THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

Rom.8. More then Conquerour, &c.

Reprinted
Eikon Basilike.

THE PORTRAJCTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

Rom. 3.
More than Conqueror, 

Esse agere, & mala pati, Regnum est.

Reprinted
In R. M. Anno Domini 1648.
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Upon His Majesty's calling this last Parliament,

His last Parliament I called, not more by other's advice, and necessity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination, who have always thought the right wise of Parliament most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which form men's distemperes formerly studied to kindle in Parliament, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet, resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by My freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this; in which as I feared affairs would meet with
from passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoise the over-balancings of anie Faction.

I was, indeed, forie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in manie places; yet, hoping that the gravitie and discretion of other Gentlemen would aliaie, and fix the Commons to a due temperament, guiding from men's well-meaning zeal by such Rules of Moderation as are both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms. No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self, who knowing both the largeness of My own Heart toward My People's good, and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Children's Interests gave Me manie obligations to seek and prefer the love and welfare of My Subjects; the only temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and ladecke, next God's protection. I cared not to lessen My self from things of My wanted Prerogative, since I knew I could bee no lesse.

So, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subject's affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to anie modest and sober sent.

The adims and offences which from men's rigor or remissnes in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice, but supplie what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then My self; whom it most concerneth both in Piete, and Policie, as knowing, that, no flames of civil discensions are more dangereous then those which makes religious pretensions the grounds of Faction.

I resolved to reform what I shou'd by free and full advice in Parliament bee convinced to bee amiss, and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me was fit to bee defir'd; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffer'd My own Judgment to have been over-born in som things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed
betrayed My self and My Kingdoms to those advantages, which from men fought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of God's Justice from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not always pacifie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have over laid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to pleas thee; then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of instant repentance of our sins, thou grant us cannot repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of my calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention, to thy glory, and My People's good.

The Miseries which have enkindled upon Me and My Kingdoms are the just effects of thy displeasure.

Sure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercies) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast depriued us of many former comforts, yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod, as well as thy staff, may comfort us: then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father, when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children. I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People, unsignificantly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could bee with our sins.

O thou Sovereign Goodness and Wisdom, who ever rulest all our Counsels, ever rulest all our hearts, that the worst things we suffer by thy Father, the better we may see by thy Mercies.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poison, so let thy Grace turn our Poison into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposses us to this unhappy War, so let this War prepare us for the blessed Peace.

Thus although I have but troubled some Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though
Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death.

I looked upon my Lord of Strafford, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of State.

For these were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good stores, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, hee must needs (as the Sun) raife manie envious exhalations, which condened by a populous odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the necessities of Times, and the temper of that People; more then led by his own disposition to anie height and rigor of actions: yet I could never bee convinced of anie such criminculnes in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unshappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the busines of that unfortunate Earl: when, between My own unassiess in Confidence, and a necessitie (as som told Mee) of satisfying the importunities of som people, I was perfwaded by those, that I think willed Mee well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just, preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Confidence with God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary content it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by ancie clear Law, guiltie of death: That I never bare any touch of Confidence with greater regret: which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confess'd both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailtie, that it discovering more a fear of Man, then of God, whose name and place on Earth no man is worthe to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensare.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own confidence, thereby to falsify State-fautes; to calm the storms of popular discontentes, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom.

Nor hath God's Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the
fallacie of that Maxim, Better one man perish (though unjustly), than the people bee displeased, or distressed.

In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, yet with greater comfort, had I vindicated Strafford's innocencie, at least by denying to Sign that destructive Bill, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggetted to Me, then I have done since I gratified some men's unthankful impotities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counsell'd Me to sign that Bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratitude with the People, that no men have been harassed and cruished more than they. Hee only hath beene left vexed by them, who counsell'd Me not to content against the vote of My own Conscience: I hope God hath forgiven Me and them the sinful rashnesh of that busines.

To which, being in My Soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a meane (I hope) which his mercie hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of Justice is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My

My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath anie thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike content from Me, to Act, wherein My conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of Strafford's Busines.

Nor that I resolv'd to have employed him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whose guiltiefrays I was better assured, then anie man living could bee.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that Houe. And for the Houe of Commons, manie Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of Strafford's greatnes and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by putting their Names exposed to the popular clamor, hatred, and suffer, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for Justice, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houes Vote, and do as they would
would have us that manie (tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning Party, then satisfied, that of right they ought to do.

And that after abandoning the Authorie of the precedent, for future imitation, tell's the world, that som remorfe touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had very hard measure, and such as they would bee verie loth should bee repeated to themselfs.

This tenderness and regret I finde in My soul, for having had anie hand (and that verie unwillingly, God knowes,) in shedding one mans blood unjustly, though under the color and formalitie of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publike miscarriages, which may (I hope) bee som evidence before God and Man, to all posterity, that I am far from bearing jufly that vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappie War, which som men will needs charge on Mee, to eft their own souls, who am, and ever shall bee, more afraid to take away anie mans life unjustly, than to lose mine own.

But then O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Mee than any man, since I had not the least temptation of envie, or malice against him,

him, and by My Place shoulde, at least so far, have been a Preserver of him, as to have denied My consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge My transgression, and My sin is ever before Mee.

Deliver mee from blood-guiltiness! O God, thou God of My salvation, and My tongue shall sing of Thy Righteousnes.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou knowest the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Yet call mee not away from thy Presence, purge mee with the blood of My Redeemer, and I shall bee clean; wash mee with that precious effusion, and I shall be whitened soon.

Teach mee to learn Righteousnes by thy judgments, and to see My frailtie in thy justice: while I was persuaded, by shedding one mans blood, to prevent after-troubles: thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon mee, and upon My Kingdom, great, long, and bawtie troubles.

Make mee prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamers, which are but discoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome mee, to plead them by disbelieving thee: O never suffer mee, for anie Reason of State, to go against My Reason of Conscience, which is highly to be against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Conscience.
3. Upon His Majesty's going to the Houf of Commons.

My going to the Houf of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and fears; yea, and many of My friends refented it as a motion rising rather from Passion than from Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those men's persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under their own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the Publick Peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God know's was all My design) could have amounted to no worth effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me and My Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie, or else to have cleared their Innocence, and removed My suspicion; which, as they were not ruled out of anie malice, so neither were they in Reason to be loosenthed.

What flames of discontent this spark
though I sought by all specie and possible means to quench it, soon kindled; all the world is witnesses. The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the Houfe of Commons, and invade their Privileges, is so false, that, as God best knows, I had no such intent: to none that attended could justly gather from anie thing I then said, or did, the leaft intimation of anie fuch thoughts.

That I went attended with fome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeflty and fafety of a King fo to be attended, especially in difcontented times; to were my followers, at that time how of my ordinary Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflikt. Nor were they more feared or My comming, then I was un'affred of not having fome affiftants cast upon Me, if I had none with Me, to preferve a reverence to Me; for manie people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The fur of that conflikt was this:

Thofe men and their adherents were then looked upon, by the affhighted Vulgar, as greater protectors of their laws and lfferties, then My felf, and worther of their protection.

But now, O Lord, art My witnef in Heaven, and in My heart: If I have purpofed anie violence or oppression againſt the Innocent: or
if there were any such wickedness in my thoughts,
Then let the enemie persecute my soul, and
Send my life to the ground, and make mine honor
In the dust.

Thus that she is not so much thereof, but looketh beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew the self.

Let not my afflictions hereafter, as with wise and godly men, they cannot bee) ane argument of my sin, in that matter, more than their imputing among good men is ane sure token of their innocencie.

But forgive them, whereas they have done amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save the servant from the private conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the throne, judging righteously, that thy servant may ever rejoice in thy salvation.

4. Upon the Insubins of the tumults.

I never thought anie thing (except our sins) more commonly prefiguring all these mishiefs which have followed, than those tumults in London and Westminster, soon after the convening of this Parliament, which were not like a storm at sea, (which yet wane's not it's terror) but like an earthquake, shaking the very foundations of all, then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less that hee restrain's the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation then when hee suffer's the confusions and clamors of the vulgar, to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Autority.

Which those tumults did so high degrees of insolence, that they spared not to invade the honor and freedom of the two houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and affiliating from members of both houses, as they fancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemlie deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to myself and my court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague, but a quotidian fever, always encroaching to higher inflammation, impatient of anie mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears which some men feared themselves and
others withall, when, indeed, nothing was more to be feared and left to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, a freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candor) must be taken away with these Tumults. By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleas to count them) cast out. By these the obstinacy of men, resolved to dischage their Consciences, must be abated; by these all factions, seditions, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil; must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of these Tumults; whereas both idleness and impatience was such, that they would not lie the ripening and leaven of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateness befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelties, and forcibly cut our abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Encouragers most fancied.

Yea, to enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could see without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the Publick good, than obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But men's passions and God's directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have suitable engines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselues to God's means. Force must crowd in, what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults to lend them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, from men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of foment reputation for parts and plebe to set them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was, That manie Complaints bee-
ing made, and Messages sent by My self and som of both House, yet no order for redress could be obtained with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-spread diell, and predominant mischief.

Such was som mens stupiditie, that they feared no inconvenience; Other,s petulanie, that they joied to see their Bitters shamefully out-raged and abused, while they knew their ownes securnitie consist in vulgar flattery; So intinsible were they of Mine, or the two Houses commoneritie and Honors.

Nor could ever anie order bee obtained, impartially to examine, cenacae, and punish the knowne Ruffians, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults, as their advantages servd.

Yet, som (who should have beene wiser State-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who goe’s about seeking whom he may deceiv, and devour.

I confess, when I found such a deafnes, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first ouly insulted and assaulted, nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honors, nor yet from My self, could take place for

for the due suppression of these Tumults; and securing, not only Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Person in the streets; I thought My self not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldnes and contemptes; I hoped, by My with-drawing, to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and others regaining som degrees of modestie and sober sent.

Som may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity for anie man for popular terrors to defect his Publick Station. But I think it is hardines, beyond true valor, for a wise man to let himself against the breaking in of a Sea, which to refist, at present, threaten’s imminent danger, but to with-draw, give’s it space to spend it’s furie, and gaines a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight, to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderle waile, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Som suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from Whitehall only to redeem My Person, and Conscience from violence) God know’s, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceive, that I would by so manie former, and som after-Acts, have so much weakened My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which
which to decline by all means, I denied my self in no manie particulars: "Tis evident I had then no Army to file unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or anie other, for with-drawing ourselves from the dulle battings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high, as to worrie and rear those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witness in Heaven, that I never had anie thoughts of going from My Houfe at Whitehall, if I could have had but anie reasonable fair Quarter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so, but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majestie of My Place and Person, the faticie of My Wife and Children to those, who are prone to influnt most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their usefullnes and perniciou.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof you have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselfs desperately guilty) Time and the guilt of manie hath so flithered up and buried, that I think it best to let it lie, as it is: onely, I believe the just Avenger of all disorders will in time make those men, and that Cattie fee their fin in the glads of their punishment. "Tis more than anie laie that they may one daie fee themselves punished by that waie they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in it's first Election and Constitution, were full and free, the Members of both Houfes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reall, honor, and Religion, they should have been, I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments and Plebeian concourses to publick Councils, turning all into disorders and fordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to anie other place in England (as I might opportuneely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in anie place; no place afforded such confluence of various and virtious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee must leav all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom
most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But then, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flee, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People. The floods, O Lord, the floods are come upon Me, and are ready to overwhelm Me. I look upon My sins, and the sins of My People, (which are the tumults of our Souls against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations, which thou permittest to overbear all the banks of Loyalitie, Misdostie Laws, Falsitie, and Religion.

But thou, that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst assuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy Power, rebuke these heaps of the People, and deliver Me from the rudeness andプリンuosity of the multitude.

Before, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Counsels and Parliament; make us unpasionately to see the light of Reason and Religion; and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians, so shall we graft thy Name, who art the God of Order and Command.

What man cannot, or will not reverence, thy Omnipotent Justice can and will. O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely feast and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guillev of raising, or not suppressing those disorders; let shame be here, and may suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our schisms by Charities that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, a City at unity in itself. This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christ’s sake, Amen.

5. Upon His Majestie’s passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments, and after setting this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

That the world might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could, to the Happier success of this Parliament, (which had in Mee no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms.) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and Reasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent ane distemper from getting ane head of prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a diffece beyond all remeide.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work
work with convenient receipts, for the first three years; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby, have occasioned more work, then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is men's activity, that they will needs make work, rather then want it, and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too frantic to satisfy some men's fears, and complete Publick Affairs, I was persuaded to grant that bill of Sinking during the pleasure of the Honors, which amounted, in long men's fent, to as much, as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as some men have now required Me.

True: it was an Act unparalleled by ane of My Predecessors, yet cannot in reason admit of ane word of interpretation: by which I slid, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared to do much to trust them, as to define My self in so high a point of Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should bee worse by
butions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now only miserable in this. That from men's ambition will not give them leas to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honor and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully compensate both the Acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them; which (God know's) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perjuration I had, that I could not grant too much, or do too little to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety and religious strictness.

The injustice of all injuries is, That which from men will needs load Mee withall, as if I were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subject's miseries, while (as they confidently, but (God know's) falsely divugle) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavored by force and open hostilities to undo what by My Royal assent I had don. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreme fatuities of minde in Me, to far to bine My own hands at their request; if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God know's, though

though I had then a fear of injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as hince, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatened to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had judgely resented anie indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in anie capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike waie upon theol, whom I knew to be well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of people, that I could not give My Enemies greater, and more defied advantages against Me, then, by jo unprecedent Inconstancie, to have assailed them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God know's I longed for nothing more then that My self, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My manie condescendings.

It had been a Court full of sin, as well as of hazard, and dishonor for Me, to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which
do much evil to themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot frame properly that I repent of what Ad, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of My will, though an error of a charitiable a judgment: Only I am forse it others men's cies should bee evil, becauf Mine were good.

To thee (O my God) do I still appeal, where All discerning Justice seeth through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darknesse of their hearts.

Then gavest Mee a heart to grant much to My Subjects, and now I need a heart fitter to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of our's, even when We hope to do what might bee most conformed to thine and their's too, who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach Mee wisely to endure, as well the frustracings, as the fulfilings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay other's fears, I have raised Mine own; and by setting them, have unsettled My Self.

Thus have they requited Mee evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.
O Lord, bee then My Pilot in this dark and
dangerous storm, which neither admits My return
to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any
other, with that safety and honor which I de-
sign'd.

To save for thee to keep Mee safe in the love
and confidence of so many People: nor is it hard for
thee to preserve Mee amidst the unjust hatred and
jealousies of so many, which thou hast suffered so
far, to prevail upon Mee, as to bee able to prevent
and abuse My Acts of greatest indulgence to them,
and assurance of them.

But no favors from Mee can make others more
guiltless then My self: May bee, of mis-using those
manie and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast
conferred on Mee.

The peace thee, give Mee and them such Repen-
tance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we
may not abuse.

Make Mee so far happier, as to make a right use
of other men's benefits, and by their failings of Mee, to
reflect with a reformation, displeasure, upon My of-
fences against thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other men's
sins deprived of the temporal blessings, yet I
may be happier to enjoy the comfort of thy mercy,
which often rais the greatest sufferers to be the
most glorious Saints.

6. Upon His Majesty's retirement from
Westminster.

With what willingness I with-drew
from Westminster let them judge, who,
unprovided of tackling and victual, are
forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do I,
then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-
shore.

I staid at White-hall, till I was driv'n away
by shame more then fear, to see the barba-
rous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolv'd
they would take the boldness to demand anie
thing, and not leave either My self, or the
Members of Parliament, the libertie of our
Reason and Conscience to deny them anie
thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My
care alone, (though chiefly Mine,) For the
Lords and Commons might be content to
be over-voted by the major part of their
Houses, when they had used each their own
freedom.

Whole agreeing Votes were not by anie
Law or reason conclusive to My Judgment;
or can they include, or carry with them My
content, whom they represent not in anie
kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with

the
the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights as a King, and the general good of My People. I see that as many men they are fowl of one minde; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

Had formerly declared to sober and moderate minde; how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and fire all; If som men's Hydropticke Inflammablenes had not learned to thirst the more by how much the more they drank, whom no fountain of Royal bountyc was able to overcom; so resolved they seemd, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it cease's to bee Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men, to perwade, but force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatsoever tumultuaries patrons shall project. Hee desires's to bee a slave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Sovereignty of his Soul, and libertie of his Will and words fo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preferve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becauf it belongeth to Mee as a Man, a Man, and a Christian, owning the Dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as obliging Mee to content. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion bee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King, if it should carrieth a vassallage with it, as not to suffer Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of England bee bound by anie Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie, to content to whatsoever it's Subjects in Parliament shall require, as som men will needs inter; while, denying Mee anie power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to suck to deprive Mee of the libertie of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of England enjoy, proportionable to their influence on the Publicke, who would take it verie ill to bee urged, not to denie, whatever My self, as King, or the Houfe of Peers with Mee, should not so much desire, as enjoin them to pass. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People, with the Houfe of Peers, have chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self, conscientiollly
Scientifically tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Religion, bids Me deny.

Yet to tender I see som men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of another's will, to which themselves give no consent,) that they care not with how much dishonor and absurdity they make the King the only man that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by anie Representation.

And if My dissenting at anie time were (as som have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinate in Me (which not true Judgment of things, but som vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde,) yet can no man think it other than the Badg and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenes, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the guilt of His Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must ferv thole that are definative of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriouly endeavor to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follow's what hee take's for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argue's rather those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the affluence of mee force to carry on the weaknes of their Counsels and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never willfully opposed, or denied anie thing that was in a fair waie, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houses, further then I thought, in good reason, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever plea's Me more, then when My Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them; yea, in anie things where not absolute and moral necessitie of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honor was to bee considered, I chose rather to deny Me self, then them, as preferring that which they thought necessary for My People's good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can bee content to recede much from
from My own Interests and Personal Rights, of which I conceive My self to bee Muster; but in what concern's Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lie's in mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fixt and resolute, nor shall anie man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I deny before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to mee) for one of Lead; whose embased flexibilens shall bee forced to bend and complied to the various, and oft contrary Dictates of anie Faction; when, in stead of Reason and Publick concerns, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the interest of Parties, and flow's from the partialties of Private Wills and Passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O My God, prefer with thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believe is thy will that wee should maintain: who, though

though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wills to thine, whose wisdom and Goodness can neither err, nor misguide us; and so far to deny our carnal reason, in order to thy Sacred Mysteries and Command's, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoines us to trie all things by the touchstone of Reason and Laws which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgments approve.

Then knewest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set mee, and whereas the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call mee.

A My People can witness how far I have been content, for their good, to deny My self in what thou hast subjected to My displeasure.

O let not the unthankful importunities and immoderate evidences of some men's inlermediate demands ever bereave mee to that degenerate & unmanlike favor, which would make mee strengthen them by My consent in those things which, I think in My Conscience, to bee against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own duty in Reason and Justice.

Make mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities
nities and injuries they press upon mee; rather when commit the least sin against my conscience.

Isheth haith invested mee by the favor of the power of a christian king, suffer mee not to subject my reason to other men's passions and designs, which to mee seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious. So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfy these men.

Though I bee driven from among them, yet give mee grace to walk always uprightly before thee.

Lead mee in the way of truth and justice, for these, I know, will bring mee at last to peace and happiness with thee, though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my savion's sake.

7. Upon the Queen's departure and absence out of England.

Although I have much caule to bee troubled at my wife's departure from mee, and out of my dominions; yet not her absence so much, as the scandal of that necessity,

necesitie, when drive's her away, doth affright mee. That shee should bee compelled by my own subjects, and those pretending to bee protestants, to withdraw for her lacier: This being the first example of anie protestant subjects, that have taken up arms against their king, a protestant: for I look upon this now done in England as another act of the same tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland, the brands of that fire being ill quenched have kindled the like flames here: I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in her from that religion, which is the onely thing wherein wee differ.

Which yet God can and I pray hee would in time take away; and not suffer these prati- ties to bee anie obstruction to her judgment, since it is the motion of these men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for doctrine, government, and good manners, and so not to bee imputed to the true English protestants, who continue firm to their former settled principles and laws.

I am forlie my relation to doe servyng a ladie should bee anie occasion of her danger and affliction: whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage
vage Indians, while their rudenes and barbaritie know's not fo perfectly to hate all Vices, as from men's subtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicous as to hate Her for Her self. The fault, is that She is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection command's Me to study Her Securitie, who is openly in danger for My sake; I am content to bee troubled, weather-beaten, and shipwrack't, so as Shee may bee in a safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enioye by Her safetie in the midst of My Perilous dangers, that I can perish but half; if Shee bee preferred: In whole memorie and hopeful Posteritie, I may yet surive the malice of My enemies, although they should bee satiasted with My blood.

I must leave Her, and them, to the Love and Loyalitie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punishe the faults of Princes, and no les severely to revenge the injuries done to THEM, by those, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyalitie: Nor can it bee safe (for anie relation) to a King, to carrie among them who are shaking hands with

with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying fater hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie so noble and peaceful a Soul should bee, much more fuffer, the rudenes of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her sympathee with Mee in My afflictions, will make Her Virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights; and assure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindenes of the Generalie, and Vulgar; for Wee see God is pleased to trie both Our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who have been eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bountie, have Scornfully lift up themselv's against Us; and thole of our own Household are become Our enemies.

I praine God laie not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to dutie, by their Corbut of Religion; and can les induce to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that politic of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessarie to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: left by the influence of Her

example
example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyalty as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may bee blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy myself.

Thus 0 Lord, whose Justice at present see’s fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite on earth, if it bee thy will; however bring us both to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Prefer us from the hands of our despicable and deadly enemies, and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporal infelicity), yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our soul’s eternal good, and make us careful to do what good we can know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, nor disobedience to what we know, bee our incentive, or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with Me, bee an hindrance to her love of anie Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor anie hardening of her in anie error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other men’s constitude bee an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, bee presented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceableness, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it:

Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schism, Heresy, Noveltie, Cruelty, and Discord, which some men’s practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and savious Truth, as Things, that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth shee may see thee, in those mercies which thou haft offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and thy Only in all those divine duties which must agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the pastoral, and uncertain of all humane Glory, and greatness.
in Our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to bee honord in those durable honors, and Perfections, which are enly to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. Upon his Majestie's repuls at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.

My repuls at Hull seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Essex to bee made, how patiently I could bear the los of My Kingdoms.

God knowes, it affected Mee more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee so much as their sin, which admitted no color or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience but I fore-saw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this unworthy act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or conueniency it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers. That bad actions must alwaies bee seconed with worfe; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and have repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of som men; whole words were fometime smoother then oil, but now I see they would prove verie Swords.

Against which, I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of Hotham, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Mee by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say anie thing unbecoming My self, or unuseable to My temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becoms a Christian, as comming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire always more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempest to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth.
to forgive. Keeping in compacts all those impotent passions, whose excess injure’s a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwise cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after fo pleased and avenged My cauf, in the cie of the world; that the most willfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with som remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir John Hotham, unrepromched, unthreatened, uncurst by any language, or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blotted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after paie’s his own and his eldest Son’s heads, as forfeitures of their disloyaltie, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they, who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde meric enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For Apostatie unto Loyaltie altie som men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one head in a famelie is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Head of the Common-well. The eldest Son must bee involved in the punishment; as hee was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country; Root and Branch God cut’s off in one date.

These observations are obvious to every man: God know’s I was so far from rejoicing in Hotham’s ruin, (though it were such as was) able to give the greatest thank for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against mee; that I so far pitied him as I thought hee was first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope other men do in the fame Cauf, joining to a most solemn addons.”

Sir John Hotham was (I think) a man of another
other temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes Mee more pittie him, is, that, after hee began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparacion of his due to Mee, he should be so unhappe as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiv'n him as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For I think clemencie a debt, which wee ought to pate to those that crave it, when we have cauld to believe they would not after abuse it; since God himself suffer's us not to pate anie thing for his mercie but only prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, hee is now become a notable monument of unproperous Diligency; teaching the world by his sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries his own vengeance, as an unfeeble shadow with it; and thole off prove the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imploiers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull, or at Tower-Hill, though

though 'tis certain that no punishment so stain's a man's Honor, as willful perpetractions of unworthy actions, which, besides the confidence of the sin, brand's, with most indelible characters of infamous, the name and memory to posterity; who, not engaged in the factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a wise avenged thy Servant, suffer Mee not to take anie score pleasure in it, at his death hath satisfied the injury hee did to Mee, so let Mee not by it gratifie anie passion in Mee, lest I make thy vengeance to bee Mine, and consider the affront against Mee, more then the sin against thee.

Then indeed, without anie desire or endeavor of Mine, haft made his mischife to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Then haft pleaded My Cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into shine own hands, that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, haft don it.

I do not, I dare not sile, So let mine enemies perish, O Lord 3 yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and imputations, if it bee thy blessed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie, yea, let them live and a
Upon the lifting up, and raising Armies against the King.

I finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced me to leave Whitehall; what tumults could not do, an Army must, which is but Tumults lifted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receiue hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I safely may as to anie outward strength, which God knows is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible, through God's grace enabling me: Here I am sure to bee Conqueror, if God will give mee such a measure of Constance, as to fear him, more then many, and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

And must I bee oppossed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to make mee a slave? O My Soul! bee of good courage, they confess their known weaknesses, I to truth and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those unmanie Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those manie Indignities...
In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when to manie hands are armed against Mee with Swords.

God know's how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alleged for this War against Mee; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which (to manie men) seems rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of minds, or of private discontentes, Ambition and Faction (which easly finde, or make caues of quarrels) then anie real obstruction of Publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must bee able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however some men are not willing to beleev Mee, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from White-hall, to see if I could silence the insolencies of the Tumults, and the not suppressing of which no account in Reafon can bee giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted but onely to oppose both Mine and the Two Houles freedom of Declaring and Votinge according to everie man's Conscience) what obstructi-ions of Justice were there further then this, that...
that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another.

Whom did I by power protect against the
Justice of Parliament? Was I with a wrong

That some men withdrew, who feared the
partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord
of Strafford's death,) while the vulgar threats
ned to bee their Oppressors, and Judges of
their Judges, was from that instinct, which is
in all creatures, to prefer themselves. If une
others refusd to appear, where they evidently
saw the current of Justice and Freedom so
stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that
their lawful Judges either dure not come to
the Houes, or not declere their tenf with li-
bertie and safety, it cannot seem strange to a
reasonable man, when the sole exposing
them to the publick shame was enough to ru
nine them, before their Counsell could bee heard
or tried.

Had not factions Tumults overborne the
Freedom and Honor of the two Houes; had
they affeeted their Justice against them, and
made the waie open for all the Members qui
dly to come and declare their Consciences, I
know no man so dear to mee, whom I had
the least inclination to aduise either to with-
draw himself, or deny appearing upon
their Summons; to whose Sentence ac-
ding to Law (I think) every Subject was bound
to stand.

Diftemps (indeed) were so great from a
height, for want of time in reprefling the vul-
gar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of thofe
which were Voted and demanded as Delin-
quents was this, That they would not suffer
themselves to bee over-aw'd with the Tu-
mults and their Patrons; nor compelled to
abet by their suffrages or prence, the de-
signs of thofe men who agitated innovations,
and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approove their
generous constancy and caution, and more
then this I did never allow anie man's refor
mation, against the Priviledges & Orders of
the Houes, to whom I wished nothing more,
than Safety, Felicity, and Freedom.

But the truth is, vom men and thofe not
manie, despairing in fair and Parliamentarie
waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain
the concurrence of the Major part of Lords
and Commons, betook themselves by the de-
perate activity of factions Tumults to lift
and terrify away all thofe Members whom
they law to bee of contrary minds to their
purposes.

How oft was the busines of the Bishops
enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted
Priviledges in the Houf of Peers, carried for
for them by far the Major part of Lords: Yet after five repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie insinuations obtruded again, and by a few carried when most of the Peers were forced to abate themselves.

In like manner was the Bill against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuarie Comotions, and irremediable Terrors; which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Restraint, Justice, and Religion, My conscience forbids Mee by contenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazard My Own, and My Kingdom's ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men whose zealous superstition think'st or pretend'st, they cannot do God and the Church no greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and antiently Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other men's Judgments bind them to maintain, or forbid them to content to the abolishing of, Mine much more; who besides the grounds I have in My Judgment, have also a most iniurid and indigetible
Religious and Apostolical (and so verie Sacred and Divine) as not to bee dispersed with, or destroied: when what is onely of civil Favor, and Priviledg of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, bee annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to bee in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when, I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War; being, onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My Own and other men's Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others' with-drawing from, or defence against violence; but those could not bee the first occasion of raising an Armie against Mee, Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often) that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Mee with all the envie and injuries of first assaulting them, when as, God know's, I had not so much aanie hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorable, and effectually reproved by exemple Justice, and the Libertie of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members

Members of either House might with Honor and Freedom, becoming such a Senate, have com'n & discharged their Conferences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired, this being My necessitie driving, the other My choice directing.

But some men knew I was like to bring the same judgment and constancie, which I carried with Mee, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Mee to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but bee pleased with it; especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when at that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drove My self, and so manie of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet, in all Reason and Honor, they were as loth to have deferred, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an Armie, for not suffering more namely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Armie against Mee, is by
the sequel of evident, that all other pretences vanity. For, when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appeal them, there was nothing of consequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as an original difference in anie point of Law, or order of Justice. But, among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopacy, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things, at anie time propounded, were either impertinent, as to anie ground of a War, or easily granted by Mee, and only to make up a number, or else they were meere conformity; and acceptable, after the war was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other men’s thoughts, which the soil and flew of piecipe, and heat for Reformations and Religion, might easily to fill with prejudice, that all equall and clearness of judgment might bee obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My left observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Armie, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent; and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having anie preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successe of this War on My side, I do not think My innocence anie what prejudiced, or darkened. Nor am I without, that integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Prayr to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, dost clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs, Thy judgements with the prejudice. Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerring Judgment.

O, My God, the proud are risen against Me, and the assemblies of violent men have fought after My soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider, My enemies, O Lord, they are many, and they hate Me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War, where I had last temptation, as knowing I must adventure more than once, and could gain least of anie by it.

Thus, O Lord, on My part, both of I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity therof, wherein I cannot well be thought to prodigally thirst of My Subjects blood, as to overrun My own Life, which I have been as compelled to do in this unhappy War, and which were better spent to save, than to destroy My People.

O Lord.
O Lord, I need much of thy Grace, with patience to bear the manifold afflictions thou hast suffered for me to bring upon thee; but much more by the unjust reproaches of those, who, not content that I suffer more by war, will needs persuade the world that I have raised fire, or given cause to raise it.

The Confidence of some men’s false Tongues is such; that they would almost make me suspect my own Innocence. Take, I could be content (as least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt, lest that I might alienate the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miserable War, since thou, O Lord, knowest my Innocence in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloodie and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their days, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked Counsel.

Seest, O Lord, thy Servant, as heretofore thou hast, and still doe I bear the People that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self, and of the rest of Mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold I have conserved my heart, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falsehood.

Thus knoweth the chief design of this War is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgment.

ment, and to make me revenge my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to cross David’s choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their Mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire: better they destroy me, then should I damn thee.

Be thou ever the Defence of my Soul, who wilt face the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satiate my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy Temporal Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own Subject’s hands.

But, O let the blood of mee, though their King, yet a Summer, be washed with the blood of my Innocent and Peace-making Redeemer; for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal-plenaric satisfaction, both for my sins, and the sins of My People; whom I beseech thou still own for thine; and, when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they do.
Upon Their setting the Kings Magazine, Forts, Navies, and Militia.

How untruly I am charged with the full raising of an Army and beginning this Civil war, the eyes, that only pitie Mee, and the Loyal hearts that durst only praise for Mee at first, might witness, which yet appear not to manie on My side, as there were men in Armes listed against Mee. My unpreparedness for a war may well dishearten those that would help Mee; while it argues truly My unwillingness to fight, yet it costeth for Mee, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little power or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self or to preserve what is Mine own from their preposterous despoilations. No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Mee, and surprizes of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not bee for Mee; so over-awed is their Loyalitie by the others numbers and terrors. I believe My Innocencie, and unpreparednes to afford My Rights and Honor make's Mee the more guilte in their esteem; who would not so easily have declared a War against Mee, if I had first affulled them.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Me were those only, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Tears. There may serve a good man's turn, if not to Conquer as a Soldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Mee, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navies, with the Militia, is so far best for Mee, that it may drive Mee from putting anie trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast My self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by manie.

He that made the greatest Ravens to bee Ellis's Caters, and bring him food, may also make their surprizal of outward force, and defend all opportunity to show Mee the special support of his power and protection.

I think God I reckon not now the want of the Militia to much in reference to My own protections as My People's.

Their manie and true oppressions grieve Mee; I am above My own, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prater.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to refold their side of

Making
Making Mee a glorious King, by taking away My Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to Mee, the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, so, without anie realtie of power, or without anie necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of England might hereafter hang like Mahomet's Tomb, by a Magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Housees, in an aterie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the furthe of too much Power, which som men have greedily feazed on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long, make the Commonwealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects feldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow- Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant Militia fought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure My friends, and overcome Mine enemies; to gain the Peace of all, by depriving My self of a false power to help, or hurt anie yielding the Militia (which is My undoubted Right no les than the Crown) to bee disposed of as the two Houles shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealousies in them of Mee; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self; I desire not to bee sater then I wish them and My People: If I had the sole actual disposing of the Militia, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themselfs: so that the use of the Militia is mutual. I would but defend My self so far, as to bee able to defend My good Subjects from those men's violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designes, will needs periwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to bee trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Mee, and employed against Mee and them, that neither can bee safe if both bee not in such a wise, as the Law hath entrusted the publick saftety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceision of Mine as to the exercise of the Militia, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to som men, which seem to bee Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolued to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy'ts just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which
which (at last) ye all Law is resolved: while thereby its be best protected.

But here Honor and Justice, due to My Successors, forbid Me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civil and dutiful (no less than Justice and Honor) should have forbid them to have asked of Me. 1599 vi. vii. viii. viii.

Nor, although I can bee content to Eedius My own means to satisfy their fears, who think they must needs bee confus'd or blind'd, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kings Power, whereas God and the Laws have invested Me; yet I will not confess to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all Potentiates and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine which indeed would not bee more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to My Subjects whom I desire to live in a condition not wholly desperate for the future, to assure a Law to bee ever subjected to those manifest distractions, which must needs follow the manie-headed Hydra of Government which, as it make's a fly to the people to have more eyes to foresee, so they will find, it hath more mouths, too, which must bee satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie; where one may bee in manie as the fenes, but the Supreme Power can bee but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have try'd the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth it's chiefest light from Me) they will at length more eftaem and welcome the restored glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

And at present I may seeme by My receding fro' much from the use of My Rights in the Power of the Militia in short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for My People's protection; I conceiveth those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if it may seem) who compel Me to take this new and strange waie of discharging My trust, by seeme to defect it, or protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonor, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil war and advantages of Power cannot bee effected but by fom idle yielding, to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the hopefull assurance of God's protection (sailing from a good
good confidence) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from other men's fear, which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successful) yet doth not adventure their Authors upon any other waie of safety, than that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defenses against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will over-take, or of men's own Consciencnes, which alwaies attend injurious perpetractions.

