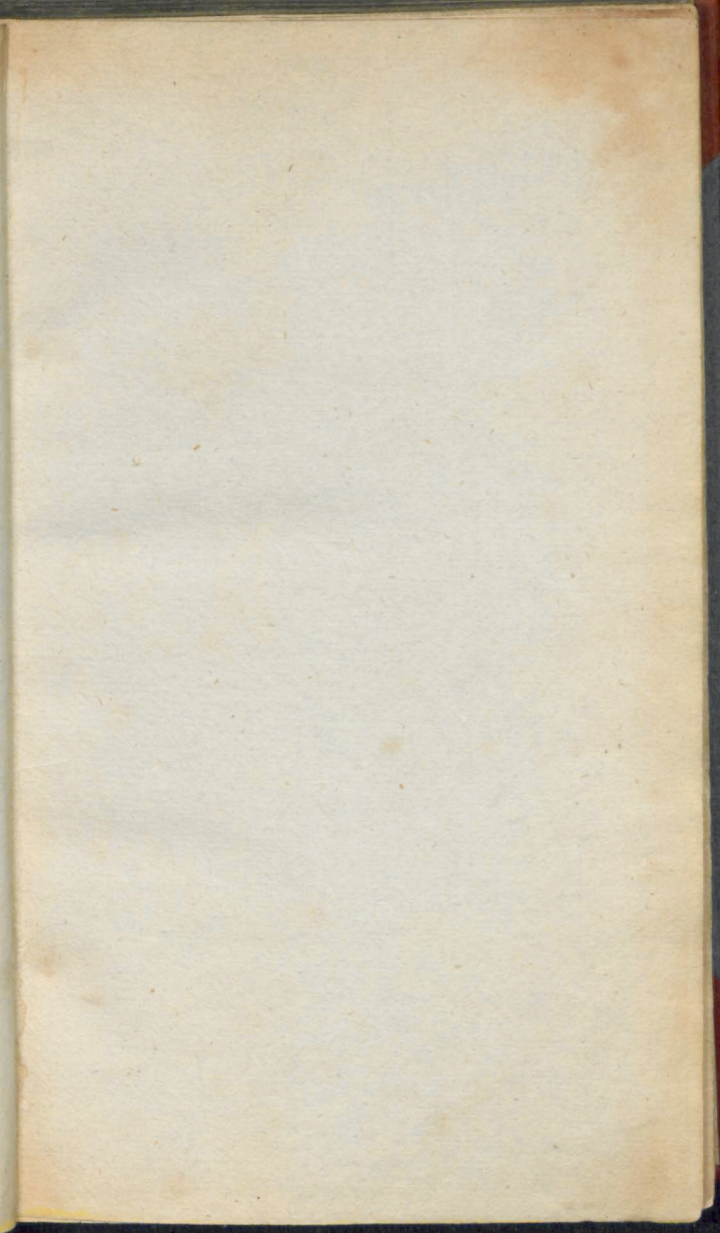


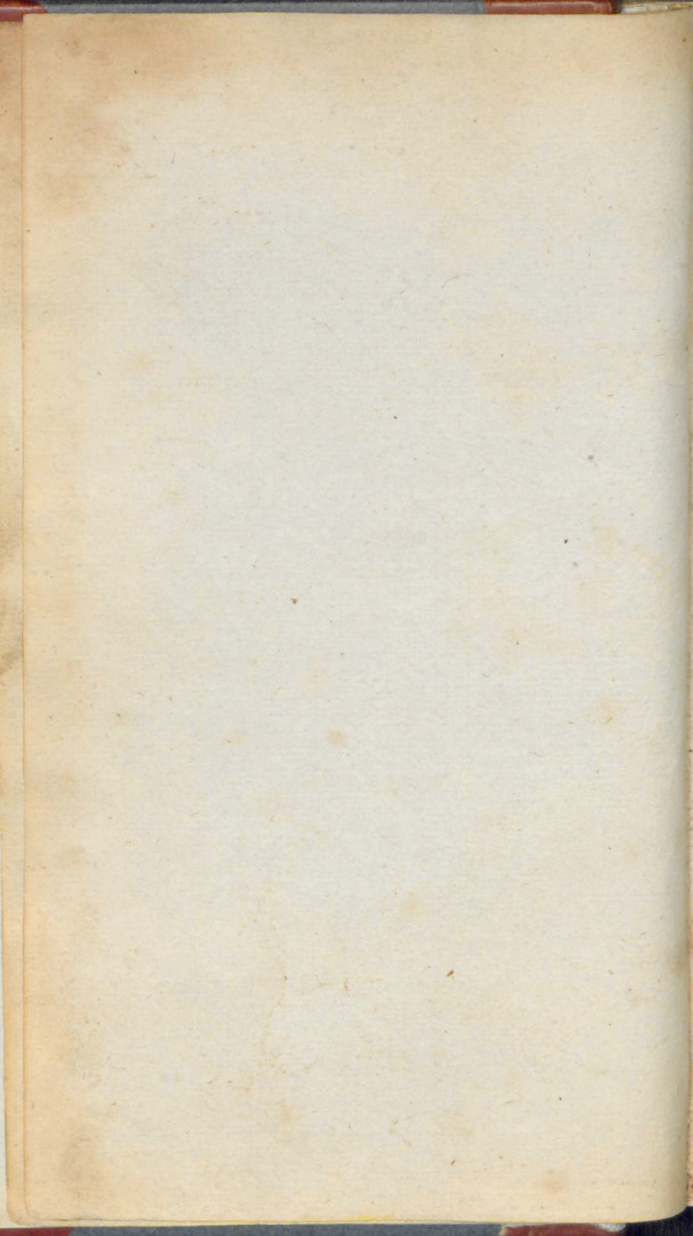


Mindan 15
second issue

This Book was given me by my Bro^r
Tho^s Bowdler; & conformably to his
desire, I request that it may be given
after my death to my Nephew the Rev^d
Tho^s Bowdler

Thos Bowdler 1st Bonifant 2 Feb 1808

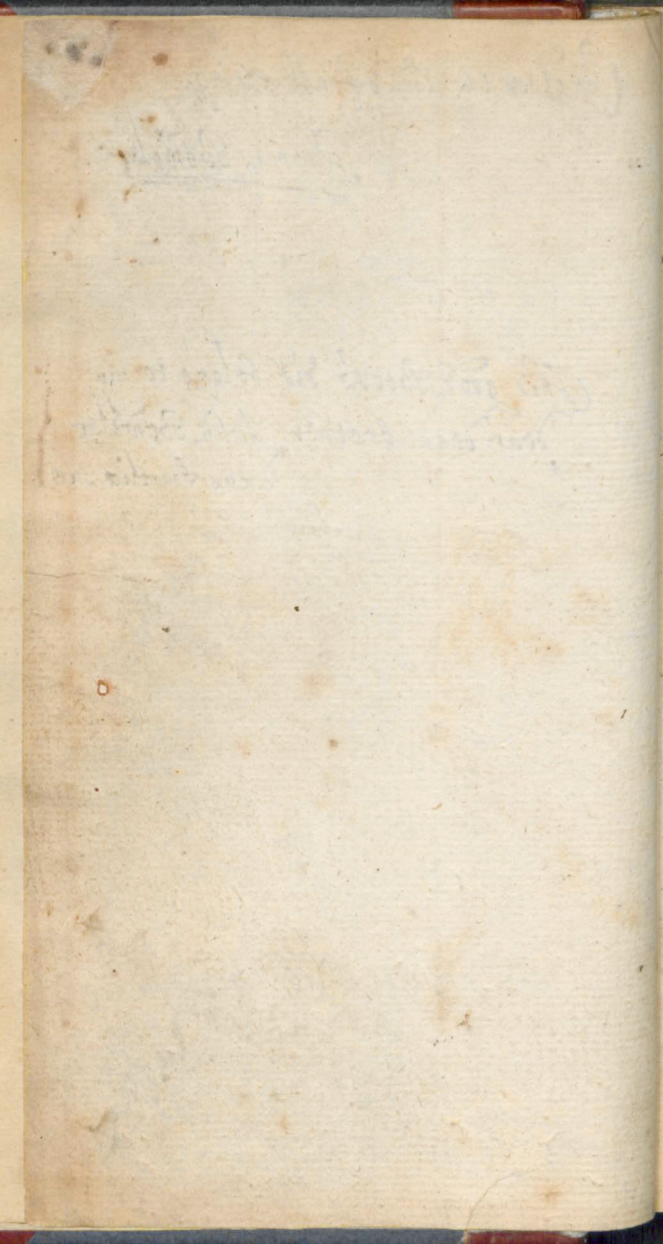




Consider the End of all things

Thomas Bowdler

This good Book did belong to my
dear dear brother John Bowdler
deus familia sua



M S

Sanctissimi Regis, et Martyris Caroli.

Siste viator,

Luge, Obmutisce, Mirare!

memento CAROLI illius,

Omnis pariter, et pietatis Insignissima, Primi,

magna Britannice Regis:

qui Rebellionum perfidia primo deceptus,

Dein perfidorum rabie percussus,

Inconcusus tamen Legum et fidei Defensor;

Schismaticorum Tyrannidi Succubuit,

Anno

Salutis Humanae MDCXLVIII,

Servitutis nostrae } Primo
Felicitationis suae }

Coronam Terræstri spoliatus. Cælesti Donatus,

Silvant autem peritura Tabella:

Perlege Reliquias, verè sacras, Carolinas,

In quibus,

Sui Monumentum, Arcu perenniorum,

Vivaciùs exprimit,

Ille, Ille,

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Ponderibus genus omne mali, probrisq; gravati
vixq; ferenda ferens palma ut depressa resurgam
ac, velut undarum fluctus ventiq; furorim
Irati populi rupes immota repello
Clavos & tenebris, caelestis stella, conusco;
Victor et aeternum felici pace triumpho.
Auro splendentem rutilo, gemmisq; decoram
at Curis gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.
Spinosa, at ferri facilem, quo sper mea, Christi
auxilio, nobis vera et tractare voluptas
Aeternam fixis fidei semperq; beatam,
In caelos oculis specto, nobisq; paratam.
quod vanum est sperno; quod xpi gratia praebeat
amplecti studium est: virtutis gloria merces.

Though clogg'd wth weight of miseries
as palm depress'd I higher rise
And as thund'ring Rots outbraves
the boisterous winds & raging waves
So Triumph I, & in dark night
of sad afflictions shine more bright
That splendid but yet thorny Crown
regardlessly I trample down
With Joy I take this Crown of thorne
though sharp yet easie to be borne
That glorious happy Crown I see
deprived whereof I cannot be
I slight vain thine & do imbrace

Class. 16.

just rewards of Grace.

E

N

S



ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

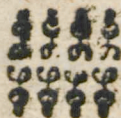
EIKON BASILIKE

THE
PORTRAICTURE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAIESTY
IN
HIS SOLITVDES
AND
SVFFERINGS?

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & malipati, Regium est.



Printed M. DC. XLIX.

ALTON DALLAN H.

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES

OF THE
HIS SACRED

MAINTAIN

Rare BK

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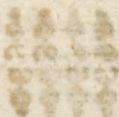
AND
C48

1649 b

Nov. 2.

After the Convention, etc.

From records of the Convention, etc.



Printed by M. D. Ballou, at the
Alton Press, Alton, N. H.

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Εἰκὼν βασιλική.

I. Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.

His last Parliament I called, not more by
T others advice, and necessitie of My af-
fairs, then by My owne choice and inclina-
tion; who have alwaies thought the right
way of Parliaments most safe for My Crowne, as best
easing to my People: And although I was not for-
getfull of those sparkes, which some mens distempers
formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by
bearing to convene for some yeares, I hope to
have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give
just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and
redress all publick grievancies in Church and State,
hoped by My freedome and their moderation) to
prevent all misunderstandings, & miscarriages in this:
which, as I feared, affaires would meet with some
passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they
should find least of them in My selfe; not doubting,
that by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize
the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie
and popular heat Elections were carried in many
places, yet hoping that the gravitie and discretion of

other Gentlemen would allay and fix the commonsto a due temperament (guiding some mens meaning zeale by such rules of moderation as are both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdomes :) No man was better pleased the convening of this Parliament, then My self; knowing best the largeness of My owne Heart towards My Peoples good and just contentment, I sed My selfe most in that good and firme understanding, which would hence grow betweene Me and People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My owne and Childrens Interests gave Mee many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of My subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest health and safetie, next Gods protection; I cared not to sen My self in some things of My wonted Prerogative since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desire those that were factiously discontented, if they but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigor or remissness in Church and State, had contrived upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: Not having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and served in Truth, Unitie, and Order, then My self, whom it most concernes both in pietie and peace as knowing, that, No flames of civill dissention

more dangerous then those which make Religious
retentions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full
advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to
grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me
as fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My selfe
within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judge-
ment to have been over-borne in some things, more
by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My
confidence had less betrayed My self, and My King-
doms, to those advantages, which some men sought
for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to
do mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe there was no preventing
of Gods Justice, from reaping that glorie in our Ca-
lamities, which we robbed him of in our Prosperitie.

