to the Officers against all disturbances.

The Souldier is not to do any thing without Order from the Officers; but when he hath an Order then he is to act accordingly; and he is to receive Orders from the Judges Court, or from the Peace-makers Court, or from Over-seers as need shall require.

If a Souldier hath brought an Offender before a Peace-maker, and if the Offender will not be subject to the Law by his perswasion, and the Peace-maker send him to the Judges Court, if the offence be under

matters of death, the offender shal not be imprisoned in the mean time; But the Peace-maker shal command him to appear before the Judges Court at the time appointed, and the Offender shall promise to obey: and this shal be for two Reasons.

First to prevent cruelty of Prisons. Secondly, in the time of his binding over he may remember himself, and amend his wayes, and by testimony of his own actions and neighbours reports, his sentence may be mitigated by the Judge; for it is amendment not destruction that

Common-wealths Law requires.

And if this Offender run away from that Country to another, and so both disobey the Peace-makers command, and break his own promise of appearance; then shall the Souldiers be sent forth into all places to search for him, and if they catch him, they should bring him before the Judge, who shall pronounce sentence of death upon him without mercy.

And if any protect him or shelter him, after hue and cry is made after him, all such protectors shal suffer the losse of Freedome for twelve

moneths time, as is shewed hereafter what that is.

But if the offence should be matter of death, then the Peace-maker shal take no promise from him for his appearance, but let the Souldier carry him to Prison, till the next Judges Court sits where he shall have his Tryall.

The Work of a Task-master.

The Work or Office of a Task-master is to take those into his oversight as are sentenced by the Judge to lose their Freedome, and to appoint them their work and to see they do it.

[48] If they do their Tasks, he is to allow them sufficient victuals

and cloathing to preserve the health of their bodies.

But if they prove desperate, wanton, or idle, and will not quietly submit to the Law, the Task-master is to feed them with short dyet, and to whip them, for a rod is prepared for the fools back, till such time as their proud hearts do bend to the Law.

And when he findes them subject, he shal then carry a favourable hand towards them, as to offending brethren, and allow them sufficient diet and clothes in hopes of their amendment, but withall see they do their work, till by the sentence of the Law he be set free again.

The Task-master shal appoint them any kind of work or labour as he pleases that is to be done by man.

And if any of these Offenders run away, there shal be hue and cry sent after him, and he shal dye by the sentence of the Judge when taken again.

The Work of an Executioner.

If any have so highly broke the Laws, as they come within the compasse of whiping, imprisoning and death, The Executioner shal cut off the head, hang, or shoot to death, or whip the offender according to the sentence of Law. Thus you may see what the work of every Officer in a Town or City is.

What is the work of a Judge?

The Law it self is the Judge of all mens actions, yet he who is chosen to pronounce the Law is called Judge, because he is the mouth of the Law, for no single man ought to Judge or interpret the Law.

Because the Law it self, as it is left us in the letter, is the mind and determination of the Parliament and of the people of the Land, to be their Rule to walk by and to be the touch stone of all actions.

And that man who takes upon him to interpret the Law, doth either darken the sence of the Law, and so makes it confused and hard to be understood, or else puts another meaning upon it, and so lifts up himself above the Parliament, above the Law, and above all people in the Land.

Therefore the work of that man who is called Judge, is to hear any matter that is brought before him; and in all cases of difference between man and man, he shall see the parties on both sides before him, and shall hear each man speak for himself without a Fee'd Lawyer; likewise he is to examine any witness who is to prove a matter in Tryal before him.

And then he is to pronounce the bare Letter of the Law concerning such a thing, for he hath his name Judge, not because his will and mind is to Judge the actions of offenders before him, but because he is the mouth to pronounce the Law, who indeed is the true Judge; therefore to this Law and to this Testimonie let every one have a regard who intends to live in peace in the Commonwealth.

[49] But from hence hath arose much misery in the Nations under

Kingly Government, in that the man called the Judg hath been suffered to interpret the Law; and when the mind of the Law, the Judgment of the Parliament, and the Government of the Land, is resolved into the brest of the Judges, this hath occasioned much complaining of Injustice, in Judges, in Courts of Justice, in Lawyers, and in the course of the Law it self, as if it were an evil Rule.

Because the Law, which was a certain Rule, was varied, according to the will of a covetous, envious, or proud Judg, therefore no marvel though the Kingly Laws be so intricate, and though few know which way the course of the Law goes, because the sentence lies many times in the brest of a Judg, and not in the letter of the Law.

And so the good Laws made by an industrious Parliament, are like good Eggs layd by a silly Goose, and as soon as she hath layd them, she goes her way, and lets others take them, and never looks after them more, so that if you lay a stone in her nest, she will sit upon it, as if it were an Egg.

And so though the Laws be good, yet if they be left to the will of a Judg to interpret, the Execution hath many times proved bad.

And truly as the Laws and people of Nations have been abused by suffering men Judges to alter the sence by their Interpretation:

So likewise hath the Scriptures of *Moses*, the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, been darkened and confounded by suffering Ministers to put their Inferences and Interpretations upon them.

And surely both the Judges for the Law, and the Ministers for Gods Word, have been both unfaithful servants to man and to God, by taking upon them to expound and interpret that Rule which they are bound to yield obedience to, without adding to, or diminishing from.

What is the Judges Court?

In a County or Shire there is to be chosen

A Judg.

The Peace-makers of every Town within that Circuit.

The Overseers, and

A band of Souldiers attending thereupon.

And this is called the Judges Court, or the County Senate: This Court shall sit four times in the year, or oftener if need be, in the Country, and four times in the year in great Cities: In the first quarter of the year they shall sit in the East part of the County, and the second

quarter of the year in the West, in the third in the South, and in the fourth in the North.

[50] And this Court is to oversee and examine any Officer within their County or Limits; for their work is to see, that every one be faithful in his place; and if any Officer hath done wrong to any, this Court is to pass sentence of punishment upon the offender, according to his offence against the Law.

If any grievance lie upon any man, wherein inferior Officers cannot ease him, this Court shall quietly hear his Complaint, and ease him; for where a Law is wanting, they may prepare a way of ease for the offender till the Parliament sit, who may either establish that conclusion for a Law, if they approve of it, or frame another Law to that effect; for it is possible that many things may fall out hereafter, which the Law-makers for the present may not foresee.

If any disorder break in among the people, this Court shall set things to rights: If any be bound over to appear at this Court, the Judg shall hear the matter, and pronounce the letter of the Law, according to the nature of the offence.

So that the alone work of the Judg is to pronounce the sentence and mind of the Law: and all this is but to see the Laws executed, that the Peace of the Commonwealth may be preserved.

What is the work of a Commonwealths Parliament in general?

A Parliament is the highest Court of Equity in a Land, and it is to be chosen every year; and out of every City, Town, and certain limits of a Country through the Land, two, three, or more men are to be chosen to make up this Court.

This Court is to oversee all other Courts, Officers, persons and actions, and to have a full Power, being the Representative of the whole Land, to remove all grievances, and to ease the people that are oppressed.

A Parliament hath his rise from the lowest Office in a Commonwealth, viz. from the father in a family: For as a fathers tender care is to remove all grievances from the oppressed children, not respecting one before another; so a Parliament are to remove all burdens from the people of the Land, and are not to respect persons who are great before them who are weak; but their eye and care must be principally to relieve the oppressed ones, who groan under the Tyrants Laws and

Power: The strong, or such as have the Tyrant Power to uphold them, need no help.

But though a Parliament be the Father of a Land, yet by the Covetousness and Cheats of Kingly Government the heart of this Father hath been alienated from the children of the Land, or else so overawed by the frowns of a Kingly Tyrant, that they could not or durst not act for the weakest childrens ease.

[51] For hath not Parliaments sat, and rose again, and made Laws to strengthen the Tyrant in his Throne, and to strengthen the rich and the strong by those Laws, and left oppression upon the backs of the oppressed still?

But I'le not reap up former weaknesses, but rather rejoyce in hope of amendment, seeing our present Parliament hath declared *England* to be a free Commonwealth, and to cast out Kingly Power; and upon this ground I rejoyce in hope, that succeeding Parliaments will be tender-hearted Fathers to the oppressed children of the Land.

And not only dandle us upon the knee with good words and promises till particular mens turns be served, but will fill our bellies, and clothe our backs with good actions of Freedom, and give to the oppressed childrens children their birth-right portion, which is Freedom in the Commonwealths Land, which the Kingly Law and Power, our cruel stepfathers and step-mothers, have kept from us and our fathers for many years past.

The particular work of a Parliament is four-fold.

First, As a tender father, a Parliament is to impower Officers, and give out Orders for the free planting and reaping of the Commonwealths Land, that all who have been oppressed, and kept from the free use thereof by Conquerors, Kings, and their Tyrant Laws, may now be set at liberty to plant in Freedom for food and rayment, and are to be a protection to them who labour the Earth, and a punisher of them who are idle. But some may say, What is that I call Commonwealths Land?

I answer, All that Land which hath been withheld from the Inhabitants by the Conqueror, or Tyrant Kings, and is now recovered out of the hands of that Oppression by the joynt assistance of the persons and purses of the Commoners of the Land; for this Land is the price of their blood; it is their birth-right to them and their posterity, and

ought not to be converted into particular hands again by the Laws of a free Commonwealth.

And in particular, this Land is all Abby Lands, formerly recovered out of the hands of the Popes Power by the Blood of the Commoners of *England*, though the Kings withheld their rights herein from them.

So likewise all Crown Lands, Bishops Lands, with all Parks, Forrests, Chases, now of late recovered out of the hands of the Kingly Tyrants, who have set Lords of Manors and Task-masters over the Commoners, to withhold the free use of the Land from them.

So likewise all the Commons and waste Lands, which are called Commons, because the poor was to have part therein; but this is withheld from the Commoners, either by Lords of Manors, requiring quit Rents, and overseeing the poor so narrowly, that none dares build him a house upon [52] this Common Land, or plant thereupon, without his leave, but must pay him rent, fines, and heriots, and homage, as unto a Conqueror; or else the benefit of this Common Land is taken away from the younger brethren by rich Land-lords and Freeholders, who overstock the Commons with Sheep and Cattel, so that the poor in many places are not able to keep a Cow, unless they steal grass for her.

And this is the bondage the poor complain of, that they are kept poor by their brethren in a Land where there is so much plenty for every one, if Covetousness and pride did not rule as King in one brother over another, and Kingly Government occasions all this.

Now it is the work of a Parliament to break the Tyrants bands, to abolish all their oppressing Laws, and to give Orders, Encouragements and Directions unto the poor oppressed people of the Land, that they forthwith plant and manure this their own Land, for the free and comfortable livelyhood of themselves and posterities.

And to declare to them, it is their own Creation rights, faithfully and couragiously recovered by their diligence, purses and blood from under the Kingly Tyrants and Oppressors Power.