For My self, I do not think that I can warne any thing which Providential Necessity pleas'd to take from Me, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and God's glory; whose protection is sufficient for Me, and sees is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as it did not, De Beth, whatever honor, power, or libertie the Chaldeans, the Sabians, or the Devil himself, can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defense of Arms and Militia; all refuge, by Land, or Forts, and Cafftes; all flight, by Sea; in Ships and Navies; yea, though they studie to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects; the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Me of My own Innocencie, or God's Mercie, nor of My waite to Heaven.

Therefore, O My God, so thee I sue for help, if thou wilt bee on My side, I shall have more with thee then can thee against Me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the lost of all, bee thou more then all to Me: Make haste to succour Me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against Me, who are encouraged to fight under the presence of fighting for Me: But My eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help; nor shall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in My safety and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to bee reduced to what thou wilt have Me; whose Judgments of begin with thine own Children.

I am content to bee nothing, that thou mayst bee all.

Thou hast taught Me, that no King can bee saved by the multitude of an Host, but yet thou easteft save Me by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on everie side; yet bee thou on My side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto Me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of My Diftreff.
O Let thy mercy have the glory of My deliverance from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against thee, and rob- bed thee of thy glory, who art Thy Subject, and
justly mistis thou by My own subjects, strip Me of
My strength, and capt My glory.

But show thy self, O My hope, and sole refuge,
Let not Mine enemies said, There is no help for him
in his God.

Hold up My goings in thy paths, that My feet
steps slip not.

Keep Me at the apple of thine eye, hide Me
under the shadow of thy wings.

Show thy marvollous loving-kindness, O thou
that saist by My right hand them that put their
trust in thee, from these that rise up against
them.

From the wicked that oppress Me, from My
deadly enemies that compass Me about,
Show Me the path of life. In Thy presence is ful-
ness of joy and at My right hand there are pleasures
evermore.

II. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent
to the King; and more afterwards.

Althoug there be manie things, they
demand yet, if these be all, I am glad
to see at what price they let My own sufferings.

and My People's peace; which I cannot
think I may at too dear a rate, have only the
paring with My Confidence and Honor. If
nothing else will satisfy, I must chuse rather
to bee as miserable and inglorious, as My en-
nemics can make or with Me.

Somt things here propounded to Me, have
been offered by Me; Others are easily grant-
ed; the rest (I think) ought not to bee obstruc-
ted upon Me, with the point of the Sword;
or urged with the injuries of a War; when
I have already declared that I cannot yield to
them, without violating My Confidence; it is
strange, there can bee no method of peace,
but by making war upon My soul.

Here are manie things required of Me; but
I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of
gratiefull exchange of Honor, or anie requital
for those favors I have, or can yet grant
them.

This Honor they do Me, to put Me on
the giving part, which is more Princely and
divine. They cannot ask more than I can give;
may I but refer to My self the Incomuni-
cable Jewel of My Confidence, and not bee
forced to part with that, whose loss nothing
can repair or require.

Somt things (which they are pleased to pro-
propound) seem unreasonable to Me, and while
I have anie Masterie of My reason, how can
F
they think I can content to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding too much (as I have already) makes men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience, which ought to bee, is, and ever shall bee (by God's grace) dearer to Me than My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, left he should seem not to dare to deny anie thing, and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to binde My self to a general and implicit content, to what ever they shall define, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from anie Free-man; nor fit to be required of anie man, much less of a King by his own Subjects; anie of whom hee may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as hee doth in place and power.

This were as if Samson should have contented himself, not only to bide his own hands, and cut off his own hair, but to purr out his own eyes, that the Philistines might with the more facile mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quire to destroie him, when he was become tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seem's an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyal, way of Petitioning; whose by that sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which oblige them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior think's fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason to Content, or Discontent, if it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another, having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this bee My Right belonging to Me, in Reason, as a Man; and in Honor, as a Sovereign King; (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it bee otherwise then extremin injury to confine My Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask? whose minds may bee as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may bee, and their qualities are, which left God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguish'd, making
king Mee their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon proove violent oppositions, if once they gain to bee necessarie impositions upon the Regal Authoritie. Since no man seek's to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Mee true to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion: that so I might verify what representations I have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to bee their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of Mine own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to any men's dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in My Soul, and the Majestie of My own Crown to ane of My Subjects.

Least of all have I anie ground of credulity to induce Mee fully to submit to all the deiles of those men, who will not admit or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and other's sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this: how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are: so that, till experience

ience of one seven years hath shewed Mee, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from Mee, I should bee very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own into their hands: whose driving is already too much like Jeto's; and whose forwardnes to ascend the Throne of Supremacie portends more of Phaeton then of Phoebus: God divert the Orun, if it bee his will.

They may remember, that, at first, they sat in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to bee My Counsellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extend's to recommend their advice, not to command My Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent Mee, I expected either som good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been defiled to a refutation of their vigor and due execution: or som evil customs pretet-legal, and abuses personal to be removed: or som injuries done by My self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to bee repaied, or som equitable offirences were to bee tendered to Mee, wherein the advantages of My Crown, being considered by them, might fairly indee
Mee to confedent, to what tended to My Subject's good, without ane great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind Mee (in the first place) to preserve: without which 'tis impossible to preserve My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both, not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without ane regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the ancient and universal practice of Christian Churches, the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet ane thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroy'd, which might at once reach the good end of the other's Insiitution, and also supplee its pretended defects, reform its abus'd, and satisfy sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special pietie, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justify the abruptnes and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kindes, or to these ends: Nothing of ane Laws dis-joind, which are to bee restored; of ane right invaded; of ane justice to bee un-obstructed; of ane compensations to bee made; of ane impartial Reformation to bee granted; to all, or ane of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or ane other humane motives might induce Mee.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which is either great noveltie, or difficultie, I perceiue that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punisheable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assemblage (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themselves, in their vanities, novelties, and confusions, but also abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them from what more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the vanities, and horrible novelties of some Propositions (there being nothing so monstrosous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This calls Mee into, not an admiration, but, an Exquisite, how such things should have the fortune
fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of England, among whom I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House whose judgments were single and steady, did approve or desire such pernicious changes in the Government of the Church. I am persuaded there remains in the Major part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to forever between the use and the abuse of things; the Institution, and the corruption; the Government and the Mif-government, the Primitive Pattern and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Reason; as yet produced to the contrary, so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the Piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the Prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is Gold, which is guided with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private differing in Judgment to be drawn into the common fewer or stream of the present vogue and humor, which hath its chief rise and abatement from those popular clamours and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite Activitie of those men, who studied, with all diligence and policy, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever bee backed and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person; yet the first shall never overcome Mee, further then I see can: for I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Liverie, and once effectually, redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults; (which can bee no other then the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factions, and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgment tell Mee, that the Propositions sent to Mee were the Results of the Major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right
right to sit in Parliament, I should then suffer My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For I have charity enough to think, there are wise men among them, and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want, so as is fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a completestness and inerrabilitie as to exclude My self, since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is necessary in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one complete and authoritative Act of Publick-will, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonablebilities of some Propositions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joint and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For manie of them favor ye vere strong of that old leaven of Innovations masked under the name of Reformation, which, in my two late Famous Predecessor's daisies, heaved at, and somtimes threatened both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure, was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobilitie...
have an inclination upon my judgment, to
Mee gratifie my will, by denying anie,
which my reason and conscience com-
mand's Mee not.

Nor on the other side, will I conform
more then reason, justice, honesty, and
religion perswade Mee to bee for God's
good, the Church's good, my People's wel-
ly and my own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament
and my People, but I will neither, for fear,
or terie, gratifie anie Faction, how potent
or ever, for this were to nourish the diffe-
cre oppres the bodie.

Although men's loyalty and obedi-
tence are terrifed from giving Mee
free and faithful counsel, which they are ac-
ceptable and willing to impart; and I may want
none can hinder Mee from craving of
counsel of that mightie Counsellor, who
both suggest what I do, and incline
heart freely to follow it.

O how first and eternal reason, whose will
is fortified with omnipotence,ضع
thou by them hath planted in my conscience

Then never made! Mee a King, that I should
be less then a man, and nor dare to sate, eat, or
stay, as I see cause, which freedom is not denied to
the meanest creature, that hath the use of reason
and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blamable in Mee, which is com-
manded and approved, honest and conscionable in others?

Thou seekest, O Lord, with what partialitie, and
justice they deny that freedom to Mee their
King, which thou hast given to all Men, and
which themselves perpetually challenge to
themselves, while they are so tender of the least
breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who canst guide
me by an unerring rule, through the perplexed
la

Aren't I of our own thoughts, and other men's
propers, which I have found to subject,
me at present to guide, that by my gracing,
for denying them, I might bee more entangled in
deal difficulties, where with they lie in wait to
offend Mee,

O Lord, make thy peace plain before Mee.

Let not my own sinful passions cloud or divert
me from the rule and govern of my own reason,
which discovery of truth, reason,
and justice, in my understanding, then so conform when thy will be don.

My will and resolution to adhere to them, that
the terrors, injuries, or oppressions of my enemies
may ever enforce Mee against these rules, which
then

Thou
Then that makes the wisdom of their
foolishness; and takes, in their own dreams,
as are wise in their own conceits, make Mee
by the truth, for thy honor, My Kingdom;
all good, and My own soul's salvation; and I
not much regard the world's opinion or direc-
tion of Mee.

The least wisdom they are willing to impart
Mee, the more they shall be convinced of the
wisdom directing Mee, while I deny nothing;
be granted, out of crosseth's or honor; no
anie thing which is to bee denied, out of ano-
other or flatterers of men.

Suffer Mee not to be guilte, or unhap-
willing or inconsiderate advancing any me-
ysigns, which are injurious to the publick
while I confirm them by My confyr.

Now let Mee bee some occasion to hinder a
frand the publick of what is best, by ano-
or persons dissentings.

Make Mee so humbly charisable, as to fol-
their advice, when it appears to bee for the
good, of whole affections to Mee I have yet
no evidences to assure Mee.

Thou eans as well blest honest errors, as
fraudulent counsels.

Since mee must give an account of ever-
to idle word 'in private, at thy Tribunal; so
make Mee careful of those solemn Declaration
My minde, which are like to have the great
influence upon the publick, either for wo, or
weal.

The least others consider what they ask, make Mee
the more solicitous what I answer,

Though Mine own, and My people's pressures are
grievous, and peace would bee very pleasing; yet,
Lord, never suffer Mee to avoid the one, or pur-
chase the other, with the least expense or waste of
My Conscience, whereas then, O Lord, one are
deferred is more matter than My self.

11. Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ire-
land.

The Commotions in Ireland were so sud-
den, and so violent, that it was hard at first
either to discern the rife, or apply a remedie
to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there
been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough
to drown anie man in eternal both infamie
and miserie, whom God shall find the mali-
tious Author or Infligator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappy advantage to
some men's malice against Mee; that when
they had impudence enough to laie anie thing
to My charge, this bloody opportunitie
should bee offered them, with which I must
bee aspersed: Although there was nothing
which
which could bee more aborted to Mee, being 
full of sin against God, disloyal to My self, and destructive to My Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with My privy (at least,) if not by My Commission; but these know too well, that it is no news for form of My Subjects to fight, not only without My Commission, but against My Command and Perfon too; yet all the while pretend, they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the Irish had nothing alleged for their imitation against those whole blame must needs bee, the greater, but how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, than those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of men's intentions excuse the scandal and contumely of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Duty towards Mee, I must bear the blame; this Honour My Enemies have alwayes done Mee, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Mee, nor competent trials, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them. Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinegar of faltes and contempt, with the cup of My Afflictions, Charging Mee not only with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonor by what is committed; whereby in all Policie, Reason, and Religion, having least care to give the least content, and most grounds of utter destruction I might bee represented by them to the world the more inhuman and barbarous. Like fom Cyclops monster, whom nothing will serv to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of My own Subjects; in whose common welfare My interest lies as much as fom men's doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor so cunningly as in laying the Odiom of those sad events on others, whereas with themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And, certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigor and unreasonable severity, which fom men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive, that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not predisposed fuel for Rebellion in Ireland, where, despair being added to their former discontent, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonded oppressions, it was easy to provoke, to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough
to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after-rigors, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth say, My hands in Innocence, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion, so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the false apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and Jealousies here in England made most interest to their own safetie, or design they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were everi daie inhumanely butchered in Ireland. Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repelled and movred those jealousies of Civil divisions and Jealousies, which in England from men most industriously fanciered.

I would to God no man had been left affected with Ireland's fate which then My self suffered to go My self in Person upon that expedition. But some men were either afraid I should
their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulgence of a few, or like that of Jacob's son, which the Father both blamed and cursed, chusing rather to use all extremities which might drive men to desperate obstinacies, than to apply moderate remedies, such as might punish them with exemplary justice, yet charm others, with tenders of Mercy upon submission, and our protection of them from the fury of those, who would soon devour them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But for kinds of zeal count's all merci-moderation, like-warmth's, and had rather bee cruel, then counted cold, and is not seldom more gready to kill the Bear for his skin then for ane harm he hath don. The consideration of men's Estates being more beneficiolal, then the charitie of saving their Lives or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable forces of the poor Protestants in Ireland (who were daily massacred and over-born with numbers now desperate Enemies) were divested en obstrued here, I was earnestly entreated and generally advised, by the chief of the Protestant partie there, to get them from resipte and breathing by a Cessation, without which there was no probability (unless by miracle) to procure a further stand.

Yet, when this was effected in the best sort that the necessity and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in My Reputation and Honor; because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not bee so much to the Rebel's advantages (which com have highly culminated against Me) as it might have been for the Protestant's future, as well as present safety if, during the time of that Cessation, com men had had the grace to have laid Ireland's sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more culpabilite in men to what is fall and evil, then love or charitie to what is true and good),
as I have no Judge but God above Me, let
I can have comfort to appeal to his own
ience, who doth not therefore deny ME
inor, because he is pleased so far to try
patience, as he did his servant Job.
I have enough to do to look to My own
Conscience, and the faithful discharge of My
Trust as a King; I have scarce leisure to
consider those swarms of reproaches which
issue out of some men's mouths and hearts,
easily as fume or sparks do out of a furnace.
Much less to make such prolix Apologies,
might give those men satisfaction: who, con-
fused to their own depth of wickedness,
loath to believe ane man not to bee as bad
themselves.
'Tis Kingdome to do well, and hear ill: if
I can but set the one, I shall not much regard
the other.
I thank God; I can hear with patience;
bad as my worst enemies can fally fail. And
I hope, I shall still be better then they defile
or delate I should.
I believe it will at last appear, that they who
first began to embroil My other Kingdoms
are in great part guilty; if not of the first let-
ting out, yet of the not timely stopping those
horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.
Which (whatever my enemies please to say,
or think) I look upon, as that of My other
Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins;
no man being so much weake'd by it, as
My self: And, I hope, though men's un-
fathomable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of
God will at length fate to his justice: It is
enough: and command the Sword of Civil
Warrs to sheath itself: His merciful justice
intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but
our cure: the abatement of our sins, not the
defolating of these Nations.

O my God, let the infinite mercies prevent us
once again, which I and my Kingdoms have for-
merly abused, and can never deserve should be
restored.

Thou see'st how much cruelty among Christians
is acted under the color of Religion; as if we
could not bee Christians, unless we were cruel to
another.

Because we have not more loved the Truth, and
practised in charity, than hath suffered a spirit of
error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hat-
tred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and
sanctifie what we have suffered.
Let our Repentance bee our recoverie, as our great
sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries, I and My Kingdoms have
hitherto suffered, seem small to thee: but make our
sins appear to our conscience, as they are repre-
sented.
fected in the glass of thy judgments, for thou hast punished small failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies, pardon our sins, and remit the judgments which are vengeant and overbearing.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to thee, then thy judgments; and make us more willing, repent, that we be relieved, first give us the peace of penitent confessions, and then the Tranquility of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviour's blood drown our sins, and through this red sea of our own blood, bring us at last to a state of Peace, Peace, and Plenty.

As My publick relations to all make Me hate all My Subject's sufferings, so give Me such a pious sense of them, as become a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Me be as a breath, more to kindle My compassion. Give Me grace to heap charitable casks of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruelty, zeal hath kindled or hindered the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted Thy three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved:

And lead these in the ways of thy salvation, Tempt, whose ignorance or errors have killed them with rebellious and destructive principles, which they all under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice bee against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented these cruel and desperate Wars.

Then that are far from destroying the Innocent, with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Matitious; Then that had it pittie on Nineveh for the same Children that were therein, gave not over the whole flock of that populous and seduced Nation to the wrath of those, whose extravagance makes them cruel, nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preservest, if it bee thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe Justice a Pious City which may praise thee for thy Mercies.

And deal with Me, not according to men's unjust reproaches, but according to the innocency of My hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the painful date of My Kingdom's calamities, if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody divisions, then let thy hand be against Me, and My Father's house. O Lord, thou seest if I have incurred enough of men, as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecation thy curse on Me and Mine, if My Conscience did not witness My Integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well. But I
trust not to My own merit, but thy mercies: from us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Comming.

The Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bountie, with My Father of blest memorie; but also special and last obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed, to manie, to prefer the desires of that Partie before My own interest and Honor. But I see, Royall bountie emboldens som men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charite, and Act of Pacification forbids Mee to relifie on former passages; wherein I shall ever bee far from lett, and man’s ingratitude or inconfinacie make Me repent of what I granted them for the publick good. I praise God it may so proove.

The coming again of that Partie into England, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) lave onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloodie Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice, I leave to their Conscience to judge, who have alreadie felt the miserie of the means; but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosties of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they crie up, as the onely just reformation and regimen of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in Scotland; and was by them imagined would have don in England, when so manie of the English Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worth passion, suddenly quitte their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterian.

It cannot but seem either passion, or som self-seeking, more then true Zeal and pious Discretion, for anie Forrein State or Church, to prefer the like medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfull
fully then commendably; not considering
that the same , physick, on different conces-
ions, will have different operations; That
may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such torment and ma-
gnant humors in the constitution of the
English Church, which gentle applications, the
those of an Army, might not easily have re-
moved: Nor is it so proper to have our reli-
gious Reformation by the Sword, as to politic
them by fair and equal disputations among
those that are most concerned in the dif-
fierences, whom not Force, but Reason ought
to convince.

But their design now seem'd rather to cut
off all disputatio here, than to procure a fair
and equal one: For it was concluded, then,
that the English Clergie must conform to the
Sect's pattern before ever they could be
heard what they could fear for themselves, or
against the other's side.

I could have with a fairer proceeding both
for their credites, who urge things with such
violence, and for other men's Consciences
too, who can receive little satisfaction in these
points, which are maintained rather by Souldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's
disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion those truths
gain most on men's Judgments a Conclu-
dences, which are least urged with secular vi-
olence, which weaken's Truth with prejudic-
es; and is unreasonable to be used, till such
means of rational conviction have been ap-
piled, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance,
condemn men's obstinacy to deserved penal-
ties.

Which no charity will easily beget in so
manie learned and pious Church-men in
England, who, being always bred up & con-
formable to the Government of Episcopacie,
cannot so soon renounce both their former
opinion and practice, only because that Partie
of the Sects will needs by force afflit aike
Partie here, either to drive all Ministers, as
sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie, or
destroye them, at last steeple them, by depri-
ving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If
the Scotch sole Presbyterie were prove'd to
be the onelie institution of Jesus Christ,
for all Churches Government, yet I believe
it would be hard to prove, that Christ had
given those Sects, or anie other of My Sub-
jects, Commission by the Sword to set it up
in anie of my Kingdome, without My Con-
sent.

What respect and obedience Christ and
his Apostles paid to the chief Governors
of States, where they lived, is very clear in
the Gospel; but that be, or they ever com-
manded
manded to set up such a practice of Presbyter, and in such a wise as these Scots endeavor, think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterian in such a supremacy be a institution of Christ, sure it differs from others; and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose influx runs in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patience shedding of their own blood, not violen drawing other men's. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose institutions were carried on, or began with the temptations of Covetousness and Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never anie thing upon that point, which these Scots had in their Commissioners to move me with, by their manie Solemn obsefationts and pious threatenings, but only this, to referre to me the wonderful necessity of setting up their Presbyterian in England to avoid the further miseries of a war, which some men chiefly cared for this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinder's that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their ways by the like methods of violence? all which Presbyterian seek's to suppress and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, than this Presbyterian waie; both as to the Antient, and full most Universal way of the Church-government, and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this English Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to bee for mee, till I see more Rational and Religious motives thenoulders use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But wee must lea all to God, who hath manie waies (having first taken us off from the follee of our opinions, and furies of our passio) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to God's glory, and his Church's goods, which I think My selfe so much the more bound in conscience to attend with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State; the glorie of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of men's Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may anie men, I think, without fin and pre-
presumption, forcibly endeavour to call the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied; and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other men’s Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or unsettle My Religion; nor any man’s elf, who know’s what Religion means, and how far it is removed from all Passion, whose proper engine is Force, the arbitrator of Beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what loss they lay out upon their opinions, especially those, that have felt temptation again to recompense their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Souldier’s coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations on Duty and gratitude to Me, then I wondered how those here could so much distrust God’s assistance, who so much pretended God’s Caule to the People, as if they had the certain tie of so divine Revelation, consequently they were more then competently furnished with My Subject’s Arms and Ammunition, My Navie by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Citties by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Justifiablenes of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People, what cannot bee justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all mindees engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance, others of them soon after are weary of; and with nauseating cast them out: but one Party thought to river to a settledness by the strength and influence of the Scots, that the other reject’s and condemn’s at once, despising the Kirk, Government and Discipline of the Scots, and frustrating the lightest of infringements chargeable more then charitable assistance: For sure the Church of England might have purchased a far cheaper rate, the truth and happiness of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free Synod, which I was ever willing to; and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, H
might be more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice, and man's folly will at length bee discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs, in vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruins of Loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as My best Subjects of Scotland never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love & respect towards Me, as to make Me to despair of their return, when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their servility to any Partie of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safety and Honor for their own advantages. However, the least cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply Myself to God.

The troubles of My Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Me out of My distress.

Lord direct My See to the sources of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those who have for much of the Serpent's subtletie, that they forget the Dove's Innocence.

Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Jotham and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eager-ness pursue Him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightness in Me, and I shall not despair of My Subject's affection returning towards Me.

Thou canst turn the ever-flowing Seas to ebb, and return back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let Me not be ashamed, let not My enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be alibated who transfer without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integrity and uprightness preserve Me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, 0 God, out of all its troubles.
14. Upon the Covenant.

The Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where manie engines of religious and flat pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacie; this they make the grand evil Spirit, which (with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) must by too solemn a charm and exercitie bee cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches, since the Apostle’s times, till this last Century.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it: Presbyterian, like a young Heir, thinke’s the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to bee in the Bishop’s Chair & Authorite, though Lay-men go aweai with the Revenues; all Act is used to sink Episcopacie and launch Presbyterian in England, which was lately buoyed up in Scotland by the like artifice of a Covenant. Although I am unsatisfied with manie passages in that Covenant (from referring to My self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to bee engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessity; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godlie men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment, and certaintie in one’s self, or that charitable and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion require’s, which never refuseth fair and equal deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoining of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things unlawful, damnable, and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessarie duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Protestant, which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of England, since they account Discipline to be a part of Religion.
But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares & gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for, by such politic and seemingly-pious stratagems, they think to keep the populace faith to their Parties under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My consent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to abate or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of duty, which lie upon all My Subject's confinements both to God and Me.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wises: since I have the charite to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in such men's intentions, was to prefer Religions in Partie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged, nor will those, that have anie true notions of Conscience, endeavour to carry on the best designs, (much les such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant: unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authoriz'd novelties, before their known and sworn duties, which are indispensible, both to God and My self.

I am prone to belief and hope, That manie, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by waie of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to bee suspected, is, that they are the common road, used in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and picke are never more studie and elaborate, then when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws, which by such furies are cunningly yet forcibly, wrought by secret steps, and les sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the humors of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wires will hold men's
In such latitudes of fenr, I believe manie that love mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all pietie & loyaltie: who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refus'd it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of som general Clauses may (perhaps) serv somwhat to relieve them, as of Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God: for, there (indeed) carrie no man beyond those bounds of good Consciences which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general, or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of men's duties.

I would to God such as glorie, most in the name of Covenanters, would keep themselves within those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best waie to expiate the rashneses of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Authoritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually bee carried on beyound and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such
such men's taking the Covenant, who keep it with in such bounds of Pietie, Law, & Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, myself, or the Publick Peace: Against which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretend's, I cannot think it just or comly, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of too soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting & compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of England, as was, never don (that I have heard) by any that defers the name of Reformed Churches abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candor at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before anie men's now factiously engaged.

No man can bee more forward then My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advice) bee, by God's Word, and right reason, convinced to bee amis; I have offered more then ever the fullest, fairest, and wildest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of som men's actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, ded, is the abating of Episcopacie into Presbyterie; and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, then the Bishops and Church-men. Thence, as the fairest Deer, must bee destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Tolerat: Thus Naboth's Vineyard made him the only Blasphemor of his Cittie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compass, by which Fauitious men steer their court in all feditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man late more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Church's Lands and Revenues, which usurping chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert only to the Crown, with My Consent! So have always had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men reformed, that they may best delver and live, not only what the pious Misdigence of My Predecessors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me...
or Mine to invade or fell the Priest's Lands, which both Pharaoh's divinitie, and Joseph's true pietie abhorred to do: so unjust I think it, both in the use of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of due encouragements, and like that other hard hearted Pharaoh, to with-draw the Straw, and encreaf the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as, from have don, to the red sea of Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save, either it, or Him, who esteem's it His greatest Title to bee called, and His chief glorie to bee, The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitsions: equally aborning Sacriledg and Apostacie.

I had rather live as My Predecessor Henry the third sometime did, on the Church's Alms, than violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will bee Jeraham's reformation, confecting the meanest of the People to bee Priests in Israel, to serve their golden Calve who have enriched themselves with the Church's Patrimonie and Dowers, which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests & People, is well enough known. And so it will bee here, when, from the ruination of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall bee at their allowance, who have already dis-covered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will bee.

If the poverty of Scotland might, yet the plente of England cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Church's Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as praise God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the partie and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State: since I think it no lees then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being everie man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would bee a Restorer of the one, so I would not bee an Oppressor of the other, under the pretens of Publick Debs: The occasions contracring them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would bee much worse. I praise God neither I, nor Mine, may bee accelerio to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I address my prairie, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of my Subject's Swearings, and to quicken their love and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this
this Kingdom have laid upon their Conscience, from which no pretensions of Peace and Reformation are sufficient to abate them, or to make them to ane contrarie practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can bee religious.

Thou allowest no man's committing Sacristy under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a shame to take things that are Holie, and give Pows to make inquirie.

Everkeep thy servant from consentning to previous and sacrilegious rapines that I may not be the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thine and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given, and thy clemency accepted from us, whereby to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Increased, I never suffer Atee to be tempted to use such profligate Separations, lest a coal from these Alter be such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as it bee hardly quenched.

Let not the debts & engagements of the Public, which so many men's fortune and prodigalities hath contrasted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us, the Church is never likely, at times, whereby the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so liberal.

Continue to those that fear Thee and the Church all those encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them, and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor, that thy Priests may bee clothed with righteousness and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee given to Swine, nor the Church's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the Cittie, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let these sacred morsels which so many men have already by violence acquire, never digest with them, nor their's, let them bee at Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their Mouths, witness to their Names, a mock to their Favourers, and a sting to their Consciencs.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may bee manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But if ever my righteous dealing, O Lord, that, in the Mercies of thee the most High, I may never miscarrie.

15. Upon
Upon the manie Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the King, to stir up the People against Him.

If I had not My own Innocence, and God's protection, it were hard for Mee to shew out against those stratagems and conjured malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supple the defect of Real causes, which might seem too flimsie to unjust Engagements against Mee.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these designs; For, I more willingly lose My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms to be dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

These must have a period with My life, but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone. A good Name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among posterity.

These foul and fall affronts were secret engines at first employed against My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies, and their too, might at once blow up their affections and batter down their Loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not to afflictive to Mee, as the sin and danger of My people's souls; whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions; they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of actions, wherein they do not only not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendered to them to see to bee destroyed that manie are ambitions to merit the hand of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pittie was above My anger; nor have My passions ever prevailed against Mee, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors, more then their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Reprobation.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supped Errors, nor My Persons intended to mend Mee, not to end Mee. And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preferred Mee, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Mee, both to do him better service, and My people more good, then hitherto I have done.
I do not more willingly forgive their detractions, which occasioned their loyalty and service, than I am ambitious by all Princely parts to redeem them from their unjust detractions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affection toward the generality of My people, to suffer theirs to Mee, nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Mee of the comfort which that confidence gives Mee. I shall never gratifie the frightfulness of a few unnatural, finer thinkings of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst here men's ambition can do, will never persuade Mee to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subject's actions, which possibly may be erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The font of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to Myself; for their welfares being inseparable, in this one case they suffer more; then Myself, that they are animated by false seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My affection grieves Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoes, whose prosperitiy I earned by desire, and whose seduction I heartly deplore.

They had been My open and foreign Enemies, I could have borne it, but they must bee My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Mee: and for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly bee the friend, if I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary windes, the storm of their miseries would bee rather increased then allayed, to the destruction of My Subjects.

I had rather prevent My people's ruine then Rule over them, nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Rights as of their happinnes: if it could expiate for countervail such a way of obteining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet, had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die manlie deaths, then shamefully to defect, or dishonorably to betray My own just Rights and Sovereignty, thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justify the malice of My Enemies, between whose malice, and other men's mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague, or the Ird of Noveltie, and the Leprose of Difloyalty.

As Liars need have good Memoraks, so Malsitious
First, nothing gives me more cause to suspect and search my own innocence, than when I observed so manie forward to engage against mee, who had made great professions of singular piety; for this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon mee, and my cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to mee, and not withal part from God, to think or speak well of mee, and not to blaspheme him; so manie were persuaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to bee at once loyal to mee, and truly religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) manie with mee, which were both learned and religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein som men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cauf of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with mee, than forfake mee.

Nor is it strange that so religious pretensions, as were used against mee, should bee to manie well minded men a great temptation to oppose mee. Especially, being urged by such popular preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they plainly call God’s cause, curing all that will not curst with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end proposed, that they consider not the lawfullnesse of the meanes used.
not the depth of the mischief; chiefly plotted
and intended.

The weakness of these men's judgments
must be made up by their clamors & activity.
It was a great part of some men's Religion to
scandalize Mee and Mine; they thought
their could not be true, if they cried not
down Mine as fall.

I thank God, I have had more trial of his
grace, as to the constancie of My Religion in
the Protestant Profession of the Church of
England, both abroad and at home, then ever
they are like to have.

Nor do I know anie exception, I am for
thei opinion, as too great a fixed in
that Religion, whose judicious and solid
grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity,
will not give My Conscience leave to
approve, or consent to such manie dangerous
and divided Innovations, which the bold
Ignorance of some men would needs obstruct,
upon Mee, and My People.

Contrarie to thosse well tried foundations
both of Truth, and Order, which men of our
greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have set
the in the Confession & Constitution of the
Church in England, which manie former
Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassion
ate times, have oft confirmed; in which
I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as be-
lieving it hath most of Primitive Truth and
Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Pap
ists, which were My Subjects, anie wise fight
against My Religion, as som men would
needs interpret it: especially those who call
of all men cared whom they employed, or
what they said, & did, so they might prevail.

’Tis strange that so wise men, as they would
be esteemed, should not conceive, That dif-
fereces of perswasion in matters of Religion
may easily fall out, where there is the laments
of dutie, Allegiance, and subjection. The first
they own as men, and Christians to God;
the second, they ow to Mee in common, as
their King. Different professions in point of
Religion cannot (anie more than in civil
Trades) take away the communio of relatio
es either to Parents, or to Princes: And
where is there such an a chis or medly of vari
ons: Religions in the world again, as those
men entertain in their service, who finde most
fault with Mee without anie scruple, as to the
diverstie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and oddeblame,
for such as would bee counted Protestants,
to enforce Mee, a declared Protestant, their Lord
and King, to a necessitate of Papists, or any
other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to
defend My self.
Nor did I more then is lawful for any King, in such exigents to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am for the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, then manie Protestant Professors, who seem to have learned, and to practice the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unreasonalbe scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Sword's points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no less, then their prayers as Christians.

The noil of My Evil Counsellors was another useless device for those, who were impatient anie men's counsels, but their own, should be followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Mee better counsel, that they would not give Mee leave to take it with freedom, as a man; or honor, as a King; making their counsels more like a Drench that must bee powred down, then a draught which might bee fairly and jeasily drank, if I liked it.

I will not justify, beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellors; They might bee subject to som miscarriages,

yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances, wherewith som men have now en wild red, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that, had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldnes to offer to mee, or My selie inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a Chaos of confusions and Hell of miseries, as from have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their manie great advantages redeem either Mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redress what I saw in Reagon was either don or advised amis; and this I thought I had don, even beyond the expectation of moderate men, who were forri to see Mee prone even to injure My self, out of a zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other men's insatiable desire of revenge upon Mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractions, or Concessions; and, withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors)
Ornament and Protection, others their Malignacies and Oppression.

Yet is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despises it's rule and direction, loving justly his Satisfie while hee seek's an unreasonable Liberty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true Liberty, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

Another artifice used to withdraw the People's affections from Me, to their liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

If the Divine liberty be to will whate men should, and to do what they so will, and free from restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather perish, than complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their truth and triumph, but such injustice.

In point of true conscientious tenderness, remember with humility and meekness, not with proud & arrogant activity, which seek's to hatch everie egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schism. I have often declared, how little I define My Laws and Scepter should have the strength on God's Sovereignty, which is the only King of men's confidences; and yet be

Mee to prodigy of their liberties, as will their Lives and Fortunes to help on the ending of themselves and their posterity's.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such a defend to drive on their Ambitious and Crouse designs over the ruins of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People; will ever define greater Freedoms then the Laws allow, whose bounds good men counterfeit.
false giving no men libertie to break the established, further then with meeknesse patience they are content to suffer the partie annexed rather then perturb the Public Peace.

The truth is, som mens thirst after Noturies, others despair to reliev the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfy their Ambition in peaceable times, (distrusting God's providence, as well as their own merits) were secret (but principal) impulsive to these Popular Comotions, by which Subjects have been persuaded to expend much of their plentiful estates they got, and enjoied under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent, and My self exposed to all those contemptes, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and increas the ungrateful insolencies of My People.

For Mine Honor; I am well assured, that as Mine Innocencie is clear, before God, the point of anie calumnies they object. Jo. My Reputation shall, like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such degree of splendor, as those worldly birds that bee grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were anie Princes more glorious then those whom God hath suffer'd to bee tried in the torments of afflictions by their inconstant Subjects.

And who know'st but the just and mercifull God will do Me good, for som mens hand, fall, and evil speeches against Me, wherein they speak rather what they will then what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by anie rude, and scandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire in great conflagrations, rise up and down to set all places on like flames) as anie men do, who pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetful of their Dutie to God and Me. By no wise ever vindicating the Majestie of their Kings againste anie of those, who contrarie to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, speak evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations againste those who are honored with the name of Gods.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should not Honor their Kings.

