

AUTHOR: John Nalson

TITLE: A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice, for the Trial of K. Charles I.

DATE: 1684

[ESTC R5636](#)

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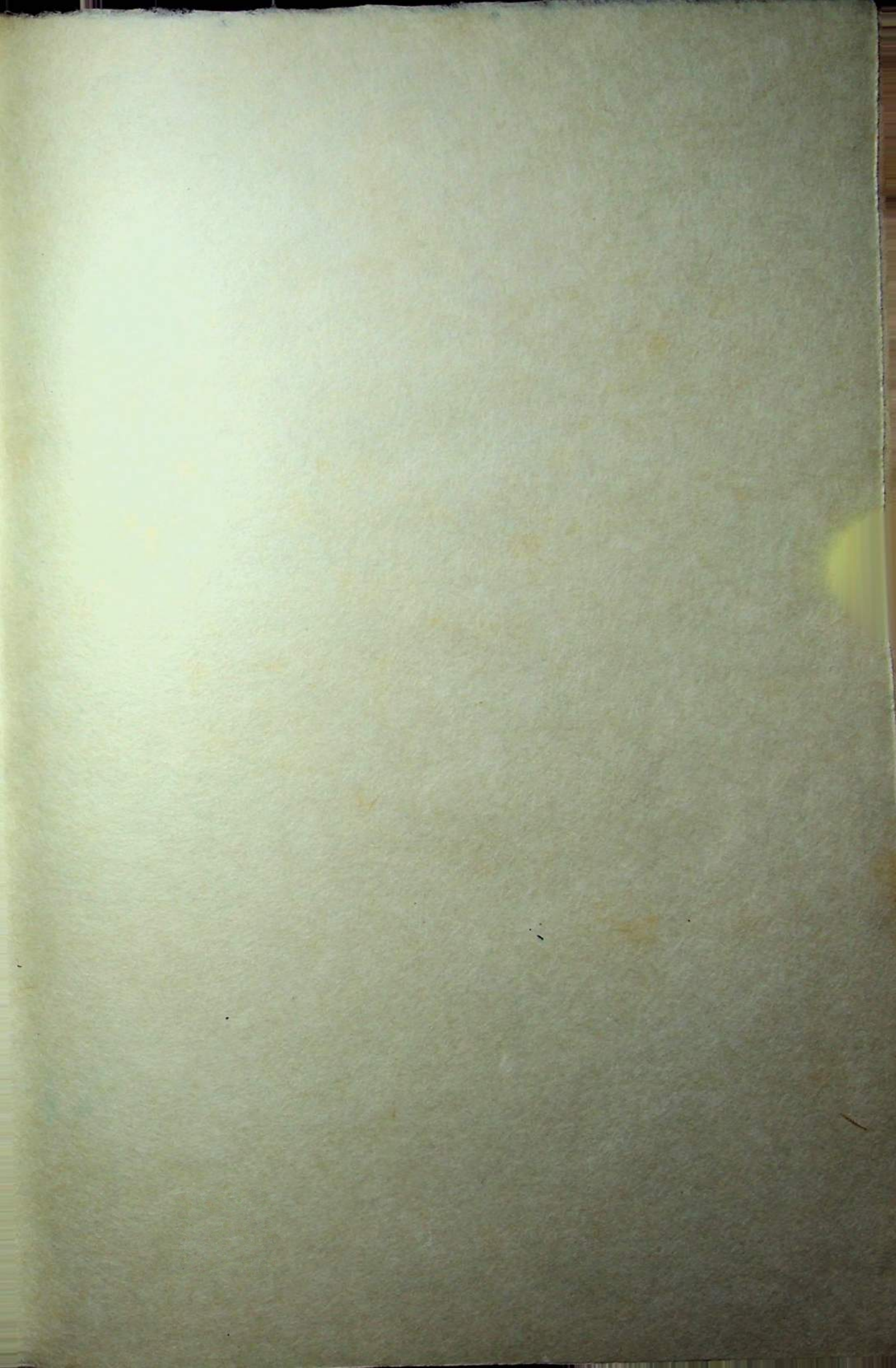
The text uses some early modern spellings & conventions. Use “f” instead of “s” to search for “long s” (ſ).

Examples: fhort = short kindneffe = kindnesse

Exceptions: capital “S” and word final “s” (Saul, fupprefes, Sicknefs)

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1840

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1841

John H. ...

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[illegible]

Not where the Boston Public Library

1871

There's nothing but aching in the night.

But having got the freedom of her Willing

[Faint, illegible handwriting]

20. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors of the City of New York, for the year 1901:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

They were first described by W. J. V. de Vries.

4 rings b'vins b'vins b'vins b'vins b'vins

Thus Superior Courts Relieve Laws

White Winged Anthon's Grounds Squirrels

... ..
... ..

1. I have much to say to you, whom I have loved.

110 self can tell, ask the Black Churchman.

Explanation of the FRONTPESPIECE.

SEE the sad Trophies of our Civil Wars,
 The fatal Period of Intestine Jars.
 Behold th' insulting Monster! with what Pride,
 Mounted on high, she does in Triumph ride?
 Whilst at her Feet three weeping Beauties lye,
 Three Nations doom'd t' Eternal Slavery.
 Unhappy *Albion*! she that was ere-while
Albion the Fair, the Free, the Fort'nate Isle,
 The Fear and Envy of all Foreign Lands,
 Now takes inglorious Shackles from her Hands.
 The Northern Thistle hangs her snowy Head,
 To see her * Maiden Castle ravished:
 Bleeding *Jerney's* ready to Expire,
 Her heart-strings broak, as well as tuneless Lyre.
 See where a Murder'd Monarch breathless lies!
 With her own Sword there wounded Justice dies.
 Lo! where the Pop'lar Darling Liberty,
 That aëry nothing Name does captive lye,
 Her Pinions clipt; her Finger lets you see
 There's nothing but Repenting Thought left free.
 So caged *Philomel* securely Sings,
 But having got the Freedom of her Wings,
 While to her Native Woods she clips away,
 Poor *Philomel* becomes the Faulcon's prey.
 So from the Fold and the slain Shepherd's Eye,
 Fond Flocks regain their desert Liberty;
 But in Exchange of Government and Laws,
 They meet their Death from Wolves devouring Jaws.
 More foolish, sure, and much more brutish Men,
 Once thus deceiv'd, to be deceiv'd again?
 Thus Scepters, Crowns, Religion, Justice, Laws,
 Became the Triumphs of the *Black Old Cause*,
 Whilst Wing'd Ambition, groundless Jealousie,
 Flaming Rebellion, Dismal Anarchy,
 To roll her hissing Wheels each Foaming strives;
 Needs must they go, whom such a *Jehu* drives!
 But would you know the End of this Carreer?
 He best can tell, ask the *Black Charioteer*.

* *Edinburgh's*
 Castle so
 called, till
 taken by O-
 liver Crom-
 wel.



A
TRUE COPY
OF THE
JOURNAL
OF
The High Court of Justice,
FOR THE
TRYAL
OF
K. CHARLES I.

As it was Read in the
House of Commons ,
AND
Attested under the hand of PHELPS,
Clerk to that Infamous Court.

Taken by J. NALSON, LL D. Jan. 4. 1683.

With a Large Introduction.

LONDON,

Printed by H. C. for Thomas Dring, at the Harrow at
the Corner of Chancery-Lane in Fleet-street, 1684.

TRUE COPY

JOURNAL

of the High Court of Justice

TRIAL

K. CHARLES I.

House of Commons

And
Arrested under the hand of PHILIP S.
Clerk to the House of Commons

Taken by J. WATSON M.D. Jan. 1683.

Printed by J. WATSON

LONDON

Printed by H. C. B. Thomas, at the House of
the Corner of Great Street, in 1684.

TO THE READER.

THere is one thing which I thought my self obliged to give the Purchasers of these Papers some satisfaction in, before they come to Read them; and that is, Why, since I am Imbarqued in a General Design of giving an Impartial Account of the Transactions of those dismal Revolutions, from the *Scotish* Rebellion, to the Execrable Murder of this deplorable Prince, two Volumes whereof are already Extant, I should anticipate that Work which cannot be compleat without this very Journal; and therefore why it should come out single, and in some sort before the due time?

In answer to which, I have much to say, and that which I hope may be very satisfactory to others, as well as it hath been to my self. For, I did seriously consider, by the slow Progress of that Heavy Work, which I wish had fallen upon more able Shoulders, that though I may without Vanity affirm, I have toiled in it with such Assiduity and Zeal, as hath not been extreme propitious either to my Health or Estate, yet such is the multiplicity of the swelling Matter; so great is the Difficulty of sifting out Truth, notwithstanding the little distance of Time; and the Materials for Composing those Collections are to be drawn together from so many remote and distant Quarters, that it cannot be rationally expected by others, I am sure from former tryal, it is not to be hoped by my self, that a Work of that Nature and Proportion should be finished without the assistance of a considerable time, and even so much the more, because I am obliged out of the desire I have to accomplish it, to play the good Husband with the Oyl of both my Lamps of Life and Fortune, since if either of those happen to be burnt out, the other will not light the Work to its Journeys End.