The work of a Parliament, secondly,

Is to abolish all old Laws and Customs, which have been the strength of the Oppressor, and to prepare, and then to enact new Laws for the ease and Freedom of the people, but yet not without the peoples knowledg.

For the work of a Parliament herein is three-fold.

First, When old Laws and Customs of the Kings do burden the people, and the people desire the remove of them, and the establishment of more easie Laws,

It is now the work of a Parliament to search into Reason and Equity, how relief may be found out for the people in such a case, and to preserve a common Peace; and when they have found out a way by debate of Councel among themselves, whereby the people may be relieved, they are not presently to establish their Conclusions for a Law.

But in the next place, they are to make a publike Declaration thereof to the people of the Land who choose them for their approbation; and if no Objection come in from the people within one moneth, they may then take the peoples silence as a consent thereto.

And then in the third place, they are to enact it for a Law, to be a binding Rule to the whole Land: For as the remove of the old Laws and Customs are by the peoples consent, which is proved by their frequent petitioning and Requests of such a thing; so the enacting of new Laws [53] must be by the Peoples consent and knowledg likewise.

And here they are to require the consent, not of men interested in the old oppressing Laws and Customs, as Kings used to do, but of them who have been oppressed. And the Reason is this:

Because the people must be all subject to the Law, under pain of punishment; therefore it is all reason they should know it before it be enacted, that if there be any thing of the Councel of Oppression in it, it may be discovered and amended.

But you will say, If it must be so, then will men so differ in their judgments, that we shall never agree. I answer:

There is but Bondage and Freedom, particular Interest, or common Interest; and he who pleads to bring in particular interest into a free Commonwealth, will presently be seen and cast out, as one bringing in Kingly Slavery again.

And men in place and office, where greatness and honor is coming in, may sooner be corrupted to bring in particular Interest, then a whole Land can be, who must either suffer sorrow under a burthensom Law, or rejoyce under a Law of Freedom.

And surely those men, who are not willing to enslave the People, will not be unwilling to consent hereunto.

The work of a Parliament thirdly,

Is to see all those burthens removed actually, which have hindered, or do hinder, the oppressed People from the enjoyment of their Birth-Rights.

If their Common Lands be under the Oppression of Lords of Man-

ors, they are to see the Land freed from that Slavery.

If the Commonwealths Land be sold by the hasty Councel of subtil, covetous, and ignorant Officers, who act for their own particular Interest: and so hath entangled the Commoners Land again, under colour of being bought and sold,

A Parliament is to examine what Authority any had to sell or buy the Commonwealth Land, without a general consent of the People; for it is not any ones, but every ones Birth-Right: And if some through covetousness and self-interest gave consent privately, yet a Parliament, who is the Father of a Land, ought not to give consent to buy and sell that land, which is all the childrens Birth-Right, and the price of their labors, monies, and blood.

They are to declare likewise, that the bargain is unrighteous, and that the Buyers and Sellers are Enemies to the Peace and Freedom of [54] the Commonwealth: For indeed the Necessity of the people chose a Parliament to help them in their weakness; and where they see a danger like to impoverish or enslave one part of the people to another, they are to give warning, and so prevent that danger; for they are the Eyes of the Land: And surely those are blinde Eyes that lead the People into Bogs, to be entangled in Mud again, after they are once pulled out.

And when the Land is once freed from the Oppressors Power and Laws, a *Parliament* is to keep it so, and not suffer it by their consent to have it bought or sold, and so entangled in bondage upon a new account.

And for their faithfulness herein to the People, the People are engaged by Love and Faithfulness to cleave close to them, in defence and protection. But when a *Parliament* have no care herein, the hearts of the People run away from them like sheep who have no Shepherd.

All grievances are occasioned either by the covetous Wills of State-Officers, who neglect their obedience to the good Laws, and then prefer their own Ease, Honor, and Riches before the Ease and Freedom of the oppressed People. And here a *Parliament* is to cashier and punish

those Officers, and place others who are men of publique spirits in their rooms.

Or else the Peoples Grievances arise from the practise and power that the Kings Laws have given to Lords of Manors, covetous Landlords, Tythe-takers, or unbounded Lawyers, being all strengthened in their oppressions over the People by that Kingly Law. And when the people are burthened herewith, and groan, waiting for deliverance, as the oppressed people of *England* do at this day; it is then the work of a *Parliament* to see the people delivered, and that they enjoy their Creation-Freedoms in the Earth: They are not to dally with them, but as a Father is ready to help his children out of misery, when they either see them in misery, or when the children cry for help; so should they do for the oppressed People.

And surely for this end, and no other, is a *Parliament* chosen, as is cleared before: for the Necessity of common preservation and peace is the Fundamental Law both to Officers and People.

The Work of a Parliament fourthly, is this.

If there be occasion to raise an Army to wage War, either against an Invasion of a Forreign Enemy, or against an Insurrection at home; it is the work of a *Parliament* to manage that business for to preserve common [55] Peace. And here their work is three-fold:

First, To acquaint the people plainly with the cause of the War, and to shew them the danger of such an Invasion or Insurrection; and so from that cause require their assistance in person, for the preservation of the Laws, Liberties, and Peace of the Commonwealth, according to their Engagement when they were chosen, which was this: Do you maintain our Laws and Liberties, and we will protect and assist you.

Secondly, A *Parliament* is to make choyce of understanding, able, and publique spirited men to be Leaders of an Army in this case, and to give them Commissions and Power in the name of the Commonwealth, to manage the work of an Army.

Thirdly, A Parliaments work in this case is either to send Embassadors to another Nation which hath invaded our Land, or that intends to invade; to agree upon terms of peace, or to proclaim War; or else to receive and hear Embassadors from other Lands for the same business, or about any other business concerning the peace and honor of the Land.

For a *Parliament* is the Head of a Commonwealths power, or as it may be said, it is the great Councel of an Army, from whom originally all Orders do issue forth to any Officer or Soldier.

For if so be a *Parliament* had not an Army to protect them, the rudeness of the people would not obey their proceedings: and if a Parliament were not the Representative of the People, who indeed is the body of all Power, the Army would not obey their Orders.

So then, a *Parliament* is the Head of Power in a Commonwealth, and it is their work to manage publique affairs in times of War, and in times of Peace; not to promote the Interest of particular men, but for the Peace and Freedom of the whole Body of the Land, viz. of every particular man, that none be deprived of his Creation Rights, unless he hath lost his Freedom by Transgression, as by the Laws is expressed.

The work of a Commonwealths Ministry, and why one day in seven may be a Day of Rest from Labor.

If there were good Laws, and the People be ignorant of them, it would be as bad for the Commonwealth as if there were no Laws at all.

Therefore according to one of the Laws of *Israels* Commonwealth made by *Moses*, who was the Ruler of the People at that time:

It is very rational and good, that one day in seven be still set apart for three Reasons.

First, That the People in such a Parish may generally meet together to [56] see one anothers faces, and beget or preserve fellowship in friendly love.

Secondly, to be a day of rest, or cessation from labor; so that they may have some bodily rest for themselvs and cattel.

Thirdly, that he who is chosen Minister (for that year) in that parish may read to the people three things.

First the affairs of the whole Land, as it is brought in by the Postmaster, as it is related in his office, hereafter following.

Secondly, to read the Law of the Common-wealth: not onely to strengthen the memory of the Ancients, but that the young people also, who are not grown up to ripeness of experience, may be instructed, to know when they do well, and when they do ill; for the Laws of a Land hath the power of freedom and bondage, life and death in its hand, therefore the necessary knowledge to be known, and he is the

best Prophet that acquaints men therewith. That as men grow up in yeers, they may be able to defend the Laws and Government of the Land. But these Laws shall not be expounded by the Reader, for to expound a plain Law, as if a man would put a better meaning, then the letter it self, produces two evils.

First the pure Law and the minds of people, will be thereby con-

founded, for multitude of words darken knowledge.

Secondly the Reader will be puffed up in pride, to contemn the *Law-makers*, and in time that will prove the father and nurse of Tyranny, as at this day is manifested by our Ministry.

And thirdly, because the mindes of people, generally love discourses, therefore that the wits of men both young and old may be exercised,

there may be speeches made in a three-fold nature.

First to declare the acts and passages of former ages and Governments, setting forth the benefit of freedom, by well ordered Governments, as in *Israels Common-wealth*, and the troubles and bondage, which hath always attended oppression and oppressors; as the State of *Pharaoh*, and other Tyrant Kings, who said the earth and people were theirs, and onely at their dispose.

Secondly Speeches may be made, of all Arts and Sciences, some one day, some another; As in Physick, Chyrurgery, Astrology, Astronomy, Navigation, Husbandry, and such like. And in these Speeches may be unfolded the nature of all herbs and plants from the Hysop to the

Cedar, as Solomon writ of.

Likewise men may come to see into the nature of the fixed and wandring stars, those great powers of God in the heavens above; and hereby men will come to know the secrets of Nature and Creation, within which all true [57] knowledg is wrapped up, and the light in man must arise to search it out.

Thirdly, Speeches may be made, sometimes of the Nature of Mankind, of his darkness and of his light, of his weakness and of his strength, of his love and of his envy, of his sorrow and of his joy, of his inward and outward bondages, and of his inward and outward freedoms, &c. And this is that which the Ministry of Churches generally aim, but only that they confound their knowledg by imaginary study, when any one takes upon him to speak without experience.

Now this is the way

To attain to the true knowledg of God (who is the Spirit of the whole Creation,) as he hath spread himself forth in every form, and more eminently in man; as Paul writ, The Creation in all the several bodies and forms are but the Mansions or fulness of him who hath filled all things with himself.

And if the Earth were set free from Kingly Bondage, so that every one were sure to have a free livelyhood, and if this liberty were granted, then many secrets of God, and his Works in Nature, would be made publike, which men now adays keep secret to get a living by; so that this Kingly Bondage is the cause of the spreading of ignorance in the Earth: But when Commonwealths Freedom is established, and Pharisaical or Kingly Slavery cast out, then will knowledg cover the Earth, as the waters cover the Seas, and not till then.

He who is the chosen Minister for that year to read, shall not be the only man to make Sermons or Speeches: but every one who hath any experience, and is able to speak of any Art or Language, or of the Nature of the Heavens above, or of the Earth below, shall have free liberty to speak when they offer themselves, and in a civil manner desire an audience, and appoint his day: yet he who is the Reader may have his liberty to speak too, but not to assume all the power to himself, as the proud and ignorant Clergy have done, who have bewitched all the World by their subtle Covetousness and pride.

And every one who speaks of any Herb, Plant, Art, or Nature of Mankind, is required to speak nothing by imagination, but what he hath found out by his own industry and observation in tryal.

And because other Nations are of several languages, therefore these speeches may be made sometimes in other Languages, and sometimes in our Mother Tongue, that so the men of our English Commonwealth may attain to all Knowledges, Arts and Languages, and that every one may be encouraged in his Industry, and purchase the countenance and love [58] of their neighborhood, for their wisdom, and experimental knowledge in the things which are.