*For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolu-
tions of future Reforming doe not alwaies satisfie thy
Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former mis-
deedings.*

*Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast
taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on
our purpose to amend.*

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

*For want of timely repentance of our sinnes, Thou
dest us cause to repent of those Remedies we too
late apply.*

*Yet do I not Repent of My calling this last Parli-
ament;*

ament; because o Lord, I did it with an upright intention to thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and Kingdomes, are the Just effects of thy displeasure on us, and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparative of us to future blessings, and better hearts to them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many mer comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy but a Father: when thou givest us those humble afflictions, that measure of patience in repentance, we become thy children; I shall have no cause to reprove the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, by them thou hast brought Me and My People feignedly to repent of the sinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings then our Peace could be with our sinnes.

O thou Sovereign goodnesse and wisdom, who overrulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts. That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

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

As the sinnes of our Peace disposed us to unhappy Warre, so let this VVarre prepare us for blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdom here, yet I may attain to that Kingdome of Peace My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (thou a Sinner) for my Saviours sake; Amen.

2. *Vpon the Earle of Straffords Death.*

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

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of Times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earle when betweene My owne unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessitie (as some told Me) of satisfying the importunities of some People; I was perswaded by those, that I thinke wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with Men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed, I am so farre from excusing or denying that compliyanee on My part (for plenary consent

sent it was not) to his destruction, whom in Judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret : which, as a signe of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that discovered more a feare of Man, then of God, who by name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to be; who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores ; to call the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and consequences, to shew the World the fallacy of the *Maxime, Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the People be displeased, or destroyed.*

For, in all likelyhood, I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* Innocencie, at least by denying to sign that destructive Bill according to that justice, which My Conscience suggested to Me, than I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruell a favour. And I observed, that those, who counselled Me to signe that Bill, have been so farre from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they : He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My owne Conscience ; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of this businesse.

To which being in My soule so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me. That the best rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gaine a like consent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affaires, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, for whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not Condemne him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for *Iustice*. (that is, to have both My selfe and the two Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us)

us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified
concurrer with the condemning Party, than satisfy
that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of
precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tells
World, that some remorse touched even his mo
implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had very ha
measure, and such as they would be very loath sho
be repeated to themselves.

This tenderneis and regret I find in my Soule,
having had any hand (and that very unwilling
God knowes) in shedding one mans blood unjust
(though under the colour and formalities of Justice
and pretences of avoyding publick mischiefes) whi
may, I hope, be some evidence before God and Ma
to all Posterity, that I am farre from bearing just
the vast load and guilt of all that blood which ha
been shed in this unhappy Warre; which some m
will needs charge on Me, to ease their owne Soule
who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take aw
any mans life unjustly, than to lose My owne.

*But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive
that act of sinfull compliance which ha b greater
gravations upon Me than any man. Since I had
like least temptation of envie, or malice against him
and by my place should at least so farre, have been
a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to
destruction.*

*O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and
sin is ever before me.*

*Deliver me from bloud-guiltinesse O God, the
God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of
righteousnesse.*

Again

Against thee have I sinned and done this evill in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy judgments, and to see my frailty in thy justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me and my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord thou seeest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice and Religion which shines in My Soul for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Blood, which speak better things; O make me, and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

3. *Vpon His Maiesties going to the House
of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to
mand Justice upon the five Members, was
act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquy
and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies
feares ; yea, and many of My friends resented it
motion rising rather from Passion then Reason,
not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness
those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pre-
sant grounds with which I thought my selfe so
nished, that there needed nothing to such evidence
as I could have produced against those I charged
onely a free and legall Triall, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or
venge against those mens persons, further then I
discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspon-
encies they had used, and engagements they
made, to emproyle my Kingdomes : of all which
missed but little to have produced Writings un-
der some mens owne hands, who were the chiefe
trivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted
probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies
any Kings Heart, who is not wholly stupid and
lective of the publick peace, which to preserve by
ling in Question halfe a dozen men, in a faire and
gall way (which God knowes was all my designe)
could have amounted to no worse effect, had it
ceeded, then either to doe Me, and my Kingdomes
right, in case they had been found guilty ; or else

have cleared their Innocencie, and remove my suspitions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this sparke (though I might by all speedy and possible meanes to quench soone kindled, all the World is witnesse : The aspersions which some men cast upon that action, as if had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is so false, that as God best knowes, I had no such intent ; so none that attended could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it is no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times ; so were my Followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to ward a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more moved at my coming, then I was un-assured of not receiving some affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to me ; For many People (at that time) learned to thinke those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by Words and Deeds.

The summe of that businesse was this.

Those men, and their adherents were then looked on by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my selfe, and so rather of their protection. I leave them to God, and their owne Consciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, We must religiously appeale, as being an Argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable judgement, which shall re-judge what among us is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had fit, those future Commotions, which I foresaw would in all likelyhood follow some mens actions (not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands, the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houses, weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all My designe: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, I should not have needed so rough assistance; and was resolved rather to beare the repulse with patience, than to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou O Lord, art My VVitnesse in Heaven and in my Heart: if I have purposed any violent oppression against the Innocent: or if there were such wickednesse in My thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute My soul. and my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in dust.

Thou that see'st not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances searching the heart, trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with the world and godly men they cannot be) any argument of sinne in that matter; more then their Impression among good men is any sure token of their Innocence.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiss.

though they are not punished for it in this world.
 Save thy Servant from the privy conspiracies, and
 violence of bloody and unreasonable men accord-
 ing to the uprightness of my heart, and the innocency
 of my hands in this matter.
 Plead my cause and maintain my right, O thou,
 that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly; that thy
 servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.

Never thought any thing (except our sinnes) more
 dangerously prelagging all these mischiefs, which
 followed, then those Tumults in London and
 Westminster, (soone after the Convening of this Par-
 liament; which were not like a storm at Sea, which
 wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake,
 shaking the very Foundations of all; than which, no-
 thing in the World hath more of horreur.
 As it is one of the most convincing Arguments
 that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to
 a raging Sea: so 'tis no lesse, that he restraines the
 insolence of the people. Nor doth any thing portend
 Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he
 hears the confluence & clamors of the vulgar, to passe
 boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.
 Which those Tumults did, to so high degrees of In-
 solence, that they spared not to invade the Honour
 Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproach-
 shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of
 both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor
 they forbear most rude & unseemly deportments
 both in contemptuous words and actions, to My selfe
 My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, N
ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwayes encreasing
higher inflammation, impatient of any mitigation
straint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those
which some men feared themselves and others
all; when indeed nothing was more to be feared
lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumults
confluxes of mean and rude people, who are
first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate
last to command and over-aw the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all
dome of differing in Votes, and debating
with reason and candour) must be taken away
these Tumults: By these must the Houses be
ged, and all rotten Members (as they please
count them) cast out: By these the obstinate
men resolved to discharge their Consciences
subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schi
ticall propofalls against Government Ecclesiasticall
Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevail.

Generally, who ever had most mind to bring
confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used
midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and imp
ence was such, that they would not stay the ripe
and season of Counsels, or faire production of
in the order, gravitie, and deliberateneffe befitting
Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelties
and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their
vitors and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their
rages, that no sober man could be without an infinite
shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and
nived at by some, countenanced, incouraged, and
plauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he
 desired, for the Publick good, then obtaine it
 by such unlawfull and irreligious meanes? But mens
 Opinions and Gods directions seldome agree; vio-
 lent designs and motions must have suitable en-
 couragements, such as too much attend their owne ends,
 seldom confine themselves to Gods meanes. Force
 must crowd in, what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chiefe Demagogues and Patrones
 of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden
 them, to direct and turne their clamorous importu-
 nities, some men yet living are too conscious to pre-
 sume ignorance: God in his due time will let these
 know that those were no fit meanes to be used for at-
 taining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage,
 when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Mul-
 titudes to become insolent, when they have Men of
 great reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudnesse most formidable,
 was, That many Complaints being made, and Messages
 sent by My selfe and some of both Houses; yet no
 order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour
 or efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that
 now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no
 inconvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed
 to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused;
 while they knew their onely securitie consisted in
 their flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or
 of the two Houses common safety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impar-
 tially to examine, censure, and punish the knowne
 Offenders, and impudent Incendiaries, who boast-

ed of the influence they had, and used to come
those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have bin wiser Statesmen
owned them as friends, commending their Courage,
Zeale, and Industrie; which to sober men could be
no better than that of the Devil, who goes about
ing whom he may deceive, and devoure.

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, the
Declaration from the Bishops, who were first for
insolenced & assaulted; nor yet from other Lords
Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My selfe,
take place, for the due repression of these Tumults
and securing not onely Our freedome in Parliament
but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought
selfe not bound by My presence, to provoke the
higher boldnesse & contempts; I hoped by My
drawing to give time, both for the ebbing of
tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degree
of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity
for any man for popular terrors to desert his post
station. But I think it a hardinesse, beyond true valour
for a wise man to set himself against the breaking
a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent
danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend
ry & gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly
a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantage
for number and place in the field, in an orderly
than skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed, that I meditated
Warre, (when I went from White-hall onely to
deem My Person and Conscience from violence)
knowes, I did not then think of a Warre. Nor will
prudent man conceive, that I would by so many

nor, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My selfe, if I had purposed to engage in a Warre, which to decline by all means, I denied My selfe in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, nor protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our selves from the dayly baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not be so high, as to worry & teare those in pieces, whom yet they but played with in their paws? God, who My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my House at White-hall, if I could have had but any reasonable fair quarter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but did not think My selfe bound to prostitute the Majesty of my Place and Person, the safetie of my Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their rudenesse and petulancie.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guiltie) Time and the illit of many hath so smothered up, and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the just venger of all disorders, will in time make these men, and that City, see their sin in the glasse of their punishment: 'Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, state full and free, the Members of both houses being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reason, honor, & Religion, they should have bin; I doubt not but things would have bin so carryed, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to heare reason in all this
and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend
but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations,
so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian
concourses to Publick Councels, turning all into
orders and fordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I
this Parliament to any other place in England
(might opportunely enough have done) the sad
sequences in all likelyhood, with Gods blessing
might have beene prevented. A Parliament
have beene welcome in any place; no place affords
such confluence of various and vitious humours
that where it was unhappily convened. But we
leave all to God, who orders our disorders,
magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies
and miseries are most discovered.

*But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence
thou I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of
Sea, and the madnesse of the People.*

*The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in
me, and are ready to overwhelm me.*

*I look upon my finnes, and the sins of my People
(which are the tumults of our souls against thee
O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations
which thou permittest to overbear all the banks of
holty, modesty, Lawes, Justice and Religion.*

*But thou that gatheredst the waters into one
and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst
swage the flood which drowned the world, by the
of thy power, Rebuke these beasts of the people
deliver me from the rudenesse and strivings of
multitude.*

Restore we beseech thee unto us, the freedoms of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionate to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes men and Christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of Order and Counsell.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions, by Reason; to our errors, by Truth; to our seditions, by Lawes duly executed; and to our schismes by Charity, that we may be as thy Jerusalem, a City at unity in it self.

This grant, O my God in thy good time for Iesus Christ his sake, Amen.

Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

That the World might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other design but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly passed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physicke, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head, or prevailing; especially if

the remedy proved not a disease beyond all reme

I conceived, this Parliament would find work convenient recesses, for the first three yeares ; I did not imagine, that some men would thereby occasioned more work then they found to doe, doing so much as they found well done to hands. Such is some mens activitie, that they needs make work rather then want it ; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then doe nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scantie to satisfy some mens feares, and compasse publique affaires, periwaded to grant that BILL, of Sitting during pleasure of the Houses ; which amounted in mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this liament. By this Act of highest confidence, I thought for ever to shut out, and lock the doore upon all past Jealousies, and future mistakes : I confesse, not thereby intend to shut My selfe out of doore, as some men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparalell'd by any of my decessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence that My Subjects would not make ill use of authority by which I declared so much to trust them, as to lay My selfe in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it just, or fit, that My condition should be worse, by My bettering it. Nor indeed would it have been so in the eyes of some men had knowne as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of the good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving it in their due execution and vigour, wherein My

more than any mans, since by those laws, My rights
a King would be reserved no less than My Subjects;
which is all I desired. More than the law gives Me I
could not have, and lesse the meanest subject should
have.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repen-
ted Me of that settling Act; & many would needs per-
suade Me, I had cause so to do: but I could not easily
or suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Hon-
our, That the more I granted them, the lesse I should
have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My self un-
diminished by My largest concessions, if by them I
might gaine and confirme the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despaire, but that God will
bless Me with increase of it, when Men shall have
more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassi-
onate representations they may reflect upon those, (as
I thinke) not more princely than friendly contributi-
ons, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their
happinesse, who are now onely miserable in this,
that some mens ambition will not give them leave to
enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the loy-
& cleared affections of My people will strive to re-
turne such retributions of honor & love to Me, or My
posterity, as may fully compensate both the Acts of
My confidence & My sufferings for them; which (God
knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short, oc-
casioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could
not grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that
being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular pi-
ety and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men
will needs load Me withall, as if I were a wil-
full

full and resolved Occasioner of My owne and Subjects miseries ; while (as they confidently, (God knowes) falsly divulge) I repining at the blishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by and open hostility to undoe what by My R^{assent} I had done. Sure it had argued a very flight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in so farre to bind my owne hands at their request, had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knowes, though I had then a sense of Injuries ; yet such, as to thinke them worth venging by a Warre : I was not then compelled since, to injure my selfe by their not using favour with the same candour wherewith they were preferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse Acts of Grace, and to turne them into wantonnesse, but I thought at length their owne feares, which black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them downe againe.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified by the love of the meaner sort of the People, that they could not have given My Enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincipled Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settied by an Act of Parliament?

God knowes, I longed for nothing more than that My selfe, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sinne, as well as Hazard, and dishonour for Me to goe about the

g up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately
anted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects con-
nt, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If some
en had not feared where no feare was, whose se-
rity consisted in scaring others.

I thanke God, I know so well the sincerity and up-
htnesse of My owne Heart, in passing that great
L L, which exceeded the very thoughts of former
nes; that although I may seeme lesse a Polititian
men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions
fore God. Nor had I any reservations in My own
ule, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I
y that My letting some men go up to the Pinnacle
the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me
owne head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it
se, together with Me, could not but be dashed in
eces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended:
hom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at
aght, That as many Kingdoms as the Devill shew-
our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could
at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the
aining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dis-
nour, which hazards a Soule worth more Worlds
hen this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made
to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to
their owne passions, either to doe much evill them-
selves, or abuse the over-much goodnesse of others,
hereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate
and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act,
ce I have no reflections upon it as a sin of my will,
though an error of too charitable a Judgement:
Onely

Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be
because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) do I still appeal, whose
governing Justice sees through all the disguises of
pretensions, and deceitfull darkneses of their hearts.

Thou gavest us a heart to grant much to My
jects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer
from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the
sing of ours, even when we hope to doe what may
most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pro-
ved they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy Grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well
frustratings, as the fulfallings of My best hopes
most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I
raised Mine owne; and by settling them, have
settled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good
barred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, be thou my Pilot in this darke and
gerous storme, which neither admits My returne
Port whence I set out, nor My making any other
shat safety and honour which I designed.

'Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love
silence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to pro-
tect me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of those
which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon
to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of great
dulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others worthy
sy then My Selfe may be of misusing those more
great ones, which thou, O Lord hast conferred.

I beseech thee give me and them such repentance, as
 thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may receive.
 Make me so far happy as to make a right use of others
 miseries and by their failings of me, to reflect with a re-
 viving displeasure, upon my offences against Thee.
 So, although by my sins I am by other mens sins de-
 void of thy temporall blessings yet I may be happy to
 enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the
 poorest sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. Upon His Majesties retirement from
 Westminster.

With what unwillingnesse I withdrew from
 Westminster let them judge, who, unprovided
 with tackling, and victuall, are forced by Sea to a
 storme; yet better do so, then venture splitting or
 sinking on a Lee shore.
 I stayed at Whitehall, til I was driven away by shame
 more than fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those
 tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse
 to demand any thing, and not leave either My self or
 the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Rea-
 son, and Conscience to deny them any thing.
 Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone,
 though chiefly Mine. For the Lords and Commons
 might be content to be over-voted by the major part
 of their Houses, when they had used each their own
 freedome. Whole agreeing Votes were not by any
 Law or Reason conclusive to My Judgement; nor
 can they include, or carry with them My consent,
 whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I
 further bound to agree with the Votes of both
 Houses, then I see them agree with the will of
 God, with My just Rights, as a KING, and the
 gene-

generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: If some mens Hydropick insatiablenesse had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they dranke; whom no Fountaine of Royall bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell; when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to what ever tumultuary patronies shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall Sovereignty of his Soule, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor doe I think My Kingdomes so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denyed Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me only to God, so farre as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Tittle of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience; in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crowne of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what

what ever its Subjects Parliament shall require, as some men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voyce as King, they are not ashamed to seeke to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever My selfe, as King, or the House of Peeres with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I thinke My Oath fully discharged in that poynt, by My Governing onely by such Lawes, as My People with the House of Peeres have Chosen, and My selfe have consented to. I shall never thinke My selfe conscientiously tied to goe as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man that must be subje to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His owne Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of error, opinion, activenesse, weaknesse or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obtinancy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My mind;) yet can no man thinke it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenesse, and importunate obtrusions

ons of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appeare to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Proposals. I may, in the Truth and Uprightnesse of My heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that might with good Conscience consent to them: yet in many things, where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience or poynnt of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My selfe, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good before what I saw but convenient for My selfe.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My selfe to be Master; but in what concerne Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crowne, together with the generall good of My King

Kingdomes; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me;) here I am and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in my Conscience I deny before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of thorns with My Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, & oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills & passions. I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, than to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O my God preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; for this I believe is thy will that we should maintain: who though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us and so farre to de y our carnall reason in order to thy sacred Mysteries and commands, that we should believe: and obey rather than dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Justice; and to declare our contents to that onely which our Iudgements approve.

C

Thou

Thou knowest O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and where the affaires of my Kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can wittnesse how far I have beene content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my conscience be against thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of my own duty in Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they presse upon me, rather then commit the least sinne against my Conscience.

Let the just liberties of my people be (as well thou may) preserved in fair, and equall wayes, without the slavery of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions, and designs, which me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: so that I serve thee in the truth and uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice, for thou know, will bring me at last to peace and happiness with thee, though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

7. *Vpon the Queenes departure, and absence
out of England.*

Although I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandall of that necessity which drives Her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects that have taken up arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same tragedy which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here: I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant Profession) may occasion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firme to their former settled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady should be any occasion of Her danger and affliction;

whose merits would have served her for a Protection among the savage *Indians*; while their rudenesse and barbarity knowes not so perfectly to hate an Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet thinke few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her selfe. The fault is, that she is My Wife.

All Justice then as well as affection command Me, to study her Security, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to be tossed, weather beaten, and ship-wrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of My Personall dangers, that I can perish but halfe, if she be preserved: In whose memory, and hopeful Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should be satiated with My blood.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and is lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for a relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pity so noble and peacefull a Soule should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of Justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make

her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights: and assure the envious world, that she loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since We doe not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar; for We see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most selfe-punishing sinne, the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of Our owne Houshold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their sinne to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corruption of Religion; and can lesse endure to see, than to sinne against their benefactors as well as their soveraignes.

But even that policy of My enemies is so farre veniall, as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of My Kingdomes; left by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their Love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My owne Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My selfe.

Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to chastise us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us to earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

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

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

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our Soules eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be knowne, nor unbelieve, or disobedience to what we know be our miserie or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have Her to learn, nor any hardning of Her in any error thou wouldst have cleared to Her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine; cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in our severings and Eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy selfe, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. *Vpon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.*

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the losse of My Kingdomes.

God knowes, it affected Me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more with patience: But I fore-saw they could hardly containe themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after to over-spread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers; That bad actions must alway be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun than not carryed on; for they thinke the retrench more dangerous than the assault, and hate repentance more than perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearely through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smother than oyle, but not I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to beare what I could not remedie. And in this (I thanke God) I had the better. *He have*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignitie of his carriage, I doe or say any thing, unbecoming My self, or unsuitable to that temper; which, in greatest injuries, I thinke best becomes a Christian, as comming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Christian, than a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhorre, the charitie of the other is willing to beare; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive: Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more than his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice full impression on our soules, which otherwayes cannot reach very farre, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but observe, how God not after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear

to owne it as a notable stroke, and prediction of di-
vine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreat-
ned, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation
of Mine, onely blasted with the Conscience of his
owne wickednesse, and falling from one inconstancy
to another, not long after paies his owne and his
elder Sonnes Heads, as forfeitures of their disloyal-
ty, to those men, from whom surely he might have
expected another reward than thus to divide their
Heads from their Bodies, whose hearts with them
were divided from their KING.

Nor is it strange, that they who imployed them
at first in so high a service, and so successfull to
them, should not finde mercy enough to forgive
Him, who had so much premerited of them : For,
Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most
unpardonable sinne.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turne, the
cutting off one Head in a Family is not enough to
expiate the affront done to the Common-weale. The
eldest Sonne must be involved in the punishment, as
he was infected with the sinne of the Father, against
the Father of his Country : Root and Branch God
cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy :
God knowes, I was so farre from rejoycing in the
Hotham's ruine, (though it were such as was able
to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught,
being executed by them who first employed him
against Me) that I so farre pitied him, as I thought
he at first acted more against the light of his Con-
science, than I hope other men doe in the same
Cause.

For,

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious fowrenesse, which some men pretend to, matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgment, that they cannot see any thing of Sinne and Rebellion in those meanes they use, with intents to reforme to their Models what they call Religion who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but glitt with a shew of zeale and fervencie.

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

That which makes me more pitie him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards repentance for his sinne, and reparation of his duties to Me, He should be so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I thinke Clemencie a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it; since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and prayses.

Poore Gentleman, hee is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyaltie, teaching the world, by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatall and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more

fire infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though certaine, that no punishment so stains a mans honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which, besides the conscience of the sinne, brands with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way engaged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it; as his death hath satisfied the injuries did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sinne against thee.

Thou, indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to returne on his owne head, and his violent dealing to come downe on his owne pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine owne hands; but men may know it was thy works, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I doe not, I dare not say, So let mine enemies perish, O Lord! yea, Lord, rather give them repentance; pardon, and impunitie, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who beare most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Nor lay not their sinnes (who yet live) to their charge

change for condemnation, but to their consciences for mendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be terror to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not to have done amisse, and scare them from their sinne, the sin of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the throne of thy Servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let thy Crowne ever flourish in righteousness, and peace, blessing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love even we which were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

9 Upon the listing and raising Armies against the King.

I Find, that I am at the same point and posture I was when they forced Me to leave White-hall: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which but Tumults listed and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace and
blin

ing Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancie, as to spare him more than man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquillitie.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, they confesse their owne weaknesse, as to Truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive, for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice, for a King that loves his people, and desires their love, either to kill his owne Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazzards and miseries of Civill Warre in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdome, the fruits I must now reape, after 17 yeares living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some misarrriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others, envying the publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, than any recompensitie, I hope of my selfe, either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent blood, during my Reigne, have I shed, to satisfie My Lust, Anger, or Covetousnesse? What

What Widowes or Orphans teares can witness against me ; the just cry of which must now be answered with My own blood? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vaine is My Person excepted by a Parentage of words, when so many hands are armed against with Swords.

