THE

WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

VOL. III.

PROSE WORKS. VOL. I.
## PROSE WORKS.

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Of Reformation touching Church
Discipline in England, and
the Causes that hitherto
have hindred it.

Two Bookes. Written to a Freind.

Sir,

Midst those deepe and retired thoughts, which with every man Christianly instructed, ought to be most frequent, of God, and of his miraculous ways, and works, amongst men, and of our Religion and Worship, to be perform’d to him; after the story of our Saviour Christ, suffering to the lowest bent of weakness, in the Flesh, and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of glory, in the Spirit, which drew up his body also, till we in both be united to him in the Revelation of his Kingdom: I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole passion of pitty, on the one side, and joy on the other, then to consider first, the foule and sudden corruption, and then after many a tedious age, the long-deferr’d, but much more wonderfull and happy reformation of the Church in these latter dayes. Sad it is to thinke how that Doctrine of the Gospel, planted by teachers Divinely inspir’d, and by them winnow’d, and sifted, from the chaffe of outdated
Ceremonies, and refin'd to such a Spirituall height, and temper of purity, and knowledge of the Creator, that the body, with all the circumstances of time and place, were purifi'd by the affections of the re-generat Soule, and nothing left impure, but sinne; Faith needing not the weak, and fallible office of the Senses, to be either the VIlhers, or Interpreters of heavenly Mysteries, fave where our Lord himfelfe in his Sacraments ordain'd; that such a Doctrife should through the groffenefs, and blindnesse, of her Profeflors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag fo downwards, as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new-vomited Paganifme of sensual Idolatry, attributing purity, or impu-ritv, to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the Spirit to the outward, and customary ey-Service of the body, as if they could make God earthly, and fleshly, because they could not make themselves heavenly, and Spirituall: they began to draw downe all the Divine intercours, betwixt God, and the Soule, yea, the very shape of God himfelfe, into an exterior, and bodily forme, urgently pretend- ing a necessity, and obligement of joyning the body in a formall reverence, and Worship circumscrib'd, they hallow'd it, they fum'd it, they princl'd it, they be deck't it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure Linnen, with other deformed, and fantaf- tick dresses in Palls and Miters, gold, and guegaw's fetcht from Arons old wardrobe, or the Flamins vestry: then was the Priest fet to con his motions, and his Postures, his Liturgies, and his Lurries, till the Soule by this means of over-bodying her felfe, given up juftly to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downeward: and finding the eafe she had from her visible, and fensuous colleague the body in perform- ance of Religious duties, her pineons now broken,
and flagging, shifted off from her selfe, the labour of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull, and droyling carcas to plod on in the old rode, and drudging Trade of outward conformity. And here out of question from her pervers conceiting of God, and holy things, she had faln to beleve no God at all, had not custome and the worme of conscience nipt her incredulity hence to all the duty's of evangelicall grace instead of the adoptive and cheerefull boldnesse which our new alliance with God requires, came Servile, and thrall-like feare: for in very deed, the superstitious man by his good will is an Atheift; but being scar'd from thence by the pangs, and gripes of a boyling conscience, all in a pudding shuffles up to himselfe such a God, and such a worship as is most agreeable to remedy his feare, which feare of his, as also is his hope, fixt onely upon the Fleʃh, renders likewise the whole faculty of his apprehension, carnall, and all the inward acts of worship issuing from the native strength of the SoVle, run out lavishly to the upper skin, and there harden into a crust of Formalitie. Hence men came to scan the Scriptures, by the Letter, and in the Covenant of our Redemption, magnifi'd the external signs more then the quickning power of the Spirit, and yet looking on them through their own guiltinesse with a Servile feare, and finding as little comfort, or rather terror from them againe, they knew not how to hide their Slavish approach to Gods behefts by them not understood, nor worthily receav'd, but by cloaking their Servile crouching to all Religious Presentments, somtimes lawfull, somtimes Idolatrous, under the name of humility, and terming the Py-bald frippery, and ostentation of Ceremony's, decency.

Then was Baptifme chang'd into a kind of exorcism, and water Sanctifi'd by Chrifts institute,
thought little enough to wash off the originall Spot without the Scratch, or croffe impression of a Priests fore-finger: and that feast of free grace, and adoption to which Chrift invited his Disciples to fit as Brethren, and coheires of the happy Covenant, which at that Table was to be Seal'd to them, even that Feast of love and heavenly-admitted fellowship, the Seale of filiall grace became the Subject of horror, and glouting adoration, pageanted about, like a dreadfull Idol: which sometimes deceve's wel-meaning men, and beguiles them of their reward, by their voluntary humility, which indeed, is fleshly pride, preferring a foolish Sacrifice, and the rudiments of the world, as Saint Paul to the Colossians explaineth, before a savory obedience to Chrift's example. Such was Peters unfeasonable Humilitie, as then his Knowledge was small, when Chrift came to waft his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs straine courtesy with his Master, and falling troublefomly upon the lowly, alwise, and unexaminable intention of Chrift in what he went with resolution to doe, so provok't by his interruption the meeke Lord, that he threat'nd to exclude him from his heavenly Portion, unleffe he could be content to be lesse arrogant, and stiff neckt in his humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the Depravities of the Church, and how they sprung, and how they tooke increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many darke Ages, wherein the huge overshadowing traine of Error had almost swept all the Starres out of the Firmament of the Church; how the bright and blissfull Reformation (by Divine Power) ftookey through the black and settled Night of Ignorance and Anti-christian Tyranny, me thinks a soveraigne and reviving joy muft needs rush into the bofome of him that reads or heares; and the sweet Odour of the returning Gospel'imbath his Soule with
the fragrancy of Heaven. Then was the Sacred BIBLE fought out of the dusty corners where pro-
phane Falshood and Neglect had throwne it, the 
Schooles opened, Divine and Humane Learning rak't 
out of the embers of forgotten Tongues, the Princes 
and Cities trooping apace to the new erected Banner 
of Salvation; the Martyrs, with the unresistable 
might of Weaknesse, shaking the Powers of Dark-
ness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red 
Dragon.

The pleasing pursuit of these thoughts hath oft-
times led mee into a serious question and debatement 
with my selfe, how it should come to passe that Eng-
land (having had this grace and honour from God 
to bee the first that should set up a Standard for the 
recovery of lost Truth, and blow the first Evangelick 
Trumpet to the Nations, holding up, as from a Hill, 
the new Lampe of saving light to all Christendome) 
should now be last, and most unsettl'd in the enjoy-
ment of that Peace, whereof she taught the way to 
others; although indeed our Wiclefs preaching, at 
which all the succeeding Reformers more effectually 
lighted their Tapers, was to his Countrey-men but 
a short blaze soone damp't and still'd by the Pope, 
and Prelates for sixe or seven Kings Reignes; yet me 
thinkes the Precedencie which God gave this Iland, to 
be the first Restorer of buried Truth, should have beene 
followed with more happy successse, and sooner at-
tain'd Perfection; in which, as yet we are amongst 
the last: for, albeit in purity of Doctrine we agree 
with our Brethren; yet in Discipline, which is the 
execution and applying of Doctrine home, and laying 
the salve to the very Orifice of the wound; yea 
tenting and searching to the Core, without which 
Pulpit Preaching is but shooting at Rovers; in this 
we are no better then a Schisme, from all the Refor-
mation, and a sore scandall to them; for while wee
O

Of Reformation

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hold Ordination to belong onely to Bishops, as our Prelates doe, wee must of necessity hold also their Ministers to be no Ministers, and shortly after their Church to be no Church. Not to speake of those fenceless Ceremonies which wee onely retaine, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to Rome, and serving meerely, either as a mist to cover nakednesse where true grace is extinguisht; or as an Enterlude to set out the pompe of Prelatisme. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore and the pains, to enquire more particularly, what, and how many the cheife causes have been, that have still hindred our Unforme Consent to the rest of the Churches abroad, (at this time especially) when the Kingdome is in a good propensity thereto; and all Men in Prayers, in Hopes, or in Disputes, either for or against it.

Yet will I not insist on that which may seeme to be the cause on Gods part; as his judgement on our finnes, the tryall of his owne, the unmasking of Hypocrites; nor shall I stay to speake of the continuall eagernes and extreame diligence of the Pope and Papists to stop the furtherance of Reformation, which know they have no hold or hope of England their loft Darling, longer then the government of Bishops bolsters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be seene by the Booke of Santa Clara the Popish Preist in defence of Bishops, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own Prelats out of an ominous feare had writ on the same Argument; as if they had joyn'd their forces like good Confederates to support one falling Babel.

But I shall cheifly indeavour to declare those Causes that hinder the forwarding of true Discipline, which are among our selves. Orderly proceeding will divide our inquirie into our Fore-Fathers dayes, and into our Times. HENRY the 8. was the first that
rent this Kingdom from the Popes Subjection totally; but his Quarrell being more about Supremacie, then other faultinesse in Religion that he regarded, it is no marvell if hee stuck where he did. The next defect was in the Bishops, who though they had renounc't the Pope, they still hugg'd the Popedome, and shar'd the Authority among themselves, by their fixe bloody Articles perceiving the Protestants no flacker then the Pope would have done. And doubtles, when ever the Pope shall fall, if his ruine bee not like the sudden down-come of a Towre, the Bishops, when they see him tottering, will leave him, and fall to scrambling, catch who may, hee a Patriarch-dome, and another what comes next hand; as the French Cardinall of late, and the See of Canterbury hath plainly affected.

In Edward the 6. Dayes, why a compleat Reform was not effected, to any considerate man may appeare. First, he no sooner entred into his Kingdom, but into a Warre with Scotland; from whence the Protector returning with Victory had but newly put his hand to repeale the 6. Articles, and throw the Images out of Churches, but Rebellions on all sides stir'd up by obdurate Papists, and other Tumults with a plaine Warre in Norfolke, holding tack against two of the Kings Generals, made them of force content themselves with what they had already done. Hereupon follow'd ambitious Contentions among the Peeres, which ceas'd not but with the Protectors death, who was the most zealous in this point: and then Northumberland was hee that could doe most in England, who little minding Religion, (as his Apostacie well shew'd at his death,) bent all his wit how to bring the Right of the Crowne into his owne Line. And for the Bishops, they were so far from any such worthy Attempts, as that they suffer'd themselves to be the common stales to countenance with their prof-
stituted Gravities every Politick Fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the Potent Statists pleas’d to employ them. Never do we read that they made use of their Authority and high Place of access, to bring the jarring Nobility to Christian peace, or to withstand their disloyall Projects; but if a Toleration for Masse were to be beg’d of the King for his Sister Mary, left Charles the Fifth should be angry; who but the grave Prelates Cranmer and Ridley must be sent to extort it from the young King? But out of the mouth of that godly and Royall Childe, Christ himselfe return’d such an awfull repulse to those halting and time-serving Prelates, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without shame and tears.

Nor was this the first time that they discover’d to bee followers of this World; for when the Protectors Brother, Lord Sudley, the Admirall through private malice and mal-engine was to lose his life, no man could bee found fitter then Bishop Latimer (like another Doctor Shaw) to divulge in his Sermon the forged Accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the People, who else was thought would take ill the innocent mans death, unless the Reverend Bishop could warrant them there was no foule play. What could be more impious then to debarre the Children of the King from their right to the Crowne? To comply with the ambitious Usurpation of a Traytor; and to make void the last Will of Henry 8., to which the Breakers had sworne observance? Yet Bishop Cranmer, one of the Executors, and the other Bishops none refusing, (left they should resist the Duke of Northumberland) could find in their Consciences to set their hands to the disabbling and defeating not onely of Princeesse Mary the Papist, but of Elizabeth the Pro-
testant, and (by the Bishops judgement) the Lawfull Issue of King Henry.

Who then can think, (though these Prelates had fought a further Reformation) that the least wray face of a Politician would not have hush't them. But it will be said, These men were Martyrs: What then? Though every true Christian will be a Martyr when he is called to it; not presently does it follow that every one suffering for Religion, is without exception. Saint Paul writes, that A man may give his Body to be burnt, (meaning for Religion) and yet not have Charitie: He is not therfore above all possibility of erring, because hee burnes for some Points of Truth.

Witness the Arians and Pelagians which were slaine by the Heathen for Christ's sake; yet we take both these for no true friends of Christ. If the Martyrs (faith Cyprian in his 30. Epistle) decree one thing, and the Gospel another, either the Martyrs must lose their Crowne by not observing the Gospel for which they are Martyrs; or the Majesty of the Gospel must be broken and lie flat, if it can be overttop by the novelty of any other Decree.

And heerewithall I invoke the Immortall DEITIE Reveler and Judge of Secrets, That wherever I have in this Booke plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemishes of Fathers, Martyrs, or Christian Emperors; or have otherwise inveighed against Error and Superstition with vehement Expressions: I have done it, neither out of malice, nor lift to speak evill, nor any vain-glory; but of meere necessitie, to vindicate the spot-lese Truth from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteeme, that shee is like to finde small credit with us for what she can say, unlesse shee can bring a Ticket from
Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; or prove her selfe a retainer to Constantine, and weare his badge. More tolerable it were for the Church of God that all these Names were utterly abolisht, like the Brazen Serpent; then that mens fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the Heavenly Truth be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatsoever the Bishops were, it seemes they themselves were unsatisfi'd in matters of Religion, as they then flood, by that Commission granted to 8. Bishops, 8. other Divines, 8. Civilians, 8. common Lawyers, to frame Ecclesiastical Constitutions; which no wonder if it came to nothing; for (as Hayward relates) both their Professions and their Ends were different. Lastely, we all know by Examples, that exact Reformation is not perfited at the first push, and those unwieldy Times of Edward 6. may hold some Plea by this excuse: Now let any reasonable man judge whether that Kings Reigne be a fit time from whence to patterne out the Constitution of a Church Discipline, much leff that it should yeeld occasion from whence to foster and establisht the continuance of Imperfection with the commendatory subscriptions of Confeffors and Martyrs, to intitle and ingage a glorious Name to a grosse corruption. It was not Episcopacie that wrought in them the Heavenly Fortitude of Martyrdome; as little is it that Martyrdome can make good Episcopacie: But it was Episcopacie that led the good and holy Men through the temptation of the Enemie, and the snare of this present world to many blame-worthy and opprobrious Actions. And it is still Episcopacie that before all our eyes worsens and fluggs the moost learned, and seeming religious of our Ministers, who no sooner advanc't to it, but like a seething pot set to coole, sensibly exhale and reake out the greatest part of that zeale, and those Gifts
in England.

which were formerly in them, settling in a skinny congealment of ease and sloth at the top: and if they keep their Learning by some potent sware of Nature, 'tis a rare chance; but their devotion most commonly comes to that queazy temper of luke-warmnesse, that gives a Vomit to God himselfe.

But what doe we suffer mis-shapen and enormous Prelatishine, as we do, thus to blanch and varnish her deformities with the faire colours, as before of Martyrdom, so now of Episcopacie? They are not Bishops, God and all good Men know they are not, that have fill'd this Land with late confusion and violence; but a Tyrannicall crew and Corporation of Impostors, that have blinded and abus'd the World so long under that Name. He that inabl'd with gifts from God, and the lawfull and Primitive choyce of the Church assembl'd in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his Parochiall Flock, ha's his coequall and compresbyterian Power to ordaine Ministers and Deacons by publique Prayer, and Vote of Christ's Congregation in like fort as he himselfe was ordain'd, and is a true Apostolick Bishop. But when hee steps up into the Chayre of Pontifical Pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary House, for a mis-govern'd and haughty Palace, spirituall Dignity for carnall Precedence, and secular high Office and employment for the high Negotiations of his Heavenly Embassage, Then he degrades, then hee un-bishops himselfe; hee that makes him Bishop makes him no Bishop. No marvel therfore if S. Martin complain'd to Sulpitius Severus that since hee was Bishop he felt inwardly a sensible decay of those vertues and graces that God had given him in great measure before; Although the same Sulpitius write that he was nothing tainted, or alter'd in his habit, dyet, or personall demeanour from that simple plainnesse to which he first betook
himselvse. It was not therfore that thing alone which 

God tooke displeasure at in the Bishops of those 
times, but rather an univerfall rottennes, and gan-
grene in the whole Function.

From hence then I passe to Qu. Elizabett, 
the next Protestant Prince, in whose Dayes why 
Religion attain'd not a perfect reducement in the 
beginning of her Reigne, I suppose the hindring 
Causes will be found to bee common with some 
formerly alledg'd for King Edward 6. the green-
ness of the Times, the weake Estate which Qu. 
Mary left the Realme in, the great Places and 
Offices executed by Papists, the judges, the Lawyers, 
the Justices of Peace for the most part Popish, the 
Bishops firme to Rome, from whence was to be ex-
pected the furious flashing of Excommunications, 
and absolving the People from their Obedience. 
Next, her private Counsellours, whoever they were, 
perswaded her (as Camden writes) that the altering 
of Ecclesiasticall Policie would move sedition. Then 
was the Liturgie given to a number of moderate 
Divines, and Sir Tho. Smith a Statesman to bee 
purg'd, and Phyick't: And surely they were mod-
erate Divines indeed, neither hot nor cold; and Grin-
dall the best of them, afterwards Arch-Bishop of Can-
terbury loft favour in the Court, and I think was 
discharg'd the government of his See for favouring 
the Ministers, though Camden see the willing to finde 
another Cause: therefore about her second Yeare in 
a Parliament of Men and Minds some scarce well 
grounded, others belching the foure Crudities of 
yesterdayes Poperie, those Constitutions of Edw. 6. 
which as you heard before, no way satisfi'd the men 
that made them, are now establisht for best, and not 
to be mended. From that time follow'd nothing 
but Imprisonments, troubles, disgraces on all thosse 
that found fault with the Decrees of the Convoca-
tion, and ftrait were they branded with the Name of Puritans. As for the Queene her selfe, shee was made beleevve that by putting downe Bishops her Prerogative would be infring'd, of which shall be spoken anon, as the course of Method brings it in. And why the Prelats labour'd it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their Bellies. They had found a good Tabernacle, they fate under a spreading Vine, their Lot was fallen in a faire Inheritance. And these perhaps were the cheife impeachments of a more sound rectifying the Church in the Queens Time.

From this Period I count to begin our Times, which, because they concerne us more neerely, and our owne eyes and eares can give us the ampler scope to judge, will require a more exact search; and to effect this the speedier, I shall distinguish such as I esteeme to be the hinderers of Reformation into 3. sorts, Antiquitarian (for so I had rather call them then Antiquaries, whose labours are usefull and laudable) 2. Libertines, 3. Politicians.

To the votarists of Antiquity I shall think to have fully answer'd, if I shall be able to prove out of Antiquity, First, that if they will conform our Bishops to the purer times, they must mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curt-tail'd Bishops of them; and we know they hate to be dockt and clipt, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that those purer times were corrupt, and their Books corrupted soon after. Thirdly, that the best of those that then wrote, disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the Scriptures.

First therfore, if those that over-affect Antiquity, will follow the square therof, their Bishops must be elected by the hands of the whole Church. The ancientest of the extant Fathers Ignatius, writing to
the Philadelphians faith, that it belongs to them as to the Church of God to choose a Bishop. Let no man cavill, but take the Church of God as meaning the whole consistence of Orders and Members, as S. Pauls Epistles express, and this likewise being read over: Besides this, it is there to be mark'd, that those Philadelphians are exhortd to choose a Bishop of Antioch. Whence it seems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of Dioces in those times, which is confirm'd even by a fast friend of Episcopacie, Camden, who cannot but love Bishops, as well as old coins, and his much lamented Monasteries for antiquities fake. He writes in his description of Scotland, that over all the world Bishops had no certaine Dioces, till Pope Dionysius about the yeare 268. did cut them out, and that the Bishops of Scotland executed their function in what place soever they came indifferently, and without distinction till King Malcolm the third, about the yeare 1070. whence may be guest what their function was: was it to goe about circl'd with a band of rooking Officials, with cloke bagges full of Citations, and Processes to be serv'd by a corporality of griffonlike Promooters, and Apparitors? Did he goe about to pitch down his Court, as an Empirick does his banck, to inveigle in all the mony of the Coutrey? no certainly it would not have bin permitted him to exercise any such function indifferently wherever he came. And verily some such matter it was as want of a fat Dioces that kept our Britain Bishops so poore in the Primitive times, that being call'd to the Councell of Ariminum in the yeare 359. they had not wherewithall to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed, and lodg'd upon the Emperors cost, which must needs be no accidentall, but usuall poverty in them, for the author Sulp. Severus in his 2 Booke of Church History praiës them, and avouches it
praife-worthy in a Bishop, to be fo poore as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of Bishops that it could not lawfully be without the conent of the people is fo exprefs in Cyprian, and fo often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to translate a good part of the volume, therfore touching the chief paffages, I referre the rest to whom fo lift perufe the Author himselfe: in the 24. Epifl. If a Bishop faith he, be once made and allow'd by the tefimony and judgement of his collegues, and the people, no other can be made. In the 55. When a Bishop is made by the suffrage of all the people in peace. In the 68. marke but what he faies, The people chiefly hath power, either of choosing worthy ones, or refusing unworthy: this he there proves by authorities out of the old and new Testament, and with solid reasons, these were his antiquities.

This voyce of the people to be had ever in Episcopal elections was fo well known, before Cyprians time, even to those that were without the Church, that the Emperor Alexander Severus defir'd to have his governours of Provinces choften in the fame manner, as Lampridius can tell: So little thought it he offensive to Monarchy; and if fingle authorities perfwade not, hearken what the whole generall Council of Nicae the firft and famoufesft of all the rest determines, writing a Synodal Epifl. to the African Churches, to warn them of Arrianifme, it exhorts them to choose orthodox Bishops in the place of the dead fo they be worthy, and the people choose them, whereby they seem to make the peoples affent fo necessary; that merit without their free choyce were not sufficient to make a Bishop. What would ye faie now grave Fathers if you should wake and fee unworthy Bishops, or rather no Bishops, but Egyptian task-mafters of Ceremonies
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thrust purposely upon the groaning Church to the affliction, and vexation of God's people? It was not of old that a Conspiracie of Bishops could frustrate and rob off the right of the people, for we may read how S. Martin soon after Constantine was made Bishop of Turon in France by the peoples consent from all places thereabout maugre all the opposition that the Bishops could make. Thus went matters of the Church almost 400 yeare after Christ, and very probably farre lower, for Nicephorus Phocas the Greek Emperour, whose reign fell neare the 1000 year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is said by Cedrenus to have done nothing more grievous and displeasing to the people, then to have inacted that no Bishop should be chosen without his will; so long did this right remain to the people in the midst of other palpable corruptions: Now for Episcopall dignity, what it was, see out of Ignatius, who in his Epistle to those of Trallis confesseth that the Presbyters, are his fellow Counsellers, and fellow benchers. And Cyprian in many places, as in the 6.41.52. Epift. speaking of Presbyters, calls them his Compresbyters, as if he deem'd himselfe no other, whenas by the same place it appeares he was a Bishop, he calls them Brethren; but that will be thought his meeknesse: yea, but the Presbyters and Deacons writing to him think they doe him honour enough when they phrase him no higher then Brother Cyprian, and deare Cyprian in the 26. Epift. For their Authority 'tis evident not to have bin single, but depending on the counsel of the Presbyters, as from Ignatius was erewhile alledg'd; and the same Cyprian acknowledges as much in the 6 Epift. and addes thereto that he had determin'd from his entrance into the Office of Bishop to doe nothing without the consent of his people, and so in the 31. Epift, for it were tedious to course through all his
writings which are so full of the like assertions, infomuch that ev'n in the womb and center of Apostacy Rome it selfe, there yet remains a glimps of this truth, for the Pope himselfe, as a learned English writer notes well, performeth all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction as in Consistory amongst his Cardinals, which were originally but the Parish Priests of Rome. Thus then did the Spirit of unity and meeknesse inspire, and animate every joynt, and finew every mysticall body, but now the graveft, and worthieft Minister, a true Bishop of his fold shall be revil'd, and ruffl'd by an insulting, and only-Canon-wife Prelate, as if he were some slight paltry companion: and the people of God redeem'd, and wash'd with Christ's blood, and dignify'd with so many glorious titles of Saints, and sons in the Gospel, are now no better reputed then impure ethnicks, and lay dogs; stones & Pillars, and Crucifixes have now the honour, and the almes due to Christ's living members; the Table of Communion now become a Table of separation stands like an exalted platforme upon the brow of the quire, fortil'd with bulwark, and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the Laicks, whilst the obscene, and surfeted Priest scruples not to paw, and mammock the sacramentall bread, as familiarly as his Tavern Bisket. And thus the people vilifi'd and rejected by them, give over the earnest study of vertue, and godlinesse as a thing of greater purity then they need, and the search of divine knowledge as a mystery too high for their capacity's, and only for Churchmen to meddle with, which is that the Prelates desire, that when they have brought us back to Popish blindnesse we might commit to their dispose the whole managing of our salvation, for they think it was never faire world with them since that time: But he that will mould a modern Bishop into a primitive, muft yeeld him
to be elected by the popular voice, undioceft, unrevenu’d, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchles temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer, and preaching, continual watchings, and labours in his Ministry, which what a rich bootie it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping mouth of a Prelate, what a relish it would give to his canary-fucking, and swan-eating palat, let old Bishop Mountain judge for me.

How little therfore those ancient times make for moderne Bishops hath bin plainly discours’d, but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not stand to their arbitrement shall now appeare by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times fouly tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These Positions are to be made good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, Ignatius in his early dayes testifies to the Churches of Asia, that even then Herefies were sprung up, and rife every where, as Eusebius relates in his 3. Book, 35. chap. after the Greek number. And Hegesippus a grave Church writer of prime Antiquity affirms in the same Book of Euseb. c. 32. that while the Apostles were on earth the depravers of doctrine did but lurk, but they once gon, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities: yea those that are reckon’d for orthodox began to make fad, and shamefull rents in the Church about the trivial celebration of Feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter day, which controversy grew so hot, that Victor the Bishop of Rome Excom- municated all the Churches of Asia for no other cause, and was worthily therof reprov’d by Irenæus. For can any found Theologer think that these great
Fathers understood what was Gospel, or what was Excommunication? doubtlesse that which led the good men into fraud and error was, that they attended more to the neer tradition of what they heard the Apostles somtimes did, then to what they had left written, not considering that many things which they did, were by the Apostles themselves profest to be done only for the present, and of meer indulgence to some scrupulous converts of the Circumcision, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the 1. cap. of Eusebius 8. Book. What a univerfal tetter of impurity had invenom'd every part, order, and degree of the Church, to omit the lay herd which will be little regarded, those that seem'd to be our Pastors, faith he, overturning the Law of Gods worship, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increasong in hatred and bitternes, outrageouslly fought to uphold Lordship, and command as it were a tyranny. Stay but a little, magnanimous Bishops, suppreffe your aspiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but Constantine to reigne, and then Tyranny her selfe shall give up all her cittadels into your hands, and count ye thence forward her trustiest agents. Such were these that must be call'd the ancientsest, and most virgin times between Christ and Constantine. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings: who is ignorant of the foul errors, the ridiculous wresting of Scripture, the Heresies, the vanities thick sown through the volums of Justin Martyr, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian and others of eldest time? Who would think him fit to write an Apology for Christian Faith to the Roman Senat, that would tell them how of the Angels, which he must needs mean those in Gen. call'd the Sons of God, mixing with Women were begotten the Devills, as good
Justin Martyr in his Apology told them. But more indignation would it move to any Christian that shall read Tertullian terming S. Paul a novice and raw in grace, for reproving S. Peter at Antioch, worthy to be blam'd if we believe the Epistle to the Galatians: perhaps from this hint the blasphemous Jesuits presum'd in Italy to give their judgement of S. Paul, as of a hot headed person, as Sandys in his Relations tells us.

Now besides all this, who knows not how many surreptitious works are ingraff'd into the legitimate writings of the Fathers, and of those Books that pass for authentick who knows what hath bin tamper'd withall, what hath bin raz'd out, what hath bin inserted, besides the late legerdemain of the Papists, that which Sulpitius writes concerning Origen Books gives us cause vehemently to suspect, there hath bin packing of old. In the third chap. of his i. Dialogue, we may read what wrangling the Bishops and Monks had about the reading, or not reading of Origen, some objecting that he was corrupted by Hereticks, others answering that all such Books had bin so dealt with. How then shall I trust these times to lead me, that testifie so ill of leading themselves, certainly of their defects their own witnesses may be best receiv'd, but of the rectitude, and sincerity of their life and doctrine to judge rightly, wee must judge by that which was to be their rule.

But it will be objected that this was an unsetl'd state of the Church wanting the temporall Magistrate to suppress the licence of false Brethren, and the extravagancy of still-new opinions, a time not imitable for Church government, where the temporall and spirituall power did not close in one beleife, as under Constantine. I am not of opinion to thinke the Church a Vine in this respect, because,
as they take it, they cannot subsist without clasping about the Elme of worldly strength, and felicity, as if the heavenly City could not support it selfe without the props and buttresses of secular Authority. They extoll Constantine because he extol'd them; as our homebred Monks in their Histories blanch the Kings their Benefactors, and brand those that went about to be their Correctors. If he had curb'd the growing Pride, Avarice, and Luxury of the Clergie, then every Page of his Story should have swel'd with his Faults, and that which Zozimus the Heathen writes of him should have come in to boot: wee should have heard then in every Declamation how hee flew his Nephew Commodus a worthy man, his noble and eldest Son Crispus, his Wife Fausta, besides numbers of his Friends; then his cruell exactions, his un-foundednesse in Religion, favoring the Arrians that had been condemn'd in a Counsell, of which him-selfe fate as it were President, his hard measure and banishment of the faithfull and invincible Athanasius, his living unbaptiz'd almost to his dying day; these blurs are too apparent in his Life. But since hee must needs bee the Load-starre of Reformation as some men clatter, it will be good to see further his knowledge of Religion what it was, and by that we may likewise guess at the sincerity of his Times in those that were not Hereticall, it being likely that hee would converse with the famousfte Prelates (for so he had made them) that were to be found for learning.

Of his Arianisme we heard, and for the rest, a pretty scantling of his Knowledge may be taken by his deferring to be baptiz'd so many yeares, a thing not usuall, and repugnant to the Tenor of Scripture, Philip knowing nothing that should hinder the Eunuch to be baptiz'd after profession of his beleife. Next, by the excessive devotion, that I may not say
Superstition both of him and his Mother Helena, to
find out the Cross on which Christ suffer'd, that
had long lien under the rubbish of old ruines, (a
thing which the Disciples and Kindred of our Sa-
vior might with more ease have done, if they
had thought it a pious duty:) some of the nailes
whereof hee put into his Helmet, to beare off blowes
in battell, others he fasten'd among the studs of
his bridle, to fulfill (as he thought, or his Court
Bishops perswaded him) the Prophefie of Zachariah;
And it fhall be that that which is in the bridle fhall be
holy to the Lord. Part of the Cross, in which he
thought such Vertue to reside, as would prove a kind
of Palladium to save the City where ever it remain'd,
he caus'd to be laid up in a Pillar of Porphyrie by
his Statue. How hee or his Teachers could trifle
thus with halfe an eye open upon Saint Pauls Prin-
ciples, I know not how to imagine.

How shou'd then the dim Taper of this Empe-
rours age that had such need of snuffing, extend any
beame to our Times wherewith wee might hope to
be better lighted, then by those Luminaries that
God hath set up to shine to us far neerer hand. And
what Reformation he wrought for his owne time it
will not be amisse to consider, hee appointed certaine
times for Fasts, and Feasts, built stately Churches,
gave large Immunities to the Clergie, great Riches
and Promotions to Bishops, gave and minister'd
occasion to bring in a Deluge of Ceremonies,
thereby either to draw in the Heathen by a re-
semb lance of their rites, or to set a glofe upon the
simplicity, and plainnesse of Christianity which to
the gorgeous solemnities of Paganisme, and the fense
of the Worlds Children seem'd but a homely and
Yeomanly Religion, for the beauty of inward Sancti-
ty was not within their prospect.

So that in this manner the Prelates both then and
ever since comming from a meane, and Plebeyan Life on a sudden to be Lords of stately Palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and Princely attendance, thought the plaine and homespun verity of Christ's Gospel unfit any longer to hold their Lordships acquaintance, unlesse the poore thred-bare Matron were put into better clothes; her chaff and modest vaile surronded with celestiall beames they overlaid with wanton tresses, and in a flaring tire bespeeckl'd her with all the gaudy allurements of a Whore.

Thus flourish'd the Church with Constantines wealth, and thereafter were the effects that follow'd; his Son Constantius prov'd a flat Arian, and his Nephew Iulian an Apostate, and there his Race ended; the Church that before by insensible degrees welk't and impair'd, now with large steps went downe hill decaying; at this time Antichrist began first to put forth his horne, and that saying was common that former times had wooden Chalices and golden Priests; but they golden Chalices and wooden Priests. Formerly (faith Sulpitius) Martyrdome by glorious death was fought more greedily, then now Bishopricks by vile Ambition are hunted after (speaking of these Times) and in another place; they gape after posseffions, they tend Lands and Livings, they coure over their gold, they buy and sell: and if there be any that neither posseffe nor traffique, that which is worse, they sit still, and expect guifts, and prostitute every induement of grace, every holy thing to sale. And in the end of his History thus he concludes, all things went to wrack by the faction, wilfulness, and avarice of the Bishops, and by this means God's people, & every good man was had in scorn and derision; which S. Martin found truly to be said by his friend Sulpitius; for being held in admiration of all men, he had onely the Bishops his enemies, found God lesse favorable
to him after he was *Bishop* then before, & for his last 16. yeares would come at no Bishops meeting. Thus you see Sir what *Constantines* doings in the Church brought forth, either in his own or in his Sons Reigne.

Now left it should bee thought that somthing else might ayle this Author thus to hamper the Bishops of those dayes; I will bring you the opinion of three the famoufesft men for wit and learning, that *Italy* at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a receiv'd opinion even among men professing the Romifh Faith, that *Constantine* marr'd all in the Church. *Dante* in his 19. *Canto of Inferno* hath thus, as I will render it you in English blank Verse.

_Ah Constantine, of how much ill was cause_  
_Not thy Conversion, but those rich demaines_  
_That the first wealthy Pope receiv'd of thee._

So in his 20. *Canto of Paradise* hee makes the like complaint, and *Petrarch* seconds him in the same mind in his 108. Sonnet which is wip't out by the Inquisitor in some Editions; speaking of the Roman *Antichrift* as meerely bred up by *Constantine*.

_Founded in chafi and humble Povertie,_  
_'Gainst them that rais'd thee doff thou lift thy horn,_  
_Impudent whoore, where haft thou plac'd thy hope?_  
_In thy Adulterers, or thy ill got wealth?_  
_Another Constantine comes not in haft._

_Ariosto* of *Ferrara* after both these in time, but equall in fame, following the scope of his Poem in a difficult knot how to restore *Orlando* his chiefe Hero to his loft fenses, brings *Ariosto* the English
Knight up into the moon, where S. John, as he feignes, met him. Cant. 34.

And to be short, at last his guid him brings
Into a goodly valley, where he sees
A mighty masse of things strangely confus'd,
Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd.

And amongst these so abused things listen what hee met withall, under the Conduct of the Evangelist.

Then past hee to a flowry Mountaine greene,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.

And this was a truth well knowne in England before this Poet was borne, as our Chaucers Plowman shall tell you by and by upon another occasion. By all these circumstances laid together, I do not see how it can be disputed what good this Emperour Constantine wrought to the Church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, set open a dore to more mischief in Christendomé. There is just cause therefore that when the Prelates cry out Let the Church be reform'd according to Constantine, it should sound to a judicious eare no otherwise, then if they should say Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawlesse, for if any under him were not so, thanks to those ancient remains of integrity, which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his Government.

Thus finally it appears that those purer Times were no such as they are cry'd up, and not to be follow'd without suspicion, doubt and danger. The last point wherein the Antiquary is to bee dealt with at his owne weapon, is to make it manifest, that the
ancienteft, and beft of the Fathers have disclaim'd all sufficiency in themselves that men fhould rely on, and sent all commers to the Scriptures, as all sufficient; that this is true, will not be unduly gather'd by shewing what esteeme they had of Antiquity themselves, and what validity they thought in it to prove Doctrine, or Discipline. I must of neceffitie begin from the second ranke of Fathers, because till then Antiquitie could have no Plea. Cyprian in his 63. Epiftle. If any, faith he, of our Aunceftors either ignorantly or out of simplicitie hath not obferv'd that which the Lord taught us by his example (speaking of the Lords Supper) his simplicitie God may pardon of his mercy, but wee cannot be excus'd for following him, being instructed by the Lord. And have not we the same instructions, and will not this holy man with all the whole Confìtutorie of Saints and Martyrs that liv'd of old rife up and flop our mouthes in judgement, when wee fhall goe about to Father our Errors, and opinions upon their Authority? in the 73. Epift. hee adds, in vaine doe they oppofe custome to us if they be overcome by reason; as if custome were greater then Truth, or that in spirituall things that were not to be follow'd, which is revel'd for the better by the holy Ghost. In the 74. neither ought Custom to hinder that Truth fhould not prevaile, for Custome without Truth is but agedneffe of Error.

Next Lactantius, he that was prefer'd to have the bringing up of Constantines children in his second Booke of Institutions, Chap. 7. & 8. disputes againft the vaine truft in Antiquity, as being the cheifefl Argument of the Heathen againft the Christians, they doe not confider, faith he, what Religion is, but they are confident it is true, because the Ancients deliver'd it, they count it a trespass to examine it. And in the eighth, not because they went before us
in time, therefore in wisedome, which being given alike to all Ages, cannot be preposseft by the Ancients; wherefore seeing that to seeke the Truth is inbred to all, they bereave themselves of wisedome the gift of God who without judgement follow the Ancients, and are led by others like bruit beasts. St. Austin writes to Fortunation that he counts it lawfull in the bookes of whomsoever to reject that which hee finds otherwise then true, and so hee would have others deale by him. He neither accounted, as it seems, those Fathers that went before, nor himselfe, nor others of his rank, for men of more then ordinary spirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceiv'd, and oftimes, setting our servile humors aside, yea God so ordering, we may find Truth with one man, as soon as in a Counsell, as Cyprian agrees 71. Epift. Many things, faith he, are better reveal'd to single persons. At Nicaea in the first, and best reputed Counsell of all the world, there had gon out a Canon to divorce married Priests, had not one old man Paphnutius stood up, and reason'd against it.

Now remains it to shew clearly that the Fathers referre all decision of controversie to the Scriptures, as all-sufficient to direct, to resolve, and to determine. Ignatius taking his laft leave of the Asian Churches, as he went to martyrdom exhorted them to adhere close to the written doctrine of the Apostles, necessarily written for posterity: so farre was he from unwritten traditions, as may be read in the 36. c. of Eusebius 3. b. In the 74. Epift. Of Cyprian against Stefan Bish. of Rome imposing upon him a tradition, whence, quoth he, is this tradition? is it fetched from the authority of Christ in the Gospel, or of the Apostles in their Epistles: for God testifies that those things are to be done which are written: and then thus; what obstinacie, what presumtption is this
to preferre humane Tradition before divine ordinance? And in the same Epift. If we shall return to the head, and beginning of divine tradition (which we all know he means the Bible) humane error ceases, and the reason of heavenly misteries unfolded, whatsoever was obscure, becomes cleare. And in the 14. Distinct. of the same Epift. directly against our modern fantasies of a still visible Church, he teaches, that succession of truth may fail, to renew which we must have recourse to the fountains, using this excellent similitude, if a Channel, or Conduit pipe which brought in water plentifully before, suddenly fail, doe we not goe to the fountaine to know the cause, whether the Spring affords no more, or whether the vein be stopp'd, or turn'd aside in the midcourse: thus ought we to doe, keeping Gods precepts, that if in ought the truth shall be chang'd, we may repaire to the Gospel, and to the Apostles, that thence may arise the reason of our doings, from whence our order, and beginning arose. In the 75. he inveighs bitterly against Pope Stefanus, for that he could boast his Succession from Peter, and yet soist in Traditions that were not Apostholicall. And in his Book of the unity of the Church he compares those that neglecting Gods Word, follow the doctrines of men, to Coreh, Dathan, and Abiram. The very first page of Athanasius against the Gentiles, averres the Scriptures to be sufficient of themselves for the declaration of Truth; and that if his friend Macarius read other religious writers, it was but φιλοκάλως come un virtuoso, (as the Italians say,) as a lover of elegance: and in his 2d Tome the 39. pag., after he hath rekon'd up the Canonickal Books, In these only, faith he, is the doctrine of godliness taught, let no man add to these, or take from these; and in his Synopfis, having again set down all the Writers of the old & new Testament, these, faith he, be the anchors, and props of our Faith: besides
these, millions of other Books have been written by great and wise men according to rule, and agreement with these, of which I will not now speak, as being of infinite number, and mere dependance on the canonical Books. *Basil* in his 2d Tome writing of true Faith, tells his auditors he is bound to teach them that which he hath learnt out of the Bible: and in the same Treatise, he faith, *That seeing the Commandments of the Lord, are faithfull, and sure forever; it is a plain falling from the Faith, and a high pride either to make void any thing therein, or to introduce any thing not there to be found:* and he gives the reason, *for Christ faith, My Sheep heare my voyce, they will not follow another, but fly from him, because they know not his voyce.* But not to be endless in quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many opinions in the Fathers which have no ground in Scripture; so much the lesse, may I say, should we follow them, for their own words shall condemn them, and acquit us, that lean not on them; otherwise these their words shall acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be reply'd, the Scriptures are difficult to be understood, and therefore require the explanation of the Fathers, 'tis true there be some Books, and especially some places in those Books that remain clouded; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known is most easie; and that which is most difficult, so farre expounds it felse ever, as to tell us how little it imports our saving knowledge. Hence to inferre a generall obscurity over all the text, is a meer suggestion of the Devil to dissuade men from reading it, and casts an aspersion of dishonour both upon the mercy, truth, and wisdom of God: We count it no gentlenesse, or fair dealing in a man of Power amongst us, to require strict, and punctual obedience, and yet give out all his commands ambiguous and obscure, we should
think he had a plot upon us, certainly such commands were no commands, but snares. The very essence of Truth is plainness, and brightness; the darkness and crookedness is our own. The wisdom of God created understanding, fit and proportionable to Truth the object, and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible. If our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be clear with gazing on other false glisterings, what is that to Truth? If we will but purge with sovereign eyesalve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us, then we would believe the Scriptures protesting their own plainness, and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the wise, and learned, but the simple, the poor, the babes, foretelling an extraordinary effusion of God's Spirit upon every age, and sex, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of searching, trying, examining all things, and by the Spirit discerning that which is good; and as the Scriptures themselves pronounce their own plainness, so doe the Fathers testify of them.

I will not run into a paroxysm of citations again in this point, only instance Athanasius in his fore-mention'd first page; the knowledge of Truth, faith he, wants no humane lore, as being evident in it selfe, and by the preaching of Christ now opens brighter than the Sun. If these Doctors who had scarce half the light that we enjoy, who all except 2 or 3 were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous, and suspect-full translations of the Apostat Aquila, the Heretical Theodotion, the Judaiz'd Symmachus; the erroneous Origen; if these could yet find the Bible so easie, why should we doubt, that have all the helps of Learning, and faithfull industry that man in this life can look for, and the assistance of God as neer now to us as ever. But let the Scriptures be hard; are they
more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse then the Fathers? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected style of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzl'd with the knotty Africanisms, the pamper'd metaphors; the intricat, and involv'd sentences of the Fathers; besides the fantaffick, and declamatory flashes; the croffe-jingling periods which cannot but disturb, and come thwart a setl'd devotion worse then the din of bells, and rattles.

Now Sir, for the love of holy Reformation, what can be said more against these importunat clients of Antiquity, then she her selfe their patroneffe hath said. Whether think ye would she approve still to dote upon immeasurablc, innumerable, and thercfore unnecessary, and unmercifull volumes, choosing ra-
ther to erre with the specious name of the Fathers, or to take a found Truth at the hand of a plain up-
right man that all his dayes hath bin diligently reading the holy Scriptures, and therto imploring Gods grace, while the admirers of Antiquity have bin beating their brains about their Ambones, their Diptychs, and Meniaia's? Now, he that cannot tell of Stations, and Indicitions; nor has wafted his pre-
tious howrs in the endles conferring of Counccels and Conclaves that demolish one another, although I know many of thosc that pretend to be great Rab-
bies in these studies have scarce saluted them from the strings, and the titlepage, or to give 'em more, have bin but the Ferrets and Moufhunts of an Index: yet what Pastor, or Minifter how learned, religious, or discreet foeuer does not now bring both his cheeks full blown with Oecumenical, and Syn-
odical, shall be counted a lank, shallow, unsuffi-
cient man, yea a dunce, and not worthy to speak about Reformation of Church Disclipline. But I trust they for whom God hath referv'd the honour of Reforming this Church will easilv perceive their
adversaries drift in thus calling for Antiquity, they feare the plain field of the Scriptures; the chase is too hot; they feek the dark, the bushie, the tangled Forrest, they would imboisk: they feel themselvs strook in the transparent streams of divine Truth, they would plunge, and tumble, and thinke to ly hid in the foul weeds, and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottome. But let them beat themselvs like Whales, and spend their oyl till they be dradg'd ahoar: though wherfore should the Minifters give them so much line for shifts, and delays? Wherfore should they not urge only the Gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of Diamond, till it dazle, and pierce their misty ey balls? maintaining it the honour of its absolute sufficiency, and supremacy inviolable: For if the Scripture be for Reformation, and Antiquity to boot, 'tis but an advantage to the dozen, 'tis no winning caft: and though Antiquity be against it, while the Scriptures be for it, the Cauſe is as good as ought to be wisht, Antiquity it selfe sitting Judge.

But to draw to an end; the second fort of those that may be justly number'd among the hinderers of Reformation, are Libertines, these suggeſt that the Discipline fought would be intolerable: for one Bishop now in a Dioces we should then have a Pope in every Parish. It will not be requifit to Anſwer these men, but only to discover them, for reason they have none, but luſt, and licentiousnes, and therefore anſwer can have none. It is not any Discipline that they could live under, it is the corruption, and reminſes of Discipline that they seek. Epifcopacy duly executed, yea the Turkish, and Jewish rigor against whoring, and drinking; the dear, and tender Discipline of a Father; the sociable, and loving reproof of a Brother; the boſome admonition of a Friend is a Presbytery, and a Consiftory to them.
'Tis only the merry Frier in Chaucer can displease them.

*Full sweetly heard he confession*
*And pleasant was his absolution,*
*He was an easie man to give penance.*

And so I leave them: and referre the political discourse of Episcopacy to a Second Book.

Of Reformation, &c.

The Second Book.

Sir,

*T is a work good, and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended vertue to order well one house; but to govern a Nation piously, and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size, and divinest mettle. And certainly of no lesse a mind, nor of lesse excellence in another way, were they who by writing layd the solid, and true foundations of this Science, which being of greatest importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath bin more canker'd in her principles, more soyl'd and flubber'd with aphorifming pedantry then the art of policie; and that most, where a man would thinke should leaft be, in Christian Common-wealths. They teach not that to govern well is to train up a Nation in true wisdom and vertue, and that which springs from thence magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likenes to God, which in one word we
call godlines, & that this is the true flourishing of a Land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance: to teach thus were meer pulpitry to them. This is the master-piece of a modern politician, how to qualify, and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks, how rapine may serve it selfe with the fair, and honourable pretences of pubrick good, how the puny Law may be brought under the wardship, and controul of lust, and will, in which attempt if they fall short, then must a superficial colour of reputation by all means direct or indirect be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruse of honor. To make men governable in this manner their precepts mainly tend to break a nationall spirit, and courage by count'ning open riot, luxury, and ignorance, till having thus disfigur'd and made men beneath men, as Juno in the Fable of Io, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the Commonwealth to be stung and vext with the breefe, and goad of opprefion under the custody of some Argus with a hundred eyes of jealoufie. To be plainer Sir, how to soder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floting carcas of a crazie, and diseased Monarchy, or State betwixt wind, and water, swimming still upon her own dead lees, that now is the deepe designe of a politician. Alas Sir! a Commonwelth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth, and stature of an honest man, as big, and compact in vertue as in body; for looke what the grounds, and causes are of single happines to one man, the same yee shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle both in his ethicks, and politiks, from the principles of reason layes down, by consequence therfore, that which is good, and agreeable to monarchy, will appeare sooneft to be so, by being good and agreeable to the true wel-fare of every Christian,
and that which can be justly prov'd hurtfull, and offensive to every true Christian, wil be evinc't to be alike hurtful to monarchy: for God forbid, that we should separate and distinguish the end, and good of a monarch, from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from Christianity. How then this third, and last sort that hinder reformation, will justify that it stands not with reason of state, I much muse? For certain I am, the Bible is shut against them, as certaine that neither Plato, nor Aristotle is for their turns. What they can bring us now from the Schools of Loyola with his Jesuites, or their Malvezzi that can cut Tacitus into slivers and steaks, we shall presently hear. They alledge 1. That the Church government must be conformable to the civill politic, next, that no forme of Church government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of Bishops. Must Church government that is appointed in the Gospel, and has chief respect to the soule, be conformable, and pliant to civil, that is arbitrary, and chiefly conversant about the visible and external part of man? this is the very maxim that moulded the Calvs of Bethel and of Dan, this was the quintessence of Jeroboams policy, he made Religion conform to his politick interests, & this was the sin that watcht over the Israelites till their final captivity. If this State principle come from the Prelates, as they affect to be counted statists, let them look back to Elutherius Bishop of Rome, and see what he thought of the policy of England; being requir'd by Lucius the first Christian King of this Island to give his counsell for the founding of Religious Laws, little thought he of this sages caution, but bids him betake himselfe to the old, and new Testament, and receive direction from them how to administer both Church, and Common-wealth; that he was Gods Vicar, and thencore to rule by Gods Laws, that the Edicts of
Caesar we may at all times disallow, but the Statutes of God for no reason may we reject. Now certaine if Church-government be taught in the Gospel, as the Bishops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late standing this Position is, newly calculated for the altitude of Bishop elevation, and lettice for their lips. But by what example can they shew that the form of Church Discipline must be minted, and modell'd out to secular pretences? The ancient Republick of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil estate, if we survey the Story from the giving of the Law to the Herods, yet did one manner of Priestly government serve without inconvenience to all these temporal mutations: it serv'd the mild Aristocracy of elective Dukes, and heads of Tribes joyn'd with them; the dictatorship of the Judges, the easie, or hard-handed Monarchy's, the domestick, or forrain tyrannies, Laftly the Roman Senat from without, the Jewish Senat at home with the Galilean Tetrarch, yet the Levites had some right to deal in civil affairs: but seeing the Euangelical precept forbids Churchmen to intermeddle with worldly imployments, what interweavings, or interworkings can knit the Minifter, and the Magiftrate in their feveral functions to the regard of any precise correspondent? Seeing that the Churchmans office is only to teach men the Christian Faith, to exhort all, to encourage the good, to admonish the bad, privately the leffe offender, publickly the scandalous and stubborn; to cenfure, and separate from the communion of Chriftis flock, the contagious, and incorrigible, to receive with joy, and fatherly compassion the penitent, all this must be don, and more then this is beyond any Church autorty. What is all this either here, or there to the temporal regiment of Wealpublick, whether it be Popular, Princely, or Monarchical? Where doth
it intrench upon the temporal governor, where does it come in his walk? where does it make inrode upon his jurisdiction? Indeed if the ministers part be rightly discharg'd, it renders him the people more conscionable, quiet, and easie to be govern'd, if otherwise his life and doctrine will declare him. If therefore the Constitution of the Church be already set down by divine prescript, as all sides confess, then can she not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities, and respects: and if the nature and limits of Church Discipline be such, as are either helpfull to all political estates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then there is no necessity, nor indeed possibility of linking the one with the other in a speciall conformation.

Now for their second conclusion, That no form of Church government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Bishops, although it fall to pieces of it selfe by that which hath bin sayd: yet to give them play front, and reare, it shall be my task to prove that Episcopacy with that Authority which it challenges in England is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of Monarchy. While the Primitive Pastors of the Church of God labour'd faithfully in their Ministry, tending only their Sheep, and not seeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations, and debasements to their high calling, little needed the Princes, and potentates of the earth, which way soever the Gospel was spread, to study ways how to make a coherence between the Churches politie, and theirs: threfore when Pilate heard once our Saviour Christ professing that his Kingdom was not of this world, he thought the man could not stand much in Cæsars light, nor much indammage the Roman Empire: for if the life of Christ be hid to this world, much more is his Scepter unoperative, but in spirituall things. And
thus liv'd, for 2 or 3 ages, the Successors of the Apostles. But when through Constantines lavish Superstition they forsook their first love, and set themselves up two Gods instead, Mammon and their Belly, then taking advantage of the spiritual power which they had on mens consciences, they began to cast a longing eye to get the body also, and bodily things into their command, upon which their carnal desires, the Spirit dayly quenching and dying in them, they knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering, and supporting their inward rottenes by a carnal, and outward strength. For a while they rather privily fought opportunity, then hastily disclos'd their project, but when Constantine was dead, and 3 or 4 Emperors more, their drift became notorious, and offensive to the whole world: for while Theodofius the younger reign'd, thus writes Socrates the Historian in his 7th Book, 11. chap. now began an ill name to stick upon the Bishops of Rome, and Alexandria, who beyond their Priestly bounds now long agoe had stept into principality, and this was scarce 80. years since their raising from the meanest worldly condition. Of courtesie now let any man tell me, if they draw to themselves a temporall strength and power out of Caesars Dominion, is not Caesars Empire thereby diminished? but this was a stolne bit, hitherto hee was but a Caterpiller secretly gnawing at Monarchy, the next time you shall see him a Woolfe, a Lyon, lifting his paw against his raiser, as Petrarch express't it, and finally an open enemy, and subverter of the Greeke Empire. Philippicus and Leo, with divers other Emperours after them, not without the advice of their Patriarchs, and at length of a whole Eafterne Counsell of 3. hundred thirty eight Bishops, threw the Images out of Churches as being decreed idolatrous.
Upon this goodly occasion the Bishop of Rome not only seizes the City, and all the Territory about into his owne hands, and makes himselfe Lord thereof, which till then was govern'd by a Greeke Magistrate, but absolves all Italy of their Tribute, and obedience due to the Emperour, because hee obey'd Gods Commandement in abolishing Idolatry.

Mark Sir here how the Pope came by S. Peters Patrymony, as he feigns it, not the donation of Constantine, but idolatry and rebellion got it him. Yee need but read Sigonius one of his owne Sect to know the Story at large. And now to shroud himselfe against a storme from the Greek Continent, and provide a Champion to beare him out in these practises, hee takes upon him by Papall sentence to unthrone Chilpericus the rightfull K. of France, and gives the Kingdome to Pepin for no other cause but that hee seem'd to him the more active man. If he were a freind herein to Monarchy I know not, but to the Monarch I need not ask what he was.

Having thus made Pepin his fast freind, he calls him into Italy against Aistulphus the Lombard, that warr'd upon him for his late Usurpation of Rome as belonging to Ravenna which he had newly won. Pepin, not unobedient to the Popes call, passing into Italy, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole exarchat of Ravenna, which though it had beene almost immediately before, the hereditary possession of that Monarchy which was his cheife Patron, and Benefactor, yet he takes, and keepes it to himselfe as lawfull prize, and given to St. Peter. What a dangerous fallacie is this, when a spirituall man may snatch to himselfe any temporall Dignity, or Dominion under pretence of receiving it for the Churches use; thus he claimes Naples, Sicily, England, and what not? To bee short, under shew of his zeale against the errors of the Greeke Church,
he never ceas'd baiting, and goring the Successors of his best Lord Constantine what by his barking curses, and Excommunications, what by his hindering the Westerne Princes from ayding them against the Sarazens, and Turkes, unleffe when they humour'd him; so that it may be truly affirm'd, he was the subversion, and fall of that Monarchy, which was the hoisting of him; this, besides Petrarch, whom I have cited, our Chaucer also hath observ'd, and gives from hence a caution to England to beware of her Bishops in time, for that their ends, and aymes are no more freindly to Monarchy then the Popes.

Thus hee brings in the Plow-man speaking, 2. Part. Stanz. 28.

The Emperour Yafe the Pope sometime
So high Lordship him about
That at laft the filly Kime,
The proud Pope put him out,
So of this Realme is no doubt,
But Lords beware, and them defend,
For now these folks be wonders stout
The King and Lords now this amend.

And in the next Stanza which begins the third part of the tale he argues that they ought not to bee Lords.

Moses Law forbode it tho
That Priest's should no Lordships welde
Chri'st's Gospell biddeth also,
That they should no Lordships held
Ne Chri'st's Apostles were never so bold
No such Lordships to hem embrace
But smeren her Sheep, and keep her Fold.

And so forward. Whether the Bishops of England have deserv'd thus to bee fear'd by men so wise
as our Chaucer is esteem'd, and how agreeable to our Monarchy, and Monarchs their demeanour ha's been, he that is but meanly read in our Chronicles needs not be instruct'd. Have they not been as the Canaanites, and Philistims to this Kingdom? what Treasons, what revolts to the Pope, what Rebels, and those the baseft, and most pretensefleffe have they not been chiefe in? What could Monarchy think when Becket durft challenge the custody of Rotchefter-Castle, and the Tower of London, as appertaining to his Signory? To omit his other infolencies and affronts to Regall Majestie, till the Lashes inflicted on the anointed body of the King washt off the holy Vnftion with his blood drawn by the polluted hands of Bishops, Abbots, and Monks.

What good upholders of Royalty were the Bishops, when by their rebellious opposition against King John, Normandy was lost, he himfelfe depos'd, and this Kingdom made over to the Pope? When the Bishop of Winchester durft tell the Nobles, the Pillars of the Realme, that there were no Peeres in England, as in France, but that the King might doe what hee pleas'd. What could Tyranny say more? it would bee petty now if I should insist upon the rendring up of Tournay by Woolseyes Treafon, the Excommunications, Curtlings, and Interdicts upon the whole Land. For haply I shall be cut off short by a reply, that these were the faults of the men, and their Popifh errors, not of Episcopacie, that hath now renounc't the Pope, and is a Protestant. Yes sure; as wise and famous men have suspected, and fear'd the Protestant Episcopacie in England, as those that have fear'd the Papall.

You know Sir what was the judgement of Padre Paolo the great Venetian Antagonift of the Pope, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his feare, that when the Hierarchy of Eng-
land shall light into the hands of busie and audacious men, or shall meet with Princes tractable to the Prelacy, then much mischiefe is like to ensue. And can it bee neerer hand, then when Bishops shall openly affirme that, No Bishop, no King? a trimme Paradox, and that yee may know where they have beeene a begging for it, I will fetch you the Twin-brother to it out of the Jesuites Cell; they feeling the Axe of Gods reformation hewing at the old and hollow trunk of Papacie, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend, and safest refuge, to sooth him up in his dreame of a fist Monarchy, and withall to uphold the decrepit Papalty have invented this super-politick Aphorifme, as one termes it, One Pope, and one King.

Surely there is not any Prince in Christendome, who hearing this rare Sophisty can choose but smile, and if we be not blind at home we may as well perceive that this worthy Motto, No Bishop, no King is of the same batch, and infanted out of the same feares, a meereague-cake coagulated of a certaine Fever they have, presaging their time to be but short: and now like those that are sinking, they catch round at that which is likeliest to hold them up. And would perswade Regall Power, that if they dive, he must after. But what greater debasement can there be to Royall Dignity, whose towring, and stedfast height rests upon the unmovable foundations of Justice, and Heroick vertue, then to chaine it in a dependance of subsifting, or ruining to the painted Battlements, and gaudy rottenness of Prelatrie, which want but one pufse of the Kings to blow them down like a past-bord House built of Court-Cards. Sir the little adoe, which me thinks I find in untacking these pleasant Sophisms, puts mee into the mood to tell you a tale ere I proceed further; and Menenius Agrippa speed us.
A Tale.] Upon a time the Body summon'd all the Members to meet in the Guild for the common good (as Æsops Chronicles averre many stranger Accidents) the head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous Wen little lesse then the Head it selfe, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The members amaz'd began to ask one another what hee was that took place next their cheif; none could resolve. Whereat the Wen, though unwieldy, with much ado gets up and be-speaks the Assembly to this purpose. That as in place he was second to the head, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of speciall neere relation, and that if the head should faile, none were fitter then himselfe to step into his place; therefore hee thought it for the honour of the Body, that such dignities and rich indowments should be decreed him, as did adorn, and set out the noblest Members. To this was answer'd, that it should bee consultted. Then was a wise and learned Philosopher sent for, that knew all the Charters, Lawes, and Tenures of the Body. On him it is impos'd by all, as cheife Committee to examine, and discusse the claime and Petition of right put in by the Wen; who soone perceiving the matter, and wondring at the boldnesse of such a swolne Tumor, Wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a bottle of vitious and harden'd excrements, contend with the lawfull and free-borne members, whose certaine number is set by ancient, and unrepealable Statute? head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it, what office bearst thou? What good canst thou shew by thee done to the Common-weale? the Wen not easily dash't replies, that his Office was his glory, for so oft as the soule would retire out of the head from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts to Divine Contemplation, with him shee found
the purest, and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil, and disturbance. Lourdan, quoth the Philosopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth; know that all the faculties of the Soul are confin'd of old to their severall vessels, and ventricles, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole Body; and that thou containst no good thing in thee, but a heape of hard, and loathsome uncleannesses, and art to the head a foul disfigurment and burden, when I have cut thee off, and open'd thee, as by the help of these implements I will doe, all men shall see.

But to return, whence was diqress't, seeing that the throne of a King, as the wife K. Salomon often remembers us, is eftablifht in Justice, which is the univerfall Justice that Aristotle so much praises, containing in it all other vertues, it may affure us that the fall of Prelacy, whose actions are so farre distant from Justice, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal canopy: but that their standing doth continually oppose, and lay battery to regal safety, shall by that which follows easily appear. Amongst many secondary, and accessary causes that support Monarchy, these are not of least reckning, though common to all other States: the love of the Subjects, the multitude, and valor of the people, and store of treasure. In all these things hath the Kingdom bin of late fore weak'nd, and chiefly by the Prelates. First let any man consider, that if any Prince shall suffer under him a commision of authority to be exerciz'd, till all the Land grone, and cry out, as againft a whippe of Scorpions, whether this be not likely to lessen, and keel the affections of the Subject. Next whatnumbers of faithfull, and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians have bin constrain'd to forfeake their dearest home, their friends, and kindred, whom nothing but the wide Ocean, and the
savage deserts of *America* could hide and shelter from the fury of the Bishops. O Sir, if we could but see the shape of our deare Mother *England*, as Poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appeare, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and teares abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children expos'd at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their conscience could not assent to things which the Bishops thought *indifferent*. What more binding then Conscience? what more free then *indifference*? cruel then must that *indifference* needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of Conscience, merciles, and inhumane that free choyse, and liberty that shall break asunder the bonds of Religion. Let the Astrologer be dismay'd at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the aire as foretelling troubles and changes to states: I shall beleevve there cannot be a more ill-boding signe to a Nation (*God turne the Omen from us*) then when the Inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are inforc'd by heaps to for sake their native Country. Now wheras the only remedy, and amends against the depopulation, and thinnesse of a Land within, is the borrow'd strength of firme alliance from without, these priestly Policies of theirs having thus exhausted our domestick forces, have gone the way also to leave us as naked of our firmest, & faithfullest neighbours abroad, by disparaging, and alienating from us all Protestant Princes, and Common-wealths, who are not ignorant that our Prelats, and as many as they can infect, account them no better then a sort of sacrilegious, and puritanical Rebels, preferring the *Spaniard* our deadly enemy before them, and set all orthodox writers at nought in comparison of the Jesuits, who are indeed the onely corrupters
of youth, and good learning; and I have heard many wise, and learned men in Italy say as much. It cannot be that the strongest knot of confederacy should not daily flak'n, when Religion which is the chief engagement of our league shall be turn'd to their reproach. Hence it is that the prosperous, and prudent states of the united Provinces, whom we ought to love, if not for themselves, yet for our own good work in them, they having bin in a manner planted, and erected by us, and having bin since to us the faithfull watchmen, and discoverers of many a Popish, and Austrian complotted Treason, and with us the partners of many a bloody, and victorious battell, whom the similitude of manners and language, the commodity of traffick, which founded the old Burgundian league betwixt us, but chiefly Religion should bind to us immortally, even such friends as these, out of some principles instill'd into us by the Prelates, have bin often dismift with distastfull answers, and somtimes unfriendly actions: nor is it to be consider'd to the breach of confederate Nations whose mutual interest is of such high confequence, though their Merchants bicker in the East Indies, neither is it safe, or warie, or indeed Christianly, that the French King, of a different Faith, should afford our neereft Allyes as good protection as we. Sir, I perswade my selfe, if our zeale to true Religion, and the brotherly usage of our truest friends were as notorious to the world, as our Prelatical Schism, and captivity to Rotchet Apothegmes, we had ere this seene our old Conquerours, and afterward Liege-men the Normans, together with the Britains our proper Colony, and all the Gascoins that are the rightfull Dowry of our ancient Kings, come with cap, and knee, desiring the shadow of the English Scepter to defend them from the hot persecutions and taxes of the French. But when
they come hither, and see a Tympany of Spanioliz'd Bishops swaggering in the fore-top of the State, and meddling to turne, and dandle the Royall Ball with unskillfull and Pedantick palmes, no marvell though they think it as unsafe to commit Religion, and liberty to their arbitrating as to a Synagogue of Jesuites.

But what doe I stand reck'ning upon advantages, and gainses lost by the mis-rule, and turbulency of the Prelats, what doe I pick up so thriftily their scatterings and diminishings of the meaner Subject, whilst they by their seditious practises have indanger'd to loose the King one third of his main Stock; what have they not done to banish him from his owne Native Countrey? but to speake of this as it ought would ask a Volume by it selfe.

Thus as they have unpeopl'd the Kingdome by expulsion of so many thousands, as they have endeavor'd to lay the skirts of it bare by disheartning and dishonouring our loyallest Confederates abroad, so have they hamstrung the valour of the Subject by seeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wise Nation that their Liberty consists in manly and honest labours, in sobriety and rigorous honour to the Marriage Bed, which in both Sexes should be bred up from chaste hopes to loyall Enjoyments; and when the people slacken, and fall to loosenes, and riot, then doe they as much as if they laid downe their necks for some wily Tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt Cyrus to tame the Lydians, whom by Armes he could not, whilst they kept themselves from Luxury; with one easy Proclamation to set up Stews, dancing, feafting, & dicing he made them foone his slaves. I know not what drift the Prelats had, whole Brokers they were to prepare, and supple us either for a Foreign Invasion or Domeftick oppression; but this I
am sure they took the ready way to despoile us both of manhood and grace at once, and that in the shamefullest and ungodliest manner upon that day which God's Law, and even our own reason hath consecrated, that we might have one day at least of seven set apart wherein to examin and encrease our knowledge of God, to meditate, and commune of our Faith, our Hope, our eternall City in Heaven, and to quick'n, withall, the study, and exercise of Charity; at such a time that men should bee pluck't from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by Bishops the pretended Fathers of the Church instigated by publique Edict, and with earnest indeavour push't forward to gaming, jiggging, wassailing, and mixt dancing is a horror to think. Thus did the Reprobate hireling Preist Balaam seeke to subdue the Israelites to Moab, if not by force, then by this devillish Policy, to draw them from the Sanctuary of God to the luxurious, and ribald feast of Baalpeor. Thus have they trespass't not onely against the Monarchy of England, but of Heaven also, as others, I doubt not, can prosecute against them.

I proceed within my own bounds to shew you next what good Agents they are about the Revenues and Riches of the Kingdome, which declares of what moment they are to Monarchy, or what availe. Two Leeches they have that still suck, and suck the Kingdome, their Ceremonies, and their Courts. If any man will contend that Ceremonies bee lawfull under the Gospell, hee may bee answer'd otherwhere. This doubtlesse that they ought to bee many and over-costly, no true Protestant will affirme. Now I appeale to all wise men, what an excessive waft of Treasury hath beene within these few yeares in this Land not in the expedient, but in the Idolatrous erection of Temples beautified exquisitely to out-vie the Papists, the costly and deare-
bought Scandals, and snares of Images, Pictures, rich Coaps, gorgeous Altar-clothes: and by the courses they tooke, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madnes, where a pious pretext is so ready at hand to cover their infatiate desires. What can we suppose this will come to? What other materials then these have built up the *Spirituall Babel* to the heighth of her Abominations? Beleeve it Sir right truly it may be said, that *Antichrist* is *Mammons* Son. The foure levin of humane Traditions mixt in one putrifi'd Maffe with the poisonous dregs of hypocrisie in the hearts of *Prelates* that lye basking in the Sunny warmth of Wealth, and Promotion, is the Serpents Egge that will hatch an *Antichrist* wherefoever, and ingender the same Monster as big, or little as the Lump is which breeds him. If the splendor of *Gold* and *Silver* begin to Lord it once againe in the Church of *England*, wee shall see *Antichrift* shortly wallow heere, though his cheife Kennell be at *Rome*. If they had one thought upon *Gods glory* and the advancement of *Christian Faith*, they would be a meanes that with these expences thus profusely throwne away in trash, rather *Churches* and *Schools* might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate maintenance distributed to every painfull Mi-

ister, that now scarce sustaines his Family with Bread, while the *Prelats* revell like *Belshazzar* with their full carouses in *Goblets*, and *vessels of gold* snatcht from *Gods Temple*. Which (I hope) the Worthy Men of our Land will consider. Now then for their *Covrts*. What a Maffe of Money is drawne from the Veines into the Ulcers of the Kingdome this way; their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies that swarme about their Offices declare...
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sufficiently. And what though all this go not over-
sea? ’twere better it did: better a penurious King-
dom, then where excessive wealth flowes into the
graceless and injurious hands of common sponges to
the impoverishing of good and loyall men, and that
by such execrable, such irreligious courses.

If the sacred and dreadful works of holy Disci-
pline, Censure, Penance, Excommunication, and Ab-
solution, where no prophane thing ought to have
accesse, nothing to be assistant but sage and Chris-
tianly Admonition, brotherly Love, flaming Charity,
and Zeale; and then according to the Effects, Patern-
nall Sorrow, or Paternall Joy, milde Severity, melt-
ing Compassion, if such Divine Ministries as these,
wherein the Angel of the Church represents the
Person of Christ Jesus, must lie prostitute to fordid
Fees, and not passe to and fro betweene our Saviour
that of free grace redeem’d us, and the submissive
Penitent, without the truccage of perishing Coine,
and the Butcherly execution of Tormentors, Rooks,
and Rake-shames sold to lucre, then have the Babi-
lonish Marchants of Souls just excuse. Hitherto
Sir you have heard how the Prelates have weaken’d
and withdrawne the externall Accomplishments of
Kingly prosperity, the love of the People, their
multitude, their valour, their wealth; mining, and
sapping the out-works, and redoubts of Monarchy;
now heare how they strike at the very heart, and
vitals.

We know that Monarchy is made up of two parts,
the Liberty of the subject, and the supremacie of
the King. I begin at the root. See what gentle,
and benigne Fathers they have beene to our liberty.
Their trade being, by the same Alchymy that the
Pope uses, to extract heaps of gold, and silver out of
the drossie Bullion of the Peoples sinnes, and justly
fearing that the quick-fighted Protestants eye clear’d
in great part from the mift of Superstition, may at one time or other looke with a good judgement into these their deceitfull Pedleries, to gaine as many associats of guiltines as they can, and to infect the temporall Magistrate with the like lawlesse though not sacrilegious extortion, see a while what they doe; they ingage themselves to preach, and persuade an assertion for truth the most false, and to this Monarchy the most pernicious and destructive that could bee chosen. What more baneful to Monarchy then a Popular Commotion, for the dissolution of Monarchy slides aptest into a Democracy; and what flirs the Englishmen, as our wisest writers have observ'd, sooner to rebellion, then violent, and heavy hands upon their goods and purses? Yet these devout Prelates, spight of our great Charter, and the soules of our Progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the Norman gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowesse, for these many years have not ceas't in their Pulpits wrinching, and spraining the text, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred, and life blood Lawes, Statutes, and Acts of Parliament that are the holy Cov'nant of Union, and Marriage betwene the King and his Realme, by proscribing, and confiscating from us all the right we have to our owne bodies, goods and libertys. What is this, but to blow a trumpet, and proclaime a fire-croffe to a hereditary, and perpetuall civill warre. Thus much against the Subjects Liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spar'd Supremacie, or likely are hereafter to submit to it, remains lastly to bee consider'd.

The emulation that under the old Law was in the King toward the Preift, is now so come about in the Gospell, that all the danger is to be fear'd from the Preift to the King. Whilst the Preifts Office in the
Law was set out with an exteriuour luftre of Pomp and glory, Kings were ambitious to be Preiſts; now Preiſts not perceiveing the heavenly brightnesse, and inward splendor of their more glorious Evangelick Ministry with as great ambition affect to be Kings; as in all their courſes is easie to be observ'd. Their eyes ever imminent upon worldly matters, their desires ever thirsting after worldly employments, in stead of diligent and fervent study in the Bible, they covet to be expert in Canons, and Decretals, which may unable them to judge, and interpoſe in temporall Causes, however pretended Ecclesiasticall. Doe they not hord up Pelfe, seek to bee potent in secular Strength, in State Affaires, in Lands, Lordships, and Demeanes, to sway and carry all before them in high Courts, and Privie Counſels, to bring into their grasp, the high, and principall Offices of the Kingdom? have they not been bold of late to check the Common Law, to flight and brave the indiminable Majestie of our highest Court the Law-giving and Sacred Parliament? Doe they not plainly labour to exempt Churchmen from the Magiftrate? Yea, so presumptuously as to question, and menace Officers that represent the Kings Perſon for using their Authority againſt drunken Preiſts? The cauſe of protecting murderous Clergie-men was the firit heart-burning that swel'd up the audacious Becket to the pestilent, and odious vexation of Henry the second. Nay more, have not some of their devoted Schollers begun, I need not fay to nibble, but openly to argue againſt the Kings Supremacie? is not the Cheife of them accus'd out of his owne Booke, and his late Canons to affect a certaine unquestionable Patriarchat, independent and unsubordinate to the Crowne? From whence having first brought us to a fervile Eſtate of Religion, and Manhood, and having predispos'd his conditions with the Pope, that layes
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claime to this Land, or some Pepin of his owne creating, it were all as likely for him to aspire to the Monarchy among us, as that the Pope could finde means so on the sudden both to bereave the Emperour of the Roman Territory with the favour of Italy, and by an unexpeected friend out of France, while he was in danger to lose his new-got Purchase, beyond hope to leap in to the faire Exarchat of Ravenna.

A good while the Pope suitly acted the Lamb, writing to the Emperour, my Lord Tiberius, my Lord Mauritius, but no sooner did this his Lord pluck at the Images, and Idols, but hee threw off his Sheepes clothing, and started up a Wolfe, laying his pawes upon the Emperours right, as forfeited to Peter: Why may not wee as well, having been forewarn'd at home by our renowned Chaucer, and from abroad by the great and learned Padre Paolo, from the like beginnings, as we see they are, feare the like events? Certainly a wise, and provident King ought to suspect a Hierarchy in his Realme, being ever attended, as it is, with two such greedy Purveyers, Ambition and Usurpation, I say hee ought to suspect a Hierarchy to bee as dangerous and derogatory from his Crown as a Tetrarchy or a Hep-tarchy. Yet now that the Prelates had almost attain'd to what their insolent, and unbridl'd minds had hurried them; to thrust the Laitie under the despoticall rule of the Monarch, that they themselves might confine the Monarch to a kind of Pupillage under their Hierarchy, observe but how their own Principles combat one another, and supplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for peace, and that a servile peace, by lefslening our numbers, dreining our estates, enfeebling our bodies, cowing our free spirits by those wayes as you have heard, their impotent ac-
tions cannot sustaine themselves the least moment, unlesse they rouze us up to a *Warre* fit for Cain to be the Leader of; an abhorred, a cursed, a Fraternall *Warre*. England and Scotland dearest Brothers both in Nature, and in Christ must be set to wade in one anothers blood; and Ireland our free Denizon upon the back of us both, as occasion should serve: a piece of Service that the Pope and all his Factors have beene compassing to doe ever since the Reformation.

But ever-blesse d be he, and ever glorifi d that from his high watch-Tower in the Heav'ns discerning the crooked wayes of perverse, and cruell men, hath hitherto main'd, and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great Wizzards with a delusion fit for fooles and children; had God beene so minded hee could have sent a Spirit of *Mutiny* amongst us, as hee did betwenee Abimilech and the Sechemites, to have made our Funerals and slaine heaps more in number then the miserable surviving remnant, but he, when wee leaft deserv'd, sent out a gentle gale, and message of peace from the wings of thoe his Cherubins, that fanne his Mercy-feat. Nor shall the *wisdom*, the *moderation*, the *Christian Pietie*, the *Constancy* of our Nobility and Commons of England be ever forgotten, whose calme, and temperat connivence could fit still, and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious, and precipitant, then of solid and deep reach, till their own fury had run it selfe out of breath, assailing, by rash and heady *approches*, the impregnable situation of our Liberty and safety, that laught such weake enginry to scorn, such poore drifts to make a *National Warre* of a *Surplice Brabble*, a *Tippet-scuffle*, and ingage the unattainted Honour of English Knighthood, to unfurle the streaming Red Croffe, or to reare the horrid *Standard* of thoe fatall guly
Dragons for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their Fellow-Subjects, that which themselves are weary of, the Skeleton of a Maffe-Booke. Nor must the Patience, the Fortitude, the firme Obedience of the Nobles and People of Scotland striving against manifold Provocations, nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto, be unremember’d, to the shamefull Conviction of all their Detractors.

Goe on both hand in hand O NATIONS never to be dis-united, be the Praise and the Heroick Song of all Posterity; merit this, but seeke onely Vertue, not to extend your Limits; for what needs? to win a fading triumphant Lawrell out of the teares of wretched Men, but to settle the pure worship of God in his Church, and justice in the State, then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; envie shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischeif, or outlandish cunning: yea other Nations will then covet to serve ye, for Lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and vertue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and suttletie, which are but her two runnagates: joyn your invincible might to doe worthy, and Godlike deeds, and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations.

Sir, you have now at length this question for the time, and as my memory would best serve me in such a copious, and vast theme, fully handl’d, and you your selfe may judge whether Prelacy be the only Church-goverment agreeable to Monarchy. Seeing therefore the perillous, and confused estate into which we are fallen, and that to the certain knowledge of all men through the irreligious pride and hatefull Tyranny of Prelats (as the innumerable, and grievous complaints of every shire cry out) if
we will now resolve to settle affairs either according to pure Religion, or sound Policy, we must first of all begin roundly to cashier, and cut away from the publick body the noysom, and diseased tumor of Prelacie, and come from Schisme to unity with our neighbour Reformed sister Churches, which with the blessing of peace and pure doctrine have now long time flourish'd; and doubts with all hearty joy, and gratulation, will meet, and welcome our Christian union with them, as they have bin all this while griev'd at our strangenes and little better then separation from them. And for the discipline propounded, seeing that it hath bin inevitably prov'd that the natural, and fundamental causes of political happines in all goverments are the same, and that this Church Discipline is taught in the Word of God, and, as we see, agrees according to wish with all such states as have receiv'd it, we may infallibily assure our selves that it will as wel agree with Monarchy, though all the tribe of Aphorismers, and Politicafters would perfwade us there be secret, and misterious reasons against it. For upon the settling hereof mark what nourishing and cordial restorments to the State will follow, the Ministers of the Gospel attending only to the work of salvation every one within his limited charge, besides the diffusive blessings of God upon all our actions, the King shall sit without an old disturber, a dayly incroacher, and intruder; shall ridde his Kingdom of a strong sequester'd, and collateral power; a confronting miter, whose potent wealth, and wakefull ambition he had just cause to hold in jealoufie: not to repeat the other present evills which only their removal will remove. And because things simply pure are inconsistent in the masse of nature, nor are the elements or humors in Mans Body exactly homogeneall, and hence the best founded Common-
wealths, and least barbarous have aym'd at a certaine mixture and temperament, partaking the severall vertues of each other State, that each part drawing to it selfe may keep up a steddy, and eev'n uprightness in common.

There is no Civill Goverment that hath beene known, no not the Spartan, not the Roman, though both for this respect so much prais'd by the wise Polybius, more divinely and harmoniously tun'd, more equally ballanc'd as it were by the hand and scale of Justice, then is the Common-wealth of England: where under a free, and untutor'd Monarch, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation, and suffrage of the People have in their power the supreame, and finall determination of highest Affaires. Now if Conformity of Church Discipline to the Civill be so desir'd, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, then when under the Soveraigne Prince Chriyt's Vicegerent using the Scepter of David, according to Gods Law, the godliest, the wisest, the learnedest Ministers in their severall charges have the instructing and disciplining of Gods people by whose full and free Election they are consecrated to that holy and equall Aristocracy. And why should not the Piety, and Conscience of Englishmen as members of the Church be trusted in the Election of Pastors to Functions that nothing concerne a Monarch, as well as their worldly wisedomes are privilegd'd as members of the State in suffraging their Knights, and Burgesses to matters that concern him neerely? And if in weighing these severall Offices, their difference in time and qualitie be cast in, I know they will not turn the beame of equall Judgement the moity of a scruple. Wee thereby having already a kind of Apostolicall, and ancient Church Election in our State, what a perversnesse would it be in us of
all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious, and
iltately Election in our Church? And what a blindnesse to thinke that what is already Evangeli-
call as it were by a happy chance in our Politie,
should be repugnant to that which is the same by
divine command in the Ministry? Thus then wee
see that our Ecclesiall, and Politicall choyfes may
consent and fort as well together without any rupture
in the State, as Christians, and Freeholders.
But as for honour, that ought indeed to be different,
and distinct as either Office looks a severall way,
the Minister whose Calling and end is spiritual,
ought to be honour'd as a Father and Phyfitian to
the Soule (if he be found to be so) with a Son-like
and Disciple-like reverence, which is indeed the
dearest, and most affectionate honour, most to be
desir'd by a wise man, and such as will easily com-
mand a free and plentifull provision of outward necessaries, without his further care of this world.
The Magistrate whose Charge is to see to our
Persons, and Estates, is to bee honour'd with a more
elaborate and perfonall Courtship, with large Salari-
ies and Stipends, that hee himfelfe may abound in
those things whereof his legall justice and watch-
full care gives us the quiet enjoyment. And this
distinction of Honour will bring forth a seemly and
gracefull Uniformity over all the Kingdom.
Then shall the Nobles posseffe all the Dignities
and Offices of temporall honour to themselves, sole
Lords without the improper mixture of Scholaftick,
and pusillanimous upstarts, the Parliament shall void
her Upper House of the fame annoyances, the Com-
mon, and Civill Lawes shall be both set free, the
former from the controule, the other from the meere
vaffalage and Copy-hold of the Clergie.
And wheras temporall Lawes rather punish men
when they have transgresst, then form them to be
such as should transgress seldomest, we may conceive great hopes through the showers of Divine Benediction, watering the unmolested and watchfull paines of the Ministry, that the whole Inheritance of God will grow up so straight and blamelesse, that the Civill Magistrate may with farre lesse toyle and difficulty, and far more eafe and delight secure the tall and goodly Vessel of the Common-wealth through all the gufts and tides of the Worlds mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that some Objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, press mee to the endevour of an answere. We must not run they say into sudden extremes. This is a fallacious Rule, unless understood only of the actions of Vertue about things indifferent, for if it be found that those two extremes be Vice and Vertue, Falshood and Truth, the greater extremity of Vertue and superlative Truth we run into, the more vertuous, and the more wise wee become; and hee that flying from degenerate and traditionall corruption, feares to shoot himselfe too far into the meeting imbraces of a Divinely-warranted Reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the suddennesse it cannot be fear'd. Who should oppose it? The Papistes? They dare not. The Protestants otherwise affected. They were mad. There is nothing will be remov'd but what to them is profess'dly indifferent. The long affection which the People have borne to it, what for it selfe, what for the odiousnes of Prelates, is evident: from the first yeare of Qu. Elizabeth, it hath still beene more and more propounded, desire'd, and beseech't, yea sometimes favourably forwarded by the Parliaments themselves. Yet if it were sudden & swift, provided still it be from worse to better, certainly wee ought to hie us from evill like a torrent, and rid
our selves of corrupt Discipline, as wee would shake fire out of our bosomes.

Speedy and vehement were the Reformations of all the good Kings of Juda, though the people had beene nuzzl'd in Idolatry never so long before; they fear'd not the bug-bear danger, nor the Lyon in the way that the fluggish and timorous Politician thinks he sees; no more did our Brethren of the Reformed Churches abroad; they ventur'd (God being their guide) out of rigid Popyry, into that which wee in mockery call precise Puritanisme, and yet wee see no inconvenience befell them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing, to take as much of it as wee think will serve our ends, and turne him back the rest upon his hands, left in his anger he snatch all from us again. Next they alledge the antiquity of Episcopacy through all Ages. What it was in the Apostles time, that questionlesse it must be still, and therein I truft the Ministers will be able to satisifie the Parliament. But if Episcopacie be taken for Prelacie, all the Ages they can deduce it through, will make it no more venerable then Papacie.

Most certaine it is (as all our Stories beare witnesse) that ever since their comming to the See of Canterbury for neere twelve hundred yeares, to speake of them in generall, they have beene in England to our Soules a sad and dolefull succession of illiterate and blind guides: to our purses, and goods a waftfull band of robbers, a perpetuall havock, and rapine: To our state a continual Hydra of mischief, and molestation, the forge of discord and Rebellion: This is the Trophy of their Antiquity, and boasted Succession through so many Ages. And for those Prelat-Martyrs they glory of, they are to bee judg'd what they were by the Gospel, and not the Gospel to be tried by them.
And it is to be noted that if they were for Bishopricks and Ceremonies, it was in their prosperitie, and fulnes of bread, but in their persecution, which purifi’d them, and neer their death, which was their garland, they plainly dislik’d and condemn’d the Ceremonies, and threw away those Episcopall ornaments wherein they were instal’d, as foolish and detestable, for so the words of Ridley at his degradament, and his letter to Hooper expressly shew. Neither doth the Author of our Church History spare to record sadly the fall (for so he termes it) and infirmities of these Martyrs, though we would deify them. And why should their Martyrdom more countenance corrupt doctrine, or discipline, then their subscriptions justifie their Treason to the Royall blood of this Relm, by diverting and intaling the right of the Crown from the true heires, to the houses of Northumberland and Suffolk, which had it tooke effect, this present King had in all likelyhood never sat on this Throne, and the happy union of this Iland had bin frustrated.

Lastly, whereas they adde that some the learnedest of the reformed abroad admire our Episcopacy, it had bin more for the strength of the Argument to tell us that som of the wíest Statesmen admire it, for thereby we might guesse them weary of the present discipline, as offensive to their State, which is the bugge we feare; but being they are Churchmen, we may rather suspect them for some Prelating-spirits that admire our Bishopricks, not Episcopacy. The next objection vanishes of it selfe, propounding a doubt, whether a greater inconveience would not grow from the corruption of any other discipline, then from that of Episcopacy. This seemes an unseasonable foresight, and out of order to deferre, and put off the most needfull constitution of one right discipline, while we stand ballancing the
discommodity's of two corrupt ones. First constitute that which is right, and of it selfe it will discover, and rectify that which swervs, and easily remedy the pretended feare of having a Pope in every Parish, unleffe we call the zealous, and meek cenfure of the Church, a Popedom, which who so does let him advise how he can reject the Pastorly Rod, and Sheep-hooke of Christ, and those cords of love, and not feare to fall under the iron Scepter of his anger that will dash him to peeces like a Potsherd.

At another doubt of theirs I wonder; whether this discipline which we desire, be such as can be put in practise within this Kingdom, they say it cannot stand with the common Law, nor with the Kings safety; the government of Episcopacy, is now so weav'd into the common Law: In Gods name let it weave out againe; let not humain quillets keep back divine authority. Tis not the common Law, nor the civil, but piety, and justice, that are our foundrefTes; they stoop not, neither change colour for Aristocracy, democracy, or Monarchy, nor yet at all interrupt their just courses, but farre above the taking notice of these inferior niceties with perfect sympathy, where ever they meet, kiffe each other. Lastly, they are fearfull that the discipline which will succeed cannot stand with the Ks. safety. Wherefore? it is but Episcopacy reduc't to what it should be, were it not that the Tyranny of Prelates under the name of Bishops hath made our eares tender, and startling, we might call every good Minister a Bishop, as every Bishop, yea the Apostles themselves are call'd Ministers, and the Angels ministering Spirits, and the Ministers againe Angels. But wherein is this propounded government so shrewd? Because the government of assemblies will succeed. Did not the Apostles govern the Church by assemblies,
how should it else be Catholik, how should it have Communion? Wee count it Sacrilege to take from the rich Prelates their Lands, and revenu's which is Sacrilege in them to keep, using them as they doe, and can we think it safe to defraude the living Church of God of that right which God has given her in assemblies! O but the consequence: Assemblies draw to them the Supremacy of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. No surely, they draw no Supremacy, but that authority which Christ, and Saint Paul in his name confers upon them. The K. may still retain the same Supremacy in the Assemblies, as in the Parliament, here he can do nothing alone against the common Law, and there neither alone, nor with consent against the Scriptures. But is this all? No, this Ecclesiastical Supremacy draws to it the power to excommunicate Kings; and then followes the worst that can be imagin'd. Doe they hope to avoyd this by keeping Prelates that have so often don it? Not to exemplifie the malapert insolence of our owne Bishops in this kind towards our Kings: I shall turn back to the Primitive, and pure times, which the objecters would have the rule of reformation to us.