And thus to speak, or thus to read the Law of Nature (or God) as he hath written his name in every body, is to speak a pure language, and this is to speak the truth as Jesus Christ spake it, giving to every thing its own weight and measure.

By this means, in time men shall attain to the practical knowledge of God truly; That they may serve him in spirit and truth; and this knowledge will not deceive a man.

I, but saith the zealous, but ignorant Professor,

This is a low and carnal ministry indeed, this leads men to know nothing, but the knowledge of the earth, and the secrets of nature, but we are to look after spiritual and heavenly things. I answer.

To know the secrets of nature, is to know the works of God; And to know the works of God within the Creation, is to know God himself, for

God dwels in every visible work or body.

And indeed if you would know spiritual things, it is to know how the spirit or power of wisdom and life, causing motion, or growth, dwels within, and governs both the several bodies of the stars and planets in the heavens above; and the several bodies of the earth below; as grass, plants, fishes, beasts, birds, and mankinde; for to reach God beyond the Creation, or to know what he will be to a man, after the man is dead, if any otherwise, then to scatter him into his Essences of fire, water, earth and air, of which he is compounded, is a knowledge beyond the line, or capacity of man to attain to while he lives in his compounded body.

And if a man should go to imagine, what God is beyond the Creation, or what he will be in a spiritual demonstration after a man is dead, he doth as the proverb saith, build castles in the air, or tells us of a world beyond the Moon, and beyond the Sun, meerly to blinde the reason of man.

Ile appeal to your self in this question, what other knowledg have you of God, but what you have within the circle of the Creation?

For if the Creation in all its dimentions be the fulness of him, that fills all with himself, and if you your self be part of this Creation, where can you finde God but in that line or station wherein you stand?

God manifests himself in actual knowledge, not in imagination; he is still in motion, either in bodies upon earth, or in the bodies in the heavens, or in both; in the night and in the day, in Winter, in Summer, in cold, in heat, in growth, or not in growth.

But when a studying imagination comes into man, which is the devil, for it is the cause of all evil, and sorrows in the world; that is he who puts [59] out the eyes of mans Knowledg, and tells him, he must be-

leeve what others have writ or spoke, and must not trust to his own experience: And when this bewitching fancy sits in the chair of Government, there is nothing but saying and unsaying, frowardness, covetousness, fears, confused thoughts, and unsatisfied doubtings, all the days of that mans reign in the heart.

Or secondly, Examine your self, and look likewise into the ways of all Professors, and you shall finde, That the Enjoyment of the Earth below, which you call a low and a carnal Knowledg, is that, which you and all professors (as well as the men of the world, as you call them) strive and seek after.

Wherefore are you so covetous after the World, in buying and selling? counting your self a happy man, if you be rich, and a miserable man if you be poor. And though you say, Heaven after death is a place of glory, where you shall enjoy God face to face, yet you are loth to leave the Earth to go thither.

Do not your Ministers preach for to enjoy the Earth? Do not professing Lawyers, as well as others, buy and sell the Conquerors Justice, that they may enjoy the Earth? Do not professing Soldiers fight for the Earth, and seat themselves in that Land, which is the Birth-Right of others, as well as theirs, shutting others out? Do not all professors strive to get Earth, that they may live in plenty by other mens labors?

Do you not make the Earth your very Rest? Doth not the enjoying of the Earth please the spirit in you? and then you say, God is pleased with your ways, and blesseth you. If you want Earth, and become poor, do you not say, God is angry with you, and crosseth you?

Why do you heap up riches? why do you eat and drink, and wear clothes? why do you take a woman, and lie with her to beget children? Are not all these carnal and low things of the Earth? and do you not live in them, and covet them as much as any? nay more then many which you call men of the world?

And it being thus with you, what other spiritual or heavenly things do you seek after more then others? And what is in you more then in others? If you say, there is; then surely you ought to let these earthly things alone to the men of the world, as you call them, whose portions these are, and keep you within the compass of your own sphere, that others seeing you live a life above the world in peace and freedom,

neither working your self, nor deceiving, nor compelling others to work for you, they may be drawn to embrace the same spiritual life by your single-hearted conversation. Well, I have done here.

[60] Let us now examine your Divinity,

Which you call heavenly, and spiritual things, for herein speeches are made not to advance knowledge, but to destroy the true knowledge of God; for Divinity does not speak the truth, as it is hid in every body, but it leaves the motional knowledge of a thing as it is, And imagins, studies, or thinks what may be, and so runs the hazzard true or false: And this Divinity is always speaking words to deceive the simple, that he may make them work for him, and maintain him, but he never comes to action himself to do as he would be done by; for he is a monster who is all tongue and no hand.

This divining Doctrine, which you call spiritual and heavenly things, is the thief and the robber; he comes to spoile the Vinyard of a mans peace, and does not enter in at the door, but he climbes up another way: And this Doctrine is two fold.

First he takes upon him to tell you the meaning of other mens words, and writing by his studying or imagining what another mans knowledge might be, and by thus doing darkens knowledge, and wrongs the spirit of the Authors who did write and speak those things which he takes upon him to interpret.

Secondly he takes upon him, to foretell what shall befall a man after he is dead, and what that world is beyond the Sun, and beyond the Moon, &c. And if any man tell him there is no reason for what you say, he answers you must not judge of heavenly and spiritual things by reason, but you must beleive what is told you, whether it be reason or no: There is a three-fold discovery of falsehood in this Doctrine.

For first it is a Doctrine of a sickly and weak spirit, who hath lost his understanding in the knowledge of the Creation, and of the temper of his own Heart and Nature, and so runs into fancies, either of joy or sorrow.

And if the passion of joy predominate, then he fancies to himself a personal God, personal Angels, and a local place of glory which he saith, he, and all who beleives what he saith, shall go to, after they are dead.

And if sorrow predominate, then he fancies to himself a personal Devil, and a locall place of torment, that he shall go to after he is dead, and this he speaks with great confidence.

Or Secondly, this is the Doctrine of a subtle running spirit, to make an ungrounded wise man mad. That he might be called the more excellent man in knowledge; for many times when a wise understanding heart is assaulted with this Doctrine of a God, a Devil, a Heaven, and a Hell, Salvation and Damnation after a man is dead, his spirit being not strongly grounded in the knowledge of the Creation, nor in the temper of his own heart,

[61] He strives and stretches his brains to find out the depth of that doctrine and cannot attain to it; for indeed it is not knowledg, but imagination: and so by poring and puzling himself in it, loses that wisdom he had, and becomes distracted and mad: and if the passion of joy predominate, then he is merry, and sings, and laughs, and is ripe in the expressions of his words, and will speak strange things; but all by imagination. But if the passion of sorrow predominate, then he is heavy and sad, crying out, He is damned, God hath forsaken him, and he must go to Hell when he dys, he cannot make his calling and election sure: And in that distemper many times a man doth hang, kil, or drown himself: so that this divining Doctrine, which you call spiritual and heavenly things, torments people always when they are weak, sickly, and under any distemper; therefore it cannot be the Doctrine of Christ the Saviour.

For my own part, my spirit hath waded deep to finde the bottom of this divining spiritual Doctrine: and the more I searched, the more I was at a loss; and I never came to quiet rest, and to know God in my spirit, till I came to the knowledg of the things in this Book: And let me tell you, They who preach this divining Doctrine are the murtherers of many a poor heart, who is bashful and simple, and that cannot speak for himself, but that keeps his thoughts to himself.

Or thirdly, This Doctrine is made a cloke of policy by the subtil elder Brother, to cheat his simple younger Brother of the Freedoms of the Earth: For saith the elder Brother, The Earth is mine, and not yours, Brother; and you must not work upon it, unless you will hire it of me: and you must not take the fruits of it, unless you will buy them of me, by that which I pay you for your Labor: for if you should do other-

wise, God will not love you, and you shall not go to Heaven when you dye, but the Devil will have you, and you must be damned in Hell.

If the younger reply, and say, The Earth is my Birth-Right, as well as yours, and God who made us both, is no Respecter of persons: Therefore there is no Reason but I should enjoy the Freedoms of the Earth for my comfortable Livelyhood, as well as you, Brother.

I, but saith the elder Brother, You must not trust to your own Reason and Understanding, but you must believe what is written and what is told you; and if you will not believe, your Damnation will be the greater.

I cannot believe, saith the younger Brother, that our righteous Creator should be so partial in his Dispensations of the Earth, seeing our bodies cannot live upon Earth without the use of the Earth.

[62] The elder brother replies, What, will you be an Atheist, and a factious man, will you not believe God?

Yes, saith the younger brother, if I knew God said so I should believe, for I desire to serve him.

Why, saith the elder brother, this is his Word, and if you will not believe it, you must be damned; but if you will believe it, you must go to Heaven.

Well, the younger brother being weak in spirit, and having not a grounded knowledg of the Creation, nor of himself, is terrified, and lets go his hold in the Earth, and submits himself to be a slave to his brother, for fear of damnation in Hell after death, and in hopes to get Heaven thereby after he is dead; and so his eyes are put out, and his Reason is blinded.

So that this divining spiritual Doctrine is a cheat; for while men are gazing up to Heaven, imagining after a happiness, or fearing a Hell after they are dead, their eyes are put out, that they see not what is their birthrights, and what is to be done by them here on Earth while they are living: This is the filthy Dreamer, and the Cloud without rain.

And indeed the subtle Clergy do know, that if they can but charm the people by this their divining Doctrine, to look after riches, Heaven and Glory when they are dead, that then they shall easily be the Inheritors of the Earth, and have the deceived people to be their servants.

This divining Doctrine, which you call spiritual and heavenly, was not the Doctrine of Christ, for his words were pure knowledg, they were words of life; for he said, He spoke what he had seen with his Father, for he had the knowledg of the Creation, and spake as every thing was.

And this Divinity came in after Christ to darken his Knowledg; and it is the language of the Mystery of Iniquity and Antichrist, whereby the covetous, ambitious and serpentine spirit cozens the plain-hearted of his portions in the Earth.

And Divinity cozens a plain heart two ways: First, If a man have an Estate, according to the Kings Laws, he is made by this charm to give it, or bazle [i. e., waste] it away to the Priests, or to religious uses, in hopes to get Heaven when he is dead.

Or secondly, A man by running to hear Divinity Sermons, and dancing after his charming pipe, neglects his labour, and so runs into debt, and then his fellow professors will cast him into prison, and starve him there, and there Divinity will call him a hypocrite and wicked man, and become a Devil to torment him in that Hell.