They will easily contest such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majestie, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurtie, yet hath hee graven such Characters of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils bee ablid
to hide the shining of My face, while I give to My people the heart of a lion, and to convert, with Me, from whom alone are the irradiations of true glory and majesty.

Thus, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My honor. My Adversaries are all before Thee.

My Soul is among lions; among them that set on fire, even the Sons of Men: their teeth and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long; they that are mad against Me are sworn against Me.

O My God, how long shall the Jews of My race advert Me? My glory into shame? how long shall they tormented, and seek after Me?

I have heard the reproaches of wicked men, and the reproach of the Jews of My people; and I have suffered the reproach of Mine enemies, and their reproach, and Mine honor in the midst thereof.

Thus, O Lord, Thou destroyest them: Thine enemies shall be broken, and Thou shalt destroy them with a bright sword; and with the darts of many men.

Thou shalt make Mine enemies to perish; and Mine enemies shall become Mine enemies.

Thus, O Lord, my righteousness shall appear in the midst thereof, and Mine integrity in Mine eye's sight; and Mine inheritance, men knoweth My name, and mine Adversaries shall learn of Mine honor.

Let My, the Lord be magnified: and let mine enemies know, and be ashamed, and let mine enemies be hideous and trembling: let them know, that Mine Adversaries are in the midst thereof.

Let Mine enemies be shamed and confounded, and let Mine Adversaries be hideous and trembling: let them know, that Mine Adversaries have reproached Me.

Thus, O Lord, I am come into Mine Adversaries: I will fill Mine enemies with the reproach of Mine inheritance; and I will make Mine Adversaries ashamed, and they shall be hideous and trembling.

Thus, O Lord, I am come into Mine Adversaries: I will fill Mine enemies with the reproach of Mine inheritance; and I will make Mine enemies ashamed, and they shall be hideous and trembling.
better to plead with those men, who gloried in their extemporaneous vein and fluency, or others, who conscious to their own formalism in the use of it, thought they fully exploited their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conform'd to the doctrine of the Church of England, and this by all Reformed Churches is confess'd to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words, being known and fitted to men's understandings, are fonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see anie reason why Christians should bee weary of a well-compos'd Liturgie (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the Conformity abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.
I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he prays to the same God, believe's in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, readeth the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feel's the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know what wee praise, as to whom wee praise; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinder's wee may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when wee use, wee praise for, our daily bread.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not only difuse (as superfluous) but wholly cast away and concern the Lord's Prayer; whole great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of men's abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions, in Publick Prayer, or anie Sacred Administration, merit's a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor may men in those Novelties be subjected to forms and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but men's hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may bee very formal in the most extemporary variety, and verie fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of constancie: Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more like to flat and hinder the Spirit of Prayer and Devotion; then un-premeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Minister's gifts, even in Publick, the better to stir and excite their own, and the People's affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite jutle out, and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of manie learned and godlie men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason bee thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Church's common wants, inform the Hearer's understanding, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their Spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much)
much pretended Spirit of Prayer) then a private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are in times (even there, where they made great noise and shew) the affections, enormities, impertinences, rudeness, confusions, lusts, levities, obscenity, vain and ridiculous repetitions; the laments, and oft-times blphemous expressions; all these burdens, with a most tedious and intolerable length do sufficiently convince all men, but this who glory in that Pharisaick waie. Who in men must bee strangely impatient, a flatters of themselves, not to have an infinite flame of what they do and fare; in that of, so faried a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, a man.

Nor can it be expected, but that, in due of frequent performance, as Sacramental ministrations, and the like, which are full of fame, Ministers must either come to use their own forms constantly, which are not like to be found, or comprehensive of the main of the duties, as forms of Publick composure or else, they must everie time affect new pretensions when the subject is the same; who can hardly be presumed in any man's part. Insufficiencies not to want (manie con- much of that compleatness, order, and great-
...berie of their Consciences, in not using it: That these men (I saie) should so freely change the Liturgie into a Directorie, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though no for expressions; or as if matter prescribed not as much flint and obstruct the Spirit, as it were clothed in, and confined to fit words (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serv to delude the vulgar.) Therefore, they should use such severity as not to suffer, without penaltie, anie to use Common-Praier-Book publickly, (although their Consciences bindeth them to it, as a Duty of Piete to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.)

Thus I see no men are prone to bee greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties; and such, whose pride was formerly leagd to the obedience of lawful Conformations; and whose licentious humors and pretended Conscientious liberties, with freedom, with much respect, they now allay to mee and my Chaplains, (when they can have leave to say mee:) whose abilities, even in their extemporaneate wise con's not shorre than the other's, but their modestie and learning far exceed the most of them.

But this matter is of so Popular a nature, that men knew it would not bear learned assesse.

...berie debates, left, beeinge convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driv'n either to fin more against their knowledg, by taking away the Liturgie; or to displease som faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estate, but for their weightie and judicious piety, then those are, whose weaknes or giddines they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults som men found with the Common-Praier-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to prais so off for mee; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to doe Amens, nor yet Charite enough to forbear Reproachess, and even Curlings of mee in their own forms, in stead of praying for mee.

I wish their Repentance may bee their onely punishment; that, seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were giv'n to Set Forms of sound and wholesome words.

...nd then, O Lord, who are the same God, blessed for ever, whose mercies are full of mercie.
...and yet of constancie. That constancie is not a new and fresh sense of our old and dailie wants; nor despiseth renewed affections joyned to constant expression.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Church's established and well-advized Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable whereby will, which is always the same, and the form and spirite of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then wee doth not, but thy spiritual perfections are such as they art neither to bee pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancie of our position in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou haft no where either forbidden or commanded, but lett them remaine pietie or prudence of thy Church, that both may be used neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consisteth in Noveltie of varietie, as Truths in unity and Constancie, Suspect not thy Church to bee fluttered with errors, and deformed with uneduecies in thy service, under the present of varietie and noveling. Nor to bee deceived of truths, unity, and order under...

...under this fallacie, That Constancie is the Cause of Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then wee know that praying to thee, or praying of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the same frame cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amis within us, and there will be left to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

Of the differences between the King and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.

Touching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnestly refuseth to maintain it not so much out of Pietie, as Policie and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce mee to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserue the State in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon Church-men, and they such a dependance on Him, as may belt-restrain the tedious exorbidancies of Ministers...
Ministers tongues, who with the Keis of Heaven have so far the Keis of the People hearts, as they prevail much by their Orations to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyall.

So that, seeing (as King) entwined by God and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I see no Reason I should give up, weaken, by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion that I incline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State-affairs. Though I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit that House, who would not Vote according his Conscience.

I must now in Charity bee thought to preserve that Government in its right Constitution, as a matter of Religion, where both My judgment is fully satisfied, the hath of all other the fullest Scripture-ground, & also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; till, of late years, the tumultuaries of People, or the factionists and pride Presbyters, or the covetousness of some State and Princes, gave occasion to some mean wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of Christ's Government.

Scepter, and Kingdom, the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to anie new waies, contrarie to the full, and constant testimonie of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successors the first & best Bishops, so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either bee ignorant of the Rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one Example can bee produced of anie firdted Church, wherein were manie Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whole jurisdiction and government they were.

Whole constant and universal practice agreeing with so large and evident Scripture-directions & examples, as are set down in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, for the settling of that Government, not in the persons onely of Timothy and Titus, but in the succession, the
that special dignitie which hath extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ, they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Prebendaries, until He (the great Arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish, by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordain and constant power of governing the Churches, (the honor of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined, all Christian Churches submitting to that special autocratic) appropriated also the name of Bishop, without ane tussick or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolical propagation rightly defended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had manie such holy Bishops, after the pattern of Timothe and Titus: whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such, who, not enduring found doctrine and clear testimonies of all Church's practice, are most pervert Disputers,
ters, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopal: who, if they bee not Traitors and Boasters, yet they seem to bee very covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of Godliness.

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overrule and smother the pregnancie and autocratie of the power of Episcopal Government, which being all equivocation and vulgar fallen names, is most convincingly let forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince; that Posteritie may see (if ever these Papers bee publike) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture, Canons, and Ecclesiastical Examples, wherein My judgment was slanted for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it ane Policie of State, or obstinacie of will, or partialtie of affection, either to the men, or their Function, which fixed Mee, who cannot in point of worldlie respects be so considerable to Mee, as to recompen the injuries and looies, and My dearest relations with My Kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scrip
ricture they constantly used and enjoyed in the times, which were purer for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of Precedence and Authoritie in one man, by a joint-Council and consent of many Preachers: I have offered to restore that, as a means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions and Partialities which are incident to another man: also to avoid Tyrannie, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; and sith, it will be a means to take away the Burden and odium of Affairs, which are too heavy on one man's shoulders; and I think it formerly did the Bishop here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, than such a frame of Government which is Paternal, Magisterial, and wherein not only the celerity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contests, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function, but also the difference of some Minister's gifts and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to employ them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine, tending Episcopacy, an irrevocable of opinion, which will not admit of oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfy my self in what the chief Patron, for other ways can face against this, or for their's: And I finde, as they have far less of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason, so of examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly delusive, wherein the whole stream runs to for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for ane others.

As for those brutish examples of some late reformed Churches, (for manie retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuses, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see anie reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conform to ane few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Antient Churches, which needed no Reformation; And those Churches at this date, who, Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are manie more then Presbyterians, or Independents, can pretend to bee. All whom the Churches in My three Kongs, lately governed by Bishops, would equalize, I think, if not exceed.

Nor is it anie point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as manie do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world, except a hand-
handfull of som Protestants) so great scandal in point of Church-government: whom, though you may convince them of their errors in som points of Doctrine, yet you shall never persuade, that to comple their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them, have ever owned as Catholic, Primitive, and Aposto
cal. So far, that never Schismatics, nor Heretics (except those Arianus) have striven from the Unitas, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Bishop above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops by the Clergie, as well as the Latiue of the Kingdome, is a great confirmation of this Judgment: and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their Noveltie; I cannot imagine so far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they understood not what herefore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Confesse; So that their facilite and levities never to be extenuated, where before the point of Church-government had anie free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practice; against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not only quites down the government by Bishops, but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal tripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Autono mie and Revenues, even to the falling away, and utter alienation of those Church-men, from anie Ecclesiastical uses. So great a power with the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties, over som mens judgments, of whose is hidden and so total change little reason can be givn, besides the Scots Armie coming into England.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Defenders of Episcopal was to appear the greatest Enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest: for Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Episcopal. All Ministers will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving; between the favor of the People and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dewes of Heaven.

The temtinclude contempt of Clergie-men will soon let them see, what a poor sweetness they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacie they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive
Episcopacie, not to have it extirpated, (it can hinder it.) Discretion without pause might easily reform, whatever the times, or indulgenve of Laws, or corrupt of manners have brought upon it. It being a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revere upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which sedulous and popular prudence and practice all wise men abhor.

For those secular adittions and ornaments of Authority, Civil-Honor, and Esteem, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men, I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and piety, and as fit to be in ane degree of Christian Government, also enablers to works Charite & Hospitality, meet strengtheners of their Authorite in point of respect and observance, which in peaceful times is to be paid to ane Governors by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their states: Poverty and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which perfect times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are in worth of those encouragements, and better to use them of ane time: My judgement of men failed: My good intention made me error venial: and some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and piety, no men of anie worth or forehead can deny but of all men, I would have Church-then, specially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which besides an innate principle of vicious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprover or restrain them, will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian patriote, which makes all Ministers equal, and the Independent sectaries, which lets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopalities wherein (God knows) I do not grudge anie design or passion with the least persevering of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Meeter their Kirtie and Sovereignty, as so many men have endeavoured to do, to gain all these grounds of My judgment, to content to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desire's not more than I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Rea'ion, and in Scripture; in which I could never see anie probable flaw for anie other ways: who either consent themselfs with the
the examples of some Churches in their ease and solitude; when one Presbyter serves one Congregation in the City or Country, or else dines alone, most evident I find. That the Apostles were Bishops over the Presbyters they ordained, as well as over Churches they planted; and that Government being necessary for the Church's being, when multiplied and scattered, not also necessarily depend from the Apostles; others, after the example of that power superior, as they had above others, could not end with their persons, since life and end of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest, primitive, best Churches flourish under Episcopacy, and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, varice, revenge, and other disorders and illegal partitions had not been blown up from men's minds against it. Those, which they want of Reason are Primitive Patterns, they fill with violence and oppression; whereas, the men's zeal for Bishop's Land, it follows, Revenues best fit them on work to give Episcopacies which (however, other men) to me is no less than these Sacred Rights of God; the giver of all wealth of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets, through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself. Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my判断, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government and the rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the function, as Antichristian, (which comes boldly, but weakly calumnium) I could sooner, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by me.

But being daily, by the best acquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am sworn, how can any man that witheth not my damnation, persuade me at once to so notorious and odious a sect, of Sacred, and Perjurer besides the many personal injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are so legally invested in their Epistles, as anie, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Epistles and Livelihoods.

I have oft wondered how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell me, that My Coronation-Oath binds me to Conform to whatever they shall propound to me, which they urge with
with such violence though contrary to that Rational and Religious freedom which every man ought to profess and of which they seem to tender in their own Votes yet at the same time these men will needs persuade Mee That I must and ought to dissent with and roundly break that part of my Oath which binde's Mee (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Right of the Church 'Tis strange my Oath from bee valid in that part which both my self and all men in their own cafe esteem injurious and unreasonable as bcing against the verest natural and essential libertie of our souls yet it should be invalid and bee broken in another claw wherein I think myselfe justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held do long by some men ambitious Contourefnesse and Sacrilegious Crueltie tormenting (with Mee) both Church and State in civil diffillences till I shall be forced to consent and declare that I do approove what God knowes I utterly dislike and in my Soul abhor as manie wales highly against Reason Justice and Religion and whereoe if I should shamefully and dishonorably give my consent yet should I not by so doing satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties which contend with each other as well as both against Mee and Episcopacie.

Nor can my fate condescending to the sense in point of Church-government bee rightly objected against Mee as an inducement for Mee to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms For it should bee considered that Episcopacie was not so rooted and settled there as it is here nor I in that respect so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this for what I think in my judgment best I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places and at all times.

"Ifanie shall intimate my yielding to them as My falling and sin I can easily acknowledge it but that is no argument to do so again or much wors I being now more convinced in that point I not indeed with my yielding to them been so happy and successful as to encourrage Mee to grant the like to others."

"Did I see such thing more of Christ as to Meekness Justice Order Charity and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government I might suffer my judgment to bee baffled or fore-stalled with such prejudice and wondenes of opinion; but I have hitherto so much caul to sunder the contractie in the manners of manie of those men that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for
for their new wiles of Government.
Not can I finde, that in anie Reforme Churches (whose patterns are so cried up)
obtruod upon the Churches under My Dem-
mination), either Learning or Religion, what
of Pietie or Charity, have so triumphed bey-
yond what they have don in My Kingdom
(by God's blessing), which might make Me believe, either Presbyterie or Independency
have a more benign influence upon the Churches and men's hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in it's right Constitution.
The abuses of which, cleerly to bee exa-
peted, as much as the life retained, for I think
far better, to hold to Primitive and Un-
iform Antiquitie, then to compleat with divi-
ded Novelties.
A right Episcopacy, would at once scarce
all just desires and interests of good Bishop,
humble Presbyteres, and sober People. In such
Church-affairs utmost care managed, neither
with Tyrannicke, Rauish, nor Popularitie, ne-
ther Bishops exeligion, nor Presbyteres dictum,
nor People opprest.
And in this integrity, both of My Jus-
tement and Confidence, I hope God will pre-
serv Me.

For Thus, O Lord, knownest my uprightnes
and tenderness, as thou hast let Me to bee a Defen-
dor of the Faith, and a Protecor of thy Church;
so suffer Me not, by anie violence, to bee ever-born
against My Confidence.

Aris, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause, let
not thy Church bee deformed, as to that Govern-
ment, which, derived from thy Apostles, has
been received, in purest and primitive Times, till
the Revenues of the Church became the object
of Secular envie, which seek's to rob it of all the en-
couragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Me, as the good Samaritaine, compas-
sionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church, which
for men have wounded and robbed, others pass by
without regard, either in pittie, or relief.

As My power is from thee, so give Me grace
to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffer'd to bee Master of
My other Rights, as a KING yet presery Me
in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and thy
Church's welfare, which are fixed in My Confi-
tence, as a Christian.

Presery, from Sacrilegious occasion, those
temporal blessings, which God's Providence hath be-
ferred on the Church for the glory.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have defor-
meth thy just permission, that to let in the wido,
and cast out Foxes, to waste and defame thy
Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and
the dew of Heaven so long wanted to a happy and
flourishing estate.
O Let:
O Let Me not bear the infamous brand is it
of being the first Christian King in this
Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression
of the Church, and the Fathers of it: whose
I would rather, with Conformity, cover with
Licens, and reform with meekness, then expel
Persons, and farect Functions, to vulgar conte.
Then, O Lord, see 't how much I have suffered
with, and for thy Church: make no long tarrying
O my God, to deliver both Me, and it, from no
reasonable men: whose consent have brought
forth, and continue such violent confusions, by
precipiting destroying the ancient boundaries
by Church's peace; thereby letting in all man
er of errors, schisms, and disorders.
O thou God of Order, and of truth, in thy good
time, arise the mantle, assuage the rage, and con
found all the mischiefs, and devices of thine, mine,
and thy Church's enemies:
That I, and all that love thy Church, may first
praise thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation,
even before the sons of men.

18. Upon Uxbridge Tatie: and other Oflers made by the KING.

I look upon the waie of Treatises, as a
reiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing
like Men; whose strength should bee more in
their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities
to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater con
dence of My Reason, then My Sword: I was
so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I
thought neither My self, nor others, should
need to use the second, if once wee rightly
understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me,
to prevent them with Expresses of My desire,
and even importunities to Treat. It being
an office, not only of humanitie, rather
unto Reason, then Force; but also of Chris
ianitie, to seek peace and enure it.

And I was very unwillingly compelled to
defend My self with Arms; so I very will
ingly embrased anie thing tending to peace.
The events of all War by the Sword being
erie dubious, and of a Civil War, uncom
forable; the end hardly recompensing, and
latter repair the mischief of the means.

Nor did anie sucess I had ever enhance
with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly de
sired by Me, as anie man, though I was like
to paiue dearer for it, then anie man: All that I
fought to revere, was Mine Honor, and My Con
science, the one I could not part with, as
a KING, the other, as a Christian.

The Treatie at Uxbridge gave the fairest
hopes of an happy complethe, had others
applied
I was content to yield to all that might seem to advance true peace. I only fought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Church's Government, and the true Principles of all Government, related to its full stature and perfection, as also to the Primitive Apostolical pattern, and the practice of the Universal Church conformable thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, only to satisfy some men's wills and phantasies, which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extinguishing Episcopacy, and fighting against me as must needs argue such a falsity, and informity of mind in me, as will rather part with God's Truth, than Man's Peace, and rather lose the Church's honor, then crost from men's Factions humbly.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-facesfulness of that Treate, & who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions wherein I endeavoured no less the restoration of Peace to my people, than the preservation
rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other men's.

That which made Mee for the most part preface the unsuccessfulnes of anie Trettie, was, om men's unwillingness of Treat which implied som things were to bee gained by the Sword, whole unreasonablenes they were both to have fairly shewn, being more proper to bee acted by Soldiers, then by Councellors.

I praise God forgive them that were guilty of that Trettie's breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting, that so though Peace were for our sons justly deferred, yet at last it may bee happily obtain'd, what we could not get by our Tretties, wee may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou hast art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainst not to Treat with Sinners, presenting them with offers of amonement, and beholding them to bee reconciled with thy self, who wantest no power, or justice, to destroy them, yet aboundst in mercy to save, soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and persuade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and prefer to Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace? but when
whence I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which we do structure both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see the Truth both in Reason, as Men, and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that which should be among our families.

Remove the evils of War we have defect, and bring upon us that Peace, which only Christ and great Peace-maker can merit.

Upon the various events of the War: Victories and Defeats.

The various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least afforded Mee vast and good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Mee with victory, by which My Enemies, that I might know how the moderation and thanks to own, and use power, who is only the true Lord of my estate, when he pleases to remove the evidence of those, that fought against Mee, who had much to great advantages for power and numbers. From small beginnings on My part here,

Mee see that I was not wholly forsaken by My people's love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Mee not to trust in the arm of flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My cause: and those that were with Mee, which wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Mee. Nor were My enemies left unpunished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private fins may oft-times overbalance the justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the world's esteem) a fit instrument to afford in the war of War righteousness Cause: The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or success can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of men's Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with Mee had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification, the Word of God; and the Laws of the Land, together with
with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Command; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to feel the shifts of some pretended Fears, and while fundamentals of State (as they call them), which actually overthrow the present fabric both of Church and State, being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to allege, who, being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assailers of Me and the Laws: first by unsupported Tumults, after by lifted Forces. The firm Allegations; they use, will fit anie Factions, that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the sword all their demands against the present Laws and Governors, which can never bee such as from side another will not finde fault with, so as to say, what they call, a Reformation of them by Rebellion against them, from parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, which died fighting against Me, the Laws, the Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But every Christian knows, That glorious Title can wit Truth bee applied only to those, who sincerely preferred God's Truth and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them.

this world; who, having no advantageous designs by anie Innovation, were religiously sensible of those Ties to God, the Church, and My self, which lie upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercie, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause. The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death did, through God's grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Reditude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemie's brutish and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of, or, without Repentance, hope to enjoy.

They have often, indeed, had the better against My side in the field; but never, I believe, at the Bar of God's Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegience, and all true Christian grounds, which confute, and accuse them in their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate Bravery to fight against those Forces,
Forces, which sometimes God gave Me. Whole, condition conquered, and dying, made no question, but is infinitely more to boasting chosen by a sober man, that duteous, honest, and eremites, beyond the end of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein they were the ever since. Conficiencies do pursue them; especially for they and all the world have seen how falter the un-intended those pretensions were, which are first, etc. as the only pleasant (though not unjustifiable) grounds of setting War, and continuing it thus long against Me and the Laws established, in whose face is a preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country does consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, than to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often praised, that all on My part might join true piety with the feast of their Loyalists, and be as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to Me. That the effects of the one might not blast the endeavors of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that ane speeches, or treaties of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispel with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalist to Me, which have to pregnant convictions on men’s Conficiencies, that even profane men are moved by the fear of them to venture their Lives for Me.

I never had ane victorie which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like Absalom, died manie of them in their sin. And yet I never suffered ane Defeat, which made Me despair of God’s mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but solely restore the Laws and Liberties of My People, which I saw were extremely oppressed together with My Rights by these men, who were impatient of ane just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me, victorie, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly, who I believed at first would make all things work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never praised more for Victories over others, than over My self. When
the first was denied, the second was granted to mee, which God saw best for mee.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to what now us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and, by declaring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often messages for peace shewed that I delighted not in war; as my former concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of my innocencie forbade mee to fear a war; but the love of my kingdoms commanded mee (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this war of nothing but this, that I gave such advantages to my men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude, which became their loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yielded less, had I been opposed less, had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

Tis now too late to review the occasions of the war; I wish only a happy conclusion of so unhappy beginnings: The inevitable

able fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: wee, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those victories are full miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace itself is not desirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and less against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I praise God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these civil wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern my people, and they may learn better to obey both God, and mee.

Nor do I desire anie man should bee further subject to mee, then all of us may bee subject to God.
Between both thy hands, the right supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion me that frame of spirit thou likest best.

Forgive the Pride that attend's our performance, and the repinings which follow our different vents, when going forth in our own strength, withdrawest thine, and givest not forth with our armies.

Blest thou all, when we are something, and withal we are nothing; that thou may'st have the gain when we are in a victorious, or ignominious condition.

Thus, O Lord, knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from My Subject[s], to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but see in those evils which they compel Me to inflict upon them, punishing My self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee, give Me a double portion of thy Spirit, and the measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for Me.

As I am most afflicted, so make Me most resolute, that I may the more be able to bear up against these civil distractednesses, and to establish a firm and blessed Peace My Kingdoms.

Stir up all Parties, make them ambitious to outdo each other with Reason, Moderation, and Love.

Self-denial, as become those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good man's chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace, thou hast brought upon me the miseries of War; so for the sins of War thou shouldst see fit still to smite us, the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries, yet give Me thy Servants, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoin that Peace which the world can neither give to me, nor take from us.

Infuse not to Me the blood of My Subject[s], which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath been shed by Me in My just and necessary defense, but with Me with that precious blood which hath been shed for Me by My great Peace maker, Jesus Christ; who will, I trust, redeem Me shortly out of all My troubles; for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. Upon the Reformations of the Times

No Glorie is more to be envied then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation
bation and Noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honor Mee so far, as to make Mee an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliament, first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am for to see after the freedom of Parliament was by false Tumults oppressed, how little were had to the good Laws established, and the Religion saved, which ought to bee the first Rule and Standard of Reforming; with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite Scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what Novelties of Schisms and corrupt Opinions, what underwritings and confusions in sacred Administrations, what religious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy, what injurious diminutions and persecutions of Mee have followed (as showers do when a man appears) the talk of Reformation, all these men are Witnesses, and (with My self) had Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamors and furious have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick sent; for that the audie to plead som partes hath indeed injures all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best temper of reforming Councils and endeavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more than it please.

I have offered to put all differences in Church-affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Councils as they would have included the Voices of all, so its like they would have giv' most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houles have applied (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church-affairs, I dislike no further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen, nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of England, nor with freedom and impartiality can do ane thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so manie men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of
of England, as to the main, would have suddenly agree'd quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be an Apostolical institution, at least, as of Primitive and Universal practice,) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, 
and influence of contrarie Facions. It did not by secret entrenchments of hopes and fears, prevail upon them, to complicate with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergy; and, them of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and My content, which never to bee gained against so pregnant a light as in that point thinke on My understanding. For I conceive, that whereas the Scripture is not to be entrench'd in precepts, that the Constat and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjunction with Episcopacie, but, for all that, wholly to invade the Power and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Autoritie of that Antient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie waie convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easilie followed moderate Counsels, and such (I beleev) as would have given more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravtie and Formalitie, to carrie on other men's designs, which, no doubt, manie of them by this time discover, though they dare not but immother their frustrations and discontents.

The speceous and popular titles of Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the nois of a thorough Reformation, may as easilie bee fixt on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Grosties, which were but civil, not Religious marks, defacing of the Monumentes and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Postersite in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the pulicke service of God, where
I wish they would, at last, make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own. Had Religion been first considered (as it meriteth) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War, by the advantages of which they relished, if they prevailed, to make Myself, and all My Subjects, fall down, and worship the Images they should form, and set up; if there had been as much of Christ's Spirit for meekness, wisdom, and charity, in men's hearts, as there was of His Name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christ's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glory, the Church's Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Use of Christians.

Publik Reformers had need first, Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts which they purport to try on others; for Deformities within will soon betray the Pretenders of publik Reformerations to such private designs, as must needs hinder the Publik good.

I am sure the right Method of Reforming, the
the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religion be justified advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to Fear God, is, Honour the King.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Church's good.

Had men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill-governed in their words and actions, both against Me and one another.

As good ends cannot justify evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions: unless God, by a miracle of Mote, create Light out of Darkness, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Then, O Lord, who art capable of giving us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisy, let us not be miserably deluded with Pharisaical Washings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within; make us the least Conformers, and skill Reformers of our own souls:

That we may in clearness of judgment, and uprightness of heart be means to reform what is indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions; to thy Glory, and with thy Blessing.

Pritie the deformities which form rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretense of Reforming.

As they have showed the world, by their divisions and confusions, what is the privyty of some men's intentions, and weakness of their judgments; so bring us at last more refined out of these fiery; by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations, wherein nothing of Ambition, revenge, Covetousnes, or Sacrilege, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence is just and lawful ways shall entrust with so great a work, as is most necessary and work: that I and my People may be blessed with inward Peace, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.
Upon His Majesty's Letters taken and divulged.

The taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of My Enemies could hardly have expected it, so they knew not how with Honor and Civility to use: Nor do I think, with sober and warlike minds, anie thing in them could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamous of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vice and Noblenesse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and discretion of which command's civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhuman then to expose them to Publick view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content with much of My heart (which I fear to approve to God's omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without anie of those dresses or popular captations which form

use in their Speeches and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, nor more to preserve My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happiness; and that extreme grief to see them both Deceived and Deftroyed.

Nor can anie men's malice be gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constan
cie to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie, where the Spider

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who love's Me, or the Common-wealth: since My Subjects can hardly bee happier, if I bee miserable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppressed.

The world may see how som men's designs, like Absolom's, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distancnes, as may make all reconciliation desparate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not only with Patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charitie forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jea

ous
lous of anie injurie, My expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privie may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may bee liable to ension exceptions; yet the Innocencie of My chief purposes cannot bee so stained, or mis-interpretated by them, as not to let all men fee, that I wish nothing more then an happy compofure of differences with Justice and Honor, not more to My own, then My People's content, who have anie sparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them: who, by those My Letters, may bee convinced, that I can both mind and Act Mine own, and My Kingdom's Affairs, so as becom's a Prince, which Mine Enemies have alwayes beene verie loth should bee believed of Me; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleaf to brand with the names of Evil Counsellors.

It's probable somen men will now look upon Me as My own Counsellor, and, having none elf to quarrel with under that notion, they will thereafter confine their anger to My self: Although I know they are verie unwilling I shoud enjoy that libertie of My own Thoughts, or follow that light of My own Conscience, which they labor to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselves; not allowing Me to think their Counsels to be other then good for Me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victorie they obtained that daie, when My letters became their prize, had been enough to have fatified the most ambitious rest of Popular glorie among the Vulgar, with whom Propriety gain's the greatest esteem and applause; as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest flaming and difrepute: As if good fortune were alwayes the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not offer attend various and injurious actions, as to this worke.

But I fee no secular advantages seem sufficiant to that Cauf, which began with Turmutes, and depend's chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories fo effectual to their designs as thofe, that most rout and waffe My Credit with My people; in whose hearts they seek by all means to another and extinguishe all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyaltie to Me, that they may never kindle again, fo as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties, which somen men seek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a necessaerie preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms.

First I must seem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reign; by exquiite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must bee compelled, first, to
to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and
then bee destroyed: But I know God's im-
erring and impartial Justice can, and will
over rule the most pervert wills and de-
gines of men, He is able, and (I hope) will
turn even the worst of Mine Enemy's thoughts
and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My
Letters, I have lost anie more than to mine
Papers: How much they have lost of that re-
putation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which
ought to bee paid to all men, and most be-
come's such as pretend to Religion) besides
that of Respect and Honor, which they owe
to their King, present, and after-times
will judge. And I cannot think that they own
Confidences are so stupid, as not to inflict up-
on them some secret impressions of that shame
and dishonor, which attend all unworthy
actions, have they not so much of Publick
honer, and Populer Countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine
Approbation of such indecent actions, if they
do not remember how God blessed the mo-
dest respect and filial tendernes which Naas's
Sons bare to their Father, nor did his open
infamity justifie Chiram's impudence, or ex-
empt him from the curse of being Servants of
fornakers which cutt and murder bee on them
who feck by dishonorable actions to pleat
the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts
their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions bee ever
either excusable, or prosperous, who thought
by this means, to exposse Mee to the highest
reproach and contempt of My People, forgiv-
ning that Dutie of modest concealment,
which they owed to the Father of their
Country, in case they had discovered anie
real uncomelines; which, I thank God, they
did not, who can, and, I believe, hath made
Mee (as hee did David) more respected in the
hearts of manie, to whom they thought, by
publishing My private Letters, to have ren-
dred Mee as a rude Person, not fit to bee trus-
ted, or considered, under anie notion of Ma-
jeлись.

But then, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing
providence ordaineth the greatest contingencies
of humane affairs, make Mee to see the confluence
of thy Mercies to Mee, in the greatest advantages
thy seasme to give the malices of My Enemies
against Mee.

As thou didst ilust the counsel of Achitophel,
turning it to David's goods, and his own ruines.
And canst thou destroy their design, who intended by pub-
lishing My private letters, nothing else, but to ren-
dee Mee more odious to their contempories of My people.
I must, first appeal to thy omniscence, who can't

Although God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safety and Honor rest my Head: Shewing me that he himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much, as to God; He will not have it thus, that I may wholly cast my self, and my now disquieted Affairs upon his Mercy, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his Disposal.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellor, and command's mee to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest Strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This my confidence of them, may disarm and overcome them: My rendring my Person to them may engage their Affections to me, who have no profession, they fought not against mee, but for mee.

I must
I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and my Confidence both my Counsellor and my Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet shall I refer my Soul to God, and myself: nor shall anie necessity compel me to defect mine Honor, or swear from my Judgment.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a wise, as may make them appear not to be really such, as they ought, or professed to be.

God's ease is not enough to deprive me of Militaire power to defend myself, but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in Duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ane inhumanish may the state of Princes bee, the greatest desire may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safest in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposite me: this method of peace may bee more prosperous than that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no less solicitous for my friend's safety, the mine own: choosing to venture my self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremeties.

It is some skill in place to know when a game is lost, better fairly to give over, then to contend in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce my judgment, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion, that I may not seem to offer up my Soul's libertie, or make my Confidence their Captive, who ought at first to have used arguments, not Arms, to have persuaded my Consent to their New Demands.

I thank God, no success darken's, or disguises Truth to me: and I shall no less conform my words to my inward dictates, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loyal Subjects, full of power.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my self weakned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light, which God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions, not morally to deny, what is fit to bee granted, but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid mee deny.

I shall never think my self lost, then my selfe
while I am able thus to preserve the image of My Conscience, the only jewel now by Me, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the only command of our Consciences; though I know what to do, yet Mine eyes are towards thee; may the protection of Thy Mercy still commend itself.

Art Thou last preferred Me in the darts of evil, so Thou mayst still show Me Thy strength.

Bee Thou unto Me in My darkest night, a Pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct Me; in the darts of My hottest affliction, bee also a Pillar of Cloud, over-shadow and protect Me; bee to Me both Sun and Shield.

Then knowest, that it is not mine prerogative in Will, but just persuasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made Me thus far to beeward My person, Peace, and Safety; against the view that by force have sought to wrest them from Me.

Suffer not My just resolutions to abate with My outward forces, let a good Conscience always accompany Me, in My solitude and distress.

Suffer Me not to betray the powers of Right and that fortress of My Soul, which I am entirely with to keep for Thee.
God fee's, 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife, Children, Armour, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly his, who alone is All.

I care not much to bee reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I bee not in the black List, religious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall enfringe My Soul in it, nor gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends affraied or My Name accursed.

They have no great caufe to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power, since My Soul is still My own: nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call Obstinate, I know God is account's beneft Conscience, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, force Mee to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil-Conscioners with Mee, but a good Conscience, that Mee, which hath been fought against, nor will they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men define should bee such as they with Meem not move King, and far left both Man and Christian.

What tumults and Armies could not prevent, neither shall Restraint, which thought hath

have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never bee My shame, nor shall the love of anie libertie entangle My soul: Better others betraye Mee, then My self. and that the price of My Libertie should bee My Conscience. The greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own consent.