I then further considered with my self, how long this very Original Journal had slept in Obscurity, and that there was nothing of that Nature so in every Circumstance and Punctilio authentique and convincing of that Horrid Murther made Publique, I blamed those who had so long concealed it, and considering how great a Wonder it was, that it had not been lost, and *quam multa cadunt inter Poculum supremæq; labra*; how possible it was still to be lost, I thought I ought not to be guilty of what I thought was blamable in others, but that it ought to be made Publique, lest Posterity should lose one of the most irrefragable Demonstrations of the Recorded Villany of those Persons and Principles, and for want thereof, come to call in question the Truth of the Charge against these Factionous Rebels and Regicides of the Dissenting Separation. I saw with what unwearied Industry, the present Dissenters, *Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists*, and other Sects, indeavoured to palliate, extenuate, nay and even wholly deny the Guilt of that *Royal Blood*; I saw all this, and from their former Actions, and later Attempts, from
the

the necessary Conclusions which follow from their Positions and Principles, I could not but foresee Dangerous Consequences of permitting them to Seduce the Nation into an Opinion and Belief of their Innocence and Sanctity : And upon the strength of these and many such like Motives, I thought my self under the most pressing Obligations of Duty , of Interest , and of Conscience , to do all that I was able towards the Preservation of His Majesties Royal Person, Dignity, and Government, the Safety of the most Glorious and Apostolical Church in the World, and the Establishment of the Peace and Happiness of the *English* Nation, of the Danger which threatned all these, I could not but entertain most terrible apprehensions, if these their avowed and implacable Enemies were quietly permitted to go on proselyting the People to their Party, for want of a Faithful Discovery and Free Exposure of their Horrible Wickedness, Hypocrisies, Treasons, Rebellions, and Execrable Practices and Doctrines, which are Destructive and Ruinous of all Government, Religion, and even Humane Society. And this being to be proved by their own Writings, and under their own Hands, I thought I was not to neglect the Opportunity of doing this Service to the Publique, especially considering that we have their own Words to confirm us in the just Apprehensions we have of them, which assure us that our Fears and our Danger from them are very just and too well grounded, both upon their Confession and our own Experience.

Now many things herein recited would not so well have fallen in with the Historical Account of those Times, and to give but even an Abstract or a bare Catalogue of all the Seditious, Treasonable, Horrible Sermons and Vile Pamphlets of that Age would fill some Volumes; and therefore I thought I might with greater decency to the Design of those Collections, not only spare them there, but with greater advantage also to the present Juncture of our Affairs, and the Circumstances of the Nation, give a short Account of them in the Introduction to the Tryal and Murder of the King, to which they were in reality the bloody Preface, and in a Book of a smaller Price, which therefore in probability would fall into more hands.

This I hope will be sufficient to preserve me in the good Opinion of the Loyal and Ingenuous, who will not think it an Injury to endeavour by this Precaution to serve them though a little too forwardly for the Regular Course of the following Collections; and for any persons of a different Character, since I am assured that this Discourse whenever it should come, would not be very agreeable to them, I am not so foolish as to be solicitous for the displeasure of those, whom I should be much more foolish, if I should ever hope to please.

TO HIS
Royal Highness
JAMES
DUKE of YORK,
ALBANY,
AND
ULSTER, &c.

ROYAL SIR,

HOW much the English Name and Nation are obliged to Your Royal Highness, the voluntary Exposing of Your Illustrious Life to the most hazardous and Dreadful of all Combats and Dangers, for their Interest and for their Glory, will be an Eternal Testimony so long as Fame shall be able to celebrate them with her immortal Trumpet; and not to mention that Bravery and Conduct which in a thousand Occasions You have shewn at Land. Those Terrible Actions

A

upon

The Epistle Dedicatory.

upon the British Ocean, whose Thundering Eccho's have transported Your Glory to the remotest Shores, will for ever rank Your Name among the greatest and most famous Captains of the World.

One would think it impossible, that even while the Laurels were yet fresh upon Your Conquering Brow, there should be found any so enviously Malicious, to endeavour to blast them; and with a base Ingratitude, by conspiring Your Disgrace, Your Ruin and Destruction so to repay Your Merit, and their Deliverance and Preservation from the Hostile Attempts of Powerful and Encroaching Neighbours, who by cutting the sinews of our Traffique, endeavoured to divest His Majesty of his glorious Inheritance the Sovereignty of the four Seas, and His Subjects of those Riches which Maritime Industry entituled them to.

But this is the natural effect of those Principles of Zealous Separatists, the implacable Enemies not only of Your Royal House and Person but even of the Monarchy it self; and certainly none but such prodigious Monsters whom no Goodness is capable of Obliging, nor Innocence of Escaping, could so suddenly have Extinguished the Remembrance how freely Your Highness had Exposed Your Illustrious Life to Preserve not only the Reputation, but the just Dominion of the Sea to the English Nation, as to be induced contrary to all the Laws of God or Man, and all the Obligations of Duty, Gratitude, and Humanity, to endeavour to Disinherit and Exclude Your Royal Highness, from Your Hereditary Right of Succession, to the Land. And to those who measure them according to their former

The Epistle Dedicatory.

mer Actions, it will appear no Wonder to find the present Dissenters so exactly resembling their Parents and Predecessors in Cruelty, Ingratitude, and Treason; or that they should so violently endeavour to Exclude the Son from the Right of Succession, who so inhumanely and barbarously Excluded his Father from the Possession both of his Crown and Life, and our Gracious Sovereign, so long as they had the least Power, from his undoubted Right, the Throne of his Illustrious Ancestours and Predecessours.

But if their endeavours for Exclusion, fill'd the minds of many who did not thoroughly understand their Design, with surprize and amazement, their late Explanation of themselves, by the infamous Commentary of the most ungenerous Treason, have fill'd their hearts with Horror and Detestation against such base Actions and Brutish Principles, as lead men under pretence of Religion and Conscience to the most ignominious and Cowardly Villany of Assassinating Sovereign Princes.

But His Majesty and Your Royal Highness having by the immediate Care of Heaven, Escaped these Dangers, as it fills all Loyal Hearts with Dutiful Joy; so it instructs them, from their Danger, of the inseparable Necessity of their Interest and their Duty; and that they ought not only to satisfy themselves with a Passive Loyalty, but to Use their most Active Endeavours to contribute what lies in their Power, to Secure the Publique Peace, and support the Government. And as it is the Interest so it is the Glory of the Church of England, that She hath not the least blemish of Disloyalty in Her Beautiful Face, but that
Her

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Her Fidelity to the Crown hath been Tried to the Uttermost, and She hath Constantly endeavoured to suppress the Growth and Progress of these Fatal Principles, Destructive of all that is Great and Good, and for my own particular, as I esteem it my greatest Honour to be one of Her meanest Servants, so I look upon it as my chiefest Glory, if I can be capable of doing any Services against these Wicked and Dangerous Principles, which may incline Your Highness to pardon the presumption of this Address, and the Ambition of avowing my self,

Great Sir,

Your Highnesses

most Humble and

most Obedient

Servant

J. Nalson.

THE
INTRODUCTION:
OR,
PREFACE
TO THE
JOURNAL
of the Proceedings of the
High Court of Justice,
FOR THE
TRYAL
OF
King Charles I.
Of Blessed Memory.

THERE have been few Ages or Regions of the World, which have not produced Monsters of Ingratitude and Cruelty, Treachery and Hypocrisie, the blackest and basest of all Crimes; Popularity and Ambition have blown from every point of the Compass, and have raised such Tempests throughout

B

out the Worlds vast Circumference, that few places can be found, which have not suffered under their violent Effects, the Deluges and Inundations of Treasons, Conspiracies, and Rebellions: The miserable Wrecks of Kingdoms and Empires, shatter'd and broken by their Fury, are still visible in the Maps of History and Chronology; and if we enquire more curiously into the Fate and Fall of the most Glorious Monarchies and Flourishing Governments that have been in the Universe, we shall find, That treacherous *Ambition* hath ever undermined the Foundations, and that successful *Usurpation* assisted by *Popular Frenzie*, hath thrown down their lofty Battlements, and laid them level with the Dust. Most wretched certainly have those Places and People been, wherever these two Enemies of Mankind have enter'd; for these extraordinary Changes and *Revolutions*, however begun with the most plausible Pretences of *The Publick Good*, the *Redressing of Grievances*, *Asserting of Popular Liberty*, *Representing of Tyranny*, or *Reforming of Government*, have always been managed with vast Expences of humane Blood, have been accompanied with all manner of Outrages, Violence, Cruelty, Injustice, Rapine, Destructions, and horrible Mischiefs; and have been consummated and finished in the *Slavery*, even of those, who had so prodigally expended their Blood and Treasure to promote those *Usurpations*.