But surely Light is so broke out, that it will cover the Earth, so that the Divinity Charmers shall say, The people will not hear the voyce of our charming, charm we never so wisely: And all the Priests, and Clergy, and Preachers [63] of these spiritual and heavenly things, as they call them, shall take up the lamentation, which is their portion, Alas, alas, that great City Babylon, that mighty City Divinity, which hath filled the whole Earth with her sorcery, and deceived all people, so that the whole world wondered after this Beast; how is it faln, and how is her Judgment come upon her in one hour? And further, as you may read, Rev. 18. 10.

The Office of the Post-master.

In every Parish throughout the Commonwealth shall be chosen two men (at the time when other Officers are chosen,) and these shall be called Post-masters: And whereas there are four parts of the Land, East, West, North, South, there shall be chosen in the chief City two men to receive in what the Post-master of the East Country brings in, and two men to receive in what the Post-master of the West brings in, and two for the North, and so two for the South.

Now the work of the Country Post-master shall be this, They shall every Moneth bring up or send by tydings from their respective Parishes to the chief City, of what accidents or passages fall out, which is either to the honor or dishonor, hurt or profit of the Commonwealth; and if nothing have faln out in that Moneth worth observation, then they shall write down peace or good order in such a Parish.

And when these respective Post-masters have brought up their Bills or Certificates from all parts of the Land, the Receivers of those Bills shall write down every thing in order from Parish to Parish in the nature of a Weekly Bill of Observation.

And those eight Receivers shall cause the Affairs of the four quarters of the Land to be printed in one Book with what speed may be, and deliver to every Postmaster a Book, that as they bring up the Affairs of one Parish in writing, they may carry down in Print the Affairs of the whole Land.

The benefit lies here, That if any part of the Land be visited with Plague, Famine, Invasion, or Insurrection, or any casualties, the other parts of the Land may have speedy knowledg, and send Relief.

And if any accident fall out through unreasonable action, or careless neglect, other parts of the Land may thereby be made watchful, to prevent like danger.

Or if any through industry or ripeness of understanding have found out any secret in Nature, or new invention in any Art or Trade, or in the Tillage of the Earth, or such like, whereby the Commonwealth may more flourish in peace and plenty; for which Vertues those persons received honor in the places where they dwelt,

[64] When other parts of the Land hear of it, many thereby will be encouraged to employ their Reason and industry to do the like, that so in time there will not be any Secret in Nature, which now lies hid (by reason of the iron age of Kingly oppressing Government) but by some or other will be brought to light, to the beauty of our Commonwealth.

The Rise of a Commonwealths Army.

After that the necessity of the People in a Parish, in a County, and in a Land, hath moved the People to chuse Officers to preserve *common peace*, the same necessity causeth the People to say to their Officers,

Do you see our Laws observed for our common preservation, and we will assist and protect you.

This word assist and protect, implies the rising of the people by force of Arms, to defend their Laws and Officers, who rule well, against any Invasion, Insurrection or Rebellion of selfish Officers, or rude people;

yea to beat down the turbulency of any foolish spirit that shall arise to break our common Peace.

So that the same Law of Necessity of common Peace, which moved the people to chuse Officers, and to compose a Law for to be a Rule of Government: The same Law of Necessity of Protection doth raise an Army; so that an Army, as well as other Officers in a Commonwealth, spring from one and the same root, viz. from the Necessity of common Preservation.

An Army is two-fold, viz. A Ruling Army, or a Fighting Army.

A ruling Army is called Magistracy in times of Peace, keeping that Land and Government in Peace by Execution of the Laws, which the fighting Army did purchase in the field by their Blood out of the hands of Oppression.

And here all Officers, from the father in a family, to the Parliament in a Land, are but the Heads and Leaders of an Army; and all people arising to protect and assist their Officers, in defence of a right ordered Government, are but the Body of an Army.

And this Magistracy is called the rejoycing of all Nations, when the Foundation thereof are Laws of common Equity, whereby every single man may enjoy the fruit of his labour, in the free use of the Earth, without being restrained or oppressed by the hands of others.

Secondly, A fighting Army, called Souldiers in the field, when the necessity of preservation, by reason of a forraign Invasion, or inbred Oppression, do move the people to arise in an Army to cut and teer to pieces, either degenerated Officers, or rude people, who seek their own Interest, and not common Freedom, and through treachery do endeavor to destroy [65] the Laws of common Freedom, and to enslave both the Land and people of the Commonwealth to their particular wills and lusts.

And this War is called a Plague, because that cursed enmity of Covetousness, pride, and vain-glory, and envy in the heart of Mankind did occasion the rise of it, because he will not be under the moderate observation of any free and right Order, unless he himself be King and Lord over other persons and their labours.

For now the people do arise to defend their faithful Officers, against such Officers as are unfaithful, and to defend their Laws and Common Peace.

The use or work of a fighting Army in a Commonwealth

Is to beat down all that arise to endeavor to destroy the Liberties of the Commonwealth: For as in the days of Monarchy, an Army was used to subdue all who rebelled against Kingly Propriety; so in the days of a free Commonwealth, an Army is to be made use of to resist and destroy all who endeavor to keep up or bring in Kingly Bondage again.

The work of this fighting Army is twofold.

The first is to withstand the Invasion, or coming in of a forraign Enemy, whose Invasion is for no other end, but to take away our Land and Earth from us, to deny us the free use thereof, to become Kings and Landlords over us, and to make us their slaves.

As William the Conqueror, when he had conquered England, he gave not only the Land in parcels to his Souldiers, but he gave all men, their wives and children, within such a Lordship, to his Lords of Manors, to do with them as they pleased: And for this cause now doth an Army arise to keep out an Invasion of a Forraigner, that by the defence of our Army, who is part of our selves, the rest of our brethren in the Commonwealth may plow, sow, and reap, and enjoy the fruits of their labours, and so live in peace in their own Land.

Or secondly, If a Land be conquered, and so enslaved as *England* was, under the Kings and conquering Laws, then an Army is to be raised with as much secrecy as may be, to restore the Land again, and set it free, that the Earth may become a Common Treasury to all her children, without respecting persons, as it was before Kingly Bondage came in, as you may read, I Sam. 8.

This latter is called Civil Wars, and this is the Wars of the Commoners of *England* against King *Charls* now cast out, for he and his Laws were the successive Power of that *Norman* Conquest over *England*.

[66] And now the Commoners of England in this age of the World are rise up in an Army, and have cast out that Invasion of the Duke of Normandy, and have won their Land and Liberties again by the Sword, if they do not suffer their Councels to befool them into slavery again upon a new accompt.

Therefore you Army of Englands Commonwealth look to it; the

Enemy could not beat you in the field, but they may be too hard for you by policy in Councel, if you do not stick close to see Common Freedom established.

For if so be that Kingly Authority be set up in your Laws again, King *Charls* hath conquered you and your posterity by policy, and won the field of you, though you seemingly have cut off His Head.

For the strength of a King lies not in the visible appearance of his body, but in his Will, Laws and Authority, which is called Monarchial

Government.

But if you remove Kingly Government, and set up true and free Commonwealths Government, then you gain your Crown, and keep it, and leave peace to your posterity, otherwise not.

And thus doing makes a War either lawful or unlawful.

An Army may be Murtherers and unlawful.

If an Army be raised to cast out Kingly Oppression, and if the Heads of that Army promise a Commonwealths Freedom to the oppressed people, if in case they will assist with person and purse, and if the people do assist, and prevail over the Tyrant, those Officers are bound by the Law of Justice (who is God) to make good their Engagements: And if they do not set the Land free from the branches of the Kingly Oppression, but reserve some part of the Kingly Power to advance their own particular Interest, whereby some of their friends are left under as great slavery to them, as they were under the Kings; Those Officers are not faithful Commonwealths Souldiers, they are worse Thieves and Tyrants then the Kings they cast out, and that Honor they seemed to get by their Victories over the Commonwealths Oppressor they lose again, by breaking Promise and Engagement to their oppressed friends who did assist them.

For what difference is there between a professed Tyrant, that declares himself a Tyrant in words, Laws and deeds, as all Conquerors do, and him who promises to free me from the Power of the Tyrant if I'le assist him; and when I have spent my estate and blood, and the health of my body, and expect my bargain by his Engagements to me, he sits himself down in the Tyrants Chair, and takes the possession of the Land to himself, and calls it his, and none of mine, and tells me he

cannot in Conscience let me enjoy the Freedom of the Earth with him, because it is another mans right?

[67] And now my health and estate is decayed, and I grow in age, I must either beg or work for day wages, which I was never brought up to, for another; when as the Earth is as freely my Inheritance and birthright, as his whom I must work for; and if I cannot live by my weak labors but take where I need, as Christ sent and took the Asse colt in his need, there is no dispute, but by the Kings and Laws, he will hang me for a thief.

But hear O thou Righteous Spirit of the whole Creation, and judg, who is the thief. Him who takes away the freedom of the *common-earth* from me, which is my Creation rights, and which I have helped to purchase out of the hands of the Kingly Oppressor by my purse and person, and which he hath taken for wages of me:

Or I, who takes the *Common-earth* to plant upon for my free lively-hood, endeavouring to live as a free *Commoner*, in a free *Commonwealth*, in righteousness and peace.

Such a souldier as this engagement breaker is neither a friend to the Creation: nor to a particular *Common-wealth*, but a self lover and a hypocrite, for he did not fight, to set the Earth free from the bondage of the Oppressor as he pretended by his Engagements; but to remove that power out of the others hand into his own. And this is just like the beasts who fight for mastery and keeps it, not releaving, but still Lording and Kinging over the weak. These are Monarchial souldiers, not *Common-wealths* souldiers; and such a souldier is a murderer and his warfare is unlawful.

But souldiers of true noble spirits, will help the weak, and set the oppressed free, and delight to see the *Common-wealth* flourish in freedom, as wel as their own gardens. There is none of this true nobility in the Monarchial Army, for they are all self lovers; the best is as a briar, and the most upright amongst them is as a thorne held; speak you Prophets of old if this be not true.

A Monarchial Army lifts up mountains, and makes vallies, viz. Advances Tyrants, and treads the oppressed in the barren lanes of poverty.

But a Commonwealths Army is like John Baptist, who levels the Mountains to the Valleys, pulls down the Tyrant, and lifts up the

Oppressed: and so makes way for the spirit of Peace and Freedom to come in to rule and inherit the Earth.

And by this which hath been spoken, an Army may see wherein they may do well, and wherein they may do hurt.

[68] CHAP. V. Education of mankinde, in Schools and Trades.

ANKINDE in the days of his youth, is like a young Colt, wanton and foolish, till he be broke by Education and correction, and the neglect of this care, or the want of wisdom in the performance of it hath been, and is, the cause of much division and trouble in the world.

Therefore the Law of a Common-wealth does require, that not onely a father, but that all Overseers, and Officers should make it their work to educate children in good manners, and to see them brought up in some trade or other, and to suffer no children in any Parish to live in idleness, and youthful pleasure, all their days, as many have been; but that they be brought up like men, and not like beasts: That so the Common-wealth may be planted with laborious and wise experienced men, and not with idle fools.