God knowes how much I have studied, to what ground of Justice is alledged for this Warre against Me ; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soone end so unnaturall a contention, which (to many men) seemes rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonnesse of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition, Faction, (which easily finde, or make causes of quarrell) then any reall obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My owne Conscience, however some men are not willing to believe Me, lest they should condemne themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to what if I could allay the insolencie of the Tumults, (not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted but onely to oppresse both Mine and the Houses freedome of declaring and Voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, That what seemed just to one man, might not seeme so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their tryall, (warned by My Lord of *Strafords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appeare, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with libertie and safetie; it cannot seeme strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults over-borne the Freedom and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so deare to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himselfe, or denie appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be overaw'd with the Tumults, and their Patroness; not compelled to abet by their suffrages, or presence; the designs of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancie and cautiousnesse; further then this,

this, I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safetie, Fullnesse, and Freedome.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in faire and Parliamentarie wayes by free deliberations, and Votes to gaine the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves, by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults, to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrarie mindes to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peeres, carryed for them by farre the major part of Lords: Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuarious instigations obtruded againe, and by a few carryed when most of the Peeres were forced to abiection themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuarious Clamours, and schismaticall Terrours, which never passed, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice and Religion, My Conscience forbids Me, by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazzard My Owne, and My Kingdomes ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, that cannot doe God and the Church a greater service than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical

and anciently Universall Government of the Church
by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to
maintaine, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing
of it; mine much more; who, besides the grounds
I have in my judgement, have also a most strict and
indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve
that Order, and the Right of the Church; to which,
most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-be-
seeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my
Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely
greater misery, than any hath, or can befall me; in
as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it
than the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their
Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this poynt, with
my Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Go-
vernment, and Revenues, to the fury of their co-
vetousnesse, ambition; and revenge, I believe they
would then have found no colourable necessity
of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delin-
quents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bi-
shops out of the House of Peeres, was done with a
firme perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer
a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour, for
my sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confi-
dent they would readily yield unto, rather than occa-
sion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dan-
gers to me, or to my Kingdome. That I cannot adde
my consent to the totall extirpation of that Govern-
ment (which I have often offered to all fit regulati-
ons) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience,
as what I thinke Religious and Apostolicall; and
so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed
D with,

with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to members of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice, and Authoritie of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew not of such consequence as was worth speaking of in Warre, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My Owne and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquency was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from the defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so farre from preventing them, that they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injury (of first assaulting them) that God knowes, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults beene Honourably and effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that the Members of either House might with Honour and Freedom, becomming such a Senate, have considered and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained that I designed by My withdrawing, and had returned more willingly, and speedily returned than I retired, this being My necessity driving, the other My choice desiring.

But some men knew I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carry with Me

which

which would never fit their designes : and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it : especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents : when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drove My selfe, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequel so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them ; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time proponnded were either impertinent as to any ground of a Warre, or easily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentiall, & accessory, after the Warre was by them unjustly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that

all equality and clearenesse of Judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affaires betweene us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My Conscience, (who witnesseth) (God knowes) as far from meditating a Warre, as I was in the eye of the World from having any preparations for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this Warre on My side, I doe not think My Innocency any way prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse My Prayer to Him.

For thou, O Lord, seeest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs: thou judgest without prejudice: thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerring Judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and their assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without cause.

For thou knowest, I had no passion, designe or preparation to embroil my Kingdomes in a Civill Warre, whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I run adventure more then any, and could gain least of all by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have explored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally wasteful of My Subjects blood, as to venture My owne

which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy Warre; and which were better spent to save, than to destroy my People.

O Lord; I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own Innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miserable Warre; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloody and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked counsels.

Save O Lord thy Servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in Warre.

Arise O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travailed with iniquity, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgement and to make Me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choyce and desire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) than into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against

thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy Me
then thou shouldst damne me.

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save
the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie My Enemies
or quench the flames of my Kingdomes, or thy Temple
call Iustice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be
shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of me, though their King, yet
a sinner, be washed with the blood of my Innocent and
peace-maker Redeemer; for in that thy Iustice will
find not onely a temporary expiation, but an eternall
plenary satisfaction; both for my sinnes, and the sinnes
of my People; whom I beseech thee still own for
thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death
O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and
forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what
they do.

10. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazine
Forts, Navie, and Militia.

How untruly I am charged with the first raising
of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre;
the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyall hearts
that durst onely pray for me, at first might witness
which yet appear not so many on My side, as there
were men in Arms listed against Me; My unpre-
parednesse for a Warre, may well dis-hearten those
that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My
unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for Me
that I am set on the defensive part; having
little hopes or power to offend others, that
have

have none to defend my selfe, or to preserve what is mine owne from their procepcion.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before hand in their preparations against me, and surprisalls of my strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for me; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I beleieve my Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a Warre against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefeſt Armes left Me, were those lonely, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the *Militia*, is so farre best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast my selfe into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Carriers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thanke God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieves Me, I am above my owne, what I want in the hands of

Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take, to resolve their riddle of making Me glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power. Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and Terror to my Enemies, being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to Me the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, without any realitie of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Richard's* Tombe, by a magnetique Charme, betwene the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aerie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now feel wholly to devoure, will ere long make the Commonwealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their feares, and importunities, both to secure My Friends, and overcome My Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My selfe of a sole power to helpe, or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no less than the Crowne) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall thinke fit, during My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them, Me, and to live above all Jealousies of them, as My selfe; I desire not to be safer than I wish them, and My People; if I had the sole actuall disposi-

of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further than they protected Me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My selfe so farre, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evill merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from Me, and imployed against Me and them; that neither can be safe: if both be not in such a way as the Law hath intrusted the publique safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to some men; which seeme to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to posteritie such Jealousies of the Crowne, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yield to such a totall alienation of that Power from them, which Civilitie and Dutie (no lesse than Justice and Honour) should have forbidden them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipse My own beames, to satisfie their feares; who thinke they must needs be scorched, or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested Me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sunne of Sovereigntie to all

all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just coverie of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law they be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a thousand eyes to the people to have more eyes to fore-see; so they will finde it hath more mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrous face than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as there are senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darknesse and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that Body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefeest light from Me) they will at length more esteeme and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Sunnes light.

And if at present I may seeme, by My receding much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Mithra*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworne for My Peoples protection; conceive those men are guiltie of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seeme) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects, by exposing My selfe to danger or dishonour, for their safetie and quiet.

Which, in the Conflicts of Civill Warre and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good Conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens feares; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safetie, than that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weake defences against the stroakes of Divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Consciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For My selfe, I doe not thinke that I can want any thing which providentiall necessitie is pleased to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or libertie the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himselfe can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by Land, of Forts and Castles, all flight by Sea, in my Ships and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob Me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Me of my owne innocencie, or Gods mercie, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me than can be against me.

There

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I de-
in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou my
that all to me: Make hast to succour me thou that
er failest them, that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that co-
against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pro-
tence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may ha-
rbine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperi-
behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou
wilt have me; whose Judgements oft begin with
own children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou may-
be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved
the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me
the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord
Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on ev-
side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear what
man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance
from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sinnes have I fought against thee, and re-
bed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject, and just-
mayest thou by my own Subjects, strip me of my
strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and onely refuge
Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him
his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps
slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that avest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

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

Although there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set. My owne safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot thinke I buy at too deare a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to Me, have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; the rest (I thinke) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a Warre; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making Warre upon My Soule.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange

change of Honour; or any requitall for those favours I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Me, to put Me on the winning part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but referre to my selfe the incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, where losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seeme unreasonable to me; and while I have any Masterie of my Reason, how can they thinke I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, wound that inward quiet of my Conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me than my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet Honour and Policie are at some time to be denied some men, lest he should seeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde my selfe to a generall and implicit content, to what ever they shall desire, or propound (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a multitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by His owne Subjects; any of whom

he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistines* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denyall, seems an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reason to Consent or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereigne King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extream injury to confine My Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aimes may be, and their qualities are? which last, God and the Lawes have sufficiently distinguished, making me their Sovereign, and them My Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason, who

who hath not a secret aime to share with him, usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine owne discretion; that might verifie what representations some have made of Me to the World, that I am fitter to be the Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my owne sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my selfe, as brutishly to submit to any mens states, & at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soule, and the Majesty of my own Crowne to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of the men, who will not admit or doe refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these pounders are; so that, till experience of one few yeares hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reines of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My owne, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehonadab* and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Probus*; God divert the *Omen*, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons tends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had bin desired to a restauration of their vigor & due execution; or some evill customs preterlegall, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by My selfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crowne being considered by them, might fairely induce me to condescend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind Me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Law disjoynted, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartial Information to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty or difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; also Abolition of the Lawes against them, and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Right they have a mind to invade.

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

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are prone to long for.)

This casts me into not an admiration, but an exaspation, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgement free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destruction.

destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in farre the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever betweene the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soone renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or iniquity, or credulity (beleeving that all is Gold, which is gilded with shewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawne into the common sewer or streame of the present Vogue and humour; which hath its chiefe rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My Judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the se-

cond should prevaile against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further than I see cause for I look not at their number and power so much as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and follow those Men, who hunt after Faction and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgement tell Me, that the Propositions sent to Me were the Results of the major part of the votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as that have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then respect My owne Judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to thinke, there are wise men among them: and humility to thinke, that as in some things I may want; so 'tis fit I should take their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatnesse and inerrability as to exclude My selfe; since none of them hath that power to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence necessary in all natures productions) they cannot bring forth, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdom, which makes the Lawes.

But the unreasonablenesse of some Propositions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in the major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two last famous Predecessours dayes, heaved at, and sometimes threatened both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am sure it was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobilitie and Gentry of this Kingdome, however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practise, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countreies; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Me, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety, both of Church & State, command Me, to chew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, that nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing,

which my Reason and Conscience commands me not

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion persuade me to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People, but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease and oppress the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, as I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou fast and eternall Reason, whose wisdom fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, furnish with clear discoveries of Truth. Reason and Justice in my understanding; then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, oppressions of my Enemies may ever enforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be less than a man; and not dare to say, Yea or Nay, as I please; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blamable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice they deny that freedom to me: their King

which thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals, which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions:

Let thy glorie be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy truth, for thy honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own soules salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crossnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing, or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the Publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud

the publick of what is best, by any morose or perver dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow the advice, when it appears to be for the publick good, whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blasphemous fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemn Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick, either for woe, or weal.

The lesse others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing, yet Lord never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my Conscience whereof thou O Lord only art deservedly more Master than my self.

12. Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in Ireland

THe Commotions in Ireland were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first, either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie advantage to some mens malice against me ; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my Charge, this loudie opportunitie should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed ; Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being so full of sinne against God, disloyaltie to my selfe, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men tooke it very ill, not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privitie (at least) if not by my Commission : But these knew too well, that it is no newes for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission, but against my Command, and Person too ; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authoritie, and for my Safetie.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the grearer, by how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, than those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Dutie toward me, I must beare the blame ; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent tryalls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsitie and contempt, with the Cup of my Affliction ; Charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse, and dishonour, by what is committed ; whereby (in all Policie, Reason, and Religion, having

having least cause to give the least consent, and my grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous : Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drinke, but the flesh and bloud of my owne Subjects ; in whose common welfare my interest lyes as much as some mens doth in their perturbations : who think they cannot doe worse but in evill times, nor so cunningly, as in laying the odium of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carryed before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland* ; where despaire being added to their former discontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to breake out to all exorbitant violence. both by some Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of libertie ; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeale, and uncharitable furie of some men, who thinke it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their owne.

God knowes, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion ; so might wash them in my Teares, as to the sad apprehension

ensions I had, to see it spread so farre, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their owne safetie, or designs they were driving, than to the reliefe of those, who were every day inhumaneiy butchered in *Ireland*: Whose teares and bloud might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, repressed and smothered those sparkes of Civill Dissentions, and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had beene lesse affected with *Ireland*s sad estate than my selfe; I offered to goe my selfe in Person upon that expedition: But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any Mark here lesse than my selfe; or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been so great, nor the calamitie so long, nor the remedie so desperate.

So that, next to the sinne of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be: who either hindred the speedie suppressing of it by Domestick dissentions, or diverted the Aides, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the knowne Heads, and chiefe Incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men, women, and children; without any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their owne breasts, in behalfe of those, whose oppressive feares, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecillitie for
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Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift a hand against them, nor distinguish between the right hand and their left : Which preposterous, and (I thinke) un-evangelicall Zeale is too like that the rebuked Disciples, who would goe no lower than their revenge, than to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few ; like that of *Jacobs* sonnes, which the Father both blessed and cursed : chusing rather to use all extremities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacies, than to apply moderate remedies ; such as might punish some with exemplarie Justice, yet disarm others with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and our protection of them, from the furie of those, who would soone drowne them, if they refused to swim downe the popular streame with them.

But some kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnesse ; and had rather be cruell than counted cold, and is not seldome more greedie to kill the Beare for his skin, than for any harme he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, than the charitie of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poore Protestants in *Ireland* (who were dayly massacred and over-borne with numbers of now desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here ; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chiefe of the Protestant partie there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probabilitie (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped : God knowes with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that businesse, by persons of Honour and

and Integritie, that so I might neither incourage the Rebels insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessitie and difficultie of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer againe in my Reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfulls of the Protestants there.

I thought that in all reason, the gayning of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safetie; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have layd *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and layd aside those violent motions, which were here carryed on by those, that had better skill to let bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulitie in men to what is false, and evill, than love or charitie to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeale to his omniscience, who doth not therefore denie my Innocence, because he is pleased so farre to trie my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to looke to my owne Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust, as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoake, or sparkes doe out of a fornace; much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction; who
conscious

conscious to their owne depth of wickednesse, and loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but be the one, I shall not much regard to beare the other.

I thanke God I can heare with patience, as be as my worst enemies can falsely say. And I hope shall still doe better than they deserve, or desire should.