Nor is it necessary to establish the truth of this Assertion, by introducing a long train of Examples, since it is so obvious, as at first sight to occur to the memory and observation of such, as have any manner of acquaintance with the Histories of former Times, or have almost in any sort travelled beyond the Smoke of their own Fires.

But certainly, no Age, no Time, no Country, is able to afford us a *Parallel* to that horrible *Tragedy* which was so lately Acted upon our own *Theatre*: Never was there a more horrid, premeditated Conspiracy, whose Foundations were laid so deep, so secret, and with so much devilish Art: Never was any *Treason*, after it once came to look abroad, and was fledg'd into the Cockatrice of *Rebellion*, more furious and impetuous: Never any *Rebellion* more
dismal,

difmal, bloody, wicked, or outrageous; and never did *Prosperous Treason* animate the *Traitors* to those unheard of flights of insolent Wickedness, so as not only to subvert the Government, and dethrone their Sovereign, but to Arraign and Judge, Condemn and Execute their *King*, with all the solemn and impudent Formalities of pretended Justice, even in the Face of the Sun, and view of the whole World, as if they would at the same instant defie both the Vengeance of Heaven and Earth.

Nor was it the least degree either of the Artifice or Villany of those Execrable Conspirators, that, like the *Devil*, they came clothed in *Samuel's* Mantle, and covered their Rebellion with the Popular Varnish of Religion, which they did with that success, that not *Mahomet* himself, that prodigious *Impostor*, ever seduced the wild *Arabians*, with his Pidgeon and pretended Inspirations, to those degrees, that these Sanctimonious Rebels did the credulous *Herd* (for they deserve no better name) of their Partisans and Followers: Nor was it a few Wild and Crazy *Enthusiasts* only, that made these pretensions, and that wicked use of them, to such extraordinary Commerces with *Heaven*, even when they were out-doing *Hell* in Mischief, but the whole Lump and Mass of the Faction, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, the Assembly of their *Divines*, the Leading men of the Faction, and the following Crow'd great and small, of what Sects or denominations soever, however mortally disagreeing in other things, all of them according to their degrees, more or less, unanimously laid a claim to Inspiration, and an immediate Familiarity with *God Almighty*: Nothing was more frequent in their Mouths, than *seeking God*, and they were sure to find him in their *Extempore Effusions*, which they arrogantly boasted were the dictates of the *Holy Ghost*, and which, to depress the Established *Liturgie* and stated Forms, was, by way of Eminence and Excellency, by them termed *praying by the Spirit*. The successes, which, for reasons best known to the Supreme Wisdom, followed their Rebellious Arms, they boldly called *the Return of those Prayers*, and by an impious insolence, peculiar to them, they Intituled *God* to the most transcendent wickedness, endeavouring to consecrate *Murder, Treason,*

Sacrilege, Perjury and all their most horrible Impieties, by ascribing them to the immediate direction, and almost Miraculous Cooperation of Divine Providence: And with this *Devilish Hypocrisie*, they so dazled the infatuated Vulgar, and less discerning minds of the People, that what they so arrogantly boasted, came to be almost as easily, and generally believed, *That that Cause must needs be Gods, which was carried on by a praying People; and being successful must needs be blessed*; and that, as they fought for God, which they never failed to proclaim, so he reciprocally ingaged in their Party, and fought for them. Thus the Famous Doctor of the *Independents*, could, with the utmost Effrontery, harangue the People at this rate, *Where is the God of Marston-Moor? and the God of Naseby? is an acceptable Expostulation in a Gloomy day. O what a Catalogue of Mercies has this Nation to plead by in a time of trouble! God came from Naseby, and the Holy one from the West, Selah.* (*Owens Ebenezer*. p. 13. And indeed this was the constant Method of these *Impostors*, to magnifie themselves and Cause, and to give both Courage and Reputation to their Party, by intituling God to the dismal Consequences of lucky Rebellion.

But the Vizard by continual use was at last worn so thin, that the ugly and real *Devil* began to appear through the painted *Angel* of Light; and these Reforming Saints, began to tread so heavy upon the neck of the *Nation*, that they found they had mistaken shrewdly; and that it was a *Cloven-foot*, with which these high pretenders to the *Cloven-tongues*, trampled upon, and broke in pieces, the Government, Ancient Laws, Liberties, Properties, and even Religion it self, and that the *Cause*, which before was said to be God's, was in reality at last nothing but their *Own*; a perfect Foot-stool, by which they mounted themselves to the *Throne* of Sovereign, boundless, and unaccountable Power. For the *Royal Prerogative*, the true supporter of the Peoples Liberties and Laws, being gone, and the Royal Party and Power broken, I find * a Petition, Dec. 9th. 1647. from the Counties of Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Essex, Herts, Berks, Bucks, Oxon, Suffolk, Northampton, Dorset, Sommerfet, Lancashire, Lincolne, Cheshire, Durham, Cumberland, Worcester, and

* *Tomasin's Collection of Petitions Anno 1647.*

and *Warwick*, most grievously and lamentably complaining of *Free Quarter*, and their Miseries under the Oppression of the Army, and of the Insolence of the Soldiers, who would frequently call them to their Faces, *Conquered Slaves*, and treat them accordingly; as also complaining of the *Remonstrances*, and other Papers of the Army, destructive of all Liberty, and even of their darling *Parliaments*, which they had so often, and so solemnly *Protested*, *Covenanted*, and Vowed to defend and maintain.

But the *Faction* wholly threw off the useless Mask themselves, when having entirely subdued the scattering Remains of the Loyal Party, the Army by their interest in the *Commons-house*, most of the Principal Officers having been obtruded upon the Nation, as their *Representatives* there, and none daring to oppose them, began not only to usurp the Sovereign Power, but to subvert the very Foundations of the Ancient *English* Government, and by the Destruction not only of the *King*, but of the *Monarchy* it self, to erect a new *Democratique Tyranny* under the name of *The Commonwealth of England*: In which the People, though nothing less was intended them, were in themselves Originally, and by deputation in their *Representatives*, pretended to be the *Supreme Authority* of this Nation; but in reality these *Representatives*, who became such by the prevailing Authority of the Sword, and not by free Elections, being just so many boundless and unlimited *Tyrants*, whose Will was a Law, and to whose imperious pleasure all the rest of the *Nation* were constrained to submit, and take from their hands the most Arbitrary Yoke of *Vassallage* and *Slavery*; every thing lay at the discretion of their Mercy, the Laws, the Lives, the Liberties, the Estates of all, without distinction or discrimination, the *Peer* and the *Peasant* were wholly and entirely subjugated to their uncontrollable *Jurisdiction*; and as to *Religion*, their first and great Pretence, that was left to shift for it self, all men being left at Liberty to chuse any or none; and it was all one now to these glorious *Reformers*, whether a man were an *Infidel*, a *Pagan*, a *Mahomedan*, or a *Jew*, provided he had the wit to say it was his *Conscience*, and make Profession to live peaceably, and acquiesce under

their Government; nay a *Petition* was drawn by the Council of Officers of the Army, that the Laws for banishing the *Jews* might be repealed, and *Hugh Peters* and *Henry Marten* were their Sollicitors in a bargain, which these professed and most bitter Enemies of Christ, and his Religion, were driving, to give the State 500000 l. for their Readmission, to have the inestimable Library at *Oxford*, and the most Ancient Christian Temple, the Cathedral of *St. Paul* for a *Synagogue*; and, durst these Reformers have spared it from being a constant Horse-guard to keep the City of *London* in Obedience, there is little doubt to be made, but *Moses* had justled *Christ* out of possession, and the two Tables, would have banished the four *Evangelists*, as wanting money to maintain their Title; but it was no wonder, if they treated the *Apostles* at this rate, for they were *Bishops*, and under the Censure of the *Covenant* for Extirpation of Root and Branch; and therefore in this General Indulgence, *Prelacy*, and *Popery*, which were always by them coupled together, as being too Friendly to *Monarchy*, and the *Royal Interest*, were the only Spiritual Traffique, that was prohibited upon severest Penalties. Thus ended the true and ancient *English Liberty*, which for above a thousand years successively had flourished under the Warm and Benigne influences of *Hereditary Monarchy*; and thus, this so much boasted Glorious Liberty and *Reformation*, which was begun with Tumults and Sedition, pursued and managed by Rebellion, Perjury, and the deepest Hypocrisie, was at last consummated by the Cruel and Open Murder of the best and most Illustrious Sovereign of the Christian World: A Prince, whose greatest Errors were his Gracious Concessions and Condescensions to these base and ingrateful Men; who deriving their very Being, as a *Parliament*, from his Sovereign Will, whereby he passed that Fatal *Bill*, by which they were permitted to Sit, till they should consent to their own Dissolution, they misemployed this unpresidented Bounty, to compass, not only His, but the Final Dissolution of the Government: Thereby leaving an *Eternal Caution*, to all succeeding *Princes*, to be very sparing of such dangerous and unlimited Bounties, as put the *Receivers* under the power-

powerful Temptation of tasting the forbidden Fruit of the Tree of Sovereignty, and thereby may prove ruinous to the *Givers*.