Mankinde may be considered in a fourfold degree, his childhood, youth, manhood and old age; his childhood and his youth, may be considered from his birth till forty yeers of age; and within this compass of time, after he is weaned from his mother, who shall be the nurse her self, if there be no defect in Nature, his parents shall teach him a civil and humble behavior toward all men. Then send him to School, to learn to read the Laws of the *Common-wealth*, to ripen his wits from his childhood, and so to proceed in his learning, till he be acquainted with all Arts and Languages: and the reason is threefold.

First, By being acquainted with the knowledge of the affairs of the world; by this traditional knowledge they may be the better able to govern themselves like rational men.

Secondly, they may become thereby good Common-wealths men, in supporting the government thereof, by being acquainted with the nature of government.

Thirdly, If England have occasion to send Embassadors to any other Land, we may have such as are acquainted with their Language; or if any Embassador come from other Lands, we may have such as can understand their speech.

But one sort of Children shall not be trained up onely to book learning, and no other imployment, called Schollars, as they are in the Government of Monarchy, for then through idleness, and exercised wit therein, they spend their time to finde out pollicies to advance themselves, to be Lords and Masters above their laboring brethren, as Simeon and Levi do, which occasions all the trouble in the world.

Therefore, to prevent the dangerous events of idleness in Scholars, it is reason, and safe for common peace, that after Children have been brought up at Schools, to ripen their wits, they shall then be set to such [69] Trades, Arts and Sciences, as their bodies and wits are capable of; and therein continue till they come to fourty years of age.

For all the work of the Earth, or in Trades, is to be managed by

youth, and by such as have lost their Freedoms.

Then from fourty years of age till fourscore, if he live so long, which is the degree of manhood and old age; they shall be freed from all labor and work, unless they will themselves.

And from among this degree of Mankind shal be chosen all Officers and Overseers, to see the Laws of the Commonwealth observed.

For as all men shall be Workers or Waiters in Storehouses till they be fourty years of age, so none shall be chosen a publique Officer till he be full fourty years of age: for by this time Man hath learned experience to govern himself and others: for when young wits are set to govern, they wax wanton, &c.

What Trades should Mankinde be brought up in?

In every Trade, Art, and Science, whereby they may finde out the Secrets of the Creation, and that they may know how to govern the Earth in right order.

There are five Fountains from whence all Arts and Sciences have their influences: he that is an actor in any or in all the five parts, is a profitable son of mankinde: he that onely contemplates and talks of what he reads and hears, and doth not employ his Talent in some bodily action, for the encrease of fruitfulness, freedom, and peace in the Earth, is an unprofitable son.

The first Fountain is the right planting of the Earth to make it fruitful, and this is called Husbandry: And there are two branches of it;

As first, planting, digging, dunging, liming, burning, grubbing, and

right ordering of Land, to make it fit to receive seed, that it may bring forth a plentiful crop: And under this Head all Millers, Maltsters, Bakers, Harness-makers for Plows and Carts, Rope-makers, Spinners, and Weavers of linnen, and such like, are all but good Husbandry.

The second Branch of Husbandry is Gardening, how to plant, graft, and set all sort of fruit-trees, and how to order the ground for flowers, Herbs and Roots for pleasure, food, or medicinal. And here all Physicians, Chyrurgeons, Distillers of all sorts of Waters, Gatherers of Drugs, Makers of Wines, and Oyl, and Preservers of fruits, and such like, may learn by Observation, what is good for all bodies, both man and beasts.

The second Fountain is Mineral employment, and that is to search into the Earth to finde out Mynes of Gold and Silver, Brass, Iron, Tin, Lead, Cannel, Coal, and Stone of all sorts, Salt-peter, Salt, and Allomsprings, [70] and such like: And here all Chymists, Gunpowdermakers, Masons, Smiths, and such like, as would finde out the strength and power of the Earth, may learn how to order these for the use and profit of Mankinde.

The third Fountain is the right ordering of Cattel, whether by Shepherds or Herds-men; and such may learn here how to breed and train up Cows for the Daries, Bulls and Horses for the saddle or yoke. And here all Tanners, Hatters, Shoomakers, Glovers, Spinners of Wool, Clothiers, Taylors, Dyers, and such like, may learn how to order and look to these.

The fourth Fountain is the right ordering of Woods and Timber trees, for planting, dressing, felling, framing of Timber for all uses, for building houses or ships. And here all Carpenters, Joyners, Throsters ², Plow-makers, Instrument-makers for musick, and all who work in wood and timber, may finde out the Secret of Nature, to make Trees more plentiful and thriving in their growth, and profitable for use.

The fifth Fountain, from whence Reason is exercised to finde out the Secrets of Nature, is [to] observe the rising and setting of the Sun, Moon, and the Powers of the Heavens above; and the motion of the Tydes, and Seas, and their several effects, powers, and operations upon the bodies of Man and Beast. And here may be learned Astrology, Astronomy, and Navigation, and the motions of the Winds, and the

² Turners.

causes of several Appearances of the Face of Heaven, either in Storms, or in Fareness.

And in all these five Fountains here is Knowledg in the practice, and it is good.

But there is Traditional Knowledg, which is attained by reading, or by the instruction of others, and not practical, but leads to an idle life; and this is not good.

The first is a laborious Knowledg, and a Preserver of common Peace, which we finde God himself acting; for he put forth his own wisdom in practise, when he set his strength to work to make the Creation: for God is an active Power, not an imaginary Fancy.

The latter is an idle, lazy contemplation the Scholars would call Knowledg, but it is no knowledg, but a shew of Knowledg, like a Parrat who speaks words, but he knows not what he saith: This same shew of knowledg rests in reading or contemplating, or hearing others speak, and speaks so too, but will not set his hand to work: And from this Traditional Knowledg and Learning rise up both Clergy and Lawyer, who by their cunning insinuations live meerly upon the labor of other men, and teach [71] Laws which they themselves will not do, and layes burdens upon others which they themselves will not touch with the least of their fingers; and from hence arises all oppressions, wars, and troubles in the world, the one is the son of contention, the other the son of darkness, but both the supporters of bondage, which the Creation groans under.

Therefore to prevent idleness and the danger of Machivilian cheats, it is profitable for the Common-wealth, that children be trained up in Trades and some bodily imployment, as well as in learning Languages, or the Histories of former ages.

And as boyes are trained up in Learning and in Trades, so all Maides shall be trained up in reading, sewing, kniting, spining of Lynnen and Woollen, Musique, and all other easie neat works, either for to furnish Storehouses with Lynnen and Woollen cloth, or for the ornament of particular houses with needle work.

And if this course were taken, there would be no Idle person nor Beggers in the Land, and much work would be done by that now lazie generation for the enlarging of the common Treasuries.

And in the manageing of any Trade, let no young wit be crushed in

his invention, for if any man desire to make a new tryall of his skil in any Trade or Science, the Overseers shall not hinder him, but incourage him therein; that so the Spirit of knowledge may have his full growth in man, to finde out the secret in every Art.

And let every one who finds out a new invention have a deserved honour given him, and certainly when men are sure of food and raiment, their reason will be ripe, and ready to dive into the secrets of the Creation, that they may learn to see and know God (the Spirit of the whole Creation) in all his works; for fear of want, and care to pay Rent to Task-masters, hath hindred many rare Inventions.

So that Kingly Power hath crushed the Spirit of Knowledg, and would not suffer it to rise up in its beauty and fulness, but by his Club Law hath preferred the spirit of Imagination, which is a Deceiver, before it.

There shal be no buying and selling of the Earth, nor of the fruits thereof.

For by the Government under Kings, the cheaters hereby have cozened the plain hearted of their creation birth-rights, and have possessed themselves in the earth and cals it theirs and not the others, and so have brought in that poverty and misery which lies upon many men.

And whereas the wise should help the foolish, and the strong help the weak; the wise and the strong destroys the weak and the simple.

And are not all children generally simple and weak and know not the [72] things that belong to their peace till they come to ripe age, but before they come to that understanding, the cunning ones who have more strength and policy, have by this hypocriticall, lying, unrighteous and cheating Art of buying and selling, wrung the freedoms of the earth out of their hands, and cozened them of their birth-rights.

So that when they come to understanding, they see themselves beggers in the middest of a fruitfull Land, and so the Proverb is true, Plain dealing is a jewel, but he who uses it shal dye a begger. And why?

Because this buying and selling is the nursery of cheaters, it is the Law of the Conqueror, and the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, which both killed Christ and hindred his Resurrection, as much as darkness can to put out light.

And these cunning cheaters commonly become the Rulers of the earth, and then the City Man-kind mourns, for not the wise poor man,

but the cunning rich man, was always made an Officer and Ruler, such a one as by his stolen interest in the earth would be sure to hold others in bondage of poverty and servitude to him and his party.

And hence arise oppression and tyranny in the earth upon the backs of the weak younger brethren, who are made younger brothers indeed, as the Proverb is, by their cunning elder brother; and as Daniel said, The basest of men under Kingly government were set to Rule, who can command but not obey, who can take other mens labors to live at ease, but not work themselvs.

Therefore there shall be no buying and selling in a Free Commonwealth, neither shall any one hire his brother to work for him.

If the Common-wealth might be governed without buying and selling here is a Platform of Government for it, which is the ancientest Law of Righteousness to Mankind in the use of the Earth, and which is the very height of earthly Freedoms. But if the minds of the people, through Covetousness and proud Ignorance, wil have the Earth governed by buying and selling still, this same Platform, with a few things subtracted, declares an easie way of Government of the Earth for the quiet of peoples minds, and preserving of Peace in the Land.

For, as like a Tradesman, I ask the highest price, Yet I may fall (if you will rise) upon a good advice.

How must the Earth be planted?

The Earth is to be planted, and the fruits reaped, and carried into Barns and Store-houses by the assistance of every family: And if any man or family want Corn, or other provision, they may go to the Storehouses, and fetch without money: If they want a Horse to ride, go into the fields in Summer, or to the Common Stables in Winter, and receive one from the Keepers, and when your Journey is performed, bring him where [73] you had him, without money. If any want food or victuals, they may either go to the Butchers shops, and receive what they want without money; or else go to the flocks of sheep, or herds of cattel, and take and kill what meat is needful for their families, without buying and selling. And the reason why all the riches of the earth are a common stock is this, Because the earth, and the labours thereupon, are managed by common assistance of every family, without buying and selling; as is shewn how more largely, in the Office of Overseers for Trades, and the Law for Store-houses.

The Laws for the right ordering thereof, and the Officers to see the Laws executed; to preserve the peace of every family, and the peace of every man, and to improve and promote every Trade, is shewed in the work of Officers, and by the Laws following.

None will be an enemy to this freedom, which indeed is to do to another as a man would have another do to him, but Covetousness and Pride, the spirit of the old grudging snapping Pharisees, who gives God abundance of good words, in their Sermons, in their Prayers, in their Fasts, and in their Thanksgivings, as though none should be more faithful servants to him then they: nay, they will shun the company, imprison, and kill every one that will not worship God, they are so zealous.