While I can divine with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice; who neither know how to use worthily what I have already granted, nor what to require more of Mee but this, That I would fent willing to help them to destroie My self and Mine.

Although they should Defroie Mee, yet they shall have no caufe to Defpize Mee.

Neither libertie nor life are so dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People, which My Word may injure more then anie War can doe, while I gracie a few to oppref all.

The Laws will, by God's blessing, revive with the love and Loyaltie of My subjects, if I burie them not by My Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor and injustice, which som men's violence hath digged for them.
If my captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it his soul's, his people's, and posterity's thralldom.

After times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length hear my subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; haply I may redeem my self to some shew of liberty; I would content to enslave them: I had rather hazard the name of one King, than contribute Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becom's of me whose solitude hate nor left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, and with me, whose presence is better than life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty which becom's a man, a Christian, and a king.

Bless me still with reason, as a man, with religion, as a Christian, and with constancy in fortune, as a king.

Though thou hast cast me to the spoil of all kind of ornaments, yet preserve me over in these calamities, wherein I may enjoy thy fifty, which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over my passions, impatience, or for did fears.

There be manie fair of me, there is no help for me: do thou light up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I shall neither want safety, liberty, nor majesty.

Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated: my person restrained: O bee not thou far from me, lest my enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to man: O bee thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they see, that hate me, may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit that I may do and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Bee merciful to me, O Lord, for my soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge until these calamities bee overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou hast cast me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my saviour's merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, though thou leadest me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.
14. Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.

When Providence was pleased to deprive mee of all other civil comons and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best bee supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have cause to love. By their Learning, Piety, and Prayers, I hoped to bee either better enabled to sustaine our want of all other enjoinments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time; for reaping, by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croffes.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitudes, they have confined mee unto, add the Wildernefs to my temptations: For the company they obtrude upon mee is more bad then anie solitude can bee. If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the Militia, or anie one of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policye of men forbid's all just restitution, left they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to deny mee the Ghostlie comfort of My Chaplains seem's a greater rigor and barbarie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors, whom though the Justice of the Law deprives of worldly comforts, yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godlie, and Discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to bee.

They that envie My being a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive mee of all things else, They are afraid I should have My Soul.

Other even Charity is self can hardly pick out of those manie harsh Repulſes I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristianneſſes of those denials might arise from a displeasure from men had to see mee prefer My own Divines before their Minifters; whom though
though I respect them for that worth and piety which may be in them, yet I cannot think it proper foranie present Comforters, or Physicians; who have (som of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Mee.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that Devotional compliance and juridicke of hearts, which I desire to bear in those Holy Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee, since, their judgements standing at a distance from Mee, or in jealouse of Mee, or in opposition against Mee, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Prayers, or other Holy Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whole golden Rule, and bond of perfection consists in that of mutual Love and Charity. Som Remedies are worst then the Dilett, and Comfirms more miserable the Miserie it self; when like Job's friends, they seek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but persuade a man, by betraying his own Innocence, to despair of God's Mercy and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a Friend to all Churches-men that have anie thing in them becomming the Sacred

Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy, to maintain their Rights, whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacregious eyes of manie cruel and rapacious Reformers, so I thought it My Duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandly requited by som of them, who may live to repent no les for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and menaces, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pitie all of them, I despise none; only I thought I might have leav to make choic of som for My speciall Attendants, who were bel approaved in My judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to heare no men's prayers, then to bee forced, or seem to comply with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent; nor the tongue faille Amen, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or byeing his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither Profane bolds, nor Pious non-fet, but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as they're the Speaker to bee at once considerate of God's Majestie, the Church's Honor, and his own Wills.
ness, both knowing what things God allow him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prai-

ers that found either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately, as either wanting Humility to God, or Charity to men, or Respect to the Dutie.

I confess I am better pleased, as with the studied and premeditated Sermons, so with the publikk Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Church's and every Christian's daily and common necessities; because I am better satisfied, what I may join My heart to, then I can bee of anie man's extramortary sufficiency, which as I do not wholly exclude from publikk occasions, so I allow its justice and use in private and devout retirements, where neither the solemnite of the Dutie, nor the modesty regard to others, do not require so great exactnes, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant and occasional, solitary and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equalminded with as much Reaon to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been always educated and exercised; in the other, I am not yet ex-erchized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet should I not by that, as by anie certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, bee able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagances of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare composure and use, which is already as much defiled and defiled by manie of them, as the Common-Prayer somtimes was by those men, a great part of whose piecie hung upon that popular pin of railing, against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather bee condemned to the wo of verse, then to that of Vexation, Hypercritie, by seeming to praise what I do not approove.

It may bee, I am esteemed by My Deniers sufficient of My selfe to discharge My dutie to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacre-
dotal, might well become the same Person; as antiently they were under one name, & the united rights of Primogeniture; Non could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, David, and Solomon, not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,
Crowns, then one was for devout Prayers, and the other for his divine Parable Preaching: whence the one merited the name of a Prophet, the other, of a Preacher: Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of those the Romane Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a Submission by the Sword.

Yet since the order of God's Wisdom and Providence hath, for the most part, alway distinguished the gifts and offices of King and Priests, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am forc'd to finde My self reduc'd to the necessitie of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such, as seek to deprive Mee of My Kingslie Power and Sovereignty, would in lesse enforce Mee to live manie Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unles I became My own Chaplain.

As Low the Clergie the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers, which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other men's, by how much the flow from minde more enlightened, and affections les distracted, then those which are encomb'd with Secular Affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attend's those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and Consecrated Mee: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his Merits daily offers it self and it's services to God, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honor of a Royal Priest-hood, yet, as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think Confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every man's turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one afeard to rule asking,

I was always bred to more modesty, and I think, more pious Principles: the confusions to My spiritual defects make's Mee more prize and desire those pious affinities, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or PRESbyters, may afford Mee; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Mee, so as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Mee; and to leave Mee nothing to desire, which I thought mightst provoke their jealousey and offer to deprive Mee, then this of having some means attend...
ded Mee for My soule's comfort and supposal to which end I made choo of men, as waie (that I know) scandalous; fo everies one eminent for their Learning and Pietie, to serve then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to bee made against them but only this, That they may seem too able and well affected toward Mee and My service. But this is not the first service (as I esteem the beft) in which they have forced Mee to serve My self; though I must confess I be with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of any other My servants; and next if not beyond in some things to the being sequenced from My Wifh Children; since from these, indeed, more humane and temporarie affections, but for those, more of heavenlie and eternal provynements may bee expected. My comfort is, that in the enforced neglect there want of ordinarie means, God wont to afford extraordinarie supplies of gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Mee and help me in my Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope hee wills) I shall need no other other Orator or Insturctor. To thee therefore, O My God, do I desire my new solitarie prayers; what I want more of all the other's help, supplie with the more immediate assisances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darknes, and quicken My dulnesse.

O thou Sun of Righteounesse, thou sacred Fountain of heavenlie light and heat, as once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of Mee, and interceding for Mee: In thee is all fulnesse, from thee is all sufficiency, by thee all acceptance. Thou art compassionate enough, and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee also My Prophete, and My Priest: Rule thee, Teach Mee, Praye in Mee, for Mee, and keepe thou ever with Mee.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, as that sacred Duell, when he had none to found him but thy self, who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O Look on Me thy Servante in infinite mercie, whom thou didst once bless with the joyes and secret Devotions of others; whose servanetie might inflame the coldness of My Affections towards thee, when we went to, or met in the house, with the voice of joye and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the Uniter of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O Forgive the neglects, and not impriving of me happy oppertunities. It is now the pleasure that I should bee, as a Pelican in the wilderness: as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glosing,
glowings, and devout reflections, which my best kindness, pretensions, and increas the holiness of thy graces upon the Altar of My heart, whereas Sacrifices of Prayers, and Incense of Prayers, are ever daily offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised reed, nor quenchest the smoking flax, do not do the weakness of My Prayers, nor the southernging My Soul in this uncomfortable loneliness, with whom am constrained by some men's unceasing entreaties of these helpers, which I much want, and ever last desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts occasion softnings of Mine to thee, and for them. Let the hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religion, despise the more of My prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deep incline thine ear to Me, who are a God that be set on high; thine ear is not heavy, that is, not, not thy heart hard, that is not, not thy hand short, that is, it cannot help Me to do falate Suppliant.

Then permit me to deprive Me of all outward means, which thou hast appointed to Church; but they cannot debar Me from communion of that inward grace, which thou breakest into humble hearts.

O make Me such, and thou wilt teach Me what wilt hear Me; then wilt help Me: Thee and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not deny.
Let not these men's balsams break my head, nor
their cordials oppress my heart; I will return
praise against their wickedness.

From the poison under their tongues, from the
snare of their lips, from the fire, and the words of
their mouths; ever deliver me, O Lord, and do not
shew me to thy foes. Loyal and religious hearts, who desire
my delight in the prosperity of my soul, and hear
by their prayers to relieve this sadness and sorrow
of thy servant, O my King, and my God.

25. Penitential Meditations and Vows
in the King's Solitude at Haddon.

Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my
meditation, and hearken to the voice of my
cries, My King and my God; for unto thee
will I pray.

I said, in my haste, I am cast out of the
sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hast
heard the voice of my supplication, when I cried
unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldest set me among the
sinners, who are mine enemies, who can abide it? But there is
mercy with thee that thou mayest have compassion of
thine servants, which put their trust in thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which
are but the aggravation of my condition, the enmity
of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my personal and my
people's sins, which are so far mine, as I have
improved the power thou gavest me, to thy
glorie, and my Subject's good. Then hast thou
brought me from the glorie and freedom of a
King to be a prisoner to my own Subject's. Lastly,
O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in man,
things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my person, yet
enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards
me.

I com for short of David's pietie, yet since I
may equal David's afflictions, give me also the
comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent feel I have of my sins, be as
evidence to me, that thou hast pardon'd them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms
have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou
hast not punished me according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy
upon me, for I am despised and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring
thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut
up thy loving kindness in displeasure? O remember
thy compassion of old, and thy
loving kindnesses, which have been for many
generations.

I had utterly fainting, if I had not believed to
see thy goodness in the land of the living.

Let
Let not the fruits of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery trial consume the dross, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withhold not thy grace: what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not yet so be turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still.

Let it, I beseech thee, be against me, and my brethren house, as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Church's enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Barnabas, from me all thoughts of revenge, the just not lose the reward; nor thou, the glory of my patience.

As thou grantest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me a heart to praise thee, so hear and accept the vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gracious, and settling thy true Religion among us:

In referring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schisms in Church, and Factions in State:

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the ancient rights and glory of my Predecessors:

If thou wilt turn the hearts of My People, to the self in piety, to Me in Loyalist, and to one another in Charity:

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fowler of these Civil Wars:

If thou wilt bless me with the freedom of Publick Consuls, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the influence of the vulgar:

If thou wilt keep me from the great offenses of nothing and of things against My Constitution, and especially from confounding to sacrilegious rapines and spoilings of thy Church:

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorify thee in doing good, both to the Church and State:

Then shall My soul praise thee, and magnify thy Name before My People:

Then shall thine glory be dearer to Me than My Crowns, and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be My chief care:

Then will I rule My People with Justice, and My Kingdoms with equity:

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever as the rightful succession, so the merciful restoration of My Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety, and
and honor to My chiefest Citty, and My Parliament:
  If thou wilt again use the Sword of Justice, My hand to punish and execute;
  Then will I make all the world to see, and My enemies to enforce the benefit of this佯怒 resolution of Christian charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended Me in any kind, so My hand shall never be against an innocent man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injustice done to Me.

We have been mutually punished in our unperfect divisions; for Thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of My Redeemer, have I prepared this to Thy heart. That I will use all means in the way of revenge and indemnity, which may most fully remove all evils, and burst all jealousies in forgiveness.

Let Thy mercies bee towards Me and Mine, as My resolutions of Truth and Peace are towards Thy people.

Hear My prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.
Blessed be God, who hath not turned away My prayer; nor taken His Mercy from Me.
O My soul, commit thy ways to the Lord, trust in Him, and He shall bring it to pass.
But if thou wilt not restore Me and Mine, who am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

7. To the Prince of Wales.

Son! if these Papers; with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, com to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may bee so far useful to You, as to state Your judgment aright in what hath paffed; whereof a pious is the best use can bee made. And they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present diftemper, and prevent; if God will, the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and levelling the injure of My long restraint, when I finde My leasure and solitude have produced somthing worse of My self, and usefull to You. That neither You, nor anie other, may hereafter measure My caule by the Succes; nor My judgment of things by My misfortunes, which I count the greater by far, because they have
have so far lighted upon You; and for Others, whom I have most cause to love well as My self, and of whose unmentionable blessings I have a greater sense than of Mine own. But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes; that You have been and now spent five years of discretion, in experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political, are commonly planted to a thriving, as Trees set in when then in warmth and serenity of times amidst those delights, which usually are Prince's Courts in times of Peace and Plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honor, or to be contented only with some leaves, and without formalities of them, without any real fruit. Such as tend to the Publick good, for which Princes should always remember they are born, and by Providence designed.

The evidence of which different estates in thole Writs afford us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam: The one proffered by manie afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other covered by the unparalleled prosperity of Solomon's Court; and so contrasted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by those flatness which are as unseparable from prosperous Prince...
To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on thee, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn thee nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup wherein I have liberally drunk, which I look upon as God's Physick, having that in healthiness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, well-grounded and settled in Your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgment and Reason now feel to that sacred bond which education had written, that it may be justly Your own Religion, and not other men's custom or tradition which you profess.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with so little amendment, which have other where expressed, and often offered though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for Your Soul's than Your Kingdom's Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some men's Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Pictet plead's for peace and patience, theycrie out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point you bee well settled, you shall never want temptations to detrio you and yours, under pretense of Reforming matters of Religion; for that seem's even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affection, by leaping forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought Zealous, hoping to cover those religious deformities, where to they are confus'd, by a favoritie of centhing other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting anie Factions, or applying to anie publack Differencements in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in Your Judgment, & the Church's well settled, Your partial adhering, as Head, to anie one Side, gains you not to great advantages in some men's hearts (who are prone to bee of their King's Religion) as it loathes you in others; who think themselves and their profession...
Servants to Presbyterie, their great Master: till time and military successe, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to partake; and, leaving the joint flock of uniform Religion, they pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but even of Presbyterie itself, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Church's peace; so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schiffrs: What seem at first but as a handbreadth, by feditary Spirits, as by strong winderes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done Justice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Union in Religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperite will depend and move, is, That of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heirs, are the most excellent Rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subject's industri, libertie, and happiness; and yet referre enough to the Majestie and prerogative of anie King, who own's his
his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whole
subjection, as it preserveth their Property,
Peace, and Safety; so it will never diminish
your Rights, nor their ingenious Liberties:
which consist in the enjoyment of the fruits
of their industry, and the benefit of those
Laws to which themselves have confor
ted.

Never charge your Head with such a
Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress
the whole body, the weakness of whose parts
cannot return anything of strength, honor, or
safety to the Head, but a necessary debilita
tion and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exer
cised in remitting, rather than exacting the ri
gor of the Laws; there being nothing worse
than Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of esta
blished Religion and Laws, I may (without
dishonesty) turn the reproach of My sufferings,
as to the world's censure, into the honor of a
kinde of Martyrdom, as to the testimonie of
My own Conscience: the Troublers of My
Kingdoms having nothing else to object against
Mee but this. That I prefer Religion, and
Laws established before those Alterations
they proposed.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am
convinced by better Arguments, then what
hitherto have been chiefly used towards Mee,
Tumults, Armies, and Prisones.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope
ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gra
tifie anie Faction with the perturbation of
the Laws, in which is wrapped up the Publick
Interest, and the Good of the Community.

How God will deal with Mee, as to the re
moval of these pressures and indignities,
which My Justice, by the very unjust hands of
Some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to late
upon Mee, I cannot tell; nor am I much solicitous
what wrong I suffer from Men, while I re
tain in My soul, what I believe is right before
God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safet
y; that in Reason, Honor, and Conscience I
can; referring onely what I cannot content
unto, without an irreparable injurie to My
own Soul, the Church, and My People; and
You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of
My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to
whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall, in
his due time, after My decease, bring You, as I
hope Hee will, My Counsell & Charge to You
is, That You seriously consider the former
real, or objected miscarriages, which might
occasion My troubles, that You may avoid
them.  Q. 3  Never
Never repose so much upon ane man's single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in your self, or others, a diuersence of your own judgment, which is likely to bee always more confusant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom then ane man's.

Next, beware of exasperating ane Factions by the croifnes, and aperit of som men's passions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the diuerences in litter matters, which are but the skirts and subburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipate their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies, and puts the delphied and oppressed Party into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly addicted by that vulgar committion, which attend's all, that are laid to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an inoffent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them; Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up Solid Piety, and those fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industri, and pietie; but, with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distribute favors and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodnes both in abilities and fidelity worthie and capable of them.

This will bee sure to gain you the hearts of the best and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see theiever wavies of vertue at ane time sweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, confided with different & oppposite Factions, (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in ane conformitie to the Laws establish'd, in Church and State;) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee,) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as let's them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antago-nist.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once
the rough horns of private men's covetous
and ambitious desires shall discover them-
selfs; which were at first wrap't up and
hidden under the soft and smooth pretensi-
ons of Religion, Reformation, and Libert-
ty. As the Wolf is not less cruel, so he
will be more subtly hated, when he shall
appear no better than a Wolf under Sheep's
clothing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vul-
gar, who in their simplicity follow those dis-
guises, My Charge and Counsel to You is,
That, as You need no palliations for any
Designs, (as other men) so You studie really
to exceed (in true and constant demonstra-
tions of Goodness, Piety, and Virtue, towards
the People) even all those men, that make
the greatest noiz and offences of Religion;
so You shall neither fear ane detection, (as
they do, who have but the face and mask of
goodness) nor shall You frustrate the just ex-
pectations of Your People, who cannot in
Reason promise themselves so much good
from ane Subject's Novelties; as from the
vivious constance of their King.

When these mountains of congealed fac-
tions shall, by the Sun-shine of God's mercy,
and the splendor of Your virtues, bee thawed
and disipated, and the abused Vulgar shall
have learned, That none are greater Oppos-
fors of their Estates, Liberties, and Consci-
ences then those men, that entitle themselves
The Patrons and Vindicators of them, only
to usurp power over them; Let then no pali-
cation betray You to ane studie of Revenge up-
upon those, whose own sin and folly will suffi-
ciently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked Arrow of Factic-
ious Emulations is drawn out, unle all Princelie
Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds;
that the smart of the Cure may not equal the
anguish of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity and
Oblivion, to fo great a latitude, as may in-
clude all, that can but suspet themselves to bee
anie wae obnoxious to the Laws, and which
might serve to exclude all future Jealousies
and insecurities.

I would have You alwais propen to the
same wae; when ever it shall bee defered and
accepted, let it bee granted, not onely as an
Act of State-Policie and Necessitie, but of
Christian Charitie and Choif.

It is all I have now left Mee, a Power to for-
give those, that have deprived Mee of all:
and I thank God, I have a Heart to do it,
and hope as much in this Grace, which God hath giv'n
Mee, as in all My former enjournements; for this
is a greater argument of God's Love to Mee,
than aie Prosperitie can bee.
Bee confident, as I am, that the most of all sides, who have done, as if by out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will bee more loyal and faithful to Mee and You, than those Subjects, who are sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie set's You beyond any Duet with anie Subject; so the nobleness of Your minde must raise You above the meditating anie revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.

The more conscious You shall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People; the more prone You will bee to expect all Love and Loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not deparing of God's Mercy, and My Subject's affections towards You, both which, I hope, You will studie to deserve; yet Wee cannot merit of God, but by his own Mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Mee, and You after Mee, to those enjoynments, which the Law have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I shall bee so happie to bee You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor, and the Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never see My face again, and God will have Mee buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie, (which the perfection of men's designs require's) whereas in few hearts that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Mee, I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your King, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of England.

Tell You, I have tried it, and after much search, and manie disputes, have concluded it to bee the best in the world, not onely in the Comminitie, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as reformed; keeping the middle wae between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meannes of fantastick Anarchie.

Not but that the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of England, from lines, as in verie good figures, may haply need...
from sweetning, or polishing: which might here have easily been don by a safe and good hand; if some men’s precipitancy had not solemnly demanded such rude alterations, which would have quite destroyed all the Beauties and Proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, with which may object and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in England, beflled by factions in the Elections: if it is easily Answered to them, or Your Grace had been prefered from the insolencies of thoughts in this, That scarce an one’s Popular dictates, and tumultuarie imprefhath been a Beginner, or an active Professor: The sad effects of which, will no doubt, of this late War against the Church, make all Parliaments after this more cautious, Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Loxos to prefer that Freedom and Honor, Embracer, or Pratifer of the Protestant Religion, which belong to such Assemblies; when religion, established in England, which once they have fully shaken off this yoke of their give’s such Rules, nor ever before it, as erect in the in the mutual and common good of both Prince and People.

Tis true, from heretofore had the boldness to present threatening Petitions to their Pairs, Nothing can bee more happy for all, then, and Parliaments, which others of the fair, grave, and Honorable ways, to contribute Faction (but of worst Spirits) have undone their Counsels in Common, enacting all put in Execution, but let not counterfeits be Publifie Content, without Tyranny and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and or Tumults. Wee must not flay our esteem of true Pietie; both of them agree, becauf some men have furnished bee known by their Fruits, the sweeter the Vine and Fig-tree is not to bee definite, though the Brambles and Thorns should tend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to

Nor would I have You to entertain anic reviration, or dislike of Parliaments; which, as their right constitution with Freedom and honor, will never injure or diminish Your Greatnes, but will rather bee as interchangeabes of Love, Loyalty, and Confidence, between a Prince, and His People.

Nor would the events of this black Parlia-
their sin, and suffer them to be delayed; for the prosperity of their wickedness. If God will give Me, and You, that grace, and will teach and enable Us, to want, as not to wear a Crown; which is not worth so up, or enjoying upon for did, dishonorable religious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, and honor; You shall never want a friend.

A principal point of Your honor will be, in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother. My Wife hath many ways deferred well of Me; chiefly in this, that (having been a member of) Me with so many hopeful Children (all which, with their Mother, I return to Your love and care). She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, that the becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, up and fortified in My own Innocence. (his Grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour for the spoils and weather-beaten Kings a Repairer by Your Wisdom, Justice, Valor, of what the folly and wicked of for men have so far ruined.
much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off space; This Made Religion on the face of Rebellion (for it now plainly appear's, since My Retractions cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, and was pretended) will not long stay to hide for men's deformities.

Happier times, I hope, attend You, when Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Land to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicitude.

I praise God blest you and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your God and true Religion, and Your honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perished by My destruction, let My memory ever with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that love's You: and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms, whom God thought fit to honor, not only with the Scripture and Government of them, but also with the Suffering man's indignities and untimely Death for them, while I studied to prefer the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown.

the priviledg. of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can I hope she yet will restore Me to My Rights. I cannot despair either of his Mercie, or of My People's love and pittie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. Meditations upon Death after the Votes of
Non-Addresses, and His Majesty's closer
imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.

As I have cause enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence, which gives's Me the space, but Man's cruelty, that gives's Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burden of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man, I now bear the heaviest load of other men's ambition,
bitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envy, or enmity against Me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Thole are never unreasonal, since this is always uncertain: Death being an eclipse which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudy days.

But My now long and sharp adversitie hath so reconciled in Me thoses natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men; that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allayed for, although My death at present may all too be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations, which the providence of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the verge of malice); yet, I bless God, I can look upon all these things, as unpoisonous, though sharp, since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or giv'n Me the Antidote of His Death against them; which, as to the immortals injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty, of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the braveness of a judicious integrity and constance, as since I came to these closer considerations with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christian's life to die daily in conquering, by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us over live our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, saufetie, estatte, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a King, I think My selfe to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good will of My People, for which I have suffer'd many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poison of impiety and violence of hostility to destroy, first, the love and Loyaltie, which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life; and...
and onely the huske and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from mee; having bereaved mee of all those worldlie comforts, for which life it seem'd desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God's gie's thee anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cart, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Christian valor, it argues puillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life, and want of that Heroick greatnesse of spirit which becoms a Christian in the patient and generous suffering of those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body, and which are lessened or enlarged is the Sun of our prosperitie move's higher, or lower: whose total absence is best compensated with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may bee terrible, like Samson's Lion, but they yield much sweetnesse to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnes, while they may yet convert with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the midst of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects being helpers Spectators; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumpher's over mee, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught mee not to hope otherwise, as to man's cruelty; however, I despair not of God's infinite Meritie.

I know My Life is the object of the Devil's and wicked men's malice; but yet under God's sole custodie and dispofal; whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die, but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order forever he is pleased to have them out to mee. I confess it is not safe for mee to contend with those manie horrors of death, wherewith God suffer's mee to bee tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the finnnesse of a barbarous Affiliation; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to add (as these did who crucified Chrift) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may bee destroyed, as with greater pomp
pomp and artifice, so with less pittic, it will bee but a necessarie policie to make My dear appear as an Act of Justice don by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man inveighs them with the power of Judicature without Mee, much les against Mee: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is Sacred before God and man to endeavours My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjuric.

It is indeed, a sad fate for one man to have his Enemies to bee Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subject's against their Sovereign: wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guiltie of contriving the Publick Troubles, must by shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guiltie before God and man; and, I believe, in their own confessions too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumiles, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly - cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, then this, the Guilt of their unjust usurpation, not withstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied only to disguise at first the monstrousness of their designs;

signs, who despaired, indeed, of posseting the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, bee cast out and slain.

With them My greatest fault must bee, that I would not either destroie My fall with the Church and State by My Words, or suffer them to do it, unresisted by the Sword, whose covetous ambition no Conceissions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfy, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which some men see to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitles, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of thos, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will be done: I doubt not but My Innocence will finde him both My Protector and My Advocate, who is My only Judge; whom I own as King of Kings, not only for the Eminence of his Power and Majesty above them, but also for that singular Care and Protection, which he hath over them; who knowes them to bee exposed to as manie dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their Babel, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.
I am confident they will finde August
of My death among themselues: the injurers
I have sustaine from them shall bee first punisht
by them, who agree’d in nothing so
much as in opposing Mee.
Their impatience to hear the loud cries of
My blood shall make them think no worse
better to expiate it, then by shedding their
who with them most thirsted after Mine:
The sad confusions, following My destruc
tion, are already presaged and confirmed in
Mee by those I have lived to see since My
Troubles; in which God alone (who only
could) hath mane waeis pleaded My case,
not suffering them to go unpunished, which
confederacie in sin was their only security
who have cause to fear that God will best
further divide, and by mutual vengeance, at
ward deftroie them.
My greatest conquest of Death is from
the power and love of Christ, who hath
swallow’d up Death in the victory of His Re
urrection, and the glory of His Affension.
My next comfort is, that he gives Mee not
only the honor to imitate his example in
suffering for righteousness sake, (though ob
scurd by the foulest charges of Tyrannic and
Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the
noblest revenge upon, and victorious over My
Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can
both forgive them, and pray for them, that
God would not impute My blood to them
further then to convince them, what need
they have of Christ’s blood to wash their
soals from the guilt of shedding Mine.
At present, the will of My Enemies seem’s
to bee their onely Rule, their power the Mea
ture, and their suicide the Exactor of what
they please to call Justice; while they flatter
themselves with the Fancie of their own sa
tie by My Danger, and the securitie of their
lives and designs by My Death: forgetting
that as the greatest temptations to sin are
wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the
severest vengeances of God are most
accomplished, when men are sufferd to com
plete their wicked purpoises.
I bleed God, I praise not so much, that this
bitter cup of a violent death may pass from
Mee, as that of his wrath may pass from all
those, whose hands, by deferring Mee, are
sprinkled, or, by aiding and confessing to My
dead, are embroiled with My blood.
The will of God hath confined, and con
cluded Mee; I shall have the pleasure of
dying, without any pleasure of defined venge
ance.
This, I think, becomes a Christian toward
his Enemies; and a King toward his Subjects:
They cannot deprive Mee of more then I
am
am content to lofe, when God sees fit to take it from me; whose Misfortune, I believe, will more than infinitely recommend me to the publick, the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by my ruin, do already feel the sharp Convolutions, and some remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against me in the Measure of God's retaliation upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretense of paring other's nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may bee like that of Korah and his complices (at once mutinying against both the Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine Justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people lying upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disorder of their ill-gotten and worthless Authoritative; upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my Peace, which, I trust, is made with God, before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my enemies: where, I doubt not, but, his righteous judgment
judgment will confute their fallacy; who, from worldly success (rather like Sophists, then found Christians) draw those popular conclusions for God's approbation of the actions, whose wise providence (we know of) permit's man's events, which his revealed Word (the only clear, safe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good confidences) is to be approve's.

I am confident, the Justice of my Cause, and clearness of my Conscience before God and toward my People, will carry me, as much above them as in God's decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that, many times, those undertakings of men are lifted to Heaven— in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness & oppression of the design. Those prosperous winds, which oft fill the sails of Pirates, do not justify their Piracies and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of soul, to have been wrought by my enforced consternation for, and vindication of the Laws of the land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragement: that if I had, with the greatest advantages of success, over-born them all, as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetening of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand (if it must be so) then they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly & barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends, while those will put a period to the sins and forrows attending this miserable life, whereas with these desires I might still contend.

I shall bee more then conqueror through Christ enabling me, for whom I have hitherto suffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace, for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, And, although death bee the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of other's sins, as men, both against God and me,
...yet, as I hope, My own sins are so committed, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of My destruction.

The Trophes of My charitable will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Me.

Though their sin bee Prosperous, yet they had need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardoned; Both which I praise God they may obtain; that My temporal death, unjustly inflicted by them, may not bee revenged by God’s just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far less deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I with other than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Me over-board, though it bee very strange that Mariners can finde no other means to appeal the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilots.

I thank God, My enemie’s cruelty cannot prevent My Preparation, whose malice in this I shall defeat; that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroied My Soul with My Bodie; of whose salvation while form of them have themselves seemed, and taught other...

...others to Despair, they have only discovered this, that they do not much Desire it.

Whose uncharitablc and cruel Restraints, denying Me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, 0 King of Kings, who filled Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of Eternal life; in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou 0 God art both the just Sufferer of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yes, it is better for us to bee dead to our selves, and live in thee, then by living in our selves to bee deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter Aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt bee with Me, I shall neither fear nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man, to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.

O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with...
with mee as a man, make mee to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee, my God. Though I die, yet I know that then my body is to be destroyed for ever: though thou this, yet thou hast encouraged mee to trust in thee eternally.

O withdraw not thy favor from mee, which is better than life.

O bee not far from mee, for I know not how much a violent and cruel death is to mee. As thy omniscience, O God, discovereth, let thy omnipotence can defeat the designs of those who have, or shall conspire my destruction. O show me the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of their's.

Thus given mee, as a man to praise; this cup may pass from mee, but thou hast taught mee as a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly revolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life Mee bee so great, as that of doing or suffering thine will, in either life or death.

As I believe, thou wilt forgive all the errors of My life, so I hope thou wilt save mee from the terrors of My death.

Make mee content to hear the world's stories, that I may come truly to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto mee in life, as in death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their duty to mee, and mee; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful to them.

For what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my kingdoms, if they lose their own souls?

Such as have not only resisted thy just power, but wholly usurped, and turned it against thyself, though they may desire, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thus mad it by thy Son a Saviour to man, that crucified him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them. O let the voice of his blood be heard for my mothers, louder then the cries of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by destructions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own souls by fallacious pretensions of justice in destroying mee: while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against mee, chiefly tempers them to use all extremities against mee.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to mee as very false, very cruel: who, pretending to preserve mee, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men, but overcome their cruelty, with thy compassion, and my charity.
And when thou makest inquisition for My blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, souls with the blood of Thy Son, that Thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

Though they think My Kingdom on earth too little to entertain at once both them and Me, yet let the capacious kingdom of Thy infinite Mercy at last receive both Me and My enemies:

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitions desires, which beg the care of thine enemies.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruelly upon Me, O let Me fall into the arms of thine inveterate and eternal Mercies.

That what is cut off of My life, in this miserable moment, may be repaired in thy exceeding Eternitie.

Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace, for my enemies have seen Thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, que bella negarunt.

FINIS.
Another Prayer.

Almighty and most merciful Father, look down upon Mee Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace: but look upon Mee, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art only well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthie to stand before Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternal God! For as in sin I was conceived and born; so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandments by My sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of Thy heauen Displeasure; as for Thy sins, O Lord, they are innumerable, wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to come, if Thou shouldst deal with Mee according to My deserts, I confess, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercy, (which endureth for ever) and Thy Compassion (which never fail's) which is the cause that I have not been long ago confounded: but with Thee there is Mercy and plenteous Redemption, in the multitude therefore of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ.

Amen.
Thy Mercies and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wouldst not enter into judgment with Thy servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amiss, but be Thou merciful unto Mee, and wash away all My sins with the precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption: and as Thou dost add days to My life, so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to add repentance to My days, that when I have past this mortal life, I may be partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

A Prayer and Confession made in and for the times of Affliction.

Almighty and most merciful Father, it is only Thy goodness that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so is it our bounden and necessary Duty to confess our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living, I have most need of meditation, to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee; that degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Mee, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions, For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended wafe of Justice; or that I permitted a wrong wafe of Thy Worship, to be set up in Scotland, and injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the perfections of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies, for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers fail: Grant therefore, merciful Father, to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that thou mayst clear the wafe for Thine own Mercies, to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to My deferred afflictions. In the meantime give Mee Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations, and a Discerning Spirit, to chuse what is best for Thy Church and People, which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our only Saviour. Amen.

A Prayer
A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most meriful Father, though My sins are manifold and grievous, that I may rather endure the effects of Thy anger, then to great a deliverance as to free Mee from My present great danger, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works and Thou never failest to relieve all those who are humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish thy transgressions, to despair of thy merciful free wherefore Humbly desire Thy Divine Merit, that Thou wilt not only pardon all My sins, also free Mee out of the hands, and prevail from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But Thy wrath against My innumerable Offences will not cease, until all be satisfied, then by suffering Mee to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will be done with humble Imporimptu, I do and shall never to implore the assistance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, to strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Minde, that with clearer light I may behold Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Trial, that to My sufferings here may not only glorify Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Mee, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

FINIS.

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the Prince to the King's Dated from the Hague, Jan. 23, 1648.

SIR,

Having no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majestie's present condition, but such as I receive from the Print, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this bearer Sehamour to wait upon Your Majestie, and to bring Mee an account of it: that I may mischief assure Your Majestie, I do not only praise for Your Majestie according to my Duty, but shall always be ready to do all which shall bee in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majestie upon

SIR,

The Superscription was thus,

FINIS.

For the King.
Another Relation from the Lady Elizabith's own Hand.

Wednesday 29th January, 1648.
A true Relation of the KING's Speech to the Lady Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the day before his death.

His Children being come to meet Him, He at first gave His Blessing to the Lady Elizabeth; and bade her remember to tell her Brother James, whenever she should see him, That it was his Father's last desire that she should no more look upon Charles as his eldest Brother only, but be brother unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's mistaken ideas. They said the King to her, Sweet-heart, do not forget this. No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live, and pouring forth abundance of tears promised him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King took the Duke of Gloucester by His Knee, and said, Sweet-heart, now They will cast out His Head, and that word of the Child, beheaded so falsely on Him, Marke child, if you fail, they will cut off My Head, and perhaps mine also, that a King; but mark what I say, You must be a King, so long as your Brothers, Charles and James, do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off the Head too at the last; and therefore change your not be named a King by them. At which the Child, frowning, said, I will be born in pieces first. Who falling to unexpectedly from one to young age the King rejoiced exceedingly.