Not an assembly, but one Bishop alone, Saint Ambrose of Millan, held Theodosius the most Christian Emperor under excommunication above eight moneths together, drove him from the Church in the presence of his Nobles, which the good Emperor bore with heroick humility, and never ceas't by prayers, and teares, till he was absolv'd, for which coming to the Bishop with Supplication into the Salutatory, some out Porch of the Church, he was charg'd by him of tyrannicall madness against God, for comming into holy ground. At laft upon conditions absolv'd, and after great humiliation approaching to the Altar to offer (as those thrife
pure times then thought meet) he had scarce withdrawne his hand, and stood awhile, when a bold Arch-deacon comes in the Bishops name, and chaces him from within the railes telling him peremptorily that the place wherein he stood, was for none but the Priest to enter, or to touch: and this is another peece of pure Primitive Divinity. Thinke yee then our Bishops will forgoe the power of excommunication on whomsoever? No certainly, unlesse to compasse sinister ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withall dredfull, and inviolable Prerogative of Christ's diadem excommunication servs for nothing with them, but to prog, and pandar for fees, or to display their pride and sharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the Law, and I remember not whether in some cases it bereave not men all right to their worldly goods, and Inheritances besides the denial of Christian burial. But in the Evangelical, and reformed use of this sacred censure, no such prostitution, no such Iscariotical drifts are to be doubted, as that Spiritual doom, and sentence, should invade worldly possession, which is the rightfull lot and portion, even of the wickedest men, as frankly bestow'd upon them by the al-dispensing bounty, as rain, and Sun-shine. No, no, it seekes not to bereave or destroy the body, it seekes to save the Soule by humbling the body, not by Imprisonment, or pecuniary mulct, much lesse by stripes or bonds, or disinherittance, but by Fatherly admonishment, and Christian rebuke, to cast it into godly sorrow, whose end is joy, and ingenuous bashfulness to sin: if that can not be wrought, then as a tender Mother takes her Child and holds it over the pit with scarriing words that it may learne to feare, where danger is, so doth excommunication as deerly, and as freely without money, use her wholesome
and saving terrors, she is instant, she beseeches, by all the deere, and sweet promises of salvation she entices and woos, by all the threatnings, and thunders of the Law, and rejected Gospel she charges, and adjures; this is all her Armory, her munition, her Artillery, then she awaits with long-sufferance, and yet ardent zeal. In briefe, there is no act in all the errand of Gods Ministers to man-kind, wherein passtes more loverlike contestation betweene Christ and the Soule of a regenerate man lapsing, then before, and in, and after the sentence of Excommunication. As for the fogging proctorage of money, with such an eye as strooke Gehexi with Leprosy, and Simon Magus with a curse, so does she looke, and so threaten her fiery whip against that banking den of theves that dare thus baffle, and buy and sell the awfull, and majestick wrincles of her brow. He that is rightly and apostolically sped with her invisible arrow, if he can be at peace in his Soule, and not smel within him the brimstone of Hell, may have faire leave to tell all his baggs over undiminish't of the leaft farding, may eat his dainties, drinke his wine, use his delights, enjoy his Lands, and liberties, not the leaft skin rais'd, not the leaft haire misplac't for all that excommunication has done: much more may a King injoy his rights, and Prerogatives undeflowr'd, untouch'd, and be as abso-lute, and compleat a King, as all his royalties and revenu's can make him. And therefore little did Theodotius fear a plot upon his Empire when he stood excommunicat by Saint Ambrose, though it were done either with much hauty pride, or ignorant zeal. But let us rather look upon the reformed Churches beyond the seas, the Grizons, the Suisses, the Hollanders, the French, that have a Supremacy to live under as well as we, where do the Churches in all these places strive for Supremacy, where do
they clash and jufle Supremacies with the Civil Magiftrate? In France a more severe Monarchy then ours, the Protelfants under this Church government carry the name of the best Subjects the King has; and yet Prebytery, if it muft be fo call'd, does there all that it desires to doe: how eafie were it, if there be such great fuspicion, to give no more scope to it in England. But let us not for feare of a fcarre-crow, or else through hatred to be reform'd stand hankering and politizing, when God with spread hands teftifies to us, and points us out the way to our peace.

Let us not be fo overcredulous, unleffe God hath blinded us, as to truft our dear Soules into the hands of men that beg fo devoutly for the pride, and glutony of their owne backs, and bellies, that fue and follicite fo eagerly, not for the faving of Soules, the consideration of which can have heer no place at all, but for their Bishopricks, Deaneries, Prebends, and Chanonies; how can thefe men not be corrupt, whose very caufe is the bribe of their own pleading; whose mouths cannot open without the ftrong breath, and loud ftench of avarice, Simony, and Sacrilege, embezling the treasury of the Church on painted, and guilded walles of Temples wherein God hath teftified to have no delight, warming their Palace Kitchins, and from thence their unctuous, and epicurean paunches, with the almes of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orfan, the widow, for with thefe the treasury of CHrift ought to be, here muft be his jewels beftow'd, his rich Cabinet muft be emptied heer; as the conftant martyr Saint Laurence taught the Roman Praetor. Sir would you know what the remonftrance of these men would have, what their Petition imply's? They intreate us that we would not be weary of those infupportable greevances that our shoulders have hitherto crackt
under, they befeech us that we would think'em fit to be our Justices of peace, our Lords, our highest officers of State, though they come furnish't with no more experience then they learnt betwenee the Cook, and the munciple, or more profoundly at the Colledge audit, or the regent house, or to come to their deepest insignt, at their Patrons Table; they would request us to indure still the ruffling of their Silken Cassocks, and that we would burst our midstiffes rather then laugh to see them under Sayl in all their Lawn, and Sarcenet, their shrouds, and tackle, with a geometrical rhomboides upon their heads: they would bear us in hand that we must of duty still appear before them once a year in Jerusalem like good circumcized males, and Females to be taxt by the poul, to be scons't our head money, our tuppences in their Chaunlerly Shop-book of Easter. They pray us that it would please us to let them still hale us, and worrey us with their band-dogs, and Pursivants; and that it would please the Parliament that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and fleaing of us in their diabolical Courts to tear the flesh from our bones, and into our wide wounds instead of balm, to power in the oil of Tartar, vitriol, and mercury; Surely a right reasonable, innocent, and soft-hearted Petition. O the relenting bowels of the Fathers. Can this bee granted them unlese God have smitten us with frensie from above, and with a cazling giddiness at noon day? Should not those men rather be heard that come to plead against their owne preferments, their worldly advantages, their owne abundance; for honour, and obedience to Gods word, the conversion of Soules, the Christian peace of the Land, and union of the reformed Catholick Church, the unappropriating, and unmonopolizing the rewards of learning and industry, from the greasie clutch of ignorance, and high feed-
Of Reformation

We have tried already, and miserably felt what ambition, worldly glory & inmoderate wealth can do, what the boisterous & contradictional hand of a temporal, earthly, and corporeall Spirituallty can availe to the edifying of Christ's holy Church; were it such a desperate hazard to put to the venture the universal Votes of Christ's Congregation, the fellowly and friendly yoke of a teaching and laborious Ministry, the Pastorial and Apostolick imitation of meeke and unlordly Discipline, the gentle and benevolent mediocrity of Church-maintenance, without the ignoble Hucsterage of pidling Tithes? Were it such an incurable mischief to make a little triall, what all this would doe to the flourishing and growing up of Christ's mystical body? As rather to use every poor shift, and if that serve not, to threaten uproare and combustion, and shake the brand of Civill Discord?

O Sir, I doe now feel my selfe inwrapt on the sodaine into those mazes and Labyrinths of dreadful and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end I know not, unless I turne mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that Eternall and Propitious Throne, where nothing is readier then grace and refuge to the distressedes of mortall Suppliants: and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts else piously then the Heathen were wont to conclude their graver discourses.

Thou therefore that fits't in light & glory unapprochable, Parent of Angels and Men! next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! And thou the third subsistence of Divine Infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created Things! one Tri-personall GODHEAD! looke upon this thy poore and almost
spent, and expiring Church, leave her not thus a prey to these importunate Wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender Flock, these wilde Boares that have broke into thy Vineyard, and left the print of thir polluting hoofs on the Soules of thy Servants. O let them not bring about their damned designes that stand now at the entrance of the bottomlesse pit expecting the Watch-word to open and let out those dreadfulfull Locusts and Scorpions, to re-involve us in that pitchy Cloud of infernall darknes, where we shall never more see the Sunne of thy Truth againe, never hope for the cheerfull dawne, never more heare the Bird of Morning sing. Be mov'd with pitty at the afflicted state of this our shaken Monarchy, that now lies labouring under her throwes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreaded Calamities.

O thou that after the impetuous rage of five bloody Inundations, and the succeeding Sword of intestine Warre, soaking the Land in her owne gore, diidst pity the sad and ceaseles revolution of our swift and thick-comming sorrowes when wee were quite breathlesse, of thy free grace diidst motion Peace, and termes of Cov'nant with us, & having first welnigh freed us from Antichristian thraldome, diidst build up this Britannick Empire to a glorious and enviable height with all her Daughter Ilands about her, stay us in this felicite, let not the obstinacy of our halfe Obedience and will-Worship bring forth that Viper of Sedition, that for these Four-score Yeares hath been breeding to eat through the entrals of our Peace; but let her cast her Abortive Spawne without the danger of this travailling & throbbing Kingdome. That we may still remember in our solemn Thanksgivings, how for us the Northern Ocean even to the frozen Thule was scatter'd with the proud Ship-wracks of the Spanish Armado,
and the very maw of Hell ranfack't, and made to give up her conceal'd destruction, ere shee could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

O how much more glorious will those former Deliverances appeare, when we shall know them not onely to have fav'd us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserv'd us for greatest happinesse to come. Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and Tyrannous Claime of thy Foes, now unite us intirely, and appropriate us to thy selfe, tie us everlastingly in willing Homage to the Prerogative of thy eternall Throne.

And now wee knowe, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the Sorceries of the great Whore, and have joyn'd their Plots with that sad Intelligencing Tyrant that mischieves the World with his Mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his Navall ruines that have larded our Seas; but let them all take Counsell together, and let it come to nought, let them Decree, and doe thou Cancell it, let them gather themselves, and bee scatter'd, let them embattell themselves and bee broken, let them imbattell, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then amidst the Hymns, and Halleluiahs of Saints some one may perhaps bee heard offering at high strains in new and lofty Measures to sing and celebrate thy divine Mercies, and marvelous Judgements in this Land throughout all Ages; whereby this great and Warlike Nation instructed and inur'd to the fervent and continuall practice of Truth and Righteousnesse, and casting farre from her the rags of her old vices may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wiseft, and most Christian People at that day when thou the Eternall and shortly-expected King shalt open the Clouds to judge the severall Kingdomes of the
World, and distributing National Honours and Rewards to Religious and just Commonwealths, shalt put an end to all Earthly Tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and milde Monarchy through Heaven and Earth. Where they undoubtedly that by their Labours, Counsels, and Prayers have been earnest for the Common good of Religion and their Country, shall receive, above the inferiour Orders of the Blessed, the Regall addition of Principalities, Legions, and Thrones into their glorious Titles, and in supereminence of beatifick Vision progressing the datelesse and irrevoluble Circle of Eternity shaft claspe inseparable Hands with joy, and blisse in over measure for ever.

But they contrary that by the impairing and diminution of the true Faith, the distresses and servitude of their Country aspire to high Dignity, Rule and Promotion here, after a shamefull end in this Life (which God grant them) shall be thrown downe eternally into the darkeft and deepeft Gulfe of Hell, where under the despightfull controule, the trample and spurne of all the other Damned, that in the anguish of their Torture shalt have no other ease then to exercise a Raving and Bestiall Tyranny over them as their Slaves and Negro's, they shall remaine in that plight for ever, the baseft, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot and downe-trodden Vassals of Perdition.
Of Prelaticall Episcopacy,

And whether it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical times by vertue of those Testimonies which are alledg'd to that purpose in some late Treatises: one whereof goes under the Name of James Archbishop of Armagh.

Episcopacy, as it is taken for an Order in the Church above a Presbyter, or as wee commonly name him, the Minister of a Congregation, is either of Divine constitution, or of humane. If onely of humane, we have the same humane priviledge, that all men have ever had since Adam, being borne free, and in the Mistress Island of all the Britifs, to retaine this Episcopacy, or to remove it, consulting with our owne occasions, and conveniences, and for the prevention of our owne dangers, and disquiets, in what best manner we can devise, without running at a losse, as wee must needs in those stale, and uselesse records of either uncertaine, or unsound antiquity, which if we hold faft to the grounds of the reformed Church, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, (so oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of tradition.) If it bee of Divine constitution, to satisifie us fully in that, the Scripture onely is able, it being the onely Book left us of Divine authority, not in any thing more Divine then in the all-sufficiency it hath to furnish us, as
with all other spirituall knowledge, so with this in particular, setting out to us a perfect man of God accomplish't to all the good workes of his charge. Through all which Booke can be no where, either by plaine Text, or solid reasoning found any difference betwenee a Bishop, and a Presbyter, save that they be two names to signify the same order. Notwithstanding this clearnesse, and that by all evidence of argument, Timothy, and Titus (whom our Prelates claim to imitate onely in the controuling part of their office) had rather the vicegerency of an Apostleship committed to them, then the ordinary charge of a Bishoprick, as being men of an extraordinary calling, yet to verify that which Saint Paul foretold of succeeding times,* when men began to have itching eares, then not contented with the plentiful and wholsom fountaines of the Gospell, they began after their owne lufts to heap to themselves teachers, and as if the divine Scripture wanted a supplement, and were to be eek't out, they cannot think any doubt resolv'd, and any doctrine confirm'd, unless they run to that indigested heap, and frie of Authors, which they call Antiquity. Whatsoever time, or the heedlesse hand of blind chance, hath drawne down from of old to this present, in her huge dragnet, whether Fish, or Sea-weed, Shells, or Shrubbs, unpickt, unchofen, those are the Fathers. Seeing therefore some men, deeply conversant in Bookes, have had so little care of late to give the world a better account of their reading, then by divulging needleffe tractats stuff't with specious names of Ignatius, and Polycarpus, with fragments of old Martyrologies, and legends, to distract, and stagger the multitude of credulous readers, & mislead them from their strong guards, and places of safety under

* 2 Tim. 4.
the tuition of holy writ, it came into my thoughts to perswade my selfe, setting all distances, and nice respects aside, that I could do Religion, and my Country no better service for the time then doing my utmost endeavour to recall the people of God from this vaine forraging after straw, and to reduce them to their firme stations under the standard of the Gospell: by making appeare to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconvenience, and lastly the impiety of these gay testimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this I shall not strive to be more exact in Methode, then as their citations lead mee.

First therefore concerning Ignatius shall be treated fully, when the Author shall come to insist upon some places in his Epistles. Next to prove a succession of 27. Bishops from Timothy, he cites one Leontius Bishop of Magnesia, out of the i I. act of the Chalcedonian Council: this is but an obscure, and single witnesse, and for his faithfull dealing who shall commend him to us, with this his Catalogue of Bishops? what know wee further of him, but that he might be as factious, and false a Bishop, as Leontius of Antioch that was a hundred yeares his predecessor? for neither the praise of his wisedome, or his vertue hath left him memorable to posterity, but onely this doubtfull relation, which wee must take at his word; and how shall this testimony receive credit from his word, whose very name had scarce been thought on, but for this bare Testimony? But they will say hee was a member of the Councell, and that may deserve to gaine him credit with us. I will not stand to argue, as yet with faire allowance I might, that wee may as justly suspect, there were some bad and slippery men in that councell, as we know there are wont to be in our Convocations. Nor shall I neede to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor
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with more subtility brought about, both anciently by other Heretikes, and modernly by Papifts, then to falsifie the Editions of the Councils, of which wee have none but from our Adversaries hands, whence Canons, Acts, and whole spurious Councils are thrust upon us, and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimat against the lawfull rejection of an urgent, and free disputer, but this I purpose not to take advantage of, for what availes it to wrangle about the corrupt editions of Councils, when as we know that many yeares ere this time which was almost 500. years after Chrift, the Councils themselves were fouly corrupted with ungodly Prelatisme, and fo farre plung'd into worldly ambition, as that it stood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well-tafted Hierarchy by what faire pretext foever they could, in like manner as they had now learnt to defend many other grosse corruptions by as ancient, and suppos'd authentick tradition as Episcopacie. And what hope can we have of this whole Council to warrant us a matter 400. years at least above their time concerning the distinction of Bishop and Presbyter, whenas we find them such blind Judges of things before their eyes in their decrees of precedencie between Bishop, and Bishop, acknowledging Rome for the Apostolick throne, and Peter in that See for the rock, the basis, and the foundation of the Catholick Church, and Faith, contrary to the interpretation of more ancient Fathers; and therfore from a mistaken text did they give to Leo as Peters succesfor a kind of preheminence above the whole Council, as Euagrius expresses (for now the Pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himselfe by his Vicars incompeitable honours) and yet having thus yeilded to Rome the univerfall Primacie for spirituall reasons, as they thought, they conclude their sitting with a carnall, and ambitious decree to give the second place of
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dignity to Constantine from reason of State, because it was new Rome, and by like consequence doubtlesse of earthly priviledges annext to each other City, was the Bishop therof to take his place.

I may say againe therfore, what hope can we have of such a Councell, as beginning in the Spirit, ended thus in the flesh. Much rather should we attend to what Eusebius the ancientest writer extant of Church-histroy, notwithstanding all the helps he had above these, confesses in the 4. chap. of his 3. Book, that it was no easie matter to tell who were those that were left Bishops of the Churches by the Apostles, more then by what a man might gather from the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, in which number he reckons Timothy for Bishop of Ephesus. So as may plainly appeare, that this tradition of Bishoping Timothy over Ephesus was but taken for granted out of that place in St. Paul, which was only an intreating him to tarry at Ephesus, to do somthing left him in charge.* Now if Eusebius a famous writer thought it so difficult to tell who were appointed Bishops by the Apostles, much more may we think it difficult to Leontius an obscure Bishop speaking beyond his own Diocesse: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of Bishops those were, if they had so little means to know who they were; and much lesse reason have we to stand to their definitive sentence, seeing they have bin so rash to raise up such lofty Bishops and Bishopricks out of places in Scripture meerly misunderstood. Thus while we leave the Bible to gadde after these traditions of the ancients, we heare the ancients themselves confessing, that what knowledge they had in this point was such as they had gather'd from the Bible.

* 1 Tim. i. 3.
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Since therfore Antiquity it selfe hath turn'd over the controversie to that sovran Book which we had fondly straggled from, we shall doe better not to de-tain this venerable apparition of Leontius any longer, but dismisfe him with his Lift of seven and twenty, to sleep unmolested in his former obscurity.

Now for the word πρεστώς, it is more likely that Timothy never knew the word in that fene: it was the vanity of those next succeeding times not to con-tent themselves with the simplicity of Scripture phrase, but must make a new Lexicon to name them-selves by, one will be call'd πρεστώς, or Antifes, a word of precedence, another would be term'd a Gnoftick, as Clemens, a third Sacerdos, or Priest, and talks of Altars; which was a plaine signe that their doctrine began to change, for which they must change their expressions: But that place of Justin Martyr serves rather to convince the Author, then to make for him, where the name πρεστώς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, the president, or Pastor of the Brethren (for to what end is he their President but to teach them) cannot be limited to signifie a Prelaticall Bishop, but rather com-municates that Greek appellation to every ordinary Presbyter: for there he tells what the Christians had wont to doe in their severall Congregations, to read, and expound, to pray and administer, all which he faies the πρεστώς, or Antifes did. Are these the Offices only of a Bishop, or shall we think that every Congregation where these things were done, which he attributes to this Antifes, had a Bishop present among them? unleffe they had as many Antifites as Presbyters, which this place rather seems to imply, and so we may inferre even from their own alledged authority, that Antifes was nothing else but Presbyter.

As for that namelesse Treatife of Timothy's martyr-dome, only cited by Photius that liv'd almost 900. yeares after Christ, it handsomely follows in that author,
the Martyrdom of the seven Sleepers, that slept (I tell you but what mine Author fayes) three hundred seaventy, and two years, for so long they had bin shut up in a Cave without meat, and were found living. This Story of *Timothy's* Ephesian Bishopricke as it follows in order, so may it for truth, if it only subsift upon its own authority, as it doth, for *Photius* only faith he read it; he does not averre it. That other legendarie piece found among the lives of the Saints, and sent us from the shop of the Jesuites at *Lovain,* does but bear the name of *Polycrates,* how truly who can tell? and shall have some more weight with us, when *Polycrates* can perswade us of that which he affirms in the same place of *Eusebius* 5. Book, that St. *John* was a Priest, and wore the golden brest-plate: and why should he convince us more with his traditions of *Timothy's* Episcopacie, then he could convince *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* with his traditions concerning the Feaft of Easter, who not regarding his irrefragable instances of examples taken from *Philip,* and his daughters that were Prophetesfes; or from *Polycarpus,* no nor from St. *John* himfelfe, Ex-communicated both him, and all the Afian Churches for celebrating their Easter judaically: he may therfore goe back to the feaven Bishops his kinfmen, and make his moane to them that we esteem his traditionall ware, as lightly as *Victor* did.

*Theodoret, Felix,* and *John of Antioch* are authorites of later times, and therfore not to be receiv'd for their Antiquities fake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherein writers so much their Elders, we fee so easily miscarry. What if they had told us that *Peter,* who as they fay left *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch,* went afterwards to *Rome,* and was Bishop there, as this *Ignatius,* and *Irenæus,*

*Euseb. 1. 6.*
and all Antiquity with one mouth deliver, there be never the lesse a number of learned, and wise Protestants who have written, and will maintain, that Peters being at Rome as Bishop cannot stand with concordance of Scripture.

Now come the Epistles of Ignatius to shew us first, that Onesimus was Bishop of Ephesus; next to assert the difference of Bishop and Presbyter, wherein I wonder that men teachers of the Protestant Religion, make no more difficulty of imposing upon our belief a supposititious offspring of some dozen Epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them Herefies and trifles, which cannot agree in Chronologie with Ignatius, entitling him Arch-Bishop of Antioch Theopolis, which name of Theopolis that City had not till Justinians time long after, as Cedrenus mentions, which argues both the barbarous time, and the unskillfull fraud of him that soisted this Epistle upon Ignatius. In the Epistle to those of Tarsus he condemns them for Ministers of Satan, that say Christ is God above all. To the Phillippians them that kept their Easter, as the Asian Churches, and Polycarpus did, and them that fasted upon any Saturday, or Sunday, except one he counts as those that had slain the Lord. To those of Antioch he salutes the Sub-Deacons, Chaunters, Porters, and Exorcists, as if these had bin Orders of the Church in his time: those other Epistles lesse question'd are yet so interlarded with Corruptions, as may justly induce us with a wholesome suspicion of the rest. As to the Trallians he writes that a Bishop hath power over all beyond all government, and authority whatsoever. Surely then no Pope can desire more then Ignatius attributes to every Bishop, but what will become then of the Archbishops and Primates if every Bishop in Ignatius judgement be as supreme as a Pope? To the Ephesians, neare the very place from whence they
fetch their proof for Episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the Epistle, *Let no man erre*, faith he, unlesse a man be within the rayls, or enclosure of the Altar, he is depriv’d of the bread of life. I say not but this may be stretch’d to a figu- rate construction, but yet it has an ill look, especially being follow’d beneath with the mention of I know not what sacrifices. In the other Epistle to Smyrna wherein is written that they should follow their Bishop as *Christ* did his Father, and the *Presbytery* as the *Apostles*: not to speak of the insulse, and ill-layd comparison, this cited place lyes upon the very brimme of a noted corruption, which had they, that quote this passage, ventur’d to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the testimony had bin of, where it is said, that it is not lawfull without a Bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to doe sacrifice. What can our Church make of these phrases but scandalous: and but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the Spirit of God in *Salomon*, Judge by the words themselfs. *My Son*, faith he, honour *God & the King*; but I say, honour *God* and the Bishop as High-priest, bearing the image of *God* according to his ruling, and of *Christ*, according to his Priesting, and after him honour the King. Excellent Ignatius! can ye blame the Prelates for making much of this Epistle? Certainly if this Epistle can serve you to set a Bishop above a *Presbytery*, it may serve you next to set him above a King. These, and other like places in abundance through all those short Epistles must either be adulterat, or else *Ignatius* was not *Ignatius*, nor a Martyr, but most adulterate, and corrupt himselfe. In the midst therefor of so many forgeries where shall we fixe to dare say this is *Ignatius*? As for his stile who knows it? so disfigur’d and interrupted as it is, except they think that where they meet with any thing found, and ortho-
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doxal, there they find Ignatius, and then they believe him not for his own authority, but for a truths sake, which they derive from els where: to what end then should they cite him as authentick for Episcopacie, when they cannot know what is authentick in him, but by the judgement which they brought with them, and not by any judgement which they might safely learne from him. How can they bring satisfaction from such an Author, to whose very essence the Reader must be fain to contribute his own understanding? Had God ever intended that we should have sought any part of usefull instruction from Ignatius, doubtles he would not have so ill provided for our knowledge, as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjoynted plight; and if he intended no such thing, we doe injuriously in thinking to taft better the pure Evangelick Manna by seasonoing our mouths with the tainted scraps, and fragments of an unknown table; and searching among the verminous, and polluted rags dropt overworn from the toyling shoulders of Time, with these deformedly to quilt, and interlace he intire, the spotlesse, and undecaying robe of Truth, the daughter not of Time, but of Heaven, only bred up heer below in Christian hearts, between two grave and holy nurses the Doctrine, and Discipline of the Gospel.

Next follows Irenæus Bishop of Lions, who is cited to affirm that Polycarpus was made Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles: and this it may seem, none could better tell then he who had both seen and heard Polycarpus: but when did he heare him? himselfe confesses to Florinus, when he was a Boy. Whether that age in Irenæus may not be liable to many mistakings; and whether a Boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a Church Constitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of Commission Polycarpus re-
ceiv'd his charge, let a man consider, ere he be credulous. It will not be deny'd that he might have seen Polycarpus in his youth a man of great eminence in the Church, to whom the other Presbyters might give way for his vertue, wisdome, and the reverence of his age; and so did Anicetus Bishop of Rome, even in his own City, give him a kind of priority in administering the Sacrament; as may be read in Eusebius: but that we should hence conclude a distinct, and superior order from the young observation of Irenaeus, nothing yet alledge'd can warrant us, unless we shall beleevce such as would face us down, that Calvin, and after him Beza were Bishops of Geneva, because that in the unsetl'd state of the Church, while things were not fully compos'd, their worth, and learning cast a greater share of businesse upon them, and directed mens eyes principally towards them, and yet these men were the dissolvers of Episcopacie. We see the same necessity in state affaires. Brutus that expell'd the Kings out of Rome, was for the time forc't to be as it were a King himself, till matters were set in order, as in a free Commonwealth. He that had seen Pericles lead the Athenians which way he list, haply would have said he had bin their Prince, and yet he was but a powerfull and eloquent man in a Democratie, and had no more at any time than a Temporary, and elective swayne, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is most likely that in the Church they which came after these Apostolick men being lesse in merit, but bigger in ambition, strove to invade those priviledges by intrusion and plea of right, which Polycarpus, and others like him possesse from the voluntary surrender of men subdu'd by the excellencie of their heavenly gifts, which because their Successors had not, and so could neither have that authority, it was their policy to divulge that
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the eminence which Polycarpus and his equals enjoyed, was by right of constitution, not by free will of condiscending. And yet thus farre Irenæus makes against them as in that very place to call Polycarpus an Apostolicall Presbyter. But what fidelity his relations had in generall, we cannot sooner learn then by Eusebius, who neer the end of his third Book, speaking of Papias a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. John, and was known to many that had seen, and bin acquainted with others of the Apostles, but being of a shallow wit, and not understanding those traditions which he receiv'd, fill'd his writings with many new docttrines, and fabulous conceits, he tells us there, that divers Ecclesialstical men, and Irenæus among the rest, while they lookt at his antiquity, became infected with his errors. Now if Irenæus were so rash as to take unexamin'd opinions from an Author of so small capacity, when he was a man, we should be more rash our selves to rely upon those observations which he made when he was a Boy. And this may be a sufficient reason to us why we need no longer muse at the spreading of many idle traditions so soon after the Apostles, whilst such as this Papias had the throwing them about, and the inconsiderate zeal of the next age, that heeded more the person, then the Doctrine, had the gathering them up. Where ever a man, who had bin any way conversant with the Apostles, was to be found, thether flew all the inquisitive eares, the exercise of right instructing was chang'd into the curiosity of impertinent fabling: where the mind was to be edified with solid Doctrine, there the fancy was sooth'd with solemne stories: with lesse fervency was studied what Saint Paul, or Saint John had written then was listen'd to one that could say here hee taught, here he stood, this was his stature, and thus he went habited, and O happy this house
that harbour'd him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this Village wherein he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warme effusion of his last blood, that sprouted up into eternall Roses to crowne his Martyrdom. Thus while all their thoughts were powr'd out upon circumstances, and the gazing after such men as had fate at table with the Apostles (many of which Christ hath profeft, yea though they had cast out Divells in his name, he will not know at the last day) by this means they lost their time, and truanted in the fundamentall grounds of saving knowledge, as was seene shortly by their writings. Lastly for Irenæus, wee have cause to thinke him lesse judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the Apostles did, when we find him so negligent in keeping the faith which they writ, as to say in his third Booke against Herefies, that the obedience of Mary was the cause of salvation to her selfe, and all mankind, and in his fift Booke, that as Eve was seduc't to fly God, so the Virgin Mary was perswaded to obey God, that the Virgin Mary might be made the Advocate of the Virgin Eve. Thus if Irenæus for his neerenesse to the Apostles, must be the Patron of Episcopacy to us, it is no marvell though he be the Patron of Idolatry to the Papift, for the same cause. To the Epistle of those brethren of Smyrna, that write the Martyrdom of Polycarpus, and title him an Apostolicall, and prophetical Doctor, and Bishop of the Church in Smirna, I could be content to give some credit for the great honour, and affection which I see those brethren beare him, and not undeservedly if it be true which they there say that he was a Prophet, and had a voyce from Heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could heare, but the rest could not for the noise, and tumult that was in the place, and besides if his body were so pretious to the Christians, that
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hee was never wont to pull off his shoes for one or other that still strove to have the office, that they might come to touch his feet, yet a light scruple or two I would gladly be resolv'd in; if Polycarpus (who, as they say, was a Prophet that never faild in what he foretold) had declar'd to his friends, that he knew by vision, hee should die no other death then burning, how it came to passe that the fire when it came to proose, would not doe his worke, but starting off like a full saile from the mast, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbes exhaling such a sweet odour, as if all the incense of Arabia had bin burning, in so much that when the bill-men saw that the fire was overaw'd, and could not doe the deed, one of them steps to him, and stabs him with a sword, at which wound such abundance of bloud gusht forth as quencht the fire. By all this relation it appeares not, how the fire was guilty of his death, and then how can his prophesie bee fulfill'd? Next how the standers by could be so soone weary of such a glorious sight, and such a fragrant smell, as to haf-ten the executioner to put out the fire with the Martyrs blood, unleffe perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the Smoake would bee more odorous then the flame? Yet these good brethren say he was Bishop of Smyrna. No man questions it, if Bishop, and Presbyter were anciantly all one, and how does it appeare by any thing in this testimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of propheticall, Apostolicall, and most admired of those times, hee bee also stil'd Bishop of the Church of Smirna in a kind of speech, which the Rhetoricians call κατ' έξοχήν, for his excellence sake, as being the most famous of all the Smyrnian Presbyters, it cannot bee prov'd neither from this nor that other place of Ireneus, that hee was therefore in distinct, and monarchicall order above the other Presbyters, it is
more probable, that if the whole Presbytery had beene as renowned as he, they would have term'd every one of them severally Bishop of Smyrna. Hence it is that wee read sometimes of two Bishops in one place, and had all the Presbyters there beene of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accosts us next (for Polycrates hath had his answer) whose testimony, state but the question right, is of no more force to deduce Episcopacy, then the two former. He saies that the Church of Smirna had Polycarpus plac't there by John, and the Church of Rome Clement ordain'd by Peter, and so the rest of the Churches did shew, what Bishops they had receiv'd by the appointment of the Apostles. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the Scripture that Bishops or Presbyters, which were the same, were left by the Apostles in every Church, and they might perhaps give some speciall charge to Clement, or Polycarpus, or Linus, and put some speciall trust in them for the experience they had of their faith, and constancy; it remains yet to be evinc't out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word Bishop is otherwise taken, then in the language of Saint Paul, and the Acts, for an order above Presbyters. We grant them Bishops, we grant them worthy men, we grant them plac't in severall Churches by the Apostles, we grant that Irenæus, and Tertul: affirme this, but that they were plac't in a superiour Order above the Presbytery, shew from all these words why we should grant. 'Tis not-enough to say the Ap: left this man Bishop in Rome, and that other in Ephesus, but to shew when they alterd their owne decree set downe by St. Paul, and made all the Presbyters underlings to one Bishop. But suppose Tertullian had made an imparity where none was originally,
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should hee move us, that goes about to prove an imparity betweene God the Father, and God the Sonne, as these words import in his Booke against Praxeas. The Father is the whole substance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himselse professes because the Father is greater then me. Beleeve him now for a faithfull relater of tradition, whom you fee such an unfaithfull expounder of the Scripture, besides in his time all allowable tradition was now lost. For this same Author whom you bring to testifie the ordination of Clement to the Bishoprick of Rome by Peter, testifies also in the beginning of his treatise concerning Chastity, that the Bishop of Rome did then use to send forth his edicts by the name of Pontifex Maximus, and Episcopus Episcoporum chief Priest, and Bishop of Bishops. For shame then doe not urge that authority to keepe up a Bishop, that will necessarily ingage you to set up a Pope. As little can your advantage bee from Hegesippus an Historian of the same time not extant, but cited by Eusebius, his words are, that in every City all things stood in his time as the Law, and the Prophets, and our Lord did preach. If they stood so, then stood not Bishops above Presbyters, for what our Lord, and his Disciples taught, God be thanked, we have no need to goe learne of him: and you may as well hope to perswade us out of the same Author, that James the brother of our Lord was a Nazarite, and that to him only it was lawfull to enter into the holy of Holies, that his food was not upon any thing that had life, fish, or flesh, that he us'd no wollen garments, but onely linnen, and so as he trisles on.

If therefore the tradition of the Church were now grown so ridiculous, and disconsenting from the Doctrine of the Apostles, even in those points which were of left moment to mens particular ends, how
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well may we be assur'd it was much more degener-
ated in point of Episcopacy, and precedency, things
which could afford such plausible pretences, such
 commodious traverses for ambition, and Avarice to
lurke behind.

As for those Britaine Bishops which you cite,
take heed what you doe, for our Britaine Bishops
lesse ancient then these, were remarkable for nothing
more then their poverty, as Sulp. Severus, and Beda
can remember you of examples good store.

Lastly (for the fabulous Metaphrastes is not worth
an answer) that authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is
not to be found in all his workes, and wherever it be
extant, it is in controversy, whether it be Clements
or no; or if it were it sayes onely that Saint John in
some places constituted Bishops: questionlesse he
did, but where does Clement say he set them above
Prefbyters? no man will gainsay the constitution of
Bishops, but the raising them to a superiour, and dis-
tinct order above Prefbyters, seeing the Gospell makes
them one and the same thing, a thousand such alle-
gations as these will not give Prelaticall Episcopacy,
one Chapell of case above a Parish Church. And
thus much for this cloud I cannot say rather then
petty-fog of witnesses, with which Episcopall men
would cast a mist before us, to deduce their exalted
Episcopacy from Apostolick times. Now although,
as all men well know, it be the wonted shift of er-
rour, and fond Opinion, when they find themselves
outlaw'd by the Bible, and forsaken of sound reason,
to betake them with all speed to their old starting
hole of tradition, and that wild, and overgrowne Co-
vert of antiquity thinking to farme there at large
roome, and find good stabling, yet thus much their
owne deisy'de antiquity betrayes them, to informe
us that Tradition hath had very seldome or never
the gift of perfwasion; as that which Church Hif-
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tories report of those East, and Western Paschalists formerly spoken of will declare, who would have thought that Polycarpus on the one side could have err'd in what he saw Saint John doe, or Anicetus Bishop of Rome on the other side, in what he or some of his friends might pretend to have seene Saint Peter, or Saint Paul doe, and yet neither of these could perswade either when to keepe Easter; The like frivolous contention troubled the Primitive English Churches, while Colmanus, and Wilfride on either side deducing their opinions, the one from the undeniable example of Saint John, and the learned Bishop Anatolius, and lastly the miraculous Columba: the other from Saint Peter, and the Nicene Councell could gaine no ground each of other till King Ofwy perceiving no likelihood of ending the Controversie that way, was faine to decide it himselfe good King, with that small knowledge, wherewith those times had furnisht him. So when those pious Greek Emperours began, as Cedrenus relates, to put downe Monks, and abolish Images, the old Idolaters finding themselves blasted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the Scripture, sent out their sturdy Monks call'd the Abramites, to alledge for images the ancient Fathers Dionysius, and this our objected Irenaeus, nay they were so high flowne in their antiquity, that they undertooke to bring the Apostles, and Luke the Evangelist, yea Christ himselfe, from certaine records that were then current, to patronize their Idolatry, yet for all this the worthy Emperour Theophilus, even in those darke times chose rather to nourish himselfe, and his people with the sincere milke of the Gospell, then to drinke from the mixt confluence of so many corrupt, and poysonous waters, as tradition would have perswaded him to by most ancient seeming authorities: In like manner all the reformed Churches abroad, unthroning Epis-
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copacy doubtleff were not ignorant of these testi-
monies alledg'd to draw it in a line from the Apos-
tles dayes, for surely the Author will not thinke he
hath brought us now any new authorities, or con-
iderations into the world, which the Reformers in
other places were not advis'd of, and yet we see, the
interceffion of all these Apostolick Fathers could
not prevale with them to alter their resolved de-
eree of reducing into Order their usurping, and
over provender'd Episcopants: and God hath bleft
their worke this hundred yeares, with a prosperous
and ftedfast, and still happy successor. And this
may serve to prove the insufficiency of these present
Episcopall Testimonies not only in themselves, but
in the account of those ever that have beene the
followers of truth. It will next behoove us to con-
sider the inconvenience we fall into, by using our
selves to bee guided by these kind of Testimonies.
He that thinks it the part of a well learned man, to
have read diligently the ancient stories of the Church,
and to be no stranger in the volumes of the Fathers
shall have all judicious men consenting with him;
not hereby to controule, and new fangle the Scrip-
ture, God forbid, but to marke how corruption, and
Apostacy crept in by degrees, and to gather up,
where ever wee find the remaining sparks of Ori-
ginall truth, wherewith to ftope the mouthes of our
adversaries, and to bridle them with their own
curb, who willingly passe by that which is Ortho-
doxall in them, and studiously cull out that which
is commentitious, and beft for their turns, not
weighing the Fathers in the ballance of Scripture,
but Scripture in the ballance of the Fathers, if wee
therefore making first the Gospell our rule, and
Oracle shall take the good which wee light on in
the Fathers, and set it to oppose the evill which
other men seek from them, in this way of Skirmish
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wee shall easily master all superstition, and false doctrine; but if we turne this our discreet, and wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatsoever we find written by them, wee both forfake our owne grounds, and reasons which led us at first to part from Rome, that is to hold to the Scriptures against all antiquity; wee remove our cause into our adversaries owne Court, and take up there those cast principles which will soone cause us to foder up with them againe, in as much as believing antiquity for it self in any one point, we bring an engagement upon our selves of affenting to all that it charges upon us. For suppose we should now neglecting that which is cleare in Scripture, that a Bishop and Presbyter is all one both in name, and office, and that what was done by Timothy, and Titus executing an extraordinary place, as fellow labourers with the Apostles, and of a universall charge in planting Christianity through divers regions, cannot be drawne into particular, and dayly example, suppose that neglecting this clearenesse of the text, we should by the uncertaine, and corrupted writings of succeeding times, determine that Bishop and Presbyter are different, because we dare not deny what Ignatius or rather the Perkin Warbeck of Ignatius sayes, then must we bee constrain’d to take upon our selves a thousand superstitions, and falsities which the Papist will prove us downe in from as good authorities, and as ancient, as these that set a Bishop above a Presbyter. And the plaine truth is that when any of our men of those that are wedded to antiquity come to dispute with a Papist, and leaving the Scriptures put themselves without appeal to the sentence of Synods, and Councells, using in the cause of Zion the hir’douldjery of revolted Israel, where they give the Romanist one buffe, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore
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but in this regard, every true Bishop should be afraid to conquer in his cause by such authorities as these, which if we admit for the authorities fake, we open a broad passage for a multitude of Doctrines that have no ground in Scripture, to break in upon us.

Lastly I doe not know, it being undeniable that there are but two Ecclesiasticall Orders, Bishops, and Deacons mention'd in the Gospell, how it can be lesse then impiety to make a demurre at that, which is there so perspicuous, confronting, and parallelling the sacred verity of Saint Paul with the offalls, and sweepings of antiquity that met as accidentally and absurdly, as Epicurus his atoms to patch up a Leucippean Ignatius, enclinig rather to make this phantasm an expounder, or indeed a depraver of Saint Paul, then Saint Paul an examiner, and discoverer of this impostorship, nor caring how slightly they put off the verdit of holy Text unsalv'd, that sayes plainly there bee but two orders, so they maintaine the reputation of their imaginary Doctor that proclaimes three: certainly if Christ's Apostle have set downe but two, then according to his owne words, though hee himselfe should unsay it, and not onely the Angell of Smyrna, but an Angell from Heaven should beare us downe that there bee three, Saint Paul has doom'd him twife, let him be accur'ft, for Christ hath pronounc't that no tittle of his word shall fall to the ground, and if one jot be alterable it is as possible that all should perish; And this shall bee our righteousnes, our ample warrant, and strong assurance both now, and at the last day never to be a sham'd of, against all the heaped names of Angells, and Martyrs, Councells, and Fathers urg'd upon us, if we have given our selves up to be taught by the pure, and living precept of God's word onely, which without
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more additions, nay with a forbidding of them hath within it selfe the promise of eternall life, the end of all our wearisome labours, and all our sustaining hopes. But if any shall strive to set up his Ephod, and Teraphim of Antiquity against the brightnesse, and perfection of the Gospell, let him feare lest he and his Baal be turn'd into Bosheth. And thus much may suffice to shew that the pretended Episcopacy cannot be deduc't from the Apostolicall Times.
The Reason of Church-government urg'd against Prelaty.

In Two Books.

The Preface.

In the publishing of humane lawes, which for the most part aime not beyond the good of civill society, to set them bare-ly forth to the people without reason or Preface, like a physicall prescript, or only with threatnings, as it were a lordly command, in the judgement of Plato was thought to be done neither generously nor wifely. His advice was, seeing that persuasion certainly is a more winning, and more manlike way to keepe men in obedience then feare, that to such lawes as were of principall moment, there should be us'd as an induction, some well temper'd discourse, shewing how good, how gainfull, how happy it must needs be to live according to honesty and justice, which being utter'd with those native colours and graces of speech, as true eloquence the daughter of vertue can best bestowed upon her mothers praises, would so incite, and in a manner, charme the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to imbrace it ever after, not of custome and awe, which most men do, but of choice and purpose,
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with true and constant delight. But this practice we may learn, from a better and more ancient authority, then any heathen writer hath to give us, and indeed being a point of so high wisdom and worth, how could it be but we should find it in that book within whose sacred context all wisdom is infolded? Moses therefore the only Lawgiver that we can believe to have beene visibly taught of God, knowing how vaine it was to write lawes to men whose hearts were not first season'd with the knowledge of God and of his workes, began from the book of Genesis, as a prologue to his lawes; which Josephus right well hath noted. That the nation of the Jewes, reading therein the univerfall goodnesse of God to all creatures in the Creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of Abraham their ancestor, from whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be mov'd to obey sincerely by knowing so good a reason of their obedience. If then in the administration of civill justice, and under the obscurity of Ceremoniall rites, such care was had by the wisest of the heathen, and by Moses among the Jewes, to instruct them at least in a generall reason of that government to which their subjection was requir'd, how much more ought the members of the Church under the Gospell seek to informe their understanding in the reason of that government which the Church claimes to have over them: especially for that the Church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections of the mind where the seat of reason is; having power to examine our spirituall knowledge, and to demand from us in Gods behalfe a service entirely reasonable. But because about the manner and order of this government, whether it ought to be Presbyteriall, or Prelaticall, such endlesse question, or rather uproare is arisen in this land, as may be justly term'd, what
the feaver is to the Phystians, the eternall reproach of our Divines; whileft other profound Clerks of late greatly, as they conceive, to the advancement of Prelaty, are so earnestly meting out the Lydian pro-consular Asia, to make good the prime metropolis of Ephesus, as if some of our Prelates in all haste meant to change their foile, and become neighbours to the English Bishop of Chalcedon; and whileft good Breerwood as busily bestirres himselfe in our vulgar tongue to divide precisely the three Patriarchats, of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and whether to any of these England doth belong, I shall in the meane while not cease to hope through the mercy and grace of Christ, the head and husband of his Church, that England shortly is to belong, neither to See Patriarchall, nor See Prelaticall, but to the faithfull feeding and disciplining of that ministeriall order, which the blessed Apostles constituted throughout the Churches: and this I shall assay to prove can be no other, then that of Presbyters and Deacons. And if any man incline to thinke I undertake a taske too difficult for my yeares, I trust through the supreme inlightning assistance farre otherwise; for my yeares, be they few or many, what imports it? so they bring reason, let that be looke on: and for the taske, from hence that the question in hand is so needfull to be known at this time chiefly by every meaner capacity, and containes in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reacht out to us by the Gospell, I conclude the taske must be easie. God having to this end ordain'd his Gospell to be the revelation of his power and wisdome in Christ Jesus. And this is one depth of his wisdome, that he could so plainly reveale so great a measure of it to the grosse distorted apprehension of decay'd mankinde. Let others therefore dread and shun the Scriptures for their darknesse, I shall wish
I may deserve to be reckon’d among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearnesse. And this seems to be the cause why in those places of holy writ, wherein is treated of Church-government, the reasons thereof are not formally, and protestly set downe, because to him that heeds attentively the drift and scope of Christian profession, they easily imply themselves, which thing further to explaine, having now presac’d enough, I shall no longer deferre.

CHAP. I.

That Church-governement is prescrib’d in the Gospell, and that to say otherwise is unsound.

He first and greatest reason of Church-governement, we may securely with the assent of many on the adverse part, affirme to be, because we finde it so ordain’d and set out to us by the appointment of God in the Scriptures; but whether this be Presbyteriall, or Prelatcall, it cannot be brought to the scanning, untill I have said what is meet to some who do not think it for the ease of their inconsequent opinions, to grant that Church discipline is platform’d in the Bible, but that it is left to the discretion of men. To this conceit of theirs I answer, that it is both unsound and untrue. For there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, then is discipline. What need I instance? He that hath read with judgement, of Nations and Common-wealths, of Cities and Camps of peace and warre, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civill societies, all the moments and turnings of humane occasions are mov’d to and fro as upon the
The Reafon of

Bk. 1.

axle of discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortall things weaker men have attributed to fortune, I durst with more confidence (the honour of divine providence ever fav’d) ascribe either to the vigor, or the slacknesse of discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life civill or sacred that can be above discipline, but she is that which with her musicall cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in those perfect armies of Cyrus in Xenophon, and Scipio in the Roman stories, the excellence of military skill was esteem’d, not by the not needing, but by the readieft submitting to the edicts of their commander. And certainly discipline is not only the removall of disorder, but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of vertue, whereby she is not only seene in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walkes, but also makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortall eares. Yea the Angels themselves, in whom no disorder is fear’d, as the Apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguisht and quaterniond into their celeffiall Princedomes, and Satrapies, according as God himselfe hath writ his imperiall decrees through the great provinces of heav’n. The state also of the blessed in Paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without discipline, whose golden survaying reed marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of new Jerusalem. Yet it is not to be conceiv’d that those eternall effluences of sanctity and love in the glorified Saints should by this means be confin’d and cloy’d with repetition of that which is prescrib’d, but that our happinesse may orbe it selfe into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kinde of eccentricall equation be as it were an invariable Planet of joy and felicity, how much lesse can we believe that God would leave his
fraile and feeble, though not lesse beloved Church here below to the perpetuall stumble of conjecture and disturbance in this our darke voyage without the card and compasse of Discipline. Which is so hard to be of mans making, that we may see even in the guidance of a civill state to worldly happiness, it is not for every learned, or every wise man, though many of them consult in common, to invent or frame a discipline, but if it be at all the worke of man, it must be of such a one as is a true knower of himselfe, and himselfe in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence must be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden causes of things, and span in his thoughts all the various effects that passion or complexion can worke in mans nature; and hereto must his hand be at defiance with gaine, and his heart in all vertues heroick. So far is it from the kenne of these wretched projectors of ours that becrauull their Pamflets every day with new formes of government for our Church. And therefore all the ancient lawgivers were either truly inspir'd as Mofes, or were such men as with authority anough might give it out to be so, as Minos, Lycurgus, Numa, because they wisely forethought that men would never quietly submit to such a discipline as had not more of Gods hand in it then mans. To come within the narrownesse of household government, observation will shew us many deepe counsellers of state and judges to demean themselves incorruptly in the sett'd course of affaires, and many worthy Preachers upright in their lives, powerfull in their audience; but look upon either of these men where they are left to their own disciplining at home, and you shall soone perceive for all their single knowledge and uprightnesse, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own family; not only in what may concern the vertuous and decent compo-
fure of their minds in their several places, but that
which is of a lower and easier performance, the right
possessing of the outward vesseall, their body, in health
or sickness, rest or labour, diet, or abstinence, where-
by to render it more pliant to the soule, and usefull
to the Common-wealth: which if men were but as
good to discipline themselves, as some are to tutor
their Horsees and Hawks, it could not be so grosse in
most households. If then it appear so hard and so
little knowne, how to governe a house well, which
is thought of so easie discharge, and for every mans
undertaking, what skill of man, what wisdome, what
parts, can be sufficient to give lawes and ordinances to
the elect houmold of God? If we could imagine
that he had left it at randome without his provident
and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant so pre-
sumptuous that durft dispose and guide the living
arde of the holy Ghoft, though he should finde it
wandering in the field of Bethshemesh, without the
conscious warrant of some high calling. But no
profane insolence can parallell that which our Pre-
lates dare avouch, to drive outrageously, and shatter
the holy arke of the Church, not born upon their
shoulders with pains and labour in the word, but
drawne with rude oxen their officials, and their
owne brute inventions. Let them make shewes of
reforming while they will, so long as the Church is
mounted upon the Prelaticall Cart, and not as it
ought betwenee the hands of the Ministers, it will
but shake and totter, and he that sets to his hand
though with a good intent to hinder the shaving
of it, in this unlawfull waggonry wherein it rides,
let him beware it be not fatal to him as it was to
Vzzz. Certainly if God be the father of his family
the Church, wherein could he expresse that name
more, then in training it up under his owne all-
wise and dear Oeconomy, not turning it loose to the
havock of strangers and wolves that would ask no better plea then this to doe in the Church of Christ, what ever humour, faction, policy, or licentious will would prompt them to. Againe, if Christ be the Churches husband expecting her to be presented before him a pure unspotted virgin; in what could he shew his tender love to her more, then in pre-scribing his owne wayes which he best knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty with much greater care doubtlesse then the Persian King could appoint for his Queene Esther, those maiden dietings and set prescriptions of baths, and odors, which may render her at last the more amiable to his eye. For of any age or sex, most unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertaine and arbitrary education. Yea though she be well instructed, yet is she still under a more strait tuition, especially if betroth'd. In like manner the Church bearing the same resemblance, it were not reason to think she should be left destitute of that care which is as neccessary, and proper to her, as instruction. For publick preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit working as best seemes to his secret will, but discipline is the practick work of preaching directed and apply'd as is most requisite to particular duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of souls, as it would be to the cure of bodies, if all the Phy sitioans in London should get into the severall Pulpits of the City, and assembling all the diseased in every parish should begin a learned Lecture of Pleurisy, Palsies, Le-thargies, to which perhaps none there present were inclin'd, and so without so much as feeling one puls, or giving the least order to any skilfull Apothecary, should dismiss 'em from time to time, some groaning, some languishing, some expiring, with this only charge to look well to themselves, and do as they heare. Of what excellence and neccessity then
Church-discipline is, how beyond the faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to mans invention who would be every foot turning it to sinister ends, how properly also it is the worke of God as father, and of Christ as Husband of the Church; we have by thus much heard.

CHAP. II.

That Church governement is set downe in holy Scripture, and that to say otherwise is untrue.

As therefore it is unsound to say that God hath not appointed any set government in his Church, so is it untrue. Of the time of the Law there can be no doubt; for to let passe the first institution of Priests and Levites, which is too cleare to be insisted upon, when the Temple came to be built, which in plaine judgement could breed no essentiall change either in religion, or in the Priestly government; yet God to shew how little he could endure that men should be tampering and contriving in his worship, though in things of lesse regard, gave to David for Solomon not only a pattern and modell of the Temple, but a direction for the courses of the Priests and Levites, and for all the worke of their service. At the returne from the Captivity things were only restor'd after the ordinance of Moses and David; or if the least alteration be to be found, they had with them inspired men, Prophets, and it were not sober to say they did ought of moment without divine intimation. In the Prophesie of Ezekiel from the 40 Chapt. onward, after the destruction of the Temple, God by his Prophet seeking to weane the hearts of the Jewes from their old law to expect a new and
Ch. 2. Church-government. more perfect reformation under Christ, sets out before their eyes the stately fabric and constitution of his Church, with all the ecclesiastical functions appertaining; indeed the description is as sorted best to the apprehension of those times, typicall and shadowie, but in such manner as never yet came to passe, nor never must literally, unless we mean to annihilat the Gospel. But so exquisit and lively the description is in portraying the new state of the Church, and especially in those points where government feemes to be most active, that both Jewes and Gentiles might have good cause to be asur'd, that God when ever he meant to reforme his Church, never intended to leave the government thereof delineated here in such curious architecture, to be patch't afterwards, and varnish't over with the devices and imbellishments of mans imagination. Did God take such delight in measuring out the pillars, arches, and doores of a materiall Temple, was he so punctual and circumspect in lavers, altars, and sacrifices soone after to be abrogated, left any of these should have beene made contrary to his minde! is not a farre more perfect worke more agreeable to his perfection in the most perfect state of the Church militant, the new alliance of God to man? should not he rather now by his owne prescribed discipline have cast his line and levell upon the soule of man which is his rationall temple, and by the divine square and compass thereof forme and regenerate in us the lovely shapes of vertues and graces, the sooner to edifie and accomplish that immortall stature of Christs body which is his Church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions. And that this indeed God hath done for us in the Gospel we shall see with open eyes, not under a vaile. We may passe over the history of the Acts and other places, turning only to those Epistles of S. Paul to Timothy
and Titus: where the spiritual eye may discern more
goodly and gracefully erected then all the magni-
ficence of Temple or Tabernacle, such a heavenly
structure of evangelick discipline so diffusive of
knowledge and charity to the prosperous increase
and growth of the Church, that it cannot be won-
der'd if that elegant and artfull symmetry of the
promised new temple in Ezekiel, and all those
sumptuous things under the Law were made to sig-
nifie the inward beauty and splendor of the Chris-
tian Church thus govern'd. And whether this be
commanded let it now be judg'd. S. Paul after his
preface to the first of Timothy which hee conclud-
es in the 17 Verse with Amen, enters upon the subject
of his Epistle which is to establish the Church-
government with a command. This charge I com-
mit to thee son Timothy: according to the prophecies
which went before on thee, that thou by them
might'ft war a good warfare. Which is plain
enough thus expounded. This charge I commit
to thee wherein I now go about to instruct thee how
thou shalt set up Church-discipline, that thou might'ft
warre a good warfare, bearing thy selfe constantly
and faithfully in the Ministry, which in the 1 to the
Corinthians is also call'd a warfare: and so after a
kinde of Parenthesis concerning Hymeneus he returnes
to his command though under the milde word of
exhorting, Cap. 2. v. 1. I exhort therefore. As
if he had interrupted his former command by the
occasionall mention of Hymeneus. More beneath
in the 14 V. of the 3 C. when he hath deliver'd the
duties of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons not
once naming any other order in the Church, he
thus addes. These things write I unto thee hoping
to come unto thee shortly (such necessity it seems
there was) but if I tarry long, that thou mai'ft
know how thou ought'ft to behave thy selfe in the
house of God. From this place it may be justly ask't, whether Timothy by this here written might know what was to be knowne concerning the orders of Church-governours or no? If he might, then in such a cleere text as this may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did S. Paul write insufficietly, and moreover said not true, for he faith here he might know, and I perswade my selfe he did know ere this was written, but that the Apostle had more regard to the instruction of us then to the informing of him. In the fifth Chap. after some other Church precepts concerning discipline, mark what a dreadfull command followes, Verse 21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things, and as if all were not yet sure enough, he closes up the Epistle with an adjuring charge thus. I give thee charge in the sight of God who quickneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, that thou keepe this commandement: that is the whole commandement concerning discipline, being the maine purpose of the Epistle: although Hooker would faine have this denouncement referr'd to the particular precept going before, because the word Commandement is in the singular number, not remembering that even in the first Chapt. of this Epistle, the word Commandement is us'd in a plurall sense, Verse 5. Now the end of the Commandement is charity. And what more frequent then in like manner to say the Law of Moses. So that either to refraine the signification too much, or too much to inlarg it would make the adjuration either not so waighty, or not so pertinent. And thus we find here that the rules of Church-discipline are not only commanded, but hedg'd about with such a terrible impalement of commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the leaft of them, must hazard the wounding
of his conscience even to death. Yet all this notwithstanding we shall finde them broken wellnigh all by the faire pretenders even of the next ages. No lesse to the contempt of him whom they fain to be the archfounder of prelaty S. Peter, who by what he writes in the 5 Chap. of his first Epifte should seeme to be farre another man then tradition reports him: there he commits to the Prebyters only full authority both of feeding the flock, and Episcopating: and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repell the ventrous boldnesse of innovation that ensu’d, changing the decrees of God that is immutable, as if they had been breath’d by man. Neverthelesse when Chrift by those visions of S. John foreshewes the reformation of his Church, he bids him take his Reed, and meet it out againe after the first patterne, for he prescribes him no other. Arife, said the Angell and measure the Temple of God and the Altar, and them that worship therein. What is there in the world can measure men but discipline? Our word ruling imports no lesse. Doctrine indeed is the measure, or at least the reason of the measure, tis true, but unlesse the measure be apply’d to that which it is to measure, how can it actually doe its proper worke. Whether therefore discipline be all one with doctrine, or the particular application thereof to this or that person, we all agree that doctrine must be such only as is commanded; or whether it be something really differing from doctrine, yet was it only of Gods appointment, as being the most adequat measure of the Church and her children, which is here the office of a great Evangelift and the reed given him from heaven. But that part of the Temple which is not thus measur’d, so farre is it from being in Gods tuition or delig ht, that in
the following verse he rejects it, however in shew and visibility it may seeme a part of his Church, yet in as much as it lyes thus unmeasur'd he leaves it to be tramp'ld by the Gentiles, that is to be polluted with idolatrous and Gentilish rites and ceremonies. And that the principall reformation here foretold is already come to passe as well in discipline as in doctrine the state of our neighbour Churches affords us to behold. Thus through all the periods and changes of the Church it hath beene prov'd that God hath still reserv'd to himselfe the right of enacting Church-government.

CHAP. III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the Gospell to hold that Church-government is to be pattern'd by the Law, as B. Andrews and the Primat of Armagh maintaine.

W e may returne now from this interposing difficulty thus remov'd, to affirme, that since Church-government is so strictly commanded in Gods Word, the first and greatest reason why we shou'd submit thereto, is because God hath so commanded. But whether of these two, Prelaty or Presbytery can prove it selfe to be supported by this first and greatest reason, must be the next dispute. Wherein this position is to be first layd down as granted; that I may not follow a chafe rather then an argument, that one of these two, and none other is of Gods ordaining, and if it be, that ordinance must be evident in the Gospell. For the imperfect and obscure institution of the Law, which the Apostles themselves doubt not oft-times to vilifie, cannot give rules to the compleat and glorious
ministration of the Gospell, which lookes on the Law, as on a childe, not as on a tutor. And that the Prelates have no sure foundation in the Gospell, their own guiltinesse doth manifest: they would not else run questing up as high as Adam to fetch their originall, as tis said one of them lately did in publick. To which assertion, had I heard it, because I see they are so infatiable of antiquity, I should have gladly assented, and confess them yet more ancient. For Lucifer before Adam was the first prelat Angel, and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather Adam, as we all know, for aspiring above their orders, were miserably degraded. But others better advis'd are content to receive their beginning from Aaron and his sons, among whom B. Andrews of late yeares, and in these times the Primat of Armagh for their learning are reputed the best able to say what may be said in this opinion. The Primat in his discourse about the originall of Episcopacy newly revis'd begins thus. The ground of Episcopacy is fetcht partly from the pattern prescribed by God in the old Testament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the Apostles. Herein I must entreat to be excus'd of the desire I have to be satisfied, how for example the ground of Episcop. is fetch't partly from the example of the old Testament, by whom next, and by whose authority. Secondly, how the Church-government under the Gospell can be rightly call'd an imitation of that in the old Testament? for that the Gospell is the end and fulfilling of the Law, our liberty also from the bondage of the Law I plainly reade. How then the ripe age of the Gospell should be put to schoole againe, and learn to governe her selfe from the infancy of the Law, the stronger to imitate the weaker, the freeman to follow the captive, the learned to be lesson'd by the rude, will be a hard
undertaking to evince from any of those principles which either art or inspiration hath written. If any thing done by the Apostles may be drawne howsoever to a likenessse of something Mosaiical, if it cannot be prov'd that it was done of purpose in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in nature, and not in ceremony or type, it will little availe the matter. The whole Judaick law is either politicall, and to take pattern by that, no Christian nation ever thought it selfe oblig'd in conscience; or morall, which containes in it the observation of whatsoever is substantially, and perpetually true and good, either in religion or course of life. That which is thus morall, besides what we fetch from those unwritten lawes and Ideas which nature hath ingraven in us, the Gospell, as stands with her dignitie most, lectures to us from her own authentick hand-writing, and command, not copies out from the borrow'd manuscript of a subservient scrawl, by way of imitating. As well might she be said in her Sacrament of water to imitate the baptisme of John. What though she retaine excommunication us'd in the Synagogue, retain the morality of the Sabbath, she does not therefore imitate the law her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally deliver'd from the law to the Gospell in the office of the Priests and Levites, was that there should be a ministery set a part to teach and discipline the Church, both which duties the Apostles thought good to commit to the Presbyters. And if any distinction of honour were to be made among them, they directed it should be to those not that only rule well, but especially to those that labour in the word and doctrine.* By which we are taught that laborious teaching is the most honourable Prelaty that one Minister can

* 1 Tim. 5.
have above another in the Gospel: if therefore the superiority of Bishopship be grounded on the Priesthood as a part of the moral law, it cannot be said to be an imitation; for it were ridiculous that morality should imitate morality, which ever was the same thing. This very word of patterning or imitating excludes Episcopacy from the solid and grave Ethical law, and betraies it to be a meere childe of ceremony, or likelier some misbegotten thing, that having pluckt the gay feathers of her obsolet bravery to hide her own deformed barrenesse, now vaunts and glories in her stolne plumes. In the meane while what danger there is against the very life of the Gospel to make in any thing the typical law her pattern, and how impossible in that which touches the Priestly government, I shall use such light as I have receav’d, to lay open. It cannot be unknowne by what expressions the holy Apostle S. Paul spares not to expelane to us the nature and condition of the law, calling those ordinances which were the chiefe and essentiall offices of the Priests, the elements and rudiments of the world both weake and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the children of the promise, the heirs of liberty and grace under such a kinde of government as is profeet to be but an imitation of that ministry which engender’d to bondage the fons of Agar, how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that birthright and immunity which Christ hath purchas’d for us with his blood. For the ministration of the law consisting of carnall things, drew to it such a ministry as consisted of carnall respects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And such a ministry establisht in the Gospel, as is founded upon the points and termes of superiority, and nestet it selze in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we see it doth, such a religion as runnes back againe to the old
pompe and glory of the flesh. For doubtlesse there is a certaine attraction and magnetick force betwixt the religion and the ministeriall forme thereof. If the religion be pure, spirituall, simple, and lowly, as the Gospel most truly is, such must the face of the ministry be. And in like manner if the forme of the Ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honour, temporall jurisdiction, we see it with our eyes it will turne the inward power and purity of the Gospel into the outward carnality of the law; evaporating and exhaling the internall worship into empty conformities, and gay shewes. And what remains then but that wee should runne into as dangerous and deadly apostacy as our lamented neighbours the Papists, who by this very snare and pitfall of imitating the ceremonial law, fel into that irrecoverable superstitition, as must needs make void the cov'nant of salvation to them that persist in this blindnesse.

CHAP. IV.

That it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron a pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy.

Hat which was promis'd next, is to declare the impossibility of grounding Evangelick government in the imitation of the Jew-ish Priesthood: which will be done by considering both the quality of the persons, and the office it selfe. Aaron and his sonnes were the Princes of their Tribe before they were sanctified to the Priesthood: that personall eminence which they held above the other Levites, they receav'd not only from their office, but partly brought it into their office: and so from that time forward the Priests were not chosen out of the whole number of the
Levites, as our Bishops, but were borne inheritors of the dignity. Therefore unless we shall choose our Prelats only out of the Nobility, and let them runne in a blood, there can be no possible imitation of Lording over their brethren in regard of their persons altogether unlike. As for the office which was a representation of Christ's own person more immediately in the high Priest, and of his whole priestly office in all the other; to the performance of which the Levits were but as servants and Deacons, it was necessary there should be a distinction of dignity between two functions of so great odds. But there being no such difference among our Ministers, unless it be in reference to the Deacons, it is impossible to found a Prelaty upon the imitation of this Priesthood. For wherein, or in what worke is the office of a Prelat excellent above that of a Pastor? in ordination you'll say; but flatly against Scripture, for there we know Timothy receav'd ordination by the hands of the Presbytery, notwithstanding all the vaine delusions that are us'd to evade that testimony, and maintaine an unwarrantable usurpation. But wherefore should ordination be a cause of setting up a superiour degree in the Church? is not that whereby Christ became our Saviour a higher and greater worke, then that whereby he did ordaine messengers to preach and publish him our Saviour? Every Minister sustains the person of Christ in his highest work of communicating to us the mysteries of our salvation, and hath the power of binding and absolving, how should he need a higher dignity to represent or execute that which is an inferior work in Christ? why should the performance of ordination which is a lower office exalt a Prelat, and not the seldome discharge of a higher and more noble office which is preaching and administering much rather depress him? Verily neither the nature, nor the
example of ordination doth any way require an im-
parity betwenee the ordainer and the ordained. For 
what more naturall then every like to produce his 
like, man to beget man, fire to propagate fire, and 
in examples of highest opinion the ordainer is infe-
rior to the ordained; for the Pope is not made by 
the precedent Pope, but by Cardinals, who ordain 
and consecrate to a higher and greater office then 
their own.

CHAP. V.

To the Arguments of B. Andrews and the Primat.

T followes here to attend to certaine ob-
jections in a little treatise lately printed 
among others of like fort at Oxford, and 
in the title said to be out of the rude 
draughts of Bishop Andrews. And surely they bee 
rude draughts indeed, in so much that it is marvell to 
think what his friends meant to let come abroad 
such shallow reasonings with the name of a man so 
much bruited for learning. In the 12 and 23 pages 
he seemes most notoriously inconstant to himselfe; 
for in the former place he tells us he forbeares to 
take any argument of Prelaty from Aaron, as being 
the type of Christ. In the latter he can forbeare no 
longer, but repents him of his rash gratuity, affirm-
ing, that to say, Christ being come in the flesh, his 
figure in the high Priest ceaseth, is the shift of an 
Anabaptist; and stiffe argues that Christ being as 
well King as Priest, was as well fore-resembled by 
the Kings then, as by the high Priest. So that if 
his comming take away the one type, it must also 
the other. Marvellous piece of divinity! and well 
worth that the land shoulde pay six thousand pound 
a yeare for, in a Bishoprick, although I reade of no
Sophister among the Greeks that was so dear, neither Hippias nor Protagoras, nor any whom the Socratick schoole famously refuted with out hire. Here we have the type of the King low'd to the typet of the Bishop, subtly to cast a jealouſie upon the Crowne, as if the right of Kings, like Meleager in the Meta-
morphoſis, were no longer liv'd then the firebrand of Prelaty. But more likely the Prelats fearing (for their own guilty carriage protestts they doe feare) that their faire dayes cannot long hold, practize by possesſing the King with this most falſe doctrine, to ingage his power for them, as in his owne quarrell, that when they fall they may fall in a generall ruine, just as cruell Tyberius would wish,

When I dye, let the earth be roul'd in flames.

But where, O Bifhop, doth the purpose of the law fet forth Christ to us as a King? That which never was intended in the Law, can never be abolish't as part thereof. When the Law was made, there was no King: if before the law, or under the law God by a speciall type in any King would foresignifie the future kingdome of Christ, which is not yet visibly come, what was that to the law? The whole ceremoniall law, and types can be in no law else, comprehends nothing but the propitiatory office of Christs Priesthood, which being in substance accompliſht, both law and Priesthood fades away of it felfe, and passes into aire like a tranitory visiſion, and the right of Kings neither stands by any type nor falls. We acknowledge that the civill magistrate weares an autority of Gods giving, and ought to be obey'd as his vicegerent. But to make a King a type, we say is an abusive and unskilful speech, and of a morall soliſity makes it feeme a ceremoniall shadow. Therefore your typical chaine of King and Priest muſt unliken. But is not the type of Priest taken away by Christs comming? no
faith this famous Protestant Bishop of Winchester; it is not, and he that faith it is, is an Anabaptist. What think ye Readers, do ye not understand him? What can be gather’d hence but that the Prelat would still sacrifice? conceive him readers, he would misficate. Their altars indeed were in a fair forwardness; and by such arguments as these they were setting up the molten Calfe of their Masfe againe, and of their great Hierarch the Pope. For if the type of Priest be not taken away, then neither of the high Priest, it were a strange beheading; and high Priest more then one there cannot be, and that one can be no leffe then a Pope. And this doubt-leffe was the bent of his career, though never fo covertly. Yea but there was something else in the high Priest besides the figure, as is plain by S. Pauls acknowledging him. Tis true that in the 17 of Deut. whence this authority arises to the Priest in matters too hard for the secular judges, as must needs be many in the occasions of those times involv’d so with ceremoniall niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to enquire at the mouth of the Priests, who besides the Magistrates their collegues had the Oracle of Urim to consult with. And whether the high Priest Ananias had not incroach’t beyond the limits of his Priestly authority, or whether us’d it rightly, was no time then for S. Paul to contest about. But if this instance be able to assert any right of jurisdiction to the Clergy, it must impart it in common to all Minifters, since it were a great folly to seeke for counsell in a hard intricit scruple from a Dunce Prelat, when there might be found a speedier solution from a grave and learned Minifter, whom God hath gifted with the judgement of Urim more amply oft-times then all the Prelates together; and now in the Gosspell hath granted the privilege of this oraculous Ephod alike to all his Minifters. The
reason therefore of imparity in the Priests, being now as is aforesaid, really annul’d both in their person, and in their representative office, what right of jurisdiction soever can be from this place Levitically bequeath’d, must descend upon the Ministers of the Gospel equally, as it findes them in all other points equall. Well then he is finally content to let Aaron go. Eleazar will serve his turne, as being a superior of superiors, and yet no type of Christ in Aaron’s life time. O thou that would’st winde into any figment, or phantasm to save thy Miter! Yet all this will not fadge, though it be cunningly interpolisht by some second hand with crooks and emendations; Heare then; the type of Christ in some one particular, as of entring yearly into the Holy of holies and such like, rested upon the High Priest only as more immediately personating our Saviour: but to resemble his whole satisfactory office all the lineage of Aaron was no more then sufficient. And all, or any of the Priests consider’d separately without relation to the highest, are but as a livelesse trunk and signifie nothing. And this shewes the excellence of Christ’s sacrifice, who at once and in one person fulfill’d that which many hundreds of Priests many times repeating had enough to fore-shew. What other imparity there was among themselves, we may safely suppose it depended on the dignity of their birth and family, together with the circumstances of a carnall service, which might afford many priorities. And this I take to be the summe of what the Bishop hath laid together to make plea for Prelaty by imitation of the Law. Though indeed, if it may stand, it will inferre Popedome all as well. Many other courses he tries, enforcing himselfe with much ostentation of endlesse genealogies, as if he were the man that S. Paul forewarnes us of in Timothy, but so unvigorously, that
I do not feare his winning of many to his cause, but such as doting upon great names are either over-weake, or over sudden of faith. I shall not refuse therefore to learne so much prudence as I finde in the Roman Souldier that attended the croffe, not to stand breaking of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but passe to that which follows. The Primat of Armagh at the beginning of his tractat seeks to availe himselfe of that place in the 66 of Esaiah, I will take of them for Priests and Levites, faith the Lord; to uphold hereby such a forme of superiority among the ministers of the Gospell, succeeding those in the law, as the Lords day did the Sabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of interpreting those prophetical passages concerning Christian times in a punctuall correfpondence, it may with equall probability be urg'd upon us, that we are bound to observe some monthly solemnity answerable to the new moons, as well as the Lords day which we keepe in lieu of the Sabbath: for in the 23 v. the Prophet joynes them in the same manner together, as before he did the Priests and Levites, thus. And it shall come to passe that from one new moone to another, and from one Sabbath to another shall all flesh come to worship before me, faith the Lord. Undoubtedly with as good consequence may it be alledg'd from hence, that we are to solemnize some religious monthly meeting different from the Sabbath, as from the other any distinct formality of Ecclesiastical orders may be inferr'd. This rather will appeare to be the lawfull and unconstrain'd sense of the text, that God in taking of them for Priests and Levites, will not esteeme them unworthy though Gentiles, to undergoe any function in the Church, but will make of them a full and perfect ministery, as was that of the Priests and Levites in their kinde. And
Bishop Andrews himself to end the controversy, sends us a candid exposition of this quoted verse from the 24 page of his said book, plainly deciding that God by those legall names there of Priests and Levites means our Presbyters, and Deacons, for which either ingenuous confession, or slip of his pen we give him thanks, and withall to him that brought these treatises into one volume, who setting the contradictions of two learned men so neere together, did not foresee. What other deductements or analogies are cited out of S. Paul to prove a likenesfe betweene the Ministers of the Old and New Testament, having tri'd their finewes I judge they may passe without harme doing to our cause. We may remember then that Prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the Gospell, which assercion as being for the plainnesse thereof a matter of eye sight, rather then of disquisition I voluntarily omit, not forgetting to speeifie this note againe, that the earnest defire which the Prelates have to build their Hierarchy upon the sandy bottome of the law, gives us to see abundantly the little assurance which they finde to reare up their high roofs by the authority of the Gospell, repuls'd as it were from the writings of the Apostles, and driven to take sanctuary among the Jewes. Hence that open confession of the Primat before mention'd. Episcopacy is fetcht partly from the patterne of the Old Testament and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old, though nothing can be more rotten in Divinity then such a position as this, and is all one as to say Episcopacy is partly of divine institution, and partly of mans own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the patterne of the law then what the Apostles had already fetcht, if they fetcht any thing at all; as hath beene prov'd they did not. So was Jeroboams Episcopacy partly from the patterne of the
law, and partly from the patterne of his owne carnality; a parti-colour'd and a parti-member'd Episcopacy, and what can this be leffe then a monftrous? Others therefore among the Prelats perhaps not so well able to brook, or rather to juftifie this foule relapsing to the old law, have condiscended at laft to a plaine confessing that both the names and offices of Bishops and Presbyters at firft were the fame, and in the Scriptures no where distinguifht. This grants the remonftrant in the fift Section of his defence, and in the Preface to his laft short answer. But what need repect be had whether he grant or grant it not, when as through all antiquity, and even in the loftieft times of Prelaty we finde it granted. Ierome the learned'ft of the Fathers hides not his opinion, that cuftome only, which the Proverbe calls a tyrant, was the maker of Prelaty; before his audacious workmanship the Churches were rul'd in common by the Presbyters: and such a certaine truth this was esteem'd, that it became a decree among the Papall Canons compil'd by Gratian. Anfelm of Canturbury, who to uphold the points of his Prelatifme made himselfe a traytor to his country, yet commenting the Epiftles to Titus and the Philippians acknowledges from the cleerneffe of the text, what Ierome and the Church Rubrick hath before acknowledg'd. He little dreamt then that the weeding-hook of reformation would after two ages pluck up his glorious poppy from infulting over the good corne. Though since some of our Britifh Prelates feeing themselves prest to produce Scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Testament will not help them, to frame of their own heads as it were with wax a kinde of Mimick Bishop limm'd out to the life of a dead Priesthood. Or else they would straine us out a certaine figu-
those seven Angels into seven single Rochets. How-  
soever since it thus appeares that custome was the  
creator of Prelaty being lesse ancient then the govern-  
ment of Presbyters, it is an extreme folly to give  
them the hearing that tell us of Bishops through  
so many ages: and if against their tedious muster  
of citations, Sees, and successions, it be reply'd that  
wagers and Church antiquities, such as are repug-  
nant to the plaine dictat of Scripture are both alike  
the arguments of fooles, they have their answer. We  
rather are to cite all those ages to an arraignment  
before the word of God, wherefore, and what pre-  
tending, how presuming they durft alter that divine  
institution of Presbyters, which the Apostles who  
were no various and inconstant men surely had set  
up in the Churches, and why they choose to live by  
custome and catalogue, or as S. Paul faith by sight  
and visibility, rather then by faith? But first I con-  
clude from their owne mouthes that Gods command  
in Scripture, which doubtlesse ought to be the first  
and greatest reason of Church-government, is want-  
ing to Prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous  
warrant in the doctrine of Christ to determine that  
the want of this reason is of it selfe sufficient to con-  
fute all other pretences that may be brought in  
favour of it.

CHAP. VI.

That Prelaty was not set up for prevention of Schisme,  
as is pretended, or if it were, that it performes not  
what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary.

Et because it hath the outside of a specious  
reason, and specious things we know are  
apteft to worke with humane lightnesse  
and frailty, even against the solideft truth,  
that sounds not plausibly, let us think it worth the
examining for the love of infirmer Christians, of what importance this their second reason may be. Tradition they say hath taught them that for the prevention of growing schisme the Bishop was heav'd above the Presbyter. And must tradition then ever thus to the worlds end be the perpetuall canker-worme to eat out Gods Commandements? are his decrees so inconsiderate and so fickle, that when the statutes of Solon, or Lycurgus shall prove durably good to many ages, his in 40 yeares shall be found defective, ill contriv'd, and for needfull causes to be alter'd? Our Saviour and his Apostles did not only foresee, but foretell and forewarne us to looke for schisme. Is it a thing to be imagin'd of Gods wis-dome, or at least of Apostolick prudence to set up such a government in the tenderneffe of the Church, as should incline, or not be more able then any other to oppose it felse to schisme? it was well knowne what a bold lurker schisme was even in the household of Christ betwene his owne Disciples and thofe of John the Baptist about fafting: and early in the Acts of the Apostles the noise of schisme had almost drown'd the proclaiming of the Gospell; yet we reade not in Scripture that any thought was had of making Prelates, no not in thofe places where di-fention was most rife. If Prelaty had beene then esteem'd a remedy against schisme, where was it more needfull then in that great variance among the Corinthians which S. Paul so labour'd to recon-cile? and whose eye could have found the fitteft remedy sooner then his? and what could have made the remedy more available, then to have us'd it speedily? and lastly what could have beene more necessary then to have written it for our instruction? yet we see he neither commended it to us, nor us'd it himfelfe. For the same division remaining there, or else bursting forth againe more then 20 yeares
after S. Paul's death, we finde in Clement's Epistle of venerable authority written to the yet factious Corinthisians, that they were still govern'd by Presbyters. And the same of other Churches out of Hermas, and divers other the scholars of the Apostles by the late industry of the learned Salmatius appeares. Neither yet did this worthy Clement S. Paul's disciple, though writing to them to lay aside schisme, in the least word advise them to change the Presbyteryall government into Prelaty. And therefore if God afterward gave, or permitted this insurrection of Episcopacy, it is to be fear'd he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a King. With so good a will doth he use to alter his own chosen government once establish'd. For marke whether this rare device of mans braine thus preferr'd before the ordinance of God, had better successe then fleshly wisdome not counseling with God is wont to have. So farre was it from removing schisme, that if schisme parted the congregations before, now it rent and mangl'd, now it rag'd. Herefie begat herefie with a certaine monstrous haste of pregnancy in her birth, at once borne and bringing forth. Contentions before brotherly were now hostile. Men went to choose their Bishop as they went to a pitcht field, and the day of his election was like the facking of a City, sometimes ended with the blood of thousands. Nor this among hereticks only, but men of the same believe, yea confessors, and that with such odious ambition, that Eusebius in his eighth book testifies he abhorr'd to write. And the reason is not obscure, for the poore dignity or rather burden of a Parochial Presbyter could not ingage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud: but Prelaty was a power of that extent, and sway, that if her election were popular, it was seldom not the cause of some faction or broil in the Church. But if her dignity came
by favour of some Prince, she was from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in state were they right or wrong. So that in stead of finding Prelaty an impeacher of Schisme or faction, the more I search, the more I grow into all persuasion to think rather that faction and she as with a spousal ring are wedded together, never to be divorc't. But here let every one behold the just, and dreadful judgement of God meeting with the audacious pride of man that durft offer to mend the ordinances of heaven. God out of the strife of men brought forth by his Apostles to the Church that beneficent and ever distributing office of Deacons, the stewards and Ministers of holy almes, man out of the pretended care of peace and unity being caught in the snare of his impious boldness to correct the will of Christ, brought forth to himselfe upon the Church that irreconcilable schisme of perdition and Apostasy, the Roman Antichrist: for that the exaltation of the Pope arose out of the reason of Prelaty it cannot be deny'd. And as I noted before that the patterne of the High Priest pleaded for in the Gospel (for take away the head Priest the rest are but a carceffe) sets up with better reason a Pope, then an Archbispope, for if Prelaty must still rise and rise till it come to a Primat, why should it stay there? when as the catholick government is not to follow the division of kingdoms, the temple best representing the univerfall Church, and the High Priest the univerfall head; so I observe here, that if to quiet schisme there must be one head of Prelaty in a land or Monarchy rising from a Provincial to a nationall Primacy, there may upon better grounds of repressing schisme be set up one catholick head over the catholick Church. For the peace and good of the Church is not terminated in the schismelesse estate of one or two kingdoms, but
should be provided for by the joynt consultation of all reformed Christendome: that all controversie may end in the finall pronounce or canon of one Arch-primat, or Protestant Pope. Although by this means for ought I see, all the diameters of schisme may as well meet and be knit up in the center of one grand falshood. Now let all impartial men arbitrate what goodly inference these two maine reasons of the Prelats have, that by a naturall league of consequence make more for the Pope then for themselves. Yea to say more home are the very wombe for a new subantichrift to breed in; if it be not rather the old force and power of the same man of sin counterfeiting protestant. It was not the pre-vention of schisme, but it was schisme it selfe, and the hatefull thirst of Lording in the Church that first bestow'd a being upon Prelaty; this was the true cause, but the pretence is stil the same. The Prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mawls of schisme. Forsooth if they be put downe, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow; we shall be all Brownists, Familiists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seemes to be quafht, and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists. And thus doe they raise an evill report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for, like those faithlesse spies, whose carcasses shall perish in the wilderness of their owne confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Doe they keep away schisme? if to bring a num and chil stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of minde upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all, if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schisme, they keep away schisme indeed; and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spaine is as purely and politickly kept from schisme.
as *England* hath beene by them. With as good a plea might the dead palfie boast to a man, tis I that free you from stitches and paines, and the trouble-some feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The Winter might as well vaunt it selfe against the Spring, I destroy all noyesome and rank weeds, I keepe downe all pestilent vapours. Yes and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your vio-lent and hidebound frost; but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitfull bofome of the earth thus over-girded by your imprisonments, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the Sunne shall scatter the mistes, and the manuring hand of the Tiller shall root up all that burdens the soile without thank to your bondage. But farre worse then any frozen captivity is the bondage of Prelates, for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good, within the earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill, but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keepe downe the leffer ill, and let out the greateft. Be asham'd at laft to tell the Parlament ye curbe Schismaticks, when as they know ye cherish and side with Papists, and are now as it were one party with them, and tis said they helpe to petition for ye. Can we believe that your government strains in good earnest at the petty gnats of schisme, when as we see it makes nothing to swallow the Camel heresie of *Rome*; but that indeed your throats are of the right Pharisaical straine. Where are those Schismaticks with whom the Prelats hold such hot skirmish? shew us your acts, those glorious annals which your Courts of loathed memory lately deceas'd have left us? those Schismaticks I doubt me wil be found the most of them such as whose only schisme was to have spoke the truth against your high abominations and cruel-
ties in the Church; this is the schism ye hate most, the removall of your criminous Hierarchy. A politick government of yours, and of a pleasant conceit, set up to remove those as a pretended schisme, that would remove you as a palpable heresie in government. If the schisme would pardon ye that, she might go jagg'd in as many cuts and slashes as she pleas'd for you. As for the rending of the Church, we have many reasons to thinke it is not that which ye labour to prevent so much as the rending of your pontificall sleeves: that schisme would be the foreft schisme to you, that would be Brownisme and Anabaptisme indeed. If we go downe, say you, as if Adrians wall were broke, a flood of sects will rush in. What sects? What are their opinions? give us the Inventory; it will appeare both by your former prosecutions and your present instances, that they are only such to speake of as are offended with your lawlisse government, your ceremonies, your Liturgy, an extract of the Maffe book translated. But that they should be contemners of publick prayer, and Churches us'd without superstition, I trust God will manifest it ere long to be as false a slander, as your former sands against the Scots. Noife it till ye be hoarse; that a rabble of sects will come in, it will be answer'd ye, no rabble sir Priest, but a unanimous multitude of good Protestants will then joyne to the Church, which now because of you stand separated. This will be the dreadfull consequence of your removall. As for those terrible names of Sectaries and Schismatics which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments which is ever thin, and weakly stor'd, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lyes your best archery. And whom ye could not move by Sophis-
ticall arguing, them you thinke to confute by scandalous misnaming. Thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to mislike and deride sound doctrine and good christianiety under two or three vile and hatefull terms. But if we could easily indure and dissolve your doubtieft reasons in argument, we shall more easily beare the worst of your unreasonableneffe in calumny and false report. Especially being foretold by Christ, that if he our Master were by your predeceffors call'd Samaritan and Belzebub, we must not think it strange if his best Disciples in the reformation, as at first by those of your tribe they were call'd Lollards and Hussites, so now by you be term'd Puritans, and Brownifts. But my hope is that the people of England will not suffer themselves to be juggl'd thus out of their faith and religion by a mift of names cast before their eyes, but will search wisely by the Scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aspersion of a disgraceful name into the things themselves: knowing that the Primitive Christians in their times were accounted such as are now call'd Familiists and Adamites, or worse. And many on the Prelatick side like the Church of Sardis have a name to live, and yet are dead; to be Protestants, and are indeed Papifts in most of their principles. Thus perswaded, this your old fallacy wee shall soone unmask, and quickly apprehend how you prevent schisme, and who are your schismaticks. But what if ye prevent, and hinder all good means of preventing schisme? that way which the Apostles us'd, was to call a councell; from which by any thing that can be learnt from the fifteenth of the Acts, no faithful Christian was debarr'd, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance. Of such a councell as this every parochiall Consiftory is a right homogeneouse and constituting part being in it selfe as it
were a little Synod, and towards a generall assembly moving upon her own basis in an even and firme progression, as those smaller squares in battell unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an embleme of truth and stedfastnesse. Whereas on the other side Prelaty ascending by a graduall monarchy from Bishop to Arch-bishop, from thence to Primat, and from thence, for there can be no reason yielded neither in nature, nor in religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it should not be a Lordly ascendant in the horoscope of the Church, from Primate to Patriarch, and so to Pope. I say Prelaty thus ascending in a continuall pyramid upon pretence to perfect the Churches unity, if notwithstanding it be found most needfull, yea the utmost helpe to dearn up the rents of schisme by calling a councell, what does it but teach us that Prelaty is of no force to effect this work which she boasts to be her maister-peice; and that her pyramid aspires and sharpens to ambition, not to perfection, or unity. This we know, that as often as any great schisme disparts the Church, and Synods be proclam'd, the Presbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the Bishops, which the Canon law conceals not. So that Prelaty if she will seek to close up divisions in the Church, must be forc't to difsolve, and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which she affirmes to be of such uniting power, when as indeed it is the most dividing, and schismaticall forme that Geometricians know of, and must be faine to inglobe, or incube her selfe among the Presbyters; which she hating to do, sends her haughty Prelates from all parts with their forked Miters, the badge of schisme or the flampe of his cloven foot whom they serve I think, who according to their hierarchies acuminating still higher and higher in a cone of Prelaty, in stead of healing up the
gashes of the Church, as it happens in such pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their sharpe spires for upper place, and precedence, till the counsell it selfe prove the greatest schisme of all. And thus they are so farre from hindring diffention, that they have made unprofitable, and even noysome the chieuest remedy we have to keep Christendom at one, which is by counsels: and these if we rightly consider Apostolick example, are nothing else but generall Presbyteries. This seem'd so farre from the Apostles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impair'd, that, as we may gather by those Epistles of Peter and John, which are likely to be last writ, when the Church grew to a setling, like those heroick patricians of Rome (if we may use such comparision) hasting to lay downe their dictatorship, they rejoys't to call themselves and to be as fellow Elders among their brethren. Knowing that their high office was but as the scaffolding of the Church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troublesome disfigurement, so soone as the building was finisht. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, such was their small discerning, thought it a poore indignity, that the high rear'd government of the Church should so on a sudden, as it seem'd to them, squat into a Presbytery. Next or rather before counsels the timeliest prevention of schisme is to preach the Gospell abundantly and powerfully throughout all the land, to instruc the youth religiously, to endeavour how the Scriptures may be easieft understood by all men; to all which the proceedings of these men have been on set purpose contrary. But how O Prelats should you remove schisme, and how should you not remove and oppose all the meanes of removing schism? when Prelaty is a schisme it selfe from the most reformed and most
flourishing of our neighbour Churches abroad, and a sad subject of discord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you allledge is the very disease we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing it selfe. Your predecessors were believ'd to assume this preeminence above their brethren only that they might appease disfention. Now God and the Church calls upon you, for the same reason to lay it down, as being to thousands of good men offensive, burdensome, intolerable. Surrender that pledge which unlesse you fowlely usurpt it, the Church gave you, and now claims it againe, for the reason she first lent it. Discharge the trust committed to you, prevent schisme, and that ye can never do, but by discharging your selves. That government which ye hold, we confess prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the schisms and grievances of the Church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the Church alone, but of the whole kingdom. And if it be still permitted ye to hold, will cause the most sad I know not whether separation be enough to say, but such a wide gulph of distraction in this land as will never close her dismall gap, untill ye be forc't (for of your selvs ye wil never do as that Roman Curtius nobly did) for the Churches peace and your countries, to leap into the midst, and be no more seen. By this we shal know whether yours be that ancient Prelaty which you say was first constituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the Church, for then you wil not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwise, we must be confident that your Prelaty is nothing else but your ambition, an insolent preferring of your selves above your brethren, and all your learned scraping in antiquity even to disturbe the bones of old Aaron and his sonnes in their graves, is but to
maintain and set upon our necks a stately and severe dignity, which you call sacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverent gluttony, a sanctimonious avarice, in comparison of which, all the duties and dearnesses which ye owe to God or to his Church, to law, custome, or nature, ye have resolv'd to set at nought. I could put you in mind what counsell Clement a fellow labourer with the Apostles gave to the Presbyters of Corinth, whom the people though unjustly fought to remove. Who among you faith he, is noble minded, who is pittyfull, who is charitable, let him say thus, if for me this sedition, this enmity, these differences be, I willingly depart, I go my wayes, only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the Presbyters that are set over it. He that shall do this, faith he, shall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receave him. This was Clements counsell to good and holy men that they should depart rather from their just office, then by their stay, to ravle out the seamlesse garment of concord in the Church. But I have better counsell to give the Prelats, and farre more acceptable to their eares, this advice in my opinion is fitter for them. Cling fast to your Pontificall Sees, bate not, quit your selves like Barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty Courts and votes in Parliament. Still tell us that you prevent schisme, though schisme and combustion be the very issue of your bodies, your first born; and set your country a bleeding in a Prelaticall mutiny, to fight for your pompe, and that ill favour'd weed of temporall honour that fits dishonourably upon your laick shoulders, that ye may be fat and fleshy, swoln with high thoughts and big with mischievous designes, when God comes to visit upon you all this forescore yeares vexation of his Church under your Egyptian tyranny. For certainly of all those blessed foules
which you have persecuted, and those miserable ones which you have lost, the just vengeance does not sleepe.