Well now, God and Christ hath enacted an everlasting Law, which is Love; not onely one another of your own minde, but love your enemies too, such as are not of your minde: and, having food and raiment, therewith be content.

Now here is a trial for you, whether you will be faithful to God and Christ, in obeying his Laws; or whether you will destroy the man-childe of true Freedom, righteousness and peace, in his resurrection.

And now thou wilt give us either the tricks of a Souldier, Face about, and return to Egypt, and so declare thy self to be part of the Serpents seed, that must bruise the heel of Christ; or else to be one of the plainhearted sons of promise, or members of Christ, who shall help to bruise the Serpents head, which is Kingly oppression; and so bring in everlasting righteousness and peace into the earth. Well, the eye is now open.

Store-houses shall be built and appointed in all places, and be the common Stock.

There shall be Store-houses in all places, both in the Country and in Cities, to which all the fruits of the earth, and other works made by Tradesmen, shall be brought, and from thence delivered out again to particular Families, and to every one as they want for their use; or else to be transported by Ship to other Lands, to exchange for those things which our Land will not or does not afford.

[74] For all the labours of Husbandmen and Trades-men, within the Land, or by Navigation to or from other Lands, shall be all upon the common Stock.

And as every one works to advance the Common Stock, so every one shall have a free use of any commodity in the Store-house, for his pleasure and comfortable livelihood, without buying and selling, or restraint from any.

And having food and raiment, lodging, and the comfortable societies of his own kinde; what can a man desire more in these days of his travel?

Indeed, covetous, proud, and beastly-minded men desire more, either to be by them to look upon, or else to waste and spoil it upon their lusts; while other brethren live in straits for want of the use thereof.

But the Laws and faithful Officers of a free Commonwealth, do regulate the unrational practice of such men.

There are two sorts of Store-houses; general and particular.

The general Store-houses are such houses as receive in all commodities in the gross; as all Barns, and places to lay Corn and the fruits of the earth at the first reaping: and these may be called Store-houses for Corn, Flax, Wool; for Leather, for Iron, for linen and woollen Cloth, or for any commodity that comes into our hand by Shipping; from whence particular Family or Shop-keepers may fetch as they need, to furnish their lesser shops.

So likewise herds of Cattel in the field, flocks of Sheep, and Horses, are all common Store-houses; so that from the Herds and Flocks every Family may fetch what they want for food or pleasure, without buying and selling.

So likewise all Publike Dayries are Store-houses for Butter and Cheese: yet every Family may have Cows for their own use, about their own house.

And these general Store-houses shall be filled and preserved by the common labour and assistance of every Family; as is mentioned in the Office of Overseer for Trades.

And from these Publike Houses, which are the general stock of the Land, all particular Trades-men may fetch materials for their particular work as they need, or to furnish their particular dwellings with any commodities.

Secondly, there are particular Store-houses or shops;

To which the Trades-men shall bring their particular works; as all

instruments of Iron to the Iron-shops, Hats to shops appointed for them; Gloves, Shooes, linen and woollen Cloth in smaller parcels, to shops appointed for every one of them; and the like.

[75] Even as now we have particular trade in Cities, and Towns, called Shopkeepers, which shall remaine still as they be, only altered in their receiving in, and delivering out: for whereas by the Law of Kings or Conquerers, they do receive in and deliver out by buying and selling, and exchanging the Conquerers picture or stampe upon a piece of Gold or Silver, for the fruits of the earth; Now they shall (by the Laws of the Commonwealth) receive into their Shops, and deliver out againe freely, without buying and selling.

They shall receive in, as into a Storehouse, and deliver out againe freely, as out of a common Store-house, when particular persons or Families come for any thing they need, as now they do, by buying and selling under kingly government.

For as particular Families and tradesmen do make several works more then they can make use of; As Hats, Shooes, Gloves, Stockings, Linnen and Woolen cloth: and the like, and do carry their particular work to Store-houses,

So it is all reason and equity, that they should go to other Store-houses, and fetch any other commodity which they want, and cannot make: for as other men partakes of their labors, it is reason they should partake of other mens.

And all these Store-houses and Shops shall be orderly kept by such as shall be brought up to be waiters therein, as is mentioned in the Office of Overseers for trades.

For as there are some men more ingenious to work, so other men are more ingenious in keeping of Store-houses and Shops, to receive in and deliver out commodities. And all this easie work, may be called waiting at such and such a Store-house. As some may waite at Corn-houses, some at linen and woolen houses, some at Leather, some at iron-shops; and every general and particular commodity shall be known where they are, by their houses and shops as it is at this day; so that Townes and Cities, and every Family almost are but Store-houses of one commodity or other, for the uses of the Commonwealth, or to transport to other lands.

Now this same free practice, will kill covetousness, pride, and oppression: for when men have a Law to buy and sell, then, as I said

before, the cunning cheaters get great estates by others mens labors; and being rich thereby, become oppressing Lords over their brethren; which occasions all our troubles and wars in all Nations.

Come hither now, all you who chalenge your brethren to deny Christ, as though you were the only men that love Christ, and would be true to him. Here is a trial of your love: can you be as ready to obey the law of liberty [76] which is the command of Christ, as you would have others to obey your Kingly laws of bondage? It may be you will either storme, or go away sorrowful; does not Christ tell you, that if you have food and rayment, you should therewith be content? and in this common freedome, here will be food and rayment, ease and pleasure plentiful, both for you and your brethren; so that none shall beg or starve, or live in the straits of poverty; and this fulfils that righteous law of Christ, Do as you would be done by: for that law of Christ can never be performed, till you establish Commonwealths freedome.

Therefore now let it appear, seeing the child is come to the birth, whether you will receive Christ, who is the spreading spirit of freedom, righteousness, and peace; or whether you will return to Monarchy, to embrace that Egyptian bondage still. Well, here is life and death set before you, take whether you will; but know, that unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Kingly and Lordly Scribes and Pharisees, you shall never enjoy true peace in your spirit.

CHAP. VI. The Kings old laws cannot govern a free Commonwealth.

HEY cannot govern in times of bondage, and in times of freedom too: they have indeed served many masters, Popish and Protestant: they are like old souldiers, that will but change their name, and turn about, and as they were; and the reason is, because they are the prerogative will of those under any Religion, that count it no freedom to them, unless they be lords over the minds, persons, and labors of their brethren.

They are called the Kings laws, because they are made by the Kings. If any say they were made by the Commoners; It is answered, They were not made by the Commoners, as the Commoners of a free Commonwealth are to make laws.

For in the dayes of the Kings, none were to chuse nor be chosen Parliament men, or law makers, but Lords of Mannors, and Freeholders, such as held title to their inclosures of Land or Charters for their liberties in trades under the King, who called the land his, as he was the Conquerer, or his successor.

All inferior people were neither to chuse, nor to be chosen; and the reason was, because all freeholders of land, and such as held their liberties by Charter, were all of the Kings interest; and the inferior people were successively of the rank of the conquered ones, and servants and slaves from the time of the conquest.

[77] And further, when a Parliament was chosen in that manner, yet if any Parliament man in the uprightness of his heart, did endeavor to promote any freedome, contrary to the Kings will, or former customes from the Conquest he was either committed to prison by the King, or by his house of Lords, who were his ancient *Norman* successive councel of war; or else the Parliament was dissolved and broke up by the King.

So that the old laws were made in times under kingly slavery, not under the liberty of Commonwealths freedome, because Parliament men must have regard to the Kings prerogative interest, to hold his Conquest, or else indanger themselves.

As sometimes it is in these dayes: some officers, dare not speak against the minds of those men who are the chief in power, nor a private souldier against the minde of his officer, lest they be cashiered their places and livelihood.

And so long as the promoting of the Kings will and prerogative was to be in the eye of the law makers, the oppressed Commoners, could never enjoy Commonwealths freedome thereby.

Yet by the wisdome, courage, faithfulness, and industry, of some Parliament men, the Commoners have received here a line, and there a line of freedome inserted into their laws; as those good lines of freedom in *Magna Charta* were obtained by much hardship and industry.

Secondly, they were the Kings laws, because the Kings own creatures made the laws; or Lords of Mannors, Freeholders &c. were successors of the *Norman* souldiers from the Conquest, therefore they could do no other but maintaine their own, and their kings interest.

And do we not see, that all laws were made in the dayes of the Kings to ease the rich Landlord? but the poor laborers were left under bondage still; they were to have no freedome in the earth, by those pharisaical laws: for when laws were made, and Parliaments broke up, the

poor oppressed Commoners had no relief, but the power of Lords of Mannors, withholding the free use of the Common land from them, remained still: for none durst make use of any Common land, but at the Lords leave according to the will and law of the Conquerer, therefore the old laws were called the Kings laws.

And these old laws cannot govern a free Commonwealth, because the land now is to be set free from the slavery of the Norman Conquest; and the power of Lords of Mannors, and Norman freeholders, is to be taken away, or else the Commoners are but where they were, if not faln lower into straights then they were: and the old laws cannot look with any other face then they did; though they be washed with Commonwealths water, [78] their countenance is still withered: therefore it was not for nothing that the Kings would have all their Laws written in French and Latine, and not in English, partly in honour to the Norman Race, and partly to keep the common people ignorant of their Creation-freedoms, lest they should rise to redeem themselves: and if those Laws should be writ in English, yet if the same Kingly principles remain in them, the English language would not advantage us any thing, but rather increase our sorrow, by our knowledge of our bondage.

What is Law in general.

Law is a Rule, whereby Man and other creatures are governed in their actions, for the preservation of the common peace. And this Law is twofold:

First, it is the power of Life (called the Law of Nature within the creatures) which does move both man and beast in their actions; or that causes grass, trees, corn, and all plants, to grow in their several seasons: and whatsoever any body does, he does it as he is moved by this inward Law. And this law of Nature moves twofold, viz. unrationally, or rationally.

A man by this inward Law is guided to actions of generation and present content, rashly, through a greedy self-love, without any consideration, like foolish children, or like the bruit beasts: by reason whereof, much hurt many times follows the body. And this is called the law in the members warring against the law of the minde.

Or when there is an inward watchful oversight of all motions to action, considering the end and effects of those actions, that there be no

excess in diet, in speech, or in action break forth, to the prejudice of a mans self or others. And this is called the light in man, The reasonable power, Or the law of the minde.

And this rises up in the heart, by an experimental observation of that peace and trouble which such and such words thoughts and actions bring the man into. And this is called *the record on high*; for it is a record in a mans heart above the former unreasonable power. And it is called *the witness or testimony of a mans own conscience*.

And it is said, To the law and to the testimony, &c., for this moderate watchfulness is still the law of Nature in a higher resurrection then the former: it hath many terms which for brevity sake I let pass.