It is very difficult to determine, whether the Guilt or the Infamy of this unparallel'd Murder, hath laid heavier upon the *English* Name and Nation: Certainly the Reproach will be the longer liver, by how much God is more merciful than Men, and usually his Vengeance does not extend it self to many Generations; and one might well hope, that Heaven as well as our Gracious *King*, the Son and Successour of this *Royal Martyr*, were in a great Measure atoned, by the Exemplary Justice that hath been deservedly inflicted upon diverse of the *Criminals*, who though for a time they prospered in their flagitious Wickedness, yet the triumphing of the Wicked was but short, and that God to whom Vengeance belongs, was pleased, even, in this world, to assert the Justice of his Providence, which they had so often blasphemed by making it a Party to their Crimes, by bringing these Execrable Murderers, and Regicides to the Punishment and Infamy due to such monstrous Malefactors; but then on the other side, to see the Dissipated Remainers of these Rebellious Factions, as soon as the Lightning and Thunder of Divine Vengeance, which had slain their Fellows, and struck them down with fear and astonishment; I say, to see these very persons, so soon as ever the storm is over, and the hopes of security had dissipated their Fears, so far from a real penitence for their Own, or the Horrid Crimes of their *Associates*, that they reassemble their scattered Hopes, and unite all their Hearts, Heads, and Hands to oppose the Son, as they did the Father, and that, by avowing, justifying, and most tenaciously adhering to the same Bloody and Rebellious *Principles*, they proceed upon all occasions to increase, propagate, and animate a Faction against the present Government, rewarding the Clemency of a *Prince*, no less a wonder for his Pardoning, than his *Royal Father* was for Suffering Injuries, by tracing the very same *Methods*, and making use of the same Arts and Engines, which overthrew his *Royal Father*, exclaiming against Popery and Slavery, and by accusing the Government of Designs

to introduce them, to fill the heads of the People with furious Fears, and raging Jealousies, and at the same time both to alienate the Affections of his People from their King, and by Disobedience to his Ecclesiastical Laws, to teach them a Contempt even of his Secular Power, and to put them even into the nearest approaches to Sedition, and to seem to want nothing but a favourable occasion to precipitate them into a new Rebellion; all this considered, one cannot but be tempted to think that this ingrateful impenitence, and obstinacy, menaces these obdurate Sinners with some Uncommon and Remarkable Vengeance.

Amongst all their other Arts, so dangerous and destructive to the present Constitution of our Government, I cannot think it either the smallest or least dangerous, which the *Dissenters*, from the Monarchick Government as well as the Church of *England*, have made use of; for though nothing of Fact can be more notoriously true, than that they actually either Murther'd the late *King*, or were Aiding, Abetting, and Assisting to such as did, yet to preserve some Reputation to their *Party*, and that they may be able to increase it, by such as they can by their pretensions to Purity and Sanctity delude, they constantly endeavour to shift all the Guilt of this Execrable *Regicide* from themselves, and charge it upon others; the Fact, they are well aware, is so ugly and wicked in its own Nature, and accompanied with so many aggravating Circumstances, that there are few Natures, who would not at first sight start at it, as at the Apparition of some terrible *Dæmon*; this therefore must be totally denied, where it may with success, or palliated by making the *King* Guilty of the War, and of his own Murder, the Effect of it; full well do these *Deceivers* know, that if the poor infatuated People were really perswaded and convinced, that the Leaders of their Party, and the precious Men their *Teachers*, had been Guilty of such a detestable Murder, even the Dictates of common Sense, Reason, and Natural Religion would instruct them, That such Guilty *Miscreants*, whose Hands blushed with Innocent Blood, must needs be unfit to lift up to Heaven, the just Avenger of it; and that such Men must needs be very unfit and improper Guides and Conductors
of

of others to *Heaven*, who had travelled so far in Rebellion, the High Road to *Hell*, without ever looking, or making one step backwards by Repentance.

The *Presbyterians* therefore in this particular have ever stood high upon their Justification, as being therefore Innocent of the Guilt of this *Royal Blood*, because then when the Fatal Stroke was given, they were luckily displaced from the Helm of State, by the prevailing Faction and Interest of the *Independents*: The *Independents*, when they are charged with this barbarous *Fact*, they endeavour to transfer all the blame from themselves and Party, by throwing it upon a *Junto* of ill men, who then Governed, and had gotten all the Power; and though those very bloody and infamous *Traitors*, *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Peters*, *Nye*, &c. were, while living, esteemed by them most *Heroick* and renowned *Saints*, and would have Pillars and Monuments erected to their immortal Memories, had they Power equal to their Kindness to those Glorious Villains, who are still the Idols of their Hearts; yet they would make this pass for excuse sufficient for the whole Company of their Perswasion, that they were not every individual man of them actually upon the *Trial* and Condemnation of the *King*, or set their Hands and Seals to the Warrant for his Execution: So that consenting to, approving, and applauding the *Fact* when done, must pass for Innocence, that so they may plead Not Guilty, though after all this, the Survivers of those differing Factions, and their Successors in the same *Principles*, were never heard or known to manifest so much, as, in the cheap way of words, their unfeigned detestation, and abhorrence of that wicked *Rebellion*, which brought the King to that deplorable Death; and I think, without breach of Charity, I may introduce their Famous *Baxter*, who is the whole Schisme in *Epitome*, neither *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, &c. but both, and all of them, speaking the true sense of the whole body of the *Separation*; and I am confident, if they had all one Mouth, and he were the Tongue (the Office he would chuse) he would speak for them in his Language of the Holy Common-wealth; *I cannot see that I was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if*

it were to do again in the same state of things. (Baxters Holy Common-wealth, pag. 486.)

And therefore, if this Argument happens to be started, though the late *Statute*, which makes some sorts of Language Treasonable, render them more cautious and reserved, yet they will plead for themselves, that Matters were carried to those Extremities, much beyond the intention of those who first took up Arms against the *evil Counsellors*, and had no ill Design either against the Person of the *King*, or his just Power and *Prerogative*; but they will dye before they will acknowledge, that the *War* on the Parliaments side, let the pretended Reasons be what they will, was unjust and unlawful, and that the taking up Arms by Subjects against their King, is not only unlawful but damnable: Now the maintaining of this *Opinion* of the Lawfulness of the *War*, was that which in reality cut off the *Kings Head*: And will be the *Eternal Parent* of future *Rebellions*, so long as it is propagated and received. For if *Subjects* may upon any colourable pretensions, which can never be wanting so long as Men are Wicked enough to invent them, be allowed to take up Arms against their *King*; it is morally impossible but things must proceed to the utmost Extremities; for he that draws his Sword against his *King*, must throw away the Scabbard; and it is a Crime of so high a Nature, that tho' there should be found a *King* of so *God-like* a Temper, as really to pardon the greatest *Rebels*, yet the Consciousness of their own Guilt, and the perpetual apprehensions of deserved Punishment, will never permit such *Rebels* to believe his intentions real and sincere, and therefore the uneasiness of their fears, naturally conducts them to cure their Fears, and consult their future Safety, by removing the Cause of their distrust and danger.

But however these two Factions, and the Spawn of them, may endeavour to palliate this horrid Guilt, and, that they may be the better enabled to maintain their Party and increase it, may endeavour to acquit themselves by criminalizing one another, nothing is more evident, than that both these Factions of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and the other lesser Sects and Schismatics which sprung from

from their Roots, were actually Guilty of the *Kings Murder*; and that not only by their fomenting and carrying on the War against him, whereby he was reduced to those Extremities, that he was forced to throw himself upon the Perjured *Scottish Presbyterians*, who sold him to the *English Independents*, who Murdered him, but also by not hindring and preventing the doing of it. For it is a most certain Truth, *Qui non prohibet, cum potest, jubet*. For instance, Two Thieves bind an honest Man and rob him, one is for dispatching him out of the way, that he may not ever be in a capacity to prosecute them, the other pretends, he does not so well approve of that last Extremity; while they are in the contest, the honest Mans Servant comes up, and finding his Master in that condition, puts himself in a posture to attempt his Rescue; now he who was pretend- edly against the Murder, though he could well enough dis- pence with the Robbery, if he had meant sincerely, ought rather to have assisted the Loyal Servant in his Generous and Dutiful Design; and it had then been easie to have deliver- ed the despoiled Prisoner, at least from the danger of Death; but instead of this, he joyns with his former Companion, and assists him first to dispatch the Servant, who indea- voured his Masters Deliverance, and then sits him down, while his Companion sends his Fetter'd Master to keep him Company. Now do I appeal to God and Men, whe- ther both these men were not involved in equal guilt, as well he, who help'd to bind, disarm, and rob the Master, and opposed the honest endeavour of his Servant to deli- ver him, as he who actually imbrued his Hands in their innocent Blood.