I beleieve it will at last appeare, that they who first began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, I thinke) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhausted out of my owne veines; no more being so much weakned by it, as my selfe; And hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never will yet the mercy of God will at length say to his Justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Warres to sheath it self: his mercifull justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure, the abatement of our finnes, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once againe, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practised in charity, thou hast suffered a Spirit of Error

Error and bitterneſſe of mutnall and mortall hatred
to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctiſie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſinnes have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our Conſciences, as they are represented in the glaſſe of thy Judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy Judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes be ever more grievous to us than thy Judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent Conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drowne our ſinnes, and through the red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make Me ſhare in all My Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire on their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell zeal hath kindled or hindred the quenching of theſe flames which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdomes.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.

And

And lead those in the wayes of thy saving Truth whose ignorance or errorrs have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they under an opinion, That they doe thee good service

Let the hand of thy Justice be against those maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruell and desperate Warres.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious. Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor their anger which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the fury of thy severe Justice a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deal with Me not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my heart in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavored the preventing & composing these bloody distractions; then let thy hand be against me and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse mine integrity, which thou O Lord, knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies, spare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

3. *Vpon the Calling in of the Scots, and their
Comming.*

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not
onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and
bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but
also speciall and late obligations of favours, having
ratified the active Spirits among them so farre,
that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that
Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But,
to see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to
make, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and
gratitude.

My Charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to
reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be
sore from letting any mans ingratitude, or incon-
sistency, make Me repent of what I granted them, for
the publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*,
with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to
their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unrea-
sonable, as they would have thought the same mea-
sure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had,
besides those common and vulgar flourishes for
(Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirme the
Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this
Church to write after them, though it were in
cloudy Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justi-
fy the use of such violent meanes, before the di-
vine Justice; I leave to their Consciences to judge,
F who

who have already felt the miserie of the meanes, be not reaped the benefit of the end, neither in the Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of graine being objected here, as will hardly suffer that forme which they cry up, as the onely just Reformation, and settling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to run so smoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland* and was by them imagined would have done *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagement to Episcopacy: and faced about to their Presbiterie.

It cannot but seeme either passion, or some self-seeking, more than true Zeale, and pious Discretion for any Forraigne State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfullly then commendably; considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That which kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church which gentler applications then those of an Army might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword as to polish them by faire and equall disputation among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their designe now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a faire and quall one: For, it was concluded there, that

English Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* patterne before ever they could be heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than by Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gained most on mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be urged, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath bene applyed, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemnes Mens obstinacy to deserve penal-

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and comformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soone renounce both their former opinion and practise, solely because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as Sheepe into the Common Fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I beleieve it would be hard to move that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdomes, without My consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chiefe Governours of States, where they lived, is very cleare in the Gospell; but that or they ever commanded to set up such a parity Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I thinke is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christ's blood; whose effusion runs in a streame so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient standing of their owne blood, not violent drawing ther mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which the *Scots* are vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point which those *Scots* had by Army or Commission to move Me with, by their many Solemne obsecrations, and pious threatnings, but onely this; to present to Me the wonderfull necessity of settling their Presbytery in *England*, to avoyd the future miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on that designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders, that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and terme, set up their waies by the like methods of licence? all which Presbytery seekes to suppress, and render odious under those names; when wise
leat

learned men thinke, that nothing hath more markes
 of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian
 way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall
 way of the Church Government, and especially as to
 the particular Lawes and Constitutions of this Eng-
 lish Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like
 to be for Me, till I see more Rationall and Religi-
 ous motives then Souldiers use to carry in their
 Knapfacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who
 hath many wayes (having first taken us off from the
 folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to
 teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable
 Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to
 Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I thinke
 My selfe so much the more bound in Conscience to
 attend, with the most judicious Zeale and care, by
 how much I esteeme the Church above the State,
 the glory of Christ above mine Owne; and the sal-
 vation of mens Soules above the preservation of their
 Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I thinke, without sinne and
 presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches
 under My care and tuition, into the molds they have
 fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they
 have first gained My consent, and resolved both My
 owne and other mens Consciences by the strength of
 their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly,
 Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or set-
 tle My Religion; nor any mans else, who knowes
 what Religion meanes: And how far it is removed
 from all Faction, whose proper engine is force; the
 arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much
 lesse

lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions ; especially those, that have some temptation of gaine, to recompence the losses and hazzards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to Me ; then I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance ; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation ; considering they were more competently furnished with My Subjects Armes and Ammunition ; My Navy by Sea, My Fortes Castles, and Cities by Land.

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

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in for their assistance ; others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out : what one Party thought to rivet to a settlednes by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes ; at once, despising the Kirk Government, and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more than charitable assistance : For sure the Church of *England* might have

have purchased at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed Government and discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines in Christendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods Justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the filmes and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; In vain do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those considerations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despair of their return; when besides the bonds of nature and conscience which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply my self to God.

The Troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord; bring thou me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those

who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

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

Thou O Lord, canst turn the heart of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyall zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagerneesse pursue Him.

Preserve the love of thy truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affection returning towards Me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebb and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

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

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without cause; let them be turned back that persecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve me, for I wait on thee O Lord

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

14. Upon the Covenant.

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

Where many engines of Religious and faire presentations

tentions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacie ; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with some other Imps purpósely added , to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by solemne a Charme and Exorcisme be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand yeares possession here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in this Island , and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times, till this last Centurie.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it ; Presbyterie, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough , and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chayre and Authoritie (though Lay-men goe away with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England* ; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland*, by the like Artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My selfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the designe and drift touching the Discipline and government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, than swearing for, or against those things, which are of no cleare morall necessitie; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men : whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certaintie in ones self, or that charitie & candor to others of different opinion, as I thinke Religion requires, which never refuses faire and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must need in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former Religious and Legall Engagements bound sufficiently to all necessary Duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was lately taken, to maintaine the Religion established in the Church of *England*: since they account Discipline to great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never thinke they have lay snares and ginnes enow to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for by such politick and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keepe the popularitie fast to their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Where certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Lawes, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without the consent, and without any like power or presidence from Gods or mans Lawes, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall bonds of dutie, which lie upon all My Subjects Consciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall lesse offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wayes; since I have the charity to thinke, that the chiefe end of the Covenant was such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in puritie, and the Kingdomes in peace: To other than such ends, and meanes, they cannot thinke themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touch

of conscience endeavour to carry on the best designs, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and unauthorized novelties, before their known and sworne duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this Judgement, That such later Vowes, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which by just and lawfull Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, that they are the common road, used in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled or sacred in Religion, and Lawes, which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps, and lesse sensible degrees, from their known rule, and wonted practise to comply with the humours of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holy combinations.

Which cords and wythes wil hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts up-

upon him; either superfluous and vaine, when they were sufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessarie obligations.

Indeed, such illegall wayes seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants, in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any excuses of it, though diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not the Chiefe Designe which is layd against the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Partie; so little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all pietie and loyalty: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God:*

for,

for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within these lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely, it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, Myself, or the Pubick Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and

and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right Reason, convinced to be amisse, I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequelle of some mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights, than the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deere, must be destroyed; the other Rascall-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sayls, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factionous men steere their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thanke God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne, with My Consent) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's Divinitie, and *Joseph's* true Pietie abhorred to doe: so unjust I think it, both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the Red Sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteemes it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had. rather live as my Predecessor *Henry* the third sometime did, on the Churches Almes, than violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouthes.

The next worke will be *Jeroboam's* Reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough knowne: And so it will be here, when from the Tuition of Kings and Queenes, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have alreadie discovered, what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I thinke it no lesse than a mocking and
tempting

tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our owne power, it being every mans sinne not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as there would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be necessary to either.

To thee O Lord, do I adresse my prayer beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispenfible bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, nor to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be Religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not Sacrilegious designs, to have the countenance of Religious ties

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjuries, and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy Countie hath given us, and

thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning, and Religion.

Though my Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and my Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations, lest a coal from thine altar, set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience, as will never be quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so idlerall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore, That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnessse, and the poore may be satisfie d with bread.

Let not holy things be given to swine; nor the Churches bread to dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsells which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboths vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouthes, rottennesse to their names, a snare to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

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

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed

together against the Church and State that the
of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no
ther.

But so favour My righteous dealing O Lord,
in the mercies of Thee, the most High, I may not
miscarry.

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

IF I had not My owne Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of Malice, which Falsties seeke to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilities come short of these Designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but they may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, while I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of the to an Eternity of love and gratitude of Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My Peoples Love Me: that undermining their opinion and value Me, My Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter downe the Loyalty.

Where

Wherein yet I thanke God, the detriment of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the sinne and danger of My Peoples Soules, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspitions, they are soone mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions; wherein they doe not onely, not consider their sinne and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then feare God most, when they least honour their KING.

I thanke God, I never found but My pity was above my anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors more than their owne malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against my supposed Errors, not my Person; and intended to mend me, not to end me: and I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intencions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared me, both to doe him better service, and my people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeeme them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intencions.

I am too conicious to my owne Affections toward the generality of my people, to suspect theirs to me; nor shall the malice of my Enemies ever be able

to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spitefulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more than my self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, than this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently fore-see that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased than allayed.

I had rather prevent My Peoples ruine than Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happinesse; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereigne.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die

die many deaths, than shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray My own just Rights and Sovereignty ; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justify the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of disloyalty,

As Liars need have good Memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions ; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy ; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew:

My Patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, than My leisure to answer the many false aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects satisfaction, than My own Vindication ; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authours to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared Consciences, which will I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false scandalls, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them ; whose credit and reputation even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and

inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and where in they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; for this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall to part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me which were both learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, where in some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, than forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so Religious pretentions were used against Me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, or what they call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them, looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not mine down as false.

I Thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me and my People.

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I shall ever, by Gods help persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists which were my Subjects any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they employed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, that differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the samenesse of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second they ow to me in Common, as their KING; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades)

take away the communities of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an Ogle or medley of various Religions in the World again as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to the necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to helpe Me to defend My selfe.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aide of any His Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Protestours; who seeme to have learned, and to practice the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it hath beene a very impertinent and unreasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have beene then disputing the points of different beleefes in My Subjects when was disputed with by Swords points: and when needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse than their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Counsellours was another usefull devise for those, who were impatient any mens counsells but their owne, should be followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsell that they would not give Me leave to take it with Freedome, as a Man; or Honour as a King; making their counsells more like a drench that must be powred downe, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errors and frailties

ties My selfe, or My Counsellours : They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even weldred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsellors, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My selfe any inclination to use; I could not so soone have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a Chaos of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done ; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complaine, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse ; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men ; who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My selfe, but of a Zeale to releeve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy ; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefits of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar ; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather than to be relieved, than be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crowne of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designs, was, The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, than unapt to beare in the popular sense; which is to doe what every man liketh best.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men should and to doe what they ſo will, according to Reason Lawes; and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy my ſelfe; So farre am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted me ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to helpe on the enſlaving of themſelves and their Poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes than the Lawes allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeekes an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt informe my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiousneſſe againſt, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feele at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which yet;

yet, I will rather perish, than complaine to those, who want nothing to compleat the mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In poynt of true conscientious tenderneffe (attended with humility and meeknesse, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seekes to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire my Lawes and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereignty, which is the onely King of mens Consciences; and yet He hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men liberty to breake the Law established, further than with meekenesse and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publike Peace.

The truth is, some men thirst after Novelties, others despaire to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods Providence, as well as their owne merits) were the secret (but principall) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have beene perswaded to expend much of those plentyfull estates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and my selfe exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object, so my reputation shall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedom

in

in the night and darker times) rise and recover it to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall bright shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear, For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffered to be tryed in the furnace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will do Me good, for some mens hard, false and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations flie up and down to all places on like flames) than those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evill of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honoured with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God, should not Honour their KING.

They will easily contemne such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veiles be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the emanations of true glory and Majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and my dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among Lions, among them that are set on fire. Even the Sons of Men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are made against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace lest my Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhorre both the blood-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure my patience. That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldest not suffer Shimei's tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on David he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil.

evil-speaking by well doing; and let them not enjoy the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids patience, and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercy, through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sinne.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke as my humble prayer thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be offered; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the approach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. Vpon the Ordinance against the Common Prayer-Booke.

IT is no newes to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety must needs undo what ever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Noveltyes, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the Divine Majesty)

gesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent) but wholly cashiered and abolished, & after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Lawes in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

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

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholesome words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy as I hold
this

this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Formes of Prayer, since he prayes to the same God, beleeves in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reades the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same dayly wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sence; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our dayly bread*.