And this twofold work of the law within man strives to bring forth themselves in writing to beget numbers of bodies on their sides. And that power that begets the biggest number alwayes Rules as King and Lord in the creature, and in the creation, till the other part overtop him, even as light and darkness, strive in day and night to succeed each other; or as it is said, the strong man armed, keeps the heart of man, till a stronger then he come, and cast him out.

[79] And this written law, proceeding either from reason or unreasonableness, is called the letter; whereby the creation of mankinde, beasts, and earth is governed according to the will of that power which rules. And it is called by his opposite, the letter that kils, and by those of the same nature with it, it is called the word of life.

As for example, if the experienced, wise, and strong man bears rule, then he writes down his minde to curb the unreasonable law of covetousness and pride in unexperienced men, to preserve peace in the Commonwealth. And this is called *the historical or traditional law*, because it is conveyed from one generation to another by writing; as the laws of *Israels* Commonwealth were writ in a book by *Moses*, and so conveyed to posterity.

And this outward law is a bridle to unreasonableness; or as *Solomon* writ, it is a whip for the fools back, for whom only it was added.

Secondly, since *Moses* time, the power of unreasonable covetousness and pride hath sometimes rise up, and corrupted that traditional law.

For since the power of the sword rise up, in Nations to Conquer, the written law hath not been to advance Common freedom and to beat down the unreasonable self-will in mankind, but it hath been framed to uphold that self-will of the Conquerer, right or wrong; not respecting

the freedome of the Commonwealth, but the freedome of the Conquerer and his friends only. By reason whereof, much slavery hath been laid upon the backs of the plaine dealing man; And men of publick spirits, as *Moses* was, have been crushed, and their spirits damped thereby; which hath bred, first discontents, and then more wars in the Nations.

And those who have been favorites about the Conquerer, have by hypocrisie and flattery pleased their king, that they might get what they can of the earth into their possession; and thereby have increased the bondage of the paineful laborer, if they could but catch him to act contrary to the Conquerers will, called law. And now the City mournes: and do we not see, that the laws of Kings have been alwayes made against such actions as the Common-people were most inclinable to, on purpose to ensnare them into their Sessions and Courts, that the Lawyers and Clergy, who were the Kings supporters, might get money thereby, and live in fulness, by other mens labors?

But hereby the true nature of a wel-governed Commonwealth hath been ruined, and the will of Kings set up for a law, and the law of righteousness, law of liberty trod under foot and killed.

This traditional law of Kings, is that letter at this day which kils true freedom, and it is the fomenter of wars and persecution.

[80] This is the souldier, who cut Christs garment into pieces, which was to have remained uncut and without seame; this law moves the people to fight one against another for those pieces, viz. for the several inclosures of the earth, who shall possess the earth, and who shall be Ruler over others.

But the true ancient law of God, is a Covenant of peace to whole mankinde; this sets the earth free to all; this unites both Jew and Gentile into one brotherhood, and rejects none: this makes Christs garment whole againe, and makes the kingdomes of the world to become Commonwealths again. It is the inward power of right understanding, which is the true law that teaches people in action, as well as in words, to do as they would be done unto.

But thus much in general, what law is: hereafter followes what those particular laws may be, whereby a Commonwealth may be governed in peace, and all burdens removed; which is a breaking forth of that law of liberty, which will be the joy of all Nations, when he arises up, and is established in his brightness.

Short and pithy laws are best to govern a Commonwealth.

The laws of *Israels* Commonwealth were few, short and pithy; and the government thereof was established in peace, so long as officers and people were obedient thereunto.

But those many laws in the dayes of the Kings of England, which were made some in times of Popery, and some in times of Protestantism, and the proceedings of the law being in French and Latine, hath

produced two great evils in England.

First, it hath occasioned much ignorance among the people, and much contention; and the people have mightily erred through want of knowledge, and thereby they have run into great expence of money by suits of law, or else many have been imprisoned, whipped, banished, lost their estates and lives by that law which they were ignorant of, till the scourge thereof was upon their backs; this is a sore evil among the people.

Secondly, the peoples ignorance of the laws, hath bread many sons of contention: for when any difference fals out between man and man, they neither of them know which offends the other; therefore both of them thinking their cause is good, they delight to make use of the law; and then they go and give a Lawyer mony to tell them, which of them was the offender. The Lawyer being glad to maintain their own trade, sets them together by the ears, till all their moneys be near spent; and then bids them refer the business to their neighbors, to make them friends; which might have been done at the first.

[81] So that the course of the Law and Lawyers hath been a meer snare to entrap the people, and to pull their Estates from them by craft; for the Lawyers do uphold the *Conquerors Interest*, and the peoples Slavery: so that the King seeing that, did put all the affairs of Judicature into their hands: And all this must be called Justice, but it is a sore Evil.

But now if the Laws were few and short, and often read, it would prevent those Evils; and every one, knowing when they did well, and when ill, would be very cautious of their words and actions; and this would escape the Lawyers craft.

As Moses Laws in Israels Commonwealth: The People did talk of them when they lay down, and when they rose up, and as they walked by the way; and bound them as bracelets upon their hands: so that they were an understanding people in the Laws wherein their peace did

depend.

But it is a sign that *England* is a blinded and a snared generation; their *Leaders* through pride and covetousness have caused them to err, yea and perish too, for want of the knowledg of the Laws, which hath the power of Life and Death, Freedom and Bondage, in its hand. But I hope better things hereafter.

What may be those particular Laws, or such a method of Laws, whereby a Commonwealth may be governed.

1. The bare letter of the Law established by act of *Parliament* shall be the Rule for *Officer and People*, and the chief Judg of all Actions.

2. He or they who add or diminish from the Law, excepting in the Court of *Parliament*, shall be cashiered his Office, and never bear Office more.

3. No man shall administer the Law for Mony or Reward; he that doth shal dye as a Traytor to the Commonwealth: for when Mony must buy and sell Justice, and bear all the sway, there is nothing but Oppression to be expected.

4. The Laws shall be read by the Minister to the people four times in the year, viz. every quarter, that every one may know whereunto they are to yeeld Obedience; then none may dye for want of knowledg.

5. No accusation shall be taken against any man, unless it be proved by two or three witnesses, or his own confession.

6. No man shall suffer any punishment, but for matter of fact, or Reviling words: but no man shall be troubled for his judgment or practise in the things of his God, so he live quiet in the Land.

7. The accuser and accused shall always appear face to face before any Officer, that both sides may be heard, and no wrong to either party.

- [82] 8. If any Judg or Officer execute his own Will contrary to the Law, or which there is no Law to warrant him in, he shall be cashiered, and never bear Office more.
- 9. He who raises an accusation against any man, and cannot prove it, shall suffer the same punishment the other should, if proved. An Accusation is when one man complains of another to an Officer; all other accusations the Law takes no notice of.
- 10. He who strikes his Neighbor, shall be struck himself by the Executioner blow for blow, and shall lose eye for eye, tooth for tooth,

limb for limb, life for life: and the reason is, that men may be tender of one anothers bodies, doing as they would be done by.

11. If any man strike an Officer, he shall be made a servant under the Taskmaster for a whole year.

- 12. He who endevors to stir up contention among neighbors, by tale-bearing or false reports, shall the first time be reproved openly by the Overseers among all the people: the second time shall be whiped: the third time shall be a servant under the Taskmaster for three Months: and if he continues, he shall be a servant for ever, and lose his Freedom in the Commonwealth.
- 13. If any give reviling and provoking words, whereby his neighbors spirit is burthened, if complaint be made to the Overseers, they shall admonish the offender privately to forbear: if he continues to offend his neighbor, the next time he shall be openly reproved and admonished before the Congregation, when met together: if he continue, the third time he shall be whipt; the fourth time, if proof be made by witnesses, he shall be a servant under the Taskmaster for twelve Months.
- 14. He who will rule as a Lord over his brother, unless he be an Officer commanding obedience to the Law, he shall be admonished as aforesaid, and receive like punishment, if he continue.

Laws for the planting of the Earth, &c.

15. Every houshold shall keep all Instruments and Tools fit for the tillage of the Earth, either for planting, reaping or threshing. Some households, which have many men in them, shall keep Plows, Carts, Harrows, and such like: other housholds shall keep Spades, Pick-axes, Axes, pruning hooks, and such like, according as every Family is furnished with men to work therewith.

And if any Master or Father of a Family be negligent herein, the Overseer for that Circuit shall admonish him between them two; if he continue negligent, the Overseers shall reprove him before all the people: and if he utterly refuse, then the ordering of that Family shall be given [83] to another, and he shall be a servant under the taskmaster till he conform.

16. Every family shall come into the field, with sufficient assistance, at seed time to plow, dig, and plant, and at harvest time to reap the fruits of the Earth, and carry them into the Store-houses, as the Over-

seers order the work, and the number of workmen. And if any refuse to assist in this work, The Overseers shall ask the reason, and if it be sickness, or any distemper that hinders them, they are freed from such service; if meer idleness keep them back, they are to suffer punishment, according to the Laws against Idleness.

Laws against Idleness.

17. If any refuse to learn a trade, or refuse to work in seed-time, or harvest, or refuse to be a Waiter in Store-houses, and yet will feed and clothe himself with other mens labors; The Overseers shall first admonish him privately; if he continue idle, he shall be reproved openly before all the people by the Overseers; and shall be forbore with a moneth after this reproof: If he still continues idle, he shall then be whipt, and be let go at liberty for a moneth longer; if still he continue idle, he shall be delivered into the taskmasters hand, who shall set him to work for twelve moneths, or till he submit to right Order: And the reason why every young man shall be trained up in some work or other, is to prevent pride and contention; it is for the health of their bodies, it is a pleasure to the minde, to be free in labors one with another; and it provides plenty of food and all necessaries for the Common-wealth.

Laws for Store-houses.

18. In every Town and City, shall be appointed Store-houses for flax, wool, lether, cloth, and for all such commodities, as come from beyond Seas, and these shall be called general Store-houses, from whence every particular family may fetch such commodities as they want, either for their use in their house, or for to work in their trades; or to carry into the Country Store-houses.

19. Every particular house and shop in a town or city, shall be a particular Store-house or shop, as now they be; and these shops shall either be furnished by the particular labor of that family according to the trade that family is of, or by the labor of other lesser families of the same trade, as all shops in every town are now furnished.

20. The waiters in Store-houses, shall deliver the goods under their charge, without receiving any money, as they shall receive in their goods without paying any money.

21. If any waiter in a Store-house neglect his office, upon a just

complaint the Overseers shall acquaint the Judges Court therewith, and from thence [84] he shall receive his sentence to be discharged that house and office: And to be appointed some other laboring work under the taskmaster; and another shall have his place: For he who may live in freedom and will not, is to taste of servitude.

Laws for Overseers.