CHAP. VII.

That those many Sects and Schisms by some suppos'd to be among us, and that rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a hindrance, but a hastning of reformation.

As for those many Sects and divisions rumor'd abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceive that they are partly the meere fictions and false alarms of the Prelates, thereby to cast amazements and panic terror into the hearts of weaker Christians that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the Church for fear of I know not what worse inconveniencies. With the same objected fears and suspicions, we know that suttle Prelat Gardner sought to divert the first reformation. It may suffice us to be taught by S. Paul that there must be sects for the manifesting of those that are found hearted. These are but winds and flaws to try the floting vessell of our faith whether it be stanch and sayl well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seene who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whose vertue is of an unchangeable graine, and whose of a flight wash. If God come to trie our constancy we ought not to shrink, or stand the leffe firmly for that, but passe on with more stedfast resolution to establish the truth though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side. Other things men do to the glory of God: but sects and errors it seems God suffereth to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted con-
stancy in the truth. Let us not therefore make these things an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in reforming, which God sends us as an incitement to proceed with more honour and alacrity. For if there were no opposition where were the triall of an unfained goodnesse and magnanimity? vertue that wavers is not vertue, but vice revolted from it selfe, and after a while returning. The actions of just and pious men do not darken in their middle course; but Solomon tells us they are as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. But if we shall suffer the trifling doubts and jealousies of future sects to overcloud the faire beginnings of purpos'f reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the same Wiseman be not upraided to us, that the way of the wicked is as darkness, they stumble at they know not what. If sects and schismes be turbulent in the unsetl'd estate of a Church, while it lies under the amending hand, it best beseems our Christian courage to think they are but as the throws and pangs that go before the birth of reformation, and that the work it selfe is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elementall and mixt things, we know they cannot suffer any change of one kind, or quality into another without the struggl of contrarieties. And in things artificiall, seldom any elegance is wrought without a superfluous waft and refuse in the transactio. No Marble statue can be politely carv'd, no fair edifice built without almost as much rubbish and sweeping. Insomuch that even in the spirituall conflict of S. Pauls conversion there fell scales from his eyes that were not perceav'd before. No wonder then in the reforming of a Church which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falsehood together, if, as it were the splinters and shares of so violent a jousting, there fall from between the shock many
The Reason of Bk. i.

fond errors and fanatick opinions, which when truth has the upper hand, and the reformation shall be perfected, will easily be rid out of the way, or kept so low, as that they shall be only the exercise of our knowledge, not the disturbance, or interruption of our faith. As for that which Barclay in his image of minds writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Englishmen in their religion. I deeme it spoken like what hee was, a fugitive Papift traducing the Iland whence he sprung. It may be more judicioufly gather'd from hence, that the Englishman of many other nations is leaft atheisticall, and bears a naturall disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weakness and want of better instruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, especially by the meaner sort, turning the bent of his own wits with a scrupulous and ceaseless care what he might do to informe himselfe aright of God and his worship, he may fall not unlikely sometimes as any other land man into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardlinesse in the rough caft without breeding, some nation or other may haply be better compos'd to a naturall civility, and right judgement then he. But if he get the benefit once of a wise and well rectifi'd nurture, which must first come in generall from the godly vigilance of the Church, I suppose that where ever mention is made of countries manners, or men, the English people among the first that shall be prais'd, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation. But thus while some stand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which should mainly haften them forward, left schism and error should encrease, we may now thank our selves and our delayes if instead of schism a bloody and inhumane rebellion be strock in between our slow movings. Indeed against violent
and powerfull opposition there can be no just blame of a lingering dispatch. But this I urge against those that discourse it for a maxim, as if the swift opportunities of establishing, or reforming religion, were to attend upon the fleam of state businesse. In state many things at first are crude and hard to digest, which only time and deliberation can supple, and concoct. But in religion wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of season, it goes farre otherwise. The doore of grace turnes upon smooth hinges wide opening to send out, but soon shutting to recall the precious offers of mercy to a nation: which unlesse Watchfulness and Zeale two quick-sighted and ready-handed Virgins be there in our behalfe to receave, we loose: and still the other we loose, the straier the doore opens, and the lesse is offer'd. This is all we get by demurring in Gods service. Tis not rebellion that ought to be the hindrance of reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cause of that. The Prelats which boast themselves the only bridlers of schisme God knows have been so cold and backward both there and with us to repress herefie and idolatry, that either through their carelessnesse or their craft all this mischief is befalln. What can the Irish subject do lesse in Gods just displeasure against us, then revenge upon English bodies the little care that our Prelats have had of their souls. Nor hath their negligence been new in that Iland but ever notorious in Queen Elizabeths dayes, as Camden their known friend forbears not to complain. Yet so little are they toucht with remorce of these their cruelties, for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those souls which they have famisht, that whenas against our brethren the Scots, who by their upright and loyall deeds have now bought themselves an honourable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by flander could invent,
rage in hostility attempt, they greedily attempted, toward these murderous Irish the enemies of God and mankind, a cursed off-spring of their own connivence, no man takes notice but that they seeme to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then should we begin to extinguish a rebellion that hath his cause from the misgovernment of the Church, where? but at the Churches reformation, and the removall of that government which persues and warres with all good Christians under the name of schismaticks, but maintains and fosters all Papists and Idolaters as tolerable Christians. And if the sacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witness of God himselfe, that the corrupted estate of the Church is both the cause of tumult, and civil warres, and that to stint them, the peace of the Church must first be sett'd. Now for a long season, faith Azariah to King Aesa, Israel hath beene without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And nation was destroy'd of nation, and City of City, for God did vex them with all adversity. Be ye strong therefore, faith he to the reformers of that age, and let not your hands be weake, for your worke shall bee rewarded. And in those Prophets that liv'd in the times of reformation after the Captivity often doth God stirre up the people to consider that while establishment of Church matters was neglected, and put off, there was no peace to him that went out or came in, for I, faith God, had set all men every one against his neighbour.* But from the very day forward that they went seriuously, and effectually about the welfare of the Church,† he tells them that

* Zechar. 8.  
† Haggai 2.
they themselves might perceive the sudden change of things into a prosperous and peacefull condition. But it will here be said that the reformation is a long work, and the miseries of Ireland are urgent of a speedy redresse. They be indeed; and how speedy we are, the poore afflicted remnant of our martyr'd countrymen that sit there on the Sea-shore, counting the houres of our delay with their sighs, and the minuts with their falling teares, perhaps with the destilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time cast off, and almost curst the vain hope of our founder'd ships, and aids, can best judge how speedy we are to their reliefe. But let their succors be hasted, as all need and reason is, and let not therefore the reformation which is the chiefest cause of successe and victory be still procrastinated. They of the captivity in their greatest extremities could find both counsell and hands anough at once to build, and to expect the enemies assaylt. And we for our parts a populous and mighty nation must needs be fallen into a strange plight either of effeminacy, or confusion, if Ireland that was once the conquest of one single Earle with his privat forces, and the small assistance of a petty Kernish Prince, should now take up all the wisdome and prowesse of this potent Monarchy to quell a barbarous crew of rebels, whom if we take but the right course to subdue, that is beginning at the reformation of our Church, their own horrid murders and rapes will so fight against them, that the very sutlers and horse boyes of the Campe will be able to rout and chase them without the staining of any Noble sword. To proceed by other method in this enterprize, be our Captains and Commanders never so expert, will be as great an error in the art of warre, as any novice in soouldiership ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared truth, that neither the feare of sects no
The Reason of  

Bk. 2.

nor rebellion can be a fit plea to stay reformation, but rather to push it forward with all possible diligence and speed.


The second Book.

Ow happy were it for this frail, and as it may be truly call'd, mortall life of man, since all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily use, are withall so cumbersome and full of trouble, if knowledge yet which is the best and lightsomest possession of the mind, were as the common saying is, no burden, and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavie advantage overlay upon the spirit. For not to speak of that knowledge that rests in the contemplation of naturall causes and dimensions, which must needs be a lower wisdom, as the object is low, certain it is that he who hath obtain'd in more then the scantest measure to know any thing distinctly of God, and of his true worship, and what is infallibly good and happy in the state of mans life, what in it selfe evil and miserable, though vulgarly not so esteem'd, he that hath obtain'd to know this, the only high valuable wisdome indeed, remembering also that God even to a strictnesse requires the improvement of these his entrusted gifts, cannot but sustain a forer burden of mind, and more pressing then any supportable toil, or weight, which the body can labour under; how and in what manner he shall dispose and employ those summes of knowledge and illumination, which God hath sent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravats the burden more, is, that
having receiv'd amongst his allotted parcels certain precious truths of such an orient luftre as no Diamond can equall, which never the lesse he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea for nothing to them that will, the great Marchants of this world fearing that this cours would soon discover, and disgrace the fals glitter of their deceitfull wares wherewith they abuse the people, like poor Indians with beads and glasles, practize by all means how they may suppress the venting of such rarities and such a cheapnes as would undoe them, and turn their trash upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt desires of men in fleshly doctrines, they stirre them up to persecute with hatred and contempt all those that seek to bear themselves uprightly in this their spiritual factory: which they foreseeing, though they cannot but testify of Truth and the excellence of that heavenly traffick which they bring, against what opposition, or danger foever, yet needs must it fit heavily upon their spirits, that being in Gods prime intention and their own, seceded heralds of peace, and dispensers of treasure inestimable without price to them that have no pence, they finde in the discharge of their commission that they are made the greatest variance and offence, a very sword and fire both in house and City over the whole earth. This is that which the sad Prophet Jeremiah laments, Wo is me my mother, that thou hast born me a man of strife, and contention. And although divine inspiration must certainly have been sweet to those ancient profets, yet the irksomnesse of that truth which they brought was so unpleasant to them, that every where they call it a burden. Yea that mysteriuous book of Revelation which the great Evangelist was bid to eat, as it had been some eye-brightning elecctuary of knowledge, and forefight, though it were sweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his
belly; bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wife Poet Sophocles, who in that place of his Tragedy where Tiresias is call'd to resolve K. Edipus in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more then other men. For surely to every good and peaceable man it must in nature needs be a hatefull thing to be the displeafer, and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtlesse to be the messenger of gladnes and contentment, which is his chief intended busines, to all mankind, but that they resift and oppose their own true happinesse. But when God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in mans will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. If he shall think to be silent, as Jeremiah did, because of the reproach and derision he met with daily, and all his familiar friends watcht for his halting to be reveng'd on him for speaking the truth, he would be forc't to confesse as he confest, his word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay. Which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken, or vehemently written, as proceeding out of stomach, virulence and ill nature, but to consider rather that if the Prelats have leav to say the worst that can be said, and doe the worst that can be don, while they strive to keep to themselves to their great pleasure and commodity those things which they ought to render up, no man can be justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart and bestow without any gain to himselfe those sharp, but saving words which would be a terror, and a torment in him to keep back. For me I have determin'd to lay up as the best treasure, and solace of a good old age, if God voutsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall
think it available in so dear a concernment as the Churches good. For if I be either by disposition, or what other cause too inquisitive, or suspicuous of my self and mine own doings, who can help it? but this I foresee, that should the Church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed, or should she by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithfull men change this her distracted estate into better daies without the left furtherance or contribution of those few talents which God at that present had lent me, I foresee what stories I should heare within my selfe, all my life after, of discouragement and reproach. Timorous and ingratefull, the Church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies: and thou bewailst, what matters it for thee or thy bewailing? when time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hadst read, or studied, to utter in her behalfe. Yet ease and leasure was given thee for thy retired thoughts out of the sweat of other men. Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subiect were to be adorn'd or beautifi'd, but when the cause of God and his Church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou haft, God listen'd if he could heare thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert domb as a beast; from hence forward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. Or else I should have heard on the other eare, slothfull, and ever to be set light by, the Church hath now overcom her late distresses after the unwearied labours of many her true servants that stood up in her defence; thou also wouldst take upon thee to share amongst them of their joy: but wherefore thou? where canst thou shew any word or deed of thine which might
have haften'd her peace; what ever thou doft now talke, or write, or look is the almes of other mens active prudence and zeale. Dare not now to say, or doe any thing better then thy former sloth and infancy, or if thou darft, thou doft impudently to make a thrifty purchase of boldnesse to thy selfe out of the painfull merits of other men: what before was thy sin, is now thy duty to be, abject, and worthlesse. These and such like lessons as these, I know would have been my Matins duly, and my Even-song. But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gain'd; with good men and Saints to clame my right of lamenting the tribulations of the Church, if she should suffer, when others that have ventur'd nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more then wisht her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heires. Concerning therefore this wayward subject against prelaty, the touching whereof is so distastfull and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath enterd me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear least the omitting of this duty should be against me when I would store up to my selfe the good provision of peacefull hours. So left it should be still imputed to me, as I have found it hath bin, that some self-pleasing humor of vain-glory hath incited me to contest with men of high estimation, now while green yeers are upon my head, from this needlesse furmisfall I shall hope to dissuade the intelligent and equal auditor, if I can but say succesfully that which in this exigent behoovs me, although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned reader, to whom
Bk. 2. Church-government.

principally for a while I shal beg leav I may addresse my selfe. To him it will be no new thing though I tell him that if I hunted after praise by the osten-
tation of wit and learning, I should not write thus out of mine own season, when I have neither yet compleated to my minde the full circle of my pri-
ivate studies, although I complain not of any insuff-
ciency to the matter in hand, or were I ready to my wishes, it were a folly to commit any thing ela-
borately compos'd to the carelesse and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times. Next if I were wise only to mine own ends, I would certainly take such a subject as of it self might catch applaufe, whereas this hath all the disadvantages on the con-
trary, and such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayd at pleasure, and time enough to pencill it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultlesse picture, whenas in this argument the not deferring is of great mo-
ment to the good speeding, that if solidity have leis-
ure to doe her office, art cannot have much. Lastly, I should not chuse this manner of writing wherein knowing my self inferior to my self, led by the ge-
nial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand. And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this pur-
pose, yet since it will be such a folly, as wisest men going about to commit, have only confest and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly to have courteous pardon. For al-
though a Poet soaring in the high region of his fan-
cies with his garland and singing robes about him might without apology speake more of himself then I mean to do, yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortall thing among many readers of no Empyreall conceit, to venture and di-
vulge unusual things of my selfe, I shall petition to
The Reason of Bk. 2.

The gentler fort, it may not be envy to me. I must say therefore that after I had from my first year's diligence and care of my father, whom God recompense, bin exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether ought was imposed me by them that had the over looking, or betaken to of mine own choice in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the style by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the privat Academies of Italy, whither I was favor'd to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, compos'd at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was lookt for, and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were receiv'd with written Encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps, I began thus farre to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) join'd with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possesse me, and these other. That if I were certain to write as men buy Leafes, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had, then to Gods glory by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latines, I apply'd my selfe to that resolution which Ariosto follow'd against the persuasions of Bembo, to
fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, that were a toyfom vanity, but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own Citizens throughout this Island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choycest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Christian, might doe for mine: not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attaine to that, but content with these British Islands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto bin, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble atchievements made small by the unskilfull handling of monks and mechanicks.

Time servs not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the spacious circuits of her musing hath liberty to propofe to her self, though of higheft hope, and harteft attempting, whether that Epick form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffufe, and the bob of Job a brief model: or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be follow'd, which in them that know art, and use judgement is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly what K. or Knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian Heroe. And as Tasso gave to a Prince of Italy his choise whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, or Belisarius against the Gothes, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the imboldning of art ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing aduers in our
climat, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashnesse from an equal diligence and inclination to present the like offer in our own ancient stories. Or whether those Dramatick constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides raigne shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation, the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral Drama in the Song of Solomon consisting of two persons and a double Chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of Saint John is the majestick image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a sevenfold Chorus of halleluja's and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus commenting that booke is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead to imitat those magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty: But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired guift of God rarely bestow'd, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every Nation: and are of power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune, to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns the throne and equipage of Gods Almightyneffe, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his Church, to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious Nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ, to deplore the
general relapses of Kingdoms and States from justice and Gods true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in vertu amiable, or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd fortune from without, or the wily suttleties and refluxes of mans thoughts from within, all these things with a solid and treatable smoothnesse to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and vertu through all the instances of example with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper who will not so much as look upon Truth herselfe, unlea they see her elegantly dreft, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appeare to all men both easy and pleasant though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guest by what we know of the corruption and bane which they suck in dayly from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant Poetafters, who having scars ever heard of that which is the main confidence of a true poem, the choys of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is morall and decent to each one, doe for the moft part lap up vituous principles in sweet pils to be swallow'd down, and make the taft of vertuous documents harsh and sour. But because the spirit of man cannot demean it selfe lively in this body without some recreating intermission of labour, and serious things, it were happy for the Common wealth, if our Magistrates, as in those famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious Law cases and brauls, but the managing of our publick sports, and festival pastimes, that they might be, not such as were autoriz'd a while since, the provo-
cations of drunkennesse and luft, but such as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skil and performance, and may civilize, adorn and make discreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies, and the procurement of wise and artfull recitations sweetned with eloquent and gracefull inticements to the love and practice of justice, temperance and fortitude, instructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and vertu may be heard every where, as Salomon faith, She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concours, and in the openings of the Gates. Whether this may not be not only in Pulpits, but after another persuasive method, at set and solemn Paneguries, in Theaters, porches, or what other place, or way may win most upon the people to receiv at once both recreation, and instruction, let them in authority consult. The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have liv'd within me ever since I could conceiv my self any thing worth to my Countrie, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath pluckt from me by an abortive and foredated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above mans to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavour'd, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost averre of my self, as farre as life and free leasure will extend, and that the Land had once infranchis'd her self from this impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whose inquisitorius and tyrannical duncery no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither doe I think it shame to covnant with any knowing reader, that for some few yeers yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rays'd from the heat of youth, or the vapours of
wine, like that which flows at wast from the pen of some vulgar Amorist, or the trencher fury of a ringing parasite, nor to be obtain'd by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternall Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd fire of his Altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affaires, till which in some measure be compact, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loath to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclos'd thus much before hand, but that I truft hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no lesse hopes than these, and leave a calme and pleasing solitarynes fed with cherful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubl'd sea of noises and hoars disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightfull studies to come into the dim reflexion of hollow antiquities fold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and beleif lies in marginal stuffings, who when they have like good sumpters laid ye down their hors load of citations and fathers at your dore, with a rapsody of who and who were Bishops here or there, ye may take off their packsaddles, their days work is don, and episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehension that can distinguiish learned pains from unlearned drudgery, imagin what pleasure or profoundness can be in this, or what honour to deal against such adversaries. But were it the meanest under-service,
if God by his Secretary conscience injoyn it, it were sad for me if I should draw back, for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help ease and lighten the difficult labours of the Church, to whose service by the intentions of my parents and friends I was deñin'd of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till comming to some maturity of yeers and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take Orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withall, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith, I thought it better to preferre a blamelesse silence before the sacred office of speaking bought, and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever thus Church-outed by the Prelats, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before, the necessity and constraint appear'd.

CHAP. I.

That Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel three ways, and first in her outward form.

After this digression it would remain that I should single out some other reason which might undertake for Prelaty to be a fit and lawfull Church-government; but finding none of like validity with these that have already sped according to their fortune, I shall adde one reason why it is not to be thought a Church-government at all, but a Church-tyranny, and is at hostile terms with the end and reason of Christ's Evangelick ministery. Albeit I must confesse to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the world, and the world so
potent in most mens hearts, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood. For who is ther almost that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness, who is there that counts it first, to be last, somthing to be nothing, and reckons himself of great command in that he is a servant? yet God when he meant to subdue the world and hell at once, part of that to salvation, and this wholly to perdition, made chois of no other weapons, or auxiliaries then these whether to save, or to destroy. It had bin a small maiftery for him, to have drawn out his Legions into array, and flankt them with his thunder; therefore he sent Foolifhnes to confute Wisdom, Weaknes to bind Strength, Despifednes to vanquish Pride. And this is the great miftery of the Gofpel made good in Chrift himself, who as he testifies came not to be minister'd to, but to minister; and muft be fulfiTd in all his ministers till his second comming. To goe againft these principles S. Paul fo fear'd, that if he should but affect the wisdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the crosse of Chrift to be of none effect. Whether then Prelaty do not make of none effect the crosse of Chrift by the principles it hath so contrary to these, nullifying the power and end of the Gofpel, it shall not want due proof, if it want not due belief. Neither shal I stand to trifle with one that will tell me of quiddities and formalities, whether Prelaty or Prelateity in abftract notion be this or that, it suffices me that I find it in his fkin, fow I find it inseparable, or not oftner other-wise then a Phenix hath bin seen; although I perfwade me that whatever faultines was but superficial to Prelaty at the beginning, is now by the juft judgment of God long fince branded and inworn into the very effence therof. Firft therefore, if to doe the
work of the Gospel Christ our Lord took upon him the form of a servant, how can his servant in this ministry take upon him the form of a Lord? I know Bilson hath decipher’d us all the galanteries of Signore and Monsignore, and Monfieur as circumstantially as any punctualist of Castell, Naples, or Fountain Bleau could have don, but this must not so complement us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a servant was a mean, laborious and vulgar life aptest to teach; which form Christ thought fittest, that he might bring about his will according to his own principles choosing the meaner things of this world that he might put under the high. Now whether the pompous garb, the Lordly life, the wealth, the haughty distance of Prelaty be those meaner things of the world, whereby God in them would manage the mystery of his Gospel, be it the verdit of common sense. For Christ faith in S. John, The servant is not greater than his Lord, nor he that is sent greater than he that sent him. And addes, If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye doe them. Then let the prelates well advise, if they neither know, nor do these things, or if they know, and yet doe them not, wherein their happines consists. And thus is the Gospel frustrated by the Lordly form of Prelaty.

CHAP. II.

That the ceremonios doctrin of Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel.

Hat which next declares the heavenly power, and reveales the deep mistery of the Gospel, is the pure simplitie of doctrine, accounted the foolihnes of this world, yet croffing and confounding the pride and
Church-government.  

wisdom of the flesh. And wherein consists this fleshly wisdom and pride? in being altogether ignorant of God and his worship? no surely, for men are naturally ashamed of that. Where then? it consists in a bold presumption of ordering the worship and service of God after man's own will in traditions and ceremonies. Now if the pride and wisdom of the flesh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt, but in that very point wherein it was proudest and thought it self wisest, that so the victory of the Gospel might be the more illustrious. But our Prelates instead of expressing the spirituall power of their ministery by warring against this chief bulwark and strong hold of the flesh, have enter'd into saft league with the principall enemy against whom they were sent, and turn'd the strength of fleshly pride and wisdom against the pure simplicitie of saving truth. First, mistrusting to find the authority of their order in the immediat institution of Christ, or his Apostles by the cleer evidence of Scripture, they fly to the carnal supportment of tradition; when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unwieldy volumes of tradition. And doe not shame to reject the ordinance of him that is eternal for the pervers iniquity of sixteen hundred yeers; choosing rather to think truth it self a lyar, then that sixteen ages should be taxt with an error; not considering the general apostasy that was foretold, and the Churches flight into the wildernes. Nor is this anough, instead of shewing the reason of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high pre-eminence from humane consent and authority. But let them chant while they will of prerogatives, we shall tell them of Scripture; of custom, we of Scripture; of Acts and Statutes, stil of Scripture, til the quick and pearcing word enter to the dividing of their soules, and the mighty
weaknes of the Gospel throw down the weak migh-
tines of mans reasoning. Now for their demeanor
within the Church, how have they disfigur'd and
defac't that more then angelick brightnes, the un-
clouded serenity of Christian Religion with the
dark overcasting of superstitious coaps and flaminical
veftures; wearing on their backs; and, I abhorre to
think, perhaps in some worse place the unexpref-
sible Image of God the father. Tell me ye Priests
wherfore this gold, wherfore these roabs and sur-
plices over the Gospel? is our religion guilty of the
firft trefpaffe, and hath need of cloathing to cover
her nakednesse? what does this else but cast an
ignominy upon the perfection of Christs miniftery
by seeking to adorn it with that which was the poor
remedy of our shame. Beleive it, wondrous Doc-
tors, all corporeal resemblances of inward holinesse
and beauty are now paft; he that will cloath the
Gospel now, intimates plainly, that the Gospel is
naked, uncomely, that I may not say reproachfull.
Do not, ye Church-masakers, while Chrift is cloath-
ing upon our barenes with his righteous garment to
make us acceptable in his fathers fighet, doe not, as
ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the
polluted cloathing of your ceremonies to make it
feem more decent in your own eyes. How beauti-
full, faith Ifaiah, are the feet of him that bringeth
good tidings, that publiseth salvation! Are the feet
fo beautifull, and is the very bringing of these
tidings fo decent of it self? what new decency then
can be added to this by your spinftry? ye think by
these gaudy glifterings to stirre up the devotion of
the rude multitude; ye think fo, because ye forfake
the heavenly teaching of S. Paul for the hellifh
Sophiftry of Papifm. If the multitude be rude, the
lips of the Preacher muft give knowledge, and not
ceremonies. And although some Christians be new
born babes comparatively to some that are stronger, yet in respect of ceremony which is but a rudiment of the Law, the weakest Christian hath thrown off the robes of his minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal rites. What children's food there is in the Gospel we know to be no other then the sincerity of the word that they may grow thereby. But is here the utmost of your outbraving the service of God? No. Ye have bin bold, not to set your threshold by his threshold, or your posts by his posts, but your Sacrament, your signe, call it what you will, by his Sacrament, baptizing the Christian infant with a solemn sprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger: as if when ye had layd the purifying element upon his forehead, ye meant to cancel and cross it out again with a character not of God's bidding. O but the innocence of these ceremonies! O rather the sottish absurdity of this excuse! what could be more innocent then the washing of a cup, a glass, or hands before meat, and that under the Law when so many washings were commanded, and by long tradition, yet our Saviour detested their customs, though never so seeming harmless, and charges them severely that they had transgress the Commandments of God by their traditions and worshipt him in vain. How much more then must these, and much greater ceremonies now in force delude the end of Christ's coming in the flesh against the flesh, and stifle the sincerity of our new cov'nant which hath bound us to forfake all carnall pride and wisdom especially in matters of religion. Thus we see again how Prelaty sayling in opposition to the main end and power of the Gospel doth not joyn in that misterious work of Christ, by lowlines to confound height, by simplicitie of doctrine the wisdom of the world, but contrariwise hath made it self high in the world and
the flesh to vanquish things by the world accounted low, and made it self wise in tradition and fleshly ceremony to confound the purity of doctrin which is the wisdom of God.

CHAP. III.

That Prelatical jurisdiction opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel and of State.

He third and last consideration remains, whether the Prelats in their function doe work according to the Gospel practizing to subdue the mighty things of this world by things weak: which S. Paul hath set forth to be the power and excellency of the Gospel, or whether in more likelihood they band themselves with the prevalent things of this world to overrun the weak things which Christ hath made choos to work by: and this will soonest be discern'd by the cours of their jurisdiction. But heer again I find my thoughts almost in suspense betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may best retire, and not proceed in this subject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixt me too attentively to come thus farre. For Truth, I know not how, hath this unhappinesse fatal to her, ere she can come to the triall and inspection of the Understanding, being to passe through many little wards and limits of the severall Affections and Desires, she cannot shift it, but must put on such colours and attire, as those Pathetick handmaids of the soul please to lead her in to their Queen. And if she find so much favour with them, they let her passe in her own likenesse; if not, they bring her into the presence habited and colour'd like a notorious Falshood. And contrary
when any Falsehood comes that way, if they like the errand he brings, they are so artfull to counterfeit the very shape and visage of Truth, that the Understanding not being able to discern the focus which these enchantresses with such cunning have laid upon the feature sometimes of Truth, sometimes of Falsehood interchangeably, sentences for the most part one for the other at the first blush, according to the subtle imposture of these sensual mistresses that keep the ports and passages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already said, I should goe neer to relinquish that which is to follow. And because I see that most men, as it happens in this world, either weakly, or fallly principled, what through ignorance, and what through custom of licence, both in discours and writing, by what hath bin of late written in vulgar, have not seem'd to attain the decision of this point, I shall likewise assay those wily Arbitresses who in most men have, as was heard, the sole ushering of Truth and Falsehood between the sense, and the soul, with what loyalty they will use me in conveying this Truth to my understanding; the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I doe not find them engag'd either one way or other. Concerning thencefore ecclesiastical jurisdiction, I find still more controversy, who should administer it, then diligent enquiry made to learn what it is, for had the pains bin taken to search out that, it had bin long agoe enrol'd to be nothing els but a pure tyrannical forgery of the Prelats; and that jurisdic-tive power in the Church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceiv'd that what men now call jurisdiction in the Church, should be other thing then a Christian censorship; and therefore is it most commonly and truly nam'd ecclesiastical censure.
Now if the Roman censor a civil function, to that severe aisse of surveying and controlling the privatest, and fleieth manners of all men and all degrees had no jurisdiction, no courts of plea, or inditement, no punitive force annexed, whether it were that to this manner of correction the intanglement of suits was improper, or that the notice of those upright Inquiritors extended to such the most covert and spirituous vices as would slip easily between the wider and more material grasp of Law; Or that it stood more with the Majesty of that office to have no other Sergeants or maces about them but those invisible ones of Terror and shame: Or lastly, were it their feare, left the greatnes of this authority and honour arm'd with jurisdiction might step with ease into a tyranny. In all these respects with much more reason undoubtedly ought the censure of the Church be quite devested and disjointal'd of all jurisdiction whatsoever. For if the cours of judicature to a political censor-ship seem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the discipline of Church whose definitive decrees are to be speedy, but the execution of rigour flow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is most usual, and by how much the lesse contentious it is, by so much will it be the more Christian. And if the censor in his morall episcopy being to judge most in matters not answerable by writ or action could not use an instrument so groffe and bodily as jurisdiction is, how can the minister of Gospel manage the corpulent and secular trial of bill and processe in things meerly spiritual. Or could that Roman office without this juridical sword or saw strike such a reverence of it self into the most undaunted hearts, as with one single dash of ignominy to put all the Senate and Knighthood of Rome into a tremble, surely much rather might the heavenly ministery of the Evangel
bind her self about with farre more pearcing beams of Majesty and aw by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amerceaments in the use of her powerful Keies. For when the Church without temporal support is able to doe her great works upon the unforc’r obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when she thinks to credit and better her spirittuall efficacy, and to win her self respect and dread by strutting in the fals visard of worldly autori-\add{ty, tis evident that God is not there; but that her apostolick vertu is departed from her, and hath left her Key-cold. Which she perceaving as in a decay’d nature seeks to the outward fomentations and cha-\add{tings of worldly help, and external flourishes, to fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her ex-tream parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and arteficial heat of jurifdiction. But it is observable that so long as the Church in true imita-\add{tion of Christ can be content to ride upon an Asfè carrying her self and her government along in a mean and simple guißhe, she may be as he is, a Lion of the tribe of Iuda, and in her humility all men with loud Hosanna’s will conffe the greatnes. But when despi\add{fing the mighty operation of the spirit by the weak things of this world she thinks to make her self bigger and more considerable by using the way of civil force and jurifdiction, as she sits upon this Lion she changes into an Asfè, and instead of Ho-\add{sanna’s every man pelts her with stones and dirt. La\add{ftly, if the wisdom of the Romans fear’d to com-\add{mit jurifdiction to an office of so high esteem and dred as was the censors, we may see what a solecism in the art of policy it hath bin all this while through Christendom to give jurifdiction to ecclesia\add{stical Cens-\add{ure. For that strength joyn’d with religion abus’d and pretended to ambitious ends must of nece\add{ssity breed the heaviest and most quelling tyranny not
only upon the necks, but even to the souls of men: which if Christian Rome had bin so cautelous to prevent in her Church, as Pagan Rome was in her state, we had not had such a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all Christendom. For although I said before that the Church coveting to ride upon the Lionly form of jurisdiction makes a transformation of her self into an Asse, and becomes despicable, that is to those whom God hath enlight'nd with true knowledge; but where they remain yet in the reliques of superstition, this is the extremity of their bondage, and blindnes, that while they think they doe obeisance to the Lordly visage of a Lion, they doe it to an asse, that through the just judgement of God is permitted to play the dragon among them because of their wilfull stupidity. And let England here well rub her eyes, left by leaving jurisdiction and Church censure to the same persons, now that God hath bin so long medicining her eyesight, she doe not with her overpoliticke fetches marre all, and bring her self back again to worship this Asse bestriding a Lion. Having hitherto explain'd, that to ecclesiafticall censure no jurisdic-tive power can be added without a childish and dangerous oversight in polity, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelick discipline, as anon more fully; it will be next to declare wherein the true reason and force of Church censure consists, which by then it shall be laid open to the root, so little is it that I fear left any crookednes, any wrinkle or spot should be found in presbyterial government, that if Bodin the famous French writer though a papist, yet affirms that the Commonwelth which maintains this discipline will certainly flourish in vertu and piety, I dare assure my self that every true protestant will admire the integrity, the uprightness, the divine and gracious purposes therof, and even
for the reason of it so coherent with the doctrine of
the Gospel, besides the evidence of command in
Scripture, will confesse it to be the only true Church-
government, and that contrary to the whole end and
mystery of Christ's coming in the flesh a false appear-
ance of the same is exercis'd by Prelaty. But be-
cause some count it rigorous, and that hereby men
shall be liable to a double punishment, I will begin
somewhat higher and speak of punishment. Which,
as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather
two degrees only, a reprobate conscience in this life,
and hell in the other world. Whatever else men
call punishment, or censure is not properly an
evil, so it be not an illegall violence, but a saving
med'cin ordin'd of God both for the publik and
privat good of man, who consisting of two parts the
inward and the outward, was by the eternall provi-
dence left under two sorts of cure, the Church and
the Magistrat. The Magistrat hath only to deale
with the outward part, I mean not of the body
alone, but of the mind in all her outward acts,
which in Scripture is call'd the outward man. So
that it would be cleargull to us if we might borrow
such authority as the Rhetoricians by patent may give
us, with a kind of Promethean skil to shape and
fashion this outward man into the similitude of a
body, and set him visible before us; imagining the
inner man only as the foul. Thus then the civill
Magistrat looking only upon the outward man (I
say as a Magistrat, for what he doth further, he
doeth it as a member of the Church) if he find in his
complexion, skin, or outward temperature the signes
and marks, or in his doings the effects of injustice,
rapine, lust, cruelty, or the like, sometimes he shuts
up as in frenetick, or infectious diseases; or confines
within dores, as in every sickly estate. Sometimes
he shaves by penalty, or mulct, or els to cool and
take down those luxuriant humors which wealth and excess have caus'd to abound. Otherwhiles he feres, he cauterizes, he scarifies, lets blood, and finally for utmost remedy cuts off. The patients which most an end are brought into his hospital are such as are farre gon, and beside themselves (unlesse they be falsely accus'd) so that force is necessary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more human cure. His general end is the outward peace and wel-fare of the Commonwealth and civil happines in this life. His particular end in every man is, by the infliction of pain, dammage, and disgrace, that the senses and common perceivance might carry this message to the soul within, that it is neither easefull, profita-ble, nor praiseworthy in this life to doe evill. Which must needs tend to the good of man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the first means to a natural man, especially an offender, which might open his eyes to a higher consideration of good and evill, as it is taught in religion. This is seen in the often penitence of those that suffer, who, had they scapt, had gon on sinning to an immeasurable heap, which is one of the extreameft punishments. And this is all that the civil Magistrat, as so being, con-fers to the healing of mans mind, working only by terrifying plaifters upon the rind and orifice of the fore, and by all outward appliances, as the Logicians say, a posteriori, at the effect, and not from the cause: not once touching the inward bed of corruption, and that hecstick disposition to evill, the sourc of all vice, and obliquity against the rule of Law. Which how insufficent it is to cure the soul of man, we cannot better guesse then by the art of bodily phisick. Therfore God to the intent of further healing mans deprav'd mind, to this power of the Magistrat which contents it self with the restraint
of evil doing in the external man, added that which we call cenfure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmost soul. In the beginning this authority seems to have bin plac't, as all both civil and religious rites once were, only in each father of family. Afterwards among the heathen, in the wise men and Philosophers of the age; but so as it was a thing voluntary, and no set government. More distinctly among the Jews as being Gods peculiar, where the Priests, Levites, Profets, and at last the Scribes and Pharifes took charge of instructing, and overseing the lives of the people. But in the Gospel, which is the straiteft and the deareft cov'nant can be made between God and man, wee being now his adopted sons, and nothing fitter for us to think on, then to be like him, united to him, and as he pleases to exprefs it, to have fellowship with him, it is all necessity that we should expect this bleft efficacy of healing our inward man to be minister'd to us in a more familiar and effectual method then ever before. God being now no more a judge after the sentence of the Law, nor as it were a schoolmaifter of perishable rites, but a moft indulgent father governing his Church as a family of sons in their discreet age; and therefore in the sweeteft and mildest manner of paternal discipline he hath committed this other office of preserving in healthful constitution the innerman, which may be term'd the spirit of the soul, to his spiritual deputy the minister of each Congregation; who being best acquainted with his own flock, hath best reason to know all the secretest diseases likely to be there. And look by how much the internal man is more excellent and noble then the external, by so much is his cure more exactly, more throughly, and more particularly to be perform'd. For which cause the holy Ghoft by the Apostles joyn'd to the minister, as assistant in this great office sometimes a
certain number of grave and faithful brethren, (for neither doth the phisitian doe all in restoring his patient, he prescribes, another prepares the med’cin, some tend, some watch, some visit) much more may a minister partly not see all, partly erre as a man: besides that nothing can be more for the mutuall honour and love of the people to their Pastor, and his to them, then when in select numbers and courses they are seen partaking, and doing reverence to the holy duties of discipline by their serviceable, and solemn presence, and receiving honour again from their employment, not now any more to be separated in the Church by vails and partitions as laicks and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the tabernacle as the rightfull Clergy of Christ, a chosen generation, a royal Priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrificse in that meet place to which God and the Congregation shall call and assigne them. And this all Christians ought to know, that the title of Clergy S. Peter gave to all Gods people, till Pope Higinus and the succeeding Prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themselves and their Priests only; and condemning the rest of Gods inheritance to an injurious and alienat condition of Laity, they separated from them by local partitions in Churches, through their grosse ignorance and pride imitating the old temple: and excluded the members of Christ from the property of being members, the bearing of orderly and fit offices in the ecclesiaftical body, as if they had meant to sow up that Jewish vail which Christ by his death on the Cross rent in sunder. Although these usurpers could not so presently over-maister the liberties and lawfull titles of Gods freeborn Church, but that Origen being yet a lay man expounded the Scriptures publickly, and was therein defended by Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea pro-
ducing in his behalf divers examples that the privilege of teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy Laymen; And Cyprian in his Epistles professes he will doe nothing without the advice and assent of his assistant Laicks. Neither did the first Nicene council, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and presence of many learned lay brethren, as they were then called. Many other authorities to confirm this assertion both out of Scripture and the writings of next antiquity Golartius hath collected in his notes upon Cyprian; whereby it will be evident that the Laity not only by Apostolick permission, but by consent of many the ancientest Prelates did participat in Church offices as much as is desir'd any lay Elder should now do. Sometimes also not the Elders alone, but the whole body of the Church is interested in the work of discipline, as oft as publick satisfaction is given by those that have given publick scandal. Not to speak now of her right in elections. But another reason there is in it, which though religion did not commend to us, yet morall and civil prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in Philosophy, that shame or to call it better, the reverence of our elders, our brethren, and friends was the greatest incitement to vertuous deeds and the greatest dissuasion from unworthy attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the Iliad where Hector being wiht to retire from the battel, many of his forces being routed, makes answer that he durst not for shame, left the Trojan Knights and Dames should think he did ignobly. And certain it is that wheras Terror is thought such a great stickler in a Commonwealth, honourable shame is a farre greater, and has more reason. For where shame is there is fear, but where fear is there is not presently shame. And if any thing may be done to
inbreed in us this generous and Christianly reverence one of another, the very Nurs and Guardian of piety and vertue, it can not sooner be then by such a discipline in the Church, as may use us to have in aw the assemblies of the faithful, and to count it a thing most grievous, next to the grieving of Gods Spirit, to offend those whom he hath put in authority, as a healing superintendence over our lives and behaviours, both to our own happines and that we may not give offence to good men, who without amends by us made, dare not against Gods command hold communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcast from the company of Saints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his Church, to comfort with the devil and his angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honest shame, or call it if you will an esteem, whereby men bear an inward reverence toward their own persons. And if the love of God as a fire sent from Heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altar of our hearts, be the first principle of all godly and vertuous actions in men, this pious and just honouring of our selves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture and fountain head, whence every laudable and worthy enterprize issues forth. And although I have giv'n it the name of a liquid thing, yet is it not incontinent to bound it self, as humid things are, but hath in it a most restraining and powerfull abstinence to start back, and glob it self upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeseeming motion, or any soile wherewith it may peril to stain it self. Something I confesse it is to be ashamed of evil doing in the presence of any, and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather then a bad, fearing most in his fight to offend, goes so farre as almost to be ver-
tuous; yet this is but still the feare of infamy, and many fuch, when they find themselves alone, faving their reputation will compound with other scruples, and come to a close treaty with their dearer vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence and due efteem, both for the dignity of Gods image upon him, and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly markt upon his forehead, accounts himfelfe both a fit person to do the nobleft and godliest deeds, and much better worth then to deject and defile, with fuch a debasement and fuch a pollution as fìn is, himfelfe fo highly ransom’d and enobl’d to a new friendship and filiall relation with God. Nor can he fear fo much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would blufh at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye upon himfelfe, if it fhould fee him doing or imagining that which is finfull though in the deepest secrecy. How fhall a man know to do himfelfe this right, how to performe this honourable duty of estimation and respect towards his own soul and body? which way will leade him beft to this hill top of sanctity and goodneffe above which there is no higher ascent but to the love of God which from this self-pious regard cannot be affunder? no better way doubt- leffe then to let him duly understand that as he is call’d by the high calling of God to be holy and pure, fo is he by the fame appointment ordain’d, and by the Churches call admitted to fuch offices of discipline in the Church to which his owne spirituall gifts by the example of Apostolick institution have autoriz’d him. For we have learnt that the scornfull terme of Laick, the confecrating of Temples, carpets, and table-clothes, the railing in of a repugnant and contradiftive Mount Sinai in the Gofpell, as if the touch of a lay Christian who is never the leffe Gods living temple, could profane
dead judaisms, the exclusion of Christ's people from the offices of holy discipline through the pride of a usurping Clergy, causes the rest to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themselves; to approach to holy duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldness. For seeing such a wide and terrible distance between religious things and themselves, and that in respect of a wooden table and the perimeter of holy ground about it, a flagon pot, and a linnen corporal, the Priest esteems their lay-ships unhallow'd and unclean, they fear religion with such a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the Gospell too pure for them, and that any uncleanness is more sutable to their unconsecrated estate. But when every good Christian throughly acquainted with all those glorious privileges of sanctification and adoption which render him more sacred then any dedicated altar or element, shall be restor'd to his right in the Church, and not excluded from such place of spirituall government as his Christian abilities and his approved good life in the eye and testimony of the Church shall preferre him to, this and nothing sooner will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation of himselfe, which is so requisite and high a point of Christianiety, and will stirre him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave imployment wherewith God and the Church hath dignifi'd him: not fearing lest he should meet with some outward holy thing in religion which his lay touch or presence might profane, but left something unholy from within his own heart should dishonour and profane in himselfe that Priestly unction and Clergy-right whereto Christ hath entitl'd him. Then would the congregation of the Lord soone recover the true likeness and visage of what he is indeed, a holy generation, a royall Priesthood, a Saintly communion, the household and City of God. And this I hold to
be another considerable reason why the functions of Church-government ought to be free and open to any Christian man though never so laick, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanour commend him. And this the Apostles warrant us to do. But the Prelats object that this will bring profaneness into the Church, to whom may be reply'd, that none have brought that in more then their own irreligious courses; nor more driven holiness out of living into livelessse things. For whereas God who hath cleans'd every beast and creeping worme, would not suffer S. Peter to call them common or unclean, the Prelat Bishops in their printed orders hung up in Churches have proclaim'd the best of creatures, mankind, so unpurifi'd and contagious, that for him to lay his hat, or his garment upon the Chancell table they have defin'd it no lesse hainous in expressse words then to profane the Table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitishe doctrine (for that which was to the Jew but jewish is to the Christian no better then Canaanitishe) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made profane that nature which God hath not only cleans'd, but Christ also hath affum'd. And now that the equity and just reason is so perspicuous, why in Ecclesiastick censure the assistance should be added of such, as whom not the vile odour of gaine and fees (forbid it God and blow it with a whirlewinde out of our land) but charity, neighbourhood, and duty to Church-government hath call'd together, where could a wiseman wish a more equall, gratuitous, and meek examination of any offence that he might happen to commit against Christianity then here? would he preferre those proud simoniacal Courts? Thus therefore the Minister assisted attends his heavenly and spirituall, cure. Where we shall see him both in the course of his proceeding, and first in the excellence of his end from the magis-
The Reafon of Bk. 2.

trate farre different, and not more different then excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man both soul and body to an everlafting health: and yet as for worldly happinesfe, which is the proper sphere wherein the magistrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy from law, so little aims the Minifter, as his intended scope, to procure the much prosperity of this life, that oft-times he may have cause to wish much of it away, as a diet puffing up the soul with a slimy flimy fleshinesfe, and weakning her principall organick parts. Two heads of evill he has to cope with, ignorance and malice. Against the former he provides the daily Manna of incorruptible doctrine, not at those fet meales only in publick, but as oft as he shall know that each infirmity, or constitution requires. Against the latter with all the branches thereof, not medling with that restraining and styptick surgery which the law uses, not indeed against the malady but against the eruptions, and outermoft effects thereof. He on the contrary beginning at the prime causes and roots of the disease sends in those two divine ingredients of most cleansing power to the soul, Admonition and Re-proof, besides which two there is no drug or antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other experiments are but vain, unless by accident. And he that will not let these passe into him, though he be the greatest King, as Plato affirms, must be thought to remaine impure within, and unknowing of those things wherein his purenesse and his knowledge should most appear. As foon therefore as it may be discern'd that the Christian patient by feeding otherwhere on meats not allowable, but of evill juice, hath disorder'd his diet, and spread an ill humour through his vains immediatly disposing to a sicknesse, the minister as being much neerer both in eye and duty, then the magistrate, speeds
him betimes to overtake that diffus'd malignance with some gentle potion of admonishment; or if ought be obstructed, puts in his opening and discursive confections. This not succeeding after once or twice or oftner, in the presence of two or three his faithful brethren appointed thereto he advises him to be more carefull of his dearest health, and what it is that he so rashly hath let down in to the divine vessel of his soul God's temple. If this obtaine not, he then with the counsel of more assistants who are inform'd of what diligence hath been already us'd, with more speedy remedies lays neerer siege to the entrenched causes of his distemper, not sparing such fervent and well aim'd reproofs as may best give him to see the dangerous estate wherein he is. To this also his brethren and friends intreat, exhort, adjure, and all these endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or leffe repeated. But if, neither the regard of himself, nor the reverence of his Elders and friends prevale with him, to leave his vitious appetite, then as the time urges, such engines of terror God hath given into the hand of his minister as to search the tenderest angles of the heart: one while he shakes his stubbornness with racking convulsions nigh dispaire, other whiles with deadly corrosives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole Church beseech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this perform'd with what patience and attendance is possible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmost of their cure, in the name of God and of the Church they dissolve their fellowship with him, and holding forth the dreadfull sponge of excommunication pronounce him wip't out of the lift of God's inheritance, and in the custody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid sentence though it touch neither life, nor limme,
nor any worldly possession, yet has it such a penetrating force, that swifter than any chimicall sulphur, or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rifles the entrals, it scorches the inmost soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the Church for no other cause but to be as a rough and vehement cleansing medicine, where the malady is obdurat; a mortifying to life, a kind of saving by undoing. And it may be truly said, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, so the cruelties of the Church are mercies. For if repentance sent from heaven meet this lost wanderer, and draw him out of that steep journey wherein he was hasting towards destruction, to come and reconcile to the Church, if he bring with him his bill of health, and that he is now cleare of infection and of no danger to the other sheep, then with incredible expressions of joy all his brethren receive him, and set before him those perfumed banquets of Christian consolation; with precious ointments bathing and fomenting the old and now to be forgotten stripes which terror and shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly foflaces they cheere up his humble remorse, till he regain his first health and felicity. This is the approved way which the Gospell prescribes, these are the spirituall weapons of holy censure, and ministeriall warfare, not carnall, but mighty through God to the pulling downe of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itselfe against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.* What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine particle of Gods breathing, the soul, and what could be done lesse? he that would hide his faults from such a wholesome curing as this, and count it a two-

* 2 Cor. 10.
fold punishment, as some do, is like a man that having foul diseases about him, perishes for shame, and the fear he has of a rigorous incision to come upon his flesh. We shall be able by this time to discern whether Prelaticall jurisdiction be contrary to the Gospell or no. First therefore the government of the Gospell being economicall and paternall, that is, of such a family where there be no servants, but all sons in obedience, not in servility, as cannot be deny'd by him that lives but within the sound of Scripture, how can the Prelates justifie to have turn'd the fatherly orders of Christ's household, the blessed meekness of his lowly roof, those ever open and inviting dores of his dwelling house which delight to be frequented with only filiall accessses, how can they justifie to have turn'd these domestick privileges into the barre of a proud judiciall court where fees and clamours keep shop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption solicits, paltring the free and monileffe power of discipline with a carnall satisfaction by the purse. Contrition, humiliation, confession, the very sighs of a repentant spirit are there sold by the penny. That undeflour'd and unblemishable simplicity of the Gospell, not she her selfe, for that could never be, but a false-whited, a lawnie resemblance of her, like that aire-born Helena in the fables, made by the forcery of Prelats, instead of calling her Disciples from the receit of custom, is now turn'd Publican her self; and gives up her body to a mercenary whordome under those fornicated arches which she calls Gods house, and in the sight of those her altars which she hath set up to be ador'd makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. Rejecting purgatory for no other reason, as it seems, then because her greedines cannot deferre but had rather use the utmost extortion of redeemed penances in this life. But because these matters could not be
thus carri'd without a begg'd and borrow'd force from worldly autority, therefore prelaty sligting the deliberat and chosen counsell of Christ in his spiri-

tuall government, whose glory is in the weaknesse of fleshly things to tread upon the creft of the worlds pride and violence by the power of spirituall ordi-
nances, hath on the contrary made these her freinds and champions which are Chrifts enemies in this his high designe, smothering and extinguishing the spirituall force of his bodily weaknesse in the discipline of his Church, with the boiftrous and carnall tyranny of an undue, unlawfull and ungodspellike jurisdiction. And thus Prelaty both in her fleshly supports, in her carnall doctrine of ceremonie and tradition, in her violent and secular power going quite counter to the prime end of Chrifts comming in the flefh, that is to revele his truth, his glory and his might in a clean contrary manner then Prelaty seeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great mistery of God, I do not conclude that Prelaty is Antichristian, for what need I? the things themselves conclude it. Yet if such like practises, and not many worse then these of our Prelats, in that great darknesse of the Roman Church, have not exempted both her and her present members from being judg'd to be Anti-

christian in all orthodoxall esteeme, I cannot think but that it is the absolute voice of truth and all her children to pronounce this Prelaty, and these her dark deeds in the midst of this great light wherein we live, to be more Antichristian then Antichrist himselfe.
The Conclusion.

The mischief that Prelaty does in the State.

Add one thing more to those great ones that are so fond of Prelaty, this is certain that the Gospel being the hidden might of Christ, as hath been heard, hath ever a victorious power joyn'd with it, like him in the Revelation that went forth on the white Horse with his bow and his crown conquering, and to conquer. If we let the Angel of the Gospel ride on his own way, he does his proper business conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reasonings of the flesh, and brings them under to give obedience to Christ with the salvation of many souls. But if ye turn him out of his rode, and in a manner force him to express his irresistible power by a doctrine of carnal might, as Prelaty is, he will use that fleshly strength which ye put into his hands to subdue your spirits by a servile and blind superstition, and that again shall hold such dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an insatiate greediness and force upon your worldly wealth and power whereby to deck and magnifie her self, and her false worships, she shall spoil and havock your estates, disturbe your ease, diminish your honour, intrauel your liberty under the swelling mood of a proud Clergy, who will not serve or feed your souls with spirituall food, look not for it, they have not wherewithall, or if they had, it is not in their purpose. But when they have glutted their ingratefull bodies, at least if it be possible that those open sepulchres should ever be glutted, and when they have stuff their Idolish temples with the wastefulfull pillage of
your estates, will they yet have any compassion upon you, and that poore pittance which they have left you, will they be but so good to you as that ravisher was to his sister, when he had us'd her at his pleasure, will they but only hate ye and so turne ye loose? no: they will not, Lords and Commons, they will not fauour ye so much. What will they do then in the name of God and Saints, what will these man-haters yet with more despiught and mischiefe do? Ile tell ye, or at least remember ye, for most of ye know it already. That they may want nothing to make them true merchants of Babylon, as they have done to your souls, they will fell your bodies, your wives, your children, your liberties, your Parlamets, all these things, and if there be ought else dearer then these, they will fell at an out-cry in their Pulpits to the arbitrary and illegall dispose of any one that may hereafter be call'd a King, whose mind shall serve him to listen to their bargain. And by their corrupt and servile doctrines boring our eares to an everlafting slavery, as they have done hitherto, so will they yet do their best to repeal and eraze every line and clause of both our great charters. Nor is this only what they will doe, but what they hold as the maine reaason and mystery of their advancement that they must do; be the Prince never so juft and equall to his subjects; yet such are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they so look on him, and so understand him, as if he requir'd no other gratitude, or piece of service from them then this. And indeed they stand so opportunly for the disturbing or the destroying of a state, being a knot of creatures whose dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the Gospel, as they themselves acknowledge, but only in the Princes favour, and to continue so long to them, as by pleasing him they shall deserve, whence it must needs be they shoule bend all their inten-
tions, and services to no other ends but to his, that if it should happen that a tyrant (God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies) should come to grasp the Scepter, here were his speare men and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he should need no other pretorian band nor pensionry than these, if they could once with their perfidious preachments aw the people. For although the Prelats in time of popery were sometimes friendly enough to magnachartia, it was because they stood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the royal nod: but now being well acquainted that the protestant religion, if she will reform her self rightly by the Scriptures, must undresse them of all their guilded vanities, and reduce them as they were at first, to the lowly and equall order of Presbyters, they know it concerns them nearly to study the times more then the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hills of the Court, from whence only comes their help; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and observance, as ere long it would, and that yet their minds clime still to a higher ascent of worldly honour, this only refuge can remain to them, that they must of necessity contrive to bring themselves and us back again to the Popes supremacy, and this we see they had by fair degrees of late been doing. These be the two fair supporters between which the strength of Prelaty is born up, either of inducing tyranny, or of reducing popery. Hence also we may judge that Prelaty is meer falshood. For the property of Truth is, where she is publickly taught, to unyoke and set free the minds and spirits of a Nation first from the thraldom of sin and superstition, after which all honest and legal freedom of civil life cannot be long absent; but Prelaty whom the tyrant custom begot a natural tyrant in religion, and in state the agent and minister of tyranny, seems to have had this fatal guilt
in her nativity like another Midas that whatsoever she should touch or come near either in ecclesiastical or political government, it should turn, not to gold, though she for her part could wish it, but to the dross and scum of slavery breeding and settling both in the bodies and the souls of all such as doe not in time with the soveran treacle of sound doctrine provide to fortifie their hearts against her Hierarchy. The service of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom, but her works and her opinions declare that the service of Prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falsehood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the Gentry, studious men, as I heare should engage themselves to write, and speake publickly in her defence, but that I beleev the honest and ingenuous natures comming to the Universityes to store themselves with good and solid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing else, but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophisty, were sent home again with such a scholastical burre in their throats, as hath stoppt and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entring, crackt their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms, and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men pratically addicted, whose unchaft'nd and unwrought minds never yet initiated or subdu'd under the true lore of religion or moral vertue, which two are the best and greatest points of learning, but either slightly train'd up in a kind of hypocritical and hackny cours of literature to get their living by, and daze the ignorant, or els fondly overstudied in uselesse controversies, except those which they use with all the specious and delusive suttlety they are able, to defend their pratical Sparta, having a Gospele and Church-government set before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exercise the greatest vertu's, and the
greatest deeds of Christian authority in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world, which even the sage heathen writers and those old Fabritii, and Curii well knew to be a manner of working, then which nothing could lik’n a mortal man more to God, who delights most to worke from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instrument, they understand it not, and think no such matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches, and honours, with an ease and intemperat life, to the bane of Christianity: yea they and their Seminaries shame not to profess, to petition and never in pealing our eares that unless we sat them like boores, and cramme them as they lift with wealth, with Deaneries, and pluralities, with Baronies and stately preferments, all learning and religion will goe underfoot. Which is such a shamelesse, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in Church-men, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who should teach us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in baptisme, that should the Scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of Philosophers among the heathen so dissolute, no not Epicurus, nor Aristippus with all his Cyrenaick rout, but would shut his school dores against such greasy sophisters: not any College of Mountebanks, but would think scorn to discover in themselves with such a brazen forehead the outrageous desire of filthy lucre. Which the Prelats make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians under the names of horrible schismaticks for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruell autoryty over their brethren that labour in the word, while they snore in their luxu-
rious exceffe. Openly proclaming themselves now in the fight of all men to be those which for a while they sought to cover under sheep's clothing, ravenous and savage wolves threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey. More like that huge dragon of Egypt breathing out waft, and desolation to the land, unless he were daily fatten'd with virgins blood. Him our old patron Saint George by his matchless valor slew, as the Prelat of the Garter that reads his Collect can tell. And if our Princes and Knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of Knighthood solemnly taken, they vow, farre be it that they should uphold and side with this English Dragon; but rather to doe as indeed their oath binds them, they should make it their Knightly adventure to pursue and vanquish this mighty sailewing'd monster that menaces to swallow up the Land, unless her bottomless gorge may be satisfied with the blood of the Kings daughter the Church; and may, as she was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the Saints. Nor will any one have reason to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be spok'n of Prelaty, if he consider well from what a maffe of slime and mud, the floathful, the covetous and ambitious hopes of Church-promotions and fat Bishopricks she is bred up and nuzzl'd in, like a great Python from her youth, to prove the general poyson both of doctrine and good discipline in the Land. For certainly such hopes and such principles of earth as these wherein she welters from a yong one, are the immediat generation both of a flashy and tyrannous life to follow, and a pestiferous contagion to the whole Kingdom, till like that fenborn serpent she be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word. And this may
serve to describe to us in part, what Prelaty hath bin
and what, if the stand, she is like to be toward the
whole body of people in England. Now that it
may appeare how she is not such a kind of evil, as
hath any good, or use in it, which many evils have,
but a distill'd quintessence, a pure elixiar of mischief,
pestilent alike to all, I shal shew briefly, ere I con-
clude, that the Prelats, as they are to the subjects a
calamity, so are they the greatest underminers and
betrayers of the Monarch, to whom they seem to be
most favourable. I cannot better liken the state and
person of a King then to that mighty Nazarite Sam-
fon; who being disciplin'd from his birth in the
precepts and the practice of Temperance and So-
 briety, without the strong drink of injurious and ex-
cessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and per-
fection with those his illustrious and sunny locks the
laws waving and curling about his god like shoulders.
And while he keeps them about him undiminisht
and unshorn, he may with the jaw-bone of an Asse,
that is, with the word of his meanest officer suppreffe
and put to confusion thousands of those that rise
against his just power. But laying down his head
among the trumpet flatteries of Prelats, while he
sleeps and thinks no harme, they wickedly shaving
off all those bright and weighty trefles of his laws,
and just prerogatives which were his ornament and
strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent
counsels, which as those Philiftims put out the fair,
and farre-fighted eyes of his natural discerning, and
make him grinde in the prifon house of their finister
ends and practices upon him. Till he knowing this
prelatical rafor to have bereft him of his wonted
might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden
beames of Law and Right; and they sternly shook,
thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil
counsellors, but not without great affliction to him-
The Reason of

Bk. 2.

felfe. This is the sum of their loyal service to Kings; yet these are the men that still cry the King, the King, the Lords Anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing so true; and wonder more, if Kings be the Lords Anointed, how they dare thus oyle over and besmear so holy an unction with the corrupt and putrid ointment of their base flatteries; which while they smooth the skin, strike inward and envenom the life blood. What fidelity Kings can expect from Prelats both examples past, and our present experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath bin said, may suffice to inform us. And if they be such clippers of regal power and shavers of the Laws, how they stand affected to the law giving Parliament, your selves, worthy Peeres and Commons, can best testify; the current of whose glorious and immortal actions hath bin only oppos'd by the obscure and pernicious designes of the Prelats, until their insolence broke out to such a bold affront, as hath justly immur'd their haughty looks within strong wals. Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, then to hinder or break the happy assemblimg of Parliaments, however needfull to reaie the shatter'd and disjoynted frame of the Common-wealth, or if they cannot do this, to crosse, to disnable, and trade all Parliamentary proceedings. And this, if nothing else, plainly accuses them to be no lawful members of the house, if they thus perpetually mutine against their own body. And though they pretend like Salomons harlot, that they have right thereto, by the same judgement that Salomon gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not onely their assent, but their endeavour continually to divide Parliaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to abolish and destroy the free use of them to all posterity. For the which and for all their for-
mer misdeeds, wherof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moytie, I shal move yee Lords in the behalf I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your justice and speedy sen-
tence passe against this great malefactor Prelaty. And yet in the midst of rigor I would beleeche ye to think of mercy; and such a mercy, I feare I shal overshoot with a desire to save this falling Prelaty, such a mercy (if I may venture to say it) as may ex-
ceed that which for only ten righteous persons would have sav'd Sodom. Not that I dare advise ye to con-
tend with God whether he or you shal be more mer-
ciful, but in your wise esteems to ballance the of-
fences of those peccant Citties with these enormous riots of ungodly mis-rule that Prelaty hath wrought both in the Church of Christ, and in the state of this Kingdome. And if ye think ye may with a pious presumption strive to goe beyond God in mercy, I shall not be one now that would dissuade ye. Though God for lesse than ten just persons would not spare Sodom, yet if you can finde after due search but only one good thing in prelaty either to religion, or civil goverment, to King or Parliament, to Prince or people, to law, liberty, wealth or learning, spare her, let her live, let her spread among ye, till with her shadow, all your dignities and honours, and all the glory of the land be darken'd and obscure. But on the contrary if she be found to be malignant, hol-
tile, destructive to all these, as nothing can be surer, then let your severe and impartial doom imitate the divine vengeance; rain down your punishing force upon this godlesse and oppressing government: and bring such a dead Sea of subversion upon her, that she may never in this Land rise more to afflict the holy reformed Church, and the elect people of God.
Animadversions upon The Remonstrants Defence against Smectymnuus.

THE PREFACE.

Althought it be a certaine truth that they who undertake a Religious Cause need not care to be Men-pleasers; yet because the satisfaction of tender and mild consciences is far different from that which is call'd Men-pleasing, to satisfaie such, I shall addresse my selfe in few words to give notice before hand of something in this booke, which to some men perhaps may seeme offensive, that when I have render'd a lawfull reason of what is done, I may trust to have sav'd the labour of defending or excusing hereafter. Wee all know that in private and personall injuries, yea in publique sufferings for the cause of Christ, his rule and example teaches us to be so farre from a readiness to speak evill, as not to answer the reviler in his language though never so much provok't. Yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious enimie to truth and his Countries peace, especially that is conceited to have a voluble and smart fluence of tongue, and in the vaine confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly respecke, stands up for all the rest to justifie a long usurpation and convicted Pseudepiscopy of Prelates, with all their ceremonies,
Animadversions, &c. 185

Liturgies, and tyrannies which God and man are now ready to explode and hiffe out of the land, I suppose and more then suppose, it will be nothing disagreeing from Christian meekness to handle such a one in a rougher accent, and to send home his haughtiness well bespurted with his owne holy-water. Nor to do thus are we un-authorited either from the morall precept of Salomon to answer him thereafter that prides him in his folly; nor from the example of Christ, and all his followers in all Ages, who in the refuting of those that resisted sound Doctrine, and by subtile diffimulations corrupted the minds of men, have wrought up their zealous souls into such vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly spoken: for who can be a greater enemy to Mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver then he who defending a traditionall corruption uses no common Arts, but with a wily Stratagem of yeelding to the time a greater part of his caufe, seeming to forgo all that mans invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his hold in Scripture, yet leaving it hanging by a twin’d threed, not from divine command but from Apostolicall prudence or assent, as if he had the surety of some roul-ing trench, creeps up by this means to his relinquish’t fortesse of divine authority againe; and still hovering betweene the confines of that which hee dares not bee openly, and that which he will not be sincerely, trains on the easie Christian insensibly within the close ambushment of worst errors, and with a slye shuffle of counterfeit principles chopping and changing till hee have glean’d all the good ones out of their minds, leaves them at last, after a slight resemblance of sweeping and garnishing under the sevenfold posession of a deperate stupidity. And therefore they that love the soules of men, which is the dearest love, and stirs up the noblest jealoufie, when they meet with such collusion, cannot be blam’d though they be transported with the zeale of truth to a well heated fervencie; especially, seeing they
which thus offend against the soules of their brethren, do it with delight to their great gaine, ease, and advancement in this world, but they that seeke to discover and oppose their false trade of deceiving, do it not without a sad and unwilling anger, not without many hazards, but without all private or personall spleene, and without any thought of earthly reward, when as this very course they take stopps their hopes of ascending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this life. And although in the serious uncasing of a grand imposture (for to deale plainly with you Readers, Prelaty is no better) there be mixt here and there such a grim laughter, as may appeare at the same time in an auffere visage, it cannot be tatt of lewity or insolence: for even this vein of laughing (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath oft-times a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation and scorne together then a false Prophet taken in the greatest dearest and most dangerous cheat, the cheat of soules: in the disclosing whereof if it be harmfull to be angry, and withall to cast a lowring smile, when the propereft object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to say why those two most rationall faculties of human intellect anger and laughter were first seated in the brest of man. Thus much (Readers) in favour of the softer spirited Christian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Onely if it bee asked why this close and succinct manner of coping with the Adversary was rather chosen, this was the reason chiefly, that the ingenuous Reader without further amusing himselfe in the labyrinth of controversall antiquity, may come the speediest way to see the truth vindicated, and Sophistry taken short at the first false bound. Next that the Remonstrant himselfe as oft as hee pleaseth to be frolick and brave it with others may find no gaine of money, and may learne not to insult in so bad a cause. But now he begins.
Remonstrants Defence, &c. 187

Sett. 1. p. 1.] Remonstrant. My single Remonstrance is encountered with a plurall Adversary.

Answer. Did not your single Remonstrance bring along with it a hot sent of your more then singular affection to spirituall pluralities, your singlenesse would be lesse suspected with all good Christians then it is.

Remon. Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know.

Answer. Their names are knowne to the all-knowing power above, and in the meane while doubtlesse they wreck not whether you or your Nomenclator know them or not.

Remon. But could they say my name is Legion; for wee are many.

Answer. Wherefore should you begin with the Devils name descanting upon the number of your opponents? wherefore that conceit of Legion with a by-wipe? was it because you would have men take notice how you esteeme them, whom through all your booke so bountifully you call your brethren? wee had not thought that Legion could have furnisht the Remonstrant with so many brethren.

Remon. My cause yea Gods would bid me meet them undismai'd, &c.

Answer. Ere a foot furder we must bee content to heare a preambling boast of your valour, what a St. Dunstan, you are to encounter Legions, either infernall or humane.


Answer. What gods? unleffe your belly or the god of this world be hee? shew us any one point of your Remonstrance that do's not more concern superiority, pride, ease and the belly, then the truth and glory of God, or the salvation of soules.

Remon. My cause, yea Gods would bid me meet
Animadversions upon the

them undismaid, and to say with holy David, though an hoast &c.

Anfw. Doe not think to Perswade us of your undaunted courage by misapplying to your selfe the words of holy David; we know you feare, and are in an agonie at this present, lest you should lose that superfluity of riches and honour which your party usurp. And whosoever covets and do earnestly labours to keep such an incumbring surcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an earth quake still in his bones. You are not arm'd Remonstrant, nor any of your band, you are not dieted, nor your loynes girt for spirituall valour, and Christian warfare, the luggage is too great that followes your Camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily. How shall we think you have not carnall feare while we see you so subject to carnall desires?

Pag. 2.] Remon. I doe gladly fly to the barre.

Anfw. To the barre with him then. Gladly you say. We beleeeve you as gladly as your whole faction wish't, and long'd for the assemblung of this Parliament, as gladly as your beneficiaries the Priests came up to answer the complaints and outcries of all the Shires.

Remon. The Areopagi? who were those? truly my masters I had thought this had beene the name of the place, not of the men.

Anfw. A soar-Eagle, would not stoope at a flye, but sure some Pedagogue stood at your Elbow, and made it itch with this parlous Criticisme they urg'd you with a Decree of the sage and severe Judges of Athens, and you cite them to appeare for certaine Paragogicall contempts, before a capricious Paedantie of hot liver'd Grammarians. Mistake not the matter courteous Remonstrant, they were not making Latines: if in dealing with an outlandish name they thought it best not to screw the English mouth to a
harsh forreigne termination, so they kept the radicall word, they did no more then the eleganteft Authors among the Greeks, Romans, and at this day the Italians in scorne of such a servility use to doe. Remember how they mangle our Brittifh names abroad; what trespass were it, if wee in requittall should as much neglect theirs? and our learned Chaucer did not stick to doe fo, writing Semyramus for Semiramis, Amphiorax for Amphiarous, K. Sejes for K. Ceyx the husband of Alcyone, with many other names strangely metamorphis'd from true Orthography, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.

At the beginning of his Remonfrance.] Remon. Left the world shou'd think the presse had of late forgot to speak any language other then libellous, this honeft paper hath broken through the throng.

Anfw. Mince the matter while you will, it shew'd but green practife in the lawes of discreet Rhethorique to blurt upon the eares of a judicious Parliament with such a presumptuous and over-weening Proem: but you doe well to be the Sewer of your owne mess.'

Remon. That which you miscall the Preface, was a too just complaint of the shamfull number of Libells.

Anfw. How long is it that you, and the Prelati-call troop have bin in such disfain with Libells? ask your Lysimachus Nicanor what defaming invectives have lately flown abroad against the Subjects of Scotland, and our poore expelled Brethren of New-England, the Prelates rather applauding, then shewing any dislike: and this hath bin ever so, in so much, that Sir Francis Bacon in one of his discourses complains of the Bishops uneven hand over these Pamflets, confining those against Bishops to darknesse, but Licencing those against Puritans to be utter'd
Animadversions upon the
openly, though with the greater mischeife of leading
into contempt the exercize of Religion in the per-
sions of sundry Preachers, and disgracing the higher
matter in the meaner person.

Remon. A point no lesse essentia! to that proposed
Remonstrance.

Ans. Wee know where the shoe wrings you,
you fret, and are gall’d at the quick, and O what a
death it is to the Prelates to be thus un-visarded,
thus uncas’d, to have the Periwigs pluk’t off that
cover your baldnesse, your inside nakednesse thrown
open to publick view. The Romans had a time
once every year, when their Slaves might freely
speake their minds, twere hard if the free borne
people of England, with whom the voyce of Truth
for these many yeares, even against the proverb, hath
not bin heard but in corners, after all your Monkish
prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your gags
and snaffles, your proud "Imprimaturs" not to be ob-
tain’d without the shallow surview, but not shallow
hand of some mercenary, narrow Soul’d, and illitte-
rate Chaplain; when liberty of speaking, then which
nothing is more sweet to man, was girded, and
straight lac’t almost to a broken-winded tizzick, if
now at a good time, our time of Parliament, the
very jubily, and resurrection of the State, if now the
conceal’d, the aggrieve’d, and long persecuted Truth,
could not be suffer’d speake, and though the burst
out with some efficacy of words, could not be ex-
cus’d after such an injurious strangle of silence, nor
avoyde the censure of Libelling, twere hard, twere
something pinching in a Kingdome of free spirits.
Some Princes, and great Statists, have thought it a
prime piece of necessary policy to thrust themselves
under disguise into a popular throng, to stand the
night long under eaves of houses, and low windows,
that they might hear every where the free utterances
of privat brefts, and amongst them find out the precious gemme of Truth, as amongst the numberlesse pibbles of the Shoar: wherby they might be the abler to discover, and avoid that deceitfull, and close couteht evill of flattery that ever attends them, and misleads them, and might skilfully know how to apply the several redresses to each malady of State, without trusting the disloyall information of Parasites, and Sycophants: wheras now this permission of free writing, were there no good else in it, yet at some times thus licenc't, is such an unripping, such an Anatomie of the sliest, and tenderest particular truths, as makes not only the whole Nation in many points the wiser, but also presents, and carries home to Princes, and men most remote from vulgar course, such a full insight of every lurking evil, or restrained good among the Commons, as that they shall not need heerafter in old Cloaks, and false Beards, to stand to the courtesie of a night-walking cudgeller for eaves dropping, nor to accept quietly as a perfume, the over-head emptying of some salt lotion. Who could be angry therefore but those that are guilty, with these free-spoken, and plaine harted men that are the eyes of their Country, and the prospective glasses of their Prince? But these are the nettlers, these are the blabbing Bookes that tell, though not halfe your fellows feats. You love toothlesse Satyrs; let me informe you, a toothlesse Satyr is as improper as a toothed sleekstone, and as bullish.

Remon. I beseech you brethren spend your Logick upon your own workes.

Anfw. The peremptory Analyfis that you will call it, I beleewe will be so hardy as once more to unpinne your spruce fastidious oratory, to rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobins though she wince, and fling, never so Peevishly.
Animadversions upon the

P. 4.] Remon. Those verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will sink alone.

Anfw. O rare suttlety, beyond all that Cardan ever dream’t of, when I beseech you, will light things sink? when will light froth sink alone. Here in your phrase, the same day that heavy plummets will swimme alone. Trust this man, Readers if you please, whose divinity would reconcile England with Rome, and his philosophy make friends nature with the Chaos, fine pondere habentia pondus.

Remon. That scum may be worth taking off which followes.

Anfw. Spare your Ladle Sir, it will be as bad as the Bishops foot in the broth; the scum will be found upon your own Remonstrance.

Remon. I shall desire all indifferent eyes to judge whether these men do not endeavour to cast unjust envy upon me.

Anfw. Agreed.

Remon. I had said that the civil polity as in generall notion, hath some times varied, and that the civil came from arbitrary imposers, these gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the present, and particular goverment of our Monarchy.

Anfw. And deservedly have they don so, take up your Logick else and see: civil politie, say you, hath sometimes varied, and came from arbitrary imposers, what proposition is this? Bishop Downam in his Dialesticks will tell you it is a generall axiome, though the universal particle be not expres’t, and you your selfe in your defence so explaine in these words as in general notion. Hence is justly inferr’d he that saies civil polity is arbitrary, saies that the civil polity of England is Arbitrary. The inference is undeniable, a thesi ad hypothesin, or from the general to the particular, an evincing argument in Logick.
P. 5.] Remon. Brethren whiles yee desire to seeme Godly, learne to be lesse malitious.  

Answ. Remonfrant, till you have better learnt your principles of Logick, take not upon you to be a Doctor to others.  

Remon. God bleffe all good men from such charity.  

Answ. I never found that Logickall maxims were uncharitable before, yet should a Jury of Logicians passe upon you, you would never be fav'd by the Book.  

Remon. And our Sacred Monarchy from such friends.  

Answ. Adde, as the Prelates.  

Remon. If Episcopacy have yoked Monarchy, it is the Insolence of the Persons, not the fault of the Calling.  

Answ. It was the fault of the persons, and of no Calling, we doe not count Prelatry a Calling.  

P. 6.] Remon. The testimony of a Pope (whom these men honor highly).  

Answ. That flanderous insertion was doubtles a pang of your incredible charity, the want whereof, you lay fo often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapt up in a parenthesis, a piece of the Clergy benevolence layd by to maintain the Episcopall broile, whether the 1000 Horse or no, time will discover, for certainly had those cavaliers come on to play their parts, such a ticket as this of highly honouring the Pope, from the hand of a Prelate, might have bin of special use, and safety to them that had car'd for such a ransom.  

Remon. And what faies Antichrist.  

Answ. Ask your Brethren the Prelates that hold intelligence with him, ask not us. But is the Pope Antichrist now? good newes! take heed you be not shent for this, for tis verily thought, that had this
Bill bin put in against him in your last Convocation, he would have bin clear'd by most voices.

_Remon._ Any thing serves against Episcopacy.

_Answ._ See the frowardnes of this man, he would perswade us that the succession, and divine right of Bishopdom hath bin unquestionable through all ages, yet when they bring against him Kings, they were irreligious, _Popes_, they are Antichrist, by what _Æra_ of computation, through what Faery Land would the man deduce this Perpetual beadroul of uncontradicted Episcopacy? The _Pope_ may as well boast his ungainsaid authority to them that will believe that all his contradicters were either irreligious, or heretical.

_P. 7._] _Remon._ If the Bishops, faith the _Pope_ be declar'd to be of divine right they would be exempted from regal power, and if there might be this danger in those Kingdomes why is this enviously upraised to those of ours? who do gladly professe &c.

_Answ._ Because your dissever'd principles were but like the mangl'd pieces of a gash't Serpent, that now begun to close, and grow together Popish againe. Whatsoever you now gladly professe out of fear, we know what your drifts were when you thought your selves secure.

_Remon._ It is a foul slander to charge the name of Episcopacy with a faction, for the fact imputed to some few.

_Answ._ The more foul your faction that hath brought a harmleffe name into obloquie, and the fact may justly be imputed to all of yee that ought to have withstood it, and did not.

_Remon._ Fie Brethren, are yee the Presbyters of the Church of _England_, and dare chalenge Episcopacy of faction.

_Answ._ Yes, as oft as Episcopacy dares be factious.
Remon. Had you spoken such a word in the time of holy Cyprian, what had become of you?

Anfw. They had neither bin hal’d into your Gehenna at Lambeth, nor strappado’d with an Oath Ex Officio by your bow men of the Arches: and as for Cyprians time, the cause was farre unlike, he indeed succeeded into an Episcopacy that began then to Prelatize, but his personal excellency like an antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption which was then a disease that lay hid for a while under shew of a full, and healthy constitution, as those hydropick humors not discernable at first from a fair and juicy fleshiness of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour which seems gracefull to a cheek otherwise pale, and yet arises from evil causes, either of some inward obstruction, or inflammation, and might deceive the first Phisicians till they had learnt the sequell, which Cyprians dayes did not bring forth, and the Prelatism of Episcopacy which began then to burgeon, and spread, had as yet, especially in famous men a fair, though a false imitation of flourishing.

P. 8.] Remon. Neither is the wrong lesse to make application of that which was most justly charged upon the practises, and combinations of Libelling Separatists, whom I deservedly cenfur’d &c.

Anfw. To conclude this Section, our Remonstrant we see is resolv’d to make good that which was formerly said of his Book, that it was neither humble, nor a Remonstrance, and this his defence is of the same Complexion. When he is constrain’d to mention the notorious violence of his Clergy attempted on the Church of Scotland, he slightlie termes it a fact imputed to some few; but when he speaks of that which the Parliament voutsfases to name the City Petition, which I, faith he, (as if the State had made him publick Censor) deservedly cenfur’d. And
how? as before for a tumultuarie, and underhand way of procured subscriptions, so now in his defence more bitterly, as the practizes, and combinations of Libelling Separatists, and the miszealous advocates thereof, justly to be branded for incendiaries. Whether this be for the honour of our cheif Citty to be noted with such an infamie for a Petition, which not without some of the Magistrates, and great numbers of sober, and considerable men, was orderly, and meekly presented, although our great Clarks think that these men, because they have a Trade (as Christ himselfe, and Saint Paul had) cannot therefore attaine to some good measure of knowledge, and to a reason of their actions, as well as they that spend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their studies in unprofitable questions, and barbarous sophistry, their middle age in ambition, and idlenesse, their old age in avarice, dotage, and diseases: and whether this reflect not with a contume-ly upon the Parliament it selfe, which thought this Petition worthy, not only of receving, but of voting to a commitment, after it had bin advocated, and mov'd for by some honourable, and learned Gentle- men of the House, to be cal'd a combination of Libelling Separatists, and the advocates thereof to be branded for Incendiaries, whether this appeach not the judgement, and approbation of the Parliament, I leave to equall Arbiters.

Sect. 2.] Remon. After the overflowing of your gall, you descend to Liturgy, and Episcopacy.

Anfw. The overflow being past, you cannot now in your owne judgement impute any bitterness to their following discourses.

P. 9.] Remon. D. Hall whom you name, I dare say for honors fake.

Anfw. Y'are a merry man Sir, and dare say much.
Remon. And why should I not speake of Martyrs, as the Authors and users of this holy Liturgie?

Answ. As the Authors? the Translatours you might perhaps have saide, for Edward the Sixt, as Hayward hath written in his Story, will tell you upon the word of a K. that the order of the Service, and the use thereof in the English Tongue is no other then the old Service was, and the same words in English which were in Latine, except a few things omitted, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English; these are his words: whereby we are left uncertaine who the Author was, but certaine that part of the work was esteem'd so absurd by the Translatours thereof, as was to be ashamed of in English. O but the Martyrs were the refiners of it, for that only is left you to say. Admit they were, they could not refine a Scorpion into a Fish, though they had drawn it, and rinc't it with never so cleanly Cookery, which made them fall at variance among themselves about the use either of it, or the Ceremonies belonging to it.

Remon. Slight you them as you please, we bless God for such Patrons of our good cause.

Answ. O Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc est contrarius atro. Are not these they which one of your Bishops in print scornfully termes the Foxian Confessours? Are not these they whose Acts and Monuments are not onely so contemptible, but so hatefull to the Prelates, that their Story was almost come to be a prohibited book, which for these two or three Editions hath crept into the world by stealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open regret and vexation of the Bishops, as many honest men that had to doe in setting forth the Book will justifie. And now at a dead lift for your Liturgie you bless God for them: out upon such hypocrisy.
Animadversions upon the P. 10.

Remon. As if wee were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every Bishop.

Anfw. Your faction then belike is a subtile Ianus, and ha's two faces: your bolder face to set forward any innovations or scandals in the Church, your cautious, and wary face to disavow them if they succeed not, that so the fault may not light upon the function, lest it should spoil the whole plot by giving it an irrecoverable wound. Wherefore els did you not long agoe, as a good Bishop should have done, disclaim, and protest against them, wherfore have you fate still, and comply'd and hoodwinkt, till the generall complaints of the Land have squeeze'd you to a wretched, cold and hollow-hearted confession of some Prelaticall riots both in this and other places of your Booke. Nay what if you still defend them as followes?

Remon. If a Bishop have said that our Liturgie hath bin so wisely and charitably fram'd as that the devotion of it yeeldeth no cause of offence to a very Popes eare.

Anfw. O new and never-heard of Supererogative height of wisdome and charity in our Liturgie! is the wisdome of God or the charitable framing of Gods word otherwise inoffensive to the Popes eare, then as hee may turne it to the working of his misteryous iniquitie? A little pulley would have stretch't your wise and charitable frame it may be three inches further, that the devotion of it might have yeelded no cause of offence to the very devils eare, and that had beene the same wisdome and charity surmounting to the highest degree. For Anti-christ wee know is but the Devils Vicar, and therefore please him with your Liturgie, and you please his maister.

Remon. Would you thinke it requisite that wee
should chide and quarrell when we speake to the God of peace?

Anfw. Fie no Sir; but forecaft our prayers so that Sathan and his instruments may take as little exception against them as may be, left they should chide and quarrell with us.

Remon. It is no little advantage to our cause, and piety, that our Liturgy is taught to speak severall languages for use and example.

Anfw. The language of Ashdod is one of them, and that makes so many English-men have such a smattering of their Philistian Mother. And indeed our Liturgie hath run up and downe the world like an English gallopping Nun, proffering her selfe, but wee heare of none yet that bids money for her.

Remon. As for that sharp cenfure of learned Mr. Calvin, it might well have beene forborne by him in aliena Republica.

Anfw. Thus this untheologicall Remonstrant would divide the individuall Catholicke Church into severall Republicks: know therefore that every worthy Pastor of the Church of Christ hath univerfail right to admonish over all the world within the Church; nor can that care be alien'd from him by any distance or distinction of nation, so long as in Christ all nations and languages are as one household.

P. 11.] Remon. Neither would you thinke it could become any of our greatest Divines to meddle with his charge.

Anfw. It hath ill become 'em indeed to meddle so maliciously, as many of them have done, though that patient and Christian City hath borne hitherto all their profane scoffes with silence.

Remon. Our Liturgie past the judgement of no lesse reverent heads then his owne.

Anfw. It brib'd their judgement with worldly ingagements and so past it.
Remon. As for that unparalleled discourse concerning the antiquity of Liturgies; I cannot help your wonder, but shall justify mine own assertion.

Answ. Your justification is but a miserable shifting off those testimonies of the ancientest Fathers alleged against you, and the authority of some Synodal Canons, which are no warrant to us. We profess to decide our controversies only by the Scriptures, but yet to repress your vain glory, there will be voluntarily bestowed upon you a sufficient conviction of your novelties out of succeeding antiquity.

P. 12.] Remon. I cannot see how you will avoid your owne contradiction, for I demand is this order of praying and administration set, or no, if it be not set, how is it an order, and if it be a set order both for matter, and form.

Answ. Remove that form, lest you tumble over it, while you make such hast to clap a contradiction upon others.

Remon. If the formes were meerly Arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an order?

Answ. Nothing will cure this man's understanding, but some familiar, and Kitchin phisick; which with pardon must for plainnes sake be administered to him. Call hither your Cook. The order of Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper, answere me, is it set or no? Set. Is a man therefore bound in the morning to potcht eggs, and vinnegar, or at noon to Brawn, or Beef, or at night to fresh Sammon, and French Kickshoos? may he not make his meales in order, though he be not bound to this, or that viand? doubtlesse the neat fingered Artist will answer yes, and help us out of this great controversy without more trouble. Can we not understand an order in Church assemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and administering, unless our prayers be still the same Crambe of words?
Remon. What a poore exception is this, that Liturgies were compos'd by some particular men?

Anfw. It is a greater presumption in any particular men to arrogate to themselves that which God universally gives to all his Ministers. A Minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chew'd to, and seccu'd to a formal injunction of his rote-leffon, should as little be trusted to Preach, besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediately againe, for there is a large difference in the repetition of some patheticall ejaculation rays'd out of the suddain earnestnesse and vigour of the inflam'd soul, (such as was that of Christ in the Garden) from the continual reherfal of our dayly orisons, which if a man shall kneel down in a morning and say over, and presently in an other part of the Room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one Inventory, I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish Battologie of multiplying words which Christ himselfe that has the putting up of our Praiers told us would not be acceptable in heaven. Well may men of eminent guifts set forth as many forms, and helps to praier as they please, but to impose them upon Ministers lawfully call'd, and sufficiently tri'd, as all ought to be, ere they be admitted, is a supercilious tyranny impropriating the Spirit of God to themselves.

P. 13.] Remon. Doe we abridge this liberty by ordaining a publick form.

Anfw. Your Bishops have set as fair to doe it as they durft for that old Pharisaicall fear that still dogs them, the fear of the people, though you will say you were none of those, still you would seem not to have joyn'd with the worsft, and yet keep alooff from that which is best. I would you would either mingle, or part, most true it is what Savanarola
complaines, that while hee endeavour'd to reforme
the Church, his greatest enemies were still these
Lukewarm ones?

Remon. And if the Lords Praier be an ordinary,
and stinted form, why not others?

Answ. Because there bee no other Lords that can
stint with like authority.

P. 14.] Remon. If Iustine Martyr said that the
instructer of the people prai'd (as they falsely turn it)
according to his ability.

Answ. ὅση δύναις αὐτῷ will be so render'd to the
worlds end by those that are not to learne Greek of
the Remonstrant, and so Langus renders it to his face,
if he could see, and this ancient Father mentions no
antiphonies, or responsories of the people here, but
the only plain acclamation of Amen.

Remon. The instructer of the people prai'd accord-
ing to his ability 'tis true, so do ours, and yet wee
have a Liturgy, and so had they.

Answ. A quick come off. The ancients us'd
Pikes, and Targets, and therefore Guns, and great
Ordnance, because wee use both.

Remon. Neither is this liberty of powring out our
selves in our praiers ever the more impeach't by a
publique form.

Answ. Yes the time is taken up with a tedious
number of Liturgicall tautologies, and impertinen-
cies.

P. 16.] Remon. The words of the Counsell are
full and affirmative.

Answ. Set the grave counsels up upon their shelves
again, and string them hard, left their various, and
jangling opinions put their leaves into a flutter. I
shall not intend this hot seafon to bid you the base
through the wide, and dusty champaine of the Coun-
cels, but shall take counsel of that which counsel'd
them, reason: and although I know there is an ob-
folet reprehenfion now at your tongues end, yet I shall be bold to say that reason is the gift of God in one man, as well as in a thousand; by that which wee have tasted already of their Certerns, wee may finde that reason was the onely thing, and not any divine command that mov'd them to enjoyne fet forms of Liturgy. First left any thing in generall might be misfaid in their publick Prayers through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith: and next, left the Arians, and Pelagians in particular should infect the people by their hymns, and formes of Praier. By the leave of these ancient Fathers, this was no solid prevention of spreading Hæresy to debarre the Ministers of God the use of their nobleft talent, Praier in the Congregation, unleffe they had forbid the use of Sermons, and Lectures too, but such as were ready made to their hands as our Homelies, or else he that was heretically dispos'd, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his discours, as in his Praier or hymn. As insufficiently, and to say truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived Liturgies, left any thing should be erroneously praid through ignorance, or want of care in the Ministers. For if they were carelesse, and ignorant in their Praiers, certainly they would be more carelesse in their Preaching, and yet more carelesse in watching over their Flock, and what prescription could reach to bound them in both thefe? What if reason now illustrated by the word of God, shall be able to produce a better prevention than these Councells have left us against heresie, ignorance or want of care in the Ministry, that such wisdome, and diligence be us'd in the education of those that would be Ministers, and such strict, and serious examination to be undergone ere their admission as Saint Paul to Timothy sëts down at large, and then they need not carry such an unworthy fuspicion over the Preachers
Animadversions upon the

of Gods word, as to tutor their unsoundnesse with
the Abcie of a Liturgy, or to diet their ignorance,
and want of care, with the limited draught of a
Mattin, and even song drench. And this may suffice
after all your laborsome scrutinie of the Councils.

P. 17.] Remon. Our Saviour was pleas'd to make
use in the celebration of his last and heavenly Banket
both of the fashions, and words which were usual in
the Jewish Feasts.

Anfw. What he pleas'd to make use of, does not
justify what you please to force.

Remon. The set forms of Praise at the Mincha.

Anfw. Wee will not buy your Rabbinical fumes,
wee have one that calls us to buy of him pure gold
tri'd in the fire.

Remon. In the Samaritan Chronicle.