The Case is exactly the same, but under this more hai- nous aggravation, that *Royal Blood* is much more valuable and Sacred, than that which runs in Common veins. The Zealous *Presbyterian* Saints began the late Rebellion, and the *Independents* and other *Schismaticks*, being associated with them in that Traiterous Combination of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, they joyntly and unanimously pro- secuted the War, and, by murdering of such of his Loy- al Subjects, as out of Duty and Conscience came to his assistance, having subdued his Forces, they got his Person

into their Power. The *Independents*, having in the mean time gotten the Ascendant of Power over the *Presbyterians*, were absolutely for assuring their Usurpation by the *King's* death; on the other side the *Presbyterians*, more out of detestation of the *Independents*, who now began to deride their Discipline, and have their *Blew-Cap-Reformation*, as they termed it, in the utmost contempt and hatred, than out of true Loyalty and Duty to the *King*, were for shackling of His Majesty with *Parliament Fetters*, and so to let him live; hoping under the protection of his Authority and Name, to re-establish their own Power, and subdue the *Independents*: And for this purpose was all the noise of a *Personal Treaty* with the *King*, during his Confinement at *Cairnsbrook Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*; in which, if they had meant honourably and sincerely, they might have had such Conditions as would have brought sufficient advantage and reputation, both to their Cause and Interest: But so stiff were they in their Demands, and so cautious to put strong and lasting Fetters upon His Majesty, that the whole *Treaty* came to nothing. In the mean time the *Royalists*, seeing the gasping condition of the *King* and Monarchy, and that nothing but the most abject Vassallage was to be expected from those Men, who were resolved to make their *King* a *Royal Slave*; they summoned their scattered Force to make one Vigorous Attempt for his deliverance: Now, had the *Presbyterians* joyned in that generous Design, in all humane probability, the *King* had been rescued from his Captivity among the *Independents*; by which means they might have obtained honourable Conditions of Oblivion, Security and Accommodation for the Present, and Reputation for the Future: But so far were they from this, that mortally hating the *Loyal Party*, they contributed all that lay in their power to assist the *Independent Army* under *Fairfax*, or indeed *Cromwel*, for the other was but a *Cypher*, utterly to ruine and subdue the slender Remains of Loyalty which had taken Arms in *Kent* and *Essex*; which when it was accomplished, by the surrender of *Colchester*, and the Execution of the Noble *Capel*, *Lisle*, and *Lucas*, the *Independents* fell presently upon their Bloody Project of cutting off the *King*, and subverting the
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the *Monarchy*, which they also effected, the *Presbyterians* all this while sitting still and looking on: Whereas, had they ever heartily opposed such a detestable Wickedness, their Party was then so considerable, that, with the Addition of the *Loyal Interest*, which was not so dead, but that upon the least hope it would have revived and joyned them, they might have given such a shock to the *Independent* Faction, that they would difficultly, if ever, have been able to accomplish or execute their Execrable Design against the Life of the *King*; but so far were they from this, that there was not the least Attempt to oppose the *Traytors*, or prevent the *Treason*. Nay, had the Rabble of the *City* and *Suburbs*, which were much at the Devotion of the *Presbyterian* Interest, had but half so much Zeal to hurry down to *Westminster*, to oppose the Murder of the *King*, as they had before times to oppose him, and cry up *Priviledge of Parliament*, in the beginning of the *Tumults*, it is very disputable, whether *Cromwel*, with all his black *Myrmidons*, would have had the Courage to strike the Fatal Stroke. But the *Presbyterians* are only Courageous in Rebellion, but perfect Cowards in the Cause of *Loyalty*.

But to these little palliating shifts, to which the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* have been reduced, to varnish and guild over their Infamous Actions, they have now very lately found out another, and that is, to vindicate themselves, by charging the whole Contrivance and Execution of this hellish Murder of the late *King*, upon the *Papists*: And though nothing in the World is more ridiculous or remote from the truth in most demonstrable Matter of Fact, yet it is incredible, how much the belief of this senseless Fiction and *Romance* has gained upon this new Generation of the Vulgar Profelytes of the Dissenters: And I speak it of my own knowledge, that in Discourse with divers of them, when I have made use of this Argument of the Wickedness and Infamy of the most Eminent *Patrons* of their Religion, who, as Mr. Baxter confesses of himself, when he tells us, *I have been in the heat of my Zeal so forward to Changes and Ways of Blood, that I fear God will not let me have a hand in the Building of his Church,*

Hypocrisie unveil'd, R. Baxter's *Letters to Dr. Hill*, pag. 11.) must needs be ill men, and worse Guides to Heaven, and have, from their guilt of the *Kings Blood*, indeavoured to reclaim them from following the *Witchcraft* of such dangerous *Principles*, and to bring them home to the Communion of the Loyal and Primitively obedient Church of *England*; I have been amazed to hear, with what confidence they have vindicated their Leaders and Party, from the least share or imputation of the guilt of that Horrid Murder, and averred with as much confidence, that the late *King* was murdered by the Papishes, as they call them, as if it had been true beyond all contradiction.

I have no design, to turn Advocate for the *Romish Religion*, and profess my self to have a most deep detestation and abhorrence for *Sanguinary*, *Traiterous*, *Seditious*, *Disloyal*, and *King-killing*, or deposing Principles, in any Religion or Perswasion whatsoever, and do firmly believe, that, That Religion which holds, justifies, or tolerates such Principles, is so far Erroneous, False, and Damnable: But this being a perfect piece of *Leger-de-main*, purposely calculated to deceive the Common-people into a good opinion of the worst, and most dangerous Enemies of the *Monarchy*, the *Dissenters*, and thereby to enable them still to spread the *Venom* of their *Principles*, under the Vail of Innocence, and to make this Innocence appear by transferring the Guilt of their former Actions upon others, I think it of so mischievous Consequence, that it ought to be obviated, and the falshood detected and made evident by the Beams of most irrefragable Truth.

And therefore, for ever to silence all these foolish and frivolous *Arts* and *Palliations*, and to take away the Fig-leaves, which these guilty sinners have so Artificially patch'd together, and to shew to the whole World from their Own *Memoirs*, that it was the very real *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and other Sectaries, their Associates, and no other, who were actually guilty of the whole Scene of this horrible Murder of the King.

The Original *Journal* of the whole proceedings of that detestable Murder, and the previous *Trial*, which was drawn up by the Order of the *Regicides*, and presented then

then to the Commons-House, and there publickly read, and approved for a true *Record*, and which is attested under the Hand of *Phelps*, the Clerk to that pretended *High Court of Justice*, having by pure *accident*, shall I call it, or particular *Providence* come to my hands, and having the opportunity to take a true Copy or Transcript of it, I thought my self bound in Conscience, by the Duty which I owe to my *King*, and the Peace and happiness of my Country, to make it publick; that, if it were possible, all true *English-men* might be made sensible of the horrid Guilt and danger of such Men, and such *Principles*, and so far consult their own, and the Interest of their *Posterity*, as to endeavour such a true and *thorough Reformation*, as can only make the present and future Ages happy, which can never be hoped for, so long as the Whoredoms and *Witchcrafts* of this *Painted Jezebel* of the *Old Presbyterian and Independent Cause*, are continued and cherished among us: And most assuredly, it is the Duty of every good Christian and Loyal Subject, to contribute the utmost of his endeavours to suppress the Growth of such dangerous *Principles*, as drive men so furiously headlong, with the pretences of Religion, to the most daring and desperate Extremities of *Treason* and *Rebellion*, and to the very Precipice of *Damnation*.