22. The onely work of every Overseer, is to see the Laws executed; for the Law is the true magistracy of the Land.

23. If any Overseer, favour any in their idleness, and neglect the execution of the Laws, he shall be reproved the first time by the Judges Court; the second time cashiered his Office, and shall never bear office more, but fall back into the rank of young people and servants to be a worker.

24. New Overseers, shall at their first entrance into their office, look back upon the actions of the old Overseers of the last year, to see if they have been faithful in their places, and consented to no breach of Law, whereby Kingly bondage should any ways be brought in.

25. The Overseers for Trades, shall see every family to lend assistance to plant and reap the fruits of the Earth; to work in their Trades, and to furnish the Store-houses; and to see that the Waiters in Store-houses be diligent to receive in, and deliver out any goods, without buying and selling, to any man whatsoever.

26. While any Overseer is in the performance of his place, every one shall assist him, upon pain of open reproof (or cashiered if he be another Officer) or forfeiture of freedom, according to the nature of the business in hand, in which he refused his assistance.

Laws against buying and selling.

- 27. If any man entice another to buy and sell, and he who is enticed doth not yield, but makes it known to the Overseer; the enticer shall lose his freedom for twelve moneths, & the Overseer shall give words [of] commendation of him that refused the enticement, before all the Congregation, for his faithfulness to the Commonwealths Peace.
 - 28. If any do buy and sell the Earth or fruits thereof, unless it

be to, or with strangers of another nation, according to the Law of Navigation, they shall be both put to death as traytors to the peace of the *Common-wealth*; because it brings in Kingly bondage again: and is the occasion of all quarrels and oppressions.

29. He or she who calls the Earth his, and not his brothers, shall be set upon a stool, with those words written in his forehead, before all the Congregation; and afterwards be made a servant for twelve moneths under the taskmaster; If he quarrel, or seek by secret perswation, or open rising in arms, to set up such a Kingly propriety, he shall be put to death.

[85] 30. The Storehouses shall be every mans substance, and not any ones.

31. No man shall either give hire, or take hire for his work; for this brings in Kingly bondage: If any Freemen want help, there are young people, or such as are common servants, to do it, by the Overseers appointment: He that gives, and he that takes hire for work, shall both lose their Freedom, and become servants for twelve Months under the Taskmaster.

Laws for Navigation.

32. Because other Nations as yet own Monarchy, and will buy and sell; therefore it is convenient, for the peace of our Commonwealth, That our ships do transport our English goods, and exchange for theirs, and conform to the Customs of other Nations in buying and selling: Always provided, That what goods our ships carry out, they shall be the Commonwealths goods; and all their Trading with other Nations shall be upon the common Stock, to enrich the Storehouses.

Laws for Silver and Gold.

33. As Silver and Gold is either found out in Mynes in our own Land, or brought by shipping from beyond Sea, it shall not be coyned with a Conquerors stamp upon it, to set up buying and selling under his name, or by his leave; for there shall be no other use of it in the Commonwealth, then to make dishes and other necessaries for the ornament of houses, as now there is use made of Brass, Pewter, and Iron, or any other Metal in their use.

But if in case other Nations, whose commodities we want, will not

exchange with us, unless we give them money, then pieces of Silver and Gold may be stamped with the Commonwealths Arms upon it, for the same use, and no otherwise.

For where money bears all the sway, there is no regard of that golden Rule, Do as you would be done by: Justice is bought and sold: nay, Injustice is sometimes bought and sold for money: and it is the cause of all Wars and Oppressions. And certainly the righteous Spirit of the whole Creation did never enact such a Law, That unless his weak and simple men did go from England to the East Indies, and fetch Silver and Gold to bring in their hands to their Brethren, and give it them for their good-will to let them plant the Earth, and live and enjoy their livelyhood therein, [they should not have the use of the land.]

Laws to choose Officers.

34. All Overseers and State-Officers shall be chosen new every year, to [86] prevent the rise of Ambition and Covetousness; for the Nations have smarted sufficiently by suffering Officers to continue long in an Office, or to remain in an Office by hereditary succession.

35. A man that is of a turbulent spirit, given to quarreling, and provoking words to his neighbor, shall not be chosen any Officer

while he so continues.

- 36. All men from twenty years of age upwards shall have freedom of voyce to choose Officers, unless they be such as lie under the sentence of the Law.
- 37. Such shall be chosen Officers, as are rational men of moderate conversation, and who have experience in the Laws of the Commonwealth.
- 38. All men from forty years of age upwards shal be capable to be chosen State Officers, and none younger, unless any one by his industry and moderate conversation doth move the people to choose him.
- 39. If any man make suit to move the people to choose him an Officer, that man shall not be chose at all that time: If another man perswade the people to choose him who makes suit for himself, they shall both lose their freedom at that time, viz. they shall neither have a voyce to choose another, nor be chosen themselves.

Laws against Treachery.

40. He who professes the service of a righteous God by preaching and prayer, and makes a Trade to get the possessions of the Earth, shall be put to death for a Witch and a Cheater.

41. He who pretends one thing in words, and his actions declare his intent was another thing, shall never bear Office in the Commonwealth.

What is Freedom?

Every Freeman shall have a Freedom in the Earth, to plant or build, to fetch from the Store-houses any thing he wants, and shall enjoy the fruits of his labours without restraint from any; he shall not pay Rent to any Landlord, and he shall be capable to be chosen any Officer, so he be above forty years of age, and he shall have a voyce to choose Officers though he be under forty years of age: If he want any young men to be Assistance to him in his Trade or houshold employment, the Overseers shall appoint him young men or maids to be his servants in his family.

Laws for such as have lost their Freedom.

42. All those who have lost their Freedom, shall be clothed in white woolen cloth, that they may be distinguished from others.

43. They shall be under the Government of a Task-master, who shall appoint them to be Porters or Laborers, to do any work that any Freeman wants to be done.

44. They shall do all kind of labour without exception, but their constant [87] work shall be Carriers or Carters, to carry Corn, or other provision, from Store-house to Store-house, from Country to Cities, and from thence to Countries, &c.

45. If any of these refuse to do such work, the Task-master shall see them whipt, and shall feed them with coarse dyet: And what hardship is this? For Freemen work the easiest work, and these shall work the hardest work: And to what end is this, but to kill their Pride and Unreasonableness, that they may become useful men in the Commonwealth?

46. The wife or children of such as have lost their Freedom, shall

not be as slaves till they have lost their Freedom, as their parents and husbands have done.

- 47. He who breaks any Laws shall be the first time reproved in words in private or in publique, as is shewed before; the next time whipt, the third time lose his Freedom, either for a time or for ever, and not to be any Officer.
- 48. He who hath lost his Freedom shall be a common servant to any Freeman, who comes to the Task-masters, and requires one to do any work for him; always provided, that after one Freeman hath by the consent of the Task-masters appointed him his work, another Freeman shall not call him thence till that work be done.
- 49. If any of these Offenders revile the Laws by words, they shall be soundly whipt, and fed with coarse dyet; if they raise weapons against the Laws, they shall dye as Traytors.

Laws to restore Slaves to Freedom.

- 50. When any slaves give open testimony of their humility and diligence, and their care to observe the Laws of the Commonwealth, they are then capable to be restored to their Freedom, when the time of servitude is expired, according to the Judges sentence; but if they remain opposite to the Laws, they shall continue slaves still another term of time.
- 51. None shall be restored to Freedom till they have been a twelve Moneth laboring servants to the Commonwealth, for they shall Winter and Summer in that condition.
- 52. When any is restored to Freedom, the Judg at the Senators Court shall pronounce his Freedom, and give liberty to him, to be clothed in what other coloured cloth he will.
- 53. If any persons be sick or wounded, the Chyrurgeons, who are trained up in the knowledg of Herbs and Minerals, and know how to apply plaisters or Physick, shall go when they are sent for to any who need their help, but require no reward, because the Common Stock is the publique pay for every mans labour.
- [88] 54. When a dead person is to be buried, the Officers of the Parish and neighbors shall go along with the Corpse to the grave, and see it layd therein, in a civil manner; but the publique Minister nor any other shall have any hand in reading or Exhortation.
 - 55. When a man hath learned his Trade, and the time of his

seven years Apprenticeship is expired, he shall have his Freedom to become Master of a family, and the Overseers shall appoint him such young people to be his servants as they think fit, whether he marry, or live a single life.

Laws for Marriage.

- 56. Every man and woman shall have the free liberty to marry whom they love, if they can obtain the love and liking of that party whom they would marry, and neither birth nor portion shall hinder the match, for we are all of one blood, Mankind; and for portion, the Common Store-houses are every man and maids portion, as free to one as to another.
- 57. If any man lie with a maid, and beget a child, he shall marry her.
- 58. If a man lie with a woman forcibly, and she cry out, and give no consent; if this be proved by two Witnesses, or the mans confession, he shall be put to death, and the woman let go free; it is robbery of a womans bodily Freedom.
- 59. If any man by violence endeavor to take away another mans wife, the first time of such violent offer he shall be reproved before the Congregation by the Peace-maker, the second time he shall be made a servant under the Task-master for twelve Moneths; and if he forcibly lie with another mans wife, and she cry out, as in the case when a maid is forced, the man shall be put to death.
- 60. When any man or woman are consented to live together in marriage, they shall acquaint all the Overseers in their Circuit therewith, and some other neighbors; and being all met together, the man shall declare by his own mouth before them all, that he takes that woman to be his wife, and the woman shall say the same, and desire the Overseers to be Witnesses.
- 61. No Master of a family shall suffer more meat to be dressed at a dinner or supper, then what will be spent and eaten by his houshold, or company present, or within such a time after, before it be spoyled. If there be any spoyl constantly made in a family of the food of Man, the Overseer shall reprove the Master for it privately; if that abuse be continued in his family, through his neglect of family government, he shall be openly reproved by the Peace-maker before all the people, and ashamed for his folly; the third time he shall be made a servant

for twelve Moneths under the Task-master, that he may know what it is to get food, and another shall have the oversight of his house for the time.

[89] 62. No man shall be suffered to keep house, and have servants under him, till he hath served seven years under Command to a Master himself; the reason is, that a man may be of age, and of rational carriage, before he be a Governor of a family, that the Peace of the Commonwealth may be preserved.

Here is the righteous Law, Man, wilt thou it maintain? It may be, is, as hath still, in the world been slain. Truth appears in Light, Falshood rules in Power; To see these things to be, is cause of grief each hour. Knowledg, why didst thou come, to wound, and not to cure? I sent not for thee, thou didst me inlure. Where knowledge does increase, there sorrows multiply, To see the great deceit which in the World doth lie. Man saying one thing now, unsaying it anon, Breaking all's Engagements, when deeds for him are done. O power where art thou, that must mend things amiss? Come change the heart of Man, and make him truth to kiss: O death where art thou? wilt thou not tidings send? I fear thee not, thou art my loving friend. Come take this body, and scatter it in the Four, That I may dwell in One, and rest in peace once more.

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