Anfw. As little doe we esteem your Samaritan
trumpery, of which people Christ himselfe testifies,
Yee worship you know not what.

P. 18.] Remon. They had their severall Songs.

Anfw. And so have wee our severall Psalms for
severall occasions, without gramercy to your Liturgy.

P. 19.] Remon. Those forms which we have
under the names of Saint James &c. though they
have some interfertions which are plainly spurious,
yet the substance of them cannot be taxt for other
then holy, and ancient.

Anfw. Setting aside the odde coinage of your
phrasé, which no mintmafter of language would
allow for sterling, that a thing should be taxt for no
other then holy, and ancient, let it be suppos'd the
substance of them may favour of something holy, or
ancient, this is but the matter; the forme, and the
end of the thing may yet render it either super-
sitious, fruitlesse, or impious, and so, worthy to be
rejected. The Garments of a Strumpet are often
the same materially, that cloath a chaff Matron, and
yet ignominious for her to weare, the substance of the tempters words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing lesse.

Remon. In what sense we hold the Roman, a true Church is so clear'd that this iron is too hot for their fingers.

Answ. Have a care it be not the iron to fear your own conscience.

P. 23.] Remon. Ye need not doubt but that the alteration of the Liturgie will be considered by wiser heads then your owne.

Answ. We doubt it not because we know your head lookes to be one.

Remon. Our Liturgie Symbolizeth not with Popish Maffe, neither as Maffe nor as Popish.

Answ. A pretty slip-skin conveyance to sift Maffe into no Maffe and Popish into not Popish; yet saving this passing fine sophisticall boulting hutch, so long as she symbolizes in forme, and pranks her selfe in the weeds of Popish Maffe, it may be justly fear'd shee provokes the jealousie of God, no otherwise then a wise affecting whorsish attire kindles a disturbance in the eye of her discerning husband.

P. 24.] Remon. If I finde gold in the Channell; shall I throw it away because it was ill laid?

Answ. You have forgot that gold hath been anathematiz'd for the idolatrous use, and to eat the good creatures of God once offer'd to Idols, is in Saint Pauls account to have fellowship with Devils, and to partake of the Devils Table. And thus you throttle your selfe with your owne Similies.

Remon. If the Devils confess the Son of God, shall I disclaime that truth?

Answ. You lifted not so clean before, but you shuffle as foulely now: as if there were the like necessity of confessing Christ, and using the Liturgie: wee doe not disclaime that truth; because wee
Animadversions upon the never beleev'd it for his testimonie, but wee may well reject a Liturgie which had no being that wee can know of, but from the corruptest times: if therefore the Devill should be given never so much to Prayer, I should not therfore ceafe from that duty, because I learn't it not from him; but if hee would commend to me a new Pater nofter, though never so seeming holy, hee should excuse me the forme which was his, but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I bee said to take it from him. 'Tis not the goodnesse of matter therefore which is not, nor can be ow'd to the Liturgie, that will beare it out, if the form, which is the essence of it, be fantastick, and superstitious, the end finifter, and the imposition violent.

Remon. Had it beeene composed into this frame on purpose to bring Papists to our Churches.

Anfw. To bring them to our Churches? alas what was that? unlesse they had beeene first fitted by repentance, and right instruction. You'l say the word was there preach't which is the meanes of conversion; you should have given so much honour then to the word preach't, as to have left it to Gods working without the interloping of a Liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remon. The Project had been charitable and gracious.

Anfw. It was Pharisaicall, and vain-glorious, a greedy desire to win Proselites by conforming to them unlawfully, like the desire of Tamar, who to raise up seed to her Husband fate in the common road dreft like a Curtezan, and he that came to her committed incest with her. This was that which made the old Christians Paganize, while by their scandalous and base conforming to heathenisme they did no more, when they had done thir utmost, but bring some Pagans to Christianize; for true Chri-
tians they neither were themselves, nor could make others such in this fashion.

P. 25.] Remon. If there be found ought in Liturgie that may indanger a scandall, it is under carefull hands to remove it.

Anfw. Such carefull hands as have showne themselves sooner bent to remove and expell the men from the scandals, then the Scandals from the men, and to lose a Soule rather then a fillable or a Surplice.

Remon. It is idoliz'd they say in England, they mean at Amsterdam.

Anfw. Be it Idoliz'd therefore where it will, it is only Idolatriz'd in England.

Remon. Multitudes of people they say distaft it, more shame for those that have so mistaught them.

Anfw. More shame for those that regard not the troubling of Gods Church with things by themselves confeft to be indifferent, since true charity is afflictèd, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the Christian multitude which you affirme to be so mistaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaime never so long to the contrarie, that God hath now taught them to detest your Liturgie and Prelacie: God who hath promis'd to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their soules: hence is it that a man shall commonly find more favoure knowledge in one Lay-man, then in a dozen of Cathedrall Prelates, as we read in our Saviours time that the common people had a reverent esteeme of him, and held him a great prophet whilst the gowned Rabbies, the incomparable, and invincible Doctors were of opinion that hee was a friend of Beelzebub.

P. 26.] Remon. If the multitude distaft wholesome doctrine, shall we to humor them abandon it.

Anfw. Yet againe? as if there were the like necessity of saving Doctrine, and arbitrary if not unlaw-
full, or inconvenient Liturgie: who would have thought a man could have thwackt together so many incongruous similitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patch'd Misfall?

Remon. Why did not other Churches conforme to us, I may boldly say ours was, and is the more noble Church.

Anfw. O Laodicean, how vainly, and how carnally dost thou boaft of noblenesse, and precedency! more Lordly you have made our Church indeed, but not more noble.

P. 27.] Remon. The second quære is so weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wise-men.

Anfw. Y'are but a bad Fencer, for you never make a proffer against another mans weaknesse; but you leave your owne side alwayes open: mark what followes.

Remon. Brethren, can yee thinke that our reformers had any other intentions then all other the founders of Liturgies, the left part of whose care was the help of the Minifters weaknesse.

P. 12.] Anfw. Doe you not perceive the noofe you have brought your felfe into whilst you were so briefe to taunt other men with weaknesse? is it cleane out of your mind what you cited from among the Councels; that the principall scope of those Liturgie-founders was to prevent either the malice or the weaknesse of the Minifters, their malice of infusion heresie in their formes of Prayer, their weaknesse, left somthing might be compos'd by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the faith: is it not now rather to bee wondred that such a weaknesse could fall from the pen of such a wise Remonstrant Man?

Remon. Their maine drift was the help of the peoples devotion that they knowing before the matter that should be sued for.
A sollicitous care, as if the people could be ignorant of the matter to be prayd for; seeing the heads of publique Prayer are either ever constant, or very frequently the same.

And the words wherwith it should be cloth’d, might be the more prepar’d and bee so much the more intent, and leffe distracted.

As for the words, it is more to be fear’d left the same continually should make them carelesse or sleepie, then that varietie on the same knowne Subject should distra&ed; variety (as both Musick and Rhethorick teacheth us) erects and rouses an Auditory, like the maisterfull running over many Cords and divisions; whereas if men shou'd ever bee thum- ming the drone of one plaine Song, it would bee a dull Opiat to the moft wakefull attention.

Tell me is this Liturgie good or evil?

It is evill: repaire the Acheloian horne of your Dilemma how you can, against the next push.

If it be evill, it is unlawfull to be us’d.

We grant you, and we finde you have not your salve about you.

Were the imposition amisse, what is that to the people?

Not a little, because they beare an equall part with the Priest in many places, and have their cues and versets as well as he.

The eares and hearts of our people looke for a settl’d Liturgie.

You deceive your felfe in their eares and hearts, they looke for no such matter.

The like answer serves for Homelies, surely were they enjoyn’d to all, &c.

Let it serve for them that will bee igno-
pointed to bee read in Churches, while Edw. 6. reigned.

P. 32.] Remon. Away then with the Booke whilst it may be supply’d with a more profitable nonfence.

Anfw. Away with it rather, because it will bee hardly supply’d with a more unprofitable non-scence, then is in some passages of it to be seen.

Sect. 3. P. 32.] Remon. Thus their cavills concerning Liturgy are vanisht.

Anfw. You wanted but Hey-paffe to have made your transition like a mysticall man of Sturbridge. But for all your sleight of hand our just exceptions against Liturgie are not vanisht, they stare you still in the face.

Remon. Certainly had I done so, I had beene no leffe worthy to bee spit upon for my faucy uncharitablenesse, then they are now for their uncharitable falshood.

Anfw. Wee see you are in choler, therefore till you coole a while wee turne us to the ingenious Reader. See how this Remonfrant would invent himselfe conditionally with all the rheume of the Towne, that hee might have sufficient to bespaul his Brethren. They are accus’d by him of uncharitable falshood, whereas their onely crime hath beene that they have too credulously thought him if not an over-logical, yet a well-meaning man; but now we find him either grossly deficient in his principles of Logick, or else purposely bent to delude the Parliament with equivocall Sophistry, scattering among his periods ambiguous words, whose interpretation he will afterwards dispence according to his pleasure; laying before us univerfall propositions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation: for say Remonfrant.

Remon. Episcopall government is cry’d down abroad by either weak or factious persons.
Answ. Choose you whether you will have this proposition prov’d to you to be ridiculous, or sophistical; for one of the two it must be. Step againe to Bishop Downam your Patron, and let him gently catechise you in the grounds of Logick, he will shew you that this axiom Episcopall Goverment is cry’d downe abroad by either weak or factious persons, is as much as to say, they that cry downe Episcopacy abroad are either weake or factious persons. He will tell you that this axiom contains a distribution, and that all such axioms are generall; and lastly that a distribution in which any part is wanting, or abundant, is faulty, and fallacious. If therefore distibuting by the adjuncts of faction, and weaknes the persons that decry Episcopacy, you made your distribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of fraud intended toward the honourable Court, to whom you wrote. If you had rather vindicate your honesty, and suffer in your want of Art, you cannot condemne them of uncharitable falshood, that attributed to you more skill then you had, thinking you had beene able to have made a distribution, as it ought to be, generall, and full, and so any man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large word (abroad) and so take againe either your manifest leSing, or manifest ignorance.

P. 34.] Remon. Now come these brotherly Slanderers.

Answ. Goe on dissembling Joab, as still your use is, call brother and smite; call brother and smite, till it bee saied of you, as the like was of Herod, a man had better be your hog then your Brother.

Remon. Which never came within the verge of my thoughts.

Answ. Take a Metaphor or two more as good, the Precinct, or the Dioceffe of your thoughts.

Remon. Brethren, if you have any remainders of modesty or truth cry God mercy.
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Answ. Remonstrant, if you have no ground-worke of Logick, or plain-dealing in you, learne both as fast as you can.

Remon. Of the same straine is their witty descant of my confoundednes.

Answ. Speak no more of it, it was a fatall word, that God put into your mouth when you began to speak for Episcopacy, as boding confusion to it.

P. 35.] Remon. I am still, and shall ever be thus selfe-confounded, as confidently to say that hee is no peaceable, and right affected Son of the Church of England that doth not wish well to Liturgie, and Episcopacie.

Answ. If this bee not that saucie uncharitable-ness, with which in the fore-going page you voluntarily invested your selfe with thought to have shifted it off, let the Parliament judge who now themselves are deliberating whether Liturgie, and Episcopacy be to be well wish't to, or no.

Remon. This they say they cannot but rank amongst my notorious—speake out Maisters, I would not have that word stick in your teeth, or in your throat.

Answ. Take your spectacles Sir, it sticks in the paper, and was a pectorall Roule wee prepar'd for you to swallow downe to your heart.

P. 36.] Remon. Wanton wits must have leave to play with their owne sterne.

Answ. A Meditation of yours doubtlesse observ'd at Lambeth from one of the Archiepiscopall Kittens.

Remonst. p. 18.] Remon. As for that forme of Episcopall Goverment, surely could those looke with my eyes, they would see cause to be ashamed of this their injurious misconceit.

Answ. We must call the Barber for his wise sentence: one Mr. Ley the other day writ a Treatise of the Sabbath, and in his Preface puts the wisedome of Balaams Asfe upon one of our Bishops, bold man for
his labour; but we shall have more respect to our Remonstrant, and liken him to the Asses Maister, though the Story say hee was not so quick-sighted as his Beast. Is not this Balaam the son of Beor, the man whose eyes are open, that said to the Parliament surely could those looke with my eyes; boast not of your eyes, 'tis fear'd you have Balaams disease, a pearle in your eye, Mammons Praisfriction.

P. 37.] Remon. Alas we could tell you of China, Japan, Peru, Brasil, New England, Virginia, and a thousand others that never had any Bishops to this day.

Answ. O do not foile your cause thus, and trouble Ortelius, we can help you, and tell you where they have bin ever since Constantines time at least, in a place call'd Mundus alter et idem, in the spacious, and rich Countries of Crapulia, Pamphagonia, Yronia, and in the Dukedome of Orgilia, and Variana and their Metropolis of Ucalegonium. It was an oversight that none of your prime Antiquaries could think of these venerable Monuments to deduce Episcopacy by: knowing that Mercurius Britanicus had them forthcoming.

Sect. 4.] Remon. Hitherto they have flourish't, now I hope they will strike.

Answ. His former transition was in the faire about the Jugglers, now he is at the Pageants among the Whifflers.

P. 43.] Remon. As if Arguments were Almanacks.

Answ. You will find some such as will prognosticate your date, and tell you that after your long Summer Solstice the Equator calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient, and equall house of Libra.

Remon. Truely brethren you have not well taken the heighth of the Pole.

Answ. No marvell, there be many more that doe
not take well the height of your pole; but will take better the declination of your altitude.

P. 44.] Remon. Hee that said I am the way, said that the old way was the good way.

Answ. He bids ask of the old paths, or for the old wayes, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old wayes are not good; but that the good way is to be searcht with diligence among the old wayes, which is a thing that wee doe in the oldest Records wee have, the Gospell. And if others may chance to spend more time with you in canvassing later antiquity, I suppose it is not for that they ground themselves thereon; but that they endeavour by shewing the corruptions, incertainties, and disagreements of those Volumes, and the easines of erring, or over-flipping in such a boundlesse and vaft search, if they may not convince those that are so strongly persuad-ed thereof; yet to free ingenuous minds from that over-awfull esteeme of those more ancient then trusty fathers whom custome and fond opinion, weake principles, and the neglect of sounder and superior knowledge hath exalted so high, as to have gain'd them a blind reverence: whose Books in bignesse, and number so endlessse, and immeasurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine, or humane wisdome did ever meane should bee a rule or reliance to us in the decision of any weighty, and positive Doctrine. For certainly, every rule, and instrument of necessary knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be so in proportion as may bee weilded and manag'd by the life of man without penning him up from the duties of humane society, and such a rule and instrument of knowledge perfectly is the holy Bible. But hee that shall bind himselfe to make Antiquity his rule, if hee read but part, besides the difficulty of choyce, his rule is deficient, and utterly unsatisfying; for there may bee other Writers of an-
other mind which hee hath not seene, and if hee undertake all, the length of mans life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in Antiquity. Why doe wee therefore stand worshipping, and admiring this unactive, and live-lesse Colossus, that like a carved Gyant terribly menacing to children, and weaklings lifts up his club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting of every Sparrow. If you let him rest upon his Basis, hee may perhaps delight the eyes of some with his huge and mountainous Bulk, and the quaint workmanship of his massive limbs; but if yee goe about to take him in pieces, yee marre him; and if you thinke like Pigmees to turne and wind him whole as hee is, besides your vaine toile and sweat, he may chance to fall upon your owne heads. Goe therefore, and use all your Art, apply your fledges, your levers, and your iron crows to heave and hale your mighty Polyphem of Antiquity to the delusion of Novices, and unexperienc't Christians. We shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God which hee hath left us as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted, and proportion'd to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithfull man, whose every part consenting and making up the harmonious Symmetry of compleat instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God or Bishop throughly furnish't to all the good works of his charge:* and with this weapon, without stepping a foot further, wee shall not doubt to batter, and throw down your Nebuchadnezzars Image and crumble it like the chaffe of the Summer threshing floores, as well the gold of those Apostolick Successors that you boast of, as your Constantinian silver, together with the iron, the brass, and the clay of those muddy and strawy ages that follow.

* 2 Tim. 3. 16. 17.
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P. 45.] Remon. Let the boldest forehead of them all deny that Episcopacie hath continued thus long in our Island, or that any till this age contradicted it.

Anfw. That bold forehead you have cleanly put upon your selfe, 'tis you who deny that any till this Age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do so much: you have row'd your selfe fairly between the Scylla and Charibdis either of impudence, or non-fence, and now betake you to whether you please.

Remon. As for that supply of accessory strength which I not begg.

Anfw. Your whole Remonstrance does nothing else but beg it and your fellow-Prelates do as good as whine to the Parliament for their Flesh-pots of Egypt, making sad Orations at the Funerall of your deare Prelacie, like that doubtie Centurion Afranius in Lucian, who to imitate the noble Pericles in his Epitaphian speech, stepping up after the battell to bewaile the flaine Severianus, falls into a pittifull condolement, to think of those costly suppers, and drinking banquets, which he must now taste of no more; and by then he had done, lack't but little to lament the deare-loved memory, and calamitous losse of his Capon, and whitebroth.

Remon. But raise, and evince from the light of Nature, and rules of just policie, for the continuance of those things which long use and many lawes have firmly establisht as necessary and beneficial.

Anfw. Open your eyes to the light of grace, a better guide then Nature. Look upon the meane condition of Christ, and his Apostles, without that accessory strength you take such paines to raise from the light of Nature, and Policie: take Divine Counsell, Labour not for the things that perish; you would be the salt of the earth, if that favour be not found in you, doe not thinke much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot.
Hark how S. Paul writing to Timothy informs a true Bishop. Bishops (faith he) must not be greedy of filthy lucre, and having food and rayment, let us bee therewith content: but they (faith hee, meaning more especially in that place Bishops) that will be rich fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish, and hurtful lusts, which drowne men in destruction, and perdition: for the love of money is the root of all evill, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith. How can wee therefore expect sound Doctrine, and the solution of this our controversy from any covetous, and honour-hunting Bishop that shall plead so stiffly for these things, while St. Paul thus exhorts, every Bishop: But thou O man of God flye these things. As for the juft policie, that long use and custome, and those many Lawes which you say have conferr'd these benefits upon you, it hath been nothing else but the superstitious devotion of Princes and great men that knew no better, or the base importunity of begging Friers, haunting and harassing the death-beds of men departing this life in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit Heaven for the building of Churches, Cloysters, and Convents. The most of your vaunted possessions, and those proud endowments that yee as sinfully waft, what are they but the black revenues of Purgatorie, the price of abused, and murder'd soules, the damned Simony of Trentals, and Indulgences to mortall Sin: how can ye choose but inherit the curse that goes along with such a Patrimony. Alas! if there be any releasement, any mitigation, or more tolerable being for the soules of our misguided Anceftors, could wee imagine there might be any recovery to some degree of eafe left for as many of them as are lost; there cannot bee a better way then to take the misbestowed wealth which they were cheated of, from these our Prelates, who are the true Successors of those that
popt them into the other world with this conceit of meriting by their goods, which was their finall undoing: and to bestow their beneficent gifts upon places and means of Christian education; and the faithfull labourers in Gods harvest, that may incessantly warn the posterity of Dives left they come where their miserable fore-father was sent by the cousenage and misleading of avaritious and worldly Prelates.

Remon. It will stand long enough against the battery of their paper-pellets.

Anfw. That must be try'd without a square cap in the Counsell, and if pellets will not doe, your owne Canons shall be turn'd against you.

Remon. They cannot name any man in this Nation that ever contradicted Episcopacie, till this present Age.

Anfw. What an over-worne and bedrid Argument is this, the last refuge ever of old falshood, and therefore a good signe I trust that your Castle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of Judaisme, and Idolatry against Christ and his Apostles, of Papacie against Reformation: and perhaps to the frailty of flesh and blood in a man destitute of better enlight'ning, may for some while bee pardonable; for what ha's fleshly apprehension other to subsist by then Succession, Cus-tome, and Visiblity, which onely hold if in his weaknesse and blindnesse he be loath to lose, who can blame? but in a Protestant Nation that should have throwne off these tatter'd Rudiments long agoe, after the many strivings of Gods Spirit, and our four-score yeares vexation of him in this our wilderness since Reformation began, to urge these rotten Principles, and twit us with the present age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifestly come downe among us, to doe some remarkable good to our Church or state, is as if a man should taxe the
renewing and re-ingendring Spirit of God with innovation, and that new creature for an upstart noveltie; yea the new Ierusalem, which without your admired linke of succession descends from Heaven, could not scape some such like cenfure. If you require a further answer, it will not misbecome a Christian to bee either more magnanimous, or more devout then Scipio was, who in stead of other answer to the frivolous accusations of Petilius the Tribune; This day Romans (faith he) I fought with Hanibal prosperously; let us all goe and thank the gods that gave us so great a victory: in like manner will we now say, not caring otherwise to answer this un-Protestant-like Objection: in this Age, Britains God hath reform'd his Church after many hundred yeers of Popish corruption; in this Age hee hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of Prelats, and Papall Discipline; in this age he hath renewed our Protestation against all those yet remaining dregs of superstition: Let us all goe every true protested Britaine throughout the 3. Kingdoms, and render thanks to God the Father of light, and fountaine of heavenly grace, and to his son Christ our Lord; leaving this Remonstrant and his adherents to their owne designes, and let us recount even here without delay the patience and long suffering that God hath us'd towards our blindnesse and hardnes time after time. For he being equally neere to his whole Creation of Mankind, and of free power to turn his benefick and fatherly regard to what Region or Kingdome he pleases, hath yet ever had this Iland under the speciall indulgent eye of his providence; and pittyng us the first of all other Nations, after he had decreed to purifie and renew his Church that lay wallowing in Idolatrous pollutions, sent first to us a healing messenger to touch softly our sores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds: he knockt once and twice
and came againe, opening our drouifie eye-lids leisurely by that glimmering light which Wicklef, and his followers dispers't, and still taking off by degrees the inveterat scales from our nigh perilish fight, purg'd also our deaf eares, and prepar'd them to attend his second warning trumpet in our Grandfires dayes. How else could they have beene able to have receiv'd the sudden assault of his reforming Spirit warring against humane Principles, and carnall sense, the pride of flesh that still cry'd up Antiquity, Custome, Canons, Councils and Lawes, and cry'd down the truth for noveltie, schisme, profaneness and Sacriledge: when as we that have liv'd so long in abundant light, besides the funny reflection of all the neighbouring Churches, have yet our hearts rivetted with those old opinions, and so obstructed and benumm'd with the same fleshly reasonings, which in our forefathers soone melted and gave way, against the morning beam of Reformation. If God had left undone this whole worke so contrary to flesh and blood, till these times, how should wee have yeelded to his heavenly call, had we beene taken, as they were, in the starknes of our ignorance, that yet after all these spirituall preparatives, and purgations have our earthly apprehensions so clamm'd and surr'd with the old Levin. O if we freeze at noone after their early thaw, let us feare left the Sunne for ever hide himselfe, and turne his orient steps from our ingrateful Horizon justly condemn'd to be eternally be-nighted. Which dreadfull judgement O thou the ever-begotten light, and perfect Image of the Father intercede may never come upon us, as we trust thou haft; for thou haft open'd our difficult and sad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppressions; thou haft done justice upon those that tyrannized over us, while some men waver'd, and admir'd a vaine shadow of wisedome in a tongue no-
thing slow to utter guile, though thou haft taught us to admire onely that which is good, and to count that onely praise-worthy which is grounded upon thy divine Precepts. Thou haft discover'd the plots, and frustrated the hopes of all the wicked in the Land; and put to shame the persecutors of thy Church; thou haft made our false Prophets to be found a lie in the sight of all the people, and chac'd them with sudden confusion and amazement before the redoubled brightnesse of thy descending cloud that now covers thy Tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walke through the midst of thy Sanctuary, amidst those golden candlesticks, which have long suffer'd a dimnesse amongst us through the violence of those that had seiz'd them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold then of their starry light; teaching the doctrine of Balaam to cast a stumbling-block before thy servants, commanding them to eat things sacrific'd to Idols, and forcing them to fornication. Come therefore O thou that haft the seven starres in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen Priests according to their Orders, and courses of old, to minifter before thee, and duly to dresse and powre out the consecrated oyle into thy holy and ever-burning lamps; thou haft sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the Land to this effect, and stirr'd up their vowes as the sound of many waters about thy Throne. Every one can say that now certainly thou haft visited this land, and haft not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the Heavens, and hadst left to doe marvellously among the sons of these last Ages. O perfect, and accomplish thy glorious acts; for men may leave their works unfinished, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection; shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from Egypt to destroy
us in this Wildernes though wee deserve; yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants. When thou hast settl'd peace in the Church, and righteous judgement in the Kingdome, then shall all thy Saints addresse their voyces of joy, and triumph to thee, standing on the shoare of that red Sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain ungarnisht present as a thanke-offering to thee, which could not bee deferr'd in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a Harp, and sing thee an elaborate Song to Generations. In that day it shall no more bee said as in scorne, this or that was never held so till this present Age, when men have better learnt that the times and seasons passe along under thy feet, to goe and come at thy bidding, and as thou didst dignifie our fathers dayes with many revelations above all the fore-going ages, since thou tookst the flesh; so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy spirit as thou pleasest; for who shall prejudice thy all-governing will? seeing the power of thy grace is not past away with the primitive times, as fond and faithlesse men imagine, but thy Kingdome is now at hand, and thou standing at the dore. Come forth out of thy Royall Chambers, O Prince of all the Kings of the earth, put on the visible roabes of thy imperiall Majesty, take up that unlimited Scepter which thy Almighty Father hath bequeath'd thee; for now the voice of thy Bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to bee renew'd.

Sect. 5.] Remon. Neglect not the gift which was given thee by Prophecie, and by laying on the hands of Presbytery.

Answ. The English Translation expresses the Article (the) and renders it the Presbytery which you doe injury to omitt.
P. 50.] Remon. Which I wonder yee can so press, when Calvin himself takes it of the Office, and not of the Men.

Answ. You think then you are fairly quit of this prove, because Calvin interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with Calvins name, unlesse we be convinc't with Calvins reason; the word πρεσβυτέρων is a collective Nowne signifying a certain number of men in one order, as the word privy Councell with us, and so Beza interprets, that knew Calvins mind doubtlesse with whom he liv'd. If any among us should say the privy Counsell ordain'd it, and thereby constraine us to understand one mans authoritie, should we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have us'd all your cramping irons to the Text, and done your utmost to cramme a Presbyterie into the skin of one person, 'twill be but a piece of frugall non-sense. But if your meaning be with a violent and bold Hyperbaton to transpose the Text, as if the Words lay thus in order, neglect not the gift of Presbytery; this were a construction like a Harquebuze shot over a File of words twelve deep without authority to bid them stoop, or to make the word gift like the River Mole in Surrey to runne under the bottome of a long Line, and so start up to governe the word Presbyterie, as in immediate Syntaxis, a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wives tale of a certaine Queene of England that sunk at Charing-crosse, and rose up at Queene-hithe. No marvell though the Prelates bee a troublesome generation, and which way soever they turne them, put all things into a foule discomposure, when to main-taine their domineering they seeke thus to rout, and dis-aray the wise and well-couch't order of Saint Pauls owne words, using either a certain textuall riot to chop off the hands of the word Presbyterie, or els a like kind of Simony to clap the word gift betweene
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them. Besides, if the verse must be read according to this transposition, \( \mu \eta \ \alpha \mu \varepsilon \lambda \epsilon i \ \tau \omicron \ \iota \nu \ \varepsilon \nu \ \sigma \omicron \ \chi \alpha \rho \iota \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \omicron \sigma \tau \omicron \nu \varepsilon \tau \omicron \iota \omicron \nu \), it would be improper to call ordination \( \chi \alpha \rho \iota \sigma \mu \alpha \), when as it is rather onely \( \chi \epsilon \iota \rho \iota \sigma \mu \alpha \), an outward testimony of approbation, unless they will make it a Sacrament as the Papis doe: But surely the Prelates would have Saint Pauls words rampe one over another, as they use to clime into their Livings and Bishopricks.

**Remon.** Neither need wee give any other satisfaction to the point, then from Saint Paul himselfe, 2 Timoth. 1. 6. Stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands; mine, and not others.

**Answe.** Y'are too quick; this last place is to bee understood by the former, as the Law of Method, which beares cheife sway in the Art of teaching, requires, that clearest and plainest expresssions bee set formost, to the end they may enlighten any following obscurity; and wherefore wee should not attribute a right Method to the teachableness of Scripture, there can there be no reason given: to which Method, if wee shall now gone-contrarie, besides the breaking of a Logickall rule, which the Remonbrant hitherto wee see hath made little account of, wee shall also put a manifest violence, and impropriety upon a knowne word against his common signification in binding a Collective to a singular person. But if wee shall as Logicke (or indeed Reason) instructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and understand (by the Impostition of my hands) that is, of mine cheifly as an Apostle, with the joynt authority and assistance of the Presbyterie, there is nothing more ordinary, or kindly in speech, then such a phrase as expresss onely the cheif in any action, and understands the rest. So that the imposition of Saint Pauls hands, without more expression in this place cannot exclude the joynt Act of the Presbyterie affirm'd by the former Text.
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P. 76.] Remon. In the meane while see Brethren how you have with Simon fished all night, and caught nothing.

Answ. If we fishing with Simon the Apostle can catch nothing; see what you can catch with Simon Magus; for all his hooks, and fishing implements he bequeath'd among you.

Seft. 13.] Remon. We doe againe professe; that if our Bishops challenge any other power then was delegated to, and required of Timothy and Titus, wee shall yeeld them usurpers.

Answ. Ye cannot compare an ordinary Bishop with Timothy, who was an extraordinary man foretold and promis'd to the Church by many Prophecies, and his name joyn'd as collaterall with Saint Paul, in most of his Apostolick Epistles, even where hee writes to the Bishops of other Churches, as those in Philippi. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that Timothy was Bishop of any particular place; for that wherein it is saide in the third Verse of the first Epistle: As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, will be such a gloss to prove the constitution of a Bishop by, as would not onely be not so good as a Burdeaux gloss; but scarce be receiv'd to varnish a Vifard of Modona. All that can be gather'd out of holy Writ concerning Timothy is that hee was either an Apostle, or an Apostles extraordinary Vice-gerent, not confin'd to the charge of any place. The like may bee said of Titus, (as those words import in the 5. Verse,) that he was for that cause left in Creet, that he might supply, or proceed to set in order that which Saint Paul in Apostolick manner had begun, for which hee had his particular Commission, as those words found, (as I had appointed thee.) So that what hee did in Creet, cannot so much be thought the exercise of an ordinary Function, as the direction of an inspired mouth. No leffe also may be gather'd from the 2 Cor. 8. 23.
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Remon. You descend to the Angels of the seven Asian Churches, your shift is that the Angell is here taken collectively, not individually.

Answ. That the word is collective appeares plainly, Revel. 2.

First, Because the Text it selfe expounds it so; for having spoken all the while as to the Angell, the seventh verse concludes that this was spoken to the Churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the same Tenor all the way; for we see not where he particularizes, then certainly hee must begin collectively, else the construction can bee neither Grammaticall nor Logical.

Secondly, if the word Angel be individually; then are the faults attributed to him individually: but they are such as for which God threatens to remove the Candlestick out of his place, which is as much as to take away from that Church the light of his truth: and wee cannot thinke he would doe so for one Bishop's fault. Therefore those faults must be understood collective, and by consequence the subject of them collective.

Thirdly, an individuall cannot branch it selfe into subindividuals; but this word Angel doth in the tenth Verse. Feare none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the Devil shall cast some of you into prison. And the like from other places of this and the following Chapter may be observ'd. Therefore it is no individuall word, but a Collective.

Fourthly, in the 24. Verse this word Angel is made capable of a Pronoun plural, which could not bee, unlese it were a Collective, as for the supposed Manuscript of Tecla, and two or three other Copies that have expung'd the Copulative; wee cannot preferre them before the more receiv'd reading, and wee hope you will not against the Translation of your Mother the Church of England, that pafs't the
revise of your chiefest Prelates: Besides this, you will lay an unjust cenfure upon the much-praised Bishop of Thyatira, and reckon him among those that had the Doctrine of Iesabel, when the Text sayes be onely suffer'd her. Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable conjunction, as wee know your so much call’d-for Charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the Bishop, if you comprehend him in the name of Angel, otherwise you leave his case very doubtfull.

P. 105.] Remon. Thou sufferest thy Wife Iesabel: was shee Wife to the whole Company, or to one Bishop alone?

Answ. Not to the whole company doubtles, for that had bin worse then to have bin the Levites wife in Gibeah: but heere among all those that constantly read it otherwise, whom you trample upon, your good Mother of England is downe againe in the throng, who with the rest reads it, that Woman Iesabel: but suppose it were Wife, a man might as well interpret that word figuratively, as her name Iesabel no man doubts to be a borrow’d name.


Answ. No more then a speciall endorsement could make to puffe up the foreman of a Jury. If wee deny you more precedence, then as the Senior of any society, or deny you this priority to bee longer then Annuall. Prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you thinke to doe from the title of eminence, Angel: alas your wings are too short. 'Tis not Ordination nor Jurisdiction that is Angelical, but the heavenly message of the Gospell, which is the office of all Ministers alike; in which sense John the Baptist is call’d an Angel,* which in Grecce

* Math. ii.
signifies a Messenger, as oft as it is meant by a man, and might be so render'd heere without treason to the Hierarchy; but that the whole Booke soares to a Prophetick pitch in types, and Allegories. Seeing then the reason of this borrow'd name is meerely to signific the preaching of the Gospell, and that this preaching equally appertaines to the whole Ministry; hence may bee drawne a fifth argument, that if the reason of this borrowed name, Angel, be equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching ministry of the place, then must the name be collectively, and communicatively taken; but the reason, that is to say, the office of preaching and watching over the Flock is equally collective and communicative. Therefore the borrow'd name it selfe, is to be understood as equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching ministry of the place; and if you will contend still for a superiority in one person, you must ground it better then from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the Axe head that fell into the water, and say, Alas Master, for it was borrow'd, unlesse you have, as good a faculty to make Iron swim, as you had to make light froth sink.

P. 124.] Remon. What is, if this be not ordination, and jurisdiction?

Answ. Indeed in the constitution, and founding of a Church, that some men inspir'd from God should have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order, and dispose, must needs be. So Moses, though himselfe no priest, sanctify'd, and ordain'd Aaron and his sons; but when all needfull things be set and regulated by the writings of the Apostles, whether it be not a meere folly to keep up a superiour degree in the Church onely for ordination, and jurisdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The Apostles were the builders, and as it were the Architechts of the
Christian Church; wherein consisted their excellence above ordinary ministers? A Prelate would say in commanding, in controlling, in appointing, in calling to them and sending from about them to all countries their Bishops and Archbishops as their deputies, with a kind of Legantine power. No, no, vaine Prelates, this was but as the Scaffolding of a new edifice which for the time must board, and overlooke the highest battlements, but if the structure once finish't, any passenger should fall in love with them, and pray that they might still stand, as being a singular grace, and strengthening to the house, who would otherwise thinke, but that the man were presently to be laid hold on, and sent to his friends and kindred. The eminence of the Apostles consisted in their powerfull preaching, their unwearied labouring in the Word, their unquenchable charity, which above all earthly respects like a working flame, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next to that love which dwels in God to save soules; which, while they did, they were contented to be the off-scouring of the world, and to expose themselves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unspeakable. As for Ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward signe or symbol of admission? it creates nothing, it conferres nothing; it is the inward calling of God that makes a Minister, and his own painfull study and diligence that manures and improves his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times, many before ever they had receiv'd ordination from the Apostles, had done the Church noble service, as Apollos, and others; it is but an orderly forme of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge, the employment of Preaching is as holy, and farr more excellent, the care also and judgement to be us'd in the
Animadversions upon the winning of soules, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy Minister, is an ability above that which is requir'd in ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister, that would not be found fit to be made Ministers themselves, as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limne the like. Why therefore wee should constitute a superior order in the Church to performe an office which is not onely every ministers function, but inferiour also to that which hee has a confent right to, and why this superiority should remaine thus usurp'd, some wise Epimenides tell us. Now for jurisdiction this deare Saint of the Prelates, it will be best to consider, first, what it is: That soveraigne Lord, who in the discharge of his holy anointment from God the Father, which made him supream Bishop of our soules was so humble as to say, Who made me a Judge, or a divider over yee, hath taught us that a Church-mans jurisdiction is no more but to watch over his flock in season, and out of season, to deale by sweet, and efficacious instructions; gentle admonitions, and somtimes rounder reproofs: against negligence, or obstinacy will be requir'd a rousing volie of Pastorly threatnings, against a persisting stubbornes or the feare of a reprobate sense, a timely separation from the flock by that interdictive sentence, left his conversation unprohibited, or unbranded might breath a pestilentiall murrein into the other sheepe. In summe, his jurisdiction is to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted: what other work the Prelates have found for Chancellours and suffragans, Delegates and Officialls, with all the hell pesterling rabble of Sumners and Apparitors, is but an invasion upon the temporall Magistrate, and affected by them as men that are not asham'd of the ensigne and banner of
Antichrift. But true Evangelicall jurisdiction or discipline, is no more, as was said, then for a Minister to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthieft worke of these two, to plant, as every Ministers office is equally with the Bishops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiscerning Prelates call jurisdiction, and would appropriate to themselves as a businesse of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and heare a Law cafe: A certaine man of large poſſessions, had a faire Garden, and kept therein an honest and laborious servant, whose skil and profefion was to set or sowe all wholesome herbes, and delightfull flowers, according to every feafon, and what ever else was to be done in a well-hufbanded nursery of plants and fruits; now, when the time was come that he should cut his hedges, prune his trees, looke to his tender slips, and pluck up the weeds that hinder'd their growth, he gets him up by breake of day, and makes account to doe what was needfull in his garden, and who would thinke that any other should know better than he how the dayes work was to be spent? Yet for all this there comes another strange Gardener that never knew the foyle, never handl'd a Dibble or Spade to fet the leaft pot-herbe that grew there, much leffe had endur'd an houres sweat or chilnesse, and yet challenges as his right the binding or un-binding of every flower, the clipping of every bush, the weeding and worming of every bed both in that, and all other Gardens thereabout; the honest Gardener, that ever since the day-peepe, till now the Sunne was growne somewhat ranke, had wrought painfully about his bankes and feed-plots at this commanding voyce, turnes suddenly about with some wonder, and although hee could have well beteem'd to have thankt him of the eafe hee profer'd, yet
loving his owne handiworke, modestly refus'd him, telling him withall, that for his part, if hee had thought much of his owne paines, he could for once have committed the worke to one of his fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well knowne to be a matter of lesse skil and lesse labour to keepe a Garden hand-some, then it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already perform'd himselfe. No, said the stranger, this is neither for you nor your fellowes to meddle with, but for me onely that am for this purpose in dignity farre above you, and the provision which the Lord of the soyle allowes me in this office is, and that with good reason, ten fold your wages; the Gardener smil'd and shooke his head, but what was determin'd I cannot tell you till the end of this Parliament.

P. 127.] Remon. If in time you shall see wooden chalices, and wooden priests, thanke your selves.

Answ. It had beene happy for this land, if your priests had beene but onely wooden, all England knowes they have been to this Iland not wood, but wormewood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that Apostate starre in the Revelation; that many soules have di'd of their bitterness; and if you meane by wooden, illiterate, or contemptible, there was no want of that fort among you, and their number increasing daily, as their lazinesse, their Tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monasticall Schoole-men daily increast. What should I tell you how the Universitities, that men looke should be fountains of learning and knowledge, have been poi'son'd and choak'd under your governance? and if to be wooden be to be base, where could there be found among all the reformed Churches, nay, in the Church of Rome it selfe a baser brood of flattering and time-serving priests, according as God pronounces by Isaiah, the
Prophet that teacheth lies he is the taile. As for your young schollers that petition for Bishopricks and Deaneries to incourage them in their studies, and that many Gentlemen else will not put their sons to learning, away with such young mercenary striplings and their Simoniacall fathers, God has no neede of such, they have no part or lot in his Vineyard, they may as well sue for Nunneries, that they may have some convenient stowage for their wither'd daughters, because they cannot give them portions answerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in; this is the root of all our mischiefe, that which they allege for the incouragement of their studies, should be cut away forthwith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come, and gorge upon the Church; how can it be but ever unhappy to the Church of England, while shee shall thinke to intice men to the pure service of God by the same meanes that were us'd to tempt our Saviour to the service of the devill, by laying before him honour and preferment. Fit professors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that godlinesse with content is great gaine, whenas their godlinesse of teaching had not been but for worldly gaine. The heathen Philosophers thought that vertue was for its owne sake inestimable, and the greatest gaine of a teacher to make a soule vertuous; so Xenophon writes of Socrates who never bargain'd with any for teaching them; he fear'd not left those who had receiv'd so high a benefit from him, would not of their owne free-will returne him all possible thankes. Was morall vertue so lovely, and so alluring, and heathen men so enamour'd of her, as to teach and study her with greatest neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement; and is Christian piety so homely and so un-
Animadversions upon the pleasant, and Christian men so cloy'd with her, as that none will study and teach her, but for lucre and preferment! O stale-growne piety! O Gospel rated as cheap as thy Master, at thirty pence, and not worth the study, unless thou canst buy those that will sell thee! O race of Capernaitans, senseless of divine doctrine, and capable onely of loaves and belly-cheere! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would faine ask these men at whole hands they seek inferior things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houses? No doubt but they will soone answer that all these things they seek at Gods hands. Doe they thinke then that all these meanker and superfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of learning from the den of Plutus, or the cave of Mammon? Certainly never any cleare Spirit nurst up from brighter influences with a foule inlarg'd to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledge ever enter'd there but with scorn, and thought it ever foule disdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his studies, it being the greatest honor, the greatest fruit and proficiency of learned studies to despise these things. Not liberal science, but illiberal must that needs be that mounts in contemplation meerely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling Clergy though never so learned? For such can have neither true wisdom nor grace, and then in vain do men trust in learning, where these be wanting. If in lesse noble and almost mechanick arts according to the definitions of those Authors, he is not esteem'd to deserve the name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like, that beares not a generous mind above the peasantly regard of wages, and hire; much more must we thinke him a most imperfect, and incompleat Divine, who is so farre from being a contemner of filthy
lucr; that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly, and brutifh hopes of a fat Prebendary, Deanery, or Bishoprick, which poore and low pitch't desires, if they doe but mixe with those other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this study, it is justly expected that they should bring forth a base born issue of Divinity like that of those imperfect, and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two most unlike procreants the Sun, and mudde. And in matters of Religion, there is not any thing more intollerable, then a learned foole, or a learned Hypocrite, the one is ever coopt up at his empty speculations, a fot, an ideot for any use that mankind can make of him, or else sowing the World with nice, and idle questions and with much toyle, and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep shallows that wet not the instep: a plaine unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better, and wiser, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life than he: The other is still using his sophisticated arts and bending all his studies how to make his infatiate avarice, and ambition seem pious, and orthodoxall by painting his lewd and deceitfull principles with a smooth, and glossy varnish in a doctrinall way to bring about his wickedest purposes. In stead of the great harme therefore that these men feare upon the dissolving of Prelates, what an eafe, and happiness will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningest and most dangerous mercenaries will cease of themselves to frequent the fold, whom otherwise scarce all the prayers of the faithfull could have kept back from devouring the flock? But a true Pastor of Christs sending hath this especiall mark, that for greatest labours, and greatest merits in the Church, he requires either nothing, if he could so subsift, or a very common and reasonable
supply of humane necessaries: Wee cannot therefore doe better then to leave this care of ours to God, he can easily send labourers into his Harvest, that shall not cry, Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beseeming allowance; nor will hee suffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace, and our obedience to him abounds: for if he give us to know him aright, and to practice this our knowledge in right establisht discipline, how much more will hee replenish us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory, and our good? He can stirre up rich Fathers to bestow exquisite education upon their Children, and so dedicate them to the service of the GosPELL; he can make the sons of Nobles his Ministers, and Princes to be his Nazarites; for certainly there is no employment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great spirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, then to be the messenger, and Herald of heavenly truth from God to man, and by the faithfull worke of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithfull men, making a kind of creation like to Gods, by infusing his spirit and likenesfe into them, to their salvation, as God did into him; arisinf to what climat foever he turne him, like that Sun of righteousnesse that sent him, with healing in his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raising out of darksome barrennesfe a delicious, and fragrant Spring of saving knowledge, and good workes. Can a man thus imployned, find himselfe discontented, or dishonour'd for want of admittance to have a pragmaticall voyce at Sessions, and Jayle deliveries? or because hee may not as a Judge fit out the wrangling noyfe of litigious Courts to threeve the purses of unconfessing and unmortify'd sinners, and not their soules, or be discourag'd though men call him not Lord, when as the due
performance of his office would gaine him even from Lords and Princes, the voluntary title of Father? would he tugge for a Barony to sit and vote in Parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wisedome, and sound doctrine which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher, and perfwader of the Parliament? and in all wise apprehensions the perfwasive power in man to win others to goodnesse by instruction is greater, and more divine, then the compulsive power to restraine men from being evill by terrour of the Law; and therefore Christ left Mofes to be the Law-giver, but himselfe came downe amongst us to bee a teacher, with which office his heavenly wisedome was so well pleas'd, as that he was angry with those that would have put a piece of temporall judicature into his hands, disclaiming that he had any commision from above for such matters.

Such a high calling therefore as this, sends not for those droowy spirits that need the lure, and whistle of earthly preferment, like those animals that fetch, and carry for a morsell, no. She can find such as therefore study her precepts, because she teaches to despise preferment. And let not those wretched Fathers thinke they shall impoverish the Church of willing, and able supply, though they keep back their fordid sperm begotten in the luftiness of their avarice, and turne them to their malting-kils, rather let them take heed what lessons they instill into that lump of flesh which they are the cause of, left, thinking to offer him as a present to God, they dish him out for the Devill. Let the novice learne first to renounce the world, and so give himselfe to God, and not therefore give himselfe to God, that hee may close the better with the World, like that false Shepheard Palinode in the Eclogue of May, under whom the Poet lively personates our Prelates, whose whole
life is a recantation of their pastorall vow, and whose profession to forsake the World, as they use the matter, boggs them deeper into the world: Those our admired Spencer inveighs against, not without some presage of these reforming times.

The time was once, and may again returne
(For oft may happen that hath been beforne)
When Shepheards had none inheritance
Ne of land, nor fee in sufferance,
But what might arise of the bare sheep,
(Were it more or leffe) which they did keep,
Well ywis was it with Shepheards tho.
Nought having, naught feared they to forgoe
For Pan himselfe was their inheritance
And little them served for their maintenance,
The Shepheards God so well them guided,
That of naught they were unprovided
Butter enough, honey, milk, and whey,
And their flock fleeces them to array.

But tract of Time, and long prosperity
(That nurse of vice, this of insolency)
Lulled the Shepheards in such security
That not content with loyall obeysance
Some gan to gape for greedy governance,
And match themselves with mighty potentates
Lovers of Lordships, and troublers of States.
Tho gan Shepheards Swaines to looke aloft
And leave to live hard, and learne to lig light.
Tho under colour of Shepheards some while
There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile
That often devoured their owne Sheep,
And often the Shepheard that did them keepe,
This was the first source of shepheards sorrow
That now will be quit with bale, nor borrow.

By all this wee may conjecture, how little wee neede feare that the unguilding of our Prelates will
prove the woodening of our Priests. In the mean while, let no man carry in his head either such narrow, or such evill eyes, as not to looke upon the Churches of Belgia and Helvetia, and that envied city Geneva: where in the Christian world doth learning more flourish than in these places? Not among your beloved Jesuits, nor their favourers, though you take all the Prelates into the number, and instance in what kinde of learning you please. And how in England all noble sciences attending upon the traine of Christian doctrine, may flourish more than ever; and how the able professors of every Art may with ample stipends be honestly provided; And finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the Prelates, the courses are so many and so easie, that I shall passe them over.

Sect. 14. p. 129.] Remon. It is God that makes the Bishop, the King that gives the Bishopricke, What can you say to this?

Answ. What you shall not long stay for: we say it is God that makes a Bishop, and the Devill that makes him take a prelaticall Bishopricke; as for the Kings gift, regall bounty may be excusable in giving, where the Bishops covetousnesse is damnable in taking.

P. 137.] Remon. Many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earnestly wish'd themselves in our condition.

Answ. I cannot blame them, they were not onely eminent, but supereminent Divines, and for stomach much like to Pompey the great, that could indure no equall.

P. 139.] Remon. The Babylonian note sounds well in your ears, Downe with it, downe with it even to the ground.

Answ. You mistake the matter, it was the Edo-
Animadversions upon the
mitifh note, but change it, and if you be an Angel, cry with the Angell, It is falne, it is falne.

Remon. But the God of Heav'n will, we hope, vindicate his owne Ordinance so long perpetuated to his Church.

Anfw. Goe rather to your God of this world, and see if he can vindicate your Lordships, your temporaal and spirituall tyrannies, and all your pelfe: for the God of heav'n is already come downe to vindicate his owne Ordinance from your so long perpetuated usurpation.

Sect. 15. p. 141.] Remon. If yet you can blush.

Anfw. This is a more Edomifh conceit than the former, and must be silenc'd with a counter quip of the fame countrey. So often and so unsavourily has it been repeated, that the Reader may well cry, Downe with it, downe with it for shame. A man would thinke you had eaten over liberally of Efois red porrage, and from thence dreame continually of blushing; or, perhaps, to heighthen your fancy in writing, are wont to fit in your Doctors scarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red suffusion, begets a continuall thought of blushing. That you thus persecute ingenuous men over all your booke, with this one over-tir'd rubricall conceit still of blushing; but if you have no mercy upon them, yet spare your selfe, lest you bejade the good galloway, your owne opinion after wit, and make the very conceit it selfe blush with spur-galling.

Sect. 16. p. 148.] Remon. The scandalls of our inferiour Ministers I desir'd to have had lesse publicque.

Anfw. And what your superiour Archbishop or Bishops? O forbid to have it told in Gath! say you. O dauber! and therefore remove not impieties from Israel. Constantine might have done more
justly to have punish’d those Clergicall faults which he could not conceale, than to leave them unpunish’d, that they might remaine conceale’d: better had it beene for him that the heathen had heard the fame of his justice, than of his wilfull connivence and partiality; and so the name of God and his truth had been lesse blasphem’d among his enemies, and the Clergie amended, which daily by this impunitie grew worse and worse. But, O to publish it in the streets of Ascalon! Sure some colonie of Puritans have taken Ascalon from the Turke lately, that the Remonftrant is so afraid of Ascalon. The Papists we know condole yee, and neither Constantinople, nor your neighbors of Marocco trouble you. What other Ascalon can you allude to?

Remonst. p. 37.] Remon. What a death it is to thinke of the sport and advantage these watchfull enemies, these opposite spectators will be sure to make of our sinne and shame?

Answ. This is but to fling and strugle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to inviron you round.

Remonst. p. 38.] Remon. No one Clergie in the whole Christian world yeelds so many eminent schol-lers, learned preachers, grave, holy and accomplish’d Divines as this Church of England doth at this day.

Answ. Ha, ha, ha.

Remon. And long, and ever may it thus flourish.

Answ. O pestilent imprecation! flourish as it does at this day in the Prelates?

Remon. But oh forbid to have it told in Gath!

Answ. Forbid him rather, Sacred Parliament, to violate the sense of Scripture, and turne that which is spoken of the afflictions of the Church under her pagan enemies to a pargetted concealment of those prelatical crying sins; for from these is profaneness gone forth into all the land; they have hid their eyes
from the Sabbaths of the Lord; they have fed themselves, and not their flocks, with force and cruelty have they ruled over Gods people: They have fed his sheep (contrary to that which Saint Peter* writes) not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre, not as examples to the flock, but as being Lords over Gods heritage; and yet this Dauber would daub still with his untempered Morter: But hearken what God sayes by the Prophet Ezekiel,† Say unto them that daub this wall with untempered Morter, that it shall fall, there shall be an overflowing shower, and yee O great hailstones shall fall, and a stormy wind shall rend it, and I will say unto you, the wall is no more, neither they that daubt it.

P. 149.] Remon. Whether of us shall give a better account of our charity to the God of peace, I appeale?

Answ. Your charity is much to your fellow offenders, but nothing to the numberlesse soules that have beene loft by their false feeding; use not therefore so fillily the name of Charity as most commonly you doe, and the peacefull attribute of God to a preposterous end.

Sett. 17.] Remon. In the next Section, like ill bred sons you spit in the face of your Mother the Church of England.

Answ. What should we doe or say to this Remonstrant? that by his idle, and shallow reasonings seemes to have been conversant in no Divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold Bishopricks. Wee acknowledge, and beleeeue the Catholick reformed Church, and if any man be disposed to use a trope or figure, as Saint Paul once did in calling her the common Mother of us all, let him doe as his owne rethorick shall perswade him. If therefore

* 1 Pet. 5.  † Ezek. 13.
we must needs have a mother, and if the Catholick Church onely be, and must be she, let all Genealogie tell us if it can, what we must call the Church of England, unlesse we shall make every English Protestant a kind of poetical Bacchus, to have two Mothers: but marke Readers, the crafty scope of these Prelates, they endeavour to impress deeply into weak, and superstitious fancies the awfull notion of a mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicite obedience to whatsoever they shall decree, or think fit. And if we come to aske a reason of ought from our deare mother, she’s invisible, under the lock and key of the Prelates her spirituall adulterers, they onely are the internuntio’s or the go-betweens of this trim devis’d mummery: whatsoever they say she sayes, must be a deadly sin of disobedience not to beleive. So that we who by Gods speciall grace have shak’n off the servitude of a great male Tyrant, our pretended Father the Pope, should now, if we be not betimes aware of these wily teachers, sink under the slavery of a Female notion, the cloudy conception of a demy-Land mother, and while we think to be obedient sonnes, should make our selves rather the Bastards, or the Centaurs of their spirituall fornications.

Remon. Take heed of the Ravens of the vally.

Answ. The Ravens wee are to take heede on are your selves, that would peck out the eyes of all knowing Christians.

Remon. Sit you merry Brethren.

Answ. So we shall when the furies of Prelaticall consciences will not give them leave to doe so.

Sect. 18. p. 160.] Queries. Whether they would not jeopard their eares rather, &c.

Answ. A punimment that awaites the merits of your bold accomplies for the lopping, and stigma- tizing of so many free borne Christians.
Remon. Whether the professed sloven-lineffe in Gods service, &c.

Anfw. We have heard of Aaron and his linnen Amice, but those dayes are past; and for your Priest under the Gospell that thinks himselfe the purer, or the cleanlier in his office for his new waftt Surplesse, we esteem him for sanctitie little better than Apollonius Thyaneus in his white frocke, or the Priest of Isis in his lawne sleeves, and they may all for holiness lie together in the suds.

Remon. Whether it were not most lawfull and just to punifh your presumption and disobedience.

Anfw. The punifhing of that which you call our presumption and disobedience lies not now within the execution of your fangs, the mercifull God above and our just Parliament will deliver us from your Ephesian beasts, your cruell Nimrods, with whom we shall be ever fearelesse to encounter.

Remon. God give you wisdome to see the truth, and grace to follow it.

Anfw. I wish the like to all those that refift not the holy Ghost, for of such God commands Jeremie, saying, Pray not thou for them, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make intercession to me, for I will not hear thee; and of such Saint John faith, He that bids them God speed, is partaker of their evill deeds.

To the Postscript.

Remon. A goodly Pasquin borrow'dd for a great part out of Sions plea, or the breviate consisting of a rhapsody of histories.

Anfw. How wittily you tell us what your wonted course is upon the like occasion: the collection was taken, be it knowne to you, from as authentique authors in this kinde, as any in a Bishops library; and the collector of it fayes moreover, that if the like
occasion come againe, he shall leffe need the help of breviates, or historiccall rhapsodies, then your reverence to eek out your sermonings shall need re-
pair to Postills, or Polianthea's.

P. 164.] Remon. They were Bishops you say, true, but they were Popish Bishops.

Anfw. Since you would bind us to your jurisdic-
tion by their Canon-law, since you would inforce upon us the old riffe-raffe of Sarum, and other mo-
nafticall relics, since you live upon their unjust purchases, alleage their authorities, boast of their succeffion, walke in their steps, their pride, their ti-
tles, their covetousnesse, their persecuting of Gods people, since you disclaime their actions, and build their sepulchres, it is moft juft, that all their faults should be imputed to yee, and their iniquities visited upon yee.

P. 166.] Remon. Could yee fee no Colleges, no Hosptals built?

Anfw. At that priméro of piety the Pope and Card-
inals are the better gamefters, and will cogge a Die into heav'n before you.

Remon. No Churches re-edified?

Anfw. Yes, more Churches then soules.

Remon. No learned volumes writ?

Anfw. So did the miscreant Bishop of Spalatto write learned volumes againft the Pope, and run to Rome when he had done, yee write them in your closets, and unwrite them in your Courts, hot Vol-
umists and cold Bishops: a swashbuckler againft the Pope, and a dormouse againft the Devil, while the whole Dioceffe be fown with tares, and none to reft the enemy, but such as let him in at the po-
terne, a rare superintendant at Rome, and a cipher at home. Hypocrites, the Gospell faithfully preach'd to the poore, the desolate parifhes visited and duely fed, loyterers throwne out, wolves driven from the
Animadversions upon the
fold, had beene a better confutation of the Pope and Maffe, than whole Hecatontomes of controversiies, and all this careering with speare in rest and thundering upon the steele cap of Baronius or Bel-larmine.

Remon. No seduced persons reclaim'd?
Anfw. More reclaimed persons seduc'd.
Remon. No hospitality kept?
Anfw. Bacchanalia's good store in every Bishop's family, and good gleeking.
Remon. No great offenders punish'd?
Anfw. The trophies of your high Commission are renown'd.
Remon. No good offices done for the publique?
Anfw. Yes, the good office of reducing monarchie to tyrannie, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the people to the King.
Remon. No care of the peace of the Church?
Anfw. No, nor of the land, witnesse the two armies in the North that now lies plunder'd, and over-run by a liturgie.
Remon. No diligence in preaching?
Anfw. Scarce any preaching at all.
Remon. No holinesse in living?
Anfw. No.
Remon. Truely brethren I can say no more, but that the fault is in your eyes.
Anfw. If you can say no more than this, you were a proper Remonstrant to stand up for the whole tribe.
Remon. Wipe them, and looke better.
Anfw. Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light.
Remon. Yea, I beseech God to open them rather that they may see good.
Anfw. If you meane good Prelates, let be your prayer, ask not impossibilities.
Remon. As for that proverb, the Bishops foot hath
been in it, it were more fit for a Scurra in Trivio, or som Ribald upon an Ale-bench.

Anfw. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

P. 167.] Remon. I doubt not but they will say, the Bishops foot hath been in your booke, for I am sure it is quite spoil'd by this just confutation; for your proverb, Sapit Ollam.

Anfw. Spoyld quoth ye? indeed it is so spoild, as a good song is spoild by a lewd finger, or as the saying is, God sends meat, but the Cooks worke their wills; in that fense we grant your Bishops foot may have spoild it, and made it Sapere ollam, if not Sapere aulam, which is the fame in old Latin, and perhaps in plaine English. For certaine your confutation hath atchiev'd nothing againft it, and left nothing upon it, but a foule taste of your skillet foot, and a more perfect and distinguifhable odour of your focks, then of your night-cap. And how the Bishop shouold confute a book with his foot, unleffe his braines were dropt into his great toe, I cannot meet with any man that can resolve me, onely they tell me that certainly such a confutation muft needs be goutie. So much for the Bishops foot.

Remon. You tell us of Bonners broth, it is the fashion in some countries to fend in their Keal in the laft service, and this it feemes, is the manner amongst our Smectimnuans.

Anfw. Your latter service at the high Altar you mean; but foft Sir, the feaft was but begun, the broth was your owne, you have been inviting the Land to it this fourefcore yeares, and so long we have been your slaves to serve it up for you, much against our wils, we know you have the Beefe to it, ready in your Kitchins, we are sure it was almoft sod before this Parliament begun; what direction you have given since to your Cooks to set it by in
the Pantry till some fitter time, we know not, and therefore your deare jest is lost; this broth was but your first service: alas Sir, why doe you delude your guests? Why doe not those goodly Flanks and Briskets march up in your stately chargers? doubtleſſe, if need be, the Pope that owes you for mollifying the matter so well with him, and making him a true Church, will furnish you with all the fat Oxen of Italy.

Remon. Learned, and worthy Doctor Moulin shall tell them.

Anfw. Moulin fayes in his booke of the calling of Pastors, that because Bishops were the reformers of the English Church, therefore they were left remaining: This argument is but of small force to keepe you in your Cathedrals. For firſt it may be deny'd that Bishops were our firſt Reformers, for Wickliffe was before them, and his egregious labours are not to be negeſted, besides our Bishops were in this worke but the discipes of Priests, and began the reformation before they were Bishops: But what though Luther and other Monks were the reformers of other places; does it follow therefore that Monks ought to continue? No, though Luther had taught fo: and laſtly, Moulings argument directly makes againſt you, for if there be nothing in it, but this, Bishops were left remaining because they were the reformers of the Church, by as good a conſequence therefore they are now to be remov'd, because they have been the moſt certaine deformers and ruiners of the Church. Thus you see how little it avails you to take Sanctuary among those Churches which in the generall scope of your actions formerly you have disregarded, and despis'd, however your faire words would now smooth it over otherwise.

P. 168.] Remon. Our Bishops some whereof being
Remonstrants Defence, &c. 249

crown'd with Martyrdome, subscrib'd the Gospel with their blood.

Answ. You boast much of Martyrs to uphold your Episcopacy, but if you would call to minde what Eusebius in his 5. i. recites from Apolinarius of Hierapolis, you should then heare it esteem'd no other then an old hereticall argument, to prove a position true, because some that held it were martyrs: this was that which gave boldnesse to the Marcionists, and Cataphryges to avouch their impious heresies for pious doctrine, because they could reckon many Martyrs of their sect, and when they were confuted in other points, this was ever their last and stoutest plea.

Remon. In the mean time I beseech the God of Heaven to humble you.

Answ. We shall beseech the same God to give you a more profitable, and pertinent humiliation, then yet you know, and a lesse mistaken charitablenesse, with that peace which you have hitherto so perversely misaffected.
An Apology against a Pamphlet
call'd A Modest Confutation
of the Animadversions upon the Remon-
strant against Smectymnuus.

F, Readers, to that same great difficulty
of well doing what we certainly know,
were not added in most men as great
a carelessness of knowing what they, and
others ought to do, we had bin long ere this, no
doubt but all of us much farther on our way to some
degree of peace and happiness in this kingdom. But
since our sinful neglect of practising that which
we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath
brought forth among us, through God's just anger so
great a difficulty now to know that which otherwise
might be soone learnt, and hath divided us by a con-
troversie of great importance indeed, but of no hard
solution, which is the more our punishment, I re-
solv'd (of what small moment soever I might be
thought) to stand on that side where I saw both the
plain authority of Scripture leading, and the reason
of justice and equity persuading; with this opinion
which esteemes it more unlike a Christian to be a
cold neuter in the cause of the Church, then the law
of Solon made it punishable after a sedition in the
An Apology, &c.

State. And because I observe that fear and dull disposition, lukewarmness and sloth are not seldomly wont to cloak themselves under the affected name of moderation, then true and lively zeal is customably dispareg'd with the term of indiscretion, bitterness, and choler, I could not to my thinking honor a good cause more from the heart, then by defending it earnestly, as oft as I could judge it to behoove me, notwithstanding any false name that could be invented to wrong, or undervalue an honest meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to single forth more then once, such of them as were thought the chief and most nominated opposers on the other side, whom no man else undertook: if I have done well either to be confident of the truth, whose force is best seen against the ablest resistance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping authority of great names titl'd to false opinions, or that it be lawful to attribute somewhat to guifts of Gods imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge, and fear also lest at my certaine account they be reckoned to me many rather then few, or if lastly it be but justice not to defraud of due esteeme the weariome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tir'd out almost a whole youth, I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption. Knowing that if heretofore all ages have receav'd with favour and good acceptance the earliest industry of him that hath beene hopeful, it were but hard measure now, if the freedome of any timely spirit should be opprest meere by the big and blunted name of his elder adversary; and that his sufficiency must be now sentenc't, not by pondering the reason he shewes, but by calculating the yeares he brings. However, as my purpose is not, nor hath beene formerly, to looke on my adversary
abroad, through the deceiving glasse of other mens great opinion of him, but at home, where I may finde him in the proper light of his owne worth, so now against the rancor of an evill tongue, from which I never thought so absurdly, as that I of all men should be exempt, I must be forc't to proceed from the unfained and diligent inquiry of mine owne conscience at home (for better way I know not, Readers) to give a more true account of my selfe abroad then this modest Confuter, as he calls himselfe, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this I shall be sensible of two things which to me will be nothing pleasant; the one is, that not unlikely I shall be thought too much a party in mine owne cause, and therein to see leaft; the other, that I shall be put unwillingly to molest the publick view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the people should care whether such a one were thus, or thus. Yet those I intreat who have found the leasure to reade that name, however of small repute, unworthily defam'd, would be so good and so patient as to heare the same person not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the best apology against false accusers is silence and suffrance, and honest deeds set against dishonest words. And that I could at this time moft easily, and securely, with the leaft losse of reputation use no other defence, I need not despaire to win believe. Whether I consider both the foolish contriving, and ridiculous aiming of these his flanderous bolts, shot so wide of any suspicion to be fastn'd on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceav'd my friends congratulating themselves in my innocence, and my enemies asham'd of their partners folly. Or whether I look at these present times wherein moft men now scarce permitted the liberty to think over their owne concernsments have remov'd the seat of their
thoughts more outward to the expectation of publick events. Or whether the examples of men, either noble or religious, who have sat downe lately with a meeke silence and sufferance under many libellous endorsemements, may be a rule to others, I might well appease my self to put up any reproaches in such an honourable society of fellow-sufferers using no other defence. And were it that slander would be content to make an end where it first fixes, and not seek to cast out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the person traduc’t, I should have pleaded against this Confuter by no other advocates, then those which I first commended, Silence, and Sufferance, and speaking deeds against faltering words. But when I discern’d his intent was not so much to smite at me, as through me to render odious the truth which I had written, and to staine with ignominy that Evangelick doctrine which opposes the tradition of Prelaty, I conceav’d my selfe to be now not as mine own person, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was perswaded, and whereof I had declar’d openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to my selfe, yet to the religious cause I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the least spot, or blemish in good name so long as God should give me to say that which might wipe it off. Left those disgraces which I ought to suffer, if it so befall me, for my religion, through my default religion be made liable to suffer for me. And, whether it might not something reflect upon those reverent men whose friend I may be thought in writing the Animadversions, was not my last care to consider, if I should rest under these reproaches having the same common adversary with them, it might be counted small credit for their cause to have found such an assistant, as this babler hath devis’d me. What other thing
in his book there is of dispute, or question, in answer-\n\nger thereto I doubt not to be justifi'd; except there be who will condemn me to have wasted time in throwing downe that which could not keepe it selfe up. As for others who notwithstanding what I can allege have yet decreed to mis-interpertz the intents of my reply, I suppose they would have found as many causes to have misconceav'd the reasons of my silence.

O beginne therefore an Apology for those animadversions which I writ against the Remonftrant in defence of Smeftymnus, since the Preface, which was purposely set before them, is not thought apologeticall enough; it will be best to acquaint ye, Readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be askt wherefore I writ the book, it being no difficulty to answer that I did it to those ends which the best men propose to themselves when they write. But wherefore in that manner neglecting the maine bulk of all that spacious antiquity, which might stunne children, but not men, I chose rather to observe some kinde of military advantages to await him at his forragings, at his wattrings, and when ever he felt himselfe secure to solace his veine in derision of his more serious opponents. And here let me have pardon, Readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licenc't himselfe to utter contempzuously of those reverend men provoke me to doe that over againe which some expect I should excuse as too freely done; since I have two provocations, his latest insulting in his short answer, and their small patience. I had no fear but that the authors of Smeftymnus to all the shew of solidity which the Remonftrant could bring, were prepar'd both with skill and purpose to
returne a suffizing answer, and were able anough to lay the dust and pudder in antiquity, which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but when I saw his weake arguments headed with sharpe taunts, and that his designe was, if he could not refute them, yet at leaft with quips and snapping adages to vapour them out, which they bent only upon the businesse were minded to let passe, by how much I saw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I must confess I took it as my part the leaft to endure that my respected friends through their own unnecessary patience should thus lye at the mercy of a coy flutting file; to be girded with frumps and curtall gibes, by one who makes sentences by the Statute, as if all above three inches long were confiscat. To me it seem'd an indignity, that whom his whole wisdome could not move from their place, them his impetuous folly should presume to ride over. And if I were more warme then was meet in any passage of that booke, which yet I do not yeild, I might use therein the patronage of no worse an author then Gregory Nyffen, who mentioning his sharpenesse against Eunomius in the defence of his brother Basil, holds himselfe irreprovable in that it was not for himselfe, but in the cause of his brother; and in such cases, faith he, perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry, then to be cooler. And whereas this Confuter taxes the whole discourse of levity, I shall shew ye, Readers, wherefover it shall be objected in particular that I have answer'd with as little lightnesse as the Remonstrant hath given example. I have not beene so light as the palme of a Bishop which is the lightest thing in the world when he brings out his book of Ordination: For then contrary to that which is wont in releasing out of prison, any one that will pay his fees is layd hands on. Another reason, it would not be amisse though the Remonstrant were told, where-
An Apology, &c.

fore he was in that unusuall manner beleaguer'd; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his admirers the conceit that all who are not Prelaticall, are grosse-headed, thick-witted, illiterat, shallow. Can nothing then but Episcopacy teach men to speak good English, to pick and order a set of words judiciously? Must we learne from Canons and quaint Sermonings interlin'd with barbarous Latin to illumin a period, to wreath an Enthymema with maiftrous dexterity? I rather encline, as I have heard it obferv'd, that a Jesuits Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be borne and bred a Florentine, so to thinke that from like causes we may go neere to observe the fame in the ftil of a Prelat. For doubtlesse that indeed according to art is moft eloquent, which returnes and approaches neereft to nature from whence it came; and they expresse nature best, who in their lives leaft wander from her safe leading, which may be call'd regenerate reason. So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withall a good man, I see not. Never the leaft as oft as is to be dealt with men who pride themselves in their supposed art, to leave them unexcufable wherein they will not be better'd there be of those that esteeme Prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe, if they can dance, nor will be unfurniht to shew that what the Prelats admire and have not, others have and admire not. The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withstand the perverters of the Gospell were those other motives which gave the animadversions no leave to remit a continuall vehement throughout the book. For as in teaching, doubtlesse the Spirit of meeknesse is most powerfull, so are the meeke only fit persons to be taught: as for the proud, the obstinate, and false Doctors of mens devices, be taught they will not; but discover'd and
laid open they must be. For how can they admit of teaching who have the condemnation of God already upon them for refusing divine instruction; that is, to be filled with their own devices, as in the Proverbs we may read; therefore we may safely imitate the method that God uses; *with the froward to be froward, and to throw scorne upon the scorne, whom if any thing, nothing else will heale. And if the righteous shall laugh at the destruction of the ungodly, they may also laugh at their pertinacious and incurable obstinacy, and at the same time be mov'd with detestation of their seducing malice, who employ all their wits to defend a Prelaty usurpt, and to deprave that just government, which pride and ambition partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath should'rd out of the Church. And against such kind of deceavers openly and earnestly to protest, left any one should be inquisitive wherefore this or that man is forwarder then others, let him know that this office goes not by age, or youth, but to whomsoever God shall give apparently the will, the Spirit, and the utterance. Ye have heard the reasons for which I thought not my self exempted from associating with good men in their labours toward the Churches wellfare: to which if any one brought opposition, I brought my best resistance. If in requital of this and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gain'd a name bestuck, or as I may say, bedeckt with the reproaches and reviles of this modest Confuter, it shall be to me neither strange, nor unwelcome; as that which could not come in a better time.

Having render'd an account, what induc't me to write those animadversions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to see what the confutation hath to say against them; but so as the confuter shall
hear first what I have to say against his confutation. And because he pretends to be a great conjector at other men by their writings, I will not faile to give ye, Readers, a present taste of him from his own title; hung out like a toling signe-post to call passengers, not simply a confutation but a modest confutation with a laudatory of it selfe obtruded in the very first word. Whereas a modest title should onely informe the buyer what the book containes without further insinuation, this officious epithet so hastily assuming the modesty which others are to judge of by reading, not the author to anticipate to himself by forestalling, is a strong presumption that his modesty set there to sale in the frontispice, is not much addicted to blush. A surer signe of his lost shame he could not have given, then seeking thus unseasonably to prepossessione men of his modesty. And seeing he hath neither kept his word in the sequel, nor omitted any kinde of boldnesse in flandering, tis manifest his purpose was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word modest, that he might not want colour to be the more impudent throughout his whole confutation. Next what can equally favour of injustice, and plaine arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemne his adversary in the title for slanderous and scurrilous, and as the Remonstrants fashion is, for frivolous, tedious, and false, not staying till the Reader can hear him prov'd so in the following discourse; which is one cause of a suspicion that in setting forth this pamphlet the Remonstrant was not unconsulted with; thus his first address was an humble Remonstrance by a dutifull son of the Church, almost as if he had laid her white-boy. His next was a defence (a wonder how it scapt some praising adjunct) against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smeṭymnus, fitting in the chaire of his Title page upon his poore cast adversaries both as a Judge and
Party, and that before the jury of Readers can be impannell'd. His last was *A short answer to a tedious vindication*; so little can he suffer a man to measure either with his eye or judgement, what is short or what tedious without his preoccupying direction: and from hence is begotten this *modest confusion against a flanderous and scurrilous libell*. I conceive, Readers, much may be guest at the man and his book, what depth there is, by the framing of his title, which being in this Remonstrant so rash, and unadvised as ye see, I conceit him to be neere a kin to him who set forth a Passion Sermon with a formal Dedicatory in great letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end to his praise and glory, yet to inscribe him in a void place with flourishes, as a man in complement uses to trick up the name of some Esquire, Gentleman, or Lord Paramount at Common Law, to be his book-patron with the appendant form of a ceremonious presentment, wil ever appeare among the judicious to be but an insuls and frigid affectation. As no lesse was that before his book against the Brownists to write a Letter to a prospopoea a certain rhetoriz'd woman whom he calls mother, and complains of some that laid whoredome to her charge; and certainly had he folded his Epistle with a superscription to be deliver'd to that female figure by any Post or Carrier who were not a Ubiquitary, it had beene a most miraculous greeting. We finde the Primitive Doctors as oft as they writ to Churches, speaking to them as to a number of faithfull brethren and sons, and not to make a cloudy transmigation of sexes in such a familiar way of writing as an Epistle ought to be, leaving the track of common adrefse, to runne up, and tread the aire in metaphorical compellations, and many fond utterances better let alone. But I step againe to this emblazoner of his Title.
page (whether it be the same man or no I leave it in the midst) and here I finde him pronouncing without reprieve those animadversions to be a flanderous and scurrilous libell. To which I, Readers, that they are neither flanderous, nor scurrilous, will answer in what place of his book he shall be found with reason, and not inke only in his mouth. Nor can it be a libell more then his owne, which is both nameleffe, and full of flanders, and if in this that it freely speaks of things amisle in religion, but establisht by act of State, I see not how Wickleffe and Luther, with all the first Martyrs, and reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the humane frailty of erring in caues of religion infamy to a State, no more then to a Councell; it had therefore beene neither civill, nor Christianly, to derogate the honour of the State for that cause, especially when I saw the Parlament it selfe piously and magnanimously bent to supply and reforme the defects and oversights of their forefathers, which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jewes were often matter of humble confessing and bewailing, not of confident asserting and maintaining. Of the State therefore I found good reason to speak all honourable things, and to joyne in petition with good men that petition'd: but against the Prelats who were the only seducers and mis-leaders of the State to constitute the government of the Church not rightly, me thought I had not vehemence enough. And thus, Readers, by the example which hee hath fet mee I have given yee two or three notes of him out of his Title page; by which his firstlings feare not to gueffe boldly at his whole lumpe, for that gueffe will not faile ye; and although I tell him keen truth, yet he may beare with me, since I am like to chafe him into some good knowledge, and others, I truft, shall not mis-spend their leisure. For this my aime is, if I am forc't to be
unpleasing to him whose fault it is, I shall not forget at the same time to be usefull in some thing to the stander by.

As therefore he began in the Title, so in the next leave he makes it his first business to tamper with his Reader by sycophanting and misnaming the worke of his adversary. He calls it a mime thrust forth upon the stage to make up the breaches of those solemn Scenes between the Prelats and the Smeïymnuans. Wherein while he is so overgreedy to fix a name of ill sound upon another, note how stupid he is to expose himselfe, or his own friends to the same ignominy; likening those grave controversyes to a piece of Stagyery, or Scene-worke where his owne Remonstrant whether in Buskin or Sock must of all right be counted the chiefe Player, be it boasting Thrafo, or Davus that troubles all things, or one who can shift into any shape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath refembl'd the whole argument to a Comedy, for Tragicall, he sayes, were too ominous. Nor yet doth he tell us what a Mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers except some fragments, which containe many acute and wise sentences. And this we know in Laertius, that the Mimes of Sophron were of such reckning with Plato, as to take them nightly to read on and after make them his pillow. Scaliger describes a Mime to be a Poem imitating any action to stirre up laughter. But this being neither Poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abusively taxt to be a Mime. For if every book which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, must be term'd thus, then may the Dialogues of Plato, who for those his writings hath obtain'd the surname of Divine, be esteem'd as they are by that detractor in Athenaeus, no better then Mimes. Because there is scarce one of them, especially wherein some notable Sophister lies sweating and turmoyling
under the inevitable, and merciless dilemma's of Socrates, but that hee who reads, were it Saturne himselfe, would be often rob'd of more then a smile. And whereas he tells us that Scurrilous Mime was a personated grim lowring fool, his foolish language un-wittingly writes foole upon his owne friend, for he who was there personated, was only the Remonstrant; the author is ever distinguisht from the person he introduces. But in an ill houre hath his unfortunate rashnesse stumble'd upon the mention of miming. That hee might at length cease, which he hath not yet since he stept in, to gall and hurt him whom he would aide. Could he not beware, could he not be-think him, was he so uncircumspect, as not to foresee, that no sooner would that word Mime be set eye on in the paper, but it would bring to minde that wretched pilgrimage over Minshews Dictionary call'd Mundus alter et idem, the idlest and the paltrieft Mime that ever mounted upon banke. Let him ask the Author of those toothlesse Satyrs who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that universal foolery, who he was, who like that other principle of the Maniches the Arch evill one, when he had look't upon all that he had made and mapt out, could say no other but contrary to the Divine Mouth, that it was all very foolish. That grave and noble invention which the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, Plato in Critias, and our two famous countrey-men, the one in his Utopia, the other in his new Atlantis chose, I may not say as a field, but as a mighty Continent wherein to display the largeness of their spirits by teaching this our world better and exacter things, then were yet known, or us'd, this petty prevaricatator of America, the zanie of Columbus, (for so he must be till his worlds end) having rambl'd over the huge topography of his own vain thoughts, no marvell, if he brought us home nothing but a meer
tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a stewes. Certainly he that could indure with a sober pen to fit and devise laws for drunkards to carouse by, I doubt me whether the very sobernesse of such a one like an unlicour'd Silenus, were not stark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriously with the name of Mime, being himselfe the loosest and most extravagant Mime, that hath been heard of; whom no lesse then almost halfe the world could serve for stage roome to play the Mime in. And let him advise againe with Sir Francis Bacon whom he cites to confute others, what it is to turn the sinnes of Christendome into a mimickall mockery, to rip up the saddest vices with a laughing countenance, especially where neither reproofe nor better teaching is adjoynd. Nor is my meaning, Readers, to shift off a blame from my selfe, by charging the like upon my accuser, but shall only desire, that sentence may be respited, till I can come to some instance, whereto I may give answer.

Thus having spent his first onset not in confuting, but in a reasonlesse defaming of the book, the method of his malice hurries him to attempt the like against the Author: not by proofes and testimonies, but having no certaine notice of me, as he professtes, furder then what he gathers from the animadversions, blunders at me for the rest, and flings out stray crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a Serpent, suck from any thing that I have written; but from his own stufft magazin, and hoard of flanderous inventions, over and above that which he converted to venome in the drawing. To me Readers, it happens as a singular contentment, and let it be to good men no slight satisfaction, that the flanderer here confesses, he has no furder notice of me then his owne conjecture. Although it had been honest to have inquir'd, before he utter'd such infamous words, and I
am credibly inform'd he did inquire, but finding small comfort from the intelligence which he receav'd, whereon to ground the falsities which he had provided, thought it his likeliest course under a pretended ignorance to let drive at randome, left he should lose his odde ends which from some penurious Book of Characters he had been culling out and would faine apply. Not caring to burden me with those vices, whereof, among whom my conversation hath been, I have been ever least suspected; perhaps not without some suttlety to cast me into envie, by bringing on me a neceffity to enter into mine own praises. In which argument I know every wise man is more unwillingly drawne to speak, then the most repining eare can be averse to heare. Nevertheless since I dare not wish to passe this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is wofull, I shall relye on his promise to free the innocent from causeleffe aspersions: whereof nothing sooner can assure me; then if I shall feel him now afisting me in the just vindication of my selfe, which yet I could deferre, it being more meet that to those other matters of publick debatement in this book I should give attendance first, but that I feare it would but harme the truth, for me to reason in her behalfe, so long as I should suffer my honest estimation to lye unpurg'd from these insolent suspicions. And if I shall be large, or unwonted in justifying my selfe to those who know me not, for else it would be needleffe, let them consider, that a short slander will oft times reach farde then a long apology: and that he who will do juftly to all men, muft begin from knowing how, if it so happen, to be not unjust to himselfe. I muft be thought, if this libeller (for now he shewes himselfe to be fo) can finde believe, after an inordinat and riotous youth spent at the University, to have bin at
length vomited out thence. For which commodious 
lye, that he may be encourag'd in the trade another 
time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt oc-
casion to acknowledge publickly with all gratefull 
minde, that more then ordinary favour and respect 
which I found above any of my equals at the hands 
of those curteous and learned men, the Fellowes of 
that Colledge wherein I spent some yeares: who at 
my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the 
manner is, signifi'd many wayes, how much better 
it would content them that I would stay; as by many 
Letters full of kindnesse and loving respect both be-
fore that time, and long after I was affirm'd of their 
singular good affecion towards me. Which being 
likewise propenfe to all such as were for their stu-
dious and civill life worthy of esteeme, I could not 
wrong their judgements, and upright intentions, fo 
much as to think I had that regard from them for 
other cause then that I might be still encourag'd to 
proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which 
they apprehended I had given good proofe. And 
to those ingenuous and friendly men who were ever 
the countnancers of vertuous and hopefull wits, I 
with the best, and happieft things, that friends in 
absence wish one to another. As for the common 
approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that 
I should esteeme or disesteeme my selfe or any other 
the more for that, too simple and too credulous is 
the Confter, if he thinke to obtaine with me, or 
any right discernor. Of small practize were that 
Phyfitian who could not judge by what both she or 
hers fister, hath of long time vomited, that the worser 
ftuffe she strongly keeps in her stomack, but the bet-
ter she is ever kecking at, and is queafie. She vo-
mits now out of ficknesse, but ere it be well with 
her, she must vomit by strong physick. In the 
meane while that Suburb finke, as this rude Scavinger
calls it, and more then scurrilously taunts it with the plague, having a worse plague, in his middle entraile, that suburb wherein I dwell, shall be in my account a more honourable place then his University. Which as in the time of her better health, and mine owne younger judgement I never greatly admir'd, so now much lesse. But he followes me to the City, still usurping and forging beyond his book notice, which only he affirmes to have had: and where my morning haunts are he wiffes not. Tis wonder, that being so rare an Alchymift of flander, he could not extract that, as well as the University vomit, and the Suburb sinke which his art could distill so cunningly, but because his Limbeck failes him, to give him and envie the more vexation, Ile tell him. Thofe morning haunts are where they should be, at home, not sleeping, or concocting the surfets of an irregular feast, but up, and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in Summer as oft with the Bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to reade good Authors, or cause them to bee read, till the attention bee weary, or memory have its full fraught. Then with usefull and generous labours preserving the bodies health, and hardinesse; to render lightsome, cleare, and not lumpish obedience to the minde, to the cause of religion, and our Countries liberty, when it shall require firme hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather then to see the ruine of our Testation, and the inforcement of a slavifh life. These are the morning practises; proceed now to the afternoone; in Playhouses, he sayes, and the Bordelloes. Your intelligence, unfaithfull Spie of Canaan? he gives in his evidence, that there he hath tract me. Take him at his word Readers, but let him bring good sureties, ere ye dismisse him, that while he pretended to dogge others, he did not turne in for his
owne pleasure; for so much in effect he concludes against himselfe, not contented to be caught in every other gin, but he must be such a novice, as to be still hamper'd in his owne hempe. In the Animadversions, faith he, I finde the mention of old clokes, false beards, night-walkers, and salt lotion; therefore the Animadverter haunts Playhouses and Bordelloes; for if hee did not, how could hee speake of such gear? Now that he may know what it is to be a childe, and yet to meddle with edg'd tooles, I turne his Antistrephon upon his owne head; the Confuter knowes that these things are the furniture of Playhouses and Bordelloes, therefore by the same reason the Confuter himselfe hath beene tract in those places. Was it such a dissolute speech telling of some Politicians who were wont to eavesdroppe in disguises, to say they were often lyable to a night-walking cudgeller, or the emptying of a Urinall? What if I had writ as your friend the author of the aforesaid Mime, Mundus alter et idem, to have bin ravisht like some young Cephalus or Hylas, by a troope of camping Hufwives in Viraginia, and that he was there forc't to sweare himselfe an uxorious varlet, then after a long servitude to have come into Aphrodisia that pleasan Countr-
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ing, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies, with their Groomes and Madamoisellae. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools, they made sport, and I laughed, they mispronounc't and I mislik't, and to make up the *atticism*, they were out, and I hid. Judge now whether so many good text men were not sufficient to instruct me of false beards and vizards without more expostitors; and how can this Confluter take the face to object to me the seeing of that which his reverent Prelats allow, and incite their young disciples to act. For if it be unlawfull to fit and behold a mercenary Comedian personating that which is least unseemly for a hireling to doe, how much more blamefull is it to indure the light of as vile things acted by persons either enter'd, or presently to enter into the miniftery, and how much more foule and ignominious for them to be the actors.

But because as well by this upraising to me the Bordello's, as by other suspicous glancings in his book he would seem privily to point me out to his Readers, as one whose custome of life were not honnest, but licentious; I shall intreat to be born with though I digresse; and in a way not often trod acquaint ye with the summe of my thoughts in this matter through the course of my yeares and studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the nose of the envious, as it were in skirmish to change the compact order, and instead of outward actions to bring inmost thoughts into front. And I must tell ye Readers, that by this sort of men I have bin already bitten at; yet shall they not for me know how slantly they are esteem'd, unlesse they have so much learning as to reade what in Greek Απειροκαλία is, which together with envie is the common diseafe of those who censure books that
are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whose outward garment hath bin injur'd and ill bedighted; for having no other shift, what helpe but to turn the inside outwards, especially if the lining be of the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better. So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I must make tryall, if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can. Wherein of two purposes both honest, and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not misse; although I faile to gaine believe with others of being such as my perpetuall thoughts shall heere disclose me, I may yet not faile of succeffe in persuading some, to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more then what I fain. I had my time Readers, as others have, who have good learning bestowed uppon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was it might be soonest attain'd: and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave Orators and Historians; whose matter me thought I lov'd indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them; others were the smooth Elegiack Poets, whereof the Schooles are not scarce. Whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easie; and most agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome. For that it was then those years with me which are excus'd though they be least severe, I may be say'd the labour to remember ye. Whence having observ'd them to account it the chiefe glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteeme themselves worthiest to love those high perfections which under one or other name they took to celebrate, I
thought with my selfe by every instinct and presage of nature which is not wont to be false, that what imboldn'd them to this task might with such diligence as they us'd imbolden me, and that what judgment, wit, or elegance was my share, would herein best appeare, and best value it selfe, by how much more wisely, and with more love of vertue I should choose (let rude eares be absent) the object of not unlike praises. For albeit these thoughts to some will seeme vertuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious. Nor blame it Readers, in those yeares to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferr'd. Whereof not to be sensible, when good and faire in one person meet, argues both a grosse and shallow judgement, and withall an ungentle, and swainish brefit. For by the firme settling of these perswasions I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves; or unchaste of those names which before they had extoll'd, this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplor'd; and above them all preferr'd the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought him selfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a composition, and patterne of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroick men, or famous Cities, unleffe he have in himselfe the experience and the practice of all that which is praise
worthy. These reasonings, together with a certaine niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness, and self-esteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envie call pride) and lastly that modesty, whereof though not in the Title page yet here I may be excus'd to make some besemiing profession, all these uniting the supply of their naturall aide togethether, kept me still above those low descents of minde, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to falable and unlawfull prostitutions. Next, (for heare me out now Readers) that I may tell ye whether my younger feet wander'd; I betook me among those lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in solemne canto's the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings; and from hence had in renowne over all Christendome. There I read it in the oath of every Knight, that he should defend to the expence of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befell him, the honour and chastity of Virgin or Matron. From whence even then I learnt what a noble vertue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies by such a deare adventure of themselves had sworne. And if I found in the story afterward any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judg'd it the same fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to Homer; to have written undecent things of the gods. Only this my minde gave me that every free and gentle spirit without that oath ought to be borne a Knight, nor needed to expect the guilt spurre, or the laying of a sword upon his shouder to stirre him up both by his counsell, and his arme to secure and protec the weaknesse of any attempted chastity. So that even those books which to many others have bin the fuell of wantonnesse and loose living, I cannot thinke how unless by divine indulgence prov'd to me so many incitements as you have heard, to the
love and stedfaft observation of that vertue which abhorres the society of Bordello's. Thus from the Laureat fraternity of Poets, riper yeares, and the ceaselesse round of study and reading led me to the shady spaces of philosophy, but chiefly to the divine volumes of *Plato*, and his equall *Xenophon*. Where if I should tell ye what I learnt, of chastity and love, I meane that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only vertue which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy. The rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion which a certaine Sorcerer the abuser of loves name carries about; and how the first and chiefest office of love, begins and ends in the soule, producing those happy twins of her divine generation knowledge and vertue, with such abstracft sublimities as these, it might be worth your listening, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time, when there shall be no chiding; not in these noises, the adversary as ye know, barking at the doore; or searching for me at the Burdello's where it may be he has loft himfelfe, and raps up without pitty the sage and rheumatick old Prelateffe with all her young *Corinthian Laity* to inquire for such a one. Last of all not in time, but as perfection is laft, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity not to be negligently train'd in the precepts of Christian Religion: This that I have hitherto related, hath bin to shew, that though Christianity had bin but slightly taught me, yet a certain reserv'dnesse of natural disposition, and morall discipline learnt out of the nobleft Philosophy was anough to keep me in disdain of farre leff incontinences then this of the Burdello. But having had the doctrine of holy Scripture unfolding those chaste and high mysteries with timelieft care infus'd, that the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body, thus also I argu'd to my selfe; that if unchaftity in a woman whom Saint
Paul termes the glory of man, be such a scandall and dishonour, then certainly in a man who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflouring and dishonourable. In that he sins both against his owne body which is the perfeter sex, and his own glory which is in the woman, and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God which is in himselfe. Nor did I slumber over that place expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lambe, with those celestiall songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defil'd with women, which doubtlesse means fornication: For mariage must not be call'd a defilement. Thus large I have purposely bin, that if I have bin justly taxt with this crime, it may come upon me after all this my confession, with a tenne-fold shame. But if I have hitherto deserv'd no such opprobrious word, or suspicion, I may hereby ingage my selfe now openly to the faithfull observation of what I have profest. I go on to shew you the unbridl'd impudence of this loose rayler, who having once begun his race regards not how farre he flyes out beyond all truth and shame; who from the single notice of the animadversions, as he protests, will undertake to tell ye the very cloaths I weare, though he be much mistaken in my wardrobe. And like a son of Belial without the hire of Isabel charges me of blaspheming God and the King, as ordinarily as he imagines me to drink Sack and sweare, meerely because this was a shred in his common place-book, and seem'd to come off roundly, as if he were some Empirick of false accusations to try his poysons upon me whether they would work or no. Whom what shoulde I endeavour to refute more, whenas that book which is his only testimony returnes the lye upon him; not giving him the leaft hint of the author to be either a swearer, or a Sack
drinker. And for the readers if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleg’d, to be of life and purpose neither dishonest, nor unchafted, they will be easily induc’t to thinke me sober both of wine, and of word; but if I have bin already successelie in perfwading them, all that I can furder fay will be but vaine; and it will be better thrift to fave two tedious labours, mine of excufing, and theirs of needleffe hearing.