Elizabeth.
An Epitaph upon King Charles

So fell that stately Cedar, while it stood,
That was the only glory of the Wood:
Great Charles, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life, like other's, though it were a Span,
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shone:
Thy heart, the Virtues Angels should desire:
It is a theme too high for humane verse.
He that would know Thee right then, let him in,
Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o'er and o'er; which if he doth,
He finds the King, Priest, and Prophet
And lastly, (for all is lost), and though in vain,
With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Name,
Though there were neither Monument nor Pen
Thy Sufferings & Thy Death let no man win.
It was Thy Gloire, but the Kingdom's Shame.

FINIS.
His Majesty's first Paper.

...the grounds of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worships of My Instructors be considered, or the not few errors that I have been filled in My principles, it can be no strange thing, if I be found no easy work to make me alter them; and the rather, that being so, I have (according to St. Paul's rule, Rom. 14:23) been happy in not condemning My self, in that thing when not Law. Thus having shewed you how, it remains to tell you what I believe, in relation to these presentensible distractions.

No one thing made me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of England, than that it was done (according to the Apostles defence, Acts 24: 18;) neither with multitude, nor with tumult, but legally and orderly; and by choice, whom I conceive to have only the reforming power; which in many other inducements, made me always confident, that the work was very perfect, as to essentiality, in which manner Church Government being universally one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if there had been cause, which opinion of mine, was soon turned into more than a confidence; when I perceived that in this particular (as of many of all the rest) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be constant universal custom of the primitive Church, and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of a lawfulapis bond, or, then, how the Sacraments can be duly administered is easy to judge. These are the principall Reasons, which make me believe that Bishops are necessary for Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me; if I had no more not to give My content for their expulsion out of EngLand, but I have another obligation, that to My particular is no less tie of Conscience, which is, My Conscience.

Mr. Alex. Henderson's first Paper.

Oath: Now if (as St. Paul saith, Rom. 14:23;) He that doubteth is damned if he eat, what can I expect, I should not only give way knowingly to My peoples finnig, but likewise be perswaded My selfe?

Now consider, ought I not to keep My self from presumptions false? and you know who saith, What doth it mean that a man, though he should gain the whole World, and lose his own Soule ? Wherefore My constant maintenance of Episcopacy in England, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdom) I think, should be rather commended than wondered at. My Conscience directing Me to maintain the laws of the Land, which being only My endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, what warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience, or to make him alter Law by his will? If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken, or, if My judgement in Religion hath been milled at this time, I shall be willing to be better directed; till when you must excuse Me, to be constant to the Grounds which the King My Father taught Me.

Newcastle May 29th, 1640.

C. R.

For His MAJESTY.

Ms. Alex. Henderson's first Paper.

SIR,

It is your Majesties Royall goodnesse, and not My merit, that hath made your Majestie to conceive any opinion of My abilities, which (were they worthy) of the smallest repayment from your Majesty, I ought...
Mr. Alexander Henderson's first Paper.

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ought in all duty to be improved for your Majesties

Majesties, but I am not able to undertake the

undermining by my own will, or the will of another

command to think upon a matter: but no will or

command can constrain me to determine otherwise

reason teacheth me. Yet Sir, I hope your Majes-

which drew my mind to the Charity of Episcopal Government, wherein I was born in my younger years in the University. Like as I did

prehend that it was not your Majesties purpose to have

the Question disputed by Divines on both sides. But

I would never (to the wrongdoing of the cause) have

undertaken alone; and which seldom or never has

proved an effectual way, for finding of truth, or

wringing the minds of men to relinquish their former

errors. Dum est transit a judicium in affectum, cum

the Polemicks between the Papists and us; and among

our selves about the matter now in hand, their last

years past.

2. Sir, when I consider your Majesties education

under the hands of such a Father: the length of the

years wherein your Majesties hath been settled in your

papies of Church-Government: the Arguments which

have continually in private and publick, especially oft

at Oxford, filled your Majesties ears for the Duram

right thereof: your Coronation oath, and divers other

reasons which your Majesties doth not mention, do

not wonder, nor think it an strange thing that your

majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary

impression. Remember that the famous

Samos Pius Avinola proved by irreparable reason

(whie no rational man will contradict) The

no man hath so much power over his own understanding

to make him self believe what he will, or to think what

be true which his reason tells him is false: much less

is it possible for any man to have his reason comman-
ded as the pleasure of another.

3. Is it a true saying of the Schoolmen, Volumus

imperatius sed didicimus quod exercerum, non good preceptum

recte sed didicimus quod exercerum, non good preceptum
Mr. Alex. Henderson's first Paper.

Mr. Henderson's first Paper.

Mr. Alex. Henderson's first Paper.

To the Argument brought by your Majesty, (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they been all about you, could more briefly, and yet fully and strongly have expressed) That nothing was retained in that bush but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to the constant universal practice of the Primitive Church, and that it was of such consequence as by the alteration of it, we should deprive our selves of the unction of the Priesthood (I think your Majesty means a lawful Ministry) and then how the Sacraments can be administered is easy to judge. I humbly offer these considerations. First, what was not in the times of the Apostles, cannot be deduced from them: We say in Scotland, it cannot be brought. But, that is not the case; for, if we look into the Liturgy, and the things of that kind, there were no such hierarchy, no such difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apostles, and therefore it cannot be deduced. The Apostles one and the same thing. The Apostles and the Presbyters are the same thing.

The glory of this work is reserved for your Majesty, that it to your comfort, and blessing, the praise of godly Jeshurun may be yours; which yet we will not displease to your Royal Father, or, in any thing before you; none of them having so far an opportunity as is now by the supreme providence put into your hands. My soul trembleth to think of the whole, and to foresee what may be the event; if this opportunity be neglected, I will not use the words of Mr. Henderson, that we may not what Savanarola told others. But, I will not use the words of Mr. Henderson, that we may not what Savanarola told others.
Mr. Alex. Hendersons first Paper.

Mr. Alex. Hendersons first Paper.

1. Mr. Alex. Hendersons first Paper.

Mr. Alex. Hendersons first Paper.

kinds of Ministers both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apostles, the Evangelists, Bishops, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot find in Offices of the same kind, that one hath a
power of power, or priority of degree before another. No Apostle above other Apostles; nor any
moral respect; no Evangelist above other Evangelists; no Deacon above other Deacons; why then
Papist above other Papists? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinary and extraordinary, the office is
in its own kind, solely in the office of Priest no inanition.

2. The whole power and all the parts of Minis-

try, which are commonly called, The power

of Order and Jurisdiction, are by the Apostles declar-

ted to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop. As

that, Matthew 16:15, 16, 17. the gradation in manner

of Discipline or Church-unities, is from one, to two,
or more: and if he shall neglect them, tell it unto

Church; he shall not tell it to the Bishop: there is

no place left to a retrogradation from more to one

where he never was eminent. If these considerations do not satisfy your Majesty, there may be more; or the same further cleared.

3. Secondly, I do humbly desire your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the practice of the Primitive Church: and the universal consent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papists for such traditions as no Orthodox Di-

vine will allow. The Law and Testimony must be the Rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice universal of the Church for many years, unless the prime Historian confeteth. Such as the learned Joseph Scaliger confeteth. That from the end of the Acts of the Apostles until a good many

ters, no certainty can be had from Ecclesiastical Authors.

4. And lastly, I do beseech your Majesty to consider, that the doctrine of the Church of England is no less than the doctrine of the Apostles themselves, which is the rule of everyone. The doctrine of the Church of England is the same as the doctrine of the Apostles, and is the rule of everyone. The doctrine of the Church of England is the same as the doctrine of the Apostles, and is the rule of everyone. The doctrine of the Church of England is the same as the doctrine of the Apostles, and is the rule of everyone. The doctrine of the Church of England is the same as the doctrine of the Apostles, and is the rule of everyone.

Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleness and sincerity to lay before your Majesty this thing, which perhaps might require a larger discourse that although no humane authority can dispense with an Oath, none have provoc-

ing testimony adfurnum Divinum; yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaseth. As when we swear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superior, who afterwards exaeth to be

5. Thirdly, I will never think that your Majesty will deny the lawfulness of a Ministracy, and the due adminis-

tration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Diocesan Bishops, for it is not only manifested by Scripture, but a great many of the strongest Champions for Episcopacy, do confesse, that Presbyters may Ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptism administered by a private person, knowing a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presby-

ter although not ordained by a Bishop, are not one and the same thing.

6. Concerning the other Argument taken from your Majesties Coronation Oath; I confesse, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath, (so far as a thing is, and to a high a point of Religion) much tenderness is required: and whereas it

from us, who desire to observe our own Solemn

Oath, to profit your Majesty with the violation of yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleness and sincerity to lay before your Majesty this thing, which perhaps might require a larger discourse that although no humane authority can dispense with an Oath, none have provoc-

ing testimony adfurnum Divinum; yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaseth. As when we swear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superior, who afterwards exaeth to be
Mr. Alex. Frend, &c. to the Earl of Derby.

His Majesty's Council, July 9, 1670.

To His Excellency Alex. Frend, &c.

The Earl of Derby.

A Reply to His Excellency.

July 9, 1670.

His Majesty's Council.

To His Excellency Alex. Frend, &c.

A Reply to His Excellency.

July 9, 1670.
Concerning your second Section I would you blame, as I should not submit to that saying of Saint Ambrose which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found less ingenious than you think you are in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, That as I shall not be ashamed to charge for the better, so I must see that it is better before leaving otherwise, unconstancy in this were both sin and fault; and I remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that no man's reason can be commanded by another man will.

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on with that Ingenuity, which the other doth, for I do not understand how those Examples out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of Reformaition, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or that any other is lawful,those having been all by the Regal Authority; and because Henry the eight by Reformaition was not perfect, will prove that of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth to be unperfect: I believe a new mind and spirit must be found out to form a Excellency, whereby to prove that; but however you are mistaken; for no man who truly understands the English Reformaition, will darkeit from Henry the eightt; for he only gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and Queen Elizabeth, that perfetected it; nor did I ever avert, that the beginning of any humane Action was perfect, no more than you can prove that God hath given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the unrighteous Princes: for you know, there is much different between Reformaition and Approbation. But all this time find no Reason (according to your promise) for this Reformation or Change (I mean since Queen Elizabeth's time). As for your Romano-Latinus Malleus his laying, it is well you come off with, [yet this I will not.]
Mr. Alex. Henderson's Second Paper.

of private spirits must be admitted: the which con- dictates St. Peter, 2 Pet. 1. 20. is the Mother of all enabling to conclusion: and to say, that an argument is ill to callic the Papists use it, or that such a thing is good to cause us to give the outcome of some of the Reformed Church, cannot weigh with me, until you prove them to be infallible, or to maintain no Truth: and how the apostate ambition (who directly opposed the Apostolical Church) can be an Argument against Episcopacy, I do not understand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the Reformed Churches, then, and not before, will I confine the Alliance; as you must prove, before I confine it, Presbyters without a Bishop may lawfully ordain the Presbyters: and as for the Administration of Baptism as I think none will say, that a Woman can lawfully or duly administer it, though when done, it be valid; not must be done, but a lawfully Presbyter, whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

7. You make a learned, but not a discourse of Oaths, in general, and there several obligations, to which you are not bound, in the particular now digression, to be guided by your own Rule, which is, if an Oath have a special reference to the benefit of the party whom I make the promise, if we have their defence. I am to the Obligation conquest. Now, it must be known to whom this Oath had reference, and to whole benefit the Answer is clear, only to the Church of England as by the Record will be plainly made appear: is you must mistake in alleging, that the two Houses of Parliament (especially as they are now constituted) can have this legislative power, for (besides the Church they are not named in it) I am confident to make clearly appear to you, that this Church never

Mr. Alex. Henderson's Second Paper.

admits, nor was subordination to them; and that was only the King and Clergy, who made the Reformation, the Parliament merely helping to give the civil subordination: all this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is only the Church of England (to whose favor I took this Oath) that can release me from it: wherefore when the Church of England (being lawfully assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self fo.

8. To your last, concerning the King, My Father, of happy and famous Memory, both for his piety and learning: I must tell you, that I had the happiness, to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident in the knowledge of his Opinions; but, I dare say, though his Ghost now speak, he would tell you, that a bloody Reformation was never lawful, or not warranted by God's Word, and that Pressey James is no Arm of the Church.

9. To conclude, having replied to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me no Answer to My last Query; it may be you are (as Chester says) like the people of England, What they are, like they never understand. But in earnest, that Query is pertinent to the purpose in hand, that it will much serve for my satisfaction, and besides it may be useful for other things.

Newcastle, June 6. 1646.

C.R.

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. Alex. Henderson's Second Paper.

S.F.

The smaller the encouragements he, in relation to the success, (which how small they are, your
Mr. Alex. Henderson's Second Paper.

1. The more apparent, and I hope the more acceptable will my obedience be, that which in all humility I now go about, as your Majesties command; yet while I consider, that the way of man is not in himself, nor is it in mankind, walketh, to direct his own steps; and when I remember how many supplications, with strong supplications and tears, have been openly and in secret offer'd, up in your Majesties behalf, unto God, that he may hear prayer, I have no reason to despair of a happy success.

2. I have been averse, from a Disputation of Divines; for saving of time, which the plenteousness of arguments and extremity of affairs, make more than amply compensatory. While Archimedes at Syracuse was drawing his figures and circling in the sand, Marcus Aurelius interrupted his demonstration. 2. Because a common result of Discourses of this kind, animating prejudiced opinions of the parties, is rather Vice than Virtue; while tongues trenchant, Diatribes, in sturdy more to overcome their adverse part, that may be overcome of Truth, although this be the glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me, as expected by Mr. 1. Never judged so many of Coheir, nor so highly of my self, as to venture a such weakness. Much more might be spoken on the purpose; but I forbear.

3. I will not further trouble your Majesties with that, which is contained in the Second Section; hoping that your Majesties will no more insist upon Ecclesiastical prescription of time, &c. which are sufficient, to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majesties acknowledge) must give place to Reason, and are no ground of resolution of our Faith, in any point it is believed; although it be true that the most men make these and the like, to be the ground and rule of their Faith; and Evidence that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

5. Concerning Reformation of Religion in the third Section, I think need have a preface to so Thoam a Thoam, as your Majesties have brought me upon. 1. For the Reforming power: it is conceived, when a General Call is, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, so that scarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a general Council is necessary: but, because that can hardly be obtained, several Kingdoms (which we see was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reform themselves and that by the authority of their Prince, and Magistrates; if the Prince or supreme Magistrate be unwilling, then may the Inferior Magistrat and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own sphere; and if the light shine upon all, or the Major part, they may, after all other means failed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote of spoken; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majesties, or to the Kings, and supreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they should draw the minds, tongues, and pens of the learned, to dispute about other matters, than the power or Prepotency of Kings and Princes; and in this kind your Majesty hath suffered and lost more than will easily be restored to your power or polity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes: Quibus ab klyttors, it comes to the inferior Magistrate, Quibus ab Diferentiarum, it depends to the body of the people; supposing that there is a necessity of Reformation, and that by no
In this Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of England, (for so far doth the Question now) is not built upon the foundation of the Priest and the Archbishop; which they, at least, cannot deny, who profess the Church-Government to be mutable and ambulatory; and such were were the greatest part of Arch-Bishops and Bishops in England, contenting themselves with the Confusion of the Church, and the Authority and Manifestence of Priests; till of late, that some few have pleased it to be sure Divinity: That the English Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman Leaven: which is one of the Reasons that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of Lacedaemon, as being neither hot nor cold, neither Popular nor Reformed, but of a Lukewarm temper; between the two: That is both deprived the Discipline of the Church, by concurring of it to the Civil policy: That it hath added many Church Offices, higher or lower, none of those instituted by the Son of God, which is as unlawful as to take away Offices warranting by the Divine institution: And others the like, which have moved some to apply this saying to the Church of England, united to perfectionism: eruventia; nisi jam se persuadere credere.

In my Answer to the first of your Majesties many Arguments, I brought a Breneate of some Reasons to prove: That a Bishop and Presbyter are one and the same in Scripture: from which, by necessary consequence I did infer the Negative: Therefore, in Scripture, between a Bishop and a Presbyter, the one name signifying; the other, Baptism, Matriah, faith, Etc. And whereas your Majestie averres, I say that the Presbyterian Government was never practised, before Calvin's time; Your Majestie knowes,
true, from me to think such a thought, as that your Majesty did intend any evil in your other main argument, from Antiquity. As we are to distinguish between \textit{Intensus operationis,} \& \textit{Conditio operationis}, so may we in this case consider the difference between \textit{Intensus Argumentus,} \& \textit{Conditio Argumenti.} And where your Majesty argues, That, if your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the Interpretation of private Spirits, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostle St. Peter and will prove to be of dangerous consequence, I humbly offer to be considered by your Majesty, what some of the chief note among the Papists themselves have taught us, That the Interpretation of Scripture, and the Spirits whence they proceed, may be called private in a threefold sense. 

1. \textit{Rationes personarum,} if the Interpreter be of a private condition. \textit{Rationes modo} \& \textit{Media,} when persons, although not private, are not the public means which are necessary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. \textit{Rationes finis,} when the interpretation is not proposed as Authoritative to bind others, but is intended only for one's own satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded; and is condemned by the Apostle Peter; the third ought not to be confirmed: But that Interpretation which is Authoritative, and of Supreme Authority, which even mens Consent is bound to yield unto, is of an higher nature. And although the General Council should resolve it, and the consent of the Fathers should be had unto it, yet there must always be place left to the judgment of discretion, as Duns Scot, late Bishop of Salisbury, belies divers others; hath learnedly made appear in his book \textit{De Indici contrariorum; where also the power of Kings in matter of Religion,}
Mr. Alex. Hendersons Second Paper.

is firmly and impartially determined. Two Words
only I add; one is, that notwithstanding what pre
tended from Antiquity, a Bishop having the
dower of Ordination and Jurisdiction, will never be
found in prime Antiquity. The other is, That many
the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that a

Bishop, which was conceived in the times of the Ap
tsles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the

Question of Hierarchy. And upon the other part the
Lights of the Christian Church, as, and since the be

ginning of the Reformation, have discovered many

errors, concerning the Antichrist and his Hierarchy,
which were not known to former Ages: And divers

of the Learned, in the Roman Church, have not fas

ted to pronounce, That whatsoever denies the trans

liturgical sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been

found out in this last Age, is unhappily to God, and

hath so plentifully powered forth his Spirit upon the

Children of this Generation, and ungrateful toward

those men, who, with so great pains, so happy

sensible, and so much benefit to God's Church, have tra

velled therein: This might be influence in many

places of Scripture: I write together Disobedience

and the Mystery of Iniquity, as the one as an old example

of Church-ambition, which was also too palpable unto

Apostles themselves: And the other as a coat of A

bition, afterwards discovered, which two brought forth

the great Mystery of the Papsy at last.

6. Although your Majesty be not made a Judge of
the Reformed Churches, yet you to far consider, them
and their actions, as, without Bishops, in your judg
ment they cannot have a lawful Ministry, nor a due
Administration of the Sacraments; Against which
dangerous and destructive Opinion I did allege;
what I purposed, your Majesty would not have done,

1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Or

tain other Presbyters, 2. That Baptism, administered
by such a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptism
administered by a private person, or a Midwife. Off the

first, your Majesty asks for proof: I told before, that in

Scripture, it is manifest, 1 Tim. 4. 14. Neglect not the
gift that is in thee, Which was given thee by the proph

ets, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery;

what in the English Translation: and the word Pres

bytery, so often as it is used in the New Testament, al

ways signifies the persons, and not the Office. And al

though the Offices of Bishop and Presbyter were dis

tinguished; yet doth not the Presbyter derive his power of

Order, from the Bishop. The Evangelists were infer

ior to the Apostles; yet had they their power, not

from the Apostles, but from CHRIST. The fame I

attest of the 70 Disciples, who had their power im

mediately from CHRIST; no less than the Apostles

had theirs. It may upon better reason be averred,

That the Bishops have their power from the Pope,

than that Presbyters have their power from Prelates.

It is true, Jerome saith, Quid satis, except ordination

Episcopum, quod non satis Presbyter: but in the same

place he proves from Scripture, that Episcopus and Pre

byter are one and the same; and therefore when he

appropriates Ordination to the Bishop, he speaketh of

the degenerated substance of his time. 2. Concerning

Baptism, a private person may perform the exter

nal Action and Rites, both of it, and of the Eucharist;

yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any ef

ficacy, unless it be done by him that is lawfully ca

ted thereunto, or by a person made public, and clothed

with authority by Ordination. This Error in the mat

ter of Baptism, is begot by another Error, of the ab

solute Necessity of Baptism.

7. To that which hath been said, concerning your

Majesties Oath, I shall add nothing; nor being wil

T
fully, although it be joined with offence and invasion which is intended for defence, but to that arm is laid down when the offensive war ceaseth: by which it doth appear, that the war on the other side was, in the nature thereof, defensive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conscience, which I premitted in my other Paper, I am forced now but without forcing of my Conscience, to speak of.

Our Conscience may be said to be forced; either by our selves, or by others. By our selves: 1. When we flap the ear of our Conscience and will not hearken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately, Ne porumescis, perseudebis: which is no less than the refuting the holy Ghost, and the hardening of our hearts. 2. Or when they open the mouth, and suppress the clamours of our Conscience, resolving rather to suffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, than to make mention of that we are convinced to be Truths. 3. Or when we bear our Conscience, as with an hot iron, that it becomes enflamed, which is the punishment of the former: unto which is opposed, the truly tender Conscience: such as Isai. had, 2 Kings 22: 19. Again, 1. Our Conscience is said to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in itself evil and unlawful, which if it admit, against our own Conscience, we sin in two ways; one is, by doing that which is in itself evil, and unlawful; the other is, by doing it against the dictates of Conscience, which is a contempt of God, whose Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in itself good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of Conscience we judge it to be evil and unlawful. In this case if we do not that which is just upon us, we sin, because the thing is good and lawful. And if we do it, because the thing is good and lawful. And if we do it, because the thing is good and lawful, which we do, because we do against our Conscience. Which in this case doth but, by obligation not, and yet there is a way to escape out of this Labyrinth, it being repugnant...
His Majesty's third Paper.

pugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a necessity of sinning upon any man: The only way is, by a Lay and a Conference, it being a part of the old Law, which we are commanded to put off; otherwise, we being sufficiently informed, and yet being guilty of error, we rather do violence to our conscience, than suffer violence from others. The application for an Answering the Queare, I leave to your Majesties.

Newcastle, June 17, 1646.

For Master Alexander Henderson.

His Majesty's third Paper.

1. I was arrogance, besides loss of time, in my preambles with you: For, it is truth I find, and neither praise nor vindicate, therefore I shall not insist upon those things which are merely necessary to My own satisfaction; in order to which I desire the assistance of some Divine; whereupon I will intirely, save only to wish, that you may not (as I have known many men do) lose time, by being misled in the way to save it, wherein I have only hoped to disburden Myself, but to lay no blame upon you; and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning My Education and reason; but I remember, that another man will, at least, as we say, ground it, to build My faith upon, as My former education.

3. In this there are two points: First, concerning the Reforming power, then anent the English Reformation. For the first, I confess you now speak

which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall mainly differ with you, until you shall show me better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you: that when a General Council cannot be had, several Kingdoms may reform themselves (which is learnedly and fully proved to be the late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in his disputation against Bisho) but, that the inferior Magistrates or People take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no sufficient proof, to my judgment: indeed, if you could have brought, or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence submit; but as for your examples, out of the Old Testament, in My mind, they rather make for, than against My cause, all those Reformations being made by Kings: and it is a good probable (though I will not say convincing) Argument, that if God would have approved of a popular reforming way, there were Kings of Judah and Israel sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary, the 16. Chapter of Numbers shews clearly, how God disapproves of such course: but I forget this attention to be proved by you, yet I may put it in the way, wherefore let Me tell you that that pretended power in the zeele must (as all others) either be directly, or else declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soon you can do, I submit, otherwise you prove nothing: for the citing of private mens opinions, more than as they concurred with the General consent of the Church in their time, which little with Me, it being too well known, that these never wanted writers to maintain their unjust notions; and though I much reverence Bishop Jewel's memory, I never thought it unthinkable: for Bisho I remember well what opinion the King my Father had of him for thes
His Majesty's third Paper.

will fall extremely short. As for the retrieving of the
Reformation, you must prove it, as well as say, if
de you say little. But that the conforming of the
Church discipline to the civil policy should be a degraving
of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that
without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be
happy: And for your last inference, you shall doe
well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against
addition of more Officers in the Church than he be
named, and yet in one senfe I do not conceive that the
Church of England hath added any for, an Arch-
bishop is only a distinction for order of Government,
not a new Officer, and fo of the rest: and of this kind
I believe there are divers now in Scotland which you
will not condemn, as the Meditators of Assemblys, and
others.

+ Where you finde a Bishop and Presbyter, in
Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be
always so,) it is in the Apostles time: now I think to
prove the Order of Bishops succeeded that of the Ap-
plies, and that the name was chiefly altered in rever-
ence to those who were immediately chosen by our
Saviour (albeit in their time, they caused divers to
be called so, as Barnabas and others) so that, I be-
lieve, this Argument makes little for you: As for
your proof of the Antiquity of Presbyteri
Governmen, it is well that the Assembly of Devils at
Perusalem can do more than Infebo could, and I shall be
lieve, when I see it: For, your former paper affirms,
that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and
will be fo ill for me, if there be no clearer Ar-
guments to prove, than those you mention: for be-
cause there were divers Congregations in Jerusalem;
Ergo, what? are there not divers Churches in one Dis-
crete? (your two first I answer but as one Argument)
+ + +
His Majesty's third Paper.

Order for All of Government; whether even in these times do the Deans and Chapters, and more times the Clergy, assist the Bishop, but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there is an equality between the Apostles and other Preachers, which not being, both (in My Judgment) not invalidating these Arguments: And if you can find more for the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, than you have for Jerusalem, it will gain a ground on Me: As for Saint Jerome, it is well known that he was no great friend to Bishop, as being not himself, yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a clear distinction between Bishop and Presbyter, as your self confessest; but the more he was angry with those who maintained Deacons be equal to Presbyters.

I am well satisfied with the explanation of meaning concerning the word "Father", though the go have had reason for saying what I did: but your favour, I do not conceive that you have inferred the strength of my Argument, for when you differ upon the interpretation of Scripture, and I appeal to the practice of the Primitive Church, make not unanswerable sense of the Fathers, to be judge betwixt us, Me thinks you shall either finde a litter, or misto what I wrote: neither of which (to My mind standing) you have yet done, nor have you shew how, wav'g those Judges I appeal unto, the mixture of the interpretation by private spirits, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by Antiquity, as Ordination and Juristic belongs to Bishop (for clearly distinguishing them from other Presbyters), I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My foundations: But for Bishop, Bishop, Bishop, he's master's choice, to whom I have appeal'd, or will submit, but for the exception you take to Father, I think...
His Majesty's third Paper.

Mr. Alex. Henderson's third Paper.

Mr. Alex. Henderson's third Paper.

up this paper, deferring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that reason epitomized, will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

June 22, 1646.

For His MAJESTY.

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers and practice of the Church; July 2, 1646.

Mr. Alex. Henderson's third Paper.

Having in my former papers press'd the steps of your Majesties Euphrotes, and finding by your Majesties last Paper, controversies to be multiplied; (I believe) beyond your Majesties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the Reforming power; The Reformation of the Church of England; The difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter; The matters of presbyterian government; The Authority of interpreting Scripture; The taking and laying of publick Oaths; The forcing of Conscience; and many other inferior & subordinate questions, which are branches of those. Maine Controversies: All which in a particular manner to determine in few words, I leave to that manner to determine in few words, I leave to that.

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makes more for me, than you: but I will not enter upon new Questions, not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my Oath, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you have done well to have omitted your instance: but, out of discretion I desire you to Collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my Oath be for the good of the last Collected; therefore can I be dispensed withal. For then the representative body; certainly to me, then the people can dispence with me for them; I took in their favour, without the two Houses of Parliament: and as for future Reformations, I was to tell you that this is not the time.

8. For the King, My Fathers opinion, if it were to spend time, (as I believe) needlessly, I could prove by living and written testimony, all and more, that I have laid, for his persuasions in these points which now mainaine; and for your Defenitive, I do acknowledge that it is a great time, for a King to preface the Church, so I hold it absolutely unwise. Indecently (upon any pretence whatsoever) to me, which upon any pretence whatsoever, to me, which I, because of my parents, and having already taken a high hand against which I have no leisure to prove will make. M. y. the Gods regard, and let me tell you, that upon such an occasion as the Church, as well as Companions, and so on.

9. Lastly, you mistake the Quare in my first Part, to which this pretends to answer; for My Question was not concerning force of Argument: (for I doubted the lawfulness of it) but force of Arms, which I conceive, it says little or nothing, (except you) you referre to the last Section; that which is indeed, is merely the answer to the Question, after a fine discourse of the several reasons persuading rather than force of Conscience: And
Mr. Alex. Henderson’s third Paper.

To your Majesties command, I have begun to do what
ready. Only Sir, by your Majesties favourable per-
motion, for the greater expedition, and that the
present reservations may be brought to some issue, I
am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little elab-
ored, and I may have leave now to begin at a pace
and to bring all things to perfection. I mean the
Rule, by which we are to proceed, not to detri-
minate the present controversy of Church pol-
cy; without which we will be lead into a Labyrinth
and want a thread to wind us out again. In your Ma-
jesties first paper, the universal customs of the Primis-
itive Church, is conceived to be the Rule. In the secon-
d paper, Section the 5: The Pratice of the Primis-
tive Church, and the universal consent of the Fa-
thers, is made a convincing Argument, when the Inter-
pretation of Scripture is doubtful; in your third paper,
Sect. 5: The practice of the Primitive Church, and the un-
iversal consent of the Fathers, is made Judge; and I know
that nothing is more ordinary in this Question, due
to allege Antiquity, perpetuall Succession, and the
universal consent of the Fathers, and the universal prac-
tice of the Primitive Church, according to the Rule of
Antiquity, Quod antiquum est Ecclesiae, una consensu
sanctorum, et universaliter, ista videntur esse tum,
Antiquitatem endemit, nescit autem, per quam
authority Addit.

There is in this argu-
ment at the first view, so much appearance of pru-
ence, that it may much work upon a modest mind; yet
when well examined and rightly weighed it will be found
to be of no great weight; for besides that the prac-
tice will never be made good in the behalf of a Da-
vine Rule, Bishop and Presbyter are of one and the same
order, and the Apostles are of one and the same
order; I shall humbly offer some few Considerations
about the Major, because it hath been an inlet to me.

First, I desire it may be considered, that whiles
some make two rules for defining controversies, the
Word of God and Antiquity, (which they will
have to be received with equal veneration) or, as the
Popes call them, Canonick Authority, and Catholi-
cal tradition; and others, make Scripture to be the
only Rule, and Antiquity the authentic Interpreter,
the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater
error: because the first sett up a parallel, in the
same degree with Scripture; but this would create a
Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture. For
the interpretation of the Fathers shall be the 4th and
accounted the very Cause and Reason for which we
conceive and believe such a place of Scripture to have
such a sense; and thus, Men shall have Dominon
over our Faith, against 2. Cor. 12: 14. Our Faith shall
be found in the wisdom of man, and not in the power
of God, 2 Cor. 3: 5: and Scripture shall be of private in-
terpretation? For the prophet came not of old by the
word of men, but by the word of man, foretold, Deut.
28: 12, 13. Prophetum Deum dixit, Deum non esse
incredibile, prophetas eum Deum prophetas esse
et veritatem. And this is the reason why Scripture
is the only Rule, and Antiquity the authentic Inter-
preter.

Secondly, That the Scripture cannot be authentically in-
terpreted but by Scripture, is manifest from Scripture: The
Levites gave the sense of the Law, by no other
means, but by Scripture itself, Neh. 8: 1. Our Saviour
gave the true sense of Scripture, against the deprivations
of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alleging any Testi-
mony out of the Rabbinic, Mat. 7: 12, and the Apostles, in
their Epistles, used no other help but the diligence of
comparing of Propheticall writings; like as the Apo-
stle Peter, will have us to compare the clearer light of the
Apostles.
Apollos, with the more obscure light of the Prophets, 2 Pet. 1:19. And when we betake ourselves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture itself. To this purpose amongst many other Testimonies, the laying of Tertullian's, Surge utrisque, ut Scriptura sua interpreten, quanum confutet; nam si non sit ad illicitum, it would be affianced of itself, and cease to be any more.

4. That some errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of Free-will beginning at Justin Martyr, continued in the time of the Reformation, although it was rejected by Augustine, as the Divinity of Episcopacy, was rejected by others. The Error about the Vision of God, that the Son of the Saints departed, ve the face of God, Till the judgement of the great day, was held Universal content: The same may be laid of all the times of the Millennium; and, which more, the touch upon the present Question, the Anciently, and the Antichrist and Mystery of iniquity which did begin to work in the days of the Apostle. Many other inferences might be brought to prove the universal practice of the Church, as were next mentioned by the Apostles, as by the Rites of Baptism, Prayer; and the forming up and drawing together the Articles of that Creed, that is called Symbolici apostolici, the observation of many Festivals and Fastes both Anniversaries and Weekly.

5. That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some would have it appear to be, for the primitive Church to have made a sudden defection from the Apostolical purity: the people of Israel in the short time of Moses' absence on the Mount, turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, Exod. 32. soon after the death of Joshua, and the Elders that had seen the great works which the Lord had done for Israel; there arose another generation after them, which did evil in the sight of the Lord, Judges 2 & 7. soon after the building of the Temple, and fall into Religion by David and Solomon, the worship of God was defiled with Idolatry: when Solomon had established the Kingdom he forsook the Law of the Lord, &c. All Israel with him, 2 Chron. 12:2. And the Apostle says to the Galatians, Galat. 3:16: I marvel that ye are so soon removed unto another Gospel. Why then shall we think it strange, that in the manner of Discipline, there should be a sudden defection, especially it being begun in the time of the Apostles? I know it is a common opinion, but I believe there be no strong reasons for it, that the Church which was nearest the times of the Apostles was the most pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the universal content and practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are perished. (It may be that) both of these have differed from the rest. Many of the writings which we have under their names are Suppositions, and Counterfeits; especially about Episcopacy, which was the foundation of Papal Primacy. The Rule of Augustine fore-mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without caution, and exceptions. Many like considerations may be added; but these may be sufficient to prove that the unanimous content of the Fathers, and the universal practice of both Anniversaries and Weekly.
His Majesties fourth Paper. 187

well, to begin with the feeling of the Rule by which we are to proceed, and determine the present Controversy; to which purpose (as I conceive) My third Paper shews you an excellent way; for there I offer you a Judge between us, if you desire to find out a better, which by My judgment you have not yet done, (though you have fought to invalidate Mine)

For, if you understand to have offered the Scripture, though no man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it than My self; yet you must find some rule to judge between us, when you, and I differ

upon the interpretation of the fell-fame Text, or it can never determine our Questions, as for example, I say you misapply that of 1 Cor. 1:14, to Me; (let others answer for themselves.) For I know not how I make other Men to have dominion over My Faith, when I make them only serve to approve My Reason; nor do I conceive how, 1 Cor. 2:5, can be applied to this purpose; For there St. Paul only shews the difference between Divine and Human Eloquence, making no mention, of any kind of interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed St. Peter does, 2 Pet. 1:19, which I conceive makes for Me; for, since that no precept of Scripture is of any private interpretation: First, I infer that Scripture is to be interpreted; for else, the Apostle would have omitted the word Private; Secondly, that at least the context of many learned Divine's is necessary, and to a further, that of the Catholic Church ought to be an authority, of the Catholic Church ought to be an authority, that is, of an Author's, as it is a good Author's Judge, when Men differ: And it is a good Author's Judge, when Men differ (Matt. 4:17-18.) Scripture is an argument because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because Scripture is an argument, because...
His Majesty's fifth Paper.