Some men, I heare, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their owne invention, and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemne the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of men's abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expressions, in Publique Prayer, or any sacred administration, merits and greater brand of sinne, than that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary varietie; and very fervently devout

devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and devotion, than unpremeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite juttle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Booke were, who may in all reason be thought to have more of Gifts and Graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such Formes of Prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, informe the Hearers understanding, to stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their Spirit (wherein consists the very Life and Soule of Prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have, which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectation, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusions, flatnesse, levity, obscurity, vaine, and ridiculous repetitions, the senselesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, doe sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be stranegly impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite

shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church after so ridiculous and indeed so profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall administrations and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publick composition; or else they must every time affect new expressions, when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiency, not to want (many times) much of that completeness, order, and gravity, becoming those duties, which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans several manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composition.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feeble, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects shall be discovered in more errors, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and alter those innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion

tion forbids at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juggle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-Booke; or refusing to use it, cryed out of the rigour of Lawes and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirits as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (so slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penalty any to use the Common-Prayer-Book publicly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, than such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; & whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains; when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes short of the others, but their modesty and warning, far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned & sober debates, it being convinced by the evidence of Reason,

as well as Lawes, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some faction of people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their number and estate but for their weighty and judicious piety, than there are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found in the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own forms, instead of praying for Me.

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

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and of constancy; Thou deniest not a new and fresh supply of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed petitions joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not wane the benefit of thy Churches use, and well-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy Spirituall presence

Things are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

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

And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errors, and deformed with antecencies in thy services, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of Truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

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

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.

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

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

TOUCHING the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath

hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restraints the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so farre the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, being (as KING) intrusted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

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

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My Judgment is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the couetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens
wits

wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to serve their turnes, to whom the charge was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all his Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed. by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in Reason or Charity be supposed, that all Churches in the World should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soone deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That since the first Age, for fifteene hundred yeares not one Example can be produced of any settled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practise agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are set downe in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the settling of that Government; not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of welbeing, than the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops Power and Authority, as to over-see both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and

Apostolicall constitution: which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the setting of a peculiar Office Power & Authority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline, than those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and communality of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*,) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over large divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Church stile appropriated from its common notion (of a *Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall dignity which had an extraordinary call, mission gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until use, (the great arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, the (honour of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those

who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) than are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine and clear testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traitors, and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon my judgment was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed Me; who cannot in point of wordly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and my dearest

est relations with My Kingdomes, have sustained a hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture the best rule, and the Churches Universall practice the best Commentary, but also in right reason, the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly subordination among Presbyters, Ministers should be any more against Christianity than it is in all secular and Civill Government, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, than good features are without beauty, or numbers without harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders and a Prelacie in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers, who have so much of the principles of schisme and division, as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and enjoyed in those times which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man by the joint Counsell and consent of many Presbyters I have offered

ferred to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to any one man; also to avoid Tyranny which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason, and Religion, than such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the difference in some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, than commendeth for their conformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why

why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conforme to those rather than to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in the Christian World, are many more than Presbyterians or Independants can pretend to be; whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes late governed by Bishops, would equalize (I thinke) not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many doe in some points) the to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian World (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-Government; whom though you may convince their Errours in some point of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat the Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolicall: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks, (except those Arians) have strayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and commission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconsistency is a great prejudice against their novelty; cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning and integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did on that they did confirme contrary to the

their Consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who before the point of Church-Government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, against their obedience to the Lawes in force, and against My Consent, have not onely quite cryed downe the Government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-Lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the streame of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army comming into England.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertion of Episcopacy will appear the greatest Enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest, for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectually, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy, all Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, betweene the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see, what a poore carcasle they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefes; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion

tion without passion might easily reforme, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons, which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I looke upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of charity, and hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measures of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meannesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed, My good intention made My error veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vicious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which

which makes all Ministers equall; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My Judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knowes) I doe not gratifie any designe or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Christian World, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seeke to force Me their K I N G and Sovereigne, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of My judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I doe, That the Church should be governed as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude, when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation in the City or Country; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches well being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure that the purest Primitive and best Churches

Churches flourished under Episcopacy ; and many still, if ignorance, superstition; avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not blowne up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reason or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some men zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on the worke to eate up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteeme) to Me is no lesse sinne than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets ; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a Cup of cold Water, as a libation offered to himselfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnessse of the Function, as Antichristians, (which some men boldly but weakly calumniate) I could soone, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being dayly by the best disquisition of truth more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of the Church to which I am Sworn ; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to commit notorious and combined sinnes, of Sacriledge and Perjury? besides the many personall Injustices I must doe to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hood.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to consent to whatsoever they shal propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender of their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade Me That I must, and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds (Me agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My Oath should be valid in that part, which both my self and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall and essentiall liberty of our souls, yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think My self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and sacrilegious cruelty, torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civill dissensions; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give My consent; yet should I by so doing satisfie the divided Interests and opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Seats* in

point of Church-Government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms ; For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here ; nor I (in that respect) strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in this; for what I thinke in My judgement best, I may not thinke so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and sinne, I can easily acknowledge it ; but that is no argument to do so againe, or much worse. I being now more convinced in that point : nor indeed hath My yeelding to them beene so happy and successfull, as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be biaased, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion ; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gaine the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Church (whose Paternes are so cryed up, and obtruded on the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, Workes of Piety or Charity have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me beleeve either Presbytery or Independancy have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires, and interest of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, purity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence to be over-born againſt my Conſcience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in pureſt and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy, which ſeeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion. Make me as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pity or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of My ſelf, yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.

Preserve from sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Beare, and subtil Foxes, to wast and deform thy Vineyards, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whose errors I would rather with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meeknesse than expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Then, O Lord, seeſt how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church, make no long tarrying O my God to deliver both Me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose Counsells have brought forth and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God of order and of truth, in thy good time abate the malice, aswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies,

That I, and all that love thy Church, may set praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. *Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and other offers made by the King.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

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

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to present them with Expresses of My desires, and even opportunities to Treat: It being an office, not one-ly of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The Events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhance with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: all that I sought to reserve was, *Mine Honour,* and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy compofure ; had others applied themfelves to it with the fame moderation as I did, I am confident the Warre had then ended.

I was willing to condefcend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Confcience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences fo effentiall to My Peoples happineffe, or of fuch confequence ; as in the lea kind to have hindred My Subjects either fecurity, or profperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before ever thofe demands were made, fome of which to deny, I thinke the greateft Juftice to my felfe, and favour to my Subjects.

I fee, Jealoufies are not fo eafily allayed, as they are raifed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, muft be made up in pertinacy. Such had little to enjoy in peace, or to lofe in war, ftudious to render the very name of *Peace* odious and fufpected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaft liberty of preference, having fo many ftrict ties of Confcience upon me ; yet I was willing to condefcend fo farre in the settling of them, as might have given faire fatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetoufneffe, fuperftition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might feeme to advance true piety; I only fought to continue what was neceffary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government ; and what I am perfwaded (as I have elfewhere fet downe My thoughts more fully) is moft agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raifed to its full ftate

and perfection, as also to the primitive Apostolicall patterne, and the practise of the Universall Church conforme thereto.

For which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part from Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens Factionous humours.

God knowes, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-successefulnesse of that Treaty, and who must beare the guilt of after calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before G O D, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to My people, than the preservation of my owne Crownes to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire Condescendings, as Arguments of feeblenesse, & glory most in an unflexible stiffenesse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to aske something, which in reason & honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Me destroy my selfe by dishonourable concessions, that so they might have the lesse to doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the World see, how little I would deny,

deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique Peace. That it gave occasion to some mens further resistence, is imputable to their owne depraved temper, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set Me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any signe of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather than to be drawne to produce our owne reasons or subscribe to others mens.

That which made Me for the most part presage the succesfulnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treate: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonable they were loath to have fairely scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sinnes justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers,

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to bee reconciled with thy selfe: who wantest not Power or Justice to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our
Redeemer

Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy selfe, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speake thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

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

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

Remove the evils of Warre we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker cannot merit.

19. Upon the various events of the Warre, Victories, and Defeats.

THe various Successes of this unhappy Warre, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation & thanks to own, & use his Power, who is onely the true Lord of Hosts; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other

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

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

There is no doubt, but personall and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of Mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) clearely and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring Obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flye to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence

fence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Lawes: first, by unexpressed Tumults; after, by lifted Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Lawes and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some Parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth, be applied onely to those who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was deare to them in This World; who having no advantageous Designs by any Innovation, were Religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church and My Selfe, which lay upon their Soules both for Obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crowne many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a meanes to save their Soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which, together with the Rectitude of their present

present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without Repentance, hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the field, but never I believe at the bar at Gods Tribunall, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter these many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict with, and accuse them in their own thoughts, than they otherwise were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life, than the most triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be dayly tormented with that horrid guile wherewith their suspicious or now convicted consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the World have seen how false and un-intended those pretentions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Lawes established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their country doth consist.

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

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be

be as faithfull to God and their owne soules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other,

Yet I cannot thinke, that any shews, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sence of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absalom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Lawes and Liberties of My People; which I saw were extreemly oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I beleeve at last would make all things to worke together for My good.

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

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for Victory over others, than over My selfe. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That,
by

by punishing our sinnes, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The Conscience of My Innocency forbad Me to fear a War, but the love of my Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

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

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denyed more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sins was, (no doubt) such as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sinnes unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries..

Peace it self is not desirable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and less against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and

and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, than all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and My Enemies by patience, which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety, thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most Reformed, that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore
and

and establish a firm and blessed Peace to my Kingdom.

Stirre up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, & such self-denial, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distraction, and the Union of a is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Lawfull, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the World can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwittingnesse and grief hath been shed by Me in My just and necessary defence, but wash me with that precious blood which hath been shed for me by my great Peace-maker Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeeme Me shortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but a moment,

20. Upon the Reformation of the Times.

NO Glory is more to be envied than that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour Me so farre, as to make Me an Instrument of so good a worke, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and

and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the freedome of Parliamēt was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes established, and the Religion settled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church, what novelties of Schismes and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confusions in sacred Administrations, what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Reuenges of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy, what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Me have followed (as showres doe warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses and (with My selfe) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury have beene allowed the reputation of Zeale and the Publique sense, so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councells and endeavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsells as they would have included the Votes of all, so 'tis like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of

Church Affaires, I dislike not further, than that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*, nor with freedom and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot thinke so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had beene left to the liberty of their owne suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, & fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and my consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light as in that point shines to My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so cleare and punctuall in precepts, there the Constant and Universall practise of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Prebytery what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order,

I think neither just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels, and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs; which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the monuments and inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, preaching, and other Offices, the setting forth also of old Catechismes and Confessions of faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrin of Faith in this Church before some four or five yeares consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformatiōs, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, than when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work to do Gods work, and not their own. Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought that the Government of this Church and State fixed by so many Lawes and long Customes, would not run into their new mould till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the images they should form and set up. If there had been as much of Christ's Spirit, of meeknesse, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, there was of his Name used in the pretensions, reform all to Christ's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private

and practise that on their own hearts which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformati-
ons to such private designs, as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Ci-
vill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced, by de-
pressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingre-
dients and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to
Fear God, is, Honour the King.

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

Christs Government will confirm mine, not over-
throw it, since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire
to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Govern-
ment, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they
could never have been so ill governed in their words
and actions, both against me and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor
will evill beginnings bring forth good conclusions,
unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light
out of Darknesse, Order out of Confusions, and
Peace out of passions.

*Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes,
and Truth for Hipocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably
deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Chri-
stian Reformings.*

*Our greatest deformities are within, make us the se-
verest Censurers, and first Reformers of our owne
Souls.*

That we may in cleannesse of judgement, and rightnesse of heart be means to reform what is indecencie in Church and State.

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

Pray the deformities, which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State.

Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions and confusions what is the pravity of some mens intentions and weaknesse of their judgements, so bring us at last more refined out of these fires by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse or sacriledge may have any influence upon their counsels whom thou providence in just and lawfull wayes (shalt entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work: that I am sure) My people may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

21. Upon His Majesties Letters, taken, and divulged.

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected; so they knew not how with Honour and Civility to use it Nor doe I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Noblenesse being

ing discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secrecie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since Providencce will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the World, without any of those dressed or popular captations which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses, I wish My Subjects had yet a cleare sight into My most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover how they are divided betweene the love and care I have, not more to preserve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extreame grieve to see both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion; Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavoured to avoid the pressures of My Enemies by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame Me or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppressed.

The World may see how soone mens designe, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or misinterpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish not hing more than an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to My own, than My Peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by those My Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affairs, so as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath should be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates, and directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellours.