Proceeding furder I am met with a whole ging of words and phrases not mine, for he hath maim’d them, and like a flye depraver mangl’d them in this his wicked Limbo, worfe then the ghost of Deiphobus appear’d to his friend Æneas. Here I scarce know them, and he that would, let him repaire to the place in that booke where I fet them. For certainly this tormenter of semicolons is as good at difmembring and flitting sentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates have bin at stigmatizing and flitting noses. By fuch handy craft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour which being his own muft needs offend his sense of smelling, since he will needs bestow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he weares a Sock, I shall endeavour it may be offencelesse to other mens eares. The Re- monfrant having to do with grave and reverend men his adverfaries, thought it became him to tell them in scorne, that the Bishops foot had beene in their book and confuted it, which when I saw him arrogate, to have done that with his heeles that surpaft the best consideration of his head, to spurn a confutation among respected men, I question’d not the lawfulnesse of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odor a Sock would have in such a painfull businesse. And this may have chanc’t to touch him more neerly then I was aware; for indeed a Bishops foot that hath all his toes maugre the gout, and a lin-
nen Sock over it, is the aptest embleme of the Prelate himselfe. Who being a pluralist, may under one Surplice which is also linnen, hide foure benefices besides the metropolitan toe, and sends a fouler stench to heaven, then that which this young queasinesse reches at. And this is the immediate reason here why our inrag'd Confuter, that he may be as perfet an hypocrite as Caiaphas, ere he be a High Priest, cries out, horrid blasphemy! and like a recreant Jew calls for stones. I beseech ye friends, ere the brick-bats flye, resolve me and your selves, is it blasphemy, or any whit disagreeing from Christian meeknesse, when as Christ himselfe speaking of unfavory traditions, scruples not to name the Dunghill and the Jakes, for me to answer a slovenly wincer of a confutation, that, if he would needs put his foot to such a sweaty service, the odour of his Sock was like to be neither musk, nor benjamin? Thus did that foolish Monk in a barbarous Declamation accuse Petrarck of blasphemy for dispraising the French wines. But this which followes is plaine bedlam stuffe, this is the Demoniack legion indeed, which the Remonstrant feard had been against him, and now he may see is for him. You that love Christ, faith he, and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity. What thinks the Remonstrant? does he like that such words as these should come out of his shop, out of his Trojan horse? to give the watch word like a Guisian of Paris to a mutiny or massacre; to proclame a Crusada against his fellow Christian now in this troublous and divided time of the Kingdom? if he do, I shall say that to be the Remonstrant is no better then to be a Jesuit. And that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in Ireland to the Protestants, they would do in England the same to them that would no Prelats. For a more seditious and Butch-
erly Speech no Cell of Loyola could have belch't against one who in all his writing spake not, that any man's fkin should be rais'd. And yet this cursing Shimei a hurler of stones, as well as a rayler, wants not the face instantly to make as though he despair'd of vict'ry unlesse a modest defence would get it him. Did I erre at all, Readers, to foretell ye, when first I met with this title, that the epithet of modest there, was a certaine red portending signe, that he meant ere long to be most tempestuously bold, and shameleffe? NeverthelefTe he dares not say but there may be hid in his nature as much venomous Atheifme and profanation, as he thinks, hath broke out at his adversaries lips, but he hath not the soare running upon him, as he would intimate I have. Now trust me not, Readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing this Seagull, so open he lies to strokes; and never offers at another, but brings home the dorre upon himselfe. For if the sore be running upon me, in all judgement I have scapt the diseafe, but he who hath as much infection hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confest, and cannot expell it, because hee is dull, for venomous Atheifme were no treasure to be kept within him else, let him take the part hee hath chosen, which muft needs follow, to swell and burst with his owne inward venome.

Sec&. i. ] But marke, Readers, there is a kind of justice observ'd among them that do evill, but this man loves injustice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abus'd the good name of his adversary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonstrant, if they be not both one person, or as I am told, Father and Son, yet after all this he calls for satisfaction, when as he himselfe hath already taken the utmost farding. Violence hath been done, sayes he, to the person of a holy, and religious Prelat. To which, something in effect to what S. Paul an-
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Answ'r'd of Ananias, I answer, I will not brethren that he was a holy and religious Prelat; for evill is written of those who would be Prelats. And finding him thus in disguise without his superscription or PhylACTERY either of holy or Prelat, it were no sinne to serve him as Longchamp Bishop of Elie was serv'd in his disguise at Dover: He hath begun the measure namelesse, and when he pleases we may all appeare as we are. And let him be then what he will, he shall be to me so as I finde him princip'd. For neither must Prelat or Arch-Prelat hope to exempt himselfe from being reckon'd as one of the vulgar; which is for him only to hope whom true wisdome and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Psalmes that he who is in honour and understandeth not is as the beasts that perish. And now first the manner of handling that cause which I undertook, he thinks is suspicious, as if the wisest, and the best words were not ever to some or other suspicious. But where is the offence, the disagreement from Christian meeknesse, or the precept of Solomon in answering folly? when the Remonstrant talks of froth and scum, I tell him there is none, and bid him spare his Ladle: when he brings in the mess' with Keale, Beef, and Browesse, what stomack in England could forbear to call for flanks and briskets? Capon and whitebroth having beene likely sometimes in the same roome with Christ and his Apostles, why does it trouble him that it should be now in the same leafe, especially, where the discourse is not continu'd but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to say grace, doth he not then name holiest names over the steame of costliest superfluities? Does he judge it foolish or dishonest to write that among religious things, which when he talks of religious things he can devoutly chew? is he afraid to name Christ where those things are
written in the same leafe whom he fears not to name
while the fame things are in his mouth? Doth not
Chrisl himfelfe teach the highest things by the simi-
litude of old bottles and patch cloaths? Doth he not
illustrate beft things by things moft evill? his own
comming to be as a theife in the night, and the right-
eous mans wisdome to that of an unjust Steward?
He might therefore have done better to have kept
in his cantiug beggars and beathen Altar to sacrifice
his thredbare criticifme of Bomocho? to an unsea-
sonable Goddeffe fit for him call’d Importunity, and
have reserv’d his Greek derivation till he lecture to his
fresh men, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.

But to the end that nothing may be omitted which
may furder satisfie any conscientable man, who not-
withstanding what I could explaine before the ani-
madversions, remains yet unsatisfi’d concerning that
way of writing which I there defended, but this
confuter whom it pinches, utterly disapproves, I
shall aflay once againe, and perhaps with more suc-
celfe. If therefore the question were in oratory,
whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation,
or scorn upon an object that merits it, were among
the apteft Ideas of speech to be allow’d, it were my
work, and that an easie one to make it cleare both
by the rules of beft rhetoricians, and the famouflef
examples of the Greek and Roman Orations. But
since the Religion of it is disputed, and not the art,
I shall make use only of fuch reasons and authori-
ties, as religion cannot except againft. It will be harder
to gainsay, then for me to evince that in the teach-
ing of men diverfly temper’d different wayes are to
be try’d. The Baptift we know was a strict man
remarkable for aufferity and fet order of life. Our
Saviour who had all gifts in him was Lord to ex-
preffe his indoctrinating power in what fort him beft
seem’d; sometimes by a milde and familiar converse,
sometimes with plaine and impartiall home-speaking regardlesse of those whom the auditors might think he should have had in more respect; otherwhiles with bitter and irefull rebukes if not teaching yet leaving excuselesse those his wilfull impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his Church; some to be severe and ever of a sad gravity that they may win such, and check sometimes those who be of nature over-confident and jocond; others were sent more cheerefull, free, and still as it were at large, in the midst of an untrespassing honesty; that they who are so temper’d may have by whom they might be drawne to salvation, and they who are too scrupulous, and dejected of spirit might be often strengthn’d with wise confolations and revivings: no man being forc’t wholly to dissolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the sanguine to empty out all his sociable liveliness, the cholerick to expell quite the unfinning predominance of his anger; but that each radicall humour and passion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every mans peculiar guilts, and vertues. Some also were indu’d with a staid moderation, and soundness of argument to teach and convince the rationall and sober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching, for in times of opposition when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reform’d this coole unpassionate mildnesse of positive wisdome is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resitance of carnall, and false Doctors, then (that I may have leave to soare a while as the Poets use) then Zeale whose substance is ethereal, arming in compleat diamond ascends his fiery Chariot drawn with two blazing Meteors figur’d like beasts, but of a higher breed then any the Zodiacke yeilds, resem-
bling two of those four which Ezechiel and S. John saw, the one visag’d like a Lion to express power, high authority and indignation, the other of countenance like a man to cast derision and scorne upon perverse and fraudulent seducers; with these the invincible warriour Zeale shaking loosely the slack reins drives over the heads of Scarlet Prelats, and such as are insolent to maintaine traditions, bruising their stiffe necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true Prophets of old combat with the false; thus Christ himselfe the fountaine of meeknesse found acrimony anough to be still galling and vexing the Prelaticall Pharisees. But ye will say these had immediat warrant from God to be thus bitter, and I say, so much the plainer is it prov’d, that there may be a sanctifi’d bitterness against the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think inspiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other vertue, of morall and generall observation, the example of Luther may stand for all: whom God made choice of before others to be of highest eminence and power in reforming the Church; who not of revelation, but of judgement writ so vehemently against the chiefe defenders of old untruths in the Romish Church, that his own friends and favourers were many times offended with the fiercenesse of his spirit; yet he being cited before Charles the fifth to answer for his books, and having divided them into three sorts, whereof one was of those which he had sharply written, refus’d though upon deliberation giv’n him to retract or unsay any word therein; as we may reade in Sleiden. Yea he defends his eagerness, as being of an ardent spirit, and one who could not write a dull file; and affirm’d hee thought it Gods will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, seeing that matters quietly handled, were quickly forgot. And herewithall how usefull and available God had made
this tart rhetorick in the Churches cause, he often found by his owne experience. For when he be-
took himselfe to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reapt nothing but contempt both from Cajetan and Erasminus, from Cocleus, from Ecchius and others, insomuch that blaming his friends who had so coun-
sel'd him, he resolv'd never to runne into the like error; if at other times he seeme to excuse his ve-
hemence, as more then what was meet, I have not examin'd through his works to know how farre he gave way to his owne fervent minde; it shall suffice me to looke to mine own. And this I shall easily averre though it may seeme a hard saying, that the Spirit of God who is purity it selfe, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civill at other times to be spok'n. Omitting that place in Numbers at the killing of Zimri and Co/i done by Phineas in the heighth of zeal, related as the Rabbines expound, not without an obscene word, we may finde in Deuteronomy and three of the Prophets, where God denouncing bit-
terly the punishments of Idolaters, tels them in a terme immodest to be utter'd in coole blood, that their wives shall be desil'd openly. But these, they will say were honest words in that age when they were spok'n. Which is more then any Rabbin can prove, and certainly had God been so minded, he could have pickt such words, as should never have come into abuse. What will they say to this. David going against Nabal, in the very same breath when he had but just before nam'd the name of God, he vowes not to leave any alive of Nabals house that pisseth against the wall. But this was unadvisedly spoke, you will answer, and set downe to aggravate his infirmity. Turne then to the first of Kings where God himselfe uses the phrase; I will cut off from
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Ierobam him that piffeth against the wall. Which had it beene an unseemely speech in the heat of an earnest expression, then we must conclude that Iona-than, or Onkelos the Targumifts were of cleaner language then he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, I will cut off all who are at yeares of discretion, that is to say fo much discretion as to hide nakednesse. Whereas God who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plaine word might have easily bin forborne. Which the Maforeths and Rabbinicall Scholiasts not well attending, have often us'd to blurre the margent with Keri, instead of Ketiv, and gave us this insuls rule out of their Talmud, That all words which in the Law are writ obscenely, must be chang'd to more civill words. Fools who would teach men to read more decently then God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation against men and their actions notoriously bad, hath leave and authority oft times to utter such words and phrares as in common talke were not so mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the Historian speaks, that all those things for which men plough, build, or faile, obey vertue, but that all words and whatsoever may be spoken shall at some time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purposes.

Now that the confutant may also know as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in laughter, I shall returne him in short, that laughter being one way of answering A Fooke according to his folly, teaches two forts of persons, firft the Fooke himfelfe not to be wise in his own conceit; as Salomon affirms, which is certainly a great document, to make an unwise man know himfelfe. Next, it teaches the hearers, in as much as scorne is one of
those punishments which belong to men carnally wise, which is oft in Scripture declar’d; for when such are punish’d the simple are thereby made wise, if Salomons rule be true. And I would ask, to what end Eliah mockt the false Prophets? was it to shew his wit, or to fulfill his humour? doubtlesse we cannot imagine that great servant of God had any other end in all which he there did, but to teach and instruct the poore misledde people. And we may frequently reade, that many of the Martyrs in the midst of their troubles, were not sparing to deride and scoffe their superstitious persecutors. Now may the confutant advise againe with Sir Francis Bacon whether Eliah and the Martyrs did well to turne religion into a Comedy, or Satir; to rip up the wounds of Idolatry and Superstition with a laughing countenance. So that for pious gravity his author here is matcht and overmatcht, and for wit and morality in one that followes.

— laughing to teach the truth
What hinderst? as some teachers give to Boyes
Junkets and knacks, that they may learne apace.
Thus Flaccus in his first Satir, and in his tenth
— jesting decides great things
Stronglier, and better oft then earnest can.

I could urge the same out of Cicero, and Seneca, but he may content him with this. And hence forward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds, and objects of laughter and vehement reprooae, as he hath knowne hitherto how to deserve them both. But left some may haply think, or thus expostulat with me after all this debatement, who made you the busie Almoner to deale about this dole of laughter and reprehension which no man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that man I should answer much after this fort: That
I, friend objecter, having read of heathen Philosophers, some to have taught, that whosoever would but use his ear to listen, might hear the voice of his guiding Genius ever before him, calling and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the Stoicks, to account reason, which they call the Hegemonicon, to be the common Mercury conducing without error those that give themselves obediently to be led accordingly, having read this, I could not esteem so poorly of the faith which I profess, that God had left nothing to those who had forsaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witness, and warrant of what they have to do, as that they should need to measure themselves by other men's measures how to give scope, or limit to their proper actions; for that were to make us the most at a stand, the most uncertain and accidental wanderers in our doings, of all religions in the world. So that the question ere while mov'd who he is that spends thus the benevolence of laughter and reprofe so liberally upon such men as the Prelats, may returne with a more just demand, who he is not of place and knowledge never so mean, under whose contempt and jerk these men are not deservedly falne? neither can religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the Prelats, since religion and they surely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes must heale her. I might also tell them, what Eleftra in Sophocles, a wife Virgin answer'd her wicked Mother who thought her selfe too violently reprov'd by her the daughter.

*Tis you that say it, not I, you do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds finde me the words.*

If therefore the Remonstrant complains of libels, it is because he feels them to be right aim'd. For
I ask againe as before in the animadversions, how long is it since he hath dif-relish libels? we never heard the least mutter of his voice against them while they flew abroad without control or check defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but Lyfimachus Nicanor, and that he mislikt and censur'd. No more but of one can the Remonftrant remember? What if I put him in minde of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonftrant in many likelyhoods may be thought the author? Did he never see a Pamphlet intitl'd after his own fashion, A survey of that foolish, seditious, scandalous, profane libell the Protejlation protejied? The child doth not more expressly refigure the visage of his Father, then that book resembles the title of the Remonftrant, in those idioms of speech, wherein he seemes most to delight: and in the seventeenth Page three lines together taken out of the Remonftrance word for word, not as a citation, but as an author borrowes from himselfe. Who ever it be, he may as justly be said to have libell'd, as he against whom he writes: there ye shall finde another man then here is made shew of, there he bites as faft as this whines. Vinegar in the inke is there the antidote of Vipers. Laughing in a religious controverfie is there a thrifty physick to expell his melancholy. In the meane time the testimony of Sir Francis Bacon was not misalledg'd, complaining that libels on the Bishops part were utter'd openly; and if he hop't the Prelats had no intelligence with the libellours, he delivers it but as his favourable opinion. But had he contradicted himselfe, how could I affoil him here, more then a little before, where I know not how by entangling himselfe, he leaves an aspersion upon Job, which by any else I never heard laid to his charge. For having affirm'd that there is no greater confusion then the confounding of jest and earnest, pre-
ently he brings the example of Job glancing at conceits of mirth, when he fate among the people with the gravity of a judge upon him. If jest and earnest be such a confusion, then were the people much wiser then Job, for he smil'd, and they believ'd him not. To defend Libels, which is that whereof I am next accus'd, was farre from my purpose. I had not so little share in good name, as to give another that advantage against my selfe. The summe of what I said, was that a more free permission of writing at some times might be profitable, in such a question especially wherein the Magistrates are not fully resolv'd; and both sides have equall liberty to write, as now they have. Not as when the Prelats bore fway, in whose time the bookes of some men were confuted when they who should have answer'd were in close prison, deny'd the use of pen or paper. And the Divine right of Episcopacy was then valiantly assertet, when he who would have bin respondent, must have bethought himselfe withall how he could refute the Clink, or the Gate-house. If now therefore they be persu'd with bad words, who per fecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to lessen tumult rather then to encrease it; when as anger thus freely vented spends it selfe, ere it break out into action, though Machiavell whom he cites, or any Machiavillian Priest think the contrary.

Sett. 3.] Now Readers I bring ye to his third Section; wherein very cautiously, and no more then needs, left I should take him for some Chaplaine at hand, some Squire of the body to his Prelat, one that serves not at the Altar only, but at the Court cup board, he will bestow on us a pretty modell of himselfe; and fobs me out halfe a dozen tizicall mottoes where ever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion fits; in which labour the agony of his wit, having scapt narrowly, instead of well
fiz'd periods, he greets us with a quantity of thum-
ring posies. *He has a fortune therefore good, because
he is content with it.* This is a piece of fapience not
worth the brain of a fruit-trencher; as if content
were the measure of what is good or bad in the guift
of fortune. For by this rule a bad man may have a
good fortune, because he may be oft times content
with it for many reasons which have no affinity with
vertue, as love of eafe, want of spirit to ufe more,
and the like. *And therefore content, he sayes, be-
cause it neither goes before, nor comes behinde his merit.*
Belike then if his fortune should go before his merit,
he would not be content, but resigne, if we believe
him, which I do the lesfe, because he implies that
if it came behinde his merit, he would be content
as little. Wheras if a wise mans content should de-
pend upon such a *Therefore*, because his fortune
came not behinde his merit, how many wise men
could have content in this world? In his next pithy
symbol I dare not board him, for he passes all the
seven wise Masters of Greece, attributing to himfelfe
that which on my life Salomon durft not; *to have
affections so equally temper'd that they neither too ha-
tily adhere to the truth, before it be fully examin'd, nor
too lazily afterward.* Which unlesfe he only were
exempted out of the corrupt maffe of Adam, borne
without finne originall, and living without actuall,
is impossible. Had *Salomon* (for it behoves me to
instance in the wisest, dealing with such a transcen-
dent Sage as this) had *Salomon* affections so equally
temper'd, as not adhering too lazily to the truth, when
God warn'd him of his halting in idolatry? do we
reade that he repented hastily? did not his affections
lead him hastily from an examin'd truth, how much
more would they lead him flowly to it? Yet this
man beyond a *Stoick apathy* fees truth as in a rap-
ture, and cleaves to it. Not as through the dim
glasse of his affections which in this frail mansion of flesh are ever unequally temper'd, pushing forward to error, and keeping back from truth oft times the best of men. But how farre this boaster is from knowing himselfe, let his Preface speake. Something I thought it was that made him so quick-foughted to gather such strange things out of the Animadversions, whereof the least conception could not be drawne from thence, of Suburb jinks, sometimes out of wit and cloaths, sometimes in new Serge, drinking Sack, and swearing, now I know it was this equall temper of his affections that gave him to see clearer then any fenell rub'd Serpent. Lastly, he has resolv'd that neither person nor cause shall improper him. I may mistake his meaning, for the word ye heare is improper. But whether if not a person, yet a good Personage, or Improprition bought out for him would not improper him, because there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a Canonift to resolve.

Sect. 4.] And thus ends this Section, or rather dissection of himselfe, short ye will say both in breath, and extent, as in our own praises it ought to be, unlesse wherein a good name hath bin wrongfully attainted. Right, but if ye looke at what he ascribes to himselfe, that temper of his affections which cannot any where be but in Paradise, all the judicious Panegyricks in any language extant are not halfe so prolix. And that well appears in his next removall. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this description of himselfe, and what with adventuring presently to stand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margent, which is the fluce most commonly, that feeds the drouth of his text, he comes so lazily on in a Similie, with his arme full of weeds, and demeanes himselfe in the dull expression so like a dough kneaded thing, that he has not spirit
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enough left him so farre to look to his Syntaxis, as to avoid nonsense. For it must be understood there
that the stranger, and not he who brings the bundle
would be deceav'd in cenfuring the field, which this
hip-shot Grammarian cannot set into right frame of
construction, neither here in the similitude, nor in
the following reddition thereof, which being to this
purpose, that the faults of the best pickt out, and pre-
sented in gross, seem monstrous, this faith he, you have
done, in pinning on his sleeve the faults of others; as if
to pick out his owne faults, and to pin the faults of
others upon him, were to do the same thing. To
answer therefore how I have cull'd out the evill
actions of the Remonftrant from his vertues, I am
acquitted by the dexterity and conveiance of his non-
sense, loosing that for which he brought his parable.
But what of other mens faults I have pinn'd upon
his sleeve, let him shew. For whether he were the
man who term'd the Martyrs Foxian confessors, it
matters not; he that shall step up before others to
defend a Church-government, which wants almost
no circumstance, but only a name to be a plaine
Popedome, a government which changes the fatherly
and everteaching discipline of Chrift into that Lordly
and uninstructing jurifdiction which properly makes
the Pope Antichrift, makes himselfe an accesssory to
all the evill committed by those, who are arm'd to
do mischief by that undue government; which they
by their wicked deeds, do with a kinde of passive and
unwitting obedience to God, destroy. But he by
plausible words and traditions against the Scripture
obstinately seeks to maintaine. They by their owne
wickednesse ruining their owne, unjust autority make
roome for good to succeed. But he by a shew of
good upholding the evill which in them undoes it
selfe, hinders the good which they by accident let
in. Their manifest crimes serve to bring forth an
ensuing good and haften a remedy against themselves, and his seeming good tends to reinforce their selfe-punishing crimes and his owne, by doing his best to delay all redresse. Shall not all the mischiefe which other men do, be layd to his charge, if they doe it by that unchurchlike power which he defends? Christ faith, he that is not with me is against me, and he that gathers not with me scatters. In what degree of enmity to Christ shall wee place that man then, who so is with him, as that it makes more against him, and so gathers with him, that it scatters more from him? Shall it availe that man to say he honours the Martyrs memory and treads in their steps? No; the Pharisees confesst as much of the holy Prophets. Let him and such as he when they are in their best actions even at their prayers looke to heare that which the Pharisees heard from John the Baptist when they least expected, when they rather lookt for praise from him. Generation of Vipers who hath warn'd ye to flee from the wrath to come? Now that ye have started back from the purity of Scripture which is the only rule of reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions, now that ye have either troubl'd or leven'd the people of God, and the doctrine of the Gospell with scandalous ceremonies and maffe-borrow'd Liturgies, doe ye turne the use of that truth which ye professe, to countenance that falshood which ye gaine by? We also reverence the Martyrs but relye only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to relye upon the Martyrs I shall be content with such reasons as my confuter himselfe affords me; who is I must needs say for him in that point as officious an adversary as I would wish to any man. For first, faith he there may be a Martyr in a wrong cause, and as courageous in suffering as the best: sometimes in a good cause with a forward ambition displeasing to God.
Otherwhiles they that story of them out of blind zeale, or malice may write many things of them untruly. If this be so, as ye heare his own confession, with what safety can the Remonftrant rely upon the Martyrs as Patrons of his cause, when as any of those who are alleg'd for the approvers of our Liturgy or Prelaty might have bin though not in a wrong cause Martyrs, yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not misreported, or misunderstood, in those their opinions God only knowes. The testimony of what we believe in religion must be such as the conscience may rest on to be infallible, and incorruptible, which is only the word of God.

Sect. 5.] His fifth Section finds it selfe agriev'd that the Remonftrant should be taxt with the illegall proceedings of the high Commission, and oath Ex officio; And first whether they were illegall or no, tis more then he knowes. See this malevolent Fox! that tyranny which the whole Kingdome cry'd out against as flung with Adders, and Scorpions, that tyranny which the Parlament in compassion of the Church and Commonwealth hath dissolv'd, and fetch't up by the roots, for which it hath receav'd the publick thanks and blessings of thousands this obscure thorn-eater of malice and detraction, as well as of Quodlibets and Sophisms knowes not whether it were illegall or not. Evill, evill, would be your reward ye worthies of the Parlament, if this Sophister and his accomplices had the censuring, or the founding forth of your labours. And that the Remonftrant cannot wash his hands of all the cruelties exercis'd by the Prelats, is past doubting. They scourg'd the confessors of the Gospell, and he held the scourgers garments. They executed their rage, and he, if he did nothing else, defended the government with the oath that did it, and the ceremonies which were the cause of it: does he think to be counted guiltlesse?
In the following Section I must foretell ye, Readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the bating of a Satir. And if the work seeme more triviall or boistrous then for this discourse, let the Remonstrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word passe, but he must make all this blaze of it. I had saied that because the Remonstrant was so much offended with those who were tart against the Prelats, sre he lov'd toothlesse Satirs, which I took were as improper as a toothed Sleekstone. This Champion from behind the Arras cries out that those toothlesse Satyrs were of the Remonstrants making; and armes himselfe here tooth and naile and horne to boot, to supply the want of teeth, or rather of gumms in the Satirs. And for an onset tells me that the simility of a Sleekstone shewes I can be as bold with a Prelat as familiar with a Laundresse. But does it not argue rather the lascivious promptnesse of his own fancy, who from the harmelesse mention of a Sleekstone could neigh out the remembrance of his old conversation among the Viraginian trollops? For me, if he move me, I shall claime his owne oath, the oath Ex officio against any Priest or Prelat in the kingdome to have ever as much hated such pranks as the best and chasteft of them all. That exception which I made against toothlesse Satirs the Confuter hopes I had from the Satirist, but is farre deceav'd: neither had I ever read the hobbling disstick which he means. For this good hap I had from a carefull education to be inur'd and seaon'd betimes with the best and eleganteft authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an eare that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, then patient to read every drawling versifier. Whence lighting upon this title of toothlesse Satirs, I will not conceale ye
what I thought, Readers, that sure this must be some fucking Satir, who might have done better to have us'd his corall, and made an end of breeding, ere he took upon him to weild a Satirs whip. But when I heard him talk of scouring the rusted swords of elvish Knights, doe not blame me, if I chang'd my thought, and concluded him some desperate Cutler. But why his scornefull muse could never abide with tragick shoos her ankles for to hide, the pace of the verse told me that her maukin knuckles were never shapen to that royall buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth Satyr of his Second book I was confirmed; where having begun loftily in heavens univerall Alphabet he falls downe to that wretched poorenesse and frigidity as to talke of Bridge street in heav'n, and the Osler of heav'n, and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, (for certaine he was in the frozen Zone miserably benumm'd) with thoughts lower then any Beadle betakes him to whip the signe postes of Cambridge Alehouses, the ordinary subject of freshmens tales, and in a straine as pittifull. Which for him who would be counted the first English Satyr, to abase himselle to, who might have learnt better among the Latin, and Italian Satyrists, and in our own tongue from the vision and Creed of Pierce plowman, besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak, and unexamin'd shoulders. For a Satyr as it was borne out of a Tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creepe into every blinde Taphouse that fears a Constable more then a Satyr. But that such a Poem should be toothlesse I still affirme it to be a bull, taking away the essence of that which it calls it selfe. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a Satyr, and if it bite either, how is it toothlesse, so that
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toothlesse Satyrs are as much as if he had said toothlesse teeth. What we should do therefore with this learned Comment upon teeth and horns which hath brought this confutant into his Pedantick kingdom of Cornucopia, to reward him for glossing upon horns even to the Hebrew root, I know not unless we should commend him to be Lecturer in East-cheap upon S. Lukes day, when they send their tribute to that famous hav'n by Detford. But we are not like to scape him so. For now the worme of Criticisme works in him, he will tell us the derivation of German ratters, of meat, and of ink, which doubtlesse rightly apply'd with some gall in it may prove good to heale this tetter of Pedagoguisme that bespreads him, with such a tenasimus of originating, that if he be an Arminian and deny originall sinne, all the etymologies of his book shall witnesse that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

Sect. 7.] His seventh section labours to cavill out the flawes which were found in the Remonstrants logick; who having layd downe for a generall proposition, that civill polity is variable and arbitrary, from whence was inferr'd logically upon him that he had concluded the polity of England to be arbitrary, for generall includes particular, here his defendant is not asham'd to confess that the Remonstrants proposition was sophisticall by a fallacy call'd ad plures interrogationes which sounds to me somewhat strange that a Remonstrant of that pretended sincerity should bring deceitfull and double dealing propositions to the Parlament. The truth is he had let slip a shrewd passage ere he was aware, not thinking the conclusion would turne upon him with such a terrible edge, and not knowing how to winde out of the briars, he or his subtitute seems more willing to lay the integrity of his Logick to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his owne Major where none is, then be forc't to up-
hold the inference. For that distinction of possible and lawfull is ridiculous to be sought for in that proposition; no man doubting that it is possible to change the forme of civill polity; and that it is held lawfull by that Major, the word arbitrary implyes. Nor will this helpe him, to deny that it is arbitrary at any time or by any undertakers (which are two limitations invented by him since) for when it stands as he will have it now by his second edition civill polity is variable but not at any time or by any undertakers, it will result upon him, belike then at some time, and by some undertakers it may. And so he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with something in Sir Francis Bacon, then he takes heart againe and holds his Major at large. But by and by as soon as the shadow of Sir Francis hath left him, he fals off again warping and warping till he come to contradict himselfe in diameter: and denies flatly that it is either variable or arbitrary, being once settl'd. Which third shift is no lesse a piece of laughter. For before the polity was settl'd how could it be variable when as it was no polity at all, but either an Anarchy or a Tyranny. That limitation therefore of after settling is a meere tautology. So that in fine his former assertion is now recanted and civill polity is neither variable nor arbitrary.

Sect. 8.] What ever else may perswade me that this confutation was not made without some assistance or advice of the Remonstrant, yet in this eighth Section that his hand was not greatly intermixt, I can easily believe. For it begins with this surmise, that not having to accuse the Remonstrant to the King, I do it to the Parlament, which conceit of the man cleanly thoves the King out of the Parlament, and makes two bodies of one. Whereas the Remonstrant in the Epistle to his last short answer, gives his supposal that they cannot be sever'd in the rights of their severall
concernments. Mark, Readers, if they cannot be fever'd in what is severall (which cafts a Buls eye to go yoke with the toothlesse Satyrs) how should they be sever'd in their common concernsments, the well-
fare of the land, by due accusation of such as are the common grievances, among which I took the Re-
monstrant to be one. And therefore if I accus'd him to the Parliament, it was the same as to accuse him to the King. Next he cafts it into the dish of I know not whom that they flatter some of the House and libell others whose consciences made them vote contrary to some proceedings. Those some proceedings can be under-
stood of nothing else but the Deputies execution. And can this private concocter of malecontent, at the very instant when he pretends to extoll the Parliament, afford thus to blurre over, rather then to men-
tion that publack triumph of their justice and con-
stancy so high, so glorious, so reviving to the fainted Common-wealth with such a suspicious and mur-
muring expreffion as to call it some proceedings? and yet immediately hee falls to glozing, as if hee were the only man that rejoyc't at these times. But I shall discover to ye Readers, that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and Scholastick foppery, as his meaning he himfelfe discovers to be full of clofe malignity. His firft Encomium is that the Sun looks not upon a braver nobler convocation then is that of King, Peers, and Commons. One thing I beg of ye Readers, as ye beare any zeale to learning, to elegance, and that which is call'd Decorum in the writ-
ing of praise, especially on such a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this clof-
ter'd Lubber according to his deserts. Where didst thou learne to be so agueish, so pusillanimous, thou lozel Bachelour of Art, as against all cuftome and use of speech to terme the high and sovran Court of Parlament, a Convocation? was this the flower of
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all thy Synonyma's and voluminous Papers whose best folios are predestin'd to no better end then to make winding sheetes in Lent for Pilchers? Could'ft thou presume thus with one words speaking to clap as it were under hatches the King with all his Peeres and Gentry into square Caps, and Monkish hoods? How well doft thou now appeare to be a Chip of the old block that could finde Bridge-street and Alehouses in heav'n; why didst thou not to be his perfect imitator, liken the King to the Vice-chancellour and the Lords to the Doctors. Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable residence of justice and liberty, by such an odious name as now a Convocation is become; which would be nothing injur'd, though it were still'd the house of bondage, whereout so many cruel tasks, so many unjust burdens, have been laden upon the bruised consciences of so many Christians throughout the land. But which of those worthy deeds, whereof we and our posterity must confesse this Parliament to have done so many and so noble, which of those memorable acts comes first into his praises? none of all, not one. What will he then praise them for? not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chastife his leud and insolent compriests. Not that they have deferr'd all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind. For the rest of his oratory that followes, so just is it in the language of all epistle non sense, that if he who made it can understand it, I deny not but that he may deserve for his pains a cast Doublet. When a man would looke he shou'd vent something of his owne, as ever in a set speech the manner is with him that knowes any thing, he, lest we shou'd not take notice anough of his barren stupidity, declares it by Alphabet, and referres us to odde remnants in his topicks. Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margent, but he must cut out large docks and
creeks into his text to unlace the foolish frigate of his unseasonable authorities, not wherewith to praise the Parlament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What else there is, he jumbles together in such a lost construction, as no man either letter’d, or unletter’d will be able to piece up. I shall spare to transcribe him, but if I do him wrong, let me be so dealt with.

Now although it be a digressiôn from the ensuing matter, yet because it shall not be said I am apter to blame others then to make triall my selfe, and that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smoother string, awhile to entertaine my self and him that lift, with some more pleasing fit, and not the left to testify the gratiûty which I owe to those publick benefactors of their country, for the share I enjoy in the common peace and good by their incessant labours, I shall be so troublesome to this declamer for once, as to shew him what he might have better said in their praise. Wherein I must mention only some few things of many, for more then that to a digressiôn may not be granted. Although certainly their actions are worthy not thus to be spoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befall me to attempt something more answerable to their great merits, I perceive how hopeless it will be to reach the height of their praises at the accomplishment of that expectation that weights upon their noble deeds, the unfinishing whereof already surpasses what others before them have left enacted with their utmost performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertaine opinion, nor sudden counsels, but from mature wisdome, deliberat vertue, and deere affection to the publick good, I shall begin at that which made them likeliest in the eyes of good men to effect those things for the recovery of decay’d re-
ligion and the Commonwealth, which they who were best minded had long wisht for, but few, as the times then were desperat, had the courage to hope for. First therefore the most of them being either of ancient and high Nobility, or at least of knowne and well reputed ancestry, which is a great advantage towards vertue one way, but in respect of welth, ease, and flattery, which accompanies a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way, the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthieſt of their progenitors, and the evill which assaulted their younger yeares by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usuall bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remiffe, through the strength of an inbred goodnesse, and with the helpe of divine grace, that had markt them out for no meane purposes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being train'd up in the knowledge of learning, and sent to those places, which were intended to be the seed plots of piety and the Liberall Arts, but were become the nurferies of superstition, and empty speculation, as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idlenesſe and superfluity, so were they happy in working off the harmes of their abused studies and labours; correcting by the clearnesſe of their owne judgement the errors of their mis-instruction, and were as David was, wiser then their teachers. And although their lot fell into such times, and to be bred in such places, where if they chanc't to be taught any thing good, or of their own accord had learn't it, they might see that presently untaught them by the custome and ill example of their elders, so farre in all probability was their youth from being misled by the sngle power of example, as their riper years were knowne to be unmov'd with the baits of preferment, and undaunted for any discouragement
and terror which appear'd often to those that lov'd religion, and their native liberty. Which two things God hath inseparably knit together, and hath disclos'd to us that they who seek to corrupt our religion are the same that would inthrall our civil liberty. Thus in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects (some also at last not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their country) having given proofe of themselves to be better made and fram'd by nature to the love and practice of vertue, then others under the holiest precepts and best examples have been headstrong and prone to vice, and having in all the trialls of a firme ingrafted honesty not oftner buckl'd in the conflict, then giv'n every opposition the foile, this moreover was added by favour from heav'n, as an ornament and happinesse to their vertue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclips'd for want of matter equal to illustrat it selfe; God and man consenting in joynt approbation to choose them out as worthiest above others to be both the great reformers of the Church, and the restorers of the Common-wealth. Nor did they deceave that expectation which with the eyes and desires of their countrey was fixt upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightnesse and efficacy, but encountering the dazl'd resist ance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and suttle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatal block. With one stroke winning againe our loft liberties and Charters, which our forefathers after so many battells could scarce maintaine. And meeting next, as I may so resemble, with the second life of tyranny (for she was growne an ambiguous monster, and to be slaine in two shapes) guarded with superstition which hath no small power to captivate the minds of men otherwise most wise, they neither
were taken with her miter’d hypocri$$e, nor terrifi’d with the puff of her beastiall hornes, but breaking them immediately forc’t her to unbend the pontifical brow, and recoile. Which repulse only, given to the Prelats (that we may imagine how happy their removall would be) was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the Church, that if I should compare them with those exploitsof highest fame in Poems and Panegyricks of old, I am certaine it would but diminish and impaire their worth, who are now my argument. For those ancient worthies deliver’d men from such tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the minde be as free as it could. But these have freed us from a doctrine of tyranny that offer’d violence and corruption even to the inward persuasion. They set at liberty Nations and Cities of men good and bad mixt together: but these opening the prisons and dungeons cal’d out of darkness and bonds, the elect Martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer. They restor’d the body to ease and wealth; but these the oppre$$t conscience to that freedome which is the chiefe prerogative of the Gospell; taking off those cruell burdens impos’d not by necessit$$, as other tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulness and wantonness of a needle$$ and jolly persecuter cal’d Indifference. Lastly, some of those ancient deliverers have had immortall praises for preserving their citizens from a famine of corne. But these by this only repulse of an unholy hierarchy almost in a moment replenisht with saving knowledge their countrey nigh famisht for want of that which should feed their souls. All this being done while two armies in the field stood gazing on, the one in reverence of such nobleness quietly gave back, and dislodg’d; the other spight of the unruliness, and doubted fidelity in some regi-
ments, was either perfwaded or compell’d to disband and retire home. With such a majesty had their wisdome begirt it selfe, that whereas others had le- vied warre to subdue a nation that fought for peace, they sitting here in peace could so many miles extend the force of their single words as to overawe the dif- solute stoutnesse of an armed power secretly stirr’d up and almost hir’d against them. And having by a solemn protestation vow’d themselves and the king- drome anew to God and his service, and by a prudent foresight above what their Fathers thought on, pre- vented the dissolution and frustrating of their designes by an untimely breaking up, notwithstanding all the treasonous plots against them, all the rumours either of rebellion, or invasion, they have not bin yet brought to change their constant resolution, ever to think fear- lessly of their owne safeties, and hopefully of the Com- mon-wealth. Which hath gain’d them such an ad- miration from all good men, that now they heare it as their ord’nary surname, to be saluted the Fathers of their countrey; and fit as gods among daily Pe- titions and publick thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth so little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that with all gentle affability and curteous acceptance they both receive and returne that tribute of thanks which is tender’d them; testifying their zeale and desire to spend themselves as it were piece- meale upon the grievances and wrongs of their dis- tressed Nation. Insomuch that the meanest artizans and labourers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants assemblng with their complaints, and that sometimes in a leffe humble guise then for petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meannesse would be rejected, nor their simplicty contemn’d, nor yet their urgency distafted either by the dignity, wisdome, or moder- ation of that supreme Senate; nor did they depart un-
fatisfí'd. And indeed, if we consider the generall concourse of suppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and speedy redresse in what is possible, it will not seeme much otherwise, then as if some divine commiſſion from heav'n were descended to take into hearing and commiferation the long remedleſſe afflictions of this kingdome; were it not that none more then themselves labour to remove and divert such thoughts, left men should place too much confidence in their persons, still referring us and our prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of publick fafts and suppli‌cations. Therefore the more they seeke to humble themselves, the more does God by manifeft signes and testimonies visibly honour their proceedings; and sets them as the mediators of this his cov'nant which he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily conspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing, rebellion rages in our Irifh Province, but with miraculous and losſeſſe victories of few against many is daily discomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early pledge of Gods inclining towards us, by the slacknesse of our needfull aids. And whereas at other times we count it ample honour when God voutsafes to make man the instrument and subordinate worker of his gracious will, such acceptation have their prayerers found with him, that to them he hath bin pleas'd to make himselfe the agent, and immediat performer of their desires; disſolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out wayes for them where no passage could be ſeen; as who is there so regardleſſe of Divine providence, that from late occurrences will not confesse. If therefore it be so high a grace when men are preferr'd to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himselfe condescends, and workes with his owne hands to fulfill the requeſts of men; which
I leave with them as the greatest praise that can belong to humane nature. Not that we should think they are at the end of their glorious progress, but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leading, who seems to have thus cov'nanted with them, that if the will and the endeavour shall be theirs, the performance and the perfeting shall be his. Whence only it is that I have not fear'd, though many wise men have miscarried in praising great desigines before the utmost event, because I see who is their assistant, who their confederat, who hath ingag'd his omnipotent arme, to support and crowne with success their faith, their fortitude, their just and magnanmous actions, till he have brought to passe all that expected good which his servants trust is in his thoughts to bring upon this land in the full and perfet reformation of his Church.

Thus farre I have digreff, Readers, from my former subject; but into such a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightfull than the rode way I was in. And how to break off suddenly into those jarring notes, which this Confuter hath set me, I must be wary, unlesse I can provide against offending the eare, as some Musicians are wont skilfully to fall out of one key into another without breach of harmony. By good luck therefore his ninth Section is spent in mournfull elegy, certaine passionat soliloquies, and two whole pages of interrogatories that praise the Remonstrant even to the sonetting of his fresh cheeks, quick eyes, round tongue, agil hand, and nimble invention.

In his tenth Section he will needs erect figures, and tell fortunes. *I am no Bishop,* he fayes, *I was never borne to it*; let me tell therefore this wizzard since he calculates so right, that he may know there be in the world, and I among those who nothing admire his Idol a Bishopoprick, and hold that it wants
so much to be a blessing, as that I rather deeme it the meereft, the falseft, the most unfortunate gift of fortune. And were the punishment and misery of being a Prelat Bishop terminated only in the person, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole Diocesse, if I would wish any thing in bitterness of soule to mine enemy, I would wish him the biggest and the fatted Bishoprick. But hee proceeds; and the familiar belike informs him, that a rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, would content me; whereby I perceave him to be more ignorant in his art of divining then any Gipsy. For this I cannot omit without ingratitude to that providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not bin unexpensive in learning, and voyaging about, so long as it shall please him to lend mee what he hath hitherto thought good, which is enough to serve me in all honest and liberall occasions, and something over besides. I were unthankfull to that highest bounty, if I should make my selfe so poore, as to sollicite needily any such kinde of rich hopes as this Fortuneteller dreams of. And that he may furder learne how his Astrology is wide all the houses of heav'n in spelling mariages, I care not if I tell him thus much profeftly, though it be to the losing of my rich hopes, as he calls them, that I think with them who both in prudence and elegance of spirit would choose a virgin of mean fortunes honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow. The feind therefore that told our Chaldean the contrary was a lying feind. His next venome he utters againft a prayer which he found in the animadversions, angry it seems to finde any prayers but in the Service Book. He dislikes it, and I therefore like it the better. It was theatricall, he sayes. And yet it consisted most of Scripture language: it had no Rubrick to be sung in an antick Coape upon the Stage of a High Altar.
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It was big-mouth'd he sayes; no marvell; if it were fram'd as the voice of three Kingdomes: neither was it a prayer so much as a hymne in prose frequent both in the Prophets, and in humane authors; therefore the stile was greater then for an ordinary prayer: It was an astounding prayer. I thank him for that confession, so it was intended to astound and to astonish the guilty Prelats; and this Confuter confesses that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which followes, he does not play the Soothsayer but the diabolick slanderer of prayers. It was made, he sayes, not so much to please God, or to benefit the weale publick (how dares the Viper judge that) but to intimate, faith he, your good abilities, to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla. How hard it is when a man meets with a Foole to keepe his tongue from folly. That were miserable indeed to be a Courter of Maronilla, and withall of such a haplesse invention, as that no way should be left me to present my meaning but to make my selfe a canting Probationer of orifons. The Remonstrant when he was as young as I could

Toothlesse Teach each hollow Grove to found his love
Satyrs, Wearying eccho with one changelesse word.

And so he well might, and all his auditory besides with his teach each.

Toothlesse Whether so me lift my lovely thoughts to sing,
Satyrs, Come dance ye nimble dryads by my side,
While I report my fortunes or my loves.

Delicious! he had that whole bevie at command whether in morrice or at May pole. Whilest I, by this figure-caster must be imagin'd in such distresse as to hue to Maronilla, and yet left so impoverisht of what to say, as to turne my Liturgy into my Ladies Psalter. Believe it graduat, I am not altogether so rustick, and nothing so irreligious, but as farre dif-
tant from a Lecturer, as the meereft Laick, for any consecreting hand of a Prelat that shall ever touch me. Yet I shall not decline the more for that, to speak my opinion in the controversie next mov'd. Whether the people may be allow'd, for competent judges of a minifters ability. For how else can be fulfill'd that which God hath promis'd, to power out such abundance of knowledge upon all sorts of men in the times of the Gospell? how should the people examine the doctrine which is taught them, as Christ and his Apostles continually bid them do? how should they discerne and beware of false Prophets, and try every spirit, if they must be thought unfit to judge of the minifters abilities: the Apostles ever labour'd to perswade the Christian flock that they were call'd in Christ to all perfectnesse of spirituall knowledge, and full assurance of understanding in the mystery of God. But the non-resident and plurality-gaping Prelats the gulphs and whirlie pools of benefices, but the dry pits of all sound doctrine, that they may the better preach what they lift to their sheep, are still possiessing them that they are sheep indeed, without judgement, without understanding, the very beasts of Mount Sinai, as this Confuter calls them; which words of theirs may serve to condemne them out of their owne mouths; and to shew the grosse contrarieties that are in their opinions. For while none thinke the people so void of knowledge as the Prelats think them, none are so backward and malignant as they to beflow knowledge upon them; both by suppressing the frequency of Sermons, and the printed explanations of the English Bible. No marvell if the people turne beasts, when their Teachers themselves as Ifaiah calls them, Are dumbe and greedy dogs that can never have anough, ignorant, blind, and cannot understand, who while they all look their own way every one for his gaine from his quarter, how many parts of the land are fed with
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windy ceremonies instead of sincere milke; and while one Prelat enjoyes the nourishment and right of twenty Ministers, how many waste places are left as darke as Galile of the Gentiles, sitting in the region and shadow of death; without preaching Minister, without light. So little care they of beasts to make them men, that by their forcerous doctrine of formalities they take the way to transforme them out of Christian men into Judaizing beasts. Had they but taught the land, or suffer'd it to be taught, as Christ would it should have bin, in all plenteous dispensation of the word, then the poore mechanick might have so accustom'd his eare to good teaching, as to have discern'd betwene faithfull teachers and false. But now with a moft inhumane cruelty they who have put out the peoples eyes reproach them of their blindnesse. Just as the Pharisees their true Fathers were wont; who could not indure that the people should be thought competent judges of Christ's doctrine, although we know they judg'd farre better then those great Rabbies. Yet this people, said they, that knowes not the law is accurs'd. We need not the authority of Pliny brought to tell us, the people cannot judge of a minister. Yet that hurts not. For as none can judge of a Painter, or Statuary but he who is an Artift, that is, either in the Practick or the Theory, which is often separted from the practick, and judges learnedly without it, so none can judge of a Christian teacher, but he who hath, either the practize, or the knowledge of Christian religion, though not so artfully digested in him. And who almoft of the meanest Christians hath not heard the Scriptures often read from his childhood, besides so many Sermons and Lectures more in number then any student hath heard in Philosophy, whereby he may easily attaine to know when he is wisely taught and when weakly. Whereof three wayes I remem-
ber are set downe in Scripture. The one is to reade often that best of books written to this purpose, that not the wife only but the simple and ignorant may learne by them; the other way to know of a minifter, is by the life he leads, whereof the meanest understanding may be apprehensive. The last way to judge aright in this point is when he who judges, lives a Christian life himselfe. Which of these three will the Confecter affirme to exceed the capacity of a plaine artizan? And what reason then is there left wherefore he should be deny’d his voice in the election of his minister, as not thought a competent discernr? It is but arrogance therefore, and the pride of a metaphysicall fume, to thinke that the mutinous rabble (for so he calls the Christian congregation) would be so mistaken in a Clerk of the University that were to be their minister. I doubt me those Clerks that think so, are more mistaken in themselves, and what with truanting and debauchery, what with false grounds and the weaknesse of naturall faculties in many of them (it being a maxim in some men to send the simplest of their sons thither) perhaps there would be found among them as many unsolid and corrupted judgements both in doctrine and life, as in any other two Corporations of like bignesse. This isundoubted that if any Carpenter Smith, or weaver, were such a bungler in his trade, as the greater number of them are in their profession, he would starve for any custome. And should he exercise his manufactory, as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art: and should he mistake his tools as they do theirs, he would marre all the worke he took in hand. How few among them that know to write, or speake in a pure stile, much lesse to distinguish the idea’s, and various kinds of stile: in Latine barbarous, and oft not without solecisms, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous geare
blown together by the foure winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankneffe of Apuleius, Arnobius, or any moderne fueftianift, before the native Latinifms of Cicero. In the Greek tongue most of them unletter'd, or unenter'd to any found proficiency in those Attick maifters of morall wisdome and eloquence. In the Hebrew text, which is so necessary to be understood except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcis'd. No leffe are they out of the way in philosophy; pestring their heads with the faplesfe dotages of old Paris and Salamanca. And that which is the main point, in their Sermons affecting the comments and poftils of Friers and Jesuits, but scorning and slighiting the reformed writers. In so much that the better sort among them will confesse it a rare matter to heare a true edifying Sermon in either of their great Churches; and that such as are moft humm'd and applauded there, would scarce be suffer'd the second hearing in a grave congregation of pious Christians. Is there cause why these men should overween, and be so queasie of the rude multitude, left their deepe worth should be undervalu'd for want of fit umpires? No my matriculated confutant there will not want in any congregation of this Island, that hath not beene altogether famifsht, or wholly perverted with Prelatish leven, there will not want divers plaine and solid men, that have learnt by the experience of a good conscience, what it is to be well taught, who will soone look through and through both the lofty nakedneffe of your Latinizing Barbarian, and the finicall goosery of your neat Sermon-actor. And so I leave you and your fellow starres, as you terme them, of either horizon, meaning I suppose either hemisphere, unleffe you will be ridiculous in your astronomy. For the rationall horizon in heav'n is but one, and the sensible horizons in earth are innumerable; so
that your allusion was as erroneous as your starres.
But that you did well to prognosticat them all at lowest in the horizon, that is either seeming bigger then they are through the mist and vapour which they raise, or else sinking, and wasted to the snuffe in their western socket.

Sect. 11. His eleventh Section intends I know not what unless to clog us with the residue of his phlegmatick sloth, discoursing with a heavie pulse the expedience of set formes: which no question but to some, and for some time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be usefully set forth by the Church a common directory of publick prayer, especially in the administration of the Sacraments. But that it should therefore be inforc't where both minister and people professe to have no need, but to be scandaliz'd by it, that, I hope, every sensible Christian will deny. And the reasons of such deniall the confuter himselfe, as his bounty still is to his adversary, will give us out of his affirmation. First faith he, God in his providence hath chosen some to teach others and pray for others, as ministers and Pastors. Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath set apart to his ministry, are by him endu'd with an ability of prayer; because their office is to pray for others. And not to be the lip-working deacons of other mens appointed words. Nor is it easily credible that he who can preach well should be unable to pray well; when as it is indeed the same ability to speak affirmatively, or doctrinally, and only by changing the mood to speak prayingly. In vaine therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can finde utterance to preach. And if prayer be the guift of the Spirit, why do they admit those to the Ministry, who want a maine guift of their function, and prescribe guifted men to use that which is the remedy of another
mans want; setting them their tasks to read, whom the Spirit of God stands ready to assist in his ordinance with the gift of free conceptions. What if it be granted to the infirmity of some Ministers (though such seem rather to be halfe ministers) to help themselves with a set forme, shall it therefore be urg'd upon the plenteous graces of others? and let it be granted to some people while they are babes in Christian guists, were it not better to take it away soone after, as we do loitering books, and interlineary translations from children; to stirre up and exercise that portion of the spirit which is in them, and not impose it upon congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troublesome and offensive refuse it. Another reason which he brings for liturgie, is the preserving of order, unity, and piety, and the same shall be my reason against Liturgy. For I Readers, shall alwayes be of this opinion, that obedience to the Spirit of God, rather then to the faire seeming pretences of men, is the best and most dutifull order that a Christian can observe. If the Spirit of God manifest the gift of prayer in his Minister, what more seemely order in the congregation, then to go along with that man in our devoutest affections? for him to abridge himselfe by reading, and to forestall himselfe in those petitions, which he must either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the Pulpit under a shew of order, is the greatest disorder. Nor is unity lesse broken, especially by our Liturgy, though this author would almost bring the Communion of Saints to a Communion of Liturgicall words. For what other reformed Church holds communion with us by our liturgy, and does not rather dislike it? and among our selves who knowes it not to have bin a perpetuall cause of disunion. Lastly, it hinders piety rather then sets it forward, being more apt to weaken the spirituall
faculties, if the people be not wean'd from it in due time; as the daily powring in of hot waters quenches the naturall heat. For not only the body, and the mind, but also the improvement of Gods Spirit is quickn'd by using. Whereas they who will ever adhere to liturgy, bring themselves in the end to such a passe by overmuch leaning as to loose even the legs of their devotion. These inconveniencies and dangers follow the compelling of set formes: but that the toleration of the English Liturgy now in use, is more dangerous than the compelling of any other which the reformed Churches use, these reasons following may evince. To contend that it is fantasticall, if not senselesse in some places, were a copious argument, especially in the Responсорies. For such alternations as are there us'd must be by severall persons; but the Minister and the people cannot so sever their interests, as to sustaine severall persons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he presents. And if the people pray he being silent, or they ask one thing and he another, it either changes the property, making the Priest the people, and the people the Priest by turns, or else makes two persons and two bodies representative where there should be but one. Which if it be nought else, must needs be a strange quaintnesse in ordinary prayer. The like, or worse may be said of the Litany, wherein neither Priest nor people speak any intire sense of themselves throughout the whole I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted stakes, closing up as it were the schisme of a lic't prayer, they pray not in vaine, for by this means they keep life betweene them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep downe the sawcinessse of a continuall rebounding nonsense. And hence it is that as it hath been farre from the imitation of any warranted prayer, so we all know it hath bin obvious
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to be the pattern of many a Jig. And he who hath but read in good books of devotion and no more, cannot be so either of eare or judgement unpractiz'd to distingjuish what is grave, pathetick, devout, and what not, but will presently perceave this Liturgy all over in conception leane and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of passion, or any height whereto the soule might foar upon the wings of zeale, destitute and barren: besides errors, tautologies, impertinences, as those thanks in the womans Churching for her delivery from Sunburning and Moonblaffing, as if she had bin travelling not in her bed, but in the deserts of Arabia. So that while some men ceafe not to admire the incomparable frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as faft what they think is become of judgement, and taft in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a complyable matter. But when we remember this our liturgy, where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, still serving to all the abominaitions of the Antichristian temple, it may be wonder'd how we can demurre whether it should be done away or no, and not rather feare we have highly offended in using it so long. It hath indeed bin pretended to be more ancient then the Maffe, but so little prov'd that whereas other corrupt Liturgies have had withall such a seeming antiquity, as that their publishers have ventur'd to ascribe them with their worst corruptions either to S. Peter, S. James, S. Mark, or at leaft to Chrysoftome, or Basil, ours hath bin never able to find either age, or author allowable, on whom to father those things therein which are leaft offenfive, except the two Creeds, for Te Deum has a smach in it of Limbus Patrum. As if Christ had not open'd the kingdome of heaven before he had overcome the sharpnesse of death. So that having receav'd
it from the Papall Church as an originall creature, for ought can be shewn to the contrary, form'd and fashion'd by work maisters ill to be trusted, we may be assur'd that if God loathe the best of an Idolaters prayer, much more the conceited fangle of his prayer. This Confuter himselfe confesses that a community of the fame set forme in prayers, is that which makes Church and Church truly one; we then using a Liturgy farre more like to the Maffe-book then to any Protestant set forme, by his owne words must have more communion with the Romish Church, then with any of the reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curse and vengeance of their superstition, to whom we come so neere in the fame set forme and dress'e of our devotion? do we think to sift the matter finer then we are sure God in his jealousie will? who detested both the gold and the spoile of Idolatrous Cities, and forbid the eating of things offer'd to Idols. Are we stronger then he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not surely because we think that praiers are no where to be had but at Rome; that were a foule scorne and indignity cast upon all the reformed Churches, and our own; if we imagine that all the godly Ministers of England are not able to new mould a better and more pious Liturgy then this which was conceav'd and infanted by an idolatrous Mother: how basely were that to esteeme of Gods Spirit, and all the holy blessings and priviledges of a true Church above a false? Heark ye Prelats, is this your glorious Mother of England, who when as Christ hath taught her to pray, thinks it not anough unlesse she adde thereto the teaching of Antichrist? How can we believe ye would refuse to take the stipend of Rome, when ye shame not to live upon the almes-basket of her prayers? will ye perfwade us that ye can curse Rome from your hearts when none
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but Rome must teach ye to pray? Abraham d
dain'd to take so much as a thred or a shoo latchet
from the King of Sodome, though no foe of his, but
a wicked King, and shall we receive our prayers at
the bounty of our more wicked enemies? whose
guifs are no guifs, but the instruments of our bane?
Alas that the Spirit of God should blow as an uncer-
taine wind, should so mistake his inspiring, to mis-
beftow his guifs promis'd only to the elect, that the
idolatrous should finde words acceptable to present
God with and abound to their neighbours, while
the true profeflers of the Gospell can find nothing
of their own worth the constituting, wherewith to
worship God in publick. Consider if this be to
magnifie the Church of England, and not rather to
display her nakednesse to all the world. Like there-
fore as the retaining of this Romifh Liturgy is a
provocation to God, and a dishonour to our Church,
so is it by those ceremonies, those purifyings and
offrings at the Altar, a pollution and disturbance to
the Gospell it selfe; and a kinde of driving us with
the foolish Galatians to another gospell. For that
which the Apostles taught hath freed us in religion
from the ordinances of men, and commands that
burdens be not laid upon the redeemed of Christ,
though the formalist will say, what no decency in
Gods worship? Certainly Readers, the worship of
God singly in it selfe, the very act of prayer and
thanksgiving with those free and unimpos'd expres-
sions which from a sincere heart unbidden come
into the outward gesture, is the greatest decency
that can be imagin'd. Which to dresse up and
garnish with a devis'd bravery abolisht in the law,
and disclam'd by the Gospell addes nothing but a
deformed ugliness. And hath ever afforded a co-
LOURABLE pretense to bring in all those traditions and
carnalities that are so killing to the power and ver-
tue of the Gospell. What was that which made the Jewes figur’d under the names of Abolah and Aholibah go a whooring after all the heathens inventions, but that they saw a religion gorgeously attir’d and desirable to the eye? What was all, that the false Doctors of the Primitive Church, and ever since have done, but to make a faire shew in the flesh, as S. Paul’s words are? If we have indeed given a bill of divorce to Popery and superstition, why do we not say as to a divors’t wife; those things which are yours take them all with you, and they shall sweepe after you? Why were not we thus wise at our parting from Rome? Ah like a crafty adulteressa she forgot not all her smooth looks and enticing words at her parting; yet keep these letters, these tokens, and these few ornaments; I am not all so greedy of what is mine, let them preserve with you the memory of what I am? No, but of what I was, once faire and lovely in your eyes. Thus did those tender hearted reformers dotingly suffer themselves to be overcome with harlots language. And she like a witch, but with a contrary policy did not take something of theirs that she might still have power to bewitch them, but for the same intent left something of her own behind her. And that her whoorish cunning should prevale to work upon us her deceitful ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our blindness, that we deserve. For we are deepe in dotage. We cry out Sacrilege and misdevotion against those who in zeale have demolish’t the dens and cages of her uncleane wallowings. We stand for a Popish Liturgy as for the ark of our Cov’nant. And so little does it appeare our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the Parlament, that they may still ignorantly read the prayers of other
men to God. They object that if wee must forfaie all that is Rome's, we must bid adieu to our Creed; and I had thought our Creed had bin of the Apostles; for so it beares title. But if it be hers let her take it. We can want no Creed, so long as we want not the Scriptures. We magnifie those who in re-forming our Church have inconsiderately and blamefully permitted the old leven to remaine and foure our whole lumpe. But they were Martyrs; True and he that looks well into the book of Gods providence, if he read there that God for this their negligence and halting, brought all that following perfecution upon this Church, and on themselves, perhaps will be found at the last day not to have read amisse.

Sect. 12.] But now, Readers, we have the Port within sight; his last Section which is no deepe one, remains only to be foarded, and then the wisht shoare. And here first it pleases him much, that he hath discr'd me, as he conceaves, to be unread in the Counsels. Concerning which matter it will not be unnecessary to shape him this answer; That some years I had spent in the stories of those Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily spoken: when comming in the method of time to that age wherein the Church had obtain'd a Christian Emperor, I so prepar'd my selfe as being now to read examples of wisdome and goodnesse among those who were foremost in the Church, not else where to be parallell'd: But to the amaze ment of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in some very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combustion: in so much that I could not but love the Hiftorian Socrates, who in the proem to his fifth book profesſes, He was faine to intermixe affaires of State, for that it would be else an extreame annoyance to beare in a continu'd
discourse the endless brabbles and counterplottings of the Bishops. Finding therefore the most of their actions in single to be weak, and yet turbulent, full of strife and yet flat of spirit, and the summe of their best counsels there collected, to be most commonly in questions either triviall and vaine, or else of short, and easie decision without that great bustle which they made, I concluded that if their single ambition and ignorance was such, then certainly united in a Councell it would be much more; and if the compendious recitall of what they there did was so tedious and unprofitable, then surely to fit out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes, would be a losse of time irrecoverable. Besides that which I had read of S. Martin, who for his laft sixteene yeares could never be perfwaded to be at any Councell of the Bishops. And Gregory Nazianzen betook him to the fame resolution affirming to Procopius, that of any Councell, or meeting of Bishops he never saw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evill in the Church, but rather an increase. For, faith he, their contentions and desire of Lording no tongue is able to expresse. I have not therefore I confesse read more of the Councels save here and there, I shou’d be sorry to have bin such a prodigall of my time: but that which is better, I can assure this Confuter; I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of Muræna was answer’d by Cicero to Sulpitius the Lawyer. If ye provoke me (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert counsellist. For be not deceav’d, Readers, by men that would overawe your eares with big names and huge Tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cramme a margent with citations. Do but winnow their chaffe from their wheat, ye shall see their great heape shrink and
wax thin past beliefe. From hence he passes to enquire wherefore I should blame the vices of the Prelats only, seeing the inferiour Clergy is known to be as faulty. To which let him heare in briefe; that those Priests whose vices have been notorious, are all Prelaticall, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remissnesse of that government. We hear not of any which are call'd Non-conformists that have been accus'd for scandalous living; but are known to be pious, or at least sober men. Which is a great good argument, that they are in the truth and Prelats in the error. He would be resolv'd next What the corruptions of the Universities concern the Prelats? and to that let him take this, That the Remonstrant having spok'n as if learning would decay with the removall of Prelats, I shew'd him that while books were extant, and in print, learning could not readily be at a worse passe in the Universities then it was now under their government. Then he seeks to justifie the pernicious Sermons of the Clergy, as if they upheld soveranty, when as all Christian soveranty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their doctrine was plainly the dissolution of law which only sets up sov'ranty, and the erecting of an arbitrary sway according to privat will, to which they would enjoyne a lavish obedience without law; which is the known definition of a tyrant, and a tyranniz'd people. A little beneath he denies that great riches in the Church are the baits of pride and ambition: of which error to undeceave him, I shall allege a reputed divine authority, as ancient as Constantine, which his love to antiquity must not except against; and to adde the more weight, he shall learne it rather in the words of our old Poet Gower then in mine, that he may see it is no new opinion, but a truth deliver'd of old by a voice from heav'n, and ratify'd by long experience.
This Constantine which heal hath found
Within Rome anon let found
Two Churches which he did make
For Peter and for Pauls sake:
Of whom he had a vision,
And yake therto possession
Of Lordship and of worlds good;
But how so that his will was good
Toward the Pope and his Franchise
Yet hath it proved otherwise
To see the working of the deed,
For in Chronick thus I read
Anon as he hath made the yest
A voice was heard on high the left
Of which all Rome was adrad
And said this day benim is had
In holy Church, of temporall
That medleth with the spirituall
And how it stant in that degree
Yet may a man the tooth see.
God amend it whan he will
I can thereto none other skill.

But there were beasts of prey, faith he, before
wealth was bestow'd on the Church. What though?
because the Vulturs had then but small pickings;
shall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge?
if they for lucre use to creepe into the Church un-
discernably, the more wisdome will it be so to pro-
vide that no revennu there may exceed the golden
mean. For so, good Pastor will be content, as
having need of no more, and knowing withall the
precept and example of Christ and his Apostles, and
also will be lesse tempted to ambition. The bad
will have but small matter whereon to set their mis-
chiefe a work. And the worst and sutleft heads will
notcome at all, when they shall see the crop nothing
answerable to their capacious greedinesse. For small
temptations allure but dribling offenders; but a great
purchase will call such as both are most able of them-
selves, and will be most inabl'd hereby to compasse
dangerous projects. But faith he, A widows house
will tempt as well as a Bishops Palace. Acutely spok'n.
Because neither we, nor the Prelats can abolish wi-
dows houses which are but an occasion taken of evill
without the Church, therefore we shall set up within
the Church a Lottery of such prizes as are the direct
inviting causes of avarice and ambition, both unne-
cessary and harmefull to be propos'd, and most easie,
most convenient, and needfull to be remov'd. Yea
but they are in a wise dispensers hand. Let them be
in whose hand they will, they are most apt to blind,
to puffe up and pervert the most seeming good. And
how they have bin kept from Vultures, what ever
the dispensers care hath bin, we have learnt by our
miseries. But this which comes next in view, I
know not what good vein, or humor took him, when
he let drop into his paper. I that was ere while the
ignorant, the loysterer, on the sudden by his permis-
sion am now granted to know something. And that
such a volley of expressions he hath met withall, as he
would never desire to have them better cloth'd. For
me, Readers, although I cannot say that I am utterly
untrain'd in those rules which best Rhetoricians have
giv'n, or unacquainted with those examples which
the prime authors of eloquence have written in any
learned tongue, yet true eloquence I find to be none,
but the serious and hearty love of truth: And that
whose mind so ever is fully possest with a fervent de-
sire to know good things, and with the dearest cha-
ritie to infuse the knowledge of them into others,
when such a man would speak, his words (by what
I can expresse) like so many nimble and airy serv-
tors trip about him at command, and in well order'd
files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places.
But now to the remainder of our discours, Christ
refus'd great riches, and large honours at the Devils
hand. But why, faith he, as they were tender'd by him from whom it was a sin to receive them. Timely remember'd: why is it not therefore as much a sin to receive a Liturgy of the masses giving, were it for nothing else but for the giver? But he could make no use of such a high estate, quoth the Confuter; opportunity. For why then should the servant take upon him to use those things which his master had unfitted himself to use, that hee might teach his ministers to follow his steps in the same ministry. But they were offer'd him to a bad end. So they prove to the Prelats; who after their preferment most usually change the teaching labour of the word, into the un-teaching ease of Lordship over consciences, and purses. But hee proceeds, God entic't the Israelites with the promise of Canaan. Did not the Prelats bring as slavish mindes with them, as the Jewes brought out of Egypt, they had left out that instance. Besides that it was then the time, when as the best of them, as Saint Paul faith, was shut up unto the faith under the Law their School-maister, who was forc't to intice them as children with childish enticements. But the Gos-pell is our manhood, and the ministry should bee the manhood of the Gospell, not to looke after, much lesse so basely to plead for earthly rewards. But God incited the wisest man Solomon with these means. Ah Confuter of thy selfe, this example hath undone thee, Solomon askt an understanding heart, which the Prelats have little care to ask. He askt no riches which is their chiefest care: therefore was the prayer of Saloman pleasing to God: hee gave him wisdome at his request, and riches without asking: as now hee gives the Prelats riches at their seeking, and no wisdome because of their perverse asking. But hee gives not over yet, Moses had an eye to the reward. To what reward, thou man that looks't with Balaams eyes, to what reward had the faith of Moses an eye to? He
that had forsaken all the greatnesse of Egypt, and chose a troublesome journey in his old age through the Wilderness, and yet arriv'd not at his journeys end: His faithfull eyes were fixt upon that incorruptible reward, promis'd to Abraham and his seed in the Messiah, hee sought a heav'ly reward which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to such a reward every good man may have a respect. But the Prelats are eager of such rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worse. Jacob a Prince borne, vow'd, that if God would but give him bread to eat and raiment to put on, then the Lord should be his God. But the Prelats of meane birth, and oft times of lowest, making shew as if they were call'd to the spirituall and humble ministry of the Gospell, yet murmur, and thinke it a hard service, unlese contrary to the tenour of their profession, they may eat the bread and weare the honours of Princes. So much more covetous and base they are then Simon Magus, for he proffer'd a reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be meanly hir'd to. But faith he, Are not the Clergy members of Christ, why should not each member thrive alike? Carnall textman! As if worldly thriving were one of the priviledges wee have by being in Christ, and were not a providence oft times extended more liberally to the Infidell then to the Christian. Therefore muft the Ministers of Christ not be over rich or great in the world, because their calling is spirituall, not secular; because they have a speciall warfare, which is not to be intangl'd with many impediments: because their Master Christ gave them this precept, and set them this example, told them this was the mystery of his coming, by meane things and persons to subdue mighty ones: and lastly because a middle estate is most proper to the office of teaching. Whereas higher dignity teaches farre lesse, and blindes
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the teacher. Nay, faith the Confuter, fetching his last indeavour, The Prelats will be very loath to let go their Baronies, and votes in Parliament, and calls it Gods cause, with an unsufferable impudence. Not that they love the honours and the means, good men and generous, but that they would not have their country made guilty of such a sacrilege and injustice. A worthy Patriot for his owne corrupt ends! That which hee imputes as sacrilege to his countrey, is the only way left them to purge that abominable sacrilege out of the land, which none but the Prelats are guilty of. Who for the discharge of one single duty receave and keepe that which might bee enough to satisfie the labours of many painefull Ministers better deserving then themselves. Who possesse huge Benefices for lazie performances, great promotions, only for the execution of a cruell disgovspling jurisdiction. Who ingrosse many pluralities under a non-resident and flubbring dispatch of soules. Who let hundreds of parishes famish in one Dioceffe, while they the Prelats are mute, and yet injoy that wealth that would furnish all those darke places with able supply, and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of Earles, and yet hoard up. They who chafe away all the faithfull Shepheards of the flocke, and bring in a dearth of spirituall food, robbing thereby the Church of her dearest treasure, and sending heards of souls starvling to Hell, while they feast and riot upon the labours of hireling Curats, confuming and purloyning even that which by their foundation is allow’d, and left to the poore, and to reparations of the Church. These are they who have bound the land with the sinne of Sacrilege, from which mortall ingagagement wee shall never be free, till wee have totally remov’d with one labour as one individuall thing Prelaty and Sacrilege. And herein will the King be a true defender of the Faith, not by paring or leffin-
ing, but by distributing in due proportion the main-tenance of the Church, that all parts of the Land may equally partake the plentiful and diligent preaching of the faith, the scandal of Ceremonies thrown out, that delude and circumvent the faith. And the usurpation of Prelats laid levell, who are in words the Fathers, but in their deeds the oppugners of the faith. This is that which will best confirme him in that glorious title. Thus yee have heard, Readers, how many shifts and wiles the Prelats have invented to save their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetousnesse are the sure markes of those false Prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude these to bee as great seducers, as any of the latter times. For betweene this and the judgement day, doe not looke for any arch deceavers who in spight of reformation will use more craft, or lesse shame to defend their love of the world, and their ambition, then these Prelats have done. And if yee thinke that soundnesse of reason, or what force of argument forever, will bring them to an ingenuous silence, yee think that which will never be. But if ye take that course which Erasimus was wont to say Luther tooke against the Pope and Monks, if yee denounce warre against their Miteres and their bellies, ye shall soon discerne that Turvant of pride which they weare upon their heads to be no helmet of salvation, but the meere mettle and horn-work of Papall jurisdiction; and that they have also this guift, like a certaine kinde of some that are possed, to have their voice in their bellies, which being well drain’d and taken downe, their great Oracle, which is only there, will soone be dumbe, and the Divine right of Episcopacy forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and disputes.
In Answer to a Book Intitl'd

ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ

The Portrature of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings.

Prov. 28. 15, 16, 17.

15. As a roaring Lyon, and a ranging Beare, so is a wicked Ruler over the poor people.

16. The Prince that wanteth understanding, is also a great oppressor; but he that hateth covetousnesse shall prolong his dayes.

17. A man that doth violence to the blood of any person, shall fly to the pit, let no man stay him.


Regium imperium, quod initio, conservandae libertatis, atque augendae reipub. caufa fuerat, in superbiam, dominationemque se convertit.

Regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt; semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.

Quidlibet impune facere, hoc scilicet regium est.
O descant on the misfortunes of a Person fall’n from so high a dignity, who hath also payd his small debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of it selfe a thing commendable, nor the intention of this discourse. Neither was it fond ambition, or the vanity to get a Name, present, or with Posterity, by writing against a King: I never was so thirst after Fame, nor so destitute of other hopes and means, better and more certaine to attaine it. For Kings have gain’d glorious Titles from their Favorers by writing against private men, as Henry the 8th did against Luther; but no man ever gain’d much honour by writing against a King, as not usuallly meeting with that force of Argument in such Courtly Antagonists, which to convince might add to his reputation. Kings most commonly, though strong in Legions, are but weak at Arguments; as they who ever have accustom’d from the Cradle to use their will only as their right hand, their reason always as their left. Whence unexpectedly constrain’d to that kind of combat, they prove but weak and puny Adversaries. Neverthelesse for their sakes who through custome, simplicitie, or want of better teaching, have not more seriously considerd Kings, then in the gaudy name of Majestie, and admire them and their doings, as if they breath’d not the same breath with other
mortal men, I shall make no scruple to take up (for it seemes to be the challenge both of him and all his party) to take up this Gauntlet, though a Kings, in the behalfe of Libertie, and the Common-wealth.

And furder, since it appeares manifestly the cunning drift of a factious and defeated Party, to make the same advantage of his Book, which they did before of his Regall name and Authority, and intend it not so much the defence of his former actions, as the promoting of thir owne future designes; making thereby the Book thir own rather then the Kings, as the benefit now must be thir own more then his, now the third time to corrupt and disorder the minds of weaker men, by new suggestions and narrations, either falsly or fallaciously representing the state of things, to the dishonour of this present Goverment, and the retarding of a generall peace, so needfull to this afflicted Nation, and so nigh obtain'd, I suppose is no injurie to the dead, but a good deed rather to the living, if by better information giv'n them, or, which is enough, by onely remembrance them the truth of what they themselves know to be heer misaffirmd, they may be kept from entring the third time unadvisedly into Warr and bloodshed. For as to any moment of solidity in the Book it selfe, fullt with naught els but the common grounds of Tyranny and Popery, fugard a little over; or any need of answering, in respect of staid and well-principl'd men, I take it on me as a work assign'd rather, then by me chos'n or affected. Which was the cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leasurely, in the midst of other imployments and diversions. And if the late King had thought sufficient those Answers and Defences made for him in his life time, they who on the other side accus'd his evill Government, judging that on their behalfe enoufh also hath bin reply'd, the heat of this controversie was in
likelyhood drawing to an end; and the furder men-
tion of his deeds, not so much unfortunate as faulty,
had in tenderness to his late sufferings, bin willingly
forborn; and perhaps for the present age might have
slept with him unrepeat'd; while his Adversaries,
calm'd and asswag'd with the success of thir cause,
had bin the les unfavorable to his memory. But
since he himselfe, making new appeale to Truth and
the World, hath left behind him this Book as the
best advocate and interpreter of his owne actions,
and that his Friends by publishing, dispersing, com-
mending, and almost adoring it, seem to place therein
the chiefe strength and nerves of thir cause, it would
argue doubtles in the other party great deficiencie
and distrust of themselves, not to meet the force of
his reason in any field whatsoever, the force and
equipage of whose Armes they have so oft'n met
victoriously. And he who at the Barr stood except-
ing against the forme and manner of his Judicature,
and complain'd that he was not heard, neither he
nor his Friends shall have that cause now to find
fault; being mett and debated with in this op'n and
monumental Court of his owne erecting; and not
only heard uttering his whole mind at large, but
answerd. Which to doe effectually, if it be neces-
sary that to his Book nothing the more respect be
had for being his, they of his owne Party can have
no just reason to exclave. For it were too unreasa-
nable that he, because dead, should have the liberty
in his Booke to speake all evill of the Parlament;
and they, because living, should be expected to have
less freedome, or any for them, to speake home the
plaine truth of a full and pertinent reply. As he,
to acquitt himselfe, hath not spair'd his Adversaries,
to load them with all sorts of blame and accusation,
so to him, as in his Book alive, there will be us'd no
more Courtship then he uses; but what is properly
his owne guilt, not imputed any more to his evill Counsellors (a Ceremony us'd longer by the Parlia-
ment then hee himselfe defir'd) shall be layd heer without circumlocutions at his owne dore. That
they who from the first beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappines I know not, are so much
affatuated, not with his person only, but with his palpable faults, and dote upon his deformities, may
have none to blame but thir owne folly, if they live and dye in such a strook'n blindness, as next to that
of Sodom hath not happ'nd to any sort of men more gross, or more misleading.

First then that some men (whether this were by
him intended or by his Friends,) have by policy ac-
complish'd after death that revenge upon thir En-
emies, which in life they were not able, hath bin oft
related. And among other examples wee find that
the last Will of Cæsar being read to the people, and
what bounteous Legacies he had bequeath'd them,
wrought more in that Vulgar audience to the aveng-
ing of his death, then all the art he could ever ufe,
to win thir favor in his lifetime. And how much
their intent, who publish'd these overlate Apologies
and Meditations of the dead King, drives to the
fame end of stirring up the people to bring him that
honour, that affection, and by consequence, that re-
venge to his dead Corps, which he himselfe living
could never gain to his Person, it appeares both by
the conceited portraiture before his Book, drawn out
to the full measure of a Masking Scene, and sett
there to catch fools and silly gazers, and by those
Latin words after the end, \textit{Vota dabunt que Bella
negarunt}, intimating, that what hee could not com-
pas by Warr, hee should atchieve by his Medita-
tions. For in words which admitt of various fence,
the libertie is ours to choose that interpretation which
may best mind us of what our restless enemies en-
deavor, and what we are timely to prevent. And here may be well observ’d the loose and negligent curiosity of those who took upon them to adorn the setting out of this Book: for though the Picture set in Front would Martyr him and Saint him to befoole the people, yet the Latin Motto in the end, which they understand not, leaves him, as it were, a politic contriver to bring about that interest by faire and plausible words, which the force of Armes deny’d him. But quaint Emblems and devices begg’d from the olde Pageantry of some Twelfe-nights entertainment at Whitehall, will doe but ill to make a Saint or Martyr: and if the People resolve to take him Sainted at the rate of such a Canonizing, I shall suspect their Calendar more then the Gregorian. In one thing I must commend his op’nnes who gave the Title to this Book, Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, that is to say, The Kings Image; and by the Shrine he dresses out for him, certainly, would have the people come and worship him. For which reason this Answer also is intitl’d Iconoclastes, the famous Surname of many Greek Emperors, who in thir zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of Idolatry in the Church, tooke courage and broke all superstitious Images to peeces. But the people, exorbitant and excessive in all thir motions, are prone offtimes not to a religious onely, but to a civil kind of Idolatry in Idolizing thir Kings; though never more mistak’n in the object of thir worship; heretofore being wont to repute for Saints, thos faithfull and courageous Barons, who loft thir lives in the Field, making glorious Warr against Tyrants for the common Liberty; as Simon de Momfort, Earle of Leicester, against Henry the third; Thomas Plantagenet, Earle of Lancaster, against Edward the second. But now with a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit, except some few, who yet retaine in them the old
English fortitude and love of freedome, and have testifi’d it by thir matchless deeds, the reft imbaf-
tardiz’d from the ancient noblenes of thir Anceftors, are ready to fall flatt and give adoration to the Image and memory of this Man, who hath offer’d at more cunning fetches to undermine our Liberties and putt Tyranny into an Art, then any Brittish King before him. Which low dejection and debafement of mind in the people, I muft confess I cannot willingly acribe to the naturall disposition of an Englishman, but rather to two other causes. First to the Prelats and thir fellow-teachers, though of another Name and Sect, whose Pulpit-fluffe, both first and laft, hath bin the Doctrin and perpetuall infusion of fervility and wretchedneſs to all thir hearers; and thir lives the type of worldliness and hypocriſie, without the leaft true pattern of vertue, righteouſneſs, or selfe-denyall in thir whole practice. I attribute it next to the factious inclination of moſt men divided from the public by severall ends and humors of thir owne. At firſt no man leſs belov’d, no man more generally condemn’d then was the King; from the time that it became his cuſtom to breake Parla-
ments at home, and either wilſfully or weakly to betray Proteſtants abroad, to the beginning of these Combuſtions. All men inveigh’d againſt him, all men, except Court-vaſſals, oppos’d him and his Ty-
rannicall proceedings; the cry was univerſall; and this full Parliament was at firſt unanimous in thir diſlike and Proteftation againſt his evill Gover-
ment. But when they who fought themselves and not the Public, began to doubt that all of them could not by one and the same way attain to thir ambitious purposes, then was the King, or his Name at leaſt, as a fit property, firſt made uſe of, his doings made the beſt of, and by degrees justifi’d: Which begot him such a party, as after many wiles and Struglings with
his inward feares, imbold’nd him at length to sett up his Standard against the Parliament. When as before that time, all his adherents, consisting most of disolute swordmen and Suburb roysters, hardly amounted to the making up of one ragged regiment strong enough to assault the unarmed house of Commons. After which attempt seconded by a tedious and bloody warr on his subjects, wherein he hath so far exceeded those his arbitrary violences in time of peace, they who before hated him for his high misgovernment, nay, fought against him with display’d banners in the field, now applaud him and extoll him for the wisest and most religious Prince that liv’d. By so strange a method amongst the mad multitude is a sudden reputation won, of wisdome by wilfulness and suttle shifts, of goodness by multiplying evill, of pietie by endeavouring to root out true religion.

But it is evident that the cheife of his adherents never lov’d him, never honour’d either him or his cause, but as they took him to set a face upon thir own malignant designes, nor bemoan his lois at all, but the lois of their own aspiring hopes: Like those captive women whome the Poet notes in his Iliad, to have bewaild the death of Patroclus in outward shew, but indeed their own condition.

Πάτροκλον πρέφασιν, σφών ο’ αυτῶν κίνδω εἰκάστη.
Hom. Iliad. 7.

And it needs must be ridiculous to any judgement uninhall’d, that they who in other matters express so little feare either of God or man, should in this one particular outstripp all precisianism with thir scruples and cases, and fill mens ears continually with the noise of their conscientious loyaltie and Allegiance to the King, Rebels in the mean while to God in all thir actions beside: much less that they whose profes’d Loyalty and Allegiance led them to
direct Armes against the Kings Person, and thought him nothing violated by the Sword of Hostility drawn by them against him, should now in earnest thinke him violated by the unsparing Sword of Justice, which undoubtedly so much the less in vaine shee beares among Men, by how much greater and in higheft place the offender. Els Justice, whether moral or politcall, were not Justice, but a fals counterfet of that impartial and Godlike vertue. The onely griefe is, that the head was not strook off to the best advantage and commodity of them that held it by the haire: Which observation, though made by a Common Enemie, may for the truth of it heer-after become a Proverb. But as to the Author of these Soliloquies, whether it were the late King, as is Vulgarly beleev’d, or any secret Coadjutor, and some stick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor shall take from the weight, if any be, of reason which he brings. But allegations, not reasons are the maine Contents of this Book; and need no more then other contrary allegations to lay the question before all Men in an eev’n ballance; though it were suppos’d that the Testimony of one man in his own cause affirming, could be of any moment to bring in doubt the authority of a Parlament denying. But if these his faire spok’n words shall be heer fairely confronted and laid parallel to his own farr differing deeds, manifest and visible to the whole Nation, then surely we may look on them who notwithstanding shall persift to give to bare words more credit then to op’n deeds, as men whose judgement was not rationally evinc’d and perswaded, but fatally stupifi’d and be-witchd, into such a blind and obstinate beleefe. For whose cure it may be doubted, not whether any charme, though never so wisely murmur’d, but whether any prayer can be available.
Upon the Kings calling this last Parliament.

Hat which the King laies down heer as his first foundation, and as it were the head stone of his whole Structure, that He call'd this last Parliament not more by others advice and the necessity of his affaires, then by his own chois and inclination, is to all knowing men so apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauspicious sentence, and more betok'ning the downfall of his whole Fabric, hardly could have come into his minde. For who knows not that the inclination of a Prince is best known either by those next about him, and most in favor with him, or by the current of his own actions. Those neerest to this King and most his Favorites, were Courtiers and Prelates; men whose chief study was to finde out which way the King inclin'd, and to imitate him exactly. How these men stood affected to Parlaments, cannot be forgott'n. No man but may remember it was thir continuall exercife to dispute and Preach against them; and in thir common discourse nothing was more frequent, then that they hoped the King should now have no need of Parlaments any more. And this was but the copy which his Parasites had industriously tak'n from his own words and actions, who never call'd a Parliament but to supply his necessities; and having supply'd thos'e, as suddenly and ignomi-
nioufly dissolv'd it, without redressing any one greevance of the people. Somtimes choosing rather to miss of his Subsidies, or to raise them by illegal courses, then that the people should not still miss of thir hopes, to be releiv'd by Parlamets.

The first he broke off at his comming to the Crown; for no other cause then to protect the Duke of Buckingham against them who had accus'd him, besides other hainous crimes, of no less then poysoning the deceased King his Father. And still the latter breaking was with more affront and indignity put upon the House and her worthiest Members, then the former. Insomuch that in the fifth yeare of his Raigane, in a Proclamation he seemes offended at the very rumor of a Parlament divulg'd among the people: as if hee had tak'n it for a kind of slander, that men should think him that way exorable, much less inclin'd: and forbids it as a presumption to prescribe him any time for Parlaments; that is to say, either by perswasion or Petition, or so much as the reporting of such a rumor; for other manner of prescribing was at that time not suspected. By which seirce Edict, the people, forbidd'n to complaine, as well as forc'd to suffer, began from thenceforth to dispaire of Parlaments. Whereupon such illegal actions, and especially to get vast summs of Money, were put in practise by the King and his new Officers, as Monopolies, compulsive Knighthoods, Cote, Conduct and Ship-mony, the seizing not of one Naboths Vineyard, but of whole Inheritances under the pretence of Forrest, or Crown-Lands, corruption and Bribery compounded for, with impunities granted for the future, as gave evident proof that the King never meant, nor could it stand with the reason of his af
dares, ever to recall Parlaments; having brought by these irregular courses the peoples interest, and his own to so direct an opposition, that he might foresee
plainely, if nothing but a Parliament could save the people, it must necessarily bee his undoing.

Till eight or nine years after, proceeding with a high hand in these enormities, and having the second time levied an injurious Warr against his native Countrie Scotland, and finding all those other shifts of raising Mony, which bore out his first expedition, now to faile him, not of his own choise and inclination, as any Child may see, but urg'd by strong necessitities, and the very pangs of State which his owne violent proceedings had brought him to, hee calls a Parliament; first in Ireland, which onely was to give him four Subsidies, and so to expire; then in England, where his first demand was but twelve Subsidies, to maintaine a Scotch Warr, condemn'd and abominated by the whole Kingdom; promising thir greevances should be consider'd afterwards. Which when the Parliament, who judg'd that Warr it self one of thir main greevances, made no haft to grant, not enduring the delay of his impatient will, or els fearing the conditions of thir grant, he breaks off the whole Session, and dismisses them and thir greevances with scorn and frustration.

Much less therefore did hee call this last Parliament by his own choise and inclination; but having first try'd in vaine all undue ways to procure Mony, his Army of thir own accord being beat'n in the North, the Lords Petitioning, and the generall voice of the people, almost hissing him and his ill-acted regalitie off the Stage, compell'd at length both by his wants, and by his feares, upon meer extremitie he summond this last Parliament. And how is it possible that hee should willingly incline to Parliaments, who never was perceiv'd to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole National Bribe, his Subsidies, and never lov'd, never fulfill'd, never promoted the true end of Parliaments, the redrefs of greevances, but still put
them off, and prolong'd them, whether gratify'd or not gratify'd; and was indeed the Author of all those greevances. To say therefore that he call'd this Parliament of his own choise and inclination, argues how little truth wee can expect from the sequel of this Book, which ventures in the very first period to affront more then one Nation with an untruth so remarkable; and presumes a more implicit Faith in the people of England, then the Pope ever commanded from the Romish Laitie; or els a natural sottishness fitt to be abus'd and ridd'n. While in the judgement of wise Men, by laying the foundation of his defence on the avouchment of that which is so manifestly untrue, he hath giv'n a worse foile to his own cause, then when his whole Forces were at any time overthrown. They therfore who think such great Service don to the Kings affaires in publishing this Book, will find themselves in the end mistak'n: if sense and right mind, or but any mediocrity of knowledge and remembrance, hath not quite forsak'n men.