So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain, that the Interpretations of Fathers, is a most excellent strengthening to My opinion though others should attribute the Cause and Reason of their Faith unto it.

1. As there is no Question, but that Scripture is the best Interpreter of it selfe, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

2. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your selfe; Me and innumerable others, who yet unblameable have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

3. If in this you only intend to prove that Errors were always breeding in the Church I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the universal practice of the Church with Error, I must say it is a very bold undertaking and (if you cannot justify your selfe, by clear places in Scripture) must be blamed, wherein you must not allege, that to be universally received, which was not as I dare say, that the Conundrums about free will, was never yet decided, by Occasional, or General Councils; nor must you presume to call that an Error, which really the Catholic Church maintained (as in rights of Baptism, forms of Prayer, observations Feasts, Fasts, &c.) except you can prove it to be by the Word of God, and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the Apostles, but you must prove by their Doctrine, that such a thing was unlawful, or else the practice of the Church is warrant enough for Me to follow and other Authors be certainly found Tradition until other Authors be certainly found Tradition.

For Mr. Alexander Henderson.
A particular Answer to Mr. Alex. Henderson; July 16, 1646.

His Majesty's fifth Paper.

1. Still you shall find out a fitter way to decide on Difference in Opinion concerning Interpreters of Scripture than the content of the Fathers, and by universal practice of the Primitive Church, I cannot pacifie you. My judgment anent those six considerations which you offered to invalidate those Authorities, shew I so much reverence.

2. In the first you mention two rules for defining controversies, and seek a most old way to conflict them, as I think. For you allege, that there is no attributed to them, than I believe you can prove, if the content of most learned Men, there being Question, but there are always some flattering Men that can commend nothing but with hyperbolic expeditions) and you know that juncta quidquid, quaeque quidlibet: besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellows, should attribute more power in Presbyteries, than is really due unto them, that abused their just reverence and authority is diminished.
The Papers which passed between his Majesty and the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, Anno Dom. 1648, concerning Episcopacy.

His MAJESTIES first Paper concerning Episcopacy.

Conceive that Episcopal Government is most consonant to the word of God, and of an Apostolical Institution, as it appears by the Scripture, to have been practiced by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed, and derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein, as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and executive censures over Presbyters and others: and hath ever since to these last times been executed by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ, and therefore I cannot in conscience content to abolish the said Government; notwithstanding this my persuasion I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did to leave the Church at liberty as they might really alter or change the Church Government at their pleasure, which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confess that one of My great scruples is clean taken away; And then there only remains:

That being by My Coronation, Oath obliged to maintain Episcopalous Government, as I found it left to
May it please your Majesty,

We do fully agree without hesitation, that the Scriptures cited in the Margin of your Paper, Acts 14:23, Acts 6:6, 1 Cor. 16:1-1 Cor. 34, 1 Cor. 16:1-1 Cor. 34, 1 Cor. 3:5, 1 Cor. 4:6, do prove, that the Apostles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give rules concerning Christian Discipline, and had power to confer over Presbyters and others; and that the places of Scripture, 1 Tim. 5:19, 2 Tim. 1:18, 2 Tim. 3:10, do prove that Timothy and Titus had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to confer Censures over others; and that the second and third Chapters of the Revelations do prove, that the Angels of the Churches had power of government of the Churches, and exercising Censures. But that the Apostles or Timothy and Titus, or the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, exercising Episcopal Government, in that sense, or that the Apostles did commit and derive to any particular persons as their suffragans and Successors, any such Episcopal Government, is not, so far as I am aware, proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alleged; we do as fully deny: And therefore do humbly deny also, that Episcopal Government is therefore most conformant to the Word of God, and of Apostles institution, or proved to be by those Scriptures. None of these were Bishops, or possessed Episcopal Government.

Newport, 2 Octb. 1648.
The Ministers Answer

is expressly whatsoever work the Presbyter doth pride for the government of the Church, otherwise there is no such work unto Presbyter. To which that hath been said, The point is rendered quite clear to the judgment of most men, both ancients and of latter times. That there is no such Office as is found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice of any qualification required in a Bishop, that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any Ordination in the Office of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or charge upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoyed to doe; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Presbyters speak of, 2 Tim. 5. 17. At ease by Presbyters that rule well, is with a note of especial affection to their act or work of labouring in the Word and Doctrine, which is not that act wherein Bishops have challenged a singularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyters.

To that which your Majesty doth conceive. The Episcopal Government was practiced by the Apostles themselves: We humbly answer, that the Apostles were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were Extraordinary in respect of the Communion and gifts, and office, and distinguishing from all other Officers, 1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath in some in the Church, First Apostles, Secondly Presbyters, Thirdly Teachers, Ephesians 4. 1. Christ gave some Prophets, and some Apostles, and some Evangelists, 1 Cor. 12. 28. Whereby the Apostles are distinguished from Prophets, and Teachers, which are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word, and Government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church Officers, and to give censure in all Churches we affirm, and withall, that no other persons or Officers of the Church may challenge or assume to themselves such power in that respect alone, because the Apostles practiced it, except such power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apostles, by writ of the Scripture, for that Government which they practiced was Apostolical according to that peculiar Communion and Authority which they had, and no otherwise to be called Episcopal, then, as their office was so comprehensive as they had power to doe the work of any or all other Church Officers; In which respect they call themselves Presbyters, Diakoni, (but never Episcopal in distinct senses) and therefore we humbly crave leave to say, that to argue the Apostles to have practiced Episcopal Government, because they ordained other Officers, and exercised censure, is, as we should argue a justice of peace to be a Contable, because he doth that which a Contable doth in some particulars. Its manifest: that the Office of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apostles, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and as Presbyters in other acts: The distinction of Presbyters and Bishops being made by men in after times.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, That the Episcopal Government, was by the Apostles committed and delivered to particular persons, as their Substitutes or their Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censure over Presbyters and others) seeming by the alleged places of Scripture to influence in Timothy and Titus and the Angels of the Churches, We humbly answer, 1. And first to that of Timothy and Titus, we grant, that.
The Ministers Answer.

That Timothy and Titus had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot say they had this power, as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopal Government, nor that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the senate of your Majesty; but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from Presbyters and Tutors Ephesians 4:11. And that they were Evangelists appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in composing several Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expressly called an Evangelist 2. Tim. 4. 5. And neither did the being any where in Scriptures called Bishop, ever describe in Ephesus and Cret, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed thence to other places, and never, for any purpose in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it is clear to us, that neither their abode at Ephesus or Cret was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he employs them thither upon occasion butinef, and expresly themelfe in such manner as Jesus Christ to abide still at Ephesus, when I went to Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they preach no other Delusions. Tim. 1. 3. For this sake I left thee in Cret, Tim. 1. 5. as doth carry the fixing of a Bishop in a place as a perpetual Governor: And it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, 2 Tim. 4. 9. I desirous to come to thee shortly, Tim. 1. 12. Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis, so that they maya still be called Bishops of other Cities, or Churches where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of Ephesus and Cret, as they act in the postscripts of these Apollos, the credit of which postscripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches, the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphorical and a Mystery, Rev. 7. 10. The Mystery of the seven Stars; Angels in respect of their million or sending, Stars in respect of their station and shining, and it seems strange to us, that so many expressive testimonies of Scriptures, and allegorical denominations or mysteries should be opposed: These Angels being no where called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Bishop used in any of John's writings, who calls himself Presbyter, nor any mention of superiority of one Presbyter to another, but in Deut. 17. affording it. And as to that which may be said that Epistles are directed to one: We answer, that a number of persons are in the mysterious and apothecary writings exprest in singulars. And we humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary file (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be, that is to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled which that they were so intended, is clear to us, both because there were in Ephesus Bishops, and Presbyers one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commanded the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as Rev. 2. 24. Tu non et to the rest in Thyatira, by which distinction of you and the rest, we conceive the Church governments (which were more than one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot content, that any singular person had majority over the rest, or that any singular person had majority over the rest, or that any singular person had majority over the rest, or that any singular person had majority over the rest, or that any singular person had majority over the rest, or that any singular person had majority over the rest, or that any singular person had majority over the rest.
The Ministers Answer.

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by
pregnant places of Scripture, compared together, that
the Apostles themselves did not institute or practive
Episcopall Government, nor commit and deliver to
particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors
therein. We shall in further discharge of our duty,
and for the more clear and full satisfaction of your
Majesty in this point, briefly declare into what Orga-
nizations, the ordinary and standing Offices of the
Church were transmitted and derived by, and from
the Apostles. The Apostles had no Successors in
ordinary gradation: The Apostolical office was not deter-
ded by succession, being instituted by Christ, by ex-
traordinary and special commission; but for the ordi-
nary and standing office of the Church, there were
ordained only two Orders of Officers, viz. Bishops and
Deacons, which the Apostle expresseth, "1 Tim. 3:1. All
the Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Thyrie, to
the Bishops and Deacons." And of them both the
Apostle give the due characters of Officers: "1 Tim.
5:18. From both which places of Scripture we con-
clude with ancient Expositors, both Greek and Latin,
the Bishops are the same with Presbyters, & besides
Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, in
that of Deacons; of both which orders there were and
Apostles times, in one City more than one, as in Thy-
rius and Ephesus. And we humbly offer to your Ma-
lesty as observant, That though one Order might
superior to another Order, yet in the same Or-
der Officers, there was not any one superior to other:
the same Order; no Apostle was above an Apostle;
no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter
above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon. Ac-
to conclude this part, that since Church-Officers
are instituted, and let in the Church by God, on Jesu
Christ; and that Ordination by or in which the life
is conveyed, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters
& Deacons; therefore there are no other Orders of or-
dinary and standing Offices in the Churches of Christ.
As for the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles,
we answer, 1. Our Faith reacheth no further than the
holy Scriptures; no humane Evanow can beget any
more than a humane Faith.

2. We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned
men, as well such as concord for Episcopacy as
others, that the times immediately succeeding the
Apostles, are very dark in respect of the Historie
of the Church.

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those
times gives clear testimony to our attention. The
Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, who reciting
the order of Church Officers, expresseth them to two,
Bishops and Deacons; and they whom in one place he
called Bishops, he always afterwards named Pre-
sbyters. The Epistles of Ignatius pretend indeed to the
next antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly
forious; and proved by didicus to be so mixed, that
it is hard if not impossible, to know what parts of
them are genuine. Besides B. Ether in his last observa-
tions on them, sect. 14, 15, cometh that of the 2 of
his Epistles, fix are counterfeit, the other six must, and
none of them in every respect accounted sincere and
genuine.

4. We grant that not long after the Apostles times;
Bishop in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the
writers of those times reported to be in the Church;
but they were not so as a divine institution, but as the
just and expected, (as afterwards both Arch-bishops
and Patriarchs were,) which is clear by Doctor
Reynolds, in his Epistle to Sir Francis Knolles; wherein
he shewes of Bishop Jewell, that Ambrose,
the first Bishop, &c.

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of these two Orders only (to faith his Book,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh express mention, and how they were conferred by the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy is distinct from Presbyteries, is but an Ecclesiastical institution, and therefore not alterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopall Government which at first obtained in the Church did really and substantially differ from Episcopal Government, which the Honourable Houses of Parliament deifie the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one prelating, and joyning with the Presbyter of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chusing one among themselves, as in Rome; and Alexander, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Leffer Towns and Villages had and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, until the Council of Sarda decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt: but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a superior order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyteries and Deacons, and all jurisdictions either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laitry or Clergy, as they differ from the judgement and practice of these in our times: we read not till the latter and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears that the prefecte Hierarchy (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses) may be accordingly abolish-
His Majesty's Second Paper delivered to the Ministry attending at Newport, and yet possibly the Bishops of Primitive times might be, they are to be dealing one from another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper wherein you enquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church Government at their pleasure, we humbly conceive that there are substantialities belonging to Church Government, such as are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Church's liberty to alter at pleasure. But as to Arch-Bishops, we hope it will appear unto your Majesties Conscience, that they are none of the Church governors appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles, we beleech your Majesty, rather to look to the original of them than succession.

His Majesty's Answer to the Paper delivered to His Majesty by his Ministers attending the Parliament Commissioners.

Concerning Church-Government.

C.R.

His Majesty upon perusal of your Answer to his Paper of the second of October 1648, finds that you acknowledge the several Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited, viz. that the Apostles in their own persons, that Timothy and Titus by authority derived from them, and the Angets of the Churches had power of Church Government, and did not might actually execute the same in all the three several branches in his Paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more of other power to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopal offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, than what properly fallen under one of these three: Ordaining, Governing, and Censuring.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised Episcopal Government in that sense as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, wherein you do in effect deny the very same thing you had before granted: For Episcopal Government in that sense being nothing else but the Government of the Churches in a certaine respect (commonly called a Diocese) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and the people of those Churches for that end, since the substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unless you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the misunderstanding and subverting of those that seek after truth), you must also acknowledge that Episcopal Government in the sense aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scriptures.

In that which you say next, and for, proof thereof insist upon three several texts, 1 Tim. 3:15, 17, 18, 1 Pet. 5:1-3, his Majesty conceives (as to the present businesse) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, that the word Bishop is there used to signify a Presbyter, and that Bishops are there used to signify a Presbyter; and that consequently the Office and work mentioned in those places be the same, although his Majesty is not sure that the text of the Epistles, which is confessed by all, is not in effect the same, although his Majesty is not sure that the

But from thence to infer an absolute identity of the functions of a Bishop and a Presbyter is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a manner.
Church-governours, who had then a title of greater Eminency whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Successours, the names were by common usage (which is the least matter of words) very soon appropriated, that of Episcopus to the Ecclesiastical Governor or Bishop of a Diocese, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Minister or Priest.

His Majesty hath rather cause to wonder, That upon such premises you should conclude with so much confidence, as if the point were rendered most clear to the judgment of most men both ancient and of latter times. That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majesty remembereth to have been cited, by such Authors as he hath no reason to suspect, both out of the ancient Fathers and Counsellors, and out of sundry modern Writers, even of those reformed Churches, that want Bishops, a great variety of Testimonies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your Answer, concerning the Apostles exercise of Episcopal government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary calling: our Saviour himself was the first and chief Apostle, and Bishop of our Souls, sent by the Father, and anointed by the holy Ghost, to be both the Teacher and the Governor of his Church. By that Millon he received authority, and by function abilities for these works which he performed in his own person, whilest he lived upon the earth: Before he left the World, that the Church might not want Teaching and Governing to whom he appointed certain persons upon whom he conferred both those powers, whereby they became also
also Apollos and Bishops, by making them pass both of his Mission before his Assent (as to his Father in the former Case) and of his Mission after his Assent, when he poulvered upon them to Holy Ghost at Pentecost. The Mission both for training and governing (at least for the Instance of it, was ordained and to continue to the end of the World (Mat. xxviii. 19) and therefore necessarily to declare and be by them transmitted to others, as their Successors or Successors. But the Mission whereby the were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the Mission of the Holy Ghost in such a plentiful measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Prophecies, Healing, Infallibility of Doctrine, discerning Spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in a smaller measure, as God saw fit it needful for the planting of the Churches, and the propogation of the Gospel throughout Primitive times; and in this which was above extraordinary in them: they were not needful to have Successors. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the Exercit of that power, which of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling which being of necessity and common use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the works of a Function of ordinary and perpetual Office therefore the acts of governing of the Church are no more nor otherwise in the Apollos, than the acts of Teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary duties for the same, and yet both ordinary for the Instance of the offices themselves, and the work of being performed therein, and in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbytery and Bishops; Presbyters are Presbyters immediately to the Ministers attending at Newport.

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Succeding them in the Office of teaching; and Bishops and Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The Instincts of Timothy and Titus, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretence of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First you say that Timothy and Titus were (by Office) Evangelists, whereas of Titus, the Scripture nowhere implies any such thing at all, and by your own Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that be a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that Timothy was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane Faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist is such as you have described it, the work of an Evangelist, which Saint Paul exhorted Timothy, to do seems by the context (2 Tim. s. 4. 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all impediments and opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That Timothy and Titus acted as Evangelists, is not only denied, but clearly refuted by St. Andrew, Coward, and others; yea even with some rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyterians, as Gallican, Rutherford, &c. And that which you do so confidently deny, that Timothy and Titus were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the sentiments testimony, of all Antiquity (even Armin himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops and that of St. Pauls Ordination) & acknowledged by very many late Divines.
His Majesty's second Paper delivered also Apostles and Bishops, by making them partake both of his Mission before his Attention. As the Father sent Me [sent Me] from (you) and of his mission thereof, after his attention, when he poured upon them the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. The Mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the substance of it) was ordained and to continue to the end of the world (Matt. 28:18, 20) and therefore necessarily to descend and be by them transmitted to others, whereby themselves or successors. But the union whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by ordination of the Holy Ghost in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Prophesy, Healing, Infallibility of Doctrine, discerning of Spirits, and such like; was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in an inferior measure, as God saw it needful for the planting of the Churches, and the propagation of the Gospel in those Primitive times; and in this which was made extraordinary in them—[they were not necessarily to have successors.—but it seems very unreasonable] to attribute the exercise of that power, which of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling which being of necessity and continual in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the work of a function of ordinary and perpetual, therefore the acts of governing of the Church were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, than the acts of teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of appearance, in respect of their more than ordinary duties for the same, and yet both ordinary for the function of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters, qua Presbyters immediately to the Ministers attending at Newport.

The inscriptions of Timothy and Titus, you like wise endeavored to avoid by the pretense of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the infirmity thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty foundeth very little satisfaction.

1. First you say that Timothy and Titus were by office Evangelists, whereas of Titus, the Scripture no where implies any such thing at all, and by your own Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a human Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that Timothy was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an human faith neither,) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the office of an Evangelist, is such as you have described; the work of an Evangelist, which Saint Paul exhorted Timothy to do, seems by the context (2 Tim. 2:2, 4, 5, 7) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all impediments and opposition.

3. That which you do confidently affirm, That Timothy and Titus acted as Evangelists, is not only denied, but clearly refuted by Scalzius, Cerrard, and others; yes even with force rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyters, as Gibson, Rutherford, &c. And that which you do confidently deny, that Timothy and Titus were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the conscientious testimony of all Antiquity, (even Jerome himself having recorded it,) that they were Bishops and that of St. Paul's Ordination, & acknowledged by very many late Divines:
Divines: but a Catalogue also of 37. Bishops of E.

=position lineally succeeding from Timothy, our Lord's Records, is vouched by Reynolds against Hert, and by other Writers.

4. You affirm, but upon very weak proofs, that they were from Ephesus and Crete remote to other places. Some that have exactly out of St. Peter's compared the times and orders of all several journeys and stationes of Saint Paul and Timothy have demonstrated the contrary concerning the particular.

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 Tim. 4. 5. and Tit. 3. 12. That they were called away from those places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, than it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at Westminster, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their several parishes.

Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the best point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty finds as little satisfaction as in the last part before. The strength of his Majesties inference is in this, that by the judgement of all the antient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text itself, the Angels of the seven Churches were persons singular, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches.

And this is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to inform this; you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in Epistolary style, and so (as Letters to collective or representative bodies are to be) directed to one but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakening, that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to his two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending it to the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet his Majesty cannot but observe in this (as in some parts of your answer) how willing you are to be surfe in generalibus, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly and directly what your opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antiquity of Episcopacy, a Salamanca very perpetually (fit ege but ham ex) affirmed, the whole Churches; or to many individual Pastors of the greater Church in their Cities, or the whole College of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colleges. For into so many several opinions are these few divided among themselves, who have divided themselves from the common and received judgment of the Christian Church.

In the following Discourse you deny that the Apostles were to have any Successors in their Office, and affirm that they were to be only two Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, viz. Bishops and Deacons.

What his Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles is in part already declared, viz. That they have no Successors in eternal gradus, in respect...
His Majesties second Paper delivered to the Ministers attending at Newport.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

First, his Majesty believes, that although faith is an assent unto truth supernatural, or of divine Revelation, reacheth no farther than the Scriptures; yet in matters of fact humane testimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certain and infallible; as by credence of Histories, we have an infallible faith that Aristotle was a Greek Philosopher, and Cicero a Roman Orator.

2. The Darkness of these times in respect of the History of the Church is a very strong Argument for Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darkness of the times there is found to be so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of famous Cities, as Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Ephesus, &c., in a continuous succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In Clement's testimony cited by you, his Majesty conceived you make use of your old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the indistinction of the things; for who can doubt of Clement's opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epistle, or confeth that he himself was a Bishop in that sense, even by the confession of Tertullian himself; a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who faith, after the death of Linus and Clemens, Clements sub Episcopos non resituisse:quia jam naturaliter definitor Episcops.
His Majesty's second Paper delivered & President of Ignatius his Epistles, about some of late out of their partial disaffection to him, have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume of them by all possible means, without any regard of ingenuity or Truth, yet sundry of them are in being attested by the suffrages of antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denied to be his, and there is scarce any of them which doth not give testimonies to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: yet himself was a Bishop of Antioch, and a holy Martyr for the faith of Christ.

4. You grant that not long after the Apostles time Bishops are found in the writers of those times, reported, as in some superiority to Presbyters: but you might have added further out of these writers (if you had pleased) that they were some of them as James at Jerusalem, Timothy at Ephesus, Titus at Crete, Mark at Alexandria, Lysias and Cleomai at Rome, Polycarpus at Smyrna, consecrated and opened Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office: and his Majesty pretend you could not be ignorant, that all or most of these Bishops you recite of the ancient Fathers, Writers of middle ages, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and the Book published under King Henry the eighth, do either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, where of no vantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a School point (which in respect of the thing itself, is very neatly disputed and con by curious quaestions, Vetus Episcopalis, in or ordines gradem, both in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters, as also that there may be produced evidences from the very same Writers, or from others of as good Authority or credit, testimonies both for number and clearness farre beyond those by you mentioned to attest the three different degrees of orders (call them whether you will) of Ecclesiastical Functions, (viz.) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you adde lastly, concerning the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth conceive that the ascensions, or additions granted by the favor of his Royall progenitors, for the enlarging of the power or privileges of Bishops, have not made, or indeed can make the Government really and substantially to differ from what formerly it was, no more than the Addition of Arms or Ornaments can make a body really and substantially to differ from it selfe naked, or deaviled of the same; nor can think it either necessary or yet expedient, that the Elections of the Bishops, and some other circumstantialls touching their person or Office should be in all respects the same under Christian Princes, as it was when Christians lived among Pagans, and under persecution; yet his Majesty to far approve of your Answer in that behalfe, that he thinketh it well worthy the studys and endeavours of Divines of both Opinions, laying aside emulation and private intercels, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well-proportioned form of superioritie and subordination, as may best reforme the Apostolical and primitive times, so farre both the different condition of the times, and the exigens of all considerable circumstances will admit, so as the power confederable circumstances will admit, so as the power which is meerly spiritual, may remain in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised.
The second Paper delivered to his Majesty.

As to our Paper of October the third in answer to your Majesties of October the second, we did desire of and new again do acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the Margin of your Majesties Paper do prove, that the Apostles in their own persons, That Timothy and Titus, and the Prophets of the Churches, had power respectively to do these things, which are in those places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now all places of Scriptur
before our Negative not being to the same point or state of the Question which was affirmed, we naturally conceive that we should not be interpreted to have in effect denied the very same thing, which we had before granted; or to have acknowledged all the several Scriptures to prove the thing for which they are cited by your Majesty. And if that were granted were all, that by the Scriptures and your Margin, your Majesty intended to prove to follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on Majesties part, to make up that Conclusion which pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to that affection, so we now crave leave to represent to your Highness, that your reply doth not affirm the evidence given in maintenance thereof. The reason given by your Majesty in this paper to support your affection, that the persons that exercised the power thereof were Bishops in distinct senses, is taken from pretexts or pretences of Episcopal Government. Which is your Majesty's faith nothing else, but the forms of the Churches with in a certain province, commonly called a Diocese, committed to one person, with sufficient authority over the Presidents and people of Churches for that end; and Government so prescribed, being for substance the thing itself else in all the three forementioned particulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and Centuries) found in Scriptures, except we will err about names and words, must be acknowledged in the sense before laid to be sufficiently proved in Scriptures, and your Majesty's faith further, that Bishops do challenge more or other power to long to them, in respect of their Episcopal office, it is distinct from that of Presbyters, than what properly falls under one of those three.

We desire to speak both to the Bishops of England, and to your Majesties Description of Episcopal Government. And first to their Challenge, because it is first express in your MAJESTY'S Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Respects: First, In respect of the power challenged. Secondly, in respect of that ground, or tenure upon which the claim is laid. The power challenged consists of three particulars: Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and Centuries. No more, nor other, in respect of their Episcopal Office. We see not, by what warrant this Writ of partition is taken forth, by which the Apostolical office is thus shared or divided; the Governing part into the Bishops hands; the executive and administering Sacraments, into the Presbyters. We, besides that the Scripture makes no such inclusion, or partition null, it appears the challenge is ground to more than was pretended unto, in the times of grown Episcopacy. Where and Christology do both acknowledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter differed only in the matter of Ordination, and learned Doctor Hilton makes some abatement in the claim of these, saying, the things proper to Bishops, which might not be common to Presbyters, are singularly of succeeding, and Superiority in ordaining. The tenure or ground upon which the claim is made is Apostolical, which which is all one with Divine Institution. And this, so far as we have learned, hath not been constantly spoken, or generally allowed in this matter of property, or of Church of England, either in time of Popery, or of the first Reformation; and whenever the pretensions of the contradiction hath been made, it was not without the contradiction on both hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned, and godly men. The abetters of the execution of learned, and godly men. The abetters of the execution of learned, and godly men.
The second Paper delivered to his Majesty the Scripture, did cite the most plain, and ascending the way of Scripture, going to the River to find the Head; but when they came Scriptures, and found it like the head of a toad (as cannot be found) they threw it under the sand and counterpane of the Angels of the Church, Timothy and Titus. Those that would carry it as an end, endeavoured to imp it into the Apostles' office, so at first called it a Divine institution, not in some express precept, but implicit praise of the Lord: and so the Apostolic Office (excepting there are endowments confest only extraordinary) is broken down to the Episcopate, and the Episcopate raised to be Apostolic. Whereupon it follows, that the higher Officers in the Church are put into a lower office, extraordinary office turned into an ordinary office, confounded with that which is in Scripture for few; a temporary and an eternal office revived indeed if the definitions of both be rightly now they are so inseparable to the same subject, that they will both must lose the one: and so, Episcopate, not Apostolic or Episcopate. For these latter, though they did not in many things agree, they acted in commission & this immolate than Presbyter or Bishop can do; and if they were indeed Bishop, and their Government properly, Episcopate in different from it is not needful to go so far about the Episcopal Government of divine institution, but they practised it: but to assert expressly the Church instituted it immediately in them.

For our Majesty's definition of Episcopal Government, is extracted out of the Bishops of times, and doth not fully with that, ridden, under which there were more Bishops and Bishop, or a presbytery, for Church; and it is in full the Priest or Archepiscopall, and Patriarchal
The Second Paper Delivered to the Majesty of the Right Honorable the Lord Protector, by the Ministers at the House of Lords, under the Signiture of which Words the Bishops Claim their Whole Power of Government and Jurisdiction, and we found a little weight added to our Argument from this in the Acts, where the Apostle departing from the Hebrew Presbytery or Bishops, as record to the Gentiles their first manner commits (as by a final charge), the Government of that Church, both over particular Presbyters and People, not to men who were then in it, but to the Presbyters under the name of Bishops, made by the Holy Ghost, whom we read to have it many Bishops over our Church, not one over either one or many, and the Apostles, arguing from the nature of an Office and the Office of a Bishop, all the names of three or four Presbyters, which are confused on all sides; we make this humble return. That though there be no form of church used, that the Office of a Bishop and a Presbyter, are distinct in anything that the names are mutually reciprocal, yet we take the Ministrers' conclusion, that in these times of the Church, and the doctrine in Scripture, that there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; and consequent that the identity of the Office must stand, until there can be found a clear definition or division in the Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of functions from the names of names, and from some part of the work, the Argument might have been fully made a firm, not, but we proved them the same Office from the same work, persons, being allowed to do by the fullest of those two words used in the Acts and S. Peter.
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The Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any qualification, any ordination, any work, or duty, of any person peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put the question near to an issue. That God should intend a distinct and highest kind of Officer for Government in the Church, and yet not express any qualification, work, or way of constituting and ordaining of him, seems unto us improbable. Concerning the signification of the word Episcopus, importing an Overseer, one that hath a charge committed to him: For instance, of watching a Beacon, or keeping Sheep; and the application of the name to such persons as have inspection of the Churches of Christ committed to them: We also give our suffrage, but not to that distinction of Episcopus Gregis, and Episcopus pastorum & Gregis, both because it is the point in question; and because also your Majesty having signified that Episcopus imports a keeper of sheep, yet you have not said that it signifies also a keeper of shepherds. As to that which is affirmed by your Majesty, that the peculiar of the function of Bishops is Church Government; and that the reason why the said Episcopus is so usefully applied to Presbyter, was, because Church Government has then another Title of greater eminency, to wit, that of Apostle, until the Government of the Churches came into the hands of their Successors; and that the names were by common usage very soon appropriated. That of Episcopus to Ecclesiastical Government; That of Presbyter to the ordinary Ministers. This assertion your Majesty is pleased to make, without any demonstration; for the Scripture calls Presbyters, Rulers, and Fathers, and Teachers, it calls Governors; and commits them by the Ministers at the Rise of Wrights.

then the charge of feeding and inspection as we have proved, and that without any mention of Church Government peculiar to Bishops; we deny not, but some of the Fathers have conceived the notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the names of Presbyter and Episcopus became appropriate, which is either an allusion or concept, without evidence of Scripture. For, while the function was one, the names were not divided; When the function was divided, the name was divided also, and indeed inappropriate; but we that look for the same warrant, for the division of an Office, as for the Conjunction, cannot finde that this appropriation of names was made till afterwards, or in process of time, as Theodore (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirms, whose saying, when it is run out of the pale of Scripture sense, we can no further follow; from which premises last together, we did conclude the elecency of our affsention. That in the Scriptures of the New Testament a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter in Qualification, Ordinance, Office or Dignity is not found, the contrary whereof though your Majesty oblige, that you have been confirmed by great variety of credible testimonies, yet we believe those testimonies are rather strong in affirming that in demonstrating the Scriptures Original of a Bishop, which is declared again by a cloud of witnesses, named in the latter end of our former Answer, we should refer if matter of right were unto which we should refer if matter of right were not properly by Scripture, as matter of fact is by testimonies.

We find that the Apostles were the highest Order of Officers of the Church, that they were accorded from all other Orders, that they were distinguished from all other Officers, and that their Government was not Episcopalian, but Presbytery; to which Answer, your Majesty being no
The second Paper deliv"red to his Majesty their office; to which we cannot give con""emation, for since no man is denominated an Officer from his three abilities and gifts, so neither can the Apostles be called extraordinary Officers, because of extraordinary gifts, but that the Apostles mission and Office (as well as their abilities) was extraordinary and temporary, doth appear in that it was by immediate Command from Christ, without any intervention of men, sides in Election, or Ordination for planting an authenti"c governing of all Churches through the World comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unreason"ble, that the office and authority of the Apostle should be drawn down to an ordinary, whereby to make, as it were, a fit stock, into which the ordinary office of a Bishop might be ingraft"d, nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ himself, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reason given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the continue"nce of them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is that great mistake which runs through the whole file of your Majesties discourse, for though there be succession in the work of Teaching and Governing yet there is no succession in the Commission or Office by which the Apostles performed them, for the Office of Christ, of Apostle, of Evangelist, of Prophet, is thence also concluded Ordinary, as to Teaching and Governing, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary cannot be destroyed; the Succession may be into the same work, not into the same com""mission and Office, the ordinary Officers, which are to manage the work of Teaching and governing, are constit""uted, setted and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission than that which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shown as some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of Teaching and Governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise we must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolical Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the Keys of Authority, and leave the Word to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of Timothy and Titus (which Doctor Bilson acknowledgeth to be the main erection of Episcopall power, if the proofs of their being Bishops, doe stand, or subscription, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction though all that is said therein could bee proved.

First, because the Scripture no where implieth any such things at all, that Titus was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text clearly prove, that Timothy was so.

1. The name of Bisho, the Scripture neither express""ly, nor by implication gives it to either, the work which they are enjoyned to doe is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and cannot of it""self make a character of one distinct and proper office: But that there was such an order of Officers, in the Church as Evangelists reckoned amongst the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that Timo"thy was one of that Order, and that both Timo"thy and Titus were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow Labourers with the Apostles, sent abroad to severall Churches with the Apostles, sent abroad to severall Churches, as occasion did require; it (as we humbly conceive) clear
To that which your Majesty secondly faileth, I answer, we cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of Evangelists is such, as was described; his work seeming to be nothing else but diligence in preaching and teaching, notwithstanding all impediments and oppositions. We humbly answer, that a certain office of these or other Church Officers is to be found in any Text of Scripture, by comparing one place of Scripture with another, it may be proved as well what they are as what the Apostles and Presbyters were. The description by us given being a Character made by the collection of Scriptures, from which Mr. Hakewill, Hus, &c. do not much vary, shewing that Evangelists were Presbyters of principal dignity, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used at first in Ecclesiastical affairs, everywhere they went. And that Presbyters and Teachers were fed at some circular Charge, &c. thereby differing from Apostles, whose work it should be nothing else but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Presbyters, and Teachers, and a division of the particular Office, argueth nothing as the Apostles Office was divided into Bishop and Apostolicall, so also is it to be divided into Episcopal and Evangelicall, Ordination and Censure belonging to Timothy as a bishop, and the Evangelists and Presbyters, only being left to the Evangelists, which (as we humbly conceive) is not warrant in the Scripture.

Thirldly, your Majesty faileth, that that which
...The second paper delivered to his Majesty, to allow us the use of our reason, is far as not to expect an Office in the Church, which is not found in Scripture, upon general appeal to all the sages who have frequented the Churches in the Fathers, especially when they speak of our Saviour, in his advent at the beginning it was not so.

Your Majesty, all our faith, and all our work, were from Ephesus and Crete, to remove to other places, the contrary whereunto hath been demonstrated by some, who have extremely out of Scripture, compared the times, and order of the several journeys, and stations of Paul and Timothy.