Its probable, some men will now look upon Me as My own Councillour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves, not allowing Me to think their counsells to be other than good for Me, which have so long maintained a War against me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gaires the

the greatest esteem and applause; as adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vicious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectually to their designs as those, that most rout and waste my credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the laws & the Kingdomes Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; First I must seem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reigne; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods unerring and impartiall Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wills and designs of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think that by the surprize of my Letters. I have lost any more than so many Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their *King*, present, and after-times will judge, and I cannot thinke that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret im-

impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderneffe which *Noahs* Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seeke by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People: forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomlineffe; which, I thanke God, they did not; who can, and I beleeeve, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a *vile Person*, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affaires; make me to see the constancy of thy mercie to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give, the malice of my enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsell of Achitophel, turning it to Davids good, and his owne ruine: so canst thou defeat their Designs, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but

to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.

I must first appeal to thy omniscience, who canst witness with my integrity how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which My enemies by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined and displeasure they intended thereby against Me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud Mine Honour, to pervert My purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee, in honour or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and honour; thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency, for wisdom, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Vpon His Majesties leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.*

Although God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest My Head: Shewing Me that himselfe is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities, I looke not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast My selfe, and My now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Counsellour, and commands Me to study My safety by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began My troubles. Happily God may make them a meanes honourably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arme and overcome them: My rendering My Person to Them may engage their affections to Me, who have often professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the World see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soule to God, and My selfe; nor shall any necessities compell Me to desert Mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgement.

What

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them a shamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend my selfe; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have Adhered to me, and apply to those that have Opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse solicitous for my Friends safety, than mine own; chusing to venture my selfe upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairely to give over, than to contest in vaine.

I must now study to re-inforce my Judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion; that I may not seeme to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Armes, to have perswaded my consent to their new demands.

I thanke God no successe, darkens or disguises Truth to me; and I shall no lesse conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never thinke
my

my self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never think my self lesse than my self while I am able thus to preserve the integritie of my Conscience, the onely Jewell now left me which is worth keeping.

O thou Sovereigne of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of battell, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire to enlighten and direct me, in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of a cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a shield.

Thou knowest that it is not any perversnesse of Will, but just perswasions of Honour, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, peace and Safety against Those that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompany me, in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousness, and shew me thy salvation.

Make

*Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt
make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.*

23 *Vpon the Scots delivering the King to the
English ; and His Captivity at Holmeby.*

YET may I justifie those *Scots* to all the World in
this, that they have not deceived me; for I never
trusted to them further than to men: if I am sold by
them, I am onely sorry they should doe it; and that
My price should be so much above My Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will
have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix
Me on himselfe; who never faileth them that trust
in him; Though the Reeds of *Egypt* breake under
the hand of him that leanes on them: yet the Rock
of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods Providence commands Me to retire from all
to himselfe, that in him I may enjoy My self, which I
lose, while I let out My hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now re-
duced, gives Me leisure enough to study the Worlds
vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children,
Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly
his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Un-
fortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious,
and sacrilegious Princes.

No restraint shall ensnare My Soule in sinne; nor
gaine that of Me, which may make My Enemies more
solent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accused.

They have no great Cause to triumph, that they
have got My Person into their power; since My Soule
is

is still My owne : nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evill Counsellours with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their Obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish Me; not more a King, and farre lesse both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be My snare; nor shall the love of any liberty entangle My Soule: Better others betray Me, than My selfe; and that the price of My Liberty should be my Conscience: the greatest injuries my Enemies seeke to inflict upon me, cannot be without my owne Consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted: nor what to require more of me but this. That I would seeme willing to help them to destroy My selfe and Mine.

Although they should destroy Me, yet they shall have no cause to despise Me.

Neither liberty nor life are so deare to me, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honour of my Crown, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Lawes will by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by my consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thralldome,

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them, happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would enslave them, I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitnde hath not left me alone.

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

Owne me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complaine for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with Reason, as a Man, with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet presorve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy selfe; and which, cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over my passion to any impatience, or sordid feares

There be many say of Me, There is no help for Me: doe thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon Me, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor Majesty.

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

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my Enemies prevaile too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorne to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

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

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be over-past.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the wayle and shadow of death, yet shall I feare none ill.

24. Vpon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all ther civill comforts and secular Attendance, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their

learn

learning, piety, and prayers, I hope to be either better enabled to sustaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time : so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thrones, and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

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

The solitude they have confined Me unto adds the Wildernesse to My temptations ; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had beene no wonder to have beene denied in those things, where the evill policy of men forbids all just restitution, least they should confesse an injurious usurpation : But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplaines, seems a greater rigour and barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors : whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel ; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine : and such I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seeke to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sence Charity it self can hardly pick out to those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that

Request so often made for the attencance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannesse of those denialls might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians; who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting those wounds upon Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotionall compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from Me, or in jealousy of Me, or in opposition against Me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutual Love & Charity.

Some remedies are worse than the disease, & some comforters more miserable than misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies:

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred Function that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more
to

to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandfomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, than their own ungratefull errorrs, and that injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mans prayers, than to be forced, or seeme to comply with those petitions; to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble, and judicious gravity, as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his own Vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers that sound imperiously, or rudely and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick forms of Prayer as are fitted to the Churches, and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private

private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main, and most necessary requisites both in constant and occasionall, solitary, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equall minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of my owne Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one I have been alwayes educated and exercised; in the other I am not yet Catechised, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule, and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Vae soli* than to that of *Vae vobis, Hypocrite*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers sufficient of my selfe to discharge my duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices Regall and Sacerdotal might well become the same Person; as ancient they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, If I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and

Crowns,

Crowns, than one was for devout Psalmes; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any one of those the Roman Emperours, affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome and providence hath, for the most part alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to find my self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Sovereignty; would no lesse enforce me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergy the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own or other mens; by how much they flow, from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those which are encombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designaed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soule is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self, and its services to God, every private believer is a King and a Priest, invested with the honor of a royall Priesthood.

yet, as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest, and I thinke, more pious Principles: the conscioussnesse to My spirituall defects makes me more prize and desire those pious asistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me, especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousy and offence to deny me, than this of having some meanes afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them but onely this, That they may seem too able and too well affected toward me & my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief & impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and children; since from these indeed more of humane & temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation, (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instructor.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct My now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darknesse, and quicken My dulnesse.

O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme My heart, instructing of Me and interceding for me: In thee is all fulnesse: From thee all-sufficiencie: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

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

O looke on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociate Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, pre-
serve,

serve and encrease the holy fire of thy graces, on the altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and increase of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse encline thine ear to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it wil not hear; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from that communion of inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, canst at once make me thy Temple, thy priest thy sacrifice, and thine Altar, while from an humble heart I (alone) dayly offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned reares my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies, and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruse faile the Widow during the time of drought and dearth. O

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken; let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail My memory, nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholesome food for the refreshing of my soul

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands, who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting than teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for thy subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King and their God.

O let not those mens balms break my head, nor their Cordialls oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy Servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the Kings solitude at Holmeby.

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

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; neverthelesse thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou O Lord shouldst be extream to marke what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is Mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sinnes before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, & my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

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

I come farre short of Davids piety; yet since I may equall Davids afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

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

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

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

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleved to see thy goodnesse in the Land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions,

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

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

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still: Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house: as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

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

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor Thou the Glory of my Patience.

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

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee: so heare and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes: in continuing the light of thy Gospell, and settling thy true Religion among Us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Warres.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keepe me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoylings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my Soule praise thee, and magnifie thy Name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me than my Crown; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdomes with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever owe as the righfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of my Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me againe with peace, safety, and honour to my chiefest Citie, and Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hands to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all meanes in the wayes of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all feares, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward Me and mines, as My Resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy Name.

May My People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

26. Upon the Armies Surprisall of the King at Holmeby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man, who onely seekes to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a King cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Parry where he appears.

This

This motion, like others of the Times, seemes excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted : Better swim downe such a streame, than in vaine to strive against it.

These are but struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder ; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seeke to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of Union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder ; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *Omen* ; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition, only with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the peoples liberties, cannot be utterly against the liberty of their King ; what they demand for their own Consciencs, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuious, than the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Lawes, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without My Consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service in
that

that they carry on a businesse or such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timorous to carry on a designe they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and City: which soone after acting over againe that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrours & distractions. No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their owne Army for new tumults. So hardly can men be content with one sin but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see Me & many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, or defend themselves against them. But who can unfold the riddle of some mens Justice? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the tumults, were counted Desertors, & outed of their places in Parliament. Such as stay'd then, & enjoy'd the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the only Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, & Forsakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly against the tumults, & vindicate themselves by an Army: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as abettors of tumultuary insolencies, & betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where Men looke more to present Advantages,

than their Consciences, and the uncharitable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abbettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregvably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Lawes cannot, God will punish, by their owne crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wished so well to the Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them doe, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them only scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking. I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despaire of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I looke, as Christ did sometimes over *jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and reares. with compassionate grieve, fore-seeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindness frequently attending and punishing willfull, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrowes who would not timely repent of their sinnes; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their

their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becomming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keepe ill men in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gaine a faire period for these motions which go rather in a round and circle of fan-
sie, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law; the onely center of publike consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the knowne Lawes, than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, soone grows weary, of it selfe, and ends in a refractory sul-
lennesse: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so fatte excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I thinke it necessary, in order to the Publike Peace, that they should be satisfied, as farre as is just; no man being more prone to consider than My Selfe: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so farre esteeme that valour and gallantry they have sometimes shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine My Selfe, My Lawes, and My Kingdomes in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

*But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a
sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom Thy
Justice hath divided.*

Deliver me from the strivings of my People, and make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of my Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Lawes.

Make me willing to goe whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me such even as thou wouldst have me, & at I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, for their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things, which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the cleare convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against me.

Their sins exposing them to thy justice, their riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine

Let me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon, and My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who tho lesse they weep for Me, the more cause they have to weepe for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucific me.

But thou, O Lord canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercy, than of mans cruelty or thy owne Justice.

27. To the Prince of Wales.

Sonne, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience, and my most impartiall thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may be so far usefull unto You, as to state Your Judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give You some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come,

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I find My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self, and useful to You; that neither you, nor any other may hereafter measure My Cause by the Success; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and some Others whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes; that You have begun and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in Winter, than in warmth and serenity of times, or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*; the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdome; the other softened by the unparalleled prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adversity like cold weather drives away.

I had rather You should be *Charles le Bon*, than *le Grand*, good than great; I hope God hath designed You to be both, having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shal place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereigne disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty you can attain to; is, to be subject to him that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the publick peace.

Piety will make you prosperous, at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which centre of true happinesse, God I (trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already wel-grounded and settled in your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England* in which you have been

been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your souls than your Kingdomes Peace when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience. they cry out Zeal.

So that, unlesse in this point You be well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroy you & yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seems even to worst men, as the best & most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the novelty which is taking enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the

Church

Church well settled; your partiall adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others; who think themselves, and their profession first despised then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie you are undone. The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect lesse of loyalty justice or humanity than from those, who engage into religious rebellion; Their interest is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march; not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the poplacy; you may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esaus's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years, so compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master, till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes: and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profit & preferences,

ments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have engrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectually suppressing Errours and Schismes, which seem at first but as a hand breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done Justice to God, your own soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of Civill Justice, wherein the settled Lawes of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty, and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as slaves; whose Subjection as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes, to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worse than Legall Tyranny.

In these two points the preservation of established Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdoms have nothing else to object against Me but this, that I prefer Religion and Laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, & ever shal, til I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, & Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in My soul, what is I believe right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and safety, that in Reason, Honour and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church and My People, and to you also, as the next undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You, is, that you seriously consider the former, reall or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that you may avoid them.

never

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own Judgement, which is likely alwayes to be more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next beware of exasperating any Factions by the the crossenesse and asperity of some mens passions, humours or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and Suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutours, who are commonly assisted with that vulgar commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intollerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye and impartiall hand distribute favours and rewards to all men as you find them for their reall goodnes both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best

best and most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of vertue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards. I have You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists-

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretentions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: as the Wolf is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any designs, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety, and vertue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations, of Religion; so You shall neither feare any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodnesse) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

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When these mountaines of congealed factions shall by the Sun-shine of Gods Mercy, and the Splendour of Your vertues be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurpe power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose owne sinne and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Lawes; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwayes propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice,

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in his grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Er-

ours, and our injuries, will feele in their owne Soules most vehement motives to repentance ; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duell with any Subject : so the noblenesse of Your mind must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscions You shall be to Your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them ; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages : You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You ; both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Lawes have assigned to Us ; and no Subjects without any high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of ; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your owne honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if you never see My face againe, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a looke with Me ; I doe require and intreat you as your Father, and KING, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

Itell You, I have tried it, and after much search, & many disputes, have concluded it to the be best in the World; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way betweene the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of fantastique Anarchy.