But to prove his inclination to Parlaments, he affirmes heer To have alwayses thought the right way of them, most safe for his Crown, and best pleasing to his People. What he thought we know not; but that he ever took the contrary way wee saw; and from his own actions we felt long agoe what hee thought of Parlaments or of pleasing his People: a surer evidence then what we heare now too late in words.

He alleges, that the cause of forbearing to convene Parlaments was the sparkes which some mens distempers there studied to kindle. They were indeed not temper'd to his temper; for it neither was the Law, nor the rule by which all other tempers were to bee try'd; but they were esteem'd and chos'n for the fittest men in thir severall Counties, to allay and quench those distempers which his own inordinate
doings had inflam'd. And if that were his refusing to convene, till those men had bin qualifi'd to his temper, that is to say, his will, we may easily conjecture what hope thar was of Parlemants, had not feare and his inhatat povertie in the midst of his ex- cessive wealth constrain'd him.

Hee hoped by his freedom, and their moderation to prevent misunderstandings. And wherefore not by their freedom and his moderation? But freedom he thought too high a word for them; and moderation too mean a word for himself: this was not the way to prevent misunderstandings. He still feard passion and prejudice in other men; not in himself: and doubted not by the weight of his own reason, to counterpoyse any Faction; it being so easie for him, and so frequent, to call his obstinacy reason, and other mens reason, Faction. Wee in the mean while must beleive, that wisdom and all reason came to him, by Title, with his Crowne; passion, prejudice, and Faction, came to others by being Subjects.

Hee was sorry to heare with what popular heat Elections were carrid in many places. Sorry rather that Court Letters, and intimations prevail'd no more, to divert, or to deterr the people from thir free Election of those men, whom they thought best affected to Religion, and thir Countries Libertie, both at that time in danger to be lost. And such men they were as by the Kingdom were sent to advise him, not sent to be cavill'd at, because Elected, or to be entertaind by him with an undervalue and misprision of thir temper, judgement, or affection. In vaine was a Parliament thought fitteft by the known Laws of our Nation, to advise and regulate unruly Kings, if they, in stead of hearkning to advice, shou'd be permitted to turn it off, and refuse it by vilifying and traducing thir advisers, or by accusing of a popular heat those that lawfully elected them.
His own and his Children's interest oblig'd him to seek and to preserve the love and welfare of his Subjects. Who doubts it? But the same interest, common to all Kings, was never yet available to make them all seek that, which was indeed best for themselves and their Posterity. All men by their own and their Children's interest are oblig'd to honesty and justice: but how little that consideration works in private men, how much less in Kings, their deeds declare best.

He intended to oblige both Friends and Enemies, and to exceed their desires, did they but pretend to any modest and sober sense; mistaking the whole business of a Parliament. Which mett not to receive from him obligations, but Justice; nor hee to expect from them their modesty, but their grave advice, utter'd with freedom in the public cause. His talk of modesty in their desires of the common welfare, argues him not much to have understood what he had to grant, who misconceav'd so much the nature of what they had to desire. And for sober sense the expression was too mean; and recoiles with as much dishonour upon himselfe, to be a King where sober sense could possibly be so wanting in a Parliament.

The odium and offences which some mens rigour, or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon his Government, hee resolved to have expiated with better Laws and regulations. And yet the worst of misdemeanors committed by the worst of all his favourites, in the hight of thir dominion, whether acts of rigor or remissness, he hath from time to time continu'd, own'd, and tak'n upon himself by public Declarations, as oft'n as the Clergie, or any other of his Instruments felt themselves overburden'd with the peoples hatred. And who knows not the superstitious rigor of his Sundays Chappel, and the licentious remissness of his Sundays Theater; accompa-
nied with that reverend Statute for *Dominical Jigs* and Maypoles, publish'd in his own Name, and deriv'd from the example of his Father James. Which testifies all that rigor in superstitition, all that remissness in Religion, to have issu'd out originally from his own House, and from his own Authority. Much rather then may those general miscarriages in State, his proper Sphere, be imputed to no other person chiefly then to himself. And which of all those oppressive Acts, or Impositions did he ever disclaim or disavow, till the fatal aw of this Parliament hung ominously over him. Yet hee smoothly seeks to wipe off all the envy of his evil Government upon his Substitutes, and under Officers; and promises, though much too late, what wonders he purpos'd to have don in the reforming of Religion; a work wherein all his undertakings heretofore declare him to have had little or no judgement. Neither could his Breeding, or his cours of life acquaint him with a thing so Spiritual. Which may well assure us what kind of Reformation we could expect from him; either som politic form of an impos'd Religion, or els perpetual vexation, and persecution to all those that comply'd not with such a form. The like amendment he promises in State; not a step further then his Reason and Conscience told him was fitt to bee desir'd; wishing hee had kept within those bounds, and not suffer'd his own judgement to have bin over-borne in some things, of which things one was the Earle of Straffords execution. And what signifies all this, but that still his resolution was the same, to set up an arbitrary Government of his own; and that all Britain was to be ty'd and chain'd to the conscience, judgement, and reason, of one Man; as if those gifts had bin only his peculiar and Prerogative, intail'd upon him with his fortune to be a King. When as doubtless no man so obstinate, or so much
a Tyrant, but professes to be guided by that which he calls his Reason, and his Judgement, though never so corrupted; and pretends also his conscience. In the mean while, for any Parliament or the whole Nation to have either reason, judgement, or conscience, by this rule was altogether in vaine, if it thwarted the Kings will; which was easie for him to call by any other more plausible name. And thus we find these faire and specious promises, made upon the experience of many hard sufferings, and his most mortifi'd retirements, being thoroughly sifted, to containe nothing in them much different from his former practices, so cross, and so averse to all his Parliaments, and both the Nations of this Iland. What fruits they could in likelyhood have produc'd in his restorement, is obvious to any prudent foresight.

And this is the substance of his first Section, till wee come to the devout of it, model'd into the form of a privat Psalter. Which they who so much admire either for the matter or the manner, may as well admire the Arch-Bishops late Breviary, and many other as good Manuals, and Handmaids of Devotion, the lip-work of every Prelatical Liturgift, clapt together, and quilted out of Scripture phrase, with as much easie, and as little need of Christian diligence, or judgement, as belongs to the compiling of any ordnary and salable piece of English Divinity, that the Shops value. But he who from such a kind of Psalmistry, or any other verbal Devotion, without the pledge and earnest of sutable deeds, can be perswaded of a zeale, and true righteousness in the person, hath much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepest policy of a Tyrant hath bin ever to counterfet Religious. And Aristotle in his Politics, hath mentiond that special craft among twelve other tyrannical Sophisms. Neither want wee examples. Andronicus Comnenus the Byzantine Em-
peror, though a most cruel Tyrant, is reported by Nicetas to have bin a constant reader of Saint Pauls Epiftles; and by continual study had so incorporated the phrase and ftyle of that transcendant Apostle into all his familiar Letters, that the imitation seem'd to vie with the Original. Yet this availd not to deceave the people of that Empire; who notwithstanding his Saints vizard, tore him to peeces for his Tyranny. From Stories of this nature both Ancient and Modern which abound, the Poets also, and som English, have bin in this point so mindfull of Decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, then of a Tyrant. I shall not instance an abstrufe Author, wherein the King might be lefs converfant, but one whom wee well know was the Closet Companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespeare; who introduces the Person of Richard the third, speaking in as high a ftrain of pietie, and mortification, as is utterd in any passage of this Book; and sometimes to the same fense and purpose with some words in this place, I intended, faith he, not onely to oblige my Freinds, but mine Enemies. The like faith Richard, Act. 2. Scen. 1.

I doe not know that Englishman alive,
With whom my soule is any jott at odds,
More then the Infant that is borne to night;
I thank my God for my humilitie.

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the whole Tragedie, wherein the Poet us'd not much licence in departing from the truth of History, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections onely, but of Religion.

In Praying therefore, and in the outward work of Devotion, this King wee see hath not at all exceeded the worst of Kings before him. But herein the worst of Kings, professing Christianism, have by farre ex-
ceeded him. They, for ought we know, have still pray'd thir own, or at least borrow'd from fitt Authors. But this King, not content with that which, although in a thing holy, is no holy theft, to attribute to his own making other mens whole Prayers, hath as it were unhallow'd, and unchrist'nd the very duty of Prayer it self, by borrowing to a Christian use Prayers offerd to a Heathen God. Who would have imagin'd so little feare in him of the true all-seeing Deitie, so little reverence of the Holy Ghost, whose office is to dictat and present our Christian Prayers, so little care of truth in his last words, or honour to himself, or to his Friends, or fense of his afflictions, or of that sad hower which was upon him, as immediatly before his death to popp into the hand of that grave Bishop who attended him, as a special Relique of his Saintly exercises, a Prayer ftol'n word for word from the mouth of a Heathen Woman praying to a Heathen God; and that in no serious Book, but in the vaine amatorious Poem of Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia; a Book in that kinde full of worth and witt, but among religious thoughts, and duties not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any time without good caution; much les in time of trouble and affliction to be a Christians Prayer-Book. It hardly can be thought upon without fom laughter, that he who had acted over us fo stately and fo Tragically, should leave the World at last with such a ridiculous exit, as to bequeath among his deifying friends that stood about him, such a peece of mockery to be publisht by them, as muft needs cover both his and their heads with shame and confusion. And sure it was the hand of God that lett them fall and be tak'n in such a foolifh Trapp, as hath expos'd them to all derision, if for nothing els, to throw contempt and disgrace in the fight of all Men upon this his Idoliz'd Book, and
the whole rosarie of his Prayers; thereby testifying how little he accepted them from those who thought no better of the living God, then of a Buzzard Idol, that would be serv’d and worship’d with the polluted trash of Romances and Arcadias, without discerning the affront so irreligiously and so boldly offer’d him to his face.

Thus much be said in general to his Prayers; and in special to that Arcadian Prayer us’d in his Captivity; as enough to undeceive us what esteem we are to set upon the rest.

And thus far in the whole Chapter we have seen and consider’d, and it cannot but be cleeer to all men, how, and for what ends, what concernsments, and necessities the late King was no way induc’d, but every way constrain’d to call this last Parliament; yet hear in his first Prayer he trembles not to avouch as in the eares of God, That he did it with an upright intention, to his glory, and his peoples good: Of which dreadfull attestation how sincerely meant, God, to whom it was avow’d, can onely judge; and he hath judg’d already; and hath writ’n his impartial Sentence in Characters legible to all Christ’ndome; and besides hath taught us, that there be som, whom he hath giv’n over to delusion; whose very mind and conscience is desil’d; of whom Saint Paul to Titus makes mention.

II. Upon the Earle of Straffords Death.

His next Chapter is a penitent confession of the King, and the strangest, if it be well weigh’d, that ever was Auricular. For hee repents heer of giving his consent, though most unwillingly, to the most reasonable and solemn peace of Justice, that had bin don of many
yeares in the Land: But his sole conscience thought the contrary. And thus was the welfare, the safety, and within a little, the unanimous demand of three populous Nations to have attended still on the singularity of one Mans opinionated conscience; if men had always bin so tame and spiritless; and had not unexpectedly found the grace to understand, that if his conscience were so narrow and peculiar to it selfe, it was not fitt his Authority should be so ample and Universall over others. For certainly a private conscience sorts not with a public Calling; but declares that Person rather meant by nature for a private fortune. And this also we may take for truth, that hee whose conscience thinks it sin to put to death a capital Offendor, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a righteous Person. But let us heare what the sin was that lay so sore upon him, and, as his Prayer giv'n to Dr. Juxton testifies, to the very day of his death; it was his signing the Bill of Straffords execution: a man whom all men look'd upon as one of the boldeft and moft impetuous instruments that the King had to advance any violent or illegal designe. He had rule'd Ireland, and som parts of England in an Arbitrary manner, had indeavour'd to subvert fundamental Lawes, to subvert Parliaments, and to incence the King against them; he had also endeavoured to make Hostility betweene England and Scotland: He had counsell'd the King to call over that Irish Army of Papists, which he had cunningly rais'd, to reduce England, as appear'd by good Testimony then present at the Consultation. For which, and many other crimes alleg'd and prov'd against him in 28. Articles, he was condemn'd of high Treason by the Parlament. The Commons by farr the greater number caft him; the Lords, after they had bin satisf'd in a full discourse by the Kings Sollicitor, and the opinions of many Judges deliver'd in thir
Houfe, agreed likewise to the Sentence of Treason. The People universally cri’d out for Justice. None were his Friends but Courtiers, and Clergimen, the worst at that time, and most corrupted sort of men; and Court Ladies, not the best of Women; who when they grow to that insolence as to appeare active in State affairs, are the certaine signe of a dissolute, degenerat, and pusillanimous Commonwealth. Last of all the King, or rather first, for these were but his Apes, was not satisfi’d in conscience to condemn him of High Treason; and declar’d to both Houses, 

That no fears or respects whatsoever should make him alter that resolution founded upon his conscience. 

Either then his resolution was indeed not founded upon his conscience, or his conscience receav’d better information, or els both his conscience and this his strong resolution strook faile, notwithstanding these glorious words, to his stronger fear. For within a few dayes after, when the Judges at a privie Counsel, and four of his elected Bishops had pickd the thorn out of his conscience, he was at length perswaded to signe the Bill for Straffords Execution. And yet perhaps that it wrung his conscience to condemn the Earle of high Treason is not unlikely: not because he thought him guiltles of highest Treason, had halfe those crimes bin committed against his own privat Interest or Person, as appear’d plainly by his charge against the fix Members, but because he knew himself a Principal in what the Earle was but his accessory, and thought nothing Treason against the Common-wealth, but against himselfe only.

Had he really scrupl’d to sentence that for Treason which he thought not Treasonable, why did he seeme resolv’d by the Judges and the Bishops? And if by them resolv’d, how comes the scruple heer again? It was not then, as he now pretends, The importuni-
ties of some and the feare of many which made him figne, but the satisfaction giv'n him by those Judges and Ghostly Fathers of his own choosing. Which of him shal we believe? For hee feemes not one, but double; either heer we must not beleeve him profeffing that his satisfaction was but seemingly receav'd, and out of feare, or els wee may as well beleeve that the scruple was no real scruple, as we can beleeve him heer against himselfe before, that the satisfaction then receiv'd was no real satisfaction: of such a variable and fleeting conscience what hold can be tak'n? But that indeed it was a facil conscience, and could dissemble satisfaction when it pleas'd, his own inftuing actions declar'd: being soon after found to have the chief hand in a most detested conspiracy against the Parliament and Kingdom, as by Letters and examinations of Percy, Goring, and other Conspiratours came to light; that his intention was to rescue the Earle of Strafford, by feizing on the Towre of London; to bring up the English Army out of the North, joyn'd with eight thousand Irish Papists rais'd by Strafford, and a French Army to be landed at Portsmouth against the Parliament and thir Friends. For which purpose the King, though requested by both Houses to disband those Irish Papists, refus'd to do it, and kept them still in Armes to his own purposes. No marvel then, if being as deeply criminous as the Earle himselfe, it fhung his conscience to adjudge to death those misdeeds whereof himselfe had bin the chief Author: no marvel though in stead of blaming and detesting his ambition, his evil Counsel, his violence and opression of the people, he fall to praisé his great Abilities; and with Scholastic flourishes beneath the decencie of a King, compares him to the Sun, which in all figurative use, and significance beares allusion to a King, not to a Subject: No marvel though he
knit contradictions as close as words can lye together, not approving in his judgement, and yet approving in his subsequent reason all that Strafford did, as driv'n by the necessity of times and the temper of that people; for this excuses all his misdemeanors: Lastly, no marvel that he goes on building many faire and pious conclusions upon false and wicked premises, which deceive the common Reader not well discerning the antipathy of such connexions: but this is the mar- vel, and may be the astonishment of all that have a conscience, how he durst in the sight of God (and with the same words of contrition wherwith David repents the murdering of Uriah) repent his lawfull compliance to that just act of not saving him, whom he ought to have deliver'd up to speedy punishment; though himselfe the guiltier of the two. If the deed were so sinfull to have put to death so great a Malefactor, it would have tak'n much doubtles from the heaviness of his sin, to have told God in his con- feffion, how he labour'd, what dark plots hee had contriv'd, into what a league enter'd, and with what Conspirators against his Parliament and Kingdomes, to have rescu'd from the claime of Justice so notable and so deare an Instrument of Tyranny. Which would have bin a story, no doubt as pleaseing in the eares of Heav'n, as all these equivocal repentances. For it was feare, and nothing els which made him faine before both the scruple and the satisfaction of his conscience, that is to say, of his mind: his firft feare pretended conscience that he might be born with to refuse signing; his latter feare being more urgent made him find a conscience both to signe and to be satisfy'd. As for repentance it came not on him till a long time after; when he saw he could have suffer'd nothing more, though he had deny'd that Bill. For how could he understandingly repent of letting that be Treason which the Parlament and whole
Nation so judg’d? This was that which repented him, to have giv’n up to just punishment so stout a Champion of his designes, who might have bin so useful to him in his following civil Broiles. It was a worldly repentance not a conscientious; or els it was a strange Tyranny which his conscience had got over him, to vex him like an evil spirit for doing one act of Justice, and by that means to fortifie his resolution from ever doing so any more. That mind must needs be irrecoverably deprav’d, which either by chance or importunity tasting but once of one just deed, spatters at it, and abhors the relish ever after. To the Scribes and Pharisees, woe was denounced by our Saviour, for straining at a Gnatt and swallowing a Camel; though a Gnat were to be strain’d at: But to a conscience with whom one good deed is so hard to pass down, as to endanger almost a choking, and bad deeds without number though as bigg and bulkie as the ruine of three Kingdomes, goe down currently without straining, certainly a farr greater woe appertaines. If his conscience were come to that unnatural dyscrasie, as to digest poyson and to keck at wholesome food, it was not for the Parlament, or any of his Kingdomes to feed with him any longer. Which to conceale he would persuade us that the Parlament also in their conscience escap’d not some touches of remorse for putting Strafford to death, in forbidding it by an after act to be a precedent for the future. But in a fairer construction, that act impli’d rather a desire in them to pacifie the Kings mind, whom they perceav’d by this meanses quite alienated: in the mean while not imagining that this after act should be retorted on them to tie up Justice for the time to come upon like occasion, whether this were made a precedent or not, no more then the want of such a precedent, if it had bin wanting, had bin available to hinder this.
But how likely is it that this after act argu'd in the Parlament thir least repenting for the death of Strafford, when it argu'd so little in the King himself: who notwithstanding this after act which had his own hand and concurrence, if not his own instigation, within the same yeare accus'd of high Treason no less then six Members at once for the same pretended crimes which his conscience would not yeeld to think treasonable in the Earle. So that this his suttle Argument to fast'n a repenting, and by that means a guiltiness of Straffords death upon the Parlament, concludes upon his own head; and shews us plainly that either nothing in his judgement was Treason against the Common-wealth, but onely against the Kings Person, a tyrannical Principle, or that his conscience was a perverse and prevaricating conscience, to scruple that the Common-wealth shoulid punish for Treasonous in one eminent offender, that which he himselfe sought so vehemently to have punisht in six guiltless persons. If this were that touch of conscience which be bore with greater regret, then for any other sin committed in his life, whether it were that proditory Aid sent to Rochel and Religion abroad, or that prodigality of shedding blood at home, to a million of his Subjects lives not valu'd in comparison of one Strafford, we may consider yet at laft what true sense and feeling could be in that conscience, and what fitness to be the maister conscience of three Kingdomes.

But the reason why he labours that wee should take notice of so much tenderness and regrett in his soule for having any hand in Straffords death, is worth the marking ere we conclude. He hop'd it would be som evidence before God and Man to all posteritie that he was farr from bearing that vast load and guilt of blood layd upon him by others. Which hath the likeness of a suttle dissimulation; bewailing the
blood of one man, his commodious Instrument, put to death most justly, though by him unwillingly, that we might think him too tender to shed willingly the blood of those thousands, whom he counted Rebels. And thus by dipping voluntarily his fingers end, yet with shew of great remorse in the blood of Strafford, whereof all men cleer him, he thinks to scape that Sea of innocent blood wherein his own guilt inevitably hath plung'd him all over. And we may well perceive to what easie satisfactions and purgations he had inur'd his secret conscience, who thinks, by such weak policies and ostentations as these, to gaine beleife and absolution from understanding Men.

III. Upon his going to the House of Commons.

Concerning his unexcusable, and hostile march from the Court to the House of Commons, there needs not much be said. For he confesses it to be an act which most men, whom he calls his Enemies cry'd shame upon; indifferent men grew jealous of and fearfull, and many of his Friends resented as a motion rising rather from passion then reason: He himselfe, in one of his Answers to both Houses, made profession to be convince'd that it was a plaine breach of thir Privilege: Yet heer like a rott'n building newly trimm'd over he represents it speciously and fraudulently to impose upon the simple Reader; and seeks by smooth and supple words not heer only, but through his whole Book, to make som beneficial use or other eev'n of his worst miscarriages.

These Men, faith he, meaning his Friends, knew not the just motives and pregnant grounds with which I thought my selfe furnish'd; to wit, against the five Members, whom hee came to dragg out of the
House. His best Friends indeed knew not, nor could ever know his motives to such a riotous act: and had he himselfe known any just grounds, he was not ignorant how much it might have tended to his justifying, had he nam’d them in this place, and not conceal’d them. But suppose them real, suppose them known, what was this to that violation and dishonor put upon the whole House, whose very dore forcibly kept op’n, and all the passages neer it he betett with Swords and Pistols cockt and menac’d in the hands of about three hundred Swaggerers and Ruffians, who but expected, nay audibly call’d for the word of onset to beginn a slaughter.

He had discover’d as he thought unlawfull correspon-dencies which they had us’d and engagements to imbroile his Kingdome, and remembers not his own unlawfull correspondencies, and conspiracies with the Irish Army of Papists, with the French to land at Portmouth, and his tampring both with the English and the Scotch Army, to come up against the Parliament: the least of which attempts by whomsoever, was no less then manifest Treason against the Commonwealth.

If to demand Justice on the five Members were his Plea, for that which they with more reason might have demanded Justice upon him (I use his own Argument) there needed not so rough assistance. If hee had resolv’d to bear that repuls with patience, which his Queen by her words to him at his return little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide against it, with such an armed and unusual force? But his heart serv’d him not to undergo the hazzard that such a desperat scuffle would have brought him to. But wherfore did he goe at all, it behooving him to know there were two Statutes that declar’d he ought first to have acquainted the Parliament, who were the Accusers, which he re-
fus'd to doe, though still professing to govern by Law, and still justifying his attempts against Law: And when hee saw it was not permitted him to attain them but by a faire tryal, as was offer'd him from time to time, for want of just matter which yet never came to light, he let the business fall of his own accord; and all those pregnancies, and just motives came to just nothing.

He had no temptation of displeasure or revenge against those Men: None, but what he thirsted to execute upon them, for the constant opposition which they made against his tyrannous proceedings, and the love and reputation which they therefore had among the People.

He mist but little to have produc'd writings under some mens own hands. But yet he mist, though thir Chambers, Trunks, and Studies were seal'd up and search'd; yet not found guiltie. Providence would not have it so. Good Providence, that curbs the raging of proud Monarchs, as well as of madd multitudes. Yet hee wanted not such probabilities (for his pregnant is come now to probable) as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart. And thus his pregnant motives are at last prov'd nothing but a Tympamy, or a Queen Maries Cushion: For in any Kings heart, as Kings goe now, what shadowie conceit, or groundless toy will not create a jealousy?

That he had design'd to assault the House of Commons, taking God to witness, he utterly denies; yet, in his Answer to the City, maintaines that any course of violence had bin very justifiable. And we may then guess how far it was from his designe. However it discover'd in him an excessive eagerness to be aveng'd on them that cross'd him; and that to have his will, he stood not to doe things never so much below him. What a becomming sight it was to see the King of England one while in the House of
Commons, by and by in the *Guild-Hall* among the Liveries and Manufactures, prosecuting so greedily the track of five or six fled Subjects; himself not the Solliciter onely but the Pursivant, and the Apparitor of his own partial cause. And although, in his Answers to the Parlament, hee hath confess'd, first that his manner of prosecution was illegal, next, *that as hee once conceiv'd hee had ground enough to accuse them;* so at length that hee found as good cause to desert any prosecution of them, yet heer he seems to reverse all, and against promise takes up his old deserted accusation, that he might have something to excuse himselfe, in stead of giving due reparation; which he always refus'd to give them, whom he had so dishonor'd.

*That I went, faith he of his going to the House of Commons, attended with some Gentlemen; Gentlemen indeed; the ragged Infantrie of Stewes and Brothels; the spawn and shiprack of Taverns and Dicing Houses*: and then he pleads *it was no un- wonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King to be so attended, especially in discontented times.* An il- lustrious Majestie no doubt, so attended: a becoming safety for the King of England, plac'd in the fidelity of such Guards and Champions: Happy times; when Braves and Hacksters, the onely contented Members of his Goverment, were thought the fittest and the faithfulllest to defend his Person against the discontents of a Parlament and all good Men. *Were those the chos'n ones to preserve reverence to him, while he enterd unassur'd, and full of suspitions into his great and faithfull Counsel?* Let God then and the World judge whether the cause were not in his owne guilty and unwarrantable doings: *The House of Commons upon several examinations of this businesse declar'd it sufficiently prov'd that the comming of those Soldiers, Papists, and*
others with the King was to take away some of their Members, and in case of opposition or denial, to have fal'n upon the House in a hostile manner. This the King heer denies; adding a fearful imprecation against his own life, If he purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent, then, faith he, let the Enemy persecute my soule, and tred my life to the ground and lay my honor in the dust. What need then more disputing? He appeal'd to Gods Tribunal, and behold God hath judg'd, and don to him in the fight of all men according to the verdict of his owne mouth. To be a warning to all Kings hereafter how they use presumptuously the words and protestations of David, without the spirit and conscience of David. And the Kings admirers may heer see thir madness to mistake this Book for a monument of his worth and wisdom, when as indeed it is his Doomsday Booke; not like that of William the Nor- man his Predecessor, but the record and memorial of his condemnation: and discovers whatever hath be- fal'n him, to have bin haft'nd on from Divine Jus- tice by the rash and inconsiderat appeal of his own lipps. But what evasions, what pretences, though never so unjust and emptie, will he refuse in matters more unknown, and more involv'd in the mists and intricacies of State, who, rather then not justifie himselve in a thing so generally odious, can flatter his integritie with such frivolous excuses against the manifest dissent of all men, whether Enemies, Neuters, or Friends. But God and his judgements have not bin mock'd; and good men may well perceive what a distance there was ever like to be between him and his Parlament, and perhaps between him and all amendment, who for one good deed, though but consented to, askes God forgiveness; and from his worst deeds don, takes occasion to insift upon his righteousness.
IV. Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.

Ee have heer, I must confess, a neat and well-couch'd invective against Tumults; expressing a true feare of them in the Author, but yet so handsomely compos'd, and withall so feelingly, that, to make a Royal comparison, I believe Rehoboam the Son of Solomon could not have compos'd it better. Yet Rehoboam had more cause to enveigh against them; for they had ston'd his Tribute-gatherer, and perhaps had as little spar'd his own Person, had hee not with all speed betak'n him to his Charret. But this King hath stood the worst of them in his own House without danger, when his Coach and Horses, in a Pаниc feare, have bin to seek, which argues that the Tumults at Whitehall were nothing so dangerous as those at Sechem.

But the matter heer considerable, is not whether the King, or his Household Rhetorician have made a pithy declamation against Tumults, but first whether these were Tumults or not, next if they were, whether the King himselfe did not cause them. Let us examin therfore how things at that time flower. The King, as before hath bin prov'd, having both call'd this Parlament unwillingly, and as unwillingly from time to time condescended to thir several acts, carrying on a disjoynt and privat interest of his own, and not enduring to be so crois'd and overswaid, especially in the executing of his chief and boldest Instrument, the Deputy of Ireland, first tempts the English Army, with no les reward then the spoile of London, to come up and destroy the Parlament. That being discover'd by some of the Officers, who, though bad anough, yet abhorr'd so foule a deed, the King hard'nd in his purpose, turnes him next to
the Scotch Army; and baietes his temptation with a richer reward; not onely to have the sacking of London, but four Northern Counties to be made Scottifh; with Jewels of great value to be giv'n in pawn the while. But neither would the Scots, for any promise of reward, be bought to such an execra-ble and odious treachery; but with much honesty gave notice of the Kings designe, both to the Parla-
ment and City of London. The Parlament moreover had intelligence, and the people could not but dif-
cern, that there was a bitter and malignant party grown up now to such a boldness, as to give out in-
folent and threatening speeches against the Parlament it selfe. Besides this, the Rebellion in Ireland was now broke out; and a conspiracy in Scotland had bin made, while the King was there, against some chief Members of that Parlament; great numbers heer of unknown, and suspicious persons resorted to the City; the King being return'd from Scotland presently dismissses that Guard which the Parlament thought necessary in the midst of so many dangers to have about them; and puts another Guard in thir place, contrary to the Privilege of that high Court, and by such a one commanded, as made them no les doubtfull of the Guard it self. Which they there-
fore, upon som ill effects thereof first found, dis-
charge; deeming it more safe to sitt free, though without a Guard, in op'n danger, then inclos'd with a suspected safety. The people thirefore, left thir worthieth and most faithfull Patriots, who had ex-
pos'd themselves for the public, and whom they saw now left naked, should want aide, or be deserted in the midst of these dangers, came in multitudes, though unarm'd, to witness thir fidelitie and readi-
ness in case of any violence offer'd to the Parlament. The King both envying to see the Peoples love thus devolv'd on another objeect, and doubting left it might
utterly disable him to doe with Parlaments as he was wont, sent a message into the City forbidding such resorts. The Parlament also both by what was discover'd to them, and what they saw in a Malignant Party (some of which had already drawn blood in a Fray or two at the Court Gate, and eev'n at thir own Gate, in Westminster Hall) conceaving themselves to be still in danger where they fate, sent a most reasonable and just Petition to the King that a Guard might be allow'd them out of the City, whereof the Kings own Chamberlaine, the Earle of Essex might have command; it being the right of inferiour Courts to make chois of thir own Guard. This the King refus'd to doe, and why he refus'd, the very next day made manifest. For on that day it was, that he sallied out from Whitehall, with those trufty Myrmidons, to block up, or give assault to the House of Commons. He had, besides all this, begun to fortifie his Court, and entertain'd armed Men not a few; who standing at his Palace Gate, revil'd, and with drawn Swords wounded many of the People, as they went by unarm'd, and in a peaceable manner, whereof some dy'd. The passing by of a multitude, though neither to Saint Georges Feast, nor to a Tilting, certainly of it self was no Tumult; the expression of thir Loyalty and stedfaftness to the Parlament, whose lives and safeties by more then sleight rumours they doubted to be in danger, was no Tumult. If it grew to be so, the cause was in the King himself and his injurious retinue, who both by Hostile preparations in the Court, and by actual assailing of the People, gave them just cause to defend themselves.

Surely those unarmed and Petitioning People needed not have bin so formidable to any, but to such whose consciences misgave them how ill they had deserv'd of the People; and first began to injure
them, because they justly fear’d it from them; and then ascribe that to popular Tumult, which was occasion’d by thir own provoking.

And that the King was so emphatical and elaborat on this Theam against Tumults and express’d with such a vehemence his hatred of them, will redound less perhaps, then he was aware, to the commendation of his Governor. For besides that in good Governments they happ’n seldomst, and rise not without cause, if they prove extreme, and pernicious, they were never counted so to Monarchy, but to Monarchical Tyranny; and extremes one with another are at most Antipathy. If then the King so extremely stood in fear of Tumults, the inference will endanger him to be the other extreme. Thus farr the occasion of this discours against Tumults; now to the discours it selfe, voluble enough, and full of sentence, but that, for the most part, either specious rather then solid, or to his cause nothing pertinent.

He never thought any thing more to presage the mischiefes that ensu’d, then those Tumults. Then was his foresight but short, and much mistak’n. Those Tumults were but the mild effects of an evil and injurious raigne; not signes of mischeifs to come, but seeking releese for mischeiffs past; those signes were to be read more apparent in his rage and purpos’d revenge of those free expostulations, and clamours of the People against his lawles Governent. Not any thing, faith he, portends more Gods displeasure against a Nation then when he suffers the clamours of the Vulgar to pass all bounds of Law and reverence to Autority. It portends rather his displeasure against a Tyrannous King, whose proud Throne he intends to overturn by that contemptible Vulgar; the sad cries and oppressions of whom his Royaltie regarded not. As for that supplicating People they did no hurt either to Law or Autority, but stood for it ra-
ther in the Parliament against whom they fear'd would violate it.

That they invaded the Honour and Freedome of the two Houses, is his own officious accusation, not seconded by the Parliament, who had they seen cause, were themselves best able to complain. And if they shook and menac'd any, they were such as had more relation to the Court, then to the Common-wealth; enemies, not patrons of the people. But if their petitioning unarmed were an invasion of both Houses, what was his entrance into the House of Commons, besetting it with armed men, in what condition then was the honour, and freedom of that House?

They forebore not rude deportments, contemptuous words and actions to himself and his Court.

It was more wonder, having heard what treacherous hostility he had design'd against the City, and his whole Kingdom, that they forbore to handle him as people in thir rage have handl'd Tyrants heretofore for les offences.

They were not a short ague, but a fierce quotidien feaver: He indeed may best say it, who most felt it; for the shaking was within him; and it shook him by his own description, worse then a storme, worse then an earthquake; Belshazzars Palsie. Had not worse feares, terrors, and envies made within him that commotion, how could a multitude of his Subjects, armd with no other weapon then Petitions, have shak'n all his joynts with such a terrible ague. Yet that the Parliament should entertaine the leaft feare of bad intentions from him, or his party, he endures not; but would perswade us that men scare themselves and others without cause; for he thought feare would be to them a kind of armor, and his designe was, if it were possible, to disarme all, especially of a wise feare and suspicion; for that he knew would find weapons.
He goes on threfore with vehemence to repeat the mischeifes don by these tumults. They first Pet-
tition'd then protected, dictate next, and lastly overaw the Parlament. They remov'd obstructions, they purg'd the houses, cast out rott'n members. If there were a man of iron, such as Talus, by our Poet Spencer, is fain'd to be the page of Justice, who with his iron flaile could doe all this, and expeditiously, without those deceitfull forms and circumstances of law, worse then ceremonies in religion; I say God send it don, whether by one Talus, or by a thousand.

But they subdu'd the men of conscience in Parlament, back'd and abetted all seditious and schismatical Propo-
fals against governmet ecclesiasticall and civill.

Now wee may perceave the root of his hatred whence it springs. It was not the Kings grace or princely goodnes, but this iron flaile the People that drove the Bishops out of thir Baronies, out of thir Cathedrals, out of the Lords House, out of thir Copes and Surplices, and all those Papistical innova-
tions, threw downe the High-Commiffion and Star-chamber, gave us a Triennial Parlament, and what we moft desir'd; in revenge whereof he now so bitterly inveighs against them; these are those seditious and schismatical Proposals, then by him con-
descended to, as acts of grace, now of another name; which declares him, touching matters of Church and State, to have bin no other man in the deepeft of his solitude, then he was before at the higheft of his Sovrantie.

But this was not the worst of these tumults, they plaid the hafty midwives, and would not stay the ripen-
ing, but went freight to ripping up, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes.

They would not stay perhaps the Spanish demur-
rine, and putting off such wholesome acts and coun-
sels, as the politic Cabin at Whitehall had no mind
to. But all this is complain’d heer as don to the Parlament, and yet wee heard not the Parlament at that time complaine of any violence from the people, but from him. Wherfore intrudes he to plead the cause of Parlament against the People, while the Parlament was pleading thir owne cause against him; and against him were forc’d to seek refuge of the people? ’Tis plaine then that those confluxes and reforts interrupted not the Parlament, nor by them were thought Tumultuous, but by him onely and his Court Faction.

But what good Man had not rather want any thing be most desir’d for the public good, then attain it by such unlawfull and irreligious meanes; as much as to say, Had not rather sit still and let his Countrie be tyranniz’d, then that the people, finding no other remedie, should stand up like Men and demand thir Rights and Liberties. This is the artificialest picee of finenes to perswade Men to be Slaves that the wit of Court could have invented. But heare how much better the Moral of this Lesfon would befit the Teacher. What good man had not rather want a boundless and arbitrary power, and those fine Flowers of the Crown, call’d Prerogatives, then for them to use force and perpetual vexation to his faithfull Subjects, nay to wade for them through blood and civil Warr. So that this and the whole bundle of those following sentences may be apply’d better to the convincement of his own violent courses, then of those pretended Tumults.

Who were the cheife Demagogues to send for those Tumults, some alive are not ignorant. Setting aside the affrightment of this Goblin word; for the King by his leave cannot coine English as he could Mony, to be current (and tis beleev’d this wording was above his known stile and Orthographie, and accuses the whole compofure to be conscious of som other
Author) yet if the People were sent for, embold'nd and directed by those Demagogues, who saving his Greek, were good Patriots, and by his own confession Men of some repute for parts and pietie, it helps well to assure us there was both urgent cause, and the lese danger of their comming.

Complaints were made, yet no redress could be obtain'd. The Parlament also complain'd of what danger they fate in from another party, and demanded of him a Guard, but it was not granted. What marvel then if it cheer'd them to see some store of thir Friends, and in the Roman not the pettifogging sense, thir Clients so neer about them; a defence due by nature both from whom it was offer'd, and to whom; as due as to thir Parents; though the Court storm'd, and fretted to see such honour giv'n to them, who were then best Fathers of the Common-wealth. And both the Parlament and people complain'd, and demanded Justice for those assaults if not murders don at his own dores, by that crew of Rufflers; but he, in stead of doing Justice on them, justifi'd and abetted them in what they did, as in his public Answer to a Petition from the City may be read. Neither is it slightly to be pass'd over, that in the very place where blood was first drawn in this cause, as the beginning of all that follow'd, there was his own blood shed by the Executioner. According to that sentence of Divine Justice, In the place where Dogs lick'd the blood of Naboth, shall Dogs lick thy blood, eev'n thine.

From hence he takes occasion to excuse that improvident and fatal error of his absenting from the Parlament. When he found that no Declaration of the Bishops could take place against those Tumults. Was that worth his considering, that foolish and self-undoing Declaration of twelve Cypher Bishops, who were immediately appeacht of Treason for that au-
dacious Declaring? The Bishops peradventure were now and then pull'd by the Rochets, and deserv'd another kind of pulling; but what amounted this to the feare of his own person in the Streets? Did he not the very next day after his irruption into the House of Commons, then which nothing had more exasperated the people, goe in his Coach unguarded into the City? did he receave the leaft affront, much less violence in any of the Streets, but rather humble demeanours, and supplications? Hence may be gather'd, that however in his own guiltiness hee might have justly fear'd, yet that he knew the people so full of aw and reverence to his Person, as to dare commit himselfe single among the thickest of them, at a time when he had most provok'd them. Besides in Scotland they had hand'd the Bishops in a more robustious manner; Edinburrow had bin full of Tumults, two Armies from thence had enter'd England against him; yet after all this, hee was not fearfull, but very forward to take so long a journey to Edinburrow; which argues first, as did also his rendition afterward to the Scotch Army, that to England he continu'd still, as he was indeed, a stranger, and full of diffidence; to the Scots onely a native King, in his confidence, though not in his dealing towards them. It shews us next beyond doubting, that all this his feare of Tumults was but a meer pretence and occasion tak'n of his resolved absence from the Parlament, for some other end not difficult to be gues'd. And those instances wherein valour is not to be question'd for not Scuffling with the Sea, or an undisciplind Rabble, are but subservient to carry on the solemn jest of his fearing Tumults: if they discover not withall, the true reason why he departed; onely to turne his flashing at the Court Gate, to slaughtering in the Field; his disorderly bickering, to an orderly invading: which was nothing els but a more orderly disorder.
Some suspected and affirm'd, that he meditated a Warr when he went first from White Hall. And they were not the worst heads that did so, nor did any of his former acts weak'n him to that, as hee alleges of himselfe, or if they had, they cleere him onely for the time of passing them, not for what ever thoughts might come after into his mind. Former actions of improvidence or feare, not with him unusual, cannot absolve him of all after meditations.

He goes on protestting his no intention to have left White Hall, had these horrid Tumults giv'n him but Faire Quarter, as if he himselfe, his Wife and Children had bin in peril. But to this anough hath bin answer'd.

Had this Parlament as it was in its first Election, Namely, with the Lord and Baron Bishops, free full and free, he doubts not but all had gon well. What warrant this of his to us? Whose not doubting was all good mens greatest doubt.

He was resolv'd to heare reason, and to consent so farr as he could comprehend. A hopefull resolution; what if his reason were found by oft experience to comprehend nothing beyond his own advantages, was this a reason fit to be intrusted with the common good of three Nations?

But, faith he, as Swine are to Gardens, so are Tumults to Parlements. This the Parlament, had they found it so, could best have told us. In the meane while, who knows not that one great Hogg may doe as much mischief in a Garden as many little Swine.

He was sometimes prone to think that had hee call'd this last Parlament to any other place in England, the sad consequences might have bin prevented. But change of ayr changes not the mind. Was not his first Parlament at Oxford dissolv'd after two Subsidies giv'n him, and no Justice receav'd? Was not his laft in the same place, where they fate with as much
freedom, as much quiet from Tumults, as they could desire, a Parliament both in his account, and thir own, consisting of all his Friends, that fled after him, and suffer'd for him, and yet by him nick-nam'd, and casheer'd for a *Mungrell Parliament that vext his Queen with thir base and mutinous motions*, as his Cabinet letter tells us. Wherby the World may see plainly, that no shifting of place, no sifting of Members to his own mind, no number, no paucity, no freedom from tumults, could ever bring his arbitrary wilfulness, and tyrannical Designes to brook the left shape or similitude, the left counterfet of a Parliament.

Finally in stead of praying for his people as a good King should doe, hee prays to be deliver'd from them, as *from wild Beasts, Inundations, and raging Seas, that had overborn all Loyalty, Modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion*. God save the People from such Intercessors.

V. Upon the Bill for Triennial Parllaments, and for setling this, &c.

He Bill for Triennial Parllaments was doubtles a good Bill, and the other for setling this was at that time very expedient; and in the Kings own words no more then what the World was fully confirm'd hee might in *Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience* grant them; for to that end he affirmes to have don it.

But wheras he attributes the passing of them to his own act of grace and willingness, as his manner is to make vertues of his necellities, and giving to himselfe all the praise, heaps ingratitude upon the Parliament, a little memory will sett the cleane contrary before us; that for those Beneficial acts we ow what we ow to the Parliament; but to his granting
them neither praise nor thanks. The first Bill granted much less than two former Statutes yet in force by Edward the third; that a Parlament should be call'd every yeare, or ofter if need were; nay from a farr anciencter Law Book call'd the Mirror, it is affirm'd in a late Treatife call'd Rights of the Kingdom, that Parlaments by our old Laws ought twice a yeare to be at London. The second was so necessary that nothing in the power of Man, more seem'd to be the stay and support of all things from that steep ruin, to which he had nigh brought them, then that Act obtain'd. He had by his ill Stewardship, and, to say no worse, the needle's raising of two Armies, intended for a civil Warr, begger'd both himself and the Public: and besides had left us upon the score of his needy Enemies, for what it cost them in thir owne defence againft him. To disingage him and the Kingdom, great sums were to be borrow'd, which would never have bin lent, nor could ever be repaid, had the King chanc'd to disslove this Parlament as heeretofore. The errors also of his Government had brought the Kingdom to such extremes, as were incapable of all recovery without the abso- lute continuance of this Parlament. It had bin els in vaine to goe about the settling of so great distempers, if hee who first caus'd the malady might when he pleas'd reject the remedy. Notwithstanding all which, that he granted both these Acts unwillingly, and as a meer paftive Instrument, was then visible ee'n to moft of those Men who now will see nothing.

At passling of the former Act he himselfe conc- ceal'd not his unwillingness; and testifying a general dilike of thir actions, which they then proceeded in with great approbation of the whole Kingdom, he told them with a maifterly Brow, that by this act he had oblig'd them above what they had deserv'd, and gave
a pce of Justice to the Common-wealth three times short of his Predecessors, as if he had bin giving som boon, or begg'd Office to a sort of his des-ertless Grooms.

That he pafs'd the latter Act against his will, no man in reaon can hold it questionable. For if the February before he made so dainty, and were so loath to bestow a Parlament once in three yeare upon the Nation, because this had so oppos'd his courses, was it likely that the May following he should bestow willingly on this Parlament an indissoluble sitting, when they had offended him much more, by cutting short and impeaching of high Treason his chief Fa-vorites? It was his feare then, not his favor which drew from him that Act, left the Parlament, incens'd by his Conspiracies against them about the same time discover'd, should with the People have resented too hainously those his doings, if to the suspicion of thir danger from him, he had also added the denyall of this onely means to secure themselves.

From these Acts therfore in which he glories, and wherewith so oft hee upbraids the Parlament, he cannot justly expect to reap'e aught but dishonour and dispraise; as being both unwillingly granted, and the one granting much less than was before allow'd by Statute, the other being a testimony of his violent and lawless Custom, not onely to break Privileges, but whole Parlaments; from which enormity they were constrain'd to bind him first of all his Prede-
cessors; never any before him having giv'n like causes of distrust and jealoufie to his People. As for this Parlament,how farr he was from being ad-
vis'd by them, as he ought, let his own words ex-
press.

He taxes them with undoing what they found well done: and yet knows they undid nothing in the Church but Lord Bishops, Liturgies, Ceremonies,
High Commission, judg'd worthy by all true Protet-
tants to bee thrown out of the Church. They undid
nothing in the State but irregular and grinding Courts,
the maine greevances to be remov'd; and if these
were the things which in his opinion they found well
don, we may againe from hence be inform'd with
what unwillingness hee remov'd them; and that
those gracious Acts wherof so frequently hee makes
mention, may be english'd more properly Acts of
feare and diffimulation against his mind and con-
science.

The Bill preventing dissolution of this Parlement
he calls An unparalell'd Act out of the extreme con-
dence that his Subjects would not make ill use of it. But
was it not a greater confidence of the People to put
into one mans hand so great a power, till he abus'd it,
as to summon and dissolve Parlamets? Hee
would be thankt for trusting them, and ought to
thank them rather for trusting him: the trust issu-
ing firft from them, not from him.

And that it was a meer trust, and not his Preroga-
tive, to call and dissolve Parlamets at his pleasure,
and that Parlamets were not to be dissolv'd, till all
Petitions were heard, all greevances redreft, is not
only the assertion of this Parlement but of our an-
cient Law Books, which averre it to be an unwrit'tn
Law of common Right, so engrav'n in the hearts of
our Ancestors, and by them so constantly enjoy'd and
claim'd, as that it needed not enrouling. And if the
Scots in thir Declaration could charge the King with
breach of their Laws, for breaking up that Parla-
ment without their consent, while matters of greatest
moment were depending, it were unreasonable to
imagin that the wisdom of England should be so
wanting to it self through all Ages, as not to provide
by some known Law writ'tn or unwrit'tn, against the
not calling, or the arbitrary dissolving of Parlamets;
or that they who ordain'd thir summoning twice a yeare, or as oft as need requir'd, did not tacitly enact also, that as necessity of affaires call'd them, so the same necessity should keep them undissolv'd, till that were fully satisfi'd. Were it not for that, Parliaments, and all the fruit and benefit we receive by having them, would turne soon to meer abusion. It appeares then that if this Bill of not dissolving were an unparallel'd Act, it was a known and common Right which our Ancestors under other Kings enjoyed as firmly as if it had bin grav'n in Marble; and that the infringement of this King first brought it into a writ'n Act: Who now boasts that, as a great favour don us, which his own less fidelity then was in former Kings constrain'd us onely of an old undoubted Right to make a new writ'n Act. But what needed writ'n Acts, when as anciently it was esteem'd part of his Crowne Oath not to dissolve Parlaments, till all greevances were consider'd; whereupon the old Modi of Parliament, calls it flat perjury, if he dissolve them before; as I find cited in a Booke mention'd at the beginning of this Chapter, to which and other Law-tractats I referr the more Lawyerlie mooting of this point: which is neither my element, nor my proper work heer; since the Book which I have to Answar pretends to reason, not to Authorities and quotations: and I hold reason to be the beft Arbitrator, and the Law of Law it self.

Tis true that good Subjects think it not just that the Kings condition should be worse by bettering theirs. But then the King must not be at such a distance from the people in judging what is better and what worse; which might have bin agreed, had he known (for his own words condemn him) as well with moderation to use, as with earnejines to desire his own advantages.

A continuall Parliament be thought would keep the Common-wealth in tune. Judge Common-wealth what
proofs he gave, that this boasted profession was ever in his thought.

Some, faith he, gave out that I repented me of that settling act. His own actions gave it out beyond all supposition. For doubtles it repented him to have established that by Law, which he went about so soon after to abrogat by the Sword.

He calls those Acts which he confesses, tended to thir good, not more Princely then friendly contributions. As if to doe his duty were of courtesie, and the discharge of his trust a parcell of his liberality; so nigh loft in his esteem was the birth-right of our Liberties, that to give them back againe upon demand stood at the mercy of his Contribution.

He doubts not but the affections of his People will compensate his sufferings for those acts of confidence. And imputes his sufferings to a contrary cause. Not his confidence, but his distrust was that which brought him to those sufferings, from the time that he forsook his Parliament, and trusted them ne're the sooner for what he tells of thir pietie and religious strictness, but rather hated them as Puritans, whom he always sought to extirpate.

He would have it beleev'd, that to bind his hands by these Acts argu'd a very short foresight of things, and extreme fatuitie of mind in him, if he had meant a Warr. If we should conclude so, that were not the onely Argument: Neither did it argue that he meant peace; knowing that what he granted for the present out of seare, he might as soon repeale by force, watching his time; and deprive them the fruit of those Acts, if his own designes, wherein he put his trust, took effect.

Yet he complains, That the Tumults threatn'd to abuse all acts of grace and turne them into wantonness. I would they had turn'd his wantonness into the grace of not abusing Scripture. Was this becom-
ming such a Saint as they would make him, to adulterate those Sacred words from the grace of God to the acts of his own grace? Herod was eat'n up of Wormes for suffering others to compare his voice to the voice of God; but the Borrower of this phrase gives much more cause of jealouzie that he lik'n'd, his own acts of grace to the acts of Gods grace.

From profaneness hee scars comes off with perfet sense, I was not then in a capacity to make Warr, therfore I intended not. I was not in a capacity, therfore I could not have giv'n my Enemies greater advantage then by so unprincely inconstancy to have scatter'd them by Armes, whom but lately I had settl'd by Parliament. What place could there be for his inconstancy to doe that thing wherto he was in no capacity? Otherwise his inconstancy was not so unwonted, or so nice but that it would have easily found pretences to scatter those in revenge, whom he settl'd in feare.

*It had bin a course full of sin as well as of hazzard and dishonour.* True, but if those considerations withheld him not from other actions of like nature, how can we beleev they were of strength sufficient to withhold him from this? And that they withheld him not, the event soon taught us.

*His letting some men goe up to the Pinnacle of the Temple was a temptation to them to cast him downe headlong.* In this Simily wee have himselle compar'd to Christ, the Parlament to the Devill, and his giving them that Act of settling, to his letting them goe up to the *Pinnacle of the Temple*. A tottring and giddy Act rather then a settling. This was goodly use made of Scripture in his Solitudes. But it was no Pinnacle of the Temple, it was a Pinnacle of Nebuchadnnezzars Palace from whence hee and Monarchy fell headlong together.

He would have others see that *All the Kingdomes*
of the World are not worth gaining by wayes of sinn which hazzard the Soule; and hath himselfe left nothing unhazzarded to keep three. He concludes with sentences that rightly scand make not so much for him as against him, and confesses that The Act of settlowing was no sin of his will, and wee easily beleeve him, for it hath bin clearly provd a sin of his unwillingness.

With his Orifons I meddle not, for hee appeals to a high Audit. This yet may be noted, that at his Prayers he had before him the sad prefage of his ill success, As of a dark and dangerous Storme, which never admitted his returne to the Port from whence he set out. Yet his Prayer-Book no sooner shutt, but other hopes flatter’d him; and thir flattering was his destruction.

VI. Upon his Retirement from Westminster.

He Simily wherewith hee beginss I was about to have found fault with, as in a garb somwhat more Poeticall then for a Statist: but meeting with many straines of like dress in other of his Essayes, and hearing him reported a more diligent reader of Poets, then of Politicians, I begun to think that the whole Book might perhaps be intended a peece of Poetrie. The words are good, the fiction smooth and cleanly; there wanted onely Rime, and that, they say, is bestow’d upon it lately. But to the Argument.

I stay’d at White Hall till I was driv’n away by shame more then feare. I retract not what I thought of the fiction, yet heer, I muft confess, it lies too op’n. In his Messages and Declarations, nay in the whole Chapter next but one before this, hee affirms that The danger, wherein his Wife, his Children, and
his owne Person were by those Tumults, was the maine cause that drove him from White Hall, and appeales to God as witness: he affirmes heer that it was shame more then feare. And Digby, who knew his mind as well as any, tells his new-lifted Guard, That the principall cause of his Majesties going thence, was to save them from being trodd in the dirt. From whence we may dicerne what false and frivolous excuses are avow'd for truth, either in those Declarations, or in this Penitential Book. Our forefathers were of that courage and severity of zeale to Justice, and thir native Liberty, against the proud contempt and misrule of thir Kings, that when Richard the Second departed but from a Committie of Lords, who fate preparing matter for the Parlament, not yet assembl'd, to the removal of his evil Counselors, they first vanquish'd and put to flight Robert de Vere his chief Favorite, and then comming up to London with a huge Army, requir'd the King then withdrawd for feare, but no furder off then the Tower, to come to Westminster. Which he refusing, they told him flatly, that unless he came, they would choose another. So high a crime it was accounted then, for Kings to absent themselves, not from a Parlament, which none ever durft, but from any meeting of his Peeres and Counselors, which did but tend towards a Parlament. Much les would they have suffer'd that a King for such trivial and various pretences, one while for feare of Tumults, another while for shame to see them, should leave his Regal Station, and the whole Kingdom bleeding to death of those wounds which his own unfkilfull and persvers Goverment had inflicted.

Shame then it was that drove him from the Parlament, but the shame of what? Was it the shame of his manifold errorrs and misdeeds, and to see how weakly he had ploi'd the King? No; But to see
the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults to demand any thing. We have started heer another, and, I believe, the truest cause of his deserting the Parlement. The worst and strangest of that Any thing which the people then demanded, was but the unlording of Bishops, and expelling them the House, and the reducing of Church-Discipline to a conformity with other Protestant Churches: this was the Barbarijm of those Tumults; and that he might avoid the granting of those honest and pious demands, as well demanded by the Parlement as the People, for this very cause, more then for seare, by his own confession heer, he left the City; and in a most tempestuous season forsook the Helme, and steerage of the Common-wealth. This was that terrible Any thing from which his Conscience and his Reason chose to run rather then not deny. To be importun'd the removing of evil Counselors, and other greevances in Church and State, was to him an intollerable oppression. If the Peoples demanding were so burd'n-fome to him, what was his deniall and delay of Justice to them?

But as the demands of his People were to him a burd'n and oppression, so was the advice of his Parlement esteem'd a bondage, Whose agreeing Votes, as he affirmes, were not by any Law or reason conclusive to his judgement. For the Law, it ordaines a Parlement to advise him in his great affaires; but if it ordaine also that the single judgement of a King shall out-balance all the wisdom of his Parlement, it ordaines that which frustrats the end of its own ordaining. For where the Kings judgement may dissent, to the destruction, as it may happ'n, both of himself and the Kingdom, there advice, and no further, is a most insufficient, and frustraneous meanes to be provided by Law, in cases of so high concernment. It being therfore most unlike a Law, to
ordain a remedy so slender and unlawlike, to be the utmost means of all public safety, or prevention, as advice is, which may at any time be rejected by the sole judgement of one man, the King, and so unlike the Law of England, which Lawyers say is the quintessence of reason, wee may conclude that the Kings negative voice was never any Law, but an absurd and reasonless Custom, begotten and grown up either from the flattery of basest times, or the usurpation of immoderate Princes. Thus much to the Law of it, by a better evidence then Rowles and Records, Reason.

But is it possible he should pretend also to reason, that the judgement of one man, not as a wise or good man, but as a King, and oft times a wilfull, proud, and wicked King, should outweigh the prudence, and all the vertue of an elected Parliament? What an abusive thing it were then to summon Parliaments, that by the major part of voices greatest matters may be there debated and resolv'd, when as one voice after that shall dash all thir Resolutions?

He attempts to give a reason why it should, Because the whole Parliament represents not him in any kind. But mark how little he advances; for if the Parliament represent the whole Kingdom, as is sure enough they doe, then doth the King represent onely himself; and if a King without his Kingdom be in a civil sense nothing, then without or against the Representative of his whole Kingdom, hee himself represents nothing, and by consequence his judgement and his negative is as good as nothing; and though we should allow him to be something, yet not equal, or comparable to the whole Kingdom, and so neither to them that represent it.

Yet heer he maintaines, To be no furder bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then he sees them to agree with the will of God, with his just Rights as a
King, and the generall good of his People. As to the freedom of his agreeing or not agreeing, limited with due bounds, no man reprehends it; this is the Question heer, or the Miracle rather, why his onely not agreeing should lay a negative barr and inhibition upon that which is agreed to by a whole Parlament, though never so conducing to the Public good or safety. To know the will of God better then his whole Kingdome, Whence should he have it? Certainly Court-breeding and his perpetual conversation with Flatterers, was but a bad Schoole. To judge of his own Rights could not belong to him, who had no right by Law in any Court to judge of so much as Fellony or Treason, being held a party in both these Cases, much more in this; and his Rights however should give place to the general good, for which end all his Rights were giv'n him. Lastly to suppose a clearer insight and discerning of the general good, allotted to his own singular judgement, then to the Parlament and all the People, and from that self-opinion of discerning, to deny them that good which they being all Freemen seek earnestly, and call for, is an arrogance and iniquity beyond imagination rude and unreasonable: they undoubtedly having most authoritie to judge of the public good, who for that purpose are chos'n out, and sent by the People to advise him. And if it may be in him to see oft the major part of them not in the right, had it not bin more his modestie to have doubted their seeing him more oft'n in the wrong?

Hee pasies to another reason of his denialls, Because of some mens hydropic unsatiableness, and thirst of asking, the more they drank, whom no fountaine of regall bountie was able to overcome. A comparision more properly bestow'd on those that came to guzzle in his Wine-cellar, then on a freeborn People that came to claime in Parlament thir Rights and Liber-
ties, which a King ought therefore to grant, because of right demanded; not to deny them for feare his bounty should be exhaust, which in these demands (to continue the same Metaphor) was not so much as Broach'd; it being his duty, not his bounty to grant these things.

Putting off the Courtier he now puts on the Philosopher, and sententiously disputes to this effect, That reason ought to be us'd to men, force and terror to Beasts; that he deserves to be a slave who captivates the rationall soverantie of his soule, and liberty of his will to compulsion; that he would not forfeit that freedom which cannot be deni'd him, as a King, because it belongs to him as a Man and a Christian, though to preserve his Kingdom, but rather dye enjoying the Empire of his soule, then live in such a vassalage as not to use his reason and conscience to like or dislike as a King. Which words, of themselves, as far as they are sense, good and Philosophical, yet in the mouth of him who to engross this common libertie to himself, would tred down all other men into the condition of Slaves and Beasts, they quite loose thir commendation. He confesses a rational sovrantie of soule, and freedom of will in every man, and yet with an implicit repugnancy would have his reason the sovran of that sovranty, and would captivate and make useless that natural freedom of will in all other men but himself. But them that yeeld him this obedience he so well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be Slaves. They who have lost all to be his Subjects, may stoop and take up the reward. What that freedom is, which cannot be deni'd him as a King, because it belongs to him as a Man, and a Christian, I understand not. If it be his negative voice, it concludes all men who have not such a negative as his against a whole Parliament, to be neither Men, nor Christians: and what was he himself then, all this while
that we deni'd it him as a King? Will hee say that hee enjoy'd within himselfe the lefs freedom for that? Might not he, both as a man and as a Christian have raignd within himselfe, in full sovranty of soule, no man repining, but that his outward and imperious will must invade the civil Liberties of a Nation? Did wee therefore not permit him to use his reason or his conscience, not permitting him to bereave us the use of ours? And might not he have enjoy'd both, as a King, governing us as Free men by what Laws wee our selves would be govern'd? It was not the inward use of his reason and his conscience that would content him, but to use them both as a Law over all his Subjects, in whatever he declar'd as a King to like or dislike. Which use of reason, most reasonless and unconsciencible, is the utmoft that any Tyrant ever pretended over his Vassals.

In all wise Nations the Legislative power, and the judicial execution of that power have bin most commonly distinct, and in several hands: but yet the former supreme, the other subordinat. If then the King be only set up to execute the Law, which is indeed the highest of his Office, he ought no more to make or forbidd the making of any law agreed upon in Parlament; then other inferior Judges, who are his Deputies. Neither can hee more reject a Law offerd him by the Commons, then he can new make a Law which they reject. And yet the more to credit and uphold his cause, he would seeme to have Philosophie on his sife; straining her wise dictates to un-philosophicall purposes. But when Kings come so low, as to fawn upon Philosophie, which before they neither valu'd nor understood, tis a signe that failes not, they are then put to their laft Trump. And Philosophie as well requites them, by not suffering her gold'n sayings either to become their lipps,
or to be us'd as masks and colours of injurious and violent deeds. So that what they presume to borrow from her sage and virtuous rules, like the Riddle of *Sphinx* not understood, breaks the neck of thir own cause.

But now againe to Politics: *He cannot think the Majestie of the Crowne of England to be bound by any Coronation Oath in a blind and brutifh formalitie, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parlament shall require.* What Tyrant could presume to say more, when he meant to kick down all Law, Goverment, and bond of Oath? But why he so desires to absolve himself the Oath of his Coronation would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yeelded, that the Oath which bindes him to performance of his trust, ought in reason to contain the summ of what his chief trust and Office is. But if it neither doe enjoyn, nor mention to him, as a part of his duty, the making or the marring of any Law or scrap of Law, but requires onely his assent to those Laws which the People have already chos'n, or shall choose (for so both the Latin of that Oath, and the old English, and all Reason admits, that the People should not lose under a new King what freedom they had before) then that Negative voice so contended for, to deny the passing of any Law which the Commons choose, is both against the Oath of his Coronation, and his Kingly Office. And if the King may deny to pass what the Parlament hath chos'n to be a Law, then doth the King make himself Superiour to his whole Kingdom; which not onely the general Maxims of Policy gainfay, but eev'n our own standing Laws, as hath bin cited to him in Remonstrances heertofore, that *The King hath two Superiours, the Law and his Court of Parlament.* But this he counts to be a blind and brutifh formality, whether it be Law, or Oath, or his duty, and thinks to turn it off with
wholefom words and phrases, which he then first learnt of the honest People, when they were so oft'n compell'd to use them against those more truely blind and brutifh formalities thrust upon us by his own command.

As for his instance in case He and the House of Peers attempted to enjoyne the House of Commons, it bears no equalitie; for hee and the Peers represent but themselves, the Commons are the whole Kingdom.

Thus he concludes his Oath to be fully discharg'd in Governing by Laws already made, as being not bound to pass any new, if his Reason bids him deny. And so may infinite mischeifs grow, and a whole Nation be ruin'd, while our general good and safety shall depend upon the privat and overweening Reason of one obstinat Man, who against all the Kingdom, if he lift, will interpret both the Law and his Oath of Coronation by the tenor of his own will. Which hee himself confesses to be an arbitrary power, yet doubts not in his Argument to imply, as if he thought it more fitt the Parlament should be subject to his will, then he to their advice, a man neither by nature nor by nurture wise. How is it possible that hee in whom such Principles as these were so deep rooted, could ever, though restor'd again, have raign'd otherwise then Tyrannically.

He objects That force was but a flavish method to dispell his error. But how oft'n shall it be answer'd him that no force was us'd to dispell the error out of his head, but to drive it from off our necks: for his error was imperious, and would command all other men to renounce their own reafon and understanding, till they perish'd under the injunction of his all-ruling error.

He alleges the uprightness of his intentions to excuse his possible failings; a position fals both in
Law and Divinity: Yea contrary to his own better principles, who affirmes in the twelfth Chapter, that The goodness of a mans intention, will not excuse the scandal, and contagion of his example. His not knowing, through the corruption of flattery and Court Principles, what he ought to have known, will not excuse his not doing what he ought to have don: no more then the small skill of him who undertakes to bee a Pilot, will excuse him to be misledd by any wandring Starr mistak'n for the Pole. But let his intentions be never so upright, what is that to us? What answer for the reason and the National Rights which God hath giv'n us, if having Parlaments, and Laws and the power of making more to avoid mischief, wee suffer one mans blind intentions to lead us all with our eyes op'n to manifest destruction.

And if Arguments prevaile not with such a one, force is well us'd; not to carry on the weakness of our Counfels, or to convince his error, as he surmifes, but to acquitt and rescue our own reason, our own conffciences from the force and prohibition laid by his usurping error upon our Liberties and understandings.

Never thing pleas'd him more then when his judgement concur'd with theirs. That was to the applause of his own judgement, and would as well have pleas'd any self-conceited man.

Yea in many things he chose rather to deny himselfe then them. That is to say in trifles. For of his own Interests and Personal Rights he conceavs himself Maifter. To part with, if he please, not to contest for, against the Kingdom which is greater then he, whose Rights are all subordinat to the Kingdoms good: And in what concerns truth, Juftice, the right of Church, or his Crown, no man shall gaine his consent against his mind. What can be left then for a Parliament, but to fit like Images, while he still thus
either with incomparable arrogance assumes to himself the best ability of judging for other men what is Truth, Justice, Goodness, what his own, or the Churches right, or with un sufferable Tyranny restraines all men from the enjoyment of any good, which his judgement, though erroneous, thinks not fit to grant them; notwithstanding that the Law and his Coronal Oath requires his undeniable assent to what Laws the Parliament agree upon.

He had rather wear a Crown of Thorns with our Saviour. Many would be all one with our Saviour, whom our Saviour will not know. They who govern ill those Kingdoms which they had a right to, have to our Saviours Crown of Thorns no right at all. Thones they may find anow, of thir own gathering, and thir own twisting: for Thones and Snares, faith Solomon, are in the way of the froward; but to weare them as our Saviour wore them is not giv’n to them that suffer by thir own demerits. Nor is a Crown of Gold his due who cannot first wear a Crowne of Lead; not onely for the weight of that great Office, but for the compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counsel him, which heer he terms in scorne. An imbased flexibleness to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions, meaning his Parliament; for the question hath bin all this while between them two. And to his Parliament, though a numerous and choise Assembly of whom the Land thought wisest, he imputes rather then to himself, want of reason, neglect of the Public, interest of parties, and particularitie of private will and passion; but with what modesty or likelihood of truth it will be wearisom to repeat so oft’n.

He concludes with a sentence faire in seeming, but fallacious. For if the conscience be ill edifi’d, the resolution may more beffitt a foolish then a Christian King, to preferr a self-will’d conscience before
a Kingdoms good; especially in the deniall of that which Law and his Regall Office by Oath bids him grant to his Parlament, and whole Kingdom right-fully demanding. For wee may observe him through- out the discours to assert his Negative power against the whole Kingdom; now under the specious Plea of his conscience and his reason, but heertofore in a lowder note, Without us, or against our consent, the Votes of either or of both Houfes together, must not, cannot, shall not: Declar. May 4. 1642.

With these and the like deceavable Doctrines he levens also his Prayer.

VII. Upon the Queens departure.

O this Argument we shall soon have said; for what concerns it us to hear a Husband divulge his Household privacies, extolling to others the vertues of his Wife; an infirmity not seldom incident to those who have leaft cause. But how good shee was a Wife, was to him- self, and be it left to his own fancy; how bad a Subject, is not much disputed. And being such, it need be made no wonder, though shee left a Protestant Kingdom with as little honour as her Mother left a Popish.

That this Is the first example of any Protestant Sub- jects that have tak'n up Armes against thir King a Proteftant, can be to Protestants no dishonour; when it shall be heard that he first levied Warr on them, and to the interest of Papifts more then of Protestants. He might have giv'n yet the precedence of making Warr upon him to the Subjects of his own Nation; who had twice oppos'd him in the op'n Feild, long ere the English found it necessary to doe the like. And how groundlefs, how dissembl'd is that feare,
left she, who for so many yeares had been adverse from the Religion of her Husband, and every year more and more, before these disturbances broke out, should for them be now the more alienated from that to which we never heard shee was inclin’d. But if the feare of her Delinquency and that Justice which the Protestants demanded on her, was any cause of her alienating the more, to have gain’d her by indirect means had been no advantage to Religion; much less then was the detriment to loose her furder off. It had bin happy if his own actions had not giv’n cause of more scandal to the Protestants, then what they did against her could justly scandalize any Papist.

Them who accus’d her, well enough known to be the Parlament, he censures for Men yet to seeke thir Religion, whether Doctrine, Discipline, or good manners; the rest he soothes with the name of true English Protestants, a meer scifmatical name, yet he so great an enemy of Scism.

He ascribes Rudeness and barbarity worse then Indian to the English Parlament: and all vertue to his Wife, in strains that come almost to Sonnetting: How fitt to govern men, undervaluing and aspering the great Counsel of his Kingdom, in comparison of one Woman. Examples are not farr to seek, how great mischeif and dishonour hath befall’n to Nations under the Goverment of effeminate and Uxorious Magistrates. Who being themselves govern’d and overwaied at home under a Feminine usurpation, cannot but be farr short of spirit and authority without dores, to govern a whole Nation.

Her tarrying heer he could not think safe among them who were shaking hands with Allegiance to lay faster hold on Religion; and taxes them of a duty rather then a crime, it being just to obey God rather then Man, and impossible to serve two Maifters. I would they had quite shak’n off what they stood shaking hands
with; the fault was in thir courage, not in thir cause.

In his Prayer he praiest that The disloyaltie of his Protestant Subjects may not be a hindrance to her love of the true Religion; and never prays that the dislo-lutenes of his Court, the scandals of his Clergy, the unsoundness of his own judgement, the lukewarm-ness of his life, his Letter of compliance to the Pope, his permitting Agents at Rome, and the Popes Nuntio here, may not be found in the fight of God farr greater hindrances to her conversion.

But this had bin a suttle Prayer indeed, and well pray'd, though as duly as a Pater-nofter, if it could have charm'd us to fit still, and have Religion and our Liberties one by one snatch'd from us, for fear least rising to defend our selves, wee should fright the Queen a stiff Papift from turning Protestant. As if the way to make his Queen a Protestant had bin to make his Subjects more then half way Papists.

He prays next That his constancy may be an anti-dote against the poysion of other mens example. His constancy in what? Not in Religion, for it is op'nly known that her Religion wrought more upon him, then his Religion upon her, and his op'n favouring of Papists, and his hatred of them call'd Puritans, made most men suspect she had quite perverted him. But what is it that the blindness of hypocrisy dares not doe? it dares pray, and thinks to hide that from the eyes of God, which it cannot hide from the op'n view of man.
VIII. Upon His repulse at Hull, and the fate of the Hothams.

Hull, a town of great strength and opportunity both to sea and land affairs, was at that time the magazin of all those armes which the King had bought with mony most illegally extorted from his subjects of England, to use in a causeles and most unjust civil warr against his subjects of Scotland. The King in high discontent and anger had left the Parlament and was gon toward the North; the Queen into Holland, where the pawn'd and set to faile the Crown-Jewels (a crime heretofore counted treasonable in Kings) and to what intent these summs were rais'd, the Parlament was not ignorant. His going northward in so high a chase they doubted was to posses himself of that strength, which the storehouse and situation of Hull might add suddenly to his malignant party. Having first thersore in many Petitions earnestly pray'd him to dispose and settle, with consent of both houses, the military power in trusty hands, and he as oft refusing, they were necessitated by the turbulence and danger of those times to put the Kingdom by thir owne autority into a posture of defence; and very timely sent Sir John Hotham a member of the house, and Knight of that county, to take Hull into his custody, and some of the train'd bands to his assistance. Neither had the King before that time omitted to attempt the same, first by Colonel Legg, one of those who were imploy'd to bring the Army up against the Parlament, then by the Earle of Newcastle under a disguise. And letters of the Lord Digby were interceptet, wherein was wisht that the King would declare himself, and retire to som safe place; other information came from abroad, that Hull was the
place design'd for some new enterprize. But these attempts not succeeding, and that Town being now in custody of the Parlament, he sends a message to them, that he had firmly resolv'd to go in person into Ireland, to chastise those wicked rebels (for these and worse words he then gave them) and that toward this work he intended forthwith to raise by his commissions, in the Counties neere Westchester, a guard for his own person, consisting of 2000 foot, and 200 horse, that should be arm'd from his magazin at Hull.

On the other side, the Parlament forseeing the Kings drift, about the same time send him a Petition, that they might have leave for necessary causes to remoov the magazin of Hull to the Towre of London; to which the King returns his deniall; and soon after going to Hull, attended with about 400 Horse, requires the Governour to deliver him up the Town; wherof the Governour besought humbly to be excuse'd, till he could send notice to the Parlament who had intrusted him; wherat the King much incens'd proclaims him Traitor before the Town Walls; and gives immediat order to stop all passages between him and the Parlament. Yet he himself dispatches post after post to demand justice, as upon a traitor: using a strange iniquity to require justice upon him whom he then waylayd and debarr'd from his appearance. The Parlament no sooner understood what had pass'd, but they declare that Sir John Hotham had don no more then was his duty, and was thence no Traitor.

This relation, being most true, proves that which is affirm'd heer to be most fals; seeing the Parlament, whom he accounts his greatest Enemies, had more confidence to abett and own what Sir John Hotham had don, then the King had confidence to let him answer in his own behalf.

To speake of his patience, and in that solemn
manner, he might better have forborne; God knows, faith he, it affected me more with sorrow for others then with anger for my selfe; nor did the affront trouble me so much as their sin. This is read, I doubt not, and beleev'd: and as there is some use of every thing, so is there of this Book, were it but to shew us, what a miserable, credulous, deluded thing that creature is, which is call'd the Vulgar; who notwithstanding what they might know, will beleeve such vain-glories as these. Did not that choleric, and vengefull act of proclaiming him Traitor before due process of Law, having bin convinc'd so late before of his illegality with the five Members, declare his anger to be incens'd? doth not his own relation confess as much? and his second Message left him fuming three dayes after, and in plaine words testifies his impatience of delay till Hotham be severely punish'd, for that which he there termes an insupportable affront.

Surely if his sorrow for Sir John Hothams sin were greater then his anger for the affront, it was an exceeding great sorrow indeed, and wondrous charitable. But if it stirr'd him so vehemently to have Sir John Hotham punish'd, and not at all, that we heare, to have him repent, it had a strange operation to be call'd a sorrow for his sin. Hee who would perswade us of his sorrow for the sins of other men, as they are sins, not as they are sin'd against himself, must give us first some testimony of a sorrow for his own sins, and next for such sins of other men as cannot be suppos'd a direct injury to himself. But such compunction in the King no man hath yet observ'd; and till then, his sorrow for Sir John Hothams sin will be call'd no other then the resentment of his repulsse; and his labour to have the sinner onely punish'd, will be call'd by a right name, his revenge.

And the hand of that cloud which cast all soon after
into darkness and disorder, was his own hand. For assembling the Inhabitants of York-shire, and other Counties, Horse and Foot, first under colour of a new Guard to his Person, soon after, being suppi’d with ammunition from Holland, bought with the Crown Jewells, he begins an op’n Warr by laying Seige to Hull. Which Towne was not his own, but the Kingdoms; and the Armes there, public Armes, bought with the public Mony, or not his own. Yet had they bin his own by as good right as the privat House and Armes of any man are his own; to use either of them in a way not privat, but suspi-tious to the Common-wealth, no Law permitts. But the King had no proprietie at all either in Hull or in the Magazin. So that the following Maxims which he cites of bold and disloyall undertakers may belong more justly to whom he leaft meant them. After this he againe relapses into the praise of his patience at Hull, and by his overtalking of it, seems to doubt either his own conscience, or the hardness of other mens beleif. To me, the more he praises it in himself, the more he seems to suspect that in very deed it was not in him; and that the lookers on so likewise thought. Thus much of what he suffer’d by Hotham, and with what patience; now of what Hotham suffer’d, as he judges, for opposing him. He could not but observe how God not long after pleaded and aveng’d his cause. Most men are too apt, and commonly the worst of men, so to interpret and expound the judgements of God, and all other events of providence or chance, as makes most to the justifying of thir own cause, though never so evil; and attribute all to the particular favour of God towards them. Thus when Saul heard that David was in Keilab, God, faith he, hath deliver’d him into my hands, for he is shut in. But how farr that King was deceav’d in his thought
that God was favouring to his cause, that story un-
folds; and how little reason this King had to impute
the death of Hotham to Gods avengement of his re-
puls at Hull, may easily be seen. For while Hotham
continu’d faithfull to his truft, no man more safe, 
more succesfull, more in reputation then hee. But
from the time he first sought to make his peace with
the King, and to betray into his hands that Town, 
into which before he had deny’d him entrance, no-
thing prosper’d with him. Certainly had God pur-
pos’d him such an end for his oppofition to the King, 
he would not have deferr’d to punish him till then
when of an Enemy he was chang’d to be the Kings
Friend, nor have made his repentance and amend-
ment the occasion of his ruin. How much more
likely is it, since he fell into the act of dioloyalty to
his charge, that the judgement of God concurr’d
with the punishment of man, and justly cut him off
for revolting to the King. To give the World an
example, that glorious deeds don to ambitious ends,
find reward answerable, not to thir outward seeming,
but to thir inward ambition. In the mean while
what thanks he had from the King for revolting to
his cause, and what good opinion for dying in his
service, they who have ventur’d like him, or intend,
may heer take notice.

Hee proceeds to declare, not onely in generall
wherfore Gods judgment was upon Hotham, but un-
dertakes by fansies, and allusions to give a criticism
upon every particular. That his head was devided
from his body, because his heart was devided from the
King: two heads cut off in one family for affronting
the head of the Common-wealth; the eldest fon being
infected with the sin of the Father, against the father
of his Countrie. These petty glossies and conceits on
the high and secret judgements of God, besides the
boldness of unwarrantable commenting, are so weake
and shallow, and so like the quibbl's of a Court Ser-
on, that we may safely reck'n them either fetcht
from such a pattern, or that the hand of som hou-
hold preift foisted them in; leaft the World should
forget how much he was the Disciple of those Cym-
bal Doctors. But that argument by which the Au-
thor would commend them to us, discredits them
the more. For if they be so obvious to every fancy,
the more likely to be erroneous, and to misconceive
the mind of those high secrecies, whereof they pre-
sume to determin. For God judges not by human
fancy.

But however God judg'd Hotham, yet he had the
Kings pitty; but marke the reason how preposterous;
so farr he had his pitty, as he thought he at first act'd
more against the light of his conscience then many other
men in the same cause. Questionless they who act
against conscience, whether at the barr of human, or
Divine Justice, are pittied leaft of all. These are
the common grounds and verdicts of Nature, whereof
when he who hath the judging of a whole Nation,
is found destitute, under such a Governour, that Na-
tion must needs be miserable.

By the way he jerkes at some mens reforming to mo-
dels of Religion, and that they think all is gold of pietie
that doth but glister with a shew of Zeale. We know
his meaning; and apprehend how little hope there
could be of him from such language as this: But
are sure that the pietie of his prelatic modell, glister'd
more upon the posts and pillars which thir Zeale
and fervencie guilded over, then in the true works of
spiritual edification.

He is sorry that Hotham felt the Justice of others,
and fell not rather into the hands of his mercy. But to
cleare that, he should have shewn us what mercy
he had ever us'd to such as fell into his hands before,
rather then what mercy he intended to such as never
could come to ask it. Whatever mercy one man might have expected, tis too well known, the whole Nation found none; though they besought it oft’n, and so humbly; but had bin swallow’d up in blood and ruin, to set his privat will above the Parliament, had not his strength faild him. Yet clemency he counts a debt, which he ought pay to those that crave it; since we pay not any thing to God for his mercy, but prayers and praises. By this reason we ought as freely to pay all things to all men; for of all that we receive from God, what doe we pay for, more then prayers and praises? we look’d for the discharge of his Office, the payment of his dutie to the Kingdom, and are payd Court payment with empty sentences, that have the sound of gravity, but the significance of nothing pertinent.

Yet again after his mercy past and granted, he returns back to give sentence upon Hotham; and whom he tells us he would so fain have fav’d alive, him he never leaves killing with a repeated condemnation, though dead long since. It was ill that som body stood not neer to whisper him, that a reiterating Judge is wors then a tormentor. He pitties him, he rejoices not, he pitties him again, but still is sure to brand him at the taile of his pitty, with som ignominious mark either of ambition or disloyaltie. And with a kind of censorious pitty, aggravats rather then less’ns or conceals the fault: To pitty thus is to triumph.

He assumes to foreknow that after times will dispute whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull or at Towerhill. What knew he of after times, who while he fits judging and censuring without end, the fate of that unhappy Father and his son at Towerhill, knew not that the like fate attended him, before his own Palace Gate; and as little knew whether after times doe not reserve a greater infamy to the story of his owne life and raigne.
He faies but over again in his prayer, what his Sermon hath Preacht; How acceptably to those in heav’n wee leave to be decided by that precept which forbids *Vain Repetitions*. Sure anough it lies as heavie as he can lay it, upon the head of poore Hotham.

Needs he will faft’n upon God a piece of revenge as done for his sake; and takes it for a favor, before he know it was intended him: which in his closet had bin excusable, but in a Writt’n and publish’d prayer, too presumptuous. *Ecclesiastes* hath a right name for such kind of Sacrifices.

Going on he prays thus, *Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy.* To folly, or to blasphemy, or to both shall we impute this? Shall the Justice of God give place, and serv to glorifie the mercies of a man? All other men, who know what they ask, desire of God that thir doings may tend to his glory; but in this prayer God is requir’d that his justice would forbear to prevent, and as good have said to intrench upon the glory of a mans mercy. If God forbear his Justice it must be, sure, to the magnifying of his own mercy: But heer a mortal man takes the boldness to aske that glory out of his hand. It may be doubted now by them who understand Religion, whether the King were more unfortunat in this his prayer, or Hotham in those his sufferings.

**IX. Upon the Lifting and Raising Armies, &c.**

*It* were an endless work to walk side by side with the Verboseity of this Chapter; onely to what already hath not bin spok’n, convenient answer shall be giv’n. Hee begins againe with Tumults; all demonstration of
the Peoples Love and Loyaltie to the Parlament was Tumult; thir Petitioning, Tumult; thir defensive Armies were but lifted Tumults; and will take no notice that those about him, those in a time of Peace lifted into his own House, were the beginners of all these Tumults; abusing and assaulting not onely such as came peaceably to the Parlament at London, but those that came Petitioning to the King himself at York. Neither did they abstain from doing violence and outrage to the Messengers sent from Parlament; hee himself either count'ning, or conniving at them.

He supposes that His recess gave us confidence that he might bee conquer'd. Other men suppose both that, and all things els, who knew him neither by nature Warlike, nor experienc'd, nor fortunate; so farr was any man that discern'd aught, from esteeming him unconquerable; yet such are readieft to imbroile others.

But he had a soule invincible. What praise is that? The stomach of a Child is ofttimes invincible to all correction. The unteachable Man hath a soule to all reason and good advice invincible; and hee who is intractable, he whom nothing can perswade, may boast himself invincible; when as in some things to be overcome is more honest and laudable then to conquer.

He labours to have it thought that his fearing God more then Man was the ground of his sufferings; but he should have known that a good principle not rightly understood, may prove as hurtfull as a bad; and his feare of God may be as faulty as a blind zeale. He pretended to feare God more then the Parlament; who never urg'd him to doe otherwise; he should also have fear'd God more then he did his Courtiers, and the Bishops who drew him, as they pleas'd, to things inconsistent with the feare of God. Thus boasted Saul to have perform'd the Commandment
of God, and flood in it against Samuel; but it was found at length that hee had fear’d the People more then God, in saving those fatt Oxen for the worship of God which were appointed for destruction. Not much unlike, if not much wors, was that fact of his, who for feare to displease his Court, and mungrel Clergy, with the dissoluteft of the People, upheld in the Church of God, while his power lasted, those Beast of Amalec, the Prelats, against the advice of his Parlament and the example of all Reformation; in this more unexcufable then Saul, that Saul was at length convinc’d, hee to the howr of death fix’d in his fals perfwasion; and sooths himselye in the flattering peace of an erroneous and obdurat con-
science; singing to his foul vain Psalms of exulta-
tion, as if the Parlament had assail’d his reason with the force of Arms, and not he on the contrary their reason with his Armes; which hath bin prov’d al-
ready, and shall be more heerafter.

He twitts them with his Acts of grace; proud, and unself-knowing words in the mouth of any King, who affects not to be a God, and such as ought to be as odious in the ears of a free Nation. For if they were unjust acts, why did hee grant them as of grace? If just, it was not of his grace, but of his duty, and his Oath to grant them.

A glorious King he would be, though by his suffer-
ings: But that can never be to him whose sufferings are his own doings. He faines a hard chois put upon him either to kill his own Subjects, or be kill’d. Yet never was King less in danger of any violence from his Subjects, till he unsheath’d his Sword against them; nay long after that time, when he had spilt the blood of thousands, they had still his Person in a foolifh veneration.

He complains, That civil Warr must be the fruits of his seventeen yeares raigning with such a measure of
Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations either admir'd or envi'd. For the Justice we had, let the Counsel Table, Starr-Chamber, High Commission speak the praise of it; not forgetting the unprincely usage, and, as far as might be, the abolishing of Parliaments, the displacing of honest Judges, the sale of Offices, Bribery and Exaction not found out to be punish'd, but to be shar'd in, with impunity for the time to come. Who can number the extortions, the oppressions, the public robberies, and rapines, committed on the Subject both by Sea and Land, under various pretences? Their possessions also tak'n from them, one while as Forrest Land, another while as Crown-Land; nor were their Goods exempted, no not the Bullion in the Mint; Piracy was become a project own'd and authoriz'd against the Subject.

For the peace we had, what peace was that which drew out the English to a needless and dishonourable voyage against the Spaniard at Cales? Or that which lent our shipping to a treacherous and Anti-christian Warr against the poore Protestants of Rochell our suppliants? What peace was that which fell to rob the French by Sea, to the imbarring of all our Merchants in that Kingdom? which brought forth that unblest expedition to the Ile of Rhee, doubtfull whether more calamitous in the success or in the designe, betraying all the flowre of our military youth, and best Commanders to a shamefull surprisal and execution. This was the peace we had, and the peace we gave, whether to freinds or to foes abroad. And if at home any peace were intended us, what meant those billeted Souldiers in all parts of the Kingdom, and the designe of German Horse, to subdue us in our peacefull Houses.

For our Religion where was there a more ignorant, profane, and vitious clergy, learned in nothing
but the antiquitie of thir pride, thir covetousness, and superstition; whose unsincere and leavenous Doctrine corrupting the people, first taught them looseness, then bondage; loosning them from all sound knowledge and strictness of life, the more to fit them for the bondage of Tyrany and superstition. So that what was left us for other Nations not to pity rather then admire or envy, all those seaventeen yeares, no wise man could see. For wealth and plenty in a land where Justice raignes not, is no argument of a flourishing State, but of a neerness rather to ruin or commotion.

These were not some miscarriages only of Government, which might escape, but a universal distemper, and reducement of law to arbitrary power; not through the evil counsels of some Men but through the constant cours and practice of all that were in highest favour: whose worst actions he frequently avow'd and took upon himself, and whose Persons when he could no longer protect, he esteem'd and favour'd to the end; but never otherwise then by constraint, yeilded any of them to due Punishment; thereby manifesting that what they did was by his own Autority and approbation.

Yet heer hee asks Whose innocent blood he hath shed, what Widows or Orphans teares can witness against him? After the suspected Poysoning of his Father, not inquir'd into, but smother'd up, and him protected, and advanc'd to the very half of his Kingdom, who was accus'd in Parlament to be Author of the fact; after so many Yeares of cruel Warr on his People in three Kingdoms. Whence the Author of Truths manifest, a Scotchman not unacquainted with affaires, positively affirmes, That there hath bin more Christian blood shed by the Commission, approbation, and connivance of King Charles, and his Father James in the latter end of thir raigne, then in the Ten Ro-
man Persecutions. Not to speake of those many whippings, Pillories, and other corporal inflictions wherwith his raign also before this Warr was not unbloodie; some have dy’d in Prison under cruel restraint, others in Banishment, whose lives were shortn’d through the rigour of that Persecution wherwith somany Yeares he infested the true Church. And those six Members all men judg’d to have escap’d no les then capital danger; whom he so greedily pursuing into the House of Commons, had not there the forbearance to conceal how much it troubl’d him, That the Birds were flowne. If som Vultur in the Mountains could have op’nd his beak intelligibly and spoke, what fitter words could he have utter’d at the loss of his prey? The Tyrant Nero, though not yet deserving that name, sett his hand so unwillingly to the execution of a condemned Person, as to wish Hee had not known letters. Certainly for a King himself to charge his Subjects with high treason, and so vehemently to Prosecute them in his owne caufe, as to doe the Office of a Searcher, argu’d in him no great averſation from shedding blood, were it but to satisfie his anger, and that revenge was no unpleasing morsel to him, wherof he himself thought not much to be so diligently his owne Caterer. But we inſift rather upon what was actual then what was probable.