I do not herein pretend, to exceed the Limits of a private Person, or hereby foolishly to undertake to prescribe Measures to the Government in the Management of this Important Affair; but within my own *Sphere*, I cannot but think my self and all other private Persons, according to their Capacity, Opportunities, and Power, under an indispensable Obligation to oppose and endeavour to stop the Impetuous Torrent of these wicked, bloody, and unpeaceful Opinions and *Principles*, which have once before drowned this Nation in Bloodshed and Misery, and who by their swelling and breaking over all the banks of Law, Duty, and Obedience, threaten us with continual danger and apprehensions of a more cruel and dreadful *Inundation*: and I esteem my self warranted to oppose them, by their Example, since the diligence, assiduity, and restless endeavours, with which they do, to a single man of the Party,

purſue their Ends and Wicked Intereſt, makes it abſolutely the Duty as well as Intereſt of all ſuch as are Loyal, who love their Country, Church, and King, as heartily, unani- mouſly, and zealouſly to make head againſt them, and endeavour to cruſh this Cockatrice in the Egg, which other- wiſe will moſt certainly diſcloſe a fiery flying Serpent. And I cannot ſee any Expedient ſo probable to ſucceed, as the expoſing them naked and ſtripd of their Artificial Trappings, Painting, and Counterfeit *Gems* of Sanctity and Innocence, with which they are wont to impoſe upon the Minds of credulous and eaſie People. I ſhall only therefore bring them to be ſurveyed by the light of Nature, Reaſon, Intereſt, and *Religion*, and that I may do them the moſt Impartial Juſtice, ſhew them to the World in the *Glaſſes* of their own making; and, if there they do not like the Figure and Image which they make, they ought only to quarrel their own deformities, which will not in any Glaſs, except that of their own flattering and falſe *Opinion*, afford them any Shape leſs Monſtrous and Ugly.

And I verily perſwade my ſelf, that were the Common- People of this Nation thoroughly inſtructed by thoſe, whoſe Duty it is to perform that Charitable Office, in the black Conſequences, which neceſſarily, naturally, and unavoidably follow the *Principles* of thoſe Leading Men of the *Se- paration*, and made ſenſible how much they are the En- mies to our Peace and Happineſs, both here and hereaf- ter, even Nature and Humanity would teach Men to abandon them, as the moſt dangerous Cheats and cruel Impoſtors; and they, who now admire the Beauty of theſe *Painted Sepulchres*, the Seditious *Meeting Houſes*, were they aware of the *Devil's* Trap-Doors of Rebellion and *Dam- nation*, which are there planted, would be more cautious of crouding into them: And were it poſſible, as I think it is eaſie, if it were vigorously endeavour'd, to convince the deluded *Vulgar*, who have theſe Mens Perſons in ſuch ad- miration, and who are ſo apt to be enchanted with the Songs of theſe bewitching *Syrens*, that under all thoſe fair Words and ſanctimonious Pretences, this Whining about *Gospel Liberty* and Perſecution for Conſcience, this Puking at *decent Ceremonies*, and more decent and beautiful Order
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and Government, this bellowing against *Antichrist*, *Popery*, and *Prelacy*, there is all this while concealed, the Ruine of their Country, the Destruction of the Government, the Subversion of the Laws, Sedition, Tumults, Insurrections, Murder, Fire and Sword, Slavery and Infamy, and at the last *Eternal Damnation*, and endless Torments, certainly they would not only forsake, but detest and abhor those Impostors and Deceivers.

Now all this is as demonstratively true, as to the matter of former Fact, and future Consequence, as God is true and just, and as that is True and Canonical *Scripture*, which from the Mouth of Gods infallible Spirit, assures us, without any Limitation or Reservation, without any Exception or Dispensation, *That whosoever resist the Higher Powers, resist the Ordinance of God, and shall receive to themselves Damnation*. Now, if Rebellion be resisting the Higher Powers, as certainly if that be not, nothing is, and if we be able to prove those of the *Separation*, to a single Man of them, Guilty of it, either in Fact or in Principles, or in Both, then are they certainly within the danger of this Terrible Sentence: Let the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, &c. therefore shew us a Dispensation as Authentick, as this Command, to tolerate Them and their Disciples, to raise Seditions, to defame their *King* and his Government, to cancel the Obligations of the *Oaths* of Allegiance and Supremacy, to condemn the Laws, to disobey the lawful Commands of their Superiors, and at the last, if they have strength and opportunity, to take up Arms and Rebel, and if they prevail to shake off the Yoke of Subjection and due Obedience, Imprison and Murder their *King*, disinherit his Lawful Heirs and Successors, to all which, their Principles have led them, and Naturally and Eternally will lead them; and then indeed they may, as they presumptuously do, promise Heaven to Themselves, and Followers: But till they are able so to do, and to produce a *New Gospel*, with a Patent of Indulgence from *Christ* and his Apostles, to supersede the Obligation of his former Commands, and to change not only the Names but the Nature of things, by turning *Rebellion* into *Religion*, and violating the Laws of God and Man into Obedience,

dience, they will remain under the unavoidable danger of the intolerable Penalty, annexed to Resisting the Higher Powers, and in conclusion, will most assuredly find a *Hell* instead of a *Heaven*, and Damnation in the place of that Happiness, which the *Heads* of the *Separation* do as confidently promise to their *Followers*, as they vainly expect from their *Teachers*.

Whether it have proceeded from mistaken *Charity*, or, which is much worse, from a *Cowardly Timorousness* of falling under the Indignation of the *Dissenters*, and consequently of most severe Revenge, if ever they have power to execute it, I cannot tell; but truly in my Opinion, the not pressing of these necessary Truths upon the People, of the unlawfulness of Rebellion, upon any pretence whatsoever, and their danger of Damnation, in following these Hellish Principles, of Popular Sovereignty, Reformation by Blood, Tumults, and the Power of the Sword, of the Lawfulness of Deposing, Judging, and inflicting Capital Punishments upon Sovereign Princes; and the want of exposing the necessary Consequences of these and such like Fatal Opinions, and shewing them the horrible Influences, they have formerly had upon the Peace and Happiness of the *Nation*, it is to be feared, hath contributed too much to the increase of the Vulgar part of the Faction.

And truly this necessary work is so easie to be done, from plain matters of undeniable Fact, that there need be no recourse to *Rhetorical* Amplifications, or *Hyperbolical* Expressions, to move not only the Passions, but the Reason of all Mankind to the utmost degrees of Hatred and Abhorrence against such dreadful *Principles*: The Treasons, Conspiracies, the Wars, the Rapines, the Hypocrisies, Perjuries, and Sacrileges, the Butcheries, Oppressions, Murders, and those Rivers of Innocent Blood, and, which surpasseth all, the Blood of their King, through which these *Separatists* have waded, to obtain by the Power of Rebellion and the Force of the Sword, an usurped Sovereignty, and unlimited Arbitrary Dominion over the People of these Nations, thereby to render the freest People of the World, the vilest Slaves in the Universe, are certainly such undeniable Truths, which are justly charge-
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able upon them, as are sufficient to set such an Eternal Brand of Infamy upon those, who have been guilty of them, as would render it impossible for them to deceive the People by their other Arts, and pretended *Sanctity*; and truly their making *Religion* stoop to their base Designs, and thereby prostituting that which is most Sacred, to the most unhallowed Actions, and most unparallel'd Wickedness, would be so far from doing them any advantage, that, to all honest, virtuous, and religious Minds, it would make them appear more horrible and odious, because becoming thereby more mischievous and dangerous: for the *Devil*, transformed into the shape of an *Angel* of Light, is no less a *Devil* for his stoln brightness, and the very stealing of that Glorious Shape ought rather to make him be esteemed of the worst sort of those Infernal Spirits, because he only takes it upon him, to be thereby inabled to do the more Mischief to Mankind, and to cheat them out of Happiness, by pretending to make them Happy: And if the Embasing, Washing, and Counterfeiting of Money, be such a deceit, as hath merited Capital Punishment, and hath rendred the Offenders Infamous and Odious to all men, because it robs them of some part of their share of the Riches of this World, how much more Odious and Capital an offence is it, against God and Man, to Embase and Counterfeit *Religion*, and to cheat men of their Souls and Bodies, by stamping the *Impress* and Supercription of *Heaven* upon the *Metal* of *Hell*, and putting off this false Coyn for Good, Current, and Eternal Treasure?

Now let the Dissenting *Separatists* disclaim and disavow this Imposture with never so much Scorn or Confidence, and make the wonted boasts of their Sanctity and Purity, reprobating all others, besides themselves, yet if the Apostle * *St. James* have any Authority with them, let him be the Judge and Umpire of the difference, He affirms that the *Wisdom* (or Religion, for Religion is the only Wisdom), which is from above, is not only Pure, but Peaceable, Gentle, Easie to be intreated, full of Mercy, and good Fruits, * *unturbulent*, and without Hypocrisie, and that the Religion which produces Strife, Envy, Confusion and

* *St. James* 3.
cap. 15, 16,
17. ver.