It is confessed that our attention, that Timothy and Titus were Evangelists, lies with some stress upon this, that they removed from place to place, as they were sent by or accompanied the Apostles, the proof whereof appears to us, to be of greater strength than can be taken off by the comparison which your Majesty makes of the Divines of the Assembly at Westminster. We begin with the Travail of Timothy, as we find him in order recorded in the Scripture, placed in the Maccabees, and we infer from there, Acts 17:14, where we find Timothy; then next at Athens, Acts 17:13, from whence Paul sends him to Thessalonica, 17:5, 1:7, afterwards having been in Macedonia, he came to Paul at Corinth, Acts 18:1, and after that, he is with Paul at Ephesus, Acts 18:5, and thence sent by him into Macedonia, Acts 19:23, and thence to the Assembly at Athens, Acts 17:14, whether S. Paul went after him, and was by Timothy...
The second paper delivered to his Majesty, which he is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopal power in Ordination and Government; but it is manifest that after the Epistle sent to him, he was in continual journeys, as silent from Ephesus. For Paul left him at Ephesus when he went from Macedonia, 1 Tim. 1, and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was this time that Timothy is found in Miletus; for after Paul had been at Miletus, he went to Jerusalem, whence he was sent prisoner to Rome, and never came more into Macedonia, and at Rome, Acts 16, Phil. 1, Phil. 2, Col. 1, Eph. 3, 2 Thess. 1, 2 Tim. 4. We find Timothy a prisoner with him; and these Epistles which Paul wrote while he was prisoner at Rome, namely the Epistle to the Hebrews, to the Ephesians, to the Galatians, to the Romans, Philippians, Colossians, Titus, 2 Thessalonians, we make mention of Timothy as his companion at these times, and which we ever find again at Ephesus, for we find him after all his, towards the end of Saint Paul's life, did not answer before Nero, and when he fell his departing was at hand, he left for Timothy to Rome, not from Ephesus; 2 Tim. 4, 16, 19, 22, 24. for it seems that Timothy was not there, because Paul giving Timothy an account of the absence of the most of his companions sent into divers parts of the faith, 1 Thess. 1, have I sent to Ephesus. Now, if your Majesty shall be pleased to call up into one together which is said, the several journeys and travels of Timothy, the order of them, the time spent in them, the nature of his employment, to negotiate the affairs of Christ in several Churches and places, the silence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Bishop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that such a man was not a Bishop fixed to one Church or precinct, and then by affirming that Timothy was left at Ephesus, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of Ephesus. The like conclusion may be enforced from the like promises, from the influence of Christ, whom we find at Jerusalem, Galat. 2, 13, before he came to Crete, from whence he is sent to Nicaea, Tit. 1, 13, and after that he is sent to Corinth, from whence he is expected at Rome, 2 Cor. 2, 14, and met with Paul in Macedonia, 2 Cor. 3, 16, and after all this is near the time of Paul's death at Rome, from whence he went not into Crete, but into Pamphylia, 2 Tim. 4, 10, and after this is not heard of the Scripture; and so we hope your Majesty much conceives, that we affirm not upon very weak proofs, that Timothy and Titus were from Ephesus, and Crete removed to other places.

In the fifth except of your Majesty makes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from those places of Ephesus, and Crete, which if they do not conclude much of themselves, yet being accompanied by other places which your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more, and that there is 1 Tim. 1, 13, Tit. 1, 14.

At Ephesus there to abide still at Ephesus, for this cause I left thee in Crete, in both which he specified the occasional employment, and for which they may stay in those places: and the expressions used, I left thee to abide still at Ephesus; I left thee in Crete, do not sound like words of instruction of a man into a bishoprick, but of an intention to call them away; at his own request, and if the first and last be put together, his own intention, that they should not stay there for continuance, and the reason of his bidding the one to succour, and the reason of his bidding the other behind him, whilst he and of his leaving the other behind him, whilst he was some present defects and diulements in those Churches, they will put fair to prove that the Apostle E.
The second paper delivered to his Majesty.

The second paper delivered to his Majesty. He intended not to establish them Bishops of such places, and therefore did not. For the Pence, because your Majesty takes no great weight upon the other, we shall not be solicitous in producing evidence to gainst them, though they do bear witness in a manner of fact, which in our opinion never was, and in your Majesties judgement was long before they were known.

In the next point concerning the Angels of Churches, though your Majesty faith, that you lay weight upon the Allegory or Mystery of the denomination; yet you affirm, that the persons bearing the name were persons singular, and in a word, who yet are never so called in Scripture, and the ecclesiastical denomination of Angels or Stars, which is the judgement of ancient and modern Writers, do belong to the faithful Ministrers and Preachers of the Word in general, is appropriate, as we may say, to the Mystery and Register Stamps, and opposed to any express testimonies of Scripture. And if your Majesty hath been particular in this, wherein lies the strength of your instance? viz. the judgement of all ancient, and of the best modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text itself, we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent Writers, many probabilities out of the Text itself do give evidence to the contrary. To that end it is adduced. That these singular persons were Bishops in different parts; whether we brought any thing at a moment to inlameth, this, we humbly submit to your Majesty.
The second paper delivered to his Majesty in these Epistles, which to interpret according to the confidient evidence of other Scriptures of the New Testament, is not safely only, but solid and evidential.

Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Epistles to the Collective Bodies, usually are (that is) in One, but intended to the Body; which point is illustrated by your sending a Message to your Houses, and directing it to the Speaker of the House, which as it doth not hinder two confinements, but that the Speaker is one single person, so it doth not prove at all, that the Speaker is always the same person, or if he were, that therefore because your Message is directed to him, he is the Governor of one or of the two Houses in the least; and so your Majesty hath given clear instance, that though these Letters be directed to the Angels, yet that notwithstanding, they might neither be Bishops, nor yet perpetual.

For the several opinions specified in your Majesty's paper, three of them, by fair and fair accommodation (as we do declare before, are soon reduced and united amongst themselves, and may be holden without reckoning from the received judgment of the Christian Church, by fair as are farre from meeting that Arberdon, which is called upon the Reformed Divines, by Popish Writers, that they have divided themselves from the common and received judgment of the Christian Church, which impatiation, we hope, was not in your Majesties intention to lay upon us; until it be most clear that it is the common and received judgment in the Christian Church that now is, or that in former Ages, that the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, having Prebacy as well over F各个 as people, which is their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will declare, that the Apostles were to have any Successors in their Office, and affirmed only two Orders of Ordinary and Standing Officers in the Church, viz. Presbyters and Deacons. Concerning the former of which your Majesty refers to what you had in part already declared. That in those things which were extraordinary in the Apostles, as namely the measure of their Gifts, &c. They had no Successors in such manner, but in those things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing (which are necessary for the Service of the Church in all times) they were to have and had no Successors: Where your Majesty deliver a Doctrine new to us. Namely, that the Apostles had Successors into their Offices, not into their Abilities: For besides that, Succession is not properly into Abilities, but into Office. We cannot say, that one succeeds another in his Learning, or Writ, or Parts, but in his Office and Function; we conceive, that the Office Apostolical was extraordinary in whole, because their Mission and Commission was so, and not in their Office or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times, doth not render their Office ordinary; as the Office of Mission in this Ordinary, because many works of Government exercised by him, were committed to the Standing Elders of Israel; And if they have Successors, it must be either into these whole Office, or into some parts; Their Successors into the whole (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called Apostles, the same Office gives the same Denomination; and then we shall confede that Bishops, if they be their Successors in Office, are that Bishops, if they be their Successors in Office, are
The second paper delivered to His Majesty.  

Successors, as the Bishops, and so indeed they were led by some of the ancient Fathers, as Nestorius, Pope Hormis, and others. Whereas in truth the Apostles have not properly Successors into office, but the ordinary power of Teaching and Governing (which is vested in the Church for continuance) is ministered and vested in the hands of ordinary Officers by a warrant and Commission according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which the Church hath not yet produced for himself, and wherein he cannot challenge it upon the general of the five Speeches used by the Fathers without lespe.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the extent of their work amongst those things which were extraordinary in the Apostles, we could wish that you had declared whether it belong to their Mission or Uxor, for we humbly conceive, that their extraordinary power to do their work in all places of the Word did properly belong to their Mission, and consequently that their office, as well as their Abolition was extraordinary, and so by your Majesty's own consent not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church your Majesty doth reply, "That although in the text of the first paper you, Sir, in your Sentenee, Phil. 4, 17. 1 Tim. 5, 8, 22; there be no mention that of the two Ordines only of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides which we humbly conceive is fully proved, nor only because there are no other names, but because there is no rule of Ordaining any third, no Warrant of Mission, and so the Argument is as good, as it shall make, a non sum ad non effectum; for we do not apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Episcopick Office do also pretend to the same manner of Mission, nor do we know that those very many Christians that have suffered two orders only, have concluded it from any other grounds than the Scriptures,

There appears, as your Majesty's faith, two other manifest reasons why the Office of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest than these two, viz., because, It was not.

The one reason given by your Majesty, is because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of Teaching, but referring in their own hands the power of Governing those Churches for a longer or shorter time before they set Bishops over them. Which under your Majesty's favour is not so much a reason why Bishops are not mentioned to be in those places as they indeed were not; the variety of reasons (may we say, or conjectures) rendered why Bishops were not set up at first, as namely because the Church could not be so soon found out, which is Ephesus his reason; or for remedy of schisms, which is Jerome's reason, or because the Apostles saw it not expedient, which is your Majesty's reason. Both shew that this same labour, under a manifest weakness, for the Apologists referring in their own hands the power of Governing, we grant it, they could no more devest themselves of power of Governing, then (as Doctor Ulfen faith) they could lose their Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in all Churches, they had no more parted with their power of Governing, then they did in setting up the Presbyters, then they did in setting up the Governing, or they had the power of God in Ordinary, committed to them, as well as the Office of Teaching, and that both the Keys (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed to
The second Paper delivered to His Majesty.

...to one hand, were not by the Apoapses divided into two: Nor do we see, how the Apoapses could, reasonably, commit the Government of the Churches, the Presbyters of Ephesus, Acts 19:30, and yet take the power of governing (viz. in ordinary in his own hands, who took his solemn leave of them at never to see their faces more. As that part of the power of Government, which for distinction sake is called Legis-Latice, and which is one of the three forementioned things challenged by the Bishops, viz. Giving Rules, the referring of it in the Apoapses' hands hundred not; but that in your MAJESTY'S judgement Timothy and Titus were Bishops of Ephesus and Crete, to whom the Apoapses gives Rules for ordering and governing of the Church. Nor is there any more reason that the Apoapses refering that part of the power of Government, which is called Executive in such cases, and upon such occasions as they thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the referring of power in their hands can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops at the first, than that they never did. And since (by your Majesty's concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apoapses first, in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of Government, as we prove by Scripture, you must prove the super-institution of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apoapses in some after time, or else we must conclude that the Bishops got both his Name and power of Government out of the Presbyters hand, as the Tree in the wall roots out the Stone by little and little as it self grows.

As touching Philippi, where your Majesty forbids, it may be probable there was yet no Bishop, it is certain there were many like them, who were also at Ephesus, to whom if one by the Office of Teaching did belong, they had the most laborious and honourable part, that which was left honorable being reserved in the Apoapses hands, and the Churches left in the meantime without ordinary Government.

The other reason, given why two Orders only are mentioned in those places, is, because he wrote in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, to them that were Bishops, so there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice and qualifications of any other sort of Officers than such, as belonged to their Ordination and inspection, which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two only Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians, was, because there was yet no Bishop; this latter reason why the same two orders were mentioned in the same Epistle, is because there was no Bishop to be ordained; we might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the Ordination of the other order of Bishops, in some other place of Scripture, but if the Ordination cannot be found, how should we find the Order? and it is reasonable to think, that the Apoapses in the Chapter formerly added, 1 Tim. 3, where he puts immediately from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have distinctly express, or at least hinted, what sort of Bishop he means, whether the Bishop over Presbyters, or the Presbytery Bishop, to have avoided the confusion of the name, and to have let us see some mark of difference in the Eparchus of the Presbytery Bishop; if there had been some other Bishop of a bigger house. And whereas your Majesty, there was no need to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sense, who belonged not to their ordination and inspection, we conceive that in your Majesty's judgment, Bishops might then have ordained Bishop like themselves; for there was then no Canon forbidding any single Bishop...
The second paper delivered to his Majesty to ordain another of his own rank, and those many cities in Crete, &c. might have found it expedient (as those ancient Fathers that call him Bishop think he did), to have set up laws in favor of those cities: so that this reason fights against the principles of those that hold Timothy & Titus to have been Bishops; for we believe that thereon belonged not to Timothy & Titus with finding them both to Ephesus & Crete; but respectively to all the places or Churches where they might come; and that shall at any time have the office of Ordaining, as it is written in the same Chapter, Tit. 3. 1, 3, 5. Those things I have written may be such as that those may be known how to behave themselves in a House of God, which is the Church: and therefore there had been any proper character or qualification of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, if any Ordination of Office were think the Apostle would have fixed it, but because he did not, we conclude (and for more strongly from the insufficiency of your Majesty’s two reasons) that there are only two Orders of Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is not superior to a Presbyter; for we find not (as we find in the same Order) that one Officer is superior to another, who is of the same Order.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, you could not in conscience consent to abolish & ordain another of his own rank, and those many cities in Crete, &c. might have found it expedient (as those ancient Fathers that call him Bishop think he did), to have set up laws in favor of those cities: so that this reason fights against the principles of those that hold Timothy & Titus to have been Bishops; for we believe that thereon belonged not to Timothy & Titus with finding them both to Ephesus & Crete; but respectively to all the places or Churches where they might come; and that shall at any time have the office of Ordaining, as it is written in the same Chapter, Tit. 3. 1, 3, 5. Those things I have written may be such as that those may be known how to behave themselves in a House of God, which is the Church: and therefore there had been any proper character or qualification of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, if any Ordination of Office were think the Apostle would have fixed it, but because he did not, we conclude (and for more strongly from the insufficiency of your Majesty’s two reasons) that there are only two Orders of Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is not superior to a Presbyter; for we find not (as we find in the same Order) that one Officer is superior to another, who is of the same Order.

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The second paper delivered to His Majesty contradictory to one another, are the Telmumoni.

Some say that Clemens was first Bishop of Rome; after Peter, some say the third; and the intricate story of the Order of succession, in Limus, Anacurin, Clemens, and another called Ceirius (as some affirm) are tractable. Some say, that Tiarius was Bishop of Grado; some say Archibishop, and some Bishop of Balenists. Some say, that Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus; and some say, that John was Bishop of Ephesus at the same time. Some say, that Polycarpus was first Bishop of Smyrna; another says, he succeeded one Vences; and another, that Aristeus was first. Some say, that Alexandria had but one Bishop, and others, that there was but one Bishop of one City at the same time. And how should these Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up out of Testimonies that might be in conflict with another? We must conclude that the ancient Fathers, Tertullian, Irenaeus, &c. made use of succession, as an Argument against Heretics, or Innovators, to prove that they had the true name of Apostolic succession, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand, is Succeeding an office, according to the Catalogue, refining it, as into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we understand) could not be Bishops of those places, being of a higher Office; though according to the language of after times they might be them that drew up the Catalogues, be so called, because they planted, and founded, and watered those Churches to which they are intended, and had their greatest residence in those or else the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence to the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whom they themselves were members; from whom, to pretend the succession of after Bishops, is as if it should be said, that I am the Successor to the Roman Conclave. And we humbly conceive, that these are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are ascribed to be found in the Apostolical and primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine institution, and which is an Argument above all other; the Fathers whose names were exhibited to your Majesty in our Answer, were doubtless acquainted with the Catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, and yet did hold them to be of Ecclesiastical institution, and left your Majesty might reply that however the Telmumoni & Catalogues may vary, or be mistaken in the order, or times, or names of those Persons that succeeded the Apostles, yet all agree, that there was a succession of some persons; and so though the credit of the Catalogues be inferred, yet the thing intended is confirmed by these graces that succession of men to feed and govern those Churches; while they contained Churches cannot be denied, and that the Apostles and Evangelists that planted and watered those Churches (though extraneous and temporary Officers) were in Ecclesiastical writers, in every case with the language and usage of their own times, called Bishops, and so were other eminent men of chief note, presiding in the Presbyteries of the Churches, called by such writers as wrote after the division or distinction of the names of Presbyters, and Bishops; but that those first and antient Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense, according to your Majesty's description, invested with power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) they did belong the power of ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures; we humbly conceive cannot be proved, and granted by authentic or competent testimonies. And as

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The Second Paper delivered to his Majesty, granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times to the present. It is supposed, if there are any persons from whom you derive, and through whom you derive, either bishops of the Church of England or extraordinary persons, or lesser than bishops, as nearly as possible Presbyters, having not one of the name of Presbyter to this Episcopal government (mentioned by your Majesty), in their own hands, it will follow, that all that your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the Homogeneity and equivocal acceptance of the word Episcopus.

For C. Clement, his testimony, which your Majesty could derive from these, as our old fasteners, that the prominence of the name of the Bishop, in the epistles, now in all men's hands, whole testimony we think cannot be disputed, but by the old serif, as hiding the Bishop behind the Presbyters names. For that which may be said of him, Episcopus, and of that place, in which the Bishop is, or bishop, may doubt of Clement of Rome, concerning his distinct Offices of Bishop and Presbyters, or rather not doubt of, if only his one Episcopus may be imprinted upon the inquest. Concerning Ignatius, his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some earnestness of expression, charging some latency, without any regard of ingratitude or where, or in their partial disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavored to discredit his writings. One of these, it is known to us, cannot (as we conceive) be inferred or disaffection to Bishops, and there are great arguments drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their inferiority, adulation of the Bishop, and interments of Ignatius. So that Ignatius cannot be distinguished known in Ignatius. And if we take him in gross, we make him the Patron (as Petrus and the rest of the Populars) of such rites and observances, as the Church in his time cannot be thought to have owned. He does indeed give testimony to the Presbyters of a Bishop above a Presbyter, which may justly render him suspect, is that he gives too much honor (faith). the Bishops as Gods high Priests, and after him you must honour the King. He was indeed a holy Man, and his writings have suffered from their own, as well as he, corruptions could not so current, but under the credit of worthy names.

That which your Majesty saith in your fourth Paragaph, That we might have added (if we had pleased) That James, Timothy, Titus, &c., were constituted and ordained Bishops, of the forenamed places respectively, and that all the Bishops of those times were required Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopal office: we could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth, for the Apostles did not ordain any of themselves Bishops, nor could they do it, or even by your Majesty's conception, they were Bishops before, or as they were Apostles, nor could any Apostles have his choice of a certain Region or place to execute his function in, whilst he pleased to render him a Bishop, any more than Paul was Bishop of the Gentiles, Peter of the Circumcised. Neither did the Apostles ordain the Evangelists Bishops of those places unto which they sent them. Nor were the Bishops of those times any more than your Majesty, faith required Successors to the Apostles, in their Episcopal Office, as they came after the Apostles in the Church, by them planned, to might Presbyters do; but that is not properly so entirely, at least not succession into Office, and this we say with a Spirit to our nation, that in these times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters. Neither do we understand, whether the words in the Episcopal Office, in this section, refer to the Bishops or

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by the Ministers of the 1st of Wight.

the trouble of producing testimonies against those cited by us, we make this humble motion, that the Regulations on both sides may be discharged out of the field, and the point disputed by dint of holy scripture, institutum quod primum.

Having paffed through the argumentative parts of your Majesties Reply, wherein we should account it a great happiness to have given your Majesty any satisfaction, in order whereunto you pleased to honour us with this employment, we shall contrast our selves in the remainder, craving your Majesties pardon, if you shall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which follows. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royal Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamental accessions granted to the person, do not make any substantial change in the Office; the real difference between that Episcopal Government, which first obtained in the Church, and the present Hierarchy, consists in an episcopacy, not regimino publico, which cannot be clearly demonstrated in particular, until it be agreed on both sides, what that Episcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether these three fore-mentioned essentiaals of Episcopal Government were the same in both, for the power under Christian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the same, though the exercise be not. And we humbly receive your Majesties Pious advertisement, (not unde that of Confessors) urging us up as men unbaffled with private interests, to study the nearest accomodation and best resemblance to the apostolical modation and primitive times. But for your Majesties Salus and primitive times.

where the bishops sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and that distinction of Ordination, authoritative, in the Bishop, and the Concomitant, in the Presbyter, which
The second paper delivered to his Majesty, which you seem to found upon these two Texts, 2 Tim. 1. 12, 13. 4. 14. and which is used by Dr. W. M. and other defenders of Episcopacy, in Exposition of the Canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, which enjoys the just imposition of the Bishops and Presbyters in all families, we shall give your Majesty an account, when we shall be called, to the disposition thereof; albeit that we do not for the present see but that this proviso of your Majesty, renders our accommodation to the Apostolical and primitive times (whereunto your Majesty doth exhort) unfeasible. We notwithstanding, do fullyprofess our acknowledgment of the subordination of the outward exercise of jurisdiction, to the Sovereign Power: and our acknowledgement to the Laws of the Land. As for your Majesty's three questions of great importance, whether there be a certain form of Government, left by Christ or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Churches; whether it bind perpetually, or be upon occasion alterable in whole, or in part; whether a certain form of Government be the Episcopal; Presbyterian, or some other differing from them both; the whole: Volume of Ecclesiastical Policy is contained in them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor will take offense at us, if we hold only to that that is the question, in order to the Bill of Abolition: So we humbly profess our readiness to serve your Majesty, influencing these or any other questions within our power, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesty's consideration, in concluding us the liberty and honour of examining your learned Reply, clothed in such excellency of Style, and for your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we are, and for the acceptance of our humble service; we take.

His Majesties third Paper delivered, Octob. 6.

render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities, may ever be employed in a Subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in this point under debate: such a man is not the best, clean most certain and ready way to find out the Original; for to go that way is to go the further way about; yea, to go backward; and when you are at the spring, or the scripture it tells, you go to the River end, that you may seek the spring.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, by the right hand of his Counsell, and shew you a happy way of healing our unhappy differences, and of settling the common wealth of Jesus Christ; which is the Church; so as all the Members thereto may be under you in all godliness, peace and honesty.

His Majesties small Answer concerning Episcopacy, November the first, 1648.

Vvhat you have offered by way of reply to his Majesties second paper of Octob. 6. in yours of October 17. in order to the further satisfaction of his confidence in point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard when it was publicly read by you, with so great attention, and hath since (so far as his leisure would permit) taken the same into his private and would permit) taken the same into his private
when you speak of a 'Wit of partition', you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had startled and carried out the Episcopal Office, one part to the bishops alone, another to the brethrens alone, and you fall upon the same again afterwards (Sect. 6) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth to have been, that one part of the Office (that of teaching and) was common to both alike, but the other part (that of governing Churches) to the Bishop alone.

Secondly, you infer from his Majesties words, 'That the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more than was formerly pretended to.' Which inference his Majesties words by you truly cited, it rightly understood, will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles, and others, his Majestie said, but this, 'That the bishops challenge no more, or only, 'That the power to belong unto them, in respect of their Episcopal Office, than what properly falls under one of these three.' The words are true, for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might falsely say, they challenge no more. But the inference is not good. For he that thus they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination which is purely spiritual, his Majestie conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much what the same in all times of the Church. And therefore it is, that the matter of Ordination is most inflected on, as the most certain and most evident difference between Bishops & Presbyters, especially after the times of Confession, which his Majestie by your relating to 'Synod & Hierom' taketh to be the same.

You call the times of Grown Episcopy. But his Majestie you call the times of Grown Episcopy. But his Majestie
nothing were conferr'd to have been extraordinary in the Apollines but their Gifts, and Embellishments; whereas his Majesty in that paper hath expressed words named as extraordinary, also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly, for the Claim to a just Disputation, his Majesty was willing to decline both the Tern (as being by reason of the different reception of it subject to misconceptions) and the dispute whether by Christ or his Apostles. Nevertheless, although his Majesty does no cause to dislike their opinion, who derive the Episcopal power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the Apostles would not either have exercised it themselves, or directed it to others; yet for the practice in them is so clear, and evident, and the warrant from him express but in general terms (As my Father saith me, so send ye, and the like.) His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practice, as the more evident way, than upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more disputes.


First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Episcopal, his Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more fully against it had it been otherwise.

Secondly, his Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (Three for Three, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found wise that they had each their several peculiar charges, and that within their several precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others.
Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needful, that any word be added to the Genus, in the definition, or that the Scripture should anywhere put all the parts of the definition together; it would be a bit to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the person thereof should be found in any place of Scripture altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty confesseth with you that this point in issue, is not the Name or Work merely, but the Office, and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular Office from a generall or common Work, to judgeth withall it can be no fallacy to argue a particular Office, from such a work as is peculiar unto that Office, and is it were the formal ratio thereof, as therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbyter.

A Reply, Sect. 7. As to the Scriptures cited you in Tit. 3. Adj. 1. 2 Pet. 3. First, when you say you use his Majesty’s Concession, That in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishop and Presbyter; if you take it in the true sense, you take it grate. His Majesty never gave you; and you mistake it too, more ways than one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Pretention in order to the present business, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own express words are, “Although this Majesty be not sure that the proof will reach to the end of those places, which words plainly evidence that which you call his Majesties Concession to be the Ministrers at the Isle Wight. 
His Majesty’s third Paper delivered to the Ministers at the Isle of Wight.

well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epistles only of St. Paul to Timothy, Whereas as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that Timothy might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those offices; So in the directions given to Timothy throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work and duty of a Bishop, that Timothy might know how to behave himself in the execute of his Episcopall Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word Episcopus, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge, and that the same was after by Ecclesiastical usage appropriated to Bishops you deny not: But the distinction of Episcopus Gregis et Episcopus Pastorum, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the ministration of the word as may seem by that passage, where you say, that his Majesty hath said, that Episcopus signifieth a Keeper of Shepherds; His Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person, the title of Episcopus Pastorum, than there is in calling Deeck, the Master of Sants Herdsmaen. And for the thing itself, it cannot be denied, that the Apostles, and Timothy and Titus (by what claim ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the present ministration of the word) matters not had the oversight and authority over many Pastors, and were therefore truly and really Episcopus Pastorum.

The appropriation of the names of Episcopus and Presbyter to these different Offices, considering that it was done so early, and received so universally in the Church
The testimonies of so many writers, both ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scriptural original of Bishops, His Majesty conceived to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thought himself bound both in charity and reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have adhered to the same whiles for so much confidence upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation & reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate & even passions, of orthodox belief, fundy of them uninterested in the quarrel, and some of them of times by interest & education byass'd rather the other way. Their assertions positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (confut. & nemini ignotum) it is clear, none can be ignorant; and other such like expressions.) Namely and that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That 

English: The Minister at the Isle of Wight.
His Majesty's third Paper delivered down as an Answer to the late Age; & shall duly consider withal, that if Episcopal government had not an indubitable institution from the authority of Christ and his Apostles, or if any other form of Church government could have pretended to such institution, it had been impossible thing in the world to have, neither was any outward certain power to inform it, nor could be any General Council of such a nature as to have introduced such a form of Government to its defence and quietness, into all Christian Churches; and the spirit of any one Presbyter for ought that appeared for above three hundred years, was been provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to stand up in the just defence of their own and the Churches liberty against such an imposition. His Majesty believes that whatsoever the Presbyters consider the promises, together with the Scripture evidences that are brought for that Government, will be reason enough to conclude the same to have something divine institution in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtile wit of men can devise to persuade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh it fit, plainly to tell you, that such Conjectural interpretations of Scripture as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handily soever they may be, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgment wherein he has been formed from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgment of Antiquity, and to the constant practice of the Christian Church for so many hundred years, which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more than more conjectural inferences from Scripture Texts that are not so attended. Which having now once told you his Majesty thinketh himself discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an Answer to every interpretation in the sequel of your reply, as hitherto he had done.

7. Reply, Sect. 9. As to the Apostles Mission and Succession, To make his answer the shorter to fo long a discourse, his Majesty declareth, that his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission and Union of the Apostles, to confine them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more especially and eminently to relate: For the Apostles after their last mission, (Mark 16:19-20) whereby they were further warranted to their Office, and Woor, were yet to wait for that promised anointing (Luke 4:43; Acts 1:4) the special effect whereby was the enduring them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better and more effectual performing of that their work and Office, nor was it his Majesty's meaning to restrain the extraordinary in the Apostolical Office to those gifts only; (For his Majesty afterwards in the same paper mentions other extraordinary gifts also, as before is said) but only to instance in those gifts, as one sort of extraordinary, wherein the Apostles were to have no successors. But his Majesty's full meaning was, that the whole Apostolical Office (setting aside all and only what was personal and extraordinary in them) consisted in the works of teaching and governing, which being both of necessity and perpetual in the Church to the worlds end, the Office therefore was also to continue, and consequently the persons of the Apostles being mortal, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession: And that the Ordinary Successors of the Apostles immediately, and into the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Bishops, the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching only, and that
His Majesty's third Paper delivered to mediatly and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom they are to be ordained, & authorized therunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a distinction of the Apostolical Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said concerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been laid down in this way: the things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ, or his Apostles, or by others under their appointment, are of three sorts: some acts of power merely extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of necessary and perpetual use; others lastly, and those by a few; Occasional and Prudential, fitted to the present condition of the Church in several times: To the Apostles in matters of the first sort none pretends Succession: nor are there examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they should do in matters of the third sort, to be drawn into consequence to far as to be made necessary Rites, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all Times to perpetually observe. So that there remain the things of the middle sort only, which we may call Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have ordinary and binding Successors. But then the different will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinary, Substantials, or Prudentials may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular distinguishing Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity he had to those two more general criterions [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Sense. Our own Reason will tell us, that therefore
As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. Reply. Sect. 13. 14. First, whether there were Evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant to dispute. Onely, because you often call for Scripture proofs, his Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that, in your Answere you take two things for granted (viz. that Timothy and Titus were Evangelists, and that Evangelists were such Officers as you described) Neither of which if it should be denied, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other Writers to atest it, as in your Reply you have now done Mr. Hookers; Neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both sufficient to convince him that were of a contrary mind.

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 15.) to mistake the which was the third point in that part of his Majestys paper, which was not whether Timothy and Titus were Evangelists, or no; (concerning which his Majesty neither did, nor doth contend.) But whether the Church government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you assume) and to only as extraordinary Officers, or not? (Zwengius having said that the name of a Bishop, and Evangelist is the same thing, proved it from 1 Tim. 4.) and concluded. Contra vnum artificem ministrum; Bishop and Evangelist the same Office. Both Gerard faith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the special sense that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospel at large, (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import no more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And Sancius not only affirme; That S. Paul appointed Timothy and Titus to Ephesus and Crete, not as Evangelists, but as Church-governours; but faith further, That the Epistles written to them both doe cance it, and also bringeth Reasons to prove it. Yee on what particular reasons Gilletus, &c. reject the concept of their acting as Evangelists, his Majesty certainly knows not: But if this be one of their Arguments (as to their selfe remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information, it is) That if whatsoever is alleged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by Timothy and Titus, in points of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be allowed by this, that they allied therein as extraordinary Officers, there will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officers to the purposes aforesaid. His Majesty then recommends, if your most sober thoughts to consider, First, how this concept of their acting as extraordinary Ministrers only, tends to the subversion of all Ministrers, as well as of the Bishops: (since upon this very ground especially, the Savines deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministrers in the Church.) And secondly, if the contrary be proved they by Gilletus, &c. by good Arguments, That they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they
Fourthly, though you say, you do not undervalue the testimonies and catalogues mentioned, yet you endeavour (which commeth not far short of undervaluing) toollen the reputation of both but too much, of those testimonies by putting them off, as if they respect Timothy and Titus and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in debate. But of Hierom, upon whom you chiefly rely, in this cause, the contrary is evident, who in this catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, when he was to deliver things Eide Historiae, and to describe the persons of such as are required in that catalogue by their proper and known distinctive titles and stiles, he expressly distinctly. Timothy, Titus, Mark, Polycarp, and others. Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other side as were but mere Presbyters, Eccl. Addit., or Alexander Presbyter, etc. observing the difference to constantly and exactly throughout the whole book, that nothing can be more clear, than that he understood the word episcopus no otherwise, then in the ordinary Ecclesiastical sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you allege out of him, by custom in the judgment of learned men, he must mean the practice of the Apostolick times, and by Dominica disputis, the express precept of Christ, unless you would have him contradict what thinefelic hath written in many other places. Whole testimonies in the behalf of Episcopal superiority are too clear and frequent in his Writings, that (although he aff of all the Ancients be least affected toavour this function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him Archbishop in the whole business: as for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long discourse concerning the several fra-
His Majesties third paper delivered to
the Ministers in the Isle of Wight.

270. His Majesties third paper delivered to
the Ministers in the Isle of Wight. The first
271. His Majesties third paper delivered to
the Ministers in the Isle of Wight. The first

concerning theoven of Timotheus and Titus (13:14)
and their being called away from Ephesus and Crete
(15.) His Majesties neither hath time to examine, nor
thinketh it much needful (in respect of what he hath
said already) to do. It is sufficient to make his Maj-
esty at least suspend his attention to your conjectures
and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men
from the like conjectures to have made other inferences;
as namely, that Timotheus and Titus having ac-
companied Paul in many journeys, Polycarp &c. have
been by him constituted Bishops of Ephesus and Crete.
Secondly, supposing they were, after the times of the
everall Epistles written to them, sent by the
Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in
some of their journeys, even for a long time to-
gether, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were
not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Gov-
ernment of those Churches was not committed to
their peculiar charge. If it be supposed withal
(which is most reasonable) that their absence was
commanded by the Apostle, and that they left their
Churches cum animo reverendi. Thirdly, that the
places which you premise again of a Tim. 1:3 and Tim.
1:5, weigh so little to the purpose intended by you,
even in your own judgements (for you say only;
They put it for to prove) that you cannot expect
they should weigh so much in his, as to need any
further Answer; I have only, that his Majesties know-
eth not what great need or use there should be of
leaving Timotheus at Ephesus, or Titus in Crete, for
ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particu-
lar directions and admonitions to them for their use
therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For
either there were Colleges of Presbyters in those
places before their coming thither, or there were
not; if there were, and that such Colleges had per-

As to the Angels of the Churches.

16-17. His Majesties purpose of naming them was to declare, that they were persons singular, and not that they had a superiority in their respective Churches, as well over Presbyters as others. The two being the Parishers or definition of a Bishop, his Majestie conceived it would follow of it, that if they were Bishops: That the Epistles directed to them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threatenings, and other the contents thereof, did concern their fellow Presbyters also, and indeed the whole Churches (which in your last you again remember) his Majestie did then and doth still believe, finding it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles themselves, and to the consentient judgement of Interpreters. Only his Majestie said, and still doth, That though they be not, but that the Angels to whom the Epistles were directed, were person singularly that this his Majestie illustrated by a Similitude, which though it do not hold in some other respects, and many times it is not true for them to be said about it.

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary from 1 Cor. 12-23, is to say to you elliptically, that the rest in Thyatira is plainly of no force, if that the Bishops in which the copulative conjunction is wanting, be true; for then the reading would be thus, 1 Cor. 10-23.
latter, their differing from the common and received judgement: practice of the Christian Church, in the matter of Episcopacy, and the evil consequences thereof, having in his Majesty's opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the Protestant Religion, and given more advantage (or colour at least) to the Romish party, to aperie the Reformed Churches in such sort as we see they do; than their disagreement from the Church of Rome in any one controverted point whatsoever besides hath done.