None but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Goverment in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily beene done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *ENGLAND*, is easily Answered to them, or Your owne thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late war against the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *ENGLAND*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Piety, both of them are to be *knowne by their fruits*; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution with Freedome and honour, will never inſure or diminifh your greatneſſe, but will rather be interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary expreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) ſince the publick intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, ſafe, and Honourable wayes to contribute their counſells in common, enacting all things by publick conſent; without tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſerve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of ſolſome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever reſtored to Our right, but God in his ſevereſt juſtice will puniſh my ſubjects with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give you and me that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want, as well as wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or joying upon ſordid diſhonourable, or irreligious ſchemes.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of your honour will conſiſt in

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Your

Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a meanes to blesse Me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor; or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your Wisdome, Justice, Piety, and Valour, of what the folly and weaknesse of some men have so farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State, to the Crowne, and Nobility, the Clergy or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me, (as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deserted Me, or engaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horror will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary Judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty

toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I beleeve You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that Loyalty and Love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe You performe, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects; (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sinne and their infelicity.*

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, & Your Honour in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My Memory ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that loves you: and once KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter & Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore Me

to My Rights. I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of my Peoples love and pity.

At worst I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell till We meet, if not on Earth yet in Heaven.

28. Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in Carisbrooke-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons, and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the space, but mans cruelty, that gives me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God my prosperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipse which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudie dayes.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thanke
God

God the common terrours of it are dispelled, and the speciall horror of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysenous, though sharp; since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the Antidote of his death against them, which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorne, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear

Indeed I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a Judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old as to be weary of life, nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die; or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die: if I did not consider, That is the greatest glory of a Christian life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overcome our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives,

Though, as a KING I think my self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love & good will of My People; for which as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have uttered all the poison of falsity and violence of hostility to

destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of wearinesse of life, and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body, and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher. or lower: whose totall absence is best recompenced with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samsons* Lion, but they yield much sweetnesse to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man is certain; that I may die King by the hand of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death; in the strength of My years in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectatours; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me living
dying

dying, & dead is so probable in humane Reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty: however I despair, not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall: whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in a suddennesse of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruell) will, it may be seek to adde (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse against me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man to endeavour my preservation, must pretend justice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign, wherein those who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding my blood seeme to wash their own hands of that in-

innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I beleeve in their owne consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slaine.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My self with the Church & State by My Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever thinke, that Kingdome of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall blood of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My innocency will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*; who build it with the bones and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselves; the injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Theire impatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, shall make them thinke no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded My Cause; not suffering them to goe unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up Death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension,

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not only the Honor to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness sake*, (though the obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further than to convince them, what need they have of Christs bloud to wash their Soules from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seems to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactor of what they please to call Justice; while

while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by My danger, and the security of their lives and designs by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperitie, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death are embued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian towards his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whose mercy I believe, will more than infinitely recompence whatever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending My death will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadows of My earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdome with himself.

For the censures of the world, I know the sharp & necessary tyranny of My Destroyers, will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against Me; I am perswaded, I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who doe not onely pity

pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

These know how to excuse My failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King: there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more than sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the Publick, the enjoyment of which private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe of softer tempers, and lesse advantages by My ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill dealings against Me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope so long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in My peace, which I trust is made with God; before whose exact Tribunall I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causlesse Enemies: where I doubt not but his righteous Judgement will confute their fallacy who from worldly

Wordly succeſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely cleare, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good Conſcience) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſſe of my Conſcience before God, and toward my People will carry me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have liſted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not that many times thoſe undertakings of men are liſted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriousneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſigne. The proſperous winds which oft fills the ſayles of Pirats doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my enforced conſteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedome and Honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the Juſt Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, than if I had with the greateſt advantages, of ſucceſſe, over-borne them all, as ſome men have now evidently done whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more chearfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly liſted up againſt me.

And as to the laſt event I may ſeem to owe more

to my enemies, than my friends; while those will put a period to the sins & sorrows attending this miserable life wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour; it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, & the effect of others sins, as men, both against God & me; yet as I hope my own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophies of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them; than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storm themselves have

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soule with my Body: of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraint, denying me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged; than any way obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of Eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us, & the mercisfull Saviour of us in it, & from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee: than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my Soule, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither feare nor feele any evill, though I walke through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with Death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life. O

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life,

O be not farre from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest Me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from Me; but thou hast taught Me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I beleieve thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they losse their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my selfe, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my Mur-
therers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of
their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne
their owne Soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice
in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust
usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to
use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies
to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to
preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as blood-thirsty, and accit-
full men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compas-
sion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood O
sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Soules with the blood
of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over
them.

Though they thinke my Kingdoms on earth too lit-
tle to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the
capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last re-
ceive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the
same Redecmer, we shall live farre above these am-
bitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest up-
on me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and
eternall mercies.

That which is cut off of my life in this miserable
moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes
have seene thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

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In the time of His
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in the time of His Sufferings.*

A Prayer in time of Captivity.



Powerfull and Eternall God!
to whom nothing is so great,
that it may resist; or so small,
that it is contemned; look up-
on My Misericordie with thine eye
of Mercy, & let Thine infinite power vouch-
safe to limit out some proportion of deli-
verance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most
convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph
over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be
corrected; and make not My unjust enemies
the ministers of thy Justice: But yet My
God, if in Thy wisdom this be the aptest
chastisement for My unexcusable transgressi-
ons; if this ungratefull bondage be fittest
for My over-high desires; if the pride of my
(not enough humble) heart be thus to be
broken, O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and
cheerfully embrace what sorrow Thou wilt
have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me
crave of Thee, (Let my craving O Lord,
be accepted of, since it even proceeds from
Thee) that by Thy goodnesse, which is
O 2 Thy

Thyself, Thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majestie so to shine in My mind, that I, who in My greatest Afflictions acknowledge it My noblest Title to be Thy Creature, may still depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie be the exercise, but not the overthrow of My virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickednesse have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee; so that at the last I may come to thy eternall Kingdome, through the Merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Another Prayer.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon me, O Father, through the Mediation, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well pleased: for, of my self I am not worthy to stand before Thee.

Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternall God; for as in sinne I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavie displeasure: as for my sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to come; if Thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever,) and Thy compassion (which never fails,) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed: but with Thee there is mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wouldst not enter into judgement with thy servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the drosse of my naturall corruption; and as

thou doest adde dayes to My life, so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to adde repentance to my dayes, that when I have past this mortall life, I may be partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdome, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

*A Prayer and Confession, made in and for
the times of Affliction.*

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary dutie to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have most need, most reason so to do; no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou hast given me, adding likewise to the guilt of my transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship, to be set up in *Scotland*? and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom,

dome, forsaking the Distates of a right-informed Conscience ; Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies ; for I know my repentance weak, and my prayers faultie : Grant therefore mercifull Father, so to strengthen my repentance, and amend my prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time give me Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations, and a discerning spirit, to choose what is best for Thy Church, and People, which thou hast committed to my Charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father for thy Sonne Jesus Christs sake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though my sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free me from my present great danger ; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who

with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiplie, not diminish my transgressions to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all my sins, but also free me out of the hands, and protect me from the malice of my cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against my hainous offences will not otherwayes be satisfied, then by suffering me to fall under my present afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunitie, I do, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that my cause, as I am thy Vicegerent may not suffer through my weaknesse, or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudie Triall, that so my sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to my Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

A Copie of a Letter which was
sent from the Prince to the
KING; Dated from
the *Hague*, Jan. 23. 1648.

S I R,

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge
of your Majesties present condition, but such as I
receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncer-
tain) Report ; I have sent this Bearer Seamour
to wait upon your Majestie, and to bring me an
account of it : that I may withall assure your Ma-
jestie, I do not onely pray for your Majestie ac-
cording to my Dutie, but shall alwayes be ready to
do all which shall be in my power, to deserve the
blessing which I now humbly beg of your Maje-
stie upon

S I R,

Your Majesties

Hague,
Jan 23.
1648.

most humble and most

obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

The Supercription was thus,
For the King.

*A true Relation of the Kings
Speech to the Lady Elifabeth,
and the Duke of Glocester,
the day before His Death.*

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave his blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him; That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then said the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall not forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (upon which words the Child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charles* and *James* do live: For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them,) and

and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

*Another Relation from the Lady
Elizabeths own Hand.*

WHat the King said to me the 29th of January 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him. He told me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because He feared their Crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He should die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews Sermons, Hookers Ecclesiasticall Politie, and Bishop Lauds Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Poperie. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them

them also, and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother, That his thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send his Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His Blessing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own souls; And desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should die a Martyr; And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon his Son, and that We should be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elisabeth.

*Another Relation from the Lady
Elizabeth.*

THE KING said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told Him, that He heard that the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unlesse it redounded lawfully upon him: and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

Copia vera.

An

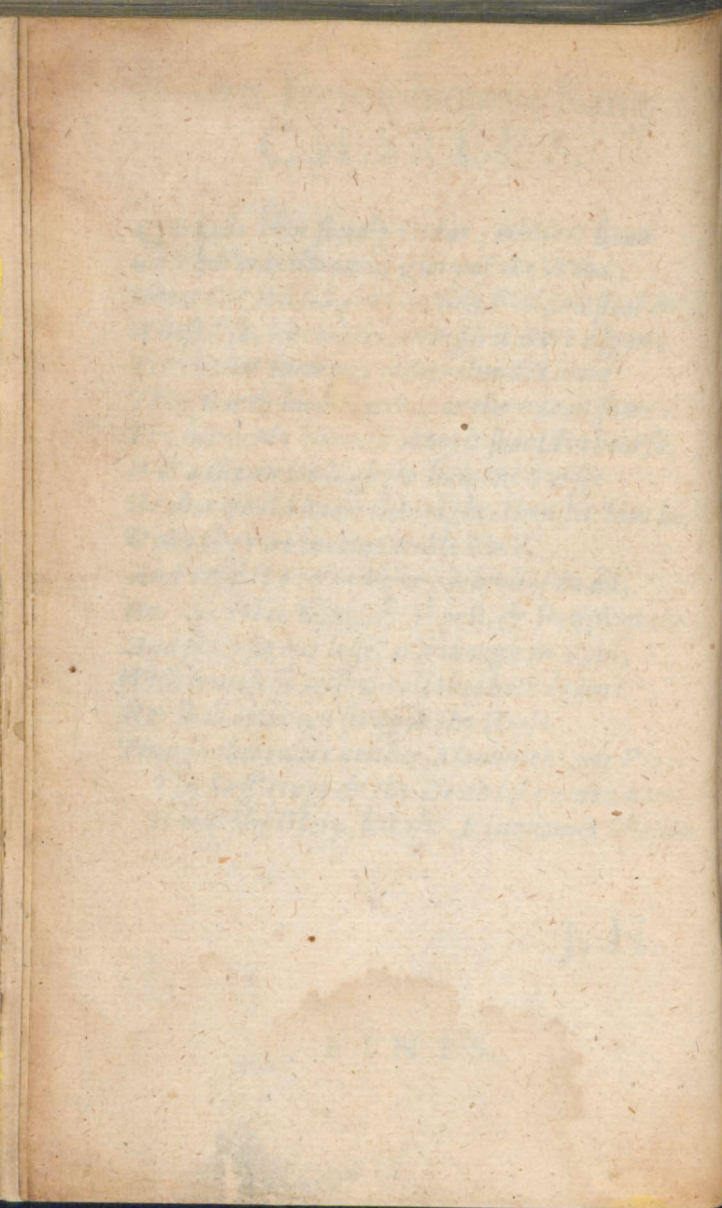
An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

*SO falls that stately Cedar ; while it stood
 That was the onely glory of the Wood ;
 Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, celestial Man
 Whose life, like others, though it were a span ;
 Yet in that span was comprehended more
 Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore :
 Thy heavenly virtues Angels should rehearse,
 It is a theme too high for humane Verse :
 He that would know thee right, then let him look
 Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
 And read it o're and o're : which if he do,
 Hee'l find thee King, & Priest, & Prophet too ;
 And sadly see our losse, and though in vain,
 With fruitlesse wishes call thee back again :
 Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse,
 Though there were neither Monument, nor Verse.
 Thy Suffrings & thy Death let no man name,
 It was thy Glory, but the Kingdomes Shame.*

J. H.

FINIS.

March 15



101.