He now falls to examin the causes of this Warr, as a difficulty which he had long studied to find out. It was not, faith he, my withdrawing from White Hall; for no account in reason could be giv’n of those Tumults, where an orderly Guard was granted. But if it be a moſt certain truth that the Parlament could never yet obtain of him any Guard fit to be confided in, then by his own confession some account of those pretended Tumults may in reason be giv’n: and both concerning them and the Guards enoough hath bin said alreadie.
Whom did bee protect against the justice of Parliament? Whom did hee not to his utmost power? Endeavouring to have rescu’d Strafford from thir Justice, though with the destruction of them and the City; to that end expressly commanding the admittance of new Soldiers into the Tower, rais’d by Suckling and other Conspirators, under pretence for the Portugall; not to repeat his other Plot of bringing up the two Armies. But what can be disputed with such a King in whose mouth and opinion the Parliament it self was never but a Faction, and thir Justice no Justice, but The dictates and overfwaying insolence of Tumults and Rabbles; and under that excuse avouches himself op’ny the generall Patron of most notorious Delinquents, and approves their flight out of the Land, whose crimes were such, as that the justest and the fairest tryal would have soonest condemned them to death. But did not Catiline plead in like manner against the Roman Senat and the injustice of thir trial, and the Justice of his flight from Rome? Caesar also, then hatching Tyranny, injected the same scrupulous demurrts to stop the sentence of death in full and free Senat decreed on Lentulus and Cethegus two of Catilines accomplices, which were renew’d and urg’d for Strafford. He voutsafes to the reformation by both Kingdoms intended, no better name then Innovation and ruine both in Church and State. And what we would have learnt so gladly of him in other passages before, to know wherein, hee tells us now of his own accord. The expelling of Bishops out of the House of Peers, this was ruine to the State, the removing them root and branch, this was ruine to the Church. How happy could this Nation be in such a Governour who counted that thir ruin, which they thought thir deliverance, the ruin both of Church and State, which was the recovery and the saving of them both.
To the passing of those Bills against Bishops, how is it likely that the House of Peers gave so hardly thir consent, which they gave so easily before to the attaching them of High Treason, 12 at once, onely for protesting that the Parlament could not act without them. Surely if their rights and privileges were thought so undoubted in that House, as is heer maintain'd; then was that Protestation being meant and intended in the name of thir whole spiritual Order, no Treason: and so that House it self wil become able to a just construction either of Injustice in them for so consenting, or of usurpation, representing none but themselves, to expect that their voting or not voting should obstruct the Commons. Who not for five repulses of the Lords, no not for fifty, were to desist from what in name of the whole Kingdom they demanded, so long as those Lords were none of our Lords. And for the Bill against root and branch, though it pass'd not in both Houses till many of the Lords and some few of the Commons, either intic'd away by the King, or overaw'd by the sense of thir own Malignancy not prevailing, deserted the Parlament: and made a fair riddance of themselves, that was no warrant for them who remain'd faithfull, being farr the greater number, to lay aside that Bill of root and branch, till the returne of thir fugitives; a Bill so necessary and so much desire'd by themselves as well as by the People.

This was the partiality, this degrading of the Bishops, a thing so wholesom in the State, and so Orthodoxal in the Church both ancient and reformed, which the King rather then assent to, will either hazard both his owne and the Kingdomes ruin, by our just defence against his force of armes, or prostrate our consciences in a blind obedience to himself, and those men whose superstition Zealous or unzealous would enforce upon us an Antichristian tyranny in the Church,
neither Primitive, Apostolicall, nor more ancientsly universal, then som other manifest corruptions.

But he was bound besides his judgment by a most strict and undispensable Oath to preserve that Order and the rights of the Church. If he mean the Oath of his Coronation, and that the letter of that Oath admit not to be interpreted either by equity, reformation, or better knowledge, then was the King bound by that Oath to grant the clergie all those customs, franchises, and Canonical privileges granted to them by Edward the Confessour; and so might one day, under pretence of that Oath, and his conscience, have brought us all again to Popery. But had he so well remembred, as he ought, the words to which he swore, he might have found himself no otherwise oblig'd there, then according to the lawes of God and true profession of the Gospel. For if those following words, Establish'd in this Kingdom, be set there to limit and lay prescription on the Laws of God and truth of the Gospel by mans establishment, nothing can be more absurd or more injurious to Religion. So that however the German Emperors, or other Kings have levied all those Warrs on thir Protestant Subjects under the colour of a blind and litteral observance to an Oath, yet this King had least pretence of all. Nor is it to be imagin'd, if what shall be establish'd come in question, but that the Parlament should oversway the King, and not he the Parlament. And by all Law and Reason that which the Parlament will not, is no more establish'd in this Kingdom, neither is the King bound by Oath to uphold it as a thing establish'd.

Had he gratified, he thinks, their Antiepiscopal Faction with his consent, and sacrific'd the Church-government and Revenues to the fury of their covetousnes, &c. an Army had not bin rais'd. Wheras it was the fury of his own hatred to the professors of true Religion,
which first incited him to persecute them with the Sword of Warr, when Whipps, Pillories, Exiles, and Impris'nmnts were not thought sufficient. To colour which, he cannot finde wherewithall, but that stale pretence of Charles the fifth, and other Popish Kings, that the Protestants had onely an intent to lay hands on the Church-revenues, a thing never in the thoughts of this Parlament, til exhausted by his endless Warr upon them, thir necessity seis'd on that for the Common-wealth, which the luxury of Prelats had abus'd before to a common mischeif.

His consent to the unlording of Bishops (for to that he himself consented, and at Canterbury the cheif seat of thir pride, so God would have it) was from his firme persuasion of thir contentedness to suffer a present diminution of their rights. Can any man, reading this, not discern the pure mockery of a Royal consent, to delude us onely for the present, meaning, it seems, when time should serve, to revoke all: By this reckning his consents and his denials come all to one pass: and wee may hence perceav the wisdom and the integrity of those Votes which Voted his Concessions at the Ile of Wight, for grounds of a lasting Peace. This hee alleges, this controversie about Bishops, to be the true state of that difference between him and the Parlament. For he held Episcopacy both very Sacred and Divine. With this judgement and for this cause he withdrew from the Parlament, and confesses that some men knew he was like to bring againe the same judgement which he carried with him. A fair and unexpected justification from his own mouth afforded to the Parlament, who notwithstanding what they knew of his obstinat mind, omitted not to use all those meanes and that patience to have gain'd him.

As for Delinquents, he allowes them to be but the necessary consequences of his and their withdrawing and
defending. A pretty shift to mince the name of a delinquent into a necessary consequent: what is a Traitor but the necessary consequence of his Treason, what a Rebell, but of his Rebellion? From this conceit he would infer a pretext onely in the Parliament to fetch in delinquents, as if there had indeed bin no such cause, but all the delinquency in London tumults. Which is the overworn theme, and stuffing of all his discourses.

This he thrice repeates to be the true State and reason of all that Warr and devastation in the Land, and that of all the Treaties and Propositions offerd him, he was resolv'd never to grant the abolishing of episcopal, or the establishment of Presbyterian Goverment. I would demand now of the Scots and Covnanteers (For so I call them as misobservers of the Cov'nant) how they will reconcile the preservation of Religion and their liberties, and the bringing of delinquents to condign punishment, with the freedom, honour, and safety of this vow'd resolution here, that esteems all the Zeale of thir prostituted Covnant no better then a noise and shew of pietie, a heat for reformation, filling them with prejudice and obstructing all equality and clearness of judgment in them. With these principles who knows but that at length he might have come to take the Covnant, as others, whom they Brotherly admitt, have don before him; and then all, no doubt, had gon well, and ended in a happy peace.

His prayer is most of it borrow'd out of David; but what if it be answer'd him as the Jews, who trusted in Moses, were answer'd by our Saviour. There is one that accuseth you, eev'n David whom you misapply.

He tells God that his Enemies are many, but tells the people, when it serves his turn, they are but a faction of some few, prevailing over the Major part of both Houses.
God knows he had no passion, designe or preparation to imbroyle his Kingdom in a civill Warr. True; for he thought his Kingdom to be Issachar a strong Ass that would have couch'd downe between two burd'ns, the one of prelatical superstition, the other of civil tyranny: but what passion and designe, what close and op'n preparation he had made, to subdue us to both these by terror and preventive force, all the Nation knows.

The confidence of some Men had almost perswaded him to suspect his own innocence. As the words of Saint Paul had almost perswaded Agrippa to be a Christian. But almost in the work of repentance is as good as Not at all.

God, faith he, will find out bloody and deceitfull men, many of whom have not liv'd out halfe thir days. It behoov'd him to have bin more cautious how he tempted Gods finding out of blood and deceit, till his own yeares had bin furder spent, or that he had enjoy'd longer the fruits of his own violent Counsels.

But in stead of warinesse, he adds another tempta- tion, charging God To know that the chief designe of this Warr was either to destroy his Person or to force his judgement. And thus his prayer from the evil practice of unjust accusing men to God, arises to the hideous rashnes of accusing God before Men to know that for truth, which all Men know to be most fals.

He praies That God would forgive the People, for they know not what they doe. It is an easie matter to say over what our Saviour said; but how he lov'd the People, other Arguments then affected sayings must demonstrat. He who so oft hath presum'd rashly to appeale the knowledge and testimony of God, in things so evidently untrue, may be doubted what be- lief or esteem he had of his forgiveness, either to him- self, or those for whom he would so fain that men should hear he pray'd.
O put the matter sooneft out of controversy who was the first beginner of this civil Warr, since the beginning of all Warr may be discern'd not onely by the first Act of hostilitie, but by the Counsels and preparations foregoing, it shall evidently appeare, that the King was still formost in all these. No King had ever at his first comming to the Crown, more love and acclamation from a people; never any people found worse requital of thir Loyalty and good affection: First by his extraordinary feare and mistrust that their Liberties and Rights were the impairing and diminishishing of his regal power, the true Original of Tyranny: Next by his hatred to all those who were esteem'd Religious; doubting that thir principles too much asserted libertie. This was quickly seen by the vehemence, and the causes alleg'd of his persecuting, the other by his frequent and opprobrious dissolution of Parlements; after he had demanded more Mony of them, and they to obtain thir rights had granted him, then would have bought the Turk out of Morea, and set free all the Greeks. But when he sought to extort from us, by way of Tribute, that which had bin offerd him conditionally in Parlament, as by a free People, and that those extortions were now consum'd and wasted by the luxurie of his Court, he began then (for still the more he did wrong, the more he fear'd) before any Tumult or insurrection of the People, to take counsel how he might totally subdue them to his own will. Then was the designe of German Horse, and Soldiers billeted in all parts, the Pulpits refounded with no other Doctrine then that which gave all propertie to the King, and paf-
five obedience to the subject. After which, innumerable forms and shapes of new exactions and Exacters overspread the Land. Nor was it enough to be impoverish’d, unless we were disarm’d. Our Train’d Bands, which are the trustiest and most proper strength of a free Nation, had thir Armes in divers Counties tak’n from them; other Ammunition by designe was ingros’d, and kept in the Tower, not to be bought without a Licence, and at a high rate.

Thus farr, and many other waies were his Counsels and preparations before hand with us, either to a civil Warr, if it should hap’n, or to subdue us without a Warr, which is all one, until the raising of his two Armies against the Scots, and the latter of them rais’d to the most peridious breaking of a solemn Pacification.

After the beginning of this Parliament, whom he saw so resolute and unanimous to relieve the Common-wealth, and that the Earle of Strafford was condemn’d to die, other of his evil Counsellers impeach’d and imprison’d, to shew there wanted not evil counsel within himself sufficient to begin a Warr upon his Subjects, though no way by them provok’d, he sends an Agent with Letters to the King of Denmark requiring aid against the Parliament, endeavours to bring up both Armies, first the English, with whom 8000 Irish Papists rais’d by Strafford, and a French Army were to joyne; then the Scots at Newcastle, whom he thought to have encourag’d by telling them what Mony and Horse he was to have from Denmark. I mention not the Irish conspiracie till due place. These and many other were his Counsels toward a civil Warr. His preparations, after those two Armies were dismiss’d could not suddenly be too op’n: Nevertheless there were 8000 Irish Papists which he refus’d to disband, though intreated
by both Houses, first for reasons best known to himself, next under pretence of lending them to the Spaniard; and so kept them undisbanded till very neere the Mounth wherein that Rebellion broke forth. He was also raising Forces in London, pretendedly to serve the Portugall, but with intent to seife the Tower. Into which diverse Canoneers were by him sent; the Court was fortifi'd with Ammunition, and Soldiers new lifted, who follow'd the King from London, and appear'd at Kingston som hundreds of Horse, in a warlike manner, with Waggons of Ammunition after them; the Queen in Holland was buying more; the Inhabitants of Yorkshire and other Counties were call'd to Arms, and actual forces rais'd, while the Parlament were yet Petitioning in peace.

As to the Act of Hostilitie, though not much material in whom first it began, after such Counsels and preparations discover'd, and so farr advanc'd by the King, yet in that act also he will be found to have had precedency, if not at London by the assault of his armed Court upon the naked people, and his attempt upon the house of Commons, yet certainly at Hull, first by his close Practices on that Towne, next by his seige. Thus whether Counsels, preparations, or Acts of hostilitie be considered, it appeares with evidence enough, though much more might be said, that the King is truly charg'd to bee the first beginner of these civil Wars. To which may be added as a close, that in the Ile of Wight he charg'd it upon himself, at the public Treaty, and acquitted the Parlament.

But as for the securing of Hull and the public stores therin, and in other places, it was no Surprisall of his strength; the custody whereof by Authority of Parlament was committed into hands most fitt, and most responsible for such a trust. It were a folly
beyond ridiculous to count our selv a free Nation, if the King not in Parlament, but in his own Person and against them, might appropriate to himself the strength of a whole Nation as his proper goods. What the Lawes of the Land are, a Parliament should know best, having both the life and death of Lawes in thir Lawgiving power: And the Law of England is at best but the reason of Parlament. The Parliament thercfore taking into thir hands that wherof most properly they ought to have the keeping, committed no surprisal. If they prevented him, that argu'd not at all either his innocency or unpreparedness, but their timely foresight to use prevention.

But what needed that? They knew his chiefest Armes left him were those only which the ancient Christians were wont to use against thir Persecuters, Prayers and Teares. O sacred Reverence of God, Respect and Shame of Men, whither were yee fled, when these hypocries were utter'd? Was the Kingdom then, at all that cost of blood to remove from him none but Praiers and Teares? What were those thousands of blaspheming Cavaliers about him, whose mouthes let fly Oaths and Curses by the voley; were those the Praiers? and those Carouses drunk to the confusion of all things good or holy, did those minister the Teares? Were they Praiers and Teares that were lifted at York, muster'd on Heworth Moore, and laid Seige to Hull for the guard of his Person? Were Praiers and Teares at so high a rate in Holland that nothing could purchase them but the Crown Jewells? Yet they in Holland (such word was sent us) sold them for Gunns, Carabins, Morter-peesces, Canons, and other deadly Instruments of Warr, which when they came to York, were all no doubt by the merit of some great Saint, suddenly transform'd into Praiers and Teares, and being divided into Regiments and Brigads were the onely Armes that mischief'd us in all those Battels and Incounters.
These were his chief Armes, whatever we must call them, and yet such Armes, as they who fought for the Common-wealth have by the helpe of better Praiers vanquish'd and brought to nothing.

He bewailes his want of the Militia Not so much in reference to his own protection as the Peoples, whose many and sore oppressions greeve him. Never considering how ill for seventeen yeares together hee had protected them, and that these miseries of the people are still his own handy work, having smitt'n them like a forcked Arrow so sore into the Kingdoms sides, as not to be drawn out and cur'd without the incision of more flesh.

He tells us that what he wants in the hands of power he has in the wings of Faith and Prayer. But they who made no reckning of those Wings while they had that power in thir hands, may easely mistake the Wings of Faith for the Wings of Presumption, and so fall headlong.

We meet next with a comparifon, how apt let them judge that have travell'd to Mecca, That the Parlament have hung the majestie of Kingship in an airy imagination of regality between the Privileges of both Houfes, like the Tombe of Mahomet. Hee knew not that he was prophecying the death and burial of a Turkifh Tyranny, that fpurn'd down those Laws, which gave it life and being so long as it endur'd to be a regulated Monarchy.

He counts it an injury Not to have the sole power in himself to help or hurt any; and that the Militia which he holds to be his undoubted Right should be dispos'd as the Parlament thinks fitt. And yet confefles that if he had it in his actual disposing, he would defend those whom he calls His good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who would perfwade the World that none but Wolves are fitt to be trufted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Surely if we may gues
whom he meanes heer, by knowing whom he hath ever most oppos'd in this controversy, we may then assure our selvs that by violence and fraud he meanes that which the Parlament hath don in settling the Militia, and those the Wolves, into whose hands it was by them intrusted: Which drawes a clear confession from his own mouth, that if the Parlament had left him sole power of the Militia, he would have us'd it to the destruction of them and thir Friends.

As for sole power of the Militia, which he claimes as a Right no les undoubted then the Crown, it hath bin oft enough told him, that he hath no more authority over the sword then over the law; over the Law he hath none, either to establish or to abrogate, to interpret, or to execute, but onely by his Courts and in his Courts, wherof the Parlament is highest, no more thersore hath he power of the Militia which is the Sword, either to use or to dispose, but with consent of Parlament; give him but that, and as good give him all our Laws and Liberties. For if the power of the Sword were any where separate and undepending from the power of Law, which is originally seated in the highest Court, then were that power of the Sword higher then the power of Law, and being at one man's dispoſe, might, when he pleas'd, controule the Law, and enslave us. Such power as this did the King in op'n termes challenge to have over us; and brought thousands to help him win it; so much more good at fighting then at understanding; as to perfwade themselves that they fought then for the Subjects Libertie.

He is contented, because he knowes no other remedy, to resigne this power, for his owne time, but not for his successors. So diligent and carefull he is that we shoule be slaves, if not to him, yet to his Posterity, and faine would leave us the legacy of
another Warr about it. But the Parlament have don well to remove that question: whom as his manner is to dignify with some good name or other, he calls now a many headed hydra of Goverment, full of factious distractions and not more eyes then mouths. Yet surely not more Mouths, or not so wide, as the dissolute rabble of all his Courtiers had, both Hees and Shees, if ther were any Males among them.

He would prove that to govern by Parlament hath a monstrofitie rather then perfection; and grounds his argument upon two or three eminent absurdities: First by placing Councell in the senses, next by turning the senses out of the head, and in lieu therof placing power, supreme above sense and reason; which be now the greater Monstrofities? Further to dispute what kind of Goverment is best, would be a long theme, it sufficeth that his reasons heer for Monarchy are found weake and inconsiderable.

He bodes much horror and bad influence after his ecclips. He speakes his wishes: But they who by weighing prudently things past, foresee things to come, the best Divination, may hope rather all good success and happiness by removing that darkness which the mistie cloud of his prerogative made between us and a peacefull Reformation, which is our true Sun light, and not he, though he would be tak'n for our sun it self. And wherfore should we not hope to be Govern'd more happily without a King when as all our miserie, and trouble hath bin either by a King, or by our necessary vindication and defence against him.

He would be thought inforc'd to Perjurie by having granted the Militia, by which his Oath bound him to protect the People. If he can be perjur'd in granting that, why doth he refuse for no other cause the abolishing of Episcopacy? But never was any Oath so blind as to sweare him to protect Delin-
quents against Justice, but to protect all the people in that order, and by those hands which the Parliament should advise him to, and the protected confide in; and not under the shew of protection to hold a violent and incommunicable Sword over us, as readie to be let fall upon our own necks, as upon our Enemies; nor to make our own hands and weapons fight against our own Liberties.

By his parting with the Militia he takes to himselfe much praise of his assurance in Gods protection; and to the Parliament imputes the seare of not daring to adventure the injustice of their actions upon any other way of safety. But wherfore came not this assurance of Gods protection to him, till the Militia was wrung out of his hands, it should seem by his holding it so fast, that his own actions and intentions had no les of injustice in them, then what he charges upon others; whom he termes Chaldeans, Sabeans, and the Devill himself. But Job us'd no such Militia against those enemies, nor such a Magazin as was at Hull, which this King so contended for, and made Warr upon us, that he might have wherewithall to make Warr against us.

He concludes, that Although they take all from him yet can they not obstruct his way to Heav'n. It was no handesome occasion, by faining obstructions where they are not, to tell us whither he was going: he should have shut the dore, and pray'd in secret, not heer in the High Street. Privat prayers in public, ask something of whom they ask not, and that shall be thir reward.
XI. Upon the Nineteen Propositions, &c.

Of the Nineteen Propositions he names none in particular, neither shall the Answer. But he insists upon the old Plea of his Conscience, honour, and Reason; using the plausibility of large and indefinite words, to defend himself at such a distance as may hinder the eye of common judgement from all distinct view and examination of his reasoning. He would buy the peace of his People at any rate save only the parting with his Conscience and Honour. Yet shews not how it can hap’n that the peace of a People, if otherwise to be bought at any rate, should be inconsistent or at variance with the Conscience and Honour of a King. Till then, wee may receave it for a better sentence, that nothing should be more agreeable to the Conscience and Honour of a King, then to preserve his Subjects in peace; especially from civil Warr.

And which of the Propositions were obtruded on him with the point of the Sword, till hee first with the point of the Sword thrust from him both the Propositions and the Propounders? He never reck’ns those violent and merciless obtrusions which for almost twenty yeares he had bin forcing upon tender consciences by all sorts of Persecution; till through the multitude of them that were to suffer, it could no more be call’d a Persecution, but a plain Warr. From which when first the Scots, then the English were constrain’d to defend themselves, this thir just defence is that which hee calls heer, Thir making Warr upon his soule.

He grudges that So many things are requir’d of him, and nothing offer’d him in requitall of those favours which he had granted. What could satiat the desires of this Man, who being King of England, and Maif-
ter of almost two Millions yearely, was still in want; and those acts of Justice which he was to doe in duty, counts don as favors; and such favors as were not don without the avaritious hope of other rewards besides supreme honour, and the constant Revenue of his place.

This honour, he faith, they did him to put him on the giving part. And spake truer than he intended, it beeing meerly for honours fake that they did fo; not that it belong'd to him of right. For what can he give to a Parliament who receaves all he hath from the People, and for the Peoples good. Yet now he brings his own conditionall rights to contest, and be preferr'd before the Peoples good, and yet unless it be in order to their good, he hath no rights at all; raigning by the Laws of the Land, not by his own; which Laws are in the hands of Parliament to change or abrogate as they shall see best for the Common-wealth; eev'n to the taking away of King-ship it self, when it growes too Maifterfull and Burd'nforme. For every Common-wealth is in general defin'd, a societie sufficient of it self, in all things conducible to well beeing and commodious life. Any of which requisit things if it cannot have without the gift and favour of a single person, or without leave of his privat reason, or his conscience, it cannot be thought sufficient of it selfe, and by consequence no Common-wealth, nor free; but a multitude of Vassals in the Possession and domaine of one absolute Lord; and wholly obnoxious to his will. If the King have power to give or deny any thing to his Parliament, he must doe it either as a Person severall from them or as one greater; neither of which will be allow'd him; nor to be consider'd severally from them; for as the King of England can doe no wrong, so neither can he doe right but in his Courts and by his Courts; and what is legally don in them, shall be deem'd the
Kings assent, though he as a several Person shall judge or endeavour the contrary. So that indeed without his Courts or against them, he is no King. If therefore he obtrude upon us any public mischief, or withhold from us any general good, which is wrong in the highest degree, he must doe it as a Tyrant, not as a King of England, by the known Maxims of our Law. Neither can hee as one greater give aught to the Parliament which is not in their own power, but hee must be greater also then the kingdom which they represent. So that to honour him with the giving part was a meer civility, and may be well term’d the courtesie of England, not the Kings due.

But the incommunicable Jewell of his conscience he will not give, but reserve to himself. It seemes that his conscience was none of the Crown Jewels; for those we know were, in Holland, not incommunicable to buy Armes against his Subjects. Being therefore but a privat Jewel, he could not have don a greater pleasure to the Kingdom then by reserving it to himself. But hee, contrary to what is heer profess’d, would have his conscience not an incommunicable, but a universal conscience, the whole Kingdoms conscience. Thus what hee seems to feare least we should ravish from him, is our cheif complaint that hee obtruded upon us; we never forc’d him to part with his conscience, but it was hee that would have forc’d us to part with ours.

Som things he taxes them to have offer’d him, which while he had the maiftery of his Reason he would never consent to. Very likely; but had his reason maisterd him, as it ought, and not bin maisterd long agoe by his fense and humour (as the breeding of most Kings hath bin ever sensual and most humour’d) perhaps he would have made no difficulty. Mean while at what a fine pass is the Kingdom, that must
depend in greatest exigencies upon the fantasie of a Kings reason, be hee wise or foole, who arrogantly shall answer all the wisdom of the Land, that what they offer feemes to him unreasonable.

He preferrs his love of Truth before his love of the People. His love of Truth would have ledd him to the search of Truth, and have taught him not to lean so much upon his own understanding. Hee met at first with Doctrines of unaccountable Prerogative; in them hee rested, because they pleas'd him; they thersore pleas'd him because they gave him all; and this he calls his love of Truth, and preferrs it before the love of his peoples peace.

Some things they propos'd which would have wounded the inward peace of his conscience. The more our evil happ, that three Kingdoms should be thus pefted with one Conscience; who chiefly scrupl'd to grant us that, which the Parlament advis'd him to, as the cheif meanes of our public welfare and Reformation. These scruples to many perhaps seem pretended, to others, upon as good grounds, may seem real; and that it was the just judgement of God, that he who was so cruel and so remorseless to other mens consciences, should have a conscience within him as cruel to himself; constraining him, as hee constrain'd others, and insnaring him in such waies and counsels, as were certain to be his destruction.

Other things though he could approve, yet in honour and policy he thought fit to deny, lest he should seem to dare deny nothing. By this meanes he will be sure, what with reason, conscience, honour, policy, or puntillios, to be found never unfurnished of a denyall: Whether it were his envy, not to be over-bounteous, or that the submissness of our asking stirr'd up in him a certain pleasure of denying. Good Princes have thought it thir chief happinesse to be alwayes granting; if good things, for the things fake; if
things indifferent for the peoples sake, while this man fits calculating varietie of excuses how he may grant least; as if his whole strength and royaltie were plac'd in a meer negative.

Of one Proposition especially he laments him much, that they would bind him to a generall and implicit consent for whatever they desir'd. Which though I finde not among the nineteene, yet undoubtedly the Oath of his coronation binds him to no less; neither is he at all by his Office to interpose against a Parliament in the making or not making of any Law; but to take that for just and good legally, which is there decreed, and to see it executed accordingly. Nor was he set over us to vie wisdom with his Parliament, but to be guided by them: any of whom possibly may as farr excell him in the gift of wisdom, as he them in place and dignitie. But much neerer is it to impossibilitie that any King alone should be wiser then all his counsel; sure enough it was not he, though no King ever before him so much contended to have it thought so. And if the Parliament so thought not, but desir'd him to follow their advice and deliberation in things of public concernment, he accounts it the same proposition, as if Sampson had bin mov'd to the putting out his eyes, that the Philistims might abuse him; And thus out of an unwise, or pretended feare leaff others shou'd make a scorn of him for yeilding to his Parliament, he regards not to give cause of worse suspition that he made a scorn of his regal Oath.

But to exclude him from all power of deniall seemes an arrogance; in the Parliament he meanes; what in him then to deny against the Parliament? None at all, by what he argues: For by Petitioning they confess thir inferioritie and that obliges them to rest, if not satisfy'd, yet quieted with such an Answer as the will and reason of their Superior thinks fit to give. First
Petitioning, in better English, is no more then requesting or requiring, and men require not favours onely, but thir due; and that not onely from Superiors, but from Equals, and Inferiors also. The noblest Romans, when they stood for that which was a kind of Regal honour, the Consulship, were wont in a submissive manner to goe about and begg that highest Dignity of the meanest Plebeians, naming them man by man; which in their tongue was call'd Petito consulatus. And the Parliament of England Petition'd the King, not because all of them were inferior to him, but because he was superior to any one of them, which they did of civil custom, and for fashions sake, more then of duty; for by plaine Law cited before, the Parliament is his Superiour.

But what law in any trial or dispute enjoyns a free man to rest quieted, though not satisfy'd with the will and reason of his superior? It were a mad law that would subject reason to superioritie of place. And if our highest consulations and purpos'd lawes must be terminated by the Kings will, then is the will of one man our Law, and no suttletie of dispute can redeem the Parliament, and Nation from being Slaves: neither can any tyrant require more then that his will or reason, though not satisfying, should yet be rest'd in, and determin all things. We may conclude thencefore that when the Parliament Petition'd the King it was but meerly forme, let it be as foolish and abfur'd as he pleases. It cannot certainly be so abfur'd as what hee requires, that the Parliament shoulde confine thir own and all the Kingdoms reason to the will of one man because it was his hap to succeed his Father. For neither God nor the Lawes have subjected us to his will; nor sett his reason to be our Sovran above Law (which must needs be, if he can strangle it in the birth) but sett his person over us in the sovrain execution of such Lawes as the Parla-
ment establish. The Parliament therefore without any usurpation hath had it alwaies in thir power to limit and confine the exorbitancie of Kings whether they call it thir will, thir reason, or thir conscience.

But this above all was never expected, nor is to be endur'd, that a King who is bound by law, and Oath to follow the advice of his Parliament, should be permitted to except against them as young Statesmen, and proudly to suspend his following thir advice, untill his seven yeares experience had shewn him how well they could govern themselves. Doubtles the Law never suppos'd so great an arrogence could be in one man; that hee whose seventeen yeares unexperience had almost ruin'd all, should fit another seven yeares Schoolmaster, to tutor those who were sent by the whole Realme to be his Counselers and Teachers. And with what modesty can hee pretend to be a Statesman himself, who with his Fathers Kingcraft and his own, did never that of his own accord which was not directly opposit to his profess'd Interest both at home and abroad; discontenting and alienating his Subjects at home, weakening and deserting his Confederats abroad, and with them the Common cause of Religion. So that the whole course of his reign by an example of his own furnishing hath resembled Phaeton more then Phoebus; and forc'd the Parliament to drive like Jehu; which Omen tak'n from his own mouth, God hath not diverted.

And he on the other side might have rememberd that the Parliament fit in that body, not as his Subjects but as his Superiors, call'd, not by him, but by the Law; not onely twice every yeare, but as oft as great affaires require, to be his Counselers and Dictators though he stomac it, nor to be disolv'd at his pleasure, but when all greevances be first remov'd, all Petitions heard, and answer'd. This is not onely Reason but the known Law of the Land.
When he heard that Propositions would be sent him, he fate conjecturing what they would propound, and because they propounded what hee expected not, he takes that to be a warrant for his denying them. But what did he expect? he expected that the Parliament would reinforce some old Laws. But if those Laws were not a sufficient remedy to all greevances, nay were found to be greevances themselves, when did we loose that other part of our freedom to esta-
blish new? He thought some injuries don by himself and others to the Common-wealth were to be repair’d. But how could that be, while hee the chief offender took upon him to be sole Judge both of the injury and the reparation. He said till the advantage of his Crown consider’d might induce him to condiscend to the Peoples good. When as the Crown itself with all those advantages were therfore giv’n him, that the peoples good should be first consider’d; not bargain’d for, and bought by inches with the bribe of more offertures and advantages to his Crown. He look’d for moderate desires of due Reformation; as if any such desires could be immoderate: Hee look’d for such a Reformation, both in Church and State as might pre-
serve the roots of every greevance, and abuse in both still growing (which he calls The foundation and ef-
sentials) and would have only the excrescencies of evil prun’d away for the present, as was plotted be-
fore, that they might grow fast enough between Tri-
ennial Parliaments, to hinder them by work enough besides, from ever striking at the root. He alleges, They should have had regard to the Laws in force, to the wisdom and pietie of former Parliaments, to the an-
cient and universal practice of Christian Churches. As if they who come with full authority to redress public greevances, which ofttimes are Laws themselves, were to have thir hands bound by Laws in force, or the supposition of more pietie and wisdom in thir
Ancestors, or the practice of Churches heeretofore, whose Fathers, notwithstanding all these pretences, made as vast alterations to free themselves from ancient Popery. For all antiquity that adds or varies from the Scripture, is no more warranted to our safe imitation then what was don the Age before at Trent. Nor was there need to have dispair'd of what could be establish'd in lieu of what was to be annull'd, having before his eyes the Goverment of so many Churches beyond the Seas; whose pregnant and solid reasons wrought so with the Parlament, as to desire a uniformity rather with all other Protestants, then to be a Schism divided from them under a conclave of thirty Bishops, and a crew of irreligious Priests, that gap'd for the same preferment.

And wheras he blames those propositions for not containing what they ought, what did they mention, but to vindicate and restore the Rights of Parlament invaded by Cabin councels, the Courts of Justice obstructed, and the Goverment of Church innovated and corrupted? All these things he might easilly have observ'd in them, which he affirmes he could not find: but found those demanding in Parlament who were lookt upon before, as factious in the State, and schismaticall in the Church; and demanding not onely Toleration's for themselves in thir vanity, noveltie and confusion, but also an extirpation of that Goverment whose Rights they had a mind to invade. Was this man ever likely to be advis'd, who with such a prejudice and disesteem sets himself against his choos'n and appointed Counselers; likely ever to admit of Reformation, who censures all the Goverment of other Protestant Churches, as bad as any Papist could have censur'd them? And what King had ever his whole Kingdom in such contempt, so to wrong and dishonour the free elections of his people, as to judge them whom the Nation thought worthiest to sitt with him
in Parliament, few els but such as were punishable by the Lawes: yet knowing that time was, when to be a Protestant, to be a Christian was by Law as punishable as to be a Traitor, and that our Saviour himself comming to reform his Church, was accus’d of an intent to invade Caesar's right, as good a right as the prelat Bishops ever had; the one being got by force, the other by spiritual usurpation: and both by force upheld.

He admires and falls into an extafie that the Parliament should send him such a horrid Proposition, as the removal of Episcopacy. But expect from him in an extafie no other reasons of his admiration then the dream and tautology of what he hath so oft repeated, Law, Antiquitie, Ancestors, prosperity and the like, which will be threfore not worth a second answer, but may pass with his own comparison Into the common fewer of other Popifh arguments.

*Had the two Houses su’d out their Liverie from the wardship of Tumults*, he could sooner have believ’d them. It concern’d them first to sue out thir Liverie from the unjust wardship of his encroaching Prerogative. And had he also redeem’d his overdated minority from a Pupillage under Bishops, he would much les have mistrusted his Parlament; and never would have set so base a Character upon them as to count them no better then the Vassals of certain nameless men whom he charges to be such as hunt after Faction with their Hounds the Tumults. And yet the Bishops could have told him, that Nimrod, the first that hunted after faction, is reputed, by ancient Tradition, the first that founded Monarchy; whence it appeares that to hunt after Faction is more properly the Kings Game, and those Hounds, which he calls the Vulgar, have bin oft’n hollow’d to from Court; of whom the mungrel fort have bin entic’d; the rest have not lost thir sent; but understood aright,
that the Parliament had that part to act which he had fail'd in: that trust to discharge, which he had brok'n; that estate and honour to preserve, which was farr be-yond his, the estate and honour of the Common-wealth, which he had imbezl'd.

Yet so farr doth self-opinion or fals principles delude and transport him, as to think the concurrence of his reason to the Votes of Parliament, not onely Political, but Natural, and as necessary to the begetting, or bringing forth of any one compleat act of public wisdom as the Suns influence is necessary to all natures productions. So that the Parliament, it seems, is but a Female, and without his procreative reason can produce no Law: Wisdom, it seems, to a King is natural, to a Parliament not natural, but by conjunction with the King: Yet he professes to hold his Kingly right by Law; and if no Law could be made but by the great Counsel of a Nation, which we now term a Parliament, then certainly it was a Parliament that first created Kings, and not onely made Laws before a King was in being, but those Laws espe-cially, whereby he holds his Crown. He ought then to have so thought of a Parliament, if he count it not Male, as of his Mother, which to civil being created both him, and the Royalty he wore. And if it hath bin anciently interpreted the prefaging signe of a future Tyrant, but to dream of copulation with his Mother, what can it be les than actual Tyranny to affirme waking, that the Parliament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth any au-toritative Act without his Masculine coition: Nay that his reason is as Celestial and life-giving to the Parliament, as the Suns influence is to the Earth:

What other notions but these, or such like, could swell up Caligula to think himself a God.

But to be ridd of these mortifying Propositions he leaves no tyrannical evasion unassaid; first that they are
not the joint and free desires of both Houses or the major part, next, that the choice of many Members was carried on by Faction. The former of these is already discover'd to be an old device put first in practice by Charles the fifth since Reformation. Who when the Protestants of Germany for their own defense join'd themselves in League, in his Declarations and Remonstrances laid the fault only upon some few (for it was dangerous to take notice of too many Enemies) and accus'd them that under colour of Religion they had a purpose to invade his and the Churches right: by which policy he deceav'd many of the German Cities, and kept them divided from that League, untill they saw themselves brought into a snare. That other cavil against the peoples choise puts us in mind rather what the Court was wont to doe, and how to tamper with Elections: neither was there at that time any Faction more potent, or more likely to doe such a business, then they themselves who complain most.

But he must chew such Morsels as Propositions ere he let them down. So let him; but if the Kingdom shall taft nothing but after his chewing, what does he make of the Kingdom, but a great baby. The strictness of his conscience will not give him leave to swallow down such Camels of sacrilege and injustice as others doe. This is the Pharisee up and down, I am not as other men are. But what Camels of Injustice hee could devour, all his three Realms were witneff, which was the caufe that they almost perish'd for want of Parlaments. And he that will be unjust to man, will be sacrilegious to God; and to bereave a Christian conscience of libertie for no other reason then the narrowness of his own conscience, is the most unjust measure to man, and the worst sacrilege to God. That other, which he calls sacrilege, of taking from the Clergy that superfluous wealth, which an-
tiquitie as old as Constantine, from the credit of a Divine vision, counted payson in the Church, hath bin ever most oppos'd by men whose righteousness in other matters hath bin leaft observ'd. He concludes, as his manner is, with high commendation of his own unbiafs'd rectitude and beleives nothing to be in them that dissent from him, but faction, innovation, and particular designes. Of these repetitions I find no end, no not in his prayer; which being founded upon deceitfull princip's, and a fond hope that God will bless him in those his errors, which he calls honest, finds a fitt answer of S. James; Yee aske and receave not, because yee aske amifs. As for the truth and sinceritie which he praises may be alwaies found in those his Declarations to the people, the contrariety of his own actions will bear eternal witness how little carefull or solicitous he was, what he promisesd, or what he uttered there.

XII. Upon the Rebellion in Ireland.

He Rebellion and horrid massacher of English Protestants in Ireland, to the number of 154000 by thir own computation, although so sudden, and so violent, as at first to amaze all men that were not accessory, yet from whom, and from what counsels it first sprung; neither was, nor could be possibily so secret, as the contrivers therof blinded with vaine hope, or the despaire that other plots would succeed, suppos'd. For it cannot be imaginable that the Irish guided by so many suttle and Italian heads of the Romish party, should so farr have loft the use of reason, and indeed of common Sense, as not supported with other strength then thir owne, to begin a Warr so desperate and irreconcilable against both England and
Scotland at once. All other Nations, from whom they could expect aide, were busied to the utmost in their own most necessary concerns. It remains then that either some autortie or some great assistance promis’d them from England, was that wheroh they chiefly trusted. And as it is not difficult to discern from what inducing cause this insurrection first arose, so neither was it hard at first to have apply’d some effectual remedy, though not prevention. But the assurance which they had in privat, that no remedy should be apply’d, was, it seemes, one of the chief reasons that drew on thir undertaking.

Seeing then the maine incitement and authority for this Rebellion must be needs deriv’d from England, it will be next inquir’d who was the prime Author. The King heer denounces a malediction temporal and eternal, not simply to the Author, but to the malicious Author of this blood-shedd; and by that limitation may exempt, not himself only, but perhaps the Irish Rebells themselves; who never will confess to God or Man that any blood was shed by them maliciously; but either in the Catholic cause, or common Liberty, or some other specious Plea, which the conscience from grounds both good and evil usually suggests to it self: thereby thinking to elude the direct force of that imputation which lies upon them.

Yet he acknowledges It fell out as a most unhappy advantage of some mens malice against him: but indeed of most mens just suspicion, by finding in it no such wide departure or disagreement from the scope of his former Counsels and proceedings. And that he himself was the Author of that Rebellion, he denies both heer and elsewhere, with many imprecaions, but no solid evidence: What on the other side against his denial hath bin affirm’d in three Kingdoms being heer briefly set in view, the Reader may so judge as he finds cause.
This is most certain, that the King was ever friendly to the Irish Papists, and in his third yeare, against the plain advice of Parliament, like a kind of Pope, sold them many indulgencies for Mony; and upon all occasions advancing the Popish party, and negotiating under hand by Priests who were made his Agents, ingag'd the Irish Papists in a Warr against the Scotch Protestants. To that end he furnish'd them, and had them train'd in Arms; and kept them up the only Army in his three Kingdoms, till the very burst of that Rebellion. The Summer before that dismal October, a Committy of most active Papists, all since in the head of that Rebellion, were in great favour at White-Hall; and admitted to many privat consultations with the King and Queen. And to make it evident that no mean matters were the subject of those Conferences, at their request hee gave away his peculiar right to more then five Irish Counties, for the payment of an inconsiderable Rent. They departed not home till within two Mounths before the Rebellion; and were either from the first breaking out, or soon after, found to be the chief Rebels themselves. But what should move the King, besides his own inclination to Popery, and the prevalence of his Queen over him, to hold such frequent and close meetings with a Commity of Irish Papists in his own House, while the Parlament of England fate unadvis'd with, is declar'd by a Scotch Author, and of it self is cleare enough. The Parlament at the beginning of that Summer, having put Strafford to death, imprison'd others his chief Favorites, and driv'n the rest to fly, the King, who had in vain tempted both the Scotch and the English Army to come up against the Parlament and Citty, finding no compliance answerable to his hope from the Protestant Armies, betakes himself last to the Irish; who had in readiness an Army of eight thousand Papists,
and a Committy heer of the same Religion. And with them who thought the time now come to doe eminent service for the Church of Rome against a Puritan Parliament, he concludes that so soon as both Armies in England should be disbanded, the Irish should appeare in Armes, maister all the Protestants, and help the King against his Parlament. And we need not doubt that those five Counties were giv'n to the Irish for other reason then the four Northern Counties had bin a little before offer'd to the Scots. The King in August takes a journey into Scotland; and overtaking the Scotch Army then on thir way home, attempts the second time to pervert them, but without success. No sooner comm into Scotland, but he laies a plot, so faith the Scotch Author, to remove out of the way such of the Nobility there, as were most likely to withstand, or not to furder his designes. This being discover'd, he sends from his fide one Dillon a Papift Lord, soon after a cheif Rebell, with Letters into Ireland; and dispatches a Commiffion under the great Seale of Scotland at that time in his own cuftody, commanding that they should forthwith, as had bin formerly agreed, caufe all the Irish to rise in Armes. Who no sooner had receiv'd such command, but obey'd; and began in Massacher, for they knew no other way to make sure the Protestants, which was commanded them expressly; and the way, it seems, left to thir discretion. He who hath a mind to read the Commiffion it self, and found reason added why it was not likely to be forg'd, besides the attestation of so many Irish themselves, may have recours to a Book intitl'd The Mysterie of Iniquity.

After the Rebellion brok'n out, which in words only he detested, but under hand favour'd and promoted by all the offices of freindship, correpondence, and what possible aide he could afford them, the par-
ticulars wherof are too many to be inserted here, I suppose no understanding Man could longer doubt who was Author or instigator of that Rebellion. If there be who yet doubt, I referr them especially to that Declaration of July 1643. concerning this Matter. Against which testimonies, likelyhoods, evidences, and apparent actions of his own, being so abundant, the bare denyall of one man, though with imprecation, cannot in any reason countervaile.

As for the Commission granted them, he thinks to evade that by retorting, that some in England fight against him and yet pretend his authority. But though a Parlament by the known Laws may affirm justly to have the Kings authority, inseparable from that Court, though divided from his Person, it is not credible that the Irish Rebels who so much tender'd his Person above his Autoritie, and were by him so well receav'd at Oxford, would be so farr from all humanitie as to slander him with a particular Commission sign'd and sent them by his own hand.

And of his good affection to the Rebells this Chapter it self is not without witness. He holds them less in fault then the Scots, as from whom they might allege to have fetch'd thir imitation; making no difference between men that rofe necessarily to defend themselves, which no Protestant Doctrin ever disallow'd, against them who threat'nd Warr, and those who began a voluntary and causeless Rebellion with the Maffacher of so many thousands who never meant them harme.

Hee falls next to flashes, and a multitude of words, in all which is contain'd no more, then what might be the Plea of any guiltieft Offender, He was not the Author because he hath the greatest share of los's and dishonour by what is committed. Who is there that offends God or his Neighbour, on whom the greatest share of los's and dishonour lights not in
the end? But in the act of doing evil, men use not to consider the event of thir evil doing: or if they doe, have then no power to curb the sway of thir owne wickedness. So that the greatest share of loss and dishonour to happ’n upon themselves, is no argument that they were not guilty. This other is as weak, that a Kings interest above that of any other man, lies chiefly in the common welfare of his Subjects; theryfore no King will doe aught against the Common welfare. For by this evasion any Tyrant might as wel purge himself from the guilt of raising troubles or commotions among the people, because undoubtedly his chief Interest lies in thir setting still.

I sayd but now that eev’n this Chapter, if nothing els, might suffice to discover his good affection to the Rebels; which in this that follows too notoriously appeares; imputing this insurrection to the preposterous rigor, and unreasonable severitie, the covetous zeale and uncharitable fury of some men (these some men by his continual paraphrase are meant the Parliament) and lastly, to the feare of utter extirpation. If the whole Irithry of Rebels had feed some advocate to speak partially and sophistically in thir defence, he could have hardly dazl’d better: Yet never the less would have prov’d himself no other then a plausible deceiver. And perhapps those fained terrors and jealousies were either by the King himself, or the Popish Priests which were sent by him, put into the head of that inquisitive people, on set purpose to engage them. For who had power to oppress them, or to releive them being oppress, but the King or his immediat Deputy? This rather should have made them rise against the King then against the Parlament. Who threat’nd or ever thought of thir extirpation, till they themselves had begun it to the English? As for preposterous rigour, covetous zeale, and uncharitable fury; they had more reason to suf-
pect those evils first from his own commands, whom they saw using daily no greater argument to prove the truth of his Religion then by enduring no other but his owne Prelatical; and to force it upon others, made Episcopall, Ceremonial, and Common-Prayer-Book Wars. But the Papists understood him better then by the outside; and knew that those Wars were their Wars. Although if the Common-wealth should be afraid to suppress op’n Idolatry, left the Papists thereupon should grow desperat, this were to let them grow and become our persecuters, while we neglected what we might have don Evangelically, to be their Reformers. Or to doe as his Father James did, who in stead of taking heart and putting confidence in God by such a deliverance as from the Powder Plot, though it went not off, yet with the meer conceit of it, as some observe, was hitt into such a Hectic trembling between Protestant and Papist all his life after, as that he never durst from that time doe otherwise then equivocat or colloque with the Pope and his adherents.

He would be thought to commiserat the sad effects of that Rebellion, and to lament that the teares and blood spilt there did not quench the sparks of our civil discord heer. But who began these dissentions, and what can be more op’ny known then those retardings and delaies which by himself were continually devis’d, to hinder and put back the releif of those distressed Protestants, whom hee seems heer to compassionat. The particulars are too well known to be recited, and too many. But he offer’d to goe himself in person upon that expedition; and reck’ns up many surmises why hee thinks they would not suffer him. But mentions not that by his underdealing to debaush Armies heer at home, and by his secret intercours with the cheif Rebels, long ere that time every where known, hee
had brought the Parlament into so just a diffidence of him, as that they durst not leave the Public Armes to his disposa1, much less an Army to his conduct.

He concludes That next the sin of those who began that Rebellion theirs must needs be who hinder'd the suppressing, or diverted the aides. But judgement rashly giv'n oftentimes involves the Judge himself. He finds fault with those who threat'nd all extremity to the Rebels, and pleads much that mercy should be shewn them. It seems he found himself not so much concern'd as those who had lost Fathers, Brothers, Wives and Children, by thir crueltie; whom in justice to retaliat is not as he supposes unevangelical; so long as Magistracy and Warr is not laid down under the Gospel. If this his Sermon of affected mercy were not too Pharisaical, how could he permit himself to cause the slaughter of so many thousands heer in England for meer Prerogatives, the Toys and Gewgaws of his Crown, for Copes and Surplices, the Trinkets of his Priests, and not perceive his own zeale, while he taxes others, to be most preposterous and unevangelical. Neither is there the same cause to destroy a whole Citty for the ravishing of a Sister, not don out of Villany, and recompence offer'd by Marriage; nor the same case for those Disciples to summon fire from Heav'n upon the whole Citty where they were deny'd lodging, and for a Nation by just Warr and execution to slay whole Families of them who so barbarously had slaine whole Families before. Did not all Israel doe as much against the Benjamits for one Rape committed by a few, and defended by the whole Tribe, and did they not the same to Jabeβ-Gilead for not assisting them in that revenge? I speak not this that such measure should be meted rigorously to all the Irish, or as remembering that the Parlament ever so
Decreed, but to shew that this his Homily hath more of craft and affectation in it, then of sound Doctrin.

But it was happy that his going into Ireland was not consented to: For either hee had certainly turn'd his intended Forces against the Parlament it self, or not gon at all; or had hee gon, what work he would have made there, his own following words declare.

Hee would have punish't some; no question; for some perhaps who were of least use, must of necessity have bin sacrific'd to his reputation, and the conveniencie of his affaires. Others hee would have disarm'd, that is to say in his own time: but all of them hee would have protected from the fury of those that would have drown'd them, if they had refus'd to swim down the popular streame. These expressions are too oft'n mett, and too well understood for any man to doubt his meaning. By the fury of those, he meanes no other then the Justice of Parlament, to whom yet he had committed the whole business. Those who would have refus'd to swim down the popular streame, our constant key tells us to be Papis, Prelats, and thir Faction: these, by his own confession heer, he would have protected against his Puritan Parlament: And by this who sees not that hee and the Irish Rebels had but one aime, one and the same drift, and would have forthwith joyn'd in one body against us.

Hee goes on still in his tenderness of the Irish Rebels fearing leaft our zeale should be more greedy to kill the Beare for his skin then for any harme hee hath don. This either justifies the Rebels to have don no harme at all, or inferrs his opinion that the Parlament is more bloody and rapacious in the prosecution of thir Justice, then thos Rebels were in the execution of thir barbarous crueltie. Let men doubt now and dispute to whom the King was a Freind most, to his English Parlament, or to his Irish Rebels.

With whom, that wee may yet see furder how
much he was thir Freind, after that the Parlament had brought them every where either to Famin, or a low condition, he, to give them all the respit and advantages they could desire, without advice of Parlament, to whom he himself had committed the managing of that Warr, makes a Cessment; in pretence to relieve the Protestants, overborne there with numbers, but as the event prov’d, to support the Papists, by diverting and drawing over the English Army there, to his own service heer against the Parlament. For that the Protestants were then on the winning hand, it must needs be plain; who notwithstanding the mis of those Forces which, at thir landing heer, maifter’d without difficulty great part of Wales and Cheshire, yet made a shift to keep thir owne in Ireland. But the plot of this Irish Truce is in good part discover’d in that Declaration of September 3oth. 1643. And if the Protestants were but handfuls there, as he calls them, why did he stop and waylay both by Land and Sea, to his utmost power, those Provisions and Supplies which were sent by the Parlament? How were so many handfuls call’d over, as for a while stood him in no small stead, and against our main Forces heer in England?

Since therfore all the reasons that can be giv’n of this Cessment appeare so fals and frivolous, it may be justly fear’d that the designe it self was most wicked and pernicious. What remains then? He appeales to God, and is cast; lik’ning his punishments to Jobs trials, before he saw them to have Jobs ending. He cannot stand to make prolix Apologies. Then surely those long Pamphlets set out for Declarations and Remonstrances in his Name, were none of his; and how they should be his indeed, being so repugnant to the whole cours of his actions, augments the difficulty.

But he usurps a common saying, That it is Kingly
to doe well and heare ill. That may be sometimes true: but farr more frequently, to doe ill and heare well; so great is the multitude of Flatterers, and them that deifie the name of King.

Yet not content with these neighbours, we have him still a perpetual Preacher of his own vertues, and of that especially which who knows not to be Patience perforce.

He beleeves it will at last appeare that they who first began to embroile his other Kingdoms, are also guilty of the blood of Ireland. And wee beleve so too; for now the Cessation is become a Peace by publish'd Articles, and Commission to bring them over against England, first only ten thousand by the Earl of Glamorgan, next all of them, if possible, under Ormond, which was the laft of all his transactions don as a public Person. And no wonder; for he lookt upon the blood spilt, whether of Subjects or of Rebels with an indifferent eye, as exhausted out of his own veines; without distinguishing as hee ought, which was good blood and which corrupt; the not letting out wherof endangers the whole body.

And what the Doctrin is yee may perceave also by the Prayer, which after a short ejaculation for the poore Protestants, prays at large for the Irish Rebels, that God would not give them over, or thir Children to the covetousness, cruelty, fierce and cursed anger of the Parliament.

He finishes with a deliberat and solemn curse upon himself and his Fathers House. Which how farr God hath alreadie brought to pass, is to the end that men by so eminent an example shoule learn to tremble at his judgements; and not play with Imprecations.
XIII. Upon the calling in of the Scots and their coming.

It must needs seem strange to Men who accustom themselves to ponder and contemplate things in their first original and institution, that Kings, who, as all other Officers of the Public, were at first chos'n and install'd onely by consent and suffrage of the People, to govern them as Freemen by Laws of their own framing, and to be, in consideration of that dignity and riches bestow'd upon them, the entrusted Servants of the Common-wealth, should notwithstanding grow up to that dishonest encroachment, as to esteem themselves Masters, both of that great trust which they serve, and of the People that trusted them: counting what they ought to doe both in discharge of their public duty, and for the great reward of honour and revenue which they receive, as don all of meer grace and favour; as if their power over us were by nature, and from themselves, or that God had fould us into their hands. This ignorance or wilfull mistake of the whole matter, had tak'n so deep root in the imagination of this King, that whether to the English or to the Scot, mentioning what acts of his Regal Office, though God knows how unwillingly, hee had pass'd, he calls them, as in other places, Acts of grace and bounty; so heer special obligations, favours, to gratifie active spirits, and the desires of that party. Words not onely founding pride and Lordly usurpation, but Injustice, Partiality, and Corruption. For to the Irish hee so farr condescended, as first to tolerate in privat, then to covenant op'nyly the tolerating of Popery: So farr to the Scot, as to remove Bishops, establish Prefbytery, and the Militia in their own hands; preferring, as some
thought, the desires of Scotland before his own Interest and Honour. But being once on this side Tweed, his reason, his conscience, and his honour became so streiten'd with a kind of false Virginity, that to the English neither one nor other of the same demands could be granted, wherewith the Scots were gratifi'd; as if our aire and climat on a sudden had chang'd the property and the nature both of Conscience, Honour, and Reason, or that he found none so fit as English to be the subjects of his arbitrary power. Ireland was as Ephraim, the strength of his head, Scotland, as Judah, was his Law-giver; but over England as over Edom hee meant to cast his Shoo; and yet so many sober English men not sufficiently awake to consider this, like men enchant'd with the Circean cup of servitude, will not be held back from running thir own heads into the Yoke of Bondage.

The summ of his discours is against settling of Religion by violent meanes; which whether it were the Scots designe upon England, they are best able to cleare themselves. But this of all may seem strangest, that the King who, while it was permitted him, never did thing more eagerly then to molest and persecute the consciences of most Religious men, he who had made a Warr and loft all, rather then not uphold a Hierarchie of persecuting Bishops, should have the confidence heer to profess himself so much an Eemie of those that force the conscience. For was it not he, who upon the English obtruded new Ceremonies, upon the Scots a new Liturgie, and with his Sword went about to engrave a bloody Rubric on thir backs? Did he not forbidd and hinder all effectual search of Truth, nay like a besieging Enemy stop'd all her passages both by Word and Writing? Yet heer can talk of faire and equall disputations: Where notwithstanding, if all submit not to his judgement as not being rationally convicted, they must
fubmitt (and he conceals it not) to his penaltie as counted obstinate. But what if hee himself and those his learned Churchmen, were the convicted or the obstinat part long agoe; sould Reformation suffer them to fit Lording over the Church in thir fatt Bishoprics and Pluralities, like the great Whore that sitteth upon many Waters, till they would voutsafe to be disputed out? Or sould wee fit disputing while they sate plotting and persectuting? Thofe Clergimen were not to be driv'n into the fold like Sheep, as his Si- mily runs, but to be driv'n out of the Fold like Wolves, or Theeves, where they sate Fleecing those Flocks which they never fed.

He beleevs that Presbytery though prov'd to be the onely Institution of Jesus Christ were not by the Sword to be set up without his consent; which is contrary both to the Doctrin, and the known practice of all Protet- tant Churches; if his Sword threat'n those who of thir own accord imbrace it.

And although Christ and his Apostles, being to civil affairs but privat men, contended not with Magistrats, yet when Magistrats themselves and especially Parla- ments, who have greatest right to dispose of the civil Sword, com to know Religion, they ought in conscience to defend all those who receave it willingly, against the violence of any King or Tyrant whatsoever. Neither is it therfore true; That Christianity is planted or watred with Christian blood; for there is a large dif- ference between forcing men by the Sword to turn Presbyterians, and defending those who willingly are so, from a furious inroad of bloody Bishops, arm'd with the Militia of a King thir Pupill. And if covetousness and ambition be an argument that Presby- tery hath not much of Christ, it argues more strongly against Epifcopacy; which from the time of her first mounting to an order above the Presbyters, had no other Parents then Covetousness and Ambition. And
those Sects, Scisms, and Heresies, which he speaks of, if they get but strength and numbers, need no other pattern then Episcopacy and himself, to set up their ways by the like method of violence. Nor is ther any thing that hath more marks of Scism and Sectarism then English Episcopacy; whether wee look at Apostolic times or at reformed Churches; for the universal way of Church-goverment before, may as soon lead us into gros error, as thir universally corrupted Doctrin. And Goverment by reason of ambition was likliest to be corrupted much the sooner of the two. However nothing can be to us Catholic or universal in Religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatsoever without Scripture pleads to be universal in the Church, in being universal is but the more Scismatical. Much les can particular Laws and Constitutions impart to the Church of England, any power of consistory or tribunal above other Churches, to be the sole Judge of what is Sect or Scism, as with much rigor, and without Scripture they took upon them. Yet these the King resolves heer to defend and maintain to his laft, pretending, after all those conferences offer'd, or had with him, not to see more rationall and religious motives then Soldiers carry in thir Knapfacks; with one thus resolv'd it was but folly to stand disputing.

He imagines his own judicious zeale to be most concern'd in his tuition of the Church. So thought Saul when he presum'd to offer Sacrifice; for which he lost his Kingdom; So thought Uzziah when hee went into the Temple; but was thrust out with a Leprosie for his opinion'd zeale, which he thought judicious. It is not the part of a King, because he ought to defend the Church, therfore to set himself supreme head over the Church, or to meddle with Ecclesiial Goverment, or to defend the Church otherwise then the Church would bee defended; for such
defence is bondage; nor to defend abuses, and stop all Reformation under the name of New moulds fanc’d and fashion’d to privat designes. The holy things of Church are in the power of other keys then were deliver’d to his keeping. Christian libertie purchas’d with the death of our Redeemer, and establish’d by the sending of his free spirit to inhabit in us, is not now to depend upon the doubtfull consent of any earthly Monarch; nor to be again fetter’d with a presumptuous negative voice, tyrannical to the Parliament, but much more Tyrannical to the Church of God: which was compell’d to implore the aid of Parliament, to remove his force and heavy hands from off our consciences, who therfore complains now of that most just defensive force, because onely it remov’d his violence and perfecution. If this be a violation to his conscience, that it was hinderd by the Parliament from violating the more tender consciences of so many thousand good Christians, let the usurping conscience of all Tyrants be ever so violated.

Hee wonders, Fox wonder, how wee could so much distrust Gods assistence, as to call in the Protestant aid of our Brethren in Scotland; why then did he, if his trust were in God and the justice of his Cause, not scruple to sollicit and invite earnestly the assistence both of Papists and of Irish Rebels? If the Scots were by us at length sent home, they were not call’d in to stay heer always; neither was it for the peoples ease to feed so many Legions, longer then thir helpe was needfull.

The Goverment of their Kirk wee despis’d not, but thir imposing of that Goverment upon us; not Prebytery but Arch-Prebytery, Clasical, Provincial, and Diocefan Prebytery, claiming to it self a Lordly power and Superintendency both over Flocks and Pastors, over Persons and Congregations no way thir own. But these debates in his judgement would have bin
ended better by the best Divines in Christendom in a full and free Synod. A most improbable way, and such as never yet was us’d, at least with good success, by any Protestant Kingdom or State since the Reformation: Every true Church having wherewithall from Heav’n, and the assisting Spirit of Christ implor’d to be complete and perfect within itself. And, the whole Nation is not easily to be thought so raw, and so perpetually a novice after all this light, as to need the help and direction of other Nations, more than what they write in public of their opinion, in a matter so familiar as Church Government.

In fine he accuses Pietie with the want of Loyalty and Religion with the breach of Allegiance, as if God and he were one Master, whose commands were so oft’n contrary to the commands of God. He would perswade the Scots that their chief Interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown. But true policy will teach them to find a safer interest in the common friendship of England, then in the ruins of one ejected Family.

XIII. Upon the Covenant.

Upon this theme his discourse is long, his matter little but repetition; and therefore soon answer’d. First after an abusive and strange apprehension of Covnants, as if Men pawn’d thir soules to them with whom they Covnant, he digresses to plead for Bishops; first from the antiquitie of thir possession heer, since the first plantation of Christianity in this Iland, next from a universal prescription since the Apostles, till this last Centurie. But what availes the most Primitive Antiquity against the plain sense of Scripture; which if the last Centurie have best follow’d, it ought in our esteem to be the first. And yet it hath bin oft’n prov’d by
Learned Men, from the Writings and Epistles of most ancient Christians, that Episcopacy crept not up into an order above the Presbyters, till many yeares after that the Apostles were deceas'd.

He next is unsatisfi'd with the Covenant, not onely for some passages in it referring to himself, as he supposes, with very dubious and dangerous limitations, but for binding men by Oath and Covenant, to the Reformation of Church Discipline. First those limitations were not more dangerous to him, then hee to our Libertie and Religion; next, that which was there vow'd, to cast out of the Church an Antichristian Hierarchy which God had not planted, but ambition and corruption had brought in, and fosterd to the Churches great dammage and oppression, was no point of controversy to be argu'd without end, but a thing of clear moral necessity to be forthwith don. Neither was the Covenant superfluous, though former engagements both religious and legall bound us before: But was the practice of all Churches heretofore intending Reformation. All Israel, though bound anough before by the Law of Moses, to all necessary duties; yet with Asa thir King enter'd into a new Covenant at the beginning of a Reformation: And the Jewes after Captivity, without consent demanded of that King who was thir Maister, took solemn Oath to walk in the Command'ments of God. All Protestant Churches have don the like, notwithstanding former engagements to thir several duties. And although his aime were to sow variance between the Protestantation and the Covenant, to reconcile them is not difficult. The Protestantation was but one step, extending onely to the Doctrin of the Church of England, as it was distinct from Church Discipline; the Covenant went furder, as it pleas'd God to dispense his light by degrees, and comprehended Church-Goverment; Former with latter steps in the progress
of well doing need not reconcilement. Nevertheless he breaks through to his conclusion, That all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion; leaving Asa, Ezra, and the whole Church of God in sundry Ages to shift for honestie and wisdom from some other then his testimony. And although after-contraets absolve not till the former be made void, yet he first having don that, our duty returns back, which to him was neither moral nor eternal; but conditional.

Willing to persuade himself that many good men took the Covnant either unwarily, or out of fear, he seems to have bestowed some thoughts how these good men following his advice may keep the Covnant and not keep it. The first evasion is, presuming that the chief end of Covnanting in such mens intentions was to preserve Religion in purity and the Kingdoms peace. But the Covnant will more truly inform them that purity of Religion and the Kingdoms peace was not then in state to be preserved, but to be restored; and therefore binds them, not to a preservation of what was, but to a Reformation of what was evil, what was Traditional, and dangerous, whether novelty or antiquity in Church or State. To do this, clashes with no former Oath lawfully sworn either to God or the King, and rightly understood.

In generall he brands all such confederations by League and Covnant, as the common rode us'd in all Factional perturbations of State and Church. This kind of language reflects with the same ignominy upon all the Protestant Reformations that have bin since Luther; and so indeed doth his whole Book, replenished throughout with hardly other words or arguments then Papists, and especially Popish Kings, have us'd heretofore against thir Protestant Subjects; whom he would persuade to be every man his own Pope and to absolve himselfe of those ties, by the fug-
gestion of fals or equivocal interpretations too oft repeated to be now answer'd.

The Parliament, he faith, made thir Covnant like Manna, agreeable to every mans Palat. This is another of his glosses upon the Covnant; he is content to let it be Manna, but his drift is that men should loath it, or at least expound it by thir own reliſh, and latitude of ſenſe; wherein leaſt any one of the simpler sort should faile to be his crafts maifter, he furnishes him with two or three laxative, hee termes them general clauſes, which may serve somewhat to relieve them againſt the Covnant tak'n: intimating, as if what were lawfull, and according to the word of God, were no otherwise so, then as every man fanci'd to himself. From ſuch lerned explications and resolutions as these upon the Covnant, what marvel if no Royalift or Malignant refuse to take it, as having learnt from theſe Princely instructions, his many Salvo's, cautions, and reſervations, how to be a Covnanter and Anticovnanter, how at once to be a Scot, and an Irish Rebell.

He returnes againe to disallow of that Reformation which the Covnant vowes, as being the partiall advice of a few Divines. But matters of this moment, as they were not to be decided there by thoſe Divines, so neither are they to be determin'd heer by Essays and curtal Aphorisms, but by ſolid proofs of Scripture.

The reſt of his discourse he spends, highly accusing the Parlament, that the maιne Reformation by them intended was to robb the Church, and much applauding himself both for his forwardneſs to all due Reformation, and his averſneſs from all ſuch kind of Sacrilege. All which, with his glorious title of the Churches Defender, wee leave him to make good, by Pharaoh's Divinity, if he pleafe, for to Jœphs Pietie it will be a task unsuitable. As for the parity and
poverty of Ministers, which hee takes to be so sad of consequence, the Scripture reck'ns them for two special Legacies left by our Saviour to his Disciples: under which two Primitive Nurses, for such they were indeed, the Church of God more truly flourish'd then ever after, since the time that imparitie and Church revenue rushing in, corrupted and beleper'd all the Clergie with a worse infection then Gehezi's; some one of whose Tribe rather then a King, I should take to be compiler of that unsalted and Simonical praiyer annex'd. Although the Praier it self strongly prays against them. For never such holy things as he means, were giv'n to more Swine, nor the Churches bread more to Dogs, then when it fed ambitious, irreligious and dumb Prelats.

XV. Upon the many Jealousies, &c.

O wipe off jealousies and scandals, the best way had bin by clear Actions, or till Actions could be clear'd, by evident reasons; but meer words we are too well acquainted with. Had his honour and reputation bin dearer to him then the lust of Raining, how could the Parliament of either Nation have laid so oft'n at his dore the breach of words, promises, acts, Oaths, and excrections, as they doe avowedly in many of thir Petitions, and addresses to him: thether I remitt the Reader. And who can beleive that whole Parliaments elected by the People from all parts of the Land, should meet in one mind, and resolution not to advise him, but to conspire against him, in a wors powder plot then Catesbies, to blow up, as he termes it, the peoples affection towards him, and batter downe thir loyalty by the Engins of foule aspersions: Waterworks rather then Engins to batter with, yet those
Aspersions were rais'd from the foulness of his own actions. Whereof to purge himself, he uses no other argument, then a general and so oft'n iterated commendation of himself; and thinks that Court holy water hath the vertue of expiation; at least with the fyll people. To whom he familiarly imputes sin where none is, to seem liberal of his forgivenes where none is ask'd or needed.

What wayes he hath tak'n toward the prosperitie of his people, which he would seem so earnestly to desire, if wee doe but once call to mind, it will be enough to teach us, looking on the smooth insinuations heer, that Tyrants are not more flatterd by thir Slaves, then forc'd to flatter others whom they feare.

For the peoples tranquillitie he would willingly be the Jonah; but leaft he should be tak'n at his word, pretends to foresee within Kenn two imaginarie windes never heard of in the Compas, which threaten, if he be cast overboard, to encrease the storm; but that controversy, divine lot hath ended.

He had rather not rule then that his people should be ruin'd; and yet above these twenty yeares hath bin ruining the people about the niceties of his ruling. He is accurate to put a difference between the plague of malice, and the ague of mistakes, the itch of noveltie, and the leprosie of disloyaltie. But had he as well known how to distinguish between the venerable gray haires of ancient Religion, and the old scurffe of Superftition, between the wholsome heat of well Governing, and the fevorous rage of Tyrannizing, his judgment in State-physic, had bin of more authoritie.

Much he Prophefies, that the credit of thofe men who have caft black scandals on him shal ere long be quite blaffed by the fame furnace of popular obloquie wherin they fought to caft his name and honour: I beleive not
that a Romish gilded Portrature gives better Oracle
then a Babylonish gold’n Image could doe, to tell us
truly who heated that Furnace of obloquy, or who
deserves to be thrown in, Nebuchadnezzar or the
three Kingdoms. It gave him great cause to suspect
his own innocence that he was oppos’d by so many who
profes singulare pietie. But this qualm was soon over,
and he concluded rather to suspect their Religion,
then his own innocence, affirming that many with him
were both learned and Religious above the ordinary size.
But if his great Seal without the Parlament were not
sufficient to create Lords, his Parole must needs be
farr more unable to create learned and religious men;
and who shall authorize his unlearned judgement to
point them out?

He guesses that many well minded men were by po-
ular Preachers urg’d to oppose him. But the oppo-
sition undoubtedly proceeded and continues from
heads farr wiser, and spirits of a Nobler straine; those
Priest-led Herodians with thir blind guides are in the
Ditch already; travailing, as they thought, to Sion,
but moor’d in the Ile of Wight.

He thanks God for his constancy to the Protestant
Religion both abroad and at home. Abroad, his Let-
ter to the Pope, at home, his Innovations in the
Church will speak his constancy in Religion what
it was, without furder credit to this vain boast.

His using the assistance of some Papists, as the cause
might be, could not hurt his Religion; but in the
setling of Protestantism, thir aid was both unseemly
and suspicioues, and inferr’d that the greatest part of
Protestants were against him and his obtruded settle-
ment.

But this is strange indeed, that he should appeare
now teaching the Parlament, what no man, till this
was read, thought ever he had learnt, that difference
of perswasion in religious matters may fall out where
there is the sameness of Allegiance and Subjection. If he thought so from the beginning, wherfore was ther such compulsion us'd to the Puritans of England, and the whole Realm of Scotland, about conforming to a Liturgie? Wherfore no Bishop no King? Wherfore Episcopacie more agreeable to Monarchie, if different perswasions in Religion may agree in one Duty and Allegiance? Thus doe Court Maxims like Court Minions rise or fall as the King pleases.

Not to tax him for want of Elegance as a Courtier, in writing Oglia for Olla the Spanish word, it might be well affirm'd that there was a greater Medley and disproportioning of Religions to mix Papists with Protestants in a religious cause, then to entertaine all those diversifi'd Sects, who yet were all Protestants, one Religion, though many Opinions.

Neither was it any shame to Protestants, that he a declar'd Papist, if his own Letter to the Pope, not yet renown'd, beli him not, found so few Protestants of his Religion, as enforc'd him to call in both the counsel and the aid of Papists to help establish Protestantcy, who were led on, not by the sense of their Allegiance, but by the hope of his Apostacy to Rome, from disputing to warring; his own voluntary, and first appeale.

His hearkning to evil Counselers, charg'd upon him so oft'n by the Parlament, he puts off as a device of those men who were so eager to give him better counsel. That those men were the Parlament, and that he ought to have us'd the counsel of none but those, as a King, is already known. What their civility laid upon evil Counselers, he himself most commonly own'd; but the event of those evil counsels, the enormities, the confusions, the miseries he transferrs from the guilt of his own civil broiles to the just resist ance made by Parlament; and imputes what miscarriages of his they could not yet remove for his opposing, as
if they were som new misdemeanors of their bringing in, and not the inveterat diseases of his own bad Government; which, with a disease as badd, hee falls again to magnifie and commend; and may all those who would be govern'd by his Retractions and concessions, rather then by Laws of Parlament, admire his self-Encomiums, and be flatter'd with that Crown of patience to which hee cunningly exhorted them, that his Monarchical foot might have the setting it upon thir heads.

That trust which the Parlament faithfully discharg'd in the asferting of our Liberties, he calls another artifice to withdraw the people from him, to their desighes. What piece of Justice could they have demanded for the people, which the jealousie of a King might not have miscall'd a designe to disparage his Government; and to ingratiat themselves? To be more just, religious, wise, or magnanimous then the common fort, stirrs up in a Tyrant both feare and envy; and fright he cries out popularitie, which in his account is little less then Treafon. The sum is, they thought to regulate and limit his negative voice, and share with him in the Militia, both or either of which he could not possibly hold without consent of the people, and not be absolutely a Tyrant. He professes to deſire no other liberty then what he envies not his Subjects according to Law; yet fought with might and maine against his Subjects to have a sole power over them in his hand, both against and beyond Law. As for the Philosophical Libertie which in vaine he talks of, we may conclude him very ill train'd up in those free notions, who to civil Libertie was so injurious.

He calls the conscience Gods souvranitie, why then doth he conteft with God about that supreme title? Why did he lay reſtraints, and force enlargements upon our consciences in things for which we were to
answer God only and the Church? God bids us be subject for conscience sake, that is as to a Magistrat, and in the Laws; not usurping over spiritual things, as Lucifer beyond his sphere.

Finally having layd the fault of these Commotions, not upon his own misgoverment, but upon the ambition of others, the necessity of some mens fortune, and thirst after noveltie, he bodes himself much honour and reputation that like the Sun shall rise and recover it self to such a splendour, as Owles, Batts, and such fataall Birds shall be unable to beare. Poets indeed use to vapor much after this manner. But to bad Kings, who without cause expect future glory from thir actions, it happn's as to bad Poets; who sit and starve themselves with a delusive hope to win immortality by thir bad lines. For though men ought not to speake evil of Dignities which are just, yet nothing hinders us to speak evil, as oft as it is the truth, of those who in thir Dignities doe evil; thus did our Saviour himself, John the Baptift, and Steev'n the Martyr. And those black vailes of his own misdeeds he might be sure would ever keep his face from shining, till he could refute evil speaking with well doing, which grace he seemes here to pray for; and his prayer doubtless as it was prayd, so it was heard. But eev'n his prayer is so ambitious of Prerogative, that it dares ask away the Prerogative of Christ himself, To become the head stone of the Corner.

XVI. Upon the Ordinance against the Common-prayer Book.

Hat to think of Liturgies, both the sense of Scripture, and apostolical practive would have taught him better, then his human reasonings and conjectures: Nevertheless
what weight they have, let us consider. If it be no newes to have all innovations usher'd in with the name of Reformation, sure it is less news to have all reformation censur'd and oppos'd under the name of innovation; by those who being exalted in high place above thir merit, feare all change though of things never so ill or so unwisely settl'd. So hardly can the dotage of those that dwell upon Antiquitie allow present times any share of godliness or wisdom.

The removing of Liturgie he traduces to be don onely as a thing plausible to the People; whose rejection of it he lik'ns with small reverence to the crucifying of our Saviour; next that it was don to please those men who gloried in thir extemporary veine, meaning the Ministers. For whom it will be best to answer, as was answer'd for the man born blind, They are of age let them speak for themselves; not how they came blind, but whether it were Liturgie that held them tongue-ti'd.

For the matter contain'd in that Book we need no better witness then King Edward the fixth, who to the Cornifh Rebels confesses it was no other then the old Mafs-Book don into Englisht, all but some few words that were expung'd. And by this argument which King Edward so promptly had to use against that irreligious Rabble, we may be assur'd it was the carnal feare of those Divines and Polititians that modell'd the Liturgie no furder off from the old Maf, leaft by too great an alteration they should incense the People, and be destitute of the fame shifts to fly to, which they had taught the young King.

For the manner of using sett formes, there is no doubt but that, wholesome matter, and good desires rightly conceav'd in the heart, wholesome words will follow of themselves. Neither can any true Christiant find a reason why Liturgie shou'd be at all admitted, a prescription not impos'd or practis'd by those first
Founders of the Church, who alone had that authority: Without whose precept or example, how constantly the Preist puts on his Gown and Surplice, so constantly doth his prayer put on a servile yoak of Liturgie. This is evident that they who use no set formes of prayer, have words from thir affections; while others are to seek affections fit and proportionable to a certain dos of prepar'd words; which as they are not rigorously forbidd to any mans privat infirmity, so to imprison and confine by force, into a Pinfold of set words, those two most unimprisonable things, our Prayers and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them, is a tyranny that would have longer hands then those Giants who threat'nd bondage to Heav'n. What we may doe in the same forme of words is not so much the question, as whether Liturgie may be forc'd, as he forc'd it. It is true that wee pray to the same God, must we therefor always use the same words? Let us then use but one word, because we pray to one God. Wee profess the same truths, but the Liturgie comprehends not all truths: we read the same Scriptures; but never read that all those Sacred expressions, all benefit and use of Scripture, as to public prayer, should be deny'd us, except what was barreld up in a Common-prayer Book with many mixtures of thir owne, and which is worse, without fault. But suppose them favoury words and unmix'd, suppose them Manna it self, yet if they shall be hoarded up and enjoynd us, while God every morning raines down new expressions into our hearts, in stead of being fit to use, they will be found like reserv'd Manna, rather to breed wormes and stink. Wee have the same duties upon us and feele the same wants; yet not always the same, nor at all times alike; but with varietie of Circumstances, which afke varietie of words. Wherof God hath given us plenty; not to use so copiously upon all other occasions, and
so niggardly to him alone in our devotions. As if Christians were now in a worse famin of words fitt for Prayer, then was of food at the seige of Jerusalem, when perhaps the Preiſts being to remove the shew bread, as was accustom'd, were compell'd every Sabbath day, for want of other Loaves, to bring again still the fame. If the Lords Prayer had bin the war¬rant or the pattern of set Liturgies, as is here affirm'd, why was neither that Prayer, nor any other set forme ever after us'd, or so much as mention'd by the Apoſtiles, much less commended to our use? Why was thir care wanting in a thing so usefull to the Church? So full of danger and contention to be left undon by them to other mens Penning, of whose autority we could not be fo certain? Why was this forgott'n by them who declare that they have reveal'd to us the whole Counſel of God; who as he left our affections to be guided by his sanctifying spirit, fo did he like¬wise our words to be put into us without our preme¬ditation; not only those cautious words to be us'd before Gentiles and Tyrants, but much more those filial words, of which we have fo frequent uſe in our access with freedom of speech to the Throne of Grace. Which to lay aside for other outward diſtates of men, were to injure him and his perfet Gift, who is the spirit, and the giver of our abilitie to pray; as if his miniftration were incomplete, and that to whom he gave affections, he did not also afford utterance to make his Gift of prayer a perfet Gift.

And although the gift were only natural, yet vo¬luntary prayers are leſs ſubject to formall and super¬ficiall tempers then set formes: For in thofe, at leaſt for words and matter, he who prays, muſt consult firſt with his heart; which in likelyhood may stirr up his affections; in these having both words and matter readie made to his lips, which is enough to make up the outward act of prayer, his affections
grow lazy, and comnot up easily at the call of words not thir own; the prayer also having less intercours and simpathy with a heart wherein it was not conceav’d, saves it self the labour of so long a journey downward, and flying up in haft on the specious wings of formalitie, if it fall not back againe head-long, instead of a prayer which was expected, presents God with a sette of stale and empty words.

No doubt but ostentation and formalitie may taint the best duties: we are not therfore to leave duties for no duties, and to turne prayer into a kind of Lur-rey. Cannot unpremeditated babling be rebuk’d, and restrain’d in whom we find they are, but the spirit of God must be forbidd’n in all men? But it is the custom of bad men and Hypocrits to take ad- vantage at the least abuse of good things, that under that covert they may remove the goodness of those things, rather then the abuse. And how unknow- ingly, how weakly is the using of set forms attributed here to constancy, as if it were constancie in the Cuckoo to be alwaies in the same liturgie.

Much less can it be lawfull that an English Mafs Book, compos’d for ought we know, by men neither lerned, nor godly, should justle out, or at any time deprive us the exercise of that Heav’ny gift, which God by special promise powrs out daylie upon his Church, that is to say, the spirit of Prayer. Wherof to help those many infirmities, which he reck’ns up, rudeness, impertinencie, flatness, and the like, we have a remedy of Gods finding out, which is not Litur- gie, but his own free spirit. Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with sighs unutterable by any words, much less by a stinted Litur- gie, dwelling in us makes interceflion for us, according to the mind and will of God both in privat, and in the performance of all Ecclesiafthicall duties. For it is his promise also, that where two or three
gather'd together in his name shall agree to ask him any thing, it shall be granted; for he is there in the midst of them. If then ancient Churches to remedy the infirmities of prayer, or rather the infections of Arian and Pelagian Heresies, neglecting that ordain'd and promis'd help of the spirit, betook them almost four hundred yeares after Christ to Liturgie thir own invention, wee are not to imitate them; nor to distrust God in the removal of that Truant help to our Devotion, which by him never was appointed. And what is said of Liturgie is said also of Directory, if it be impos'd: although to forbidd the Service Book there be much more reason, as being of it self superstitious, offensive, and indeed, though Englisht, yet still the Mafs-Book: and public places ought to be provided of such as need not the help of Liturgies or Directories continually, but are supported with Ministerial gifts answerable to thir Calling.

Lastly that the Common prayer Book was rejected because it prayed so oft for him, he had no reason to Object: for what large and laborious Prayers were made for him in the Pulpits, if he never heard, tis doubtfull they were never heard in Heav'n. We might now have expected that his own following Praier should add much credit to set Formes; but on the contrary we find the same imperfections in it, as in most before, which he layes heer upon Exttemporal. Nor doth hee ask of God to be directed whether Liturgies be lawfull, but presumes, and in a manner would perswade him that they be so; praying that the Church and he may never want them. What could be prayd worse extempore?
XVII. Of the differences in point of Church Government.

The Government of Church by Bishops hath bin so fully prov'd from the Scriptures to be vitious and usurp'd, that whether out of Pietie or Policy maintain'd, it is not much material. For Pietie grounded upon error can no more justifie King Charles, then it did Queen Mary, in the fight of God or Man. This however must not be let pafs without a serious observation; God having so dispos'd the Author in this Chapter as to confess and discover more of Mysterie and combination between Tyranny and fals Religion, then from any other hand would have bin credible. Heer we may see the very dark roots of them both turn'd up, and how they twine and interweave one another in the Earth, though above ground shooting up in two sever'd Branches. Wee may have learnt both from sacred Story, and times of Reformation, that the Kings of this World have both ever hated, and instinctively fear'd the Church of God. Whether it be for that thir Doctrin seems much to favour two things to them so dreadfull, Liberty and Equality, or because they are the Children of that Kingdom which, as ancient Prophebies have foretold, shall in the end breake to peeces and dissolve all thir great power and Dominion. And those Kings and Poten-tates who have strove most to ridd themselves of this feare, by cutting off or suppressing the true Church, have drawn upon themselves the occasion of thir own ruine, while they thought with most policy to pre-vent it. Thus Pharaoh, when once he began to feare and wax jealous of the Israelites, leaft they should multiply and fight against him, and that his feare stirr'd him up to afflict and keep them under, as the
only remedy of what hee feared, soon found that the evil which before slept, came suddenly upon him, by the preposterous way he took to prevent it. Passing by examples between, and not shutting wilfully our eyes, we may see the like story brought to pass in our own Land. This King more then any before him, except perhaps his Father, from his first entrance to the Crown, harbouring in his mind a strange feare and suspicion of men most religious, and thir Doctrin, which in his own language he heer acknowledges, terming it the seditious exorbitancie of Minifters tongues, and doubting least they, as he not Christianly expresses it, should with the Keys of Heav'n let out Peace and Loyaltie from the peoples hearts, though they never Preacht or attempted aught that might justly raise in him such thoughts, he could not reft, or think himfelfe secure, fo long as they remain'd in any of his three Kingdoms unrooted out. But outwardly professing the fame Religion with them, he could not presently use violence as Pharaoh did, and that course had with others before but ill succeeded. He chooses therefore a more mystical way, a newer method of Antichristian fraud, to the Church more dangerous: and like to Balac the Son of Zippor, against a Nation of Prophets thinks it best to hire other esteemed Prophets, and to undermine and weare out the true Church by a fals Ecclesiastical policy. To this drift he found the Goverment of Bifhops most serviceable; an order in the Church, as by men first corrupted, so mutually corrupting them who receave it, both in judgement and manners. Hee, by conferring Bishoprics and great Livings on whom he thought moft pliant to his will, against the known Canons and univerfal practice of the ancient Church, wherby those elections were the peoples right, sought, as he confesses, to have greatest influence upon Church men. They on the other side
finding themselves in a high Dignity, neither founded by Scripture, nor allow'd by Reformation, nor supported by any spiritual gift or grace of thir own, knew it thir best cours to have dependence onely upon him: and wrought his fancy by degrees to that degenerat, and unkindly perfwaition of No Bishop, no King. When as on the contrary all Prelates in thir own fullte sense are of another mind; according to that of Pius the fourth, rememberd in the History of Trent, that Bishops then grow to be most vigorous and potent, when Princes happ'n to be most weak, and impotent. Thus when both Interests of Tyrannie and Episcopacie were incorporat into each other, the King whose principall safety and establishment consist'd in the righteous execution of his civil power, and not in Bishops and thir wicked counsels, fatally driv'n on, fet himself to the removal of those men whose Doctrin, and desire of Church Discipline he so fear'd would be the undoing of his Monarchie. And because no temporal Law could touch the innocence of thir lives, he begins with the persecution of thir consciences, laying scandals before them: and makes that the argument to inflict his unjuft penalties both on thir bodies and Estates. In this Warr against the Church if hee hath sped so, as other haughty Monarchs whom God heertofore hath hard'nd to the like enterprize, we ought to look up with praises and thanks-giving to the Author of our deliverance, to whom victory and power, Majestie, Honour, and Dominion belongs for ever.

In the mean while from his own words we may perceave easily, that the special motives which he had to endeere and deprave his judgement to the favouring and utmost defending of Episcopacy, are such as here we represent them: and how unwillingly and with what mentall reservation he condescended against his interest to remove it out of the
Peers house, hath bin shewn alreadie. The reasons, which he affirmes wrought so much upon his judgement, shall be so farr answerd as they be urg'd:

Scripture, he pretends, but produces none, and next the constant practice of all Christian Churches, till of late yeares tumult, faction, pride, and covetousnesse, invented new models under the Title of Christs Government. Could any Papist have spoke more scandalously against all Reformation? Well may the Parliament and best-affected People not now be troubl'd at his calumnies and reproaches, since he binds them in the same bundle with all other the reformed Churches; who also may now furder see, besides thir own bitter experience, what a Cordial and well meaning helper they had of him abroad, and how true to the protestant cause.

As for histories to prove Bishops, the Bible, if we mean not to run into errors, vanities, and uncertainties, must be our onely history. Which informes us that the Apostles were not properly Bishops; next, that Bishops were not successors of Apostles, in the function of Apostleship: And that if they were Apostles, they could not be precisely Bishops; if Bishops, they could not be Apostles; this being Universal, extraordinary, and immediat from God; that being an ordinarie, fixt, and particular charge, and continual inspection over a certain Flock. And although an ignorance and deviation of the ancient Churches afterward, may with as much reason and charitie be suppos'd as sudden in point of Prelaty, as in other manifest corruptions, yet that no example since the first age for 1500 yeares can be produc'd of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministres and Congregations, which had not some Bishops above them, the Ecclesiasticall story, to which he appeals for want of Scripture, proves cleerly to be a falfe and overconfident assertion. Sozomenus who wrote above twelve hunderd
years agoe, in his Seaventh Book relates from his own knowledge, that in the Churches of Cyprus and Arabia (places neer to Jerusalem, and with the first frequented by Apostles) they had Bishops in every Village; and what could those be more then Presbyters? The like he tells of other Nations; and that Episcopal Churches in those daies did not condemn them. I ad that many Western Churches eminent for thir Faith and good Works, and settl'd above four hundred yeares agoe in France, in Piemont and Bohemia, have both taught and practis'd the same Doctrin, and not admitted of Episcopacy among them. And if we may beleve what the Papists themselves have writ'n of these Churches, which they call Waldenses, I find it in a Book writ'n almost four hundred yeares since, and set forth in the Bohemian History, that those Churches in Piemont have held the same Doctrin and Goverment, since the time that Constantine with his mischevous donations poyson'd Silvester and the whole Church. Others affirme they have so continu'd there since the Apostles: and Theodorus Belvederenfis in his relation of them, confeseth that those Herefies, as hee names them, were, from the first times of Christianity, in that place. For the rest I referr me to that famous testimony of Jerom, who upon that very place which he cites here, the Epistle to Titus, declares op'ny that Bishop and Presbyter were one and the same thing: till by the instigation of Satan, partialities grew up in the Church; and that Bishops rather by custom, then any ordainment of Christ, were exalted above Presbyters: whose interpretation we trust shall be receav'd before this intricate stuffe tattl'd heer of Timothy and Titus, and I know not whom thir Successors, farr beyond Court Element, and as farr beneath true edification. These are his fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons and Ecclesiastical Examples;
how undivinelike writ’n, and how like a worldly Gospeller that understands nothing of these matters, posterity no doubt will be able to judge: and will but little regard what he calls Apostolical, who in his Letter to the Pope calls Apostolical the Roman Religion.

Nor let him think to plead, that therefore it was not policy of State, or obstinacy in him which upheld Episcopacy, because the injuries and losses which he sustain’d by so doing, were to him more considerable than Episcopacy itself; for all this might Pharaoh have had to say in his excuse of detaining the Israelites; that his own and his Kingdoms safety so much endanger’d by his denial, was to him more dear, then all their building labours could be worth to Egypt. But whom God hard’ns, them also he blinds.

He endeavours to make good Episcopacy not only in Religion, but from the nature of all civil Government, where parity breeds confusion and faction. But of faction and confusion, to take no other then his own testimony, where hath more bin ever bred then under the imparity of his own Monarchical Government? Of which to make at this time longer dispute, and from civil constitutions, and human conceits to debate and question the convenience of Divine Ordinations, is neither wisdom nor sobriety: and to confound Mosaic Priesthood with Evangelic Presbyterie against express Institution, is as farr from warrantable. As little to purpose is it, that we should stand powling the reformed Churches, whether they equalize in number those of his three Kingdoms; of whom so lately the farr greater part, what they have long de-sir’d to doe, have now quite thrown off Episcopacy.

Neither may we count it the language or Religion of a Protestant, so to vilifie the best reformed Churches (for none of them but Lutherans retain Bishops) as I H H
to feare more the *scandalizing* of Papists, because more numerous, then of our Protestant Brethren because a *handsfull*. It will not be worth the while to say what *Scismatics or Heretics* have had no Bishops; yet leaft he should be tak’n for a great Reader, he who prompted him, if hee were a Doctor, might have rememberd the fore-mention’d place in *Sozomenus*; which affirmes that besides the *Cyprians and Arabians* who were counted Orthodoxal, the *Novatians* also, and *Montanists* in *Phrygia* had no other Bishops then such as were in every Village: and what Prefbyter hath a narrower Diocefs? As for the *Aërians* we know of no Heretical opinion justly fa- ther’d upon them, but that they held Bishops and Prefbyters to be the same. Which he in this place not obscurly seems to hold a Herefie in all the re-formed Churches: with whom why the Church of *England* defir’d conformity, he can find no reason with all his charity, *but the comming in of the Scots Army*; Such a high esteem he had of the English.

He tempts the Clergie to returne back again to Bishops, from the feare of *tenuity and contempt*, and the assurane of better *thriving under the favour of Princes*; against which temptations if the Clergy cannot arme themselves with thir own spiritual armour, they are indeed as *poor a Carkafs* as hee termes them.