9. Reply. Here little is said, the substance whereof hath not been answered before: His Majesty therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, That the Apostles were to have no necessary Successors in any thing that was extraordinary, either in their Mission or Vocation: that his Majesty spoke not of Succession into abilities otherwise than by instance, mentioning other particulars withall; which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned: That in the Apostles Mission or Commission (for his Majesty under the name of Mission comprehended both) and consequently in the Apostolical Office, as there was something extraordinary, so there was something ordinary wherein they were to have Successours: That Bishops are properly their Successours, in the whole Apostolical Office, as far as it was ordinary, and to have Successours: That therefore the Bishops Office may in regard of the Succession, be said to be Apostolical; That yet it doth not follow that they must needs be called Apostles, taking the denomination from the Office, in as much as the denomination of the Apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given them from the
His Majesties letter delivered to the Office whereunto they were sent, but (as the word importeth rather impertinent) from the immediate interest of their Ministry, being sent immediately by Christ himself; in respect whereof for distinction sake, and in honour to their persons, it was thought fitter hereby that succeeded, in common usage, to abstain from that Denomination, and to be styled rather by the name of Bishops; That if the Apollos had no Successors, the Presbyters (who are their Successors in part, immediately and subordinately to the Bishops) will be very hard to prove the warrant of their own Office and Ministry; which if not derived from the Apollos who only received power of Ministry from Christ by a continued line of Succession, his Majesty feeleth not upon what other bottom it can stand. 

Also the standing Officers of the Church.

To reply, you insinuated upon two places of Scripture, Phil. 1:1; and 1 Tim. 2:2, to prove that there were to be no more standing Officers in the Church than the two in those places mentioned, (viz.) Presbyters (who are there called Bishops) and Deacons, whereunto his Majesty's answer was, That there might be other Offices not mentioned in those places which answer, though it were alone sufficient, yet as abundant, his Majesty shewed withall, that supposing some interpretation of the word bishop in both the places (viz. to denote the Office of Presbyter only there might yet be given some probable conjectures, which (likewise supposed true) might satisfy us, why that of Bishop in the distinct sense, should not not be needful or proper to be named in those places. 

His Majesties former Reason, though in Hebr. 13, and as applied to the Church of Philippi, it be by conjectural, yet upon the credit of Ecclesiastical Histories, and consideration of the condition of those times, as it is set forth in the Scriptures also, it will appear in Heb. 13, to be undoubtedly true (viz.) That the Apollos themselves first planted Churches, but they were perpetual Governors and chief of all the Churches whilst they lived; that as the burden grew greater by the propagation of the Gospel, they suffered others in partem curas, committing to their charge the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principal Cities and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as Jami at Jerusalem, and others in other places, sooner or later, as they saw it expedient for the safety of the Church; that the persons so by them appointed, to fill peculiar charges, did exercise the powers of Ordination and other Government under the Apollos, and are therefore in the Church histories called Bishops of those places in a different sense; That in some places where the Apollos were themselves more frequently conversant, they did for some while govern the Churches immediately by themselves, before they set Bishops there; and that after the Apollos times, Bishops only were the ordinary Governors of the Churches of Christ; And his Majesty believing it cannot not be proved either from clear evidences of Scripture, or credible testimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exercised the power either of Ordination at all without a Bishop, or of that which they call Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in ordinary and by their own sole Authority, or otherwise, than as it was delegated unto them upon occasion, and for the time by Apollos and Bishops.

For this place of Phil. 1:1, in particular, his Majesty argues not, to interpret the place (as Workter for Dives) but to manifest the unconstitution of the Argument, whereby you would conclude but two standing Officers only, because but two C's
His Majesties third Paper delivered to the Earls of Warrington, Lords Treasurer and Others named, gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no Bishops in distinct sense there mentioned, because positively the Apostles had not yet set any Bishops over the Church, which his Majesty did not propose as the only, no, nor yet as the most probable conjecture, (for which cause he delivered it to cautiously, laying only it might be probable) but as that which for the present came first into his thoughts, and was sufficient for his purpose, without the least meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; namely, of those Expositors who take the words (with the Bishop and Deacons) as belonging to the persons saluting, and not to be persons invested to this sense, Paul and Timotheus the servants of Ida Christi, with the Bishops and Deacons, to the Acts, at Philippus, &c. of those who affirm, and that with great probability too, that Epaphroditus was then actually Bishop of Philippus, but not to be mentioned in the introduction of the Epistle, because he was not then at Philippus, but with St. Paul at Rome when the Epistle was written: Any of which conjectures, if either one (as there is none of them entirely improbable) is not done you much service in this Question.

In the Epistles to Thessalonians and Timothy, the Apostle directs and admonishes them as Bishops, particularly concerning Ordination of Ministers, that they do so advisedly, and Ordain none but such as are evidently qualified for the service of the Church, which directions and admonitions his Majesty believes for the substance to belong to all of after-times, as well as those and others. But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those Epistles there should be any particular directions given concerning the Ordination of Bishops, as least until that could be made appear, that they were to Ordain them in such places, not perhaps if that could be more

the Ministers at the Isle of Wight to appear, as much as in those Epistles there is not not the least signification of any difference at all between Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination, being to be performed by the Bishop, and by imposition of hands, to be both comprehended under that general rule (Lay hands suddenly on no man) but only, and that very little, and scarce considerable (as to the making of distinct Offices) in the qualification of their persons.

The Ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, being to be performed in the same manner, in their same qualifications, and the same qualifications after a sort, laying such differences as the importance of their several Offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things) being required in both, it would have been sufficient if there had been directions given concerning the Ordinance and Qualification of but one sort of Church-Officers only; as in the Epistle to Titus, we see there are of Presbyters only, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epistle: whether it may be as well concluded, that there was to be no other Bishop in the Church of Great Britain, but Presbyters only, because St. Paul gave no directions to Titus concerning any other; as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other Officers in the Church of England, but Presbyters and Deacons only, because St. Paul gave no directions to Timothy concerning any others.
to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the least indication of any difference at all between Presbyter and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination; both being to be performed by the Bishop, and by imposition of hands, and for both comprehended under that general rule (Lay hands suddenly on no man) but only; and that very little, and scarce considerable, (as to the making of distinct Offices) in the qualification of their persons.

The Ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, being to be performed in the same manner; and the same qualifications after a sort, having such differences as the importance of their several Offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things) being required in both, it had been sufficient if those Epistles there had been directions given concerning the Ordination and Qualification of but one sort of Church-Officers only; as in the Apostle to Titus we see there are of Presbyters only, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epistle; whereas it may be as well concluded, that there was to be no other standing Officer in the Church of Crete, but Presbyters only, because St. Paul gave no directions to Titus concerning any other, as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other Officers in the Church of Ephesus, but Presbyters and Deacons only, because St. Paul gave no directions to Timothy concerning any other.

As to the Age succeeding the Apostles.

11. Reply concerning the judgment of Eusebius.

As well Writers about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, as his Majesty conceive the difference to be more in their Expressions than in their Meaning, some calling it Divine, others Apostolical, and some (but not above)
HIS MAJESTY'S third Paper, delivered to
above Presbyters began in the Apostles times; and had at
foundation in the Institution of Christ himself of or
his Apostles, his Majestie hath not heard ( Anna
excepted ) that any till these latter Ages have des-

For that which you touch upon concerning the
word Infallible, his Majestie supposeth you know its
meaning; and he delighteth not to correct your
words.

As for the Catalogues some uncertainities in a few
(s a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his
Majestie taketh to be insufficient to discredit all differ-
cence; there are in Historiographers; in reciting the
cession of the Babylonian, Perian, and Macedonian
Kings, and of the Saxon Kings in England: And we
find far more inadecible intricacies in the Palsi Cas-
sularis, the Catalogues of the Roman Consuls, not
withstanding the great care in keeping the public Records,
and the errours of the Roman Histories, that are
to be found in Episcopall Catalogues, those especially
of the chiefest Cities, as Jerusalem, Rome, Ant
ich, Alexandria, Ephesus, &c. yet as all must be
beare there were Kings in those Countries, and Cons-
suls in Rome in those times, so as you might well
foresee would be answered the differing of the Ca
atalogues of Bishops, in respect of some uncertainies
(although his Majestie doubteth not that many of the
differences you instance in, may be satisfactorily explained
rather to the confirming of the thing in
false.

That which you say in answer heretofore, That
the Ecclesiastical Writers called them Bishops, in com-
promise to the Language of their owne times; after the
names of Presbyters and Bishops were distinguished,
but that they were not indeed Bishops in the proper
sense now in question; his Majestie, who believes in

For the Testimonies of Clement and Ignatius, His Majesty's faith; suffice, that though it be not Reasonable, that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be to make the adequate measure of Clement's opinion, to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise, yet his Majesty, since Clement was first named by you, and the weight of the same cause look not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer humble to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but see some extraneous of expression in the case of Ignatius against some who have received the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more leaned in the reputation of their own learning, than the Authority of his Epistles, in the opinion of moderate and judicious men; and yet Blenderius, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confessed notwithstanding the Ancient Fathers gave full credence thereto.

The Apostles, you say, did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular place; and yet the Bishops of some particular place are reported in the Catalogues to have been set down to such, or such of the Apostles; and yet the Names of such Apostles are entered into the Catalogue. To this his Majesty's faith, that the Apostles were formally Bishops by virtue of their mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordain themselves, nor could be ordained by others. Bishops of such or such particular Order; Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to your Apostleship, and by mutual consent, make choice of their Severall quarters wherein to exercise that function, as well as Saint Peter and Saint Paul by content went one to the Circumcision upon.
As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.


to his Majesty with much respect, 29th. March, that you have now been wholly declin’d, that you have now seated wholly declined the answering of those three Questions so clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this only pretence, that the whole volume of Ecclesiastical Policy sustained in them: Whereas his Majesty did neither or pret nor require from you any large or solemn discourse concerning those Questions: but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own understanding) jn some sort oblig’d to have declared in few words what your Judgment was upon, with the ground thew, that to his Majesty might have the same in his further consideration, but what writing could have more conduc’d to the forming of his Judgment, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceived you might have done, with the tenour of that paper you have hitherto bellow’d to what purpose, and therein have given so full as much satisfaction to his desire, as he expected; and in all respects brought satisfaction to his judgment: for he yet finds it impossible to find any place from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, until one of those three things can be clearly evidenced upon his Majesty’s (viz.,) whether there is no certain form of Church Government at all pretended in the Word, or, if there be, that the Civil power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopal, but some other, his Majesty thinks himselfe excus’d in the judgment of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induc’d to give his consent to the utter abolishing of that Government in the Church, which he found here sealed to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, until this our late Reformacion in this Realm, ever since the first plantatio of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the Holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of England, as well by their Personall subscriptions, as otherwhise, so straitened and declared, and which himselfe in his Judgment and Conscience, hath for these many years been, and yet is persuaded to be at least of Apostolical Institution and practice: Truly his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great diuersity and unwillingness to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary Consecquences and for a small conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinks fit to shut up, with this Paper,) he must plainly tell you, that your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reparation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking, it being not probable you should work much upon his Judgment, whilst you are fearful to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours. Nevertheless, his Majesty lieth well of your project.
His Majesties Quere concerning Estates, propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at Holmby, April 25. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question, why the Reformation discharges the keeping of Easter?

The Reason for this Quere is,

I conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday; for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one, and instituting the other; Therefore my opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observance of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday: when any body can shew me that herein I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it. Till when you know my minde.

C. B.

Diverse of His Majesties Prayers: Whereof the three last used by him in the time of his Restraint, were delivered to the Bishop of London at his Death, from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army.

1. A Prayer used by his Majesty, at his entrance into State into the Cathedral Church of Canterberie, after he had defeated the Earle of Essex his Forces in Cornwall.

O Most glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, I here humbly adore Thy most Sacred Majesty; and I blest and magnifie thy Name, for that thou hast pleased to often, and to strangely deliver me from the strivings of my people. Father forgive them who have thus risen up against me, and do thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to me; that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou hast placed me on, I may defend Thy Church committed to my care, and keep all this Time and my people in Truth and Peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

2. A Prayer drawn by His Majesties speciall Direction and Direccion, for a blessing on the Treaty at Vixbridge.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech Thee, to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty,
His Majesties Prayer.

Treaty, begin for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those men's blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our own sins cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer to blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this short Day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for Pardon of Sins.

Almighty and most merciful Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate Myself at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art only well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternal God. For as in fin I was conceived and born, to likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinful words, and wicked works, omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden, under pain of Thy heavy displeasure. As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confess, O Lord that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not been long ago renounced. But with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption, in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy servant, nor be extant to mark what is done amiss, but be Thou merciful unto Me, and wath away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wath away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My Natural corruption. And as thou dost add days to My life; to good Lord, I beseech Thee, to add repentance to My ways, that when I have past this
His Majesties Prayer.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the time of Affliction.

A mighty and most merciful Father, as it is only Thy good-will that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confess our sins freely unto Thee, and of all men living I have most need, most reason to do so: no Man has been more obliged by Thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions: For was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to be set up in Scotland, and insulted the Bishops in England? No; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the seductions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Delights of an enlightened Conference: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make; no hope left; but in the multitude of Thy Mercies, for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty! Grant therefore, merciful Father, to revivify My repentance, and remember My prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine own Mercies; to which, O let Thy justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deferred afflictions: In the mean time give Me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a determining Spirit to choose what is best for Thy Church and people.

His Majesties Prayer.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O most merciful Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than a great deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never faillest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for favour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to depair of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not only pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies: Oh, if Thy wrath against My harmless offenders, will not otherwise be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions; yet, with humble importunity I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, to strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Mind, that with clearness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Trial; that to My sufferings here may not only glorify Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.
Several things relating to His Majesty's Death.

1. Of the Queries propounded by His MAJESTY, when the Army's Remonstrance was read unto Him at Newport, concerning the intended trial of His Majesty.

Wether the Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army, and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Vowes, that after he had consented to what they desired he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom, and Safety?

2. Whether his acknowledgement of the guilt of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars, nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding, could be urged so far as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his Party?

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personal Treaty, to lessen or extenuate and avoid the inconveniences of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form one, might be charged against him as an act of Offensury or willful pernicious in what is alleged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people, and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his Conscience was not satisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propositions?

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons charged to offend against the law, ought to be tried by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the person questioned is without a Peer, and if the Law which of it is but a dead Letter seems to condemn him, by what power shall judgment be given, and who shall give it? or from whence shall the administrators of such judgment derive their power, which may (by the same Law) be deemed the supreme power or authority of Magnificence in the Kingdom?

1. His Majesty's Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Judicature, which he intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22, 1648, but was not permitted.

Having already made my protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly power can justify call me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer my fault to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of My people, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-borne Subject of England call Life, or anything he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to answer to your pretended impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives, yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in England; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

There
on without the consent at least of the major part of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in having the power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and property of their goods. Nor in this must I doe I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publike Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses for all the pretended crimes laid against Me; bear a date long before this late Treaty at Newport, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which I account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right. Then for any thing I can doe the lower House is totally excluded; and for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are deterred or deterred from fitting so as if I had no other this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawful, the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years (not will
Several things relating to will I say what will fall out in case this lawfull and proceeding against Me do pce on, and believe it Commons of England will not thank you for the change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, the King My Father, and My Self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be to settle evident, that the Arms I took up were only to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against all who have suppos'd My power hath totally change the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority with our violating the Trust which I have from God, in the welfare and liberty of My People: I except you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Error (and then you will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall Monday, 22 January; but against Reason was hinder'd.

3. The Names of those persons, who by a pretenced Commission, from a few of the late House of Commons (acted therein by the Counsell of War) were appointed to judge their Liege Lord and Sovereign the King.

Sergeant John Bradshaw, L. Gen. Oliver Cromwell, President.

All things relating to
Seventy Robert Nicholl
Rob. Reynolds Esq.
John Lisle Esq.
Nicholas Love Esq.
Vincent Potter.
St. Gilbert Pickering.
John Weaver Esq.
Roger Hill Esq.
John Lenthall Esq.
St. Edward Baynton.
John Garbett Esq.
The. Blunt Esq.
The. Boone Esq.
John Dickwell Esq.
Col. George Fleetwood.
Simon Main Esq.
Col. James Temple.
Col. Peter Temple.
Daniel Byles Esq.
St. Peter Temple.
Col. The. Wintre.
John Brown Esq.
John Lawry Esq.
In all 300.

4. The Names of those persons who presumed at several times actually to be as Judges upon their Sovereign Lord, whereas about 73 6th past sentence of Death upon him, with the Names of the Council and Officers that attended them.

Sergeant John Bradshaw
President.
L. Gen. Oliver Cromwell.
Sr. Hardwicke Winter.
Col. The. Harrison.
Col. Edm. V. Vialley.
Col. The. Pride.
Col. Isaac Ever.
St. Henry Mildmay.
Thomas Lord Grey.
Philip Lord Lisle.
W. Lord Manford.
St. John Daventry.
St. The. Makepere.
St. John Bowcher.
St. James Harrington.
St. Will. Brevetson.
Will. Hemingham Esq.
Isaac Pennington Alder.
The. Arkwright Alder.
Robert Wilson Alder.
St. Peter Wentworth.
Col. Henry Martin.
Col. John Barlow.
Col. Godfrey Bostock.
Col. John Berkehead.
St. Wm. Constable.
Col. Edm. Ludlow.
Col. John Hutchinson.
Col. Rob. Temple.
Col. Owen Roe.
Col. Adrian Scamp.
Col. John Oky.
Col. John Harrison.
Col. John Debrowne.
Cornells Holland Esq.
Miles Cooper Esq.
Francis Allen Esq.
Peregrine Pelham Esq.
John Gawden Esq.
Sergeant Francis Thynn.
The. Challenger Esq.
Col. John Moor.
John Abad Esq.
Col. Francis Laidle.
Henry Smith Esq.
James Chawner Esq.
Dennis Band Esq.
Humphrey Edwards Esq.
Gregory Clement Esq.
John Fry Esq.
The. Fray Esq.
The. Pocock Esq.
The. Pole Esq.
The. Owen Esq.
The. Crisp Esq.
The. Bayliss Esq.
The. Launceston Esq.
The. Bowyer Esq.
The. Herdman Esq.
The. Parkman Esq.
The. Hale Esq.
The. Fry Esq.
Several things relating to

Abraham Barrell.
John Dowsett.
Mr. Nordon.
Nicholas Lowe.
Augustine Garland.
Sir Miles Lovesty.
John Devis.
Simon Mayne.
Daniel Blagrove.
Col. Robert Liburne.
Col. Rich. Dean.
Col. Pynson.
L. Col. Wil. Ofsett.
Mr. Carew.
Jo. Jones.
92. In all.

Counte fellows attaints to draw up the Charge against the King.

Dr. John Dirish, Mr. Ask, Mr. Cook, and Mr. Steede, (who by reason of sickness was absent.)
Sergeant Roby, Sergeant at Arms, Mr. Phelps Clarke.
Mellengers and Door-keepers.
Mr. Wulford, Mr. Rayly, Mr. Taine, Mr. Havel, Mr. Hull, and Mr. King Cryer.

A true Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester the day before his Death.

Hat the King said to me the 29 of Jan. 1648, being the last time I had the happy ease to see him. He told me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat that He had to say to me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing, because He feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment.
Several things Relating to His Majesties Death.

Not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul, for he had two brothers before him, and therefore commanded him upon His blessing never to accept of it, unless it resounded lawfully upon him. And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

8. A Copy of a Letter from the Prince to the King, dated from the Hague January 25, 1648.

SIR,

Having no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the print, or (which is as uncertain) report, I have sent this bearer Season to wait upon Your Majesty, and to bring Me an account of it, that I may withall assure your Majesty, I do not only pray for your Majesty according to my Duty, but shall always be ready to do all which shall be in my power, to preserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty, upon

SIR,
Your Majesties most humble and most obedient Son and Servant.

Hague, Jan. 25.
1648.

The Superscription was thus, For the King.
His MAJESTIES last Speech on the Scaffold at His Martyrdom, Jan. 30. 1648.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what His Enemies have forth, nor had his Majesty any Copy (being forgetful, and hafted by those that thirsted after his bloody,) save only a few Heads in a little Strip of Paper, which the Soldiers took from the Bishop of London, to whom he gave it; therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sense perfect, which either willfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perjured.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, to that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as I think,) and turning himself to the Soldiers and Officers (the Infrumners of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect.

I shall be very little heard of any body else; I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt, as well as to the punishment; but I think it is my duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear myself both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian.

His Majesty's Death.

I shall begin first with my innocence, and in truth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this; for all the World know I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to encroach upon their Privileges, they began upon me; it is the Militia they began upon; they confest that the Militia was mine, but they thought fit for to have it from me; and to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions & mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I; so that at for the guilt of these Enormous crimes that are laid against me, I hope that God will clear me of it; I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either. I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments between them and me, have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed; so that, as I finde my selfe clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that God's judgements are just upon me: Many times he does pay right by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary: I will only say this: That an unjust sentence (of Strafford,) that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjust sentence upon me; to so I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is (pointing to Dr. Juxta B. of London,) a good man that will bear me witness, that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that they have been the chief causes of my Death; who, as they say, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God to forgive them.
But this is not all, My charity must goe further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular; I pray God with S. Stephen, *this be not laid to their charge*, and withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for My charity commands Me not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom: So (Sirs) I do wish with all My Soul, (I see there is some here will carry it further) *(Turning to some that wrote)* that they may endeavour the peace of the Kingdom.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way; first you are out of the way for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as far as I could find by anything, was the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill way for Conquest in My opinion is never just, except there be a good and a just Cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you go beyond the just quarrel that you have, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: For there be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pyra laid to Alexander, that he was the great Robber, himselfe was but a petty Robber; and if, Sirs, I do think for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way.

Now, Sirs, for to put you in the way, I believe it you will never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, My Successor) and the people their due, I am as much for them as any of you.

You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (According to the Scripture) which is now out of order, and to set you in a way particularly now I cannot; but only this, A National Synod freely freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns My own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whom soever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government; that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things; and therefore, until you do that, I mean. That you doe put the people into that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, it was for this, that now I am bither come: for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for if all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray GOD it bee not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer; I will only say this to you, That I could have defered some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested, then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered My Confidence, I pray God, that you doe take those courtesies that are belt for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Bisho of London. Will your Majesty (though it be very well known what your Majesties affections are
Several things relating to
are to Religion, yet because it may be expected, that
You should say somewhat declare your self for the
Worlds satisfaction in that point.

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for
that. I had almost forgotten it. In truth Sirs, My Con-
science in Religion, I think, is very well known to all
the World; and therefore I declare before you all,
That I die a Christian according to the profession of
the Church of England, as I found it left to Me by My
Father; and this honest man (pouring in the Bishop)
I think will witness it. Then turning to the Officer
He said, Sirs excuse Me for this fame. I have a good
Caufe, and I have gracious God; I will say no more.

Bishop of London. There is but one Stage more.
This Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short
one: But you may consider it will soon carry You
from Earth to Heaven; and there You shall find a
great deal of Cordial Joy, and Comfort.

King. I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible
Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance
in the World.

The Bishop. You are exchanged from a temporal to
an eternal Crown, a good change.

Then the King, after some florid and fervent ejacu-
lations in private, with hands and eyes hit up to He-
ven; immediately flopping down, laid His neck upon
the block: And then the Wretch appointed to give the
fatal blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King
said, stay for the signe.

And after a very little pause, stretching forth His
hands, The Villain at one blow, severed His Head
From His Body.

Sic excedis Carolus, sic universa simul
Britannia.
COMMENDAMUS INUPER TUA MAESTATI CURAM AC DEFENSOIMUM RELIGIONIS REFORMATIONE, COEUM IN ANGLIA PALLADIUS IN SYODI NATIONALIS CANONIUM CONVOCARE, QUI INTER RECTORUM SUMMOS TRADERE, IN ARTICLEM MORTIS EXPIATIONIS DEZERRAT; QUOD ABSQUE NOS NON ABSTINEMUS QUIM RELIGIONEM UT IARUM TENET HABERE VEIT TUA MAESTATEM OBSCIUSSIO REMENS. QUOD FUGACIT, VENERANDI, VENERANDI MUSUM NUNC IOCO NUNCIO, UT TUA MAESTATEM SPIRITU FILIO ASTIU ESSE INDUCIT; ALGEBRABUS, CONCORDIAE, CONCORDIAE INFLUI, PATIENTIAE IN LARGITATE, SPECTABILITATI CONCOMITANTE, ET UTERQUE SANCTITATI, ET ISIAM FAMILIAM INSEGMATUR, IURIUS TUA MAESTATIS SERENISSIMI ET FAMILIAE AFFIDIO ABUMDE TESTIMONIO FILIO ET DETERRENTO. UBI Nihil nobis Christianis reliqui quam cum Regio vate ingeniantre, TACITI DOMINO QUIS INessor, REDUCE AD CALLIGRAMT DEI DEXTRAE; ANIMA POLLIDERE IN PATIENTIA; FORIT USURI CIVITATUM VOTIS.
Several things relating to

12. The same done into English.

Most gracious King,

That pleased God, the Supreme Judge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTY'S most Renowned Family: With the sense whereof we likewise being, deeply touched, are here present, that if the great Comforter shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosom.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us; when, being too intent upon instrumental and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. We are none of those most Gracious King who would any way excuse them, whose Horrible Flower is the cause of so deep a sorrow. God forbid! God forbid.

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do detest from our souls, that never till now heard of Particide, that execrable Anarchy of the SACRED AND ANOINTED HEAD, and that eternally to be lamented Murder of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religion. And why not? When as this cursed and sacrilegious wickedness does directly fight against God, by whom King Regent; against his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is King of Kings, wils and commands us, to give none Caesar the things which are Caesar's. Yea, and which does the highest affront that can be, to REFORM, Humility, and the common savour of Submission, and (in a word) show's what it is to be an Independent.

Most Renowned King, our desire is, That the judgments of God be adored and approved of: which, however they may be irksome unto us, and oft-times just.

His Majesties Death

secret, yet they are always just. Among which, there are especially to be numbered, yea, when God truth and exercised the Righteous by the wicked, and is pleased that his own should groan under the presence of Strangers (For we do not acknowledge them to be real Men, who dose up agayn the laws of his KING OF ENGLAND.) Which yet, that it is frequent and usual, there is no need we should seek proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the Old and New Testament; When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your MAJESTIES most Renowned Family, is an abundant testimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us Christians, but to cry out and ingeminate with the Kingly Prophet, Lord, I opened not my mouth, for they dealt it; to look up to the chastising right hand of God, to purpose the soul in patience, to commend his own Cause and the defence thereof to the Mighty Avenger; Yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our Enemies, as the Royal Son of the MAJESTY's most Royal Father, who is now happy in, and with his Christ, has led the way, after the Example of our Saviour, and the Prophets and S. Stephen; That they turning to the Lord our GOD may seriously repent, and contending this their great wickedness unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same, may likewise return to their Liege-LORD, as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and comperansious way to true consolation. Which consolation on shall then at length exercise its full vigour, when our will shall have submitted it self to the Supreme Will of GOD, and have evidenced actually and indeed, that we have not in vain, or slops diligently, so often cried aloud unto GOD, They will be done.

We further commend to Your Sacred MAJESTY the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religion.
Several verses made by divers Persons upon His Majesty’s Death.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

So falls that Stately Cedar, while it stood,
That was the only Glory of the Ground.
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a Span,
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean store.
Thy heavenly Vertus Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse.
He that would know These righteous, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o’re and o’re, which if he do,
He’ll find thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too.

And if we see our lot, and, though in vain,
With fruitless Withees call Thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Heart;
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse.
Thy selfe rings and Thy Death let no man name;
It was thy Glory but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.

Another:

He that can spue a Sight, or read a Tear,
Pronounce amazement, or Accent wild Fear:
Having all Grief by Heart, He, only He
Is fit to write and read thy Elegy.
Unvalued CHARLS: Thou art too hard a Text,
Writ in one Age, not understood in the next.

Another:

Within this Sacred Vault doth lie
The Quintessence of MAJESTY;
Which being Set, more Glorious shiner;
The best of Kings, best of Divines;
Britons shame, and Britons glory;
Mirror of Princes, compleat Story
Of Royalty, One to exact;
That th’ Elium of prattish detract;
These are faint Shadows: But endure,
He’s drawn to the Life in the PORTRAITURE;
If such another Piece you’ll see,
Angels must Linn it out, or He;
Where Wisdom, Grace and Eloquence.
Are Centred in their Eminence.
Marty’d He was to save His Laws;
Religion, People, from the Jaws

B C a
Upon the Picture of his Majesty in His Blew Wallcoat.

Here shines in a Field Azure such a Star, As at whole Fall Kingdoms amazed are. Fixt by his fall Chief of the sparkling morn, Dove Azure Crown, or his own Away. Look! what a ray he darts! So Majestically While luminous Israel force a Call was thrown. Only the difference make, you must account. Him coming from, this going to the Mount.

Upon the Death of King CHARLES the first.

Great Good! and just! I could I but rate My griefs, and my too rigid fate.
Monstrous in bulk, above our Fancies Spain
A Relics of a crime Leviathan.
So desperately dangerous, that here
Ev'n wild fruits Tresort, and will not appear.
That murdering-piece of the new Tyrant-State,
By whom hath shot black Deliances of hate;
He that belch'd forth the Loyall Bonfire doom,
Recolles at this dread full Martyrdom.
What depth of terror lies in that offence,
That thus can grudge a dreaded Conscience?
Hellish Compliment! which a League renew,
Left with the men, than the actions of the Jews.
Such as th'other Bedlam Rabble, and the Cry.
Of Justice now, amongst them was Conspir.
Filles Compt in Bradshaw Sentence here.
The Judgment Hake's remov'd to Westminster.
Hayle to the Reeden Recept, the Head, and kate
Act o're again that Carried Pegantry.
The Cattle crew'd in form to pump guard on
Mock'd Majesty as not to the Block but Thro'ne
The Bitch agree with all the envenom'd Eyes.
There a Blasphemous, here a Mur'd'rer dies.
If that goe liv'd in horror, this comes next,
A pregnant Comment on that guilty Test.
The Heavens are not, but in that Tragick Hour.
Slaughter'd to great an Innocence and Power.
Blood-guiltty Tygers could no stream fancie,
T'array that Hell within your breasts but this?
Mull you read will in Eleazar's Cup.
And drink the price of Kingdoms in a cup?
Corns of Loyalty have deeply bled
And now you damn'd with the Roiall Fountain Head.
Cruel Tybouy, 1 at once to drain.
The Median, and the rich Bajifick vein:
The tinctures great that popular Murther brings,
To Scarlet deep, that's dy'd in blood of Kings.
Several things relating to
But what, could Israel finde no other way
to their wish'd Gannan than through the Red Sea?
Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
And he beth Guide to this outrageous Crowd?
Shall the black Conclave counterfeit his hand,
And supercribe their Guilt, Divine command?
Doth thy ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace?
And Holy-water wash the Devils face?
Shall Despons Temple the mock'd Ark inclose?
Can E الاجتماع hands agree with Jacob's voice?
Must Malechi fire now on the Altar burn?
And Abel's blood to Expiation turn?
Is Righteousness so lewd a Baw'd ? and can
The Bibles Cover serve the Alcoran?
Thus when Hell's meant, Religion's bid to shine
As Faunt his Lantern lights him to his mine.
Here, here is lins non ultra, when one Lie,
Kills this, and Stab's at fac'd Majestie,
And though his sleepy arm suspend the couarge
Nor doth loud blood in winged Vengeance urge,
Though the soft hours awake in pleasurable flye,
And conquering Treadon, sing her Lullaby;
The guile at length in fury he'll morn
With barbed arrows on the traitorous soul.
Time may be when that Lubra-Lorden King,
His Quarters to this Tomato an Offring bring,
And that Re-Manster'd Rabble may have eyes
To read the price of their dear Butcheries:
Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
The judgement will be deeper though 't be late.
And after-times shall feel the curse enhanced,
But how much they've the sin bequeath'd advanced.
Mean time (most bleffed Shade the Loyall Eye
Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory.)

Thy Armatick Name shall last our sense,
Bove balmy Spikenard fragrant Redolence,
Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell,
A plague-fore, blayn, and rotten Ulcers smell.

Wonders of men and goodness I thump'd to be
The Pride, and flourish of all History
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
All th'heroes glory which the Earth e'er loth.

Thy privilege is only to commence
Laureate in Sufferings, and in patience.
Thy wrongs were bese all sweetness to digest,
And yet thy sweetteneesse conquer'd the sharp tell:
Both to immene and infinitely vast.
The first could not be reached but by the last.
Mean Murtherers are but in death begun
But thou hast liv'd an execution.
Close coffin'd up in a deceat Life;
Had Orphan-Children, and a Widow-Wife.
Friends not t' approach, or comfort, but to mourn.
And weep thy un-heard plaints, as at thy urn?
Such black attendants Colonied thy cell.
But for thy presence Carlsbrook had been Hell.
Thus safely to be Dungareed, would ungrace
Great Bajester beyond an Iron Cage.
That deep indignity well might have layv
Something the lighter from a Tamerlan.
But here Subedian Slaves usurpe the Reins,
And lock the Sceptre-bearing arms in chains.
The spew'd-up suflet of the glutinous Land:
Honour'd by born, and clean beneath all brand.
For such a Vatier-Bred to tear all down,
And make a common Foot-ball of the Crown,
Tumult on wounded Majesty, and broach.
The blood of Honour by their vile reproach.
Several things Relating to His Majesties Death.

Brave Cour-de-Lyon Soul, that wouldst not vail
In one safe syllable to beg thy Bayl!
How didst thou bold to live at such a price,
As asked thy people for a sacrifice?

Th' Athenian Prince in such a pitch of zeal,
Redem'd his defunct Hoff, and commonweal;
Who brib'd his cheat'd Enemies to kill,
And both their Conquest, and their Conqueror fell,
Thus thou our Martyr dy'dst; but oh! we stand
A Ransome for another Charl's his Hand.
One that will write thy Chronicle in Red,
And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
Shall treas'nous Heads in purple Calidrons drench,
And with such veins the names of King'doms quench,
Then thou art left at Westminster, that be
Fill'd in the pompous Lift of Majesty.
Thou Manful, shall in glory ride,
And tears, and wonder force from Nephews Eyes.
I'll when (though black-mouth'd miscreants engrave)
No Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave,
A Vault of Loyalty shall keep thy Name,
An orient, and bright Obelisk flame.
On which, when times succeeding foot shall tread,
Such Characters as these that there be read.
Here Charl's the best of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;
The Glory of all Martyrologies.
Bulwark of Law, the Churches Citadel;
In whom they triumph'd once, with whom they fell:
An English John, a Constantine;
Pandect of Knowledge, Human and Divine.
Weeks ev'n to wonder, yet of hontest Grace,
To sweeten Majesty, but not debate.
So whole made up of clemency, the Throne
And Mercy fear to Him were always one.
Several things relating
Inviting Treason with a pardoning hand.
Instead of Gratitude, a stab he took.
With passion low'd, that when He must,
He vanquished seemed, and Hell to be.
A Prince to richly good to blest a Reign,
The world nere law but one, nor can again.

Parodia ex Buchanani Geneth: Jacobit.,
D. H. K.

FINIS.