* The word *et-
didurget* & im-
ports rerum sta-
tus inconfusus
inturbatus, sine
litte.

every evil Work, is so far from being off Divine Original, and descending from above, that it is *earthly, sensual, and devilish*: This is the *Criterion*, the Touch-stone, which we challenge the shining Chymical Religion of the *Separatists* to indure the Assay by, and I am assured, if we must try the truth of their Faith by the standard of their own Works, and this *Apostolical Rule*, it will be utterly impossible for them, to make out their Title to that true Religion, which they do so arrogantly boast of, and so wholly appropriate to Themselves and Party, that though *Heaven* be capacious enough to entertain the Inhabitants of a thousand *Earths*, yet can they not allow one inch to any, besides those of their Perswasion: And 'tis no wonder, if their own narrow Souls perswade them, they are only in the narrow way; but the *Pharisees*, their Predecessors in Principles and Pretensions, were never the nearer to entring into the Glorious Gates of Eternity, for their being so busie in framing Bolts and Locks to exclude all others from entring into those Blessed Regions.

And not to pass over even the Narrow Seas, and there to trace these Turbulent Men and their Principles through all the Paths of Mischief, which they have beaten in Foreign Countries, whereby they have forfeited all Right to St. James's Character of the true Religion, which is peaceable, as well as pure; our own dear *England*, our Cities, or Towns, our Villages, our prophaned Temples, and our Holy Altars thrown down as Idolatrous; our blushing Fields, and our bleeding Laws, our gasping Liberty, and expiring Religion, our Estates consumed with Arbitrary Taxes, and heavy Impositions unknown to our generous Ancestors; so many Oppressions, Exactions, Plunder, and Free Quarter, such vast Treasures borrowed upon the Publick Faith, Sequestrations and Compositions exhausted, so many thousand Lives as perished in the late Calamitous Rebellion, the entire subversion of the Government, and the barbarous Murder of a Lawful King, thousands of living Witnesses and Sufferers under the Cruelty and Bondage of their *Usurpation*, nay, their own Authentique Records, Declarations, Protestations, Covenants and Associations, and, which is more than all these, their

their own Consciences are Witnesses before God and the whole World of Men and Angels, that the *ways of Peace are not known to them*, or make any part in the Composition of their Religion; but that, notwithstanding their high Pretensions to Purity, Seditions, Tumults, Insurrections, Treason and Rebellion are the Fruits and Effects, the Consequences and Conclusion of the Separation, which begins with Whining in a *Corbenticle* against Ceremonies and Persecution for Conscience sake, but in the end advances into the open Field with the loud Arguments of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering Language of the Cannon, and in downright defiance and opposition of Lawful Government and Authority by Arms and Violence, or the baser ways of secret *Treasons* and *Affassinations*.

Had there been indeed but one single Instance of the mischievous and dangerous inclinations of these combined *Factions*, it were sufficient for ever to ruine their Reputation amongst wise and sober minded Men. But they have given so many repeated Testimonies of their hatred of the present Government both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, and of a restless, turbulent, and unreclaimable Temper, obstinately resolved upon the first opportunity to Attempt the Subversion and Ruine of them both, that there cannot be the least excuse found out to plead in mitigation of their Crimes. But to all their former Guilt, and the very late disturbances and seditious behaviour of which they have, under the new Denomination of *The True Protestants*, been most notoriously guilty, the detection of this last Exorable Conspiracy to take off the most Gracious and Indulgent Prince in the World, and his illustrious and only Brother the Duke, by the most infamous method of *Affassination*, is such a demonstrative Evidence of their implacable Malice, that they cannot add any thing more Black and Wicked, to render them, till they abandon these Trayterous Principles, most detestable and odious to all Loyal Subjects and good Christians.

The *Faction* indeed stand much upon their *Tiptoes* again, now their first Consternation for the Discovery is over, and because they are not to a single man found upon a Muster-Roll among the infamous *Conspirators*, would from thence

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argue a kind of Innocency in the Party: But let any Person consider, that so great an undertaking, as the Subversion of this well-built Government, and the justifying of such horrid Methods, by which it was to be begun, was never possibly to be effected by a few Heads or Hands; and that there being an absolute necessity to second the first *Blow* by a most considerable Force of Arms, and it will be impossible to doubt, but that the *Conspirators*, though they did not Communicate the Particularities of their *Treasonous Design* to every Individual person, from whom they expected assistance, yet made themselves most assured of assistance, from a Powerful Party, which should joyn with them to perfect their Execrable purposes.

For it is impossible that so many Men, as are known to be of the *Conspiracy*, both by their own Confession, and the Testimony of so many unexceptionable Witnesses, and Circumstances, should all of them by consent become *Ideots* and Madmen, to think of accomplishing such amazing *Treasons* by *Miracles* or the Strength of Imagination; it is true, a small number of such desperate hellish Villains, as were imbarqued in the most wicked Enterprize, might (I am all horror to name it,) with their *Blunderbuffes* have Assassinated the *King* and his *Royal Brother*; but it must be a numerous Party, who must have seconded that *Cursed Blow*, so as to inable them to overcome all the succeeding Difficulties and Oppositions, which they could not but foresee they must encounter with, from the *Loyal Party*, who by the *Shaftsbury Association*, and the well known Malice of the *Exclusioners*, which comprehended the whole Faction of the *Dissenters*, would quickly have discovered who were the *Traytors*, and *Murderers* of the *King* and his *Brother*, and would certainly most vigorously have opposed them, and the progress of their Designs of *Usurpation*.

Now from what Quarter of Heaven, or from what Subterranean Caverns must this assistance come? Did they expect any of *Elisba's* Flaming Battalions, or an Army of Aery Combatants? or had they a promise of Forty Thousand *Black Bills*, that would fight without hands, or a Levy of *St. Jago Pilgrims*, to make use of these
Black

Black-Bills, to defend and support their blacker Cause? They must certainly be all *Lunaticks* indeed and Madmen, if they relyed upon an invisible Power. Nor is it to be doubted, but that, how much soever they would have intitled God to the Cause, as their Ancestors and Predecessors in Rebellion had done, yet, like them, they would not so absolutely have reposed their trust in Him, but that they would wisely have thought, the best of their way was to make use of the Arm of Flesh, and a Sword of Steel, which they knew by experience would prove a better defence than the Shield of Faith, or their pretended Sword of the Spirit, and enable them to settle *Christ* in his *Throne* (as the *Presbyterians* use to cant it) by dispossessing the *King* of His: But besides the *Old Army Officers*, who were to command them, there must be an *Army* to be commanded; and who could these *Levies* consist of, but the Factious Schismatics and Dissenters, who having lifted themselves under *Separation*, the very Standard of the *Old Cause*, no man in his Senses can doubt, but, had her bloody Colours, wrought with Liberty of Conscience, and Colledges Motto, *No Popery, No Slavery*, been once displaid in the Field, whole Troops of Zealous Volunteers would, in the Language of their Addresses, have offered their *Lives and Fortunes*, and hazarded their Souls and Bodies in her service, against the Tyranny of *Kingship*, the uselessness and danger of *Peerage*, and the *Antichristianism* of *Prelacy* and *Popery*: *Pentland Hills*, and *Bothwel Bridge* give us good assurance of the Inclinations and Forwardness of these pretended Saints, to take up Arms and propagate the Gospel by the wrong Sword; though if they were not infatuated, even to Perdition, the discovery of their Treasons, and the baffling of their repeated attempts against Gods Vicegerent, were sufficient to convince them, how disagreeable their Practices, and the Principles which lead them, are to the Divine Majestie and Supreme Monarch of the World.

But that which puts this matter out of all dispute, is the Testimony of their own Consciences. *The Plot*, saith *Walcot*, one of the Conspirators, is laid broad and deep; and Collonel *Sidney* professeth boldly, that he dies a *Martyr*

that *Old Cause*, in which he had from his Youth been trained up: The Dissenters esteem him no less; Now do I appeal to themselves, if they do not think the *Cause*, for which he Glories that he died a *Martyr*, a Righteous Cause? Nay, and Gods Righteous Cause too? If they do not think so, why do they so zealously embrace, and, so far as they may without danger of the Laws, encourage, support, and defend it, by continuing so pertinaciously in their *Separation*, the very Badge and distinguishing *Character* of those, who have devoted themselves to it? Most assuredly, if they did not think so of it, they would for ever abandon it. And if they do think and believe, that it is Gods Righteous Cause, they will judge themselves under the most powerful Obligations in the World, upon occasion offered, to be assistant with their Persons or Purse to maintain it, and even to fight the Lords Battels against the Mighty. And were it possible to keep the Two Devils of Fear and Dissimulation from jogging their Elbows, and pulling them by the Sleeves, to make them conceal the depth of their Hearts, I do strongly assure my self, that they would boldly tell the World, and proclaim it by the sound of Trumpet and beat of Drum, That they esteem nothing they possess, not their very Lives, too precious, if they may be instrumental in carrying on the Glorious Reformation of the *Old Cause*.

And here are the Dimensions of this late *Conspiracy*, the depth and breadth of the *Plot*, which *Walcot* mentions; which is not one hairs breadth narrower, or one inch shallower, than the united Strength, Power, and Interest of the whole Faction of the *Dissenters*; who would once again have adventured not only Bodkins and Thimbles, Plate, Money, Horses and Arms, but their Lives also, to set up this *Golden Calf* of their *Old Cause*, had not God been more Gracious and Merciful to them and the whole Nation, than to suffer them, by Success in this Wicked Enterprize, to run headlong to our *Ruine*, and their own *Damnation*.

Let it suffice, That all Wise Men know, that the strength of this detestable Conspiracy was built upon no other Foundation, than the Hopes and Confidence, which the Traytors

Traytors had, from some of the Principal of them, of the Assistance, the Vigorous, Unanimous Assistance of the *Dis-senters*; and that all Good, Honest, and Loyal men believe it; nay, that they who seem most to dispute or doubt it, are conscious to themselves of their own good wishes, not only to the Principal *Traytors*, but even to the *Treason*; and since it is well known they have long ago abandoned all shame for such Imputations, nothing but the disappointment of their hopes and expectations, could be the Cause of that Universal damp, consternation, amazement, and dejection which were so visibly painted in their Faces, that one might know them by those Marks from other men, as they walk't the Streets: And though they are something recovered out of the trance of their Sorrows, and have reassumed some part of their wonted courage and confidence, yet even that courage betrays their guilt, whilst they wholly imploy it to discredit all belief of the truth of this *Conspiracy*: And it is almost impossible, to give a more infallible Demonstration for the certainty of any thing in this World than for this, and that they must of necessity be in some sort or other Guilty themselves, who Ridicule, Extenuate, Palliate, Applaud, Justifie, and use all the Arts imaginable, not only to make their Party appear Innocent, but to make the whole *Plot* an Artifice and a Contrivance, and to arraign the Supreme Power and the Justice of the Nation as Guilty, by the Condemnation and Execution of the Principal *Traytors* and Accomplices in the *Treason*: And certainly they have no thoughts of abhorrence and detestation of such black and execrable Villanies, nor any intentions to abandon them, who do so warmly hugg and cherish the only Cause of this, and so many other Treasons, Plots, and Conspiracies both against the late *King* and his present *Majestie*, their wicked Principle of Separation, which is the Mother of all those Seditions, Insurrections, and Rebellions, which to their cost these Nations have so often felt.

For when Men have once separated themselves from the *Ecclesiastical*, they do at the same instant cut the Cords and Ligaments of Obedience to the Civil Govern-

ment, they, by usurping Sovereign Power to dispense with the Obligation of any one Law, bid open defiance to the very Essence of all Laws, and, without the consent of *King, Lords, and Commons* undertake to Abrogate, Repeal, and make not only void, but unlawful, and unjust, and intolerable such *Acts of Parliament*, as were by the Common Consent of the *King* and the Three Estates of the Realm, Enacted to retain the Subjects in their due Obedience, and cannot without shocking the very Foundations of the Government be cancelled by any other Authority, than that which at first gave them being: So that they are in actual Rebellion even at the first step, though not in actual Arms, and open Hostility against the *King*, the Laws, and the very Constitution and Life of the Government, which consists in the Power and Authority of making Laws, and exacting Obedience to them: Now this disobedience to the Laws, and thereby disowning the Authority which made them, naturally leads the transgressors to fear the Penalties of those Laws, which they have violated, and to dread the threatening edge of the Sword of Justice, the *Guardian* of those Laws, with which the Supreme Magistrate is by God intrusted, to punish the Disobedient, and preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of Human Society; Now Fear is only so much the Elder Brother of Hatred, as *Esau* was to *Jacob*, that smooth *Supplanter*, ever lays hold of the Heel of its hairy Brother; and when men are once advanced to hate what they fear, they do immediately proceed to wish, desire, and endeavour to put themselves out of the reach of danger, from what they both fear and hate. When these two Passions thus adopted into the Family of Religion, have once taken full possession of Mens Minds, it is not long before they Precipitate them into the Search of all Ways and Contrivances how to secure themselves, which because they cannot immediately obtain, they presently fall to accusing the Laws of Injustice, and the Magistrates of *Tyranny and Persecution*, that so their disobedience may find a Refuge under the shelter of their pretended Innocence, for which they can have no other Foundation, but the Charging the Laws themselves with want of Equity and

and Justice : Nor is the Government only to be thus accused as unrighteous, and despised as unjust; and obedience to its Laws renounced as unlawful, but their fear and hatred put them upon all the Out-side Acts of Hypocritical Piety, and dissembled Sanctity, that by them they may win both Pity and gain a Party, and so intrench themselves in the Fortifications of Numbers, hoping for Impunity, at least from the Multitude of Offenders, which when they have gained, they are not sparing of their secret Menaces, how unsafe it may be to Exasperate, and how Impolitique for the Government, by compelling them to Obedience, to force them to extremities. No sooner have they gained this Point, and that they apprehend that the Scale is turned, and that the Government, of which they before stood in so much Fear, begins now justly to be in fear of them, but they presently become Insolent in their Actions, Seditious in their words, Frequent in open Menaces, and *Bold Petitioners* to their *Prince* for such Favours and Indulgences, as they are well assured, if he grants, he must be ruined, and if he denies, they are resolved to endeavour by Force to extort them from him, and the Sum of all their Desires at the last centring in their being intrusted with the *Power* of the *Sword*, the difference at last comes to fall under the Fatal Decision and Arbitrement of the *Sword*. And how matters must be managed, when they come to that dismal Period, and are referred to the determination of that *Umpire*, I think little need to be said, and it is yet too fresh in memory, to be again repeated; most certainly War, and especially a Civil War, can never go unattended by the calamitous *Legions* of Misery, Ruine, Oppression, Murder, Desolations, and all the Licentious Mischiefs, which the Rude and Mercenary Spirits, of which the Inferior Military Men are always composed, can be guilty off.

This is the Rare texture of the Spiders Web of *Separation*, in the *Centre* whereof the Devil of Rebellion sits Enthroned, and though the out-lines of the Circumference seem all composed of Innocence, Purity, and Reformation, yet when once men come but to touch and

buz about the smallest Cords of this Fatal Net, like foolish Flies they are intangled and caught, and the farther they proceed, and the more they strive, the more are they wrapped and inclosed in the Snares of the Devil.

Thus does *Separation* begin with a mistaken Zeal for Religion, which by easie steps insensibly transports men to defend one Errour by a thousand, and to commit the most horrid impieties and most dreadful sins, to support and maintain that, which they call their Religion: Thus have we seen the Tears of the Widows, and heard the Cries of the Orphans, robbed of their Husbands, Parents, and Estates, for the *Glory of God*: We have heard the groaning of the Prisoners, and those appointed to die; we have seen so many Loyal Free-Subjects, without and against Law, Reason, and Humanity, brought to Axes, Gibbets, and Halters, and all pretended to be done for *God's Righteous Cause and Glory*: Robbing of Churches, and defacing of Temples, Crimes which Heathen Idolaters would have blush'd at, were all for the *Glory of God too*, and the Honour of his Cause. Nay, there is scarce that horrible kind of Impiety, Blasphemy, or any sort of Wickedness to be named, which was not committed during the late Rebellion under this Pretence; and the most barbarous and inhumane Outrages, which the afflicted *Royalists* suffered from these pretended *Saints*, are so great and many, as it is impossible to recount them, all which were so far from being punished by the *Usurping Powers*, that they were encouraged, applauded, justified, and rewarded as acceptable Services to *God* and the *Parliament*; Even Cruelty was become so great a Virtue, that it was one of the choicest subjects of Discourse, and with which the *Boanergeses* of the Faction were wont from the suffering Pulpit to entertain the People, and Prophane the Temples of the *God of Peace*, with Exhortations to War and Blood. Well might the *God of Peace and Purity* send that dismal Fire of *London* to purge those Temples, whose Beams and Stones had been so tainted by the Leprous breath of Rebellious Preachers, that no whiting or scraping, according to the *Mosaick Method* of cleansing Leprous Houses, was sufficient to cleanse them, so as to be fit for the offering up of the Sacrifices of Prayers

Prayers and Praises to the everlasting *Prince* of Peace, or to have the *Holy Dove*, condescend to dwell among men, and assist their Devotions in those *Holy Places*.

And that I may not seem falsely to accuse them, I will give two or three Instances of this *Bloody Divinity*; though I could produce a thousand, and they who delight to paddle among such *Bloody Tenents*, may be sufficiently furnished out of the Printed Sermons of the late Times, a considerable Collection of which may with little pains be seen in my very Excellent Friend, the *