Of Secular honours and great Revenues added to the dignity of Prelats, since the subject of that que- tion is now remov’d, wee need not spend time: But this perhapps will never be unseasonable to beare in mind out of *Chrysoftome*, that when Ministers came to have Lands, Houses, Farmes, Coaches, Horses, and the like Lumber, then Religion brought forth riches in the Church, and the Daughter devour’d the Mother.

But if his judgement in Episcopacy may be judg’d
by the goodly chois he made of Bishops, we need not much amufe our selves with the consideration of those evils which, by his foretelling, will necessarily follow their pulling down, untill he prove that the Apostles having no certain Diocess or appointed place of residence, were properly Bishops over those Presbyters whom they ordain'd, or Churches they planted; wherein ofttimes thir labours were both joynt and promiscuous: Or that the Apostolic power must necessarily descend to Bishops, the use and end of either function being so different. And how the Church hath flourisht under Episcopacy, let the multitude of thir ancient and gros errors teftifie; and the words of some learnedest and most zealous Bishops among them; Nazianzen in a devout passion wishing Prelaty nad never bin; Basil terming them the Slaves of Slaves, Saint Martin, the enemies of Saints, and confessing that after he was made a Bishop, he found much of that grace decay in him which he had before.

Concerning his Coronation Oath what it was, and how farr it bound him, already hath bin spok'n. This we may take for certain, that hee was never sworn to his own particular conscience and reason, but to our conditions as a free people; which requir'd him to give us such Laws as our selves shall choose. This the Scots could bring him to, and would not be baffl'd with the pretence of a Coronation Oath, after that Episcopacy had for many yeares bin settl'd there. Which concession of his to them, and not to us, he seeks heer to put off with evasions that are ridiculous. And to omit no shifts, he alleges that the Presbyterian manners gave him no encouragement to like thir modes of Goverment. If that were so, yet certainly those men are in most likelihood neerer to amendment, who seek a stricter Church Discipline then that of Episcopacy; under which the moft of
them learnt their manners. If estimation were to be made of Gods Law by their manners who, leaving Ægypt, receav'd it in the Wilderness, it could reap from such an inference as this, nothing but rejection and disesteem.

For the Prayer wherewith hee closes, it had bin good som safe Liturgie, which hee so commends, had rather bin in his way; it would perhaps in som measure have perform'd the end for which they say Liturgie was first invented; and have hinder'd him both heer, and at other times from turning his notorious errors into his Prayers.

**XVIII. Upon the Uxbridge Treaty, &c.**

*If the way of Treaties be look'd upon in general, as a retiring from bestial force to human reason, his first Aphorism heer is in part deceav'd. For men may Treat like Beasts as well as fight. If som fighting were not manlike, then either fortitude were no vertue, or no fortitude in fighting: And as Politicians oft times through dilatory purposes, and emulations handle the matter, there hath bin no where found more bestialitie then in treating: which hath no more commendation in it, then from fighting to come to undermining, from violence to craft, and when they can no longer doe as Lions, to doe as Foxes.*

The sincerest end of Treating after Warr once Proclaim'd, is either to part with more, or to demand lefs then was at first fought for, rather then to hazard more lives, or worse mischeifs. What the Parliament in that point were willing to have don, when first after the Warr begun, they Petition'd him at Colebrook to voutsafe a Treaty, is unknown. For after hee had tak'n God to witness of his continual
readiness to Treat, or to offer Treaties to the avoiding of bloodshed, taking the advantage of a Mist, the fittest weather for deceit and treachery, he follows at the heels those Messengers of Peace with a traine of covert Warr: and with a bloody surprize falls on our secure Forces which lay Quartering at Brentford in the thoughts and expectation of a Treaty. And although in them who make a Trade of Warr, and against a natural Enemy, such an onset might in the rigor of Martial Law have bin excus'd, while Armes were not yet by agreement suspended, yet by a King, who seem'd so heartily to accept of treating, and professest heer, *He never wanted either desire or disposition to it*, professest to have greater confidence in his Reason, then in his Sword, and as a Christian to seek Peace and ensue it, such bloody and deceitful advantages would have bin forborn one day at leaft, if not much longer; in whom there had not bin a thirst rather then a detestation of civil Warr and blood.

In the midst of a second Treaty not long after, fought by the Parliament, and after much ado obtain'd with him at Oxford, what subtle and unpeaceable designs he then had in chace, his own Letters discover'd: What attempts of treacherous hostility successfull and unsuccessfull he made against Bristol, Scarborough, and other places, the proceedings of that Treaty will soon put us in mind: and how hee was so farre from granting more of reason, after so much of blood, that he deny'd then to grant, what before he had offer'd; making no other use of Treaties pretending Peace, then to gaine advantages that might enable him to continue Warr. What marvel then if he thought it no diminution of himself, as oft as he saw his time, *to be importunate for Treaties*, when hee sought them onely, as by the upshot appeard, *to get opportunities*.

But he inferrs, as if the Parliament would have
compell'd him to part with somthing of his honour as a King. What honour could he have, or call his, joyn'd, not onely with the offence or disturbance, but with the bondage and destruction of three Nations; wherof though he be careless and improvident, yet the Parliament, by our Laws and freedom, ought to judge, and use prevention; our Laws els were but cobweb Laws. And what were all his most rightfull honours, but the peoples gift, and the invest-ment of that lustre, Majesty, and honour, which for the public good and no otherwise, redounds from a whole Nation into one person? So farr is any honour from being his to a common mischief and cal-lamity. Yet still he talks on equal termes with the grand Representative of that people, for whose sake he was a King, as if the general welfare, and his subservient Rights were of equal moment, or con-fi-deration. His aime indeed hath ever bin to mag-nifie and exalt his borrow'd rights and Prerogatives, above the Parlament and Kingdom of whom he holds them. But when a King setts himself to bandy against the highest Court and residence of his Regal autority, hee then, in the single person of a Man, fights against his own Majesty and Kinghip, and then indeed sets the firt hand to his own deposing.

The Treaty at Uxbridge, hee faith, gave the fairest hopes of a happy composure, fairest indeed, if his in-structions to bribe our Commissioners with the pro-mise of Security, rewards, and Places, were faire: What other hopes it gave, no man can tell. There being but three maine heads whereon to be treated, Ireland, Episcopacy, and the Militia, the firt was anticipated and forestall'd by a Peace at any rate to be haft'nd with the Irish Rebells, ere the Treaty could begin; that he might pretend his word and honour past against the specious and popular arguments (he calls them no better) which the Parlament would
urge upon him for the continuance of that just Warr. Episcopacy he bids the Queen be confident he will never quit: which informs us by what Patronage it stood: and the Sword he resolves to clutch as fast, as if God with his own hand had put it into his. This was the moderation which he brought; this was as farr as Reason, Honour, Confidence, and the Queen who was his Regent in all these, would give him leave. Laftly for composure, in stead of happy, how miserable it was more likely to have bin, wise men could then judge; when the English, during Treaty, were call'd Rebels, the Irish, good and Catholic Subjects; and the Parliament before hand, though for fashions fake call'd a Parliament, yet by a Jesuitical flight not acknowledg'd though call'd so; but privately in the Counsel Books inroull'd no Parliament: that if accommodation had succeeded upon what termes ever, such a devilifh fraud was prepar'd, that the King in his own esteem had bin abolv'd from all performance, as having treated with Rebels and no Parliament; and they on the other side in stead of an expected happiness, had bin brought under the Hatchet. Then no doubt Warr had ended, that Maffacher and Tyranny might begin. These jealousies however rais'd, let all men fee whether they be diminish'd or allayd, by the Letters of his own Cabinet op'nd. And yet the breach of this Treaty is layd all upon the Parliament and thir Commissioners, with odious Names of Pertinacy, hatred of Peace, Faction, and Covetousness, nay his own Bratt Superflision is layd to their charge; notwithstanding his heer profefs'd resolution to continue both the Order, Maintenance, and Authority of Prelats, as a truth of God.

And who were moft to blame in the unsuccesfulnes of that Treaty, his appeale is to Gods decision: believing to be very excufable at that Tribunal. But if ever man gloried in an unflexible stiffnes, he came not
behind any: and that grand Maxim, always to put something into his Treaties, which might give colour to refuse all that was in other things granted, and to make them signify nothing, was his own principal Maxim, and particular instructions to his Commissioners. Yet all, by his own verdit, must be considerd Reason in the King, and depraved temper in the Parliament.

That the highest Tide of success, with these principles and designes, set him not above a Treaty, no great wonder. But that his lowest Ebb could not be lower then a Fight, was a presumption that ruin'd him.

He presag'd the future unsuccesfulness of Treaties by the unwillingness of some men to treat, and could not see what was present, that thir unwillingness had good cause to proceed from the continual experience of his own obstinacy and breach of word.

His Prayer therfore of forgiveness to the guilty of that Treaties breaking, he had good reason to say heartily over; as including no man in that guilt sooner then himself.

As for that Proteftation following in his Praier, How oft have I entreated for peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to Warr, unless he thought himself still in that perfidious mist, between Colebrook and Hounds-low, and thought that mist could hide him from the eye of Heav'n as well as of Man, after such a bloody recompence giv'n to our first offers of Peace, how could this in the sight of Heav'n without horrors of conscience be utter'd?
XIX. Upon the various events of the Warr.

It is no new, or unwonted thing for bad men to claime as much part in God as his best servants; to usurp and imitate thir words, and appropriate to themselves those properties which belong onely to the good and righteous. This not onely in Scripture is familiarly to be found, but heer alfo in this Chapter of Apocrypha. He tells us much, why it pleas’d God to fend him Victory or Loss (although what in so doing was the intent of God, he might be much mislak’n as to his own particular) but wee are yet to learn what real good use hee made therof in his practice.

Thos numbers which he grew to from small beginnings, were not such as out of love came to protect him, for none approv’d his actions as a King, except Courtiers and Prelats, but were such as fled to be protected by him from the feare of that Reformation which the pravity of thir lives would not beare. Such a Snowball hee might easily gather by rowling through thos cold and dark provinces of ignorance and leudness, where on a sudden he became so numerous. He imputes that to Gods’ protection, which, to them who persift in a bad cause, is either his long-suffering, or his hard’ning; and that to wholesom chastisement, which were the gradual beginnings of a severe punishment. For if neither God nor nature put civil power in the hands of any whomsoever, but to a lawfull end, and commands our obedience to the autority of Law onely, not to the Tyrannical force of any person, and if the Laws of our Land have plac’d the Sword in no mans single hand, so much as to unsheath against a forren enemie, much less upon the native people, but have plac’d it
in that elective body of the Parliament, to whom the making, repealing, judging, and interpreting of Law it self was also committed, as was fittest, so long as we intended to be a free Nation, and not the Slaves of one mans will, then was the King himself disobedient and rebellious to that Law by which he reign'd; and by authority of Parliament to raise armes against him in defence of Law and Libertie, we doe not only think, but beleeve and know was justifiable both by the Word of God, the Laws of the Land, and all lawfull Oaths; and they who sied with him fought against all these.

The same Allegations, which hee uses for himself and his Party, may as well fitt any Tyrant in the World: for let the Parliament be call'd a Faction when the King pleases, and that no Law muft be made or chang'd either civil or religious, because no Law will content all sides, then muft be made or chang'd no Law at all; but what a Tyrant, be he Protestant or Papift, thinks fitt. Which tyrannous assertion forc'd upon us by the Sword, he who fights against, and dyes fighting, if his other sins overweigh not, dyes a Martyr undoubtedly both of the Faith and of the Common-wealth: and I hold it not as the opinion, but as the full beleif and persuasion of farr ho-lier and wiser Men then Parasitic Preachers. Who, without their dinner-Doctrin, know that neither King, Law, civil Oaths, or Religion, was ever ettablifh'd without the Parliament: and thir power is the same to abrogate as to ettablifh: neither is any thing to be thought ettablifh'd which that House declares to be aboliſht. Where the Parliament fitts, there insepaa-rably fitts the King, there the Laws, there our Oaths, and whatsoever can be civil in Religion. They who fought for the Parliament, in the trueft fense fought for all these; who fought for the King divided from his Parlament, fought for the shadow of a King againſt
all these; and for things that were not, as if they were establi\:ht. It were a thing monstrously absurd and contradictory to give the Parliaments a Legislative power, and then to upbraid them for transgressing old Establishments.

But the King and his Party having lost in this Quarrel thir Heav'n upon Earth, beginn to make great reckoning of Eternal life, and at an easie rate in forma Pauperis Canonize one another into Heav'n; he them in his Book, they him in the Portraiture before his Book: but, as was sayd before, Stage-work will not doe it; much less the justness of thir Cause; wherein most frequently they dy'd in a brutish fierceness, with Oaths and other damming words in thir mouths; as if such had bin all the Oaths they fought for: which undoubtedly sent them full Saile on another Voyage then to Heav'n. In the mean while they to whom God gave Victory, never brought to the King at Oxford the state of thir consciences, that hee should presume,without confession, more then a Pope presumes, to tell abroad what conflicts and accusations, men whom hee never spoke with, have in thir own thoughts. We never read of any English King but one that was a Confessor; and his name was Edward: yet sure it pass'd his skil to know thoughts, as this King takes upon him. But they who will not stick to flander mens inward consciences, which they can neither see nor know, much less will care to flander outward actions, which they pretend to see, though with senses never so vitiated.

To judge of his condition conquer'd, and the manner of dying on that side, by the sober men that chose it, would be his small advantage: it being most notorious, that they who were hottest in his Cause, the most of them were men oftner drunk, then by thir good will sober, and very many of them so fought and so dy'd.
And that the conscience of any man should grow suspicious, or be now convicted by any pretensions in the Parlament, which are now prov’d fals, and unintended, there can be no just cause. For neither did they ever pretend to establish his Throne without our Liberty and Religion, nor Religion without the Word of God, nor to judge of Laws by thir being establisht, but to establish them by thir being good and necessary.

He tells the World He oft'n prayd that all on his side might be as faithfull to God and thir own souls, as to him. But Kings, above all other men, have in thir hands not to pray onely but to doe. To make that prayer effectual, he should have govern’d as well as prayd. To pray and not to govern is for a Monk and not a King. Till then he might be well assur’d they were more faithfull to thir luft and rapine then to him.

In the wonted predication of his own vertues he goes on to tell us, that to Conquer he never desir’d, but onely to restore the Laws and Liberties of his people. It had bin happy then he had known at last, that by force to restore Laws abrogated by the Legislative Parlament, is to conquer absolutely both them, and Law it selfe. And for our Liberties, none ever oppress’d them more, both in Peace and Warr; first like a maifter by his arbitrary power; next as an enemy by hostile invasion.

And if his best freinds fear’d him, and he himself, in the temptation of an absolute Conquest, it was not only pious but freindly in the Parlament, both to fear him and resift him; since their not yeelding, was the onely means to keep him out of that temptation wherein he doubted his own strength.

He takes himself to be guilty in this Warr of nothing els, but of confirming the power of some Men: Thus all along he signifies the Parlament, whom to
have settl’d by an Act he counts to be his onely guiltiness. So well hee knew that to continue a Parliament, was to raise a Warr against himself; what were his actions then and his Goverment the while? For never was it heard in all our Story, that Parliaments made Warr on thir Kings, but on thir Tyrants; whose modefly and gratitude was more wanting to the Parliament, then theirs to any of such Kings.

What he yielded was his feare; what he deny’d was his obstinacy; had hee yeilded more, feare might perchance have fav’d him; had hee granted less, his obstinacy had perhapps the sooner deliver’d us.

To review the occasions of this Warr will be to them never too late, who would be warn’d by his example from the like evils: but to wish onely a happy conclusion, will never expiate the fault of his unhappy beginnings. Tis true on our side the sins of our lives not seldom fought against us: but on their side, besides those, the grand sin of thir Cause.

How can it be otherwise when hee desires heer moft unreasonably, and indeed sacrilegiously, that we should be subject to him, though not furder, yet as farr as all of us may be subject to God; to whom this expression leaves no precedency. Hee who desires from men as much obedience and subjection, as we may all pay to God, desires not less then to be a God; a sacrilege farr wors then medling with the Bishops Lands, as he esteems it.

His Praier is a good Praier and a glorious; but glorying is not good, if it know not that a little leven, levens the whole lump. It should have purg’d out the leven of untruth in telling God that the blood of his Subjects by him shed was in his just and necessary defence. Yet this is remarkable; God hath heer fo orderd his Prayer, that as his own lipps acquitted the Parliament, not long before his death, of
all the blood spilt in this Warr, so now his Prayer unwittingly drawes it upon himself. For God imputes not to any man the blood he spills in a just cause; and no man ever begg’d his not imputing of that which hee in his justice could not impute. So that now whether purposely, or unaware hee hath confess’d both to God and Man the bloodguiltiness of all this Warr to lie upon his own head.

XX. Upon the Reformation of the times.

His Chapter cannot punctually be answerved without more repetitions then now can be excusable: Which perhaps have already bin more humour’d then was needfull. As it presents us with nothing new, so with his exceptions against Reformation pittishly old, and tatter’d with continual using; not onely in his Book, but in the words and Writings of every Papist and Popish King. On the Scene he thrusts out first an Antimasque of two bugbeares, Noveltie and Perturbation; that the ill looks and noise of those two, may, as long as possible, drive off all endeavours of a Reformation. Thus fought Pope Adrian by representing the like vain terrors, to divert and dissipate the zeale of those reforming Princes of the age before in Germany. And if we credit Latimers Sermons, our Papists heer in England pleaded the same dangers and inconveniencies against that which was reform’d by Edward the sixth. Whereas if those feares had bin available, Chrystianity it self had never bin receav’d. Which Chryst foretold us, would not be admitted without the censure of noveltie and many great commotions. These therfore are not to deterr us.

He grants Reformation to be a good worke, and
confesses *What the indulgence of times and corruption of manners might have deprav'd*. So did the fore-mention'd Pope, and our Grand sire Papists in this Realm. Yet all of them agree in one song with this heer, that *they are sorry to see so little regard had to Laws establisht, and the Religion set'tl'd.*

Popular compliance, dissolution of all order and government in the Church, Scisms, Opinions, Undecencies, Confusions, Sacrilegious invasions, contempt of the Clergie and thir Liturgie, Diminution of Princes: all these complaints are to be read in the Messages and Speeches almost of every Legat from the Pope to those States and Citties which began Reformation. From whence he either learnt the same pretences, or had them naturally in him from the same spirit. Neither was there ever so sincere a Reformation that hath escap'd these clamours.

He offer'd a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen. So offer'd all those Popish Kings heertofore; a cours the most unsatisfactory, as matters have bin long carried, and found by experience in the Church liable to the greatest fraud and packing: no solution, or redres of evil, but an increase rather, detested thoref by Nazianzen and som other of the Fathers. And let it be produc'd, what good hath bin don by Synods from the first times of Reformation.

Not to justifie what enormities the Vulgar may committ in the rudenes of thir zeale, we need but onely instance how he bemoanes *the pulling down of Crosses and other superflitious Monuments, as the effect of a popular and deceitfull Reformation*. How little this favours of a Protestant, is too easly perceav'd.

What he charges in defect of Piety, Charity, and Morality, hath bin also charg'd by Papists upon the best reformed Churches: not as if they the accusers were not tenfold more to be accus'd, but out of thir
Malignity to all endeavour of amendment; as we know who accus’d to God the sincerity of Job; an accusation of all others the most easie, when as there livs not any mortal man so excellent, who in these things is not alwaies deficient. But the infirmities of best men, and the scandals of mixt Hypocrites in all times of reforming, whose bold intrusion covets to be ever seene in things most sacred as they are most specious, can lay no just blemish upon the integritie of others, much less upon the purpose of Reformation it self. Neither can the evil doings of some be the excuse of our delaying or deserting that duty to the Church, which for no respect of times or carnal policies can be at any time unseasonable.

He tells with great new of piety what kind of persons public Reformers ought to be, and what they ought to doe. Tis strange that in above twenty yeares, the Church growing still wors and wors under him, he could neither be as he bids others be, nor doe, as he pretends heer so well to know; nay, which is worst of all, after the greatest part of his Raign spent in neither knowing nor doing aught toward a Reformation either in Church or State, should spend the residue in hindring those by a seven yeares Warr, whom it concern’d with his consent or without it to doe thir parts in that great performance.

Tis true that the method of reforming may well subsist without perturbation of the State; but that it falls out otherwise for the most part, is the plaine Text of Scripture. And if by his own rule hee had allow’d us to feare God firft, and the King in due order, our Allegiance might have still follow’d our Religion in a fit subordination. But if Christ's Kingdom be tak’n for the true Discipline of the Church, and by his Kingdom be meant the violence hee us’d against it, and to uphold an Antichristian Hierarchie,
then sure enough it is, that Christ's Kingdom could not be set up without pulling down his: And they were best Christians who were least subject to him. Christ's Government, out of question meaning it Prelatical, hee thought would confirm his: and this was that which overthrew it.

He professes to owne his Kingdom from Christ, and to desire to rule for his glory, and the Churches good: The Pope and the King of Spaine profess every where as much; and both his practice and all his reasonings, all his enmitie against the true Church wee see hath bin the fame with theirs, since the time that in his Letter to the Pope hee asur'd them both of his full compliance. But evil beginnings never bring forth good conclusions: they are his own words, and he ratifi'd them by his own ending. To the Pope hee ingag'd himself to hazzard life and estate for the Roman Religion, whether in complement he did it, or in earnest; and God, who stood neerer then hee for complementing minded, writ down those words; that according to his resolution, so it should come to pass. He praires against his hypocrifie and Pharijaical washings, a Prayer to him most pertinent, but choaks it strait with other words which pray him deeper into his old errors and delusions.

XXI. Upon His Letters tak'n and divulg'd.

He Kings Letters taken at the Battell of Naseby, being of greatest importance to let the people see what Faith there was in al his promises and solemn protestations, were transmitted to public view by special Order of the Parlament. They discover'd his good affection to Papists and Irish Rebels, the streit inelligence he held, the pernicious and dishonourable
Peace he made with them, not solicited but rather soliciting, which by all invocations that were holy hee had in public abjur'd. They reveal'd his endeavours to bring in forren Forces, Irish, French, Dutch, Lorrainers, and our old Invaders the Danes upon us, besides his suttleties and mysterious arts in treating: to summ up all, they shewd him govern'd by a Woman. All which though suspected vehemently before, and from good grounds beleev'd, yet by him and his adherents peremptorily deny'd, were, by the op'ning of that Cabinet, visible to all men under his own hand.

The Parlament threfore to cleer themselves of afpersing him without cause, and that the people might no longer be abus'd and cajol'd, as they call it, by falsities and Court impudence, in matters of so high concernment, to let them know on what termes thir duty stood, and the Kingdoms peace, conceavd it most expedient and necessary, that those Letters should be made public. This the King affirmes was by them don without honour and civilitie: words, which if they contain not in them, as in the language of a Courtier most commonly they doe not, more of substance and realitie then complement, Ceremony, Court fauning and dissembling, enter not I suppose furder then the eare into any wise mans consideration. Matters were not then between the Parlament and a King thir enemie in that State of trifling, as to observ thos superficial vanities. But if honour and civilitie mean, as they did of old, discretion, honesty, prudence, and plaine truth, it will be then maintain'd against any Sect of those Cabalists, that the Parlament in doing what they did with those Letters, could suffer in thir honour and civilitie no diminution. The reasons are alreadie heard.

And that it is with none more familiar then with Kings, to transgress the bounds of all honour and
civility, there should not want examples good store, if brevity would permitt; In poynt of Letters this one shall suffice. The Duchess of Burgundie and heire of Duke Charles, had promis'd to her Subjects that shee intended no otherwise to Govern, then by advis of the three Estates; but to Lewis the French King had writ'n Letters, that shee had resolv'd to commit wholly the mannaging of her affaires to foure Persons, whom shee nam'd. The three Estates not doubting the sincerity of her Princely word, send Embassadors to Lewis, who then besiegd Arras belonging to the Dukes of Burgondy. The King taking hold of this occasion to set them at division among themselves, question'd thir Credence; which when they offerd to produce with thir instructions, he not only shewes them the privat Letter of thir Duchess, but gives it them to carry home, wherewith to affront her; which they did, shee denying it stoutly; till they, spredding it before her face in a full assembly, convicted her of an op'n lye. Which although Commines the historian much blames, as a deed too harsh and dishonourable in them who were Subjects, and not at Warr with their Princess, yet to his Maiyster Lewis, who first divulgd those Letters, to the op'n shaming of that young Governess, he imputes no incivilitie or dishonour at all, although betraying a certaine confidence repos'd by that Letter in his royal secrecie.

With much more reason then may letters not intercepted only, but won in battell from an enemie, be made public to the best advantages of them that win them, to the discovery of such important truth or falshood. Was it not more dishonourable in himself to faine suspicions and jealousies, which we first found among thosse Letters, touching the charitie of his Mother, thereby to gaine assistence from the King of Denmark, as in vindication of his Sifter?
The Damself of Burgundie, at sight of her own letter, was soon blank, and more ingenuous then to stand outfacing; but this man whom nothing will convince, thinks by talking world without end, to make good his integrity and faire dealing contradicted by his own hand and scale. They who can pick nothing out of them but phrases shall be counted Bee's: they that discern further both there and heer, that constancy to his Wife is set in place before Laws and Religion, are in his naturalities no better then Spiders.

He would work the people to a perswasion, that if he be miserable they cannot be happy. What should hinder them? Were they all born Twins of Hippocrates with him and his fortune, one birth one burial? It were a Nation miserable indeed, not worth the name of a Nation, but a race of Idiots, whose happiness and welfare depended upon one Man. The happiness of a Nation consists in true Religion, Piety, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and the contempt of Avarice and Ambition. They in whomsoever these vertues dwell eminently, need not Kings to make them happy, but are the architects of thir own happiness; and whether to themselves or others are not less then Kings. But in him, which of these vertues were to be found, that might extend to the making happy, or the well-governing of so much as his own household, which was the most licentious and ill-govern'd in the whole Land.

But the op'ning of his Letters was design'd by the Parliament to make all reconciliation desperate. Are the lives of so many good and faithfull men, that dy'd for the freedom of thir Country, to be so slighted, as to be forgott'n in a stupid reconcilement without Justice don them? What he feares not by Warr and slaughter, should we feare to make desperate by op'n-ing his Letters? Which fact hee would parallell
with Chams revealing of his Fathers nakedness: When hee at that time could be no way esteem'd the Father of his Countrey, but the destroyer; nor had hee ever before merited that former title.

He thanks God he cannot onely beare this with patience, but with charity forgive the doers. Is not this meer mockery to thank God for what hee can doe, but will not? For is it patience to impute Barbarism and inhumanity to the op'ning of an Enemies Letter, or is it Charity to cloath them with curses in his Prayer, whom he hath forgiv'n in his Discours. In which Prayer to shew how readily he can return good for evil to the Parlament, and that if they take away his Coat, he can let them have his Cloak also, for the dismantling of his Letters he wishes They may be cover'd with the Cloak of confusion. Which I suppose they doe resigne with much willingness, both Livery, Badge, and Cognizance, to them who chose rather to be his Servants and Vassals, then to stand against him for the Liberty of thir Country.

XXII. Upon His going to the Scots.

He Kings comming in, whether to the Scots or English, deserv'd no thanks: For necessity was his Counselor: and that he hated them both alike, his expressions every where manifest. Som say his purpose was to have come to London, till hearing how strictly it was proclaim'd that no man shoulde conceal him, he diverted his course. But that had bin a frivolous excuse: and besides hee himself rehearsing the consulations had, before he took his journey, shews us cleerly that hee was determin'd to adventure upon their Loyalty who first began his troubles. And that the Scots had notice of it before, hath bin long since
brought to light. What prudence there could be in it, no man can imagin; Malice there might be, by raising new jealousies to divide Freinds. For besides his diffidence of the English, it was no small dishonour that he put upon them, when rather then yeild himself to the Parlament of England, he yeelded to a hireling Army of Scots in England, payd for thir Service heer, not in Scotch coyn, but in English Silver; nay who from the first beginning of these troubles, what with brotherly assistance, and what with monthly pay, have defended thir own Liberty and consciences at our charge. However it was a hazzardous and rash journey taken, to resolve riddles in mens Loyaltie, who had more reason to mistrust the Riddle of such a disguised yeelding: and to put himself in their hands whose loyalty was a Riddle to him, was not the cours to be resolv'd of it, but to tempt it. What providence deny'd to force, he thought it might grant to fraud, which he stiles Prudence: But Providence was not couzen'd with disguises, neither outward nor inward.

To have known his greatest danger in his supposed safety, and his greatest safety in his supposed danger was to him a fatall Riddle never yet resolv'd; wherther to have imployd his main skill, had bin much more to his preservation.

Had he known when the Game was lost, it might have sav'd much conteft: but the way to give over fairely, was not to flip out of op'n Warr into a new disguise. He layes down his Armes, but not his Wiles; nor all his Armes, for in obstinacy bee comes no less arm'd then ever, Cap a pe. And what were they but wiles, continually to move for Treaties, and yet to persift the same man, and to fortifie his mind before hand, still purposing to grant no more then what seem'd good to that violent and lawles Triumvirate within him, under the falsifi'd names of his
Reason, Honour, and Conscience, the old circulating dance of his shifts and evasions.

The words of a King, as they are full of power, in the authority and strength of Law, so like Sampson, without the strength of that Nazarites lock, they have no more power in them then the words of another Man.

He adores Reason as Domitian did Minerva, and calls her the Divinest power, thereby to intimate as if at reasoning, as at his own weapon, no man were so able as himself. Might wee be so happy as to know where these monuments of his Reason may be seen, for in his actions and his writing they appeare as thinly as could be expected from the meanest parts, bredd up in the midst of so many ways extraordinary to know somthing. He who reads his talk, would think he had left Oxford not without mature deliberation: Yet his Prayer confesses that he knew not what to doe. Thus is verifi'd that Psalme; He powreth contempt upon Princes and causeth them to wander in the Wilderness where there is no way, Psal. 107.

XXIII. Upon the Scots delivering the King to the English.

Hat the Scots in England should sell thir King, as he himself here affirmes, and for a price so much above that, which the covetousness of Judas was contented with to sell our Saviour, is so foule an infamy and dishonour cast upon them, as befits none to vindicate but themselves. And it were but friendly Counsell to wish them beware the Son, who comes among them with a firme beleif that they shou'd his Father. The rest of this Chapter he Sacrifices to the Echo of his Conscience, outbabling Creeds and Ave's, glorying in his
refolute obstinacy, and as it were triumphing how evident it is now, that not evill Councellors, but he himself hath been the Author of all our troubles. Herein onely we shall disagree to the Worlds end, while he who fought so manifestly to have annihi- lated all our Laws and Liberties, hath the confidence to perswade us that he hath fought and suffer'd all this while in thir defence.

But he who neither by his own Letters and Com- missions under hand and Seale, nor by his own ac- tions held as in a Mirror before his face, will be convinc'd to see his faults, can much lefs be won upon by any force of words, neither he, nor any that take after him; who in that respect are no more to be disputed with, then they who deny Principles. No question then, but the Parlament did wisely in thir decree at laft, to make no more addresses. For how unalterable his will was, that would have bin our Lord, how utterly averse from the Parlament, and Reformation, during his confinement, we may behold in this Chapter. But to be ever Answering fruitless Repetitions, I should become liable to an- swer for the fame my self. He borrows Davids Pfalmes, as he charges the Assembly of Divines in his twentieth Discourse, To have set forth old Catechisms and confessions of faith new dreft. Had he borrow'd Davids heart, it had bin much the holier theft. For such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not better'd by the borrower, among good Authors is accounted Plagiarie. However, this was more tolerable then Pammela's Praier, stol'n out of Sir Philip.
XXIV. Upon the denying him the attendance of his Chaplains.

Chaplain is a thing so diminutive, and incon siderable, that how he should come heer among matters of so great concern ment, to take such room up in the Discourses of a Prince, if it be not wonderd, is to be smil'd at. Certainly by me, so mean an argument shall not be writ'n; but I shall huddle him as he does Prayers. The Scriptureownes no such order, no such function in the Church; and the Church not owning them, they are left, for ought I know, to such a furder examining as the Sons of Sceva the Jew met with; Bishops or Presbyters we know and Deacons we know, but what are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may be lifted among the upper Servingmen of som great houfhold, and be admitted to som such place, as may stile them the Sewers, or the Yeomen Uf hers of Devotion, where the Maifter is too restie, or too rich to say his own Prayers, or to bless his own Table. Whersoever should the Parliament then take such implements of the Court Cupbord into thir consideration? They knew them to have bin the main corrupters at the Kings elbow: they knew the King to have bin always thir most attentive Scholar, and Imitator, and of a Child to have suckt from them and thir Clofetwork all his impotent Principles of Tyrannie and Superftition. While therfore they had any hope left of his reclaim ing, these fowers of Malignant Tares they kept asunder from him: and sent to him such of the Ministers and other Zealous Persons, as they thought were best able to Instruct him, and to convert him. What could Religion her self have don more to the saving of a Soule? But when they found him paft Cure,
and that he to himself was grown the most evil Counselor of all, they deny'd him not his Chaplains, as many as were fitting, and som of them attended him, or els were at his call to the very last. Yet heer he makes more Lamentation for the want of his Chaplains, then superstitious Micah did to the Danites, who had tak'n away his household Priest. Yee have tak'n away my Gods which I made, and the Priest, and what have I more? And perhaps the whole Story of Micah might square not unfitly to this Argument: Now know I, faith he, that the Lord will doe mee good seeing I have a Levite to my Priest. Micab had as great a care that his Priest should be Moicha, as the King had that his should be Apostolical; yet both in an error touching thir Priests. Household and privat Orifons were not to be officiated by Priests; for neither did public Prayer appertain onely to their office. Kings heertofore, David, Salomon, and Jehosaphat, who might not touch the Priesthood, yet might pray in public, yea in the Temple, while the Priests themselves stood and heard. What aied this King then that hee could not chew his own Mattins without the Priests Ore tenus? Yet is it like hee could not pray at home, who can heer publish a whole Prayer-book of his own, and signifies in som part of this Chapter, almost as good a mind to be a Priest himself, as Micab had to let his Son be. There was doubtless therfore some other matter in it which made him so desirous to have his Chaplaines about him, who were not onely the contrivers, but very oft the instruments also of his desigines.

The Ministers which were sent him no marvel hee indur'd not; for they Preacht repentance to him: the others gave him easie confeffion, easie absolution, nay strench'th'nd his hands and hard'nd his heart, by applauding him in his wilfull wayes. To them he was an Ahab, to these a Constantine; it must follow then
that they to him were as unwelcome as 

Elia" was to Ahab, these as deer, and pleasing as Amaziah the Priest of Bethel was to Jeroboam. These had learnt well the lesson that would please; Prophe" not against Bethel, for it is the Kings Chappel, the Kings Court; and had taught the King to say of those Ministers which the Parliament had sent, Amos hath cons"pir'd against me, the Land is not able to beare all his words.

Returning to our first Parallell, this King lookt upon his Prelats as Orphans under the sacrilegious eyes of many rapacious Reformers: and there was as great feare of Sacrilege between Micah and his Mother, till with thir holy treasure, about the loss whereof there was such cursing, they made a grav'n and a molt'n Image, and got a Priest of thir own. To let goe his Criticizing about the sound of Prayers, imperious, rude, or passionat, modes of his own devising, we are in danger to fall again upon the flats and shallows of Liturgie. Which if I should repeat again, would turn my answers into Responses, and begett another Liturgie, having too much of one already.

This onely I shall add, that if the heart, as he alleges, cannot safely joyn with another mans extemporal sufficiency, because wee know not so exactly what they mean to lay, then those public Prayers made in the Temple by those forenamed Kings, and by the Apostles in the Congregation, and by the ancient Christians for above three hundred yeares before Liturgies came in, were with the people made in vain.

After he hath acknowledg'd that Kings heertofore prayd without Chaplains, eev'n publicly in the Temple it self, and that every privat Beleever is invested with a royall Priesthood, yet like one that relifht not what he tast" of the heav'ny gift, and the good word of God whose name he so confidently takes into his mouth, he frames to himself impertinent and vain reasons, why he should rather pray by the officiating
mouth of a Closet-Chaplain. *Their Prayers, faith he, are more prevalent, they flow from minds more en-lightn'd, from affections less distracted.* Admitt this true, which is not; this might be somthing said as to thir prayers for him, but what availes it to thir praying with him? If his owne minde be incumbred with secular affaires, what helps it his particular prayer, though the mind of his Chaplain be not wandring, either after new preferment, or his Dinner? The fervencie of one man in prayer, cannot supererogate for the coldness of another; neither can his spirituall defects in that duty be made out, in the acceptance of God, by another mans abilities. Let him endeavour to have more light in himself: And not to walk by another mans lamp, but to get Oyle into his own. Let him cast from him, as in a Christian warrfare, that secular incumbrance which either disftracts, or overloads him; his load els will never be the les heavie, because another mans is light. Thus these pious flourishses and colours examin'd throughly, are like the Apples of Asphaltis, appearing goodly to the sudden eye, but look well upon them, or at least but touch them, and they turne into Cinders.

In his Prayer hee remembers what voices of joy and gladness there were in his Chappell, Gods house, in his opinion, between the Singing men and the Organs; and this was unity of spirit in the bond of peace; the vanity, superstition, and misdevotion of which place, was a scandall farr and neer: Wherin so many things were sung, and pray'd in those Songs, which were not understood: and yet he who makes a difficulty how the people can joyne thir hearts to extemporal prayers, though distinctly heard and understood, makes no question how they shoule joyn thir hearts in unitie to songs not understood.

I beleeve that God is no more mov'd with a prayer elaboratly pend, then men truely charitable are mov'd with the pen'd speech of a Begger.
Finally O yee Ministers read heer what work he makes among your Gally Pots, your Balmes and Cordials, and not onely your sweet Sippets in Widdows houses, but the huge gobbets wherewith he charges you to have devourd houses and all; the house of your Brethren, your King, and your God. Crie him up for a Saint in your Pulpits, while he cries you down for Atheists into Hell.

XXV. Upon His penitentiall Meditations and Vowes at Holmby.

It is not hard for any man, who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good words and holy sayings in abundance; but to make them his own, is a work of grace onely from above. He borrows heer many penitential Verses out of Davids Psalms. So did many among those Israelites, who had revolted from the true worship of God, invent to themselves instruments of music like David, and probably Psalms also like his, and yet the Profet Amos complains heavilyst against them. But to prove how short this is of true repentance, I will recite the penitence of others, who have repented in words not borrowd but thir own, and yet by the doom of Scripture it self are judg’d reprobates.

Cain sayd unto the Lord, My iniquity is greater then I can beare, behold thou haft driv’n me this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid.

And when Esau heard the words of his Father he cry’d with an exceeding bitter cry, and said, Bless me eev’n me also O my Father; yet found no place of repentance though he sought it carefully with teares, Heb. 12.
And Pharaoh said to Moses, The Lord is righteous, I and my people are wicked; I have sin'd against the Lord your God and against you.

And Balaam said, Let me die the death of the righteous and let my last end be like his.

And Saul said to Samuel, I have sin'd, for I have transgress'd the commandment of the Lord; yet honour mee now I pray thee before the elders of my People.

And when Ahab heard the words of Eliah, he rent his cloaths and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly.

Jehoram also rent his cloaths, and the people look'd, and behold he had sackcloth upon his flesh, yet in the very act of his humiliation he could say, God doe so, and more also to me, if the head of Elishah shall stand on him this day.

Therfore faith the Lord, They have not cri'd unto me with thir heart, when they howl'd upon thir beds. They returne, but not to the most High. Hosca 7.

And Judas sayd, I have sin'd, in that I have betray'd innocent blood.

And Simon Magus sayd, Pray yee to the Lord for me that none of these things come upon me.

All these took the paines both to confess and to repent in thir own words, and many of them in thir own tears, not in Davids. But transported with the vain ostentation of imitating Davids language, not his life, observe how hee brings a curse upon himself and his Fathers house (God so disposing it) by his usurp'd and ill imitated prayer, Let thy anger I beseech thee be against me and my Fathers house, as for these Sheep what have they don. For if David indeed find in numbring the people, of which fault he in earnest made that confession, and acquitted the whole people from the guilt of that sin, then doth this King, using the same words, bear witness against himself to be the guilty person, and either in his soule and
conscience heer acquitts the Parlament and the people, or els abuses the words of David, and dissemblest grossly eev’n to the face of God; which is apparent in the very next line: wherein he accuses eev’n the Church it self to God, as if shee were the Churches enemie, for having overcom his Tyranny by the powerfull and miraculous might of Gods manifeft arme: For to other strength in the midst of our divisions and disorders, who can attribute our Victories? Thus had this miserable Man no worse enemies to sollicit and mature his own destruction from the hastn’d sentence of Divine Justice, then the obdurat curses which proceeded against himself out of his own mouth.

Hitherto his Meditations, now his Vowes, which as the Vowes of hypocrits use to be, are most commonly absurd, and som wicked. Jacob vow’d that God should be his God, if he granted him but what was necessary to perform that vow, life and subsistence: but the obedience profferd heer is nothing so cheap. He who took so hainously to be offer’d nineteen Propositions from the Parlament, capitulates heer with God almost in as many Articles.

If he will continue that light or rather that darkness of the Gospel, which is among his Prelats, settle thir luxuries, and make them gorgeous Bishops,

If he will restore the greevances and mischeifs of those obsolete and Popish Laws, which the Parlament without his consent hath abrogated, and will suffer Justice to be executed according to his sense,

If hee will suppress the many Scisms in Church, to contradict himself in that which he hath foretold must and shall come to pass, and will remove Reformation as the greatest Scism of all, and Factiones in the State, by which he meanes in every leafe the Parlament,

If he will restore him to his negative voice and the Militia, as much as to say to arbitrary power,
which he wrongfully averrs to be the right of his Predecessors,

*If he will turne the hearts of his people* to thir old Cathedral and Parochial service in the Liturgie, and thir passive obedience to the King,

*If he will quench* the Army, and withdraw our Forces from withstancing the Piracy of Rupert, and the plotted Irish invasion,

*If he will bless him with the freedom of Bishops* again in the House of Peers, and of fugitive Delinquents in the House of Commons, *and deliver the honour of Parliament* into his hands, from the most natural and due protection of the people, that entrusted them with the dangerous enterprize of being faithfull to thir Country against the rage and malice of his tyrannous opposition,

*If he will keep him from that great offence of following the counsel of his Parlament, and enacting* what they advise him to, which in all reason, and by the known Law and Oath of his Coronation he ought to doe, and not to call that Sacrilege which necessity through the continuance of his own civil Warr hath compell’d them to, necessity, which made *David* eat the Shew-bread, made *Ezechiah* take all the Silver which was found in Gods House, and cut off the Gold which overlayd those dores and Pillars, and give it to *Sennacherib*; necessity, which ofttimes made the Primitive Church to fell her sacred utensils, eev’n to the Communion Chalice,

*If hee will restore him to a capacity of glorifying him by doing* that both in Church and State, which must needs dishonour and pollute his name,

*If he will bring him again with peace, honour and safety to his chief City*, without repenting, without satisfying for the blood spilt, onely for a few politic concessions which are as good as nothing,

*If he will put again the Sword into his hand, to punish*
those that have deliver'd us, and to protect Delinquents against the Justice of Parliament.

Then, if it be possible to reconcile contradictions, he will praise him by displeasing him, and serve him by diserving him.

*His glory*, in the gaudy Copes, and painted Windows, Miters, Rochets, Altars, and the chanted Service-Book *shall be dearer to him* then the establishing his Crown in righteousness, and the spiritual power of Religion.

*He will pardon those that have offended him in particular*, but there shall want no futtle ways to be eev'n with them upon another score of thir suppos'd offences against the Common-wealth; wherby he may at once affect the glory of a seeming justice, and destroy them pleasantly, while he faines to forgive them as to his own particular, and outwardly bewailes them.

These are the conditions of his treating with God, to whom he bates nothing of what he stood upon with the Parliament; as if Commissions of Array could deale with him also. But of all these conditions, as it is now evident in our eyes, God accepted none, but that final Petition which he so oft, no doubt but by the secret judgement of God, importunes against his own head; praying God, *That his mercies might be so toward him, as his resolutions of Truth and Peace were toward his people*. It follows then, God having cutt him off without granting any of these mercies, that his resolutions were as fained as his Vowes were frustrat.
XXVI. Upon the Armies surprisall of the King at Holmeby.

O give account to Royalties what was don with thir vanquisht King, yeilded up into our hands, is not to be expected from them whom God hath made his Conquerors. And for Brethren to debate and rippe up thir falling out, in the eare of a common enemy, thereby making him the Judge, or at least the well pleas’d auditor of thir disagreement, is neither wise nor comely. To the King therfore, were he living, or to his Party yet remaining, as to this action, there belongs no answer. Emulations, all men know are incident among Military men, and are, if they exceed not, pardonable. But som of the former Army eminent enough for thir own martial deeds, and prevalent in the House of Commons, touch’d with envy to be so farr outdon by a new modell which they contemn’d, took advantage of Presbyterian and Independent names, and the virulence of som Ministers to raise disturbance. And the Warr being then ended, thought slightly to have discarded them, who had faithfully don the work, without thir due pay, and the reward of thir invincible valour. But they who had the Sword yet in thir hands, disdaining to be made the first objects of ingratitude and oppression, after all that expence of thir blood for Justice and the common Liberty, seiz’d upon the King thir pris’ner, whom nothing but their matchless deeds had brought so low as to surrender up his Person: though he, to stirr up new discord, chose rather to give up himself a captive to his own Country men who less had won him. This in likelihood might have grown to som height of mischeif; partly through the strife which was kindling between our elder and our younger Warriors, but chiefly through the seditious tongues of som fals
Ministers, more zealous against Scifms, then against thir own Simony and Pluralities, or watchfull of the common enemy, whose suttile insinuations had got so farr in among them, as with all diligence to blow the coles. But it pleas'd God not to embroile and put to confusion his whole people for the perverseness of a few. The growth of our dissention was either prevented or soon quieted; the Enemy soon deceav'd of his rejoicing, and the King especially disappointed of not the meanest morsel that his hope present'd him, to ruin us by our division. And being now so nigh the end, we may the better be at leasure to stay a while, and hear him commenting upon his own Captivity.

He faith of his surprisal, that it was a motion eccentric and irregular. What then? his own allusion, from the Celestial bodies, puts us in minde, that irregular motions may be necessary on earth somtimes, as well as constantly in Heav'n. That is not always best, which is most regular to writ'tn Law. Great Worthies heertofore by disobeying Law, oftimes have sav'd the Common-wealth: and the Law afterward by firme Decree hath approv'd that planetary motion, that unblamable exorbitancy in them.

Hee meanes no good to either Independent or Presbyterian, and yet his parable, like that of Balaam, is overrul'd to portend them good, farr beside his intention. Thofe twins that frove enclos'd in the womb of Rebecca, were the seed of Abraham; the younger undoutedly gain'd the heav'nly birth-right; the elder though supplant'd in his Similie, shall yet no question find a better portion then Esau found, and farr above his uncircumcis'd Prelats.

He cenfures, and in cenfuring seems to hope, it will be an ill Omen that they who build Jerusalem divide thir tongues and bands. But his hope fail'd him with his example; for that there were divisions both
of tongues and hands at the building of Jerusalem, the Story would have certified him; and yet the work prosper'd; and if God will, so may this; notwithstanding all the craft and malignant wiles of San-ballat and Tobiah, adding what fuel they can to our discontents; or the indignity of his comparison that lik'ns us to those seditious Zelots whose intestine fury brought destruction to the last Jerusalem.

It being now no more in his hand to be reveng'd on his opposers, he seeks to satiat his fansie with the imagination of some revenge upon them from above; and like one who in a drouth observes the Skie, fits and watches when any thing will dropp, that might solace him with the likeness of a punishment from Heav'n upon us: which he ftrait expounds how he pleaseth. No evil can befal the Parlament or Citty, but he positively interprets it a judgement upon them for his sake; as if the very manuscript of Gods judgements had bin deliver'd to his custody and exposition. But his reading declares it well to be a fals copy which he uses; dispensing oft'n to his own bad deeds and successes the testimony of Divine favour, and to the good deeds and successes of other men, Divine wrath and vengeance. But to counterfet the hand of God is the boldeft of all Forgery: And he, who without warrant but his own fantastic surmise, takes upon him perpetually to unfold the secret and unsearchable Mysteries of high Providence, is likely for the most part to mistake and slander them; and approches to the madness of those reprobat thoughts, that would wrest the Sword of Justice out of Gods own hand, and imploy it more justly in his own conceit. It was a small thing to contend with the Parlament about sole power of the Militia, when we see him doing little less then laying hands on the weapons of God himself, which are his judgments, to weild and manage them by the
fway and bent of his own fraile cogitations. Therefore they that by Tumults first occasion'd the rais'ng of Armies, in his doome must needs be chast'n'd by thir own Army for new Tumults.

First note heer his confession, that those Tumults were the first occasion of raising Armies, and by consequence hee himself rais'd them first, against those supposed Tumults. But who occasion'd those Tumults, or who made them so, being at first nothing more then the unarmed and peaceable concours of people, hath bin discuft already. And that those pretended Tumults were chastiz'd by thir own Army for new Tumults, is not prov'd by a Game at Tic-tack with words; Tumults and Armies, Armies and Tumults, but seemes more like the method of a Justice irrational then Divine.

If the Citty were chast'nd by the Army for new Tumults, the reason is by himself set down evident and immediat, thir new Tumults. With what sense can it be refferrd then to another far-fetchd and imaginary cause that happ'nd so many years before, and in his supposition only as a cause. Manlius defended the Capitol and the Romans from thir enemies the Gauls: Manlius for sedition afterward was by the Romans thrown headlong from the Capitol, therfore Manlius was punisht by Divine Justice for defending the Capitol, because in that place punisht for sedition, and by those whom he defended. This is his Logic upon Divine Justice; and was the same before upon the death of Sir John Hotham. And heer again, Such as were content to see him driv'n away by unsuppres'd Tumults, are now forc'd to fly to an Army. Was this a judgement? was it not a mercy rather, that they had a noble and victorious Army so neer at hand to fly to?

From Gods Justice he comes down to Mans Justice. Those few of both Houses who at firft withdrew
with him from the vain pretence of Tumults, were counted Desertors; therfore those many must be also Desertors who withdrew afterwards from real Tumults: as if it were the place that made a Parlament, and not the end and cause. Because it is deny’d that those were Tumults from which the King made shew of being driv’n, is it therfore of necessity im- pli’d, that there could be never any Tumults for the future? If some men fly in craft, may not other men have cause to fly in earnest? But mark the difference between their flight and his; they soon return’d in safety to thir places, he not till after many yeares, and then a Captive to receive his punishment. So that their flying, whether the cause be consider’d or the event, or both, neither justifi’d him, nor condemn’d themselves.

But he will needs have vengeance to pursue and overtake them; though to bring it in, it cost him an inconvenient and obnoxious comparison, As the Mice and Ratts overtook a German Bishop. I would our Mice and Ratts had bin as Orthodoxal heer, and had so pursu’d all his Bishops out of England; then vermin had ridd away vermin, which now hath lost the lives of too many thousand honest men to doe.

He cannot but observe this Divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pitty. But sorrow and pitty in a weake and overmaister’d enemy, is lookt upon no otherwise then as the ashes of his revenge burnt out upon it self; or as the damp of a coold fury when we say, it gives. But in this manner to fit spelling and observing Divine Justice upon every accident and flight disturbance that may happ’n humanly to the affaires of men, is but another fragment of his brok’n revenge: and yet the shrewdest and the cunningest obloquie that can be thrown upon thir actions. For if hee can perswade men that the Parlament and thir cause is pursu’d with Divine vengeance, he hath
attain'd his end, to make all men forfake them, and think the worst that can be thought of them.

Nor is he onely content to suborne Divine Justice in his censure of what is past, but he assumes the person of Christ himself to prognosticate over us what he wishes would come. So little is any thing or person sacred from him, no not in Heav'n, which he will not use, and put on, if it may serve him plausibly, to wreck his spleen, or ease his mind upon the Parlament. Although if ever fatal blindness did both attend and punish wilfulness, if ever any enjoy'd not comforts, for neglecting counsel belonging to their peace, it was in none more evidently brought to pass then in himself: and his predictions against the Parlament and their adherents have for the most part bin verify'd upon his own head, and upon his chief Counselors.

He concludes with high praisef of the Army. But praisef in an enemy are superfluous, or smell of craft; and the Army shall not need his praisef; nor the Parlament fare worse for his accusing prayers that follow. Wherin as his Charity can be no way comparable to that of Christ, so neither can his assurance that they whom he seems to pray for, in doing what they did against him, knew not what they did. It was but arrogance therfore and not charity to lay such ignorance to others in the fight of God, till he himself had bin infallible, like him whose peculiar words he overweeningly assumes.

**XXVII. Intitl'd to the Prince of Wales.**

Hat the King wrote to his Son, as a Father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him, as a King of England, concerns not him; God and the Parlament having now otherwise
dispos’d of England. But because I see it don with some artifice and labour, to possess the people that they might amend their present condition, by his or by his Sons restoration, I shall shew point by point, that although the King had bin reinstal’d to his desire, or that his Son admitted, should observe exactly all his Fathers precepts, yet that this would be so far from conducing to our happiness, either as a remedy to the present distempers, or a prevention of the like to come, that it would inevitably throw us back againe into all our past and fulfill’d miseries; would force us to fight over againe all our tedious Wars, and put us to another fatal struggling for Libertie and life, more dubious then the former. In which as our success hath bin no other then our cause; so it will be evident to all posteritie, that his misfortunes were the meer consequence of his perverse judgement.

First he argues from the experience of those troubles which both he and his Son have had, to the improvement of thir pietie and patience: and by the way beares witness in his own words, that the corrupt education of his youth, which was but glanc’d at onely in some former passages of this answer, was a thing neither of mean consideration, nor untruly charg’d upon him or his Son: himself confessing heer that Court delights are prone either to root up all true vertue and honour, or to be contented onely with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits tending to the public good: Which presents him still in his own words another Rehoboam, soft’nd by a farr wors Court then Salomons, and so corrupted by flatteries, which he affirmes to be unseparable, to the overturning of all peace, and the los of his own honour and Kingdoms. That he came therefore thus bredd up and nurtur’d to the Throne, farr wors then Rehoboam, unless he be of those who equaliz’d his Father to King Salomon, we have heer his own confession. And how volup-
tuously, how idly reigning in the hands of other men, he either tyranniz'd or trifl'd away those seventeen years of peace, without care, or thought, as if to be a King had bin nothing els in his apprehension, but to eat and drink, and have his will, and take his pleasure, though there be who can relate his domestic life to the exactness of a diary, there shall be heer no mention made. This yet we might have then foreseen, that he who spent his leisure so remisly and so corruptly to his own pleasing, would one day or other be wors busied and imploidy to our sorrow. And that he acted in good earneft what Rehoboam did but threat'n, to make his little finger heavier then his Fathers loynes, and to whip us with his two twisted Scorpions, both temporal and spiritual Tyranny, all his Kingdoms have felt. What good use he made afterward of his adverfitie, both his impenitence and obstinacy to the end (for he was no Manasseb) and the sequel of these his meditated resolutions, abundantly express; retaining, commending, teaching to his Son all those putrid and pernicious documents both of State and of Religion, instill'd by wicked Doctors, and receiv'd by him as in a Vessel nothing better seafond, which were the first occasion both of his own and all our miseries. And if he in the best maturity of his yeares and understanding made no better use to himself or others of his so long and manifold afflictsions, either looking up to God, or looking down upon the reason of his own affaires, there can be no probability that his Son, bred up, not in the soft effeminacies of Court onely, but in the rugged and more boiftrous licence of undisciplin'd Camps and Garrisons, for yeares unable to reflect with judgement upon his own condition, and thus ill instructed by his Father, should give his mind to walk by any other rules then these bequeath'd him as on the death bed of his Father, and as the choihest of all that ex-
perience, which his most serious observation and retirement in good or evil days had taught him. David indeed by suffering without just cause, learnt that meekness and that wisdom by adversity, which made him much the fitter man to reign. But they who suffer as oppressors, Tyrants, violaters of Law, and persecutors of Reformation, without appearance of repenting, if they once get hold againe of that dignity and power which they had lost, are but whetted and inrag'd by what they suffer'd, against those whom they look upon as them that caus'd their sufferings.

How he hath bin subject to the scepter of Gods word and spirit, though acknowledg'd to be the best Government, and what his dispensation of civil power hath bin, with what justice, and what honour to the public peace, it is but looking back upon the whole catalogue of his deeds, and that will be sufficient to remember us. The Cup of Gods physic, as he calls it, what alteration it wrought in him to a firm healthfulness from any surfeit, or excess wherof the people generally thought him sick, if any man would goe about to prove, wee have his own testimony following heer, that it wrought none at all.

First, he hath the same fix'd opinion and esteem of his old Ephesian Goddes, call'd the Church of England, as he had ever; and charges strictly his Son after him to persevere in that Anti-Papal Scifme (for it is not much better) as that which will be necessary both for his soules, and the Kingdoms Peace. But if this can be any foundation of the Kingdoms peace, which was the first cause of our distractions, let common sense be Judge. It is a rule and principle worthy to be known by Christians, that no Scripture, no nor so much as any ancient Creed, bindes our Faith, or our obedience to any Church whatsoever, denominated by a particular name; farr les, if it be distinguisht by a several Goverment from
that which is indeed Catholic. No man was ever bidd be subject to the Church of Corinth, Rome, or Asia, but to the Church without addition, as it held faithfull to the rules of Scripture, and the Goverment establisht in all places by the Apostles; which at first was universally the same in all Churches and Congregations; not differing or distinguisht by the diversity of Countries, Territories, or civil bounds. That Church that from the name of a distinct place takes autority to set up a distinct Faith or Goverment, is a Scism and Faction, not a Church. It were an injury to condemn the Papist of absurdity and contradiction, for adhering to his Catholic Romish Religion, if we, for the pleasure of a King and his politic considerations, shall adhere to a Catholic English.

But suppose the Church of England were as it ought to be, how is it to us the safer by being so nam'd and establisht, when as that very name and establishment, by his contriving, or approbation, serv'd for nothing els but to delude us and amuse us, while the Church of England was almost chang'd into the Church of Rome. Which as every Man knows in general to be true, so the particular Treaties and Transactions tending to that conclusion, are at large discover'd in a Book intitl'd the English Pope. But when the people, discerning these abuses, began to call for Reformation, in order to which the Parliament demanded of the King to unestablisht that Prelatical Goverment, which without Scripture had usurpt over us, strait, as Pharaoh accus'd of Idleness the Israelites that sought leave to goe and sacrifice to God, he layes faction to thir charge. And that we may not hope to have ever any thing reform'd in the Church either by him or his Son, hee forewarnes him, That the Devil of Rebellion doth most commonly turn him selfe into an Angel of Reformation: and sayes enough to make him hate it, as the worst of Evils,
and the bane of his Crown: nay he counsels him to let nothing seem little or despicable to him, so as not speedily and effectually to suppress errors and Scisms. Wherby we may perceave plainly that our consciences were desitn'd to the fame servitude and persecution, if not wors then before, whether under him, or if it should so happ'n under his Son; who count all Protestant Churches erroneous and scismatical, which are not Episcopal. His next precept is concerning our civil Liberties; which by his sole voice and predominant will must be circumscrib'd, and not permitted to extend a hands breth furder then his interpretation of the Laws already settl'd. And although all human Laws are but the offspring of that frailty, that fallibility, and imperfection which was in thir Authors, whereby many Laws, in the change of ignorant and obscure Ages, may be found both scandalous, and full of greevance to their Posterity that made them, and no Law is furder good, then mutable upon just occasion, yet if the removing of an old Law, or the making of a new would save the Kingdom, we shall not have it unless his arbitrary voice will so farr slack'n the stiff curb of his Prerogative, as to grant it us; who are as free born to make our own Laws, as our Fathers were who made these wee have. Where are then the English Liberties which we boast to have bin left us by our Progenitors? To that he answers, that Our Liberties consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of our industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which we our selves have consented. First, for the enjoyment of those fruits, which our industry and labours have made our own upon our own, what privilege is that, above what the Turks, Jewes, and Mores enjoy under the Turkish Monarchy? For without that kind of Justice, which is also in Argiers, among Theeves and Pirats between themselves, no kind of Goverment, no Societie, just
or unjust could stand; no combination or conspiracy could stick together. Which he also acknowledges in these words: That if the Crown upon his head be so heavy as to oppress the whole body, the weakness of inferior members cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the head; but that a necessary debilitation must follow. So that this Liberty of the Subject concerns himself and the subsistence of his own regal power in the first place, and before the consideration of any right belonging to the Subject. We expect therefore something more, that must distinguish free Government from slavish. But in stead of that, this King, though ever talking and protesting as smooth as now, sufferd it in his own hearing to be Preacht and pleaded without controule, or check, by them whom he most favour'd and upheld, that the Subject had no property of his own Goods, but that all was the Kings right.

Next for the benefit of those Laws to which we our selves have consented, we never had it under him; for not to speak of Laws ill executed, when the Parliament, and in them the People have consented to divers Laws, and, according to our ancient Rights, demanded them, hee took upon him to have a negative will, as the transcendent and ultimat Law above all our Laws; and to rule us forcibly by Laws to which we our selves did not consent, but complain'd of. Thus these two heads wherein the utmost of his allowance heer will give our Liberties leave to consist, the one of them shall be so farr onely made good to us, as may support his own interest, and Crown, from ruin or debilitation; and so farr Turkish Vassals enjoy as much liberty under Mahomet and the Grand Signor: the other we neither yet have enjoyd under him, nor were ever like to doe under the Tyranny of a negative voice, which he claims above the unanimous consent
and power of a whole Nation virtually in the Parliament.

In which negative voice to have bin cast by the doom of Warr, and put to death by those who vanquisht him in thir own defence, hee reck'ns to himself more then a negative Martyrdom. But Martyrs bear witness to the truth, not to themselves. If I beare witness of my self, faith Christ, my witness is not true. Hee who writes himself Martyr by his own inscription, is like an ill Painter, who, by writing on the shapeless Picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tel passengers what shape it is; which els no man could imagin: no more then how a Martyrdom can belong to him, who therfore dyes for his Religion because it is establisht. Certainly if Agrippa had turn'd Christian, as hee was once turning, and had put to death Scribes and Pharisees for observing the Law of Moses, and refusing Christianitie, they had di'd a truer Martyrdom. For those Laws were establisht by God and Moses, these by no warrantable authors of religion, whose Laws in al other beft reformed Churches are rejected. And if to die for an establishment of Religion be Martyrdom, then Romish Priests executed for that, which had so many hundred yeares bin establisht in this Land, are no wors Martyrs then he. Laftly, if to die for the testimony of his own conscience, be enough to make him Martyr, what Heretic dying for direct blasphemie, as som have don constantly, may not boaft a martyrdom? As for the constitution or repeale of civil Laws, that power lying onely in the Parliament, which he by the very Law of his Coronation was to grant them, not to debarr them, nor to preserve a lesTer Law with the contempt and violation of a greater, it will conclude him not so much as in a civil and metaphorically sense to have di'd a Martyr of our Laws, but a plaine transgresor of them. And
Should the Parliament, endued with Legislative power, make our Laws, and be after to dispute them piece-meal with the reason, conscience, humour, passion, fancy, folly, obstinacy, or other ends of one man, whose sole word and will shall baffle and unmake what all the wisdom of a Parliament hath bin deliberately framing, what a ridiculous and contemptible thing a Parliament would soon be, and what a base unworthy Nation we, who boast our freedom, and send them with the manifest peril of thir lives to preserve it, they who are not mark’d by destiny for Slaves, may apprehend. In this servile condition to have kept us still under hatches, he both resolves hear to the last, and so instructs his Son.

As to those offerd condescensions of Charitable connivence, or toleration, if we consider what went before, and what follows, they moulder into nothing. For what with not suffering ever so little to seem a despicable scism, without effectual suppression, as he warn’d him before, and what with no opposition of Law, Government, or establisht Religion to be permitted, which is his following proviso, and wholly within his own construcion, what a miserable and suspected toleration, under Spies and haunting Promooters we shound enjoy, is apparent. Besides that it is so farre beneath the honour of a Parliament and free Nation, to begg and supplicate the Godship of one fraile Man, for the bare and simple toleration of what they all consent to be both just, pious, and best pleasing to God, while that which is erroneous, unjust, and mischievous in the Church or State, shall by him alone against them all, be kept up and establisht; and they censur’d the while for a covetous, ambitious, and sacrilegious Faction.

Another baite to allure the people, is the charge he laies upon his Son, to be tender of them. Which if we shound beleevie in part, because they are his
Heard, his Cattell, the Stock upon his ground, as he accounts them, whom to waft and destroy would undoe himfelf, yet the inducement which he brings to move him, renders the motion it felf fomthing fufpicious. For if Princes need no palliations, as he tells his Son, wherfore is it that he himfelf hath fo oft'n us'd them? Princes, of all other men, have not more change of Rayment in thir Wardrobes, then variety of Shifts and palliations in thir Solemn acting and pretences to the People.

To try next if he can infhade the prime Men of thofe who have oppos'd him, whom, more truly then his meaning was, he calls the Patrons and vindicators of the People, hee gives out Indemnity, and offers Acts of Oblivion. But they who with a good conscience and upright heart, did thir civil duties in the fight of God, and in thir several places, to refiff Tyranny, and the violence of Superflition banded both againft them, he may be fure will never fefk to be forgiv'n that, which may be juftly attributed to thir immortal praipe; nor will afient ever to the guilty blotting out of thofe actions before men, by which thir Faith affures them they chiefly stand approv'd, and are had in remembrance before the throne of God.

Hee exhorts his Son not to study revenge. But how farr he, or at leaft they about him, intend to follow that exhortation, was feen lately at the Hague; and by what attempts were likewise made in other places. How implacable they would be, it will be wisdom and our safety to beleev'e rather, and prevent, then to make tryall. And it will concerne the multitude, though courted heer, to take heed how they fek to hide or colour thir own fickleneß and inftability with a bad repentance of thir well-doing, and thir fidelity to the better caufe; to which at firft so cheerfully and conffcientiously they joyn'd themfelves.
He returnes againe to extoll the Church of England, and againe requires his Son by the joynt autori
ity of a Father and a King, not to let his heart receive the least check, or disaffection against it. And not without cause, for by that means having sole influence upon the Clergy, and they upon the people, after long search and many disputes, he could not possibly find a more compendious and politic way to uphold and settle Tyranny, then by subduing first the Consciences of Vulgar men, with the insensible poison of their flavish Doctrin: for then the bodie and besotted mind without much Reluctancy was likelest to admit the Yoke.

He commends also Parlements held with freedome and with Honour. But I would ask how that can bee, while he onely must be the sole free Person in that number; and would have the power with his unaccountable denyall, to dishonour them by rejecting all thir Counsels, to confine thir Law-giving power, which is the Foundation of our freedom, and to change at his pleasure the very name of a Parla
ment into the name of a Faction.

The conclusion therfore must needs be quite contrary to what he concludes; that nothing can be more unhappy, more dishonourable, more unsafe for all, then when a wise, grave, and honourable Parla
ment shall have labourd, debated, argu’d, consulted, and, as he himselfe speaks, contributed for the public good all their Counsels in common, to be then frustated, disapointed, deny’d and repuls’d by the single whiffe of a negative, from the mouth of one willfull man; nay to be blasted, to be struck as mute and motionless as a Parlement of Tapstrie in the Hang
ings; or els after all thir paines and travell to be dissolved, and cast away like so many Naughts in Arithmetick, unless it be to turne the O of thir insignificance into a lamentation with the people, who
had so vainly sent them. For this is not to *enact all things by public consent*, as he would have us be persuaded, this is to enact nothing but by the privat consent and leave of one not negative tyrant; this is mischief without remedy, a stifling and obstructing evil that hath no vent, no outlet, no passage through: Grant him this, and the Parliament hath no more freedom then if it lye in his Noose, which when he pleases to draw together with one twitch of his Negative, shall throttle a whole Nation, to the wish of Caligula in one neck. This with the power of Militia in his own hands over our bodies and estates, and the Prelats to enthrall our consciences either by fraud or force, is the fumm of that happiness and liberty we were to look for, whether in his own restitution, or in these precepts giv'n to his Son. Which unavoidably would have set us in the same state of misery, wherein we were before: and have either compell'd us to submitt like bond-slaves, or put us back to a second wandring over that horrid Wilderness of distraction and civil slaughter, which, not without the strong and miraculous hand of God assisting us, we have measur'd out; and surviv'd. And who knows, if we make so flight of this incomparable deliverance, which God hath bestow'd upon us, but that wee shall like those foolish Israelites, who depos'd God and Samuel to set up a King, *Cry out* one day because of our King, which we have bin mad upon; and then God, as he foretold them, will no more deliver us.

There remains now but little more of his discourse, wherof yet to take a short view will not be amiss. His words make semblance as if hee were magnanimously exercising himself, and so teaching his Son, *To want as well as to weare a Crown*; and would seem to account it *not worth taking up or enjoying upon fordid, dishonourable, and irreligious termes* ;
and yet to his very last did nothing more industriously then strive to take up and enjoy againe his sequester'd Crown, upon the most fordid, disloyal, dishonourable, and irreligious termes, not of making peace onely, but of joyning and incorporating with the murdrous Irish, formerly by himself declar'd against, for wicked and detestable Rebells, odious to God and all good Men. And who but those Rebells now, are the chief strength and confidence of his Son; while the Presbyter Scot that wooes and sollicits him, is neglected and put off, as if no termes were to him for-did, irreligious and dishonourable, but the Scottifh and Presbyterian.

He bids his Son Keep to the true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, and he shall never want a Kingdom. And I say, People of England, keep ye to those principles, and ye shall never want a King. Nay after such a faire deliverance as this, with so much fortitude and valour shewn against a Tyrant, that people that should seek a King, claiming what this Man claimes, would shew themselves to be by nature slaves, and arrant beasts; not fitt for that liberty which they cri'd out and bellow'd for, but fitter to be led back again into thir old bondage, like a sort of clamouring and fighting brutes, broke loos, that know not how to use or possess the liberty which they fought for.

The laft sentence, wheron he seemes to venture the whole weight of all his former reasons and argumantations, That Religion to thir God, and loyalty to thir King cannot be parted, without the sin and infelicity of a People, is contrary to the plaine teaching of Christ, that No man can serve two Maifters, but, if he hold to the one, he must reject and forfaie the other. If God then, and earthly Kings be for the most part not several onely but opposite Maifters, it will as oft happ'n, that they who will serve thir King
must forsake thir God; and they who will serve God, must forsake thir King; which then will neither be thir sin, nor thir infelicity; but thir wisdom, thir piety, and thir true happiness: as to be deluded by these unsound and sultle ostentations heer, would be thir misery.

XXVIII. Intitl’d Meditations upon Death.

It might be well thought by him who Reads no furder then the Title of this last Essay, that it requir’d no Answer. For all other human things are disputed, and will be variously thought of to the Worlds end. But this business of Death is a plaine case, and admitts no controversie: In that center all Opinions meet. Nevertheless, since out of those few mortifying howers that should have bin intirest to themselves, and moft at peace from all passion, and disquiet, he can afford spare time to inveigh bitterly against that Justice which was don upon him, it will be needfull to say something in defence of those proceedings; though breifly, in regard so much on this Subject hath been Writt’n lately.

It happen’d once, as we find in Esdras, and Josephus, Authors not less beleiv’d then any under sacred, to be a great and solemn debate in the Court of Darius, what thing was to be counted strongest of all other. He that could resolve this, in reward of his excell-ing wisdom, shou’d be clad in Purple, drink in Gold, sleep on a Bed of Gold, and sitt next to Darius. None but they doubtless who were reputed wise, had the QuefHon propounded to them. Who after som respit giv’n them by the King to consider, in ful Assembly of all his Lords and gravenst Counsel-lors, returnd severally what they thought. The firft
held that Wine was strongest; another that the King was strongest. But Zorobabel Prince of the Captive Jewes, and Heire to the Crown of Judah, being one of them, prov’d Women to be stronger then the King, for that he himself had seen a Concubin take his Crown from off his head to set it upon her own: And others besides him have lately seen the likeFeat don, and not in jeft. Yet he prov’d on, and it was so yeilded by the King himself, and all his sages, that neither Wine nor Women, nor the King, but Truth, of all other things was the strongest. For me, though neither ask’d, nor in a Nation that gives such rewards to wisdom, I shall pronounce my sentence somewhat different from Zorobabel; and shall defend, that either Truth and Justice are all one, for Truth is but Justice in our knowledge, and Justice is but Truth in our practice, and he indeed so explaines himself in saying that with Truth is no accepting of Persons, which is the property of Justice; or els, if there be any odds, that Justice, though not stronger then Truth, yet by her office is to put forth and exhibit more strength in the affaires of mankind. For Truth is properly no more then Contemplation: and her utmost efficiency is but teaching: but Justice in her very essence is all strength and activity; and hath a Sword put into her hand, to use against all violence and oppression on the earth. Shee it is most truly, who accepts no Person, and exempts none from the severity of her stroke. Shee never suffers injury to prevale, but when falshood first prevales over Truth; and that also is a kind of Justice don on them who are so deluded. Though wicked Kings and Tyrants counterfet her Sword, as som did that Buckler, fabl’d to fall from Heav’n into the Capitol, yet shee communicates her power to none but such as like her self are just, or at least will doe Justice. For it were extreme partialitie and injustice, the flat denyall and
overthrow of her self, to put her own authentic Sword into the hand of an unjust and wicked Man, or so far to accept and exalt one mortal Person above his equals, that he alone shall have the punishing of all other men transgressing, and not receive like punishment from men, when he himself shall be found the highest transgressor.

We may conclude therefore that Justice, above all other things, is and ought to be the strongest: She is the strength, the Kingdom, the power and majesty of all Ages. Truth her selfe would subscribe to this, though Darius and all the Monarchs of the World should deny. And if by sentence thus writ'tn it were my happiness to set free the minds of English men from longing to return poorly under that Captivity of Kings, from which the strength and supreme Sword of Justice hath deliver'd them, I shall have don a work not much inferior to that of Zorobabel: who by well praising and extolling the force of Truth, in that contemplative strength conquer'd Darius; and freed his Countrey, and the people of God from the Captivity of Babylon. Which I shall yet not despair to doe, if they in this Land whose minds are yet Captive, be but as ingenuous to acknowledge the strength and supremacie of Justice, as that Heathen King was, to confess the strength of Truth: or let them but as he did, grant that, and they will soon perceive that Truth resignes all her outward strength to Justice: Justice therefore must needs be strongest, both in her own and in the strength of Truth. But if a King may doe among men whatsoever is his will and pleasure, and notwithstanding be unaccountable to men, then contrary to this magnifi'd wisdom of Zorobabel, neither Truth nor Justice, but the King is strongest of all other things: which that Persian Monarch himself in the midst of all his pride and glory durst not assume.
Let us see therefore what this King hath to affirm, why the sentence of Justice and the weight of that Sword which shee delivers into the hands of men, should be more partial to him offending, then to all others of human race. First he pleads that No Law of God or man gives to subjects any power of judicature without or against him. Which assertion shall be prov'd in every part to be most untrue. The first express Law of God giv'n to mankind, was that to Noah, as a Law in generall to all the sons of men. And by that most ancient and universal Law, Whoe'er sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed, we find heer no exception. If a King therefore doe this, to a King, and that by men also, the same shall be don. This in the Law of Moses, which came next, several times is repeated, and in one place remarkably, Numb. 35. Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he shall surely be put to death: the Land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shedd therein, but by the blood of him that shedd it. This is so spok'n, as that which concern'd all Israel, not one man alone to see perform'd; and if no satisfaction were to be tak'n, then certainly no exception. Nay the King, when they should set up any, was to observe the whole Law, and not onely to see it don, but to doe it; that his heart might not be lifted up above his Brethren, to dreame of vain and reasonles prerogatives or exemptions, wherby the Law it self must needs be founded in unrighteousnes.

And were that true, which is most fals, that all Kings are the Lords Anointed, it were yet absurd to think that the Anointment of God, should be as it were a charm against Law; and give them privilège who punish others, to sin themselves unpunishably. The high Preift was the Lords anointed as well as any King, and with the same consecrated oile: yet Salomon had put to death Abiathar, had it
not bin for other respects then that anointment. If God himself say to Kings, Touch not mine anointed, meaning his chos’n people, as is evident in that Psalme, yet no man will argue thence, that he protects them from Civil Lawes if they offend, then certainly, though David as a privat man, and in his own cause, feard to lift his hand against the Lords Anointed, much lees can this forbidd the Law, or disarm justice from having legall power against any King. No other supreme Magistrate in what kind of Government foever laies claim to any such enormous Privilege; wherfore then should any King who is but one kind of Magistrat, and set over the People for no other end then they?

Next in order of time to the Laws of Moses, are those of Christ, who declares profeffedly his judicature to be spiritual, abstract from civil managements, and therefor leaves all Nations to thir own particular Lawes, and way of Government. Yet because the Church hath a kind of Jurisdiction within her own bounds, and that also, though in process of time much corrupted and plainly turn’d into a corporal judicature, yet much approov’d by this King, it will be firm anough and valid against him, if subjects, by the Laws of Church also, be invested with a power of judicature both without and against thir King, though pretending, and by them acknowledg’d next and immediatly under Christ supreme head and Governour. Theodosius the Emperour having made a slaughter of the Thessalonians for sedition, but too cruelly, was excommunicated to his face by Saint Ambrose, who was his subjeckt: and excommunication is the utmost of Ecclesiastical Judicature, a spiritual putting to death. But this, yee will say, was onely an example. Reade then the Story; and it will appeare, both that Ambrose avouch’d it for the Law of God, and Theodosius confess it of his own accord to
be so; and that the Law of God was not to be made void in him, for any reverence to his Imperial power. From hence, not to be tedious, I shall pass into our own Land of Brittain; and show that Subjects here have exercis'd the utmost of spiritual Judicature and more then spiritual against thir Kings, his Predecessours. Vortiger for committing incest with his Daughter, was by Saint German, at that time his Subject, curs'd and condemn'd in a Brittish Council about the yeare 448; and therupon soon after was depos'd. Mauricus a King in Wales, for breach of Oath, and the murder of Cypetus was excommunicated, and curst with all his offspring, by Oudoceus Bishop of Landaff in full Synod, about the yeare 560; and not restor'd, till he had repented. Morcant another King in Wales having slain Frioc his Unkle, was faine to come in Person and receive judgement from the same Bishop and his Clergie; who upon his penitence acquitted him, for no other cause then left the Kingdom should be destitute of a Successour in the Royal Line. These examples are of the Primitive, Brittish, and Episcopal Church; long ere they had any commerce or communion with the Church of Rome. What power afterward of deposing Kings, and so consequentially of putting them to death, was assum'd and practis'd by the Canon Law, I omit as a thing generally known. Certainly if whole Councils of the Romish Church have in the midst of their dimness discern'd so much of Truth, as to Decree at Constance, and at Basil, and many of them to avouch at Trent also, that a Council is above the Pope, and may judge him, though by them not deny'd to be the Vicar of Christ, we in our clearer light may be ashamed not to discern further, that a Parliament is, by all equity, and right, above a King, and may judge him, whose reasons and pretensions to hold of God onely, as his imme-
diat Vicegerent, we know how farr fetch'd they are, and insufficient.

As for the Laws of man, it would ask a Volume to repeat all that might be cited in this point against him from all Antiquity. In Greece, Orestes the Son of Agamemnon, and by succession King of Argos, was in that Countrey judg'd and condemn'd to death for killing his Mother: whence escaping, he was judg'd againe, though a Stranger, before the great Counsel of Areopagus in Athens. And this memorable act of Judicature, was the first that brought the Justice of that grave Senat into fame and high estimation over all Greece for many ages after. And in the same Citty Tyrants were to undergoe Legal sentence by the Laws of Solon. The Kings of Sparta, though descended lineally from Hercules esteem'd a God among them, were oft'n judg'd and sometimes put to death by the most just and renowned Laws of Lycurgus; who, though a King, thought it most unequal to bind his Subjects by any Law, to which he bound not himself. In Rome the Laws made by Valerius Publicola, and what the Senate decreed against Nero, that hee should be judg'd and punish'd according to the Laws of thir Ancestors, and what in like manner was decreed against other Emperours, is vulgarly known. And that the Civil Law warrants like power of Judicature to Subjects against Tyrants, is writ'n clearly by the best and famousst Civilians. For if it was decreed by Theodosius, and stands yet firme in the Code of Justinian, that the Law is above the Emperour, then certainly the Emperour being under Law, the Law may judge him, and if judge him, may punish him proving tyrannous: how els is the Law above him, or to what purpose. These are necessary deductions; and ther-after hath bin don in all Ages and Kingdoms, oftner then to be heer recited.
But what need we any farther search after the Laws of other Lands, for that which is so fully and so plainly set down lawfull in our owne. Where ancient Books tell us, Bracton, Fleta, and others, that the King is under Law, and inferior to his Court of Parlament; that although his place to doe Justice be higheft, yet that he stands as liable to receive Justice, as the meanefl of his Kingdom. Nay Alfred the most worthy King, and by som accounted first abso-

lute Monarch of the Saxons heer, fo ordain'd; as is cited out of an ancient Law Book call'd the Mirror; in Rights of the Kingdom, p. 31. where it is com-

plain'd on, As the sovrain abuse of all, that the King should be deem'd above the Law, whereas he ought be subjecl to it by his Oath: Of which Oath anciently it was the laft claufe, that the King should be as li-

able, and obedient to suffer right as others of his peo-

ple. And indeed it were but fond and fenfles, that the King should be accountable to every petty suit in lesser Courts, as we all know he was, and not be subjecl to the Judicature of Parlament in the main matters of our common safety or destruc
tion; that hee should be answerable in the ordinary cours of Law for any wrong don to a privat Person, and not answerable in Court of Parlament for destroying the whole Kingdom. By all this, and much more that might be added as in an argument overcopious rather then barren, we see it manifest that all Laws both of God and Man are made without exemption of any person whomsoever; and that if Kings presume to overtopp the Law by which they raigne for the public good, they are by Law to be reduc'd into or-

der: and that can no way be more justly, then by those who exalted them to that high place. For who should better understand thir own Laws, and when they are transgresst, then they who are go-

vern'd by them, and whose consent first made them:
and who can have more right to take knowledge of things don within a free Nation then they within themselves?

Those objected Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy we swore, not to his Person, but as it was invested with his Authority; and his authority was by the People first giv’n him conditionally, in Law and under Law and under Oath also for the Kingdoms good, and not otherwise: the Oathes then were interchang’d and mutual; stood and fell together; he swore fidelity to his trust; not as a deluding ceremony, but as a real condition of their admitting him for King; and the Conqueror himself swore it ofter then at his Crownning: they swore Homage, and Fealty to his Person in that trust. There was no reason why the Kingdom should be furer bound by Oaths to him, then hee by his Coronation Oath to us, which he hath every way brok’n: and having brok’n, the ancient Crown-Oath of Alfred above mention’d, conceales not his penalty.

As for the Covnant, if that be meant, certainly no discreet Person can imagin it should bind us to him in any stricter sense then those Oaths formerly. The acts of Hostility which we receiv’d from him, were no such dear obligements that we should ow him more fealty and defence for being our Enemy, then we could before when we took him onely for a King. They were accus’d by him and his Party to pretend Liberty and Reformation, but to have no other end then to make themselves great, and to destroy the Kings Person and Autority. For which reason they added that third Article, testifying to the World, that as they were resolv’d to endeavor firft a Reformation in the Church, to extirpate Prelacy, to pre- serve the rights of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, so they intended, so farr as it might consift with the preservation and defence of these, to
preserve the Kings Person and Authority; but not otherwise. As farr as this comes to, they Covnant and Swear in the sixth Article to preferve and defend the persons and authority of one another, and all those that enter into that League; so that this Covnant gives no unlimitable exemption to the Kings Person, but gives to all as much defence and preservation as to him, and to him as much as to thir own Persons, and no more; that is to say, in order and subordination to those maine ends for which we live and are a Nation of men joynd in society either Christian or at least human. But if the Covnant were made absolute, to preferve and defend any one whomsoever, without respect had, either to the true Religion, or those other Superiour things to be defended and preserv’d however, it cannot then be doubted, but that the Covnant was rather a most foolish, hafty, and unlawfull Vow, then a deliberate and well-waighd Covnant; swearing us into labyrinths, and repugnances, no way to be solv’d or reconcil’d, and therefore no way to be kept: as first offending against the Law of God, to Vow the absolute preservation, defence, and maintaining of one Man though in his sins and offences never so great and hainous against God or his Neighbour; and to except a Person from Justice, whereas his Law excepts none. Secondly, it offends against the Law of this Nation, wherein, as hath bin prov’d, Kings in receiving Justice, and undergoing due tryall, are not differenc’d from the meanest Subject. Lastly, it contradicts and offends against the Covnant it self, which vows in the fourth Article to bring to op’n triall and condigne punishment all those that shall be found guilty of such crimes and Delinquencies, wherof the King by his own Letters and other undeniable testimonies not brought to light till afterward, was found and conviccted to be the cheif actor in what they thought
him at the time of taking that Covnant, to be over-
rul'd only by evil Counselers; and those, or whom-
soever they should discover to be principall, they
vow'd to try, either by thir own supreme Judicatories,
for so eev'n then they call'd them, or by others having
power from them to that effect. So that to have
brought the King to condign punishment hath not
broke the Covnant, but it would have broke the
Covnant to have fav'd him from those Judicatories,
which both Nations declar'd in that Covnant to be
Supreme against any person whatsoever. And if the
Covnant swore otherwise to preserve him then in
the preservation of true Religion and our Liberties,
against which he fought, if not in Armes, yet in
Resolution to his dying day, and now after death
still fights against, in this his Book, the Covnant was
better brok'n, then he sav'd. And God hath testifi'd
by all propitious and evident signes, whereby in
these latter times he is wont to testifie what pleases
him; that such a solemn, and for many Ages unex-
ampil'd act of due punishment, was no mockery of
Justice, but a most grateful and well-pleasing Sa-
crifice. Neither was it to cover thir perjury as he
accuses, but to uncover his perjury to the Oath of
his Coronation.

The rest of his discours quite forgets the Title;
and turns his Meditations upon death into obloquie
and bitter vehemence against his Judges and Ac-
cusers; imitating therin, not our Saviour, but his
Grand-mother Mary Queen of Scots, as also in the
most of his other scruples, exceptions and evasions:
and from whom he seems to have learnt as it were
by heart, or els by kind, that which is thought by
his admirers to be the most vertuous, most manly,
most Christian, and most Martyr-like both of his
words and speeches heer, and of his answers and be-
aviour at his Tryall.
It is a sad fate, he faith, to have his Enemies both Accusers, Parties, and Judges. Sad indeed, but not sufficient Plea to acquitt him from being so judg'd. For what Malefactor might not sometimes plead the like? If his own crimes have made all men his Enemies, who els can judge him? They of the Powder-plot against his Father might as well have pleaded the same. Nay at the Refurrection it may as well be pleaded, that the Saints who then shall judge the World, are both Enemies, Judges, Parties and Accusers.

So much he thinks to abound in his own defence, that he undertakes an unmeasurabal task; to bespeak the singular care and protection of God over all Kings, as being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth. But what Patrons they be, God in the Scripture oft enough hath express't; and the earth it self hath too long groan'd under the burd'n of thir injustice, disorder, and irreligion. Therfore To bind thir Kings in chaines, and thir Nobles with links of Iron, is an honour belonging to his Saints; not to build Babel, which was Nimrods work, the first King, and the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel, but to destroy it, especially that spiritual Babel: and first to overcome those European Kings, which receive thir power; not from God, but from the beast; and are counted no better then his ten hornes. These shall hate the great Whore, and yet shall give thir Kingdoms to the Beast that carries her; they shall committ Fornication with her, and yet shall burn her with fire, and yet shall lament the fall of Babylon, where they fornicated with her.

Thus shall they be too and fro, doubtfull and ambiguous in all thir doings, untill at laft, joyning thir Armies with the Beast, whose power first rais'd them, they shall perish with him by the King of
Kings against whom they have rebell'd; and the Foules shall eat thir flesh. This is thir doom writ'n, and the utmoft that wee find concerning them in these latter days; which we have much more caufe to beleeve, then his unwarranted Revelation heer, prophecying what shall follow after his death, with the spirit of Enmity, not of Saint John.

He would fain bring us out of conceit with the good succefs which God hath voutfaf'd us. Wee measure not our Caufe by our succefs, but our succefs by our Caufe. Yet certainly in a good Caufe succefs is a good confirmation; for God hath promis'd it to good men almost in every leafe of Scripture. If it argue not for us, we are sure it argues not against us; but as much or more for us, then ill succefs argues for them; for to the wicked, God hath denounc'd ill succefs in all that they take in hand.

He hopes much of those softer tempers, as he calls them, and less advantag'd by his ruin, that thir conſciences doe already gripe them. Tis true, there be a fort of moodie, hot-brain'd, and alwayes unedify'd conſciences; apt to engage thir Leaders into great and dangerous affaires past retirement, and then, upon a sudden qualm and swimming of thir conſcience, to betray them basely in the midst of what was cheifly undertak'n for their fakes. Let such men never meet with any faithfull Parlament to hazzard for them; never with any noble Spirit to conduct and lead them out, but let them live and die in fervile condition and thir scrupulous queafiness, if no inſtruction will confirme them. Others there be in whose conſciences the los of gaine, and thofe advantages they hop'd for, hath sprung a sudden leake. These are they that cry out the Covnant brok'n, and to keep it better slide back into neutrality, or joyn actually with Incendiaries and
Malignants. But God hath eminently begun to punish those, first in Scotland, then in Ulster, who have provok'd him with the most hatefull kind of mockerie, to break his Covnaut under pretence of strictest keeping it; and hath subjected them to those Malignants, with whom they scrupl'd not to be associats. In God therefore we shall not feare what their fals fraternity can doe against us.

Hee seeks againe with cunning words to turn our success into our sin. But might call to mind, that the Scripture speakes of those also, who when God slew them, then fought him; yet did but flatter him with thir mouth, and ly'd to him with thir tongues; for thir heart was not right with him. And there was one, who in the time of his affliction trespass'd more against God; This was that King Ahaz.

Hee glories much in the forgivness of his Enemies; so did his Grandmother at her death. Wise men would sooner have beleev'd him had he not so oft'n told us so. But he hopes to erect the Trophies of his charity over us. And Trophies of Charity no doubt will be as glorious as Trumpets before the almes of Hypocrites; and more especially the Trophies of such an aspiring charitie as offers in his Prayer to share Victory with Gods compassion, which is over all his Works. Such Prayers as these may perhaps catch the people, as was intended: but how they please God, is to be much doubted, though pray'd in secret, much less.writ'tn to be divulg'd. Which perhaps may gaine him after death a short, contemptible, and soon fading reward; not what hee aimes at, to stirr the constancie and solid firm-ness of any wise Man, or to unsettle the conscience of any knowing Christian, if he could ever aime at a thing so hopeless, and above the genius of his Cleric elocution, but to catch the worthles appro-
bation of an inconstant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble. The rest, whom perhaps ignorance without malice, or from error, less than fatal, hath for the time misled, on this side Sorcery or obdurance, may find the grace and good guidance to bethink themselves, and recover.

End of Volume the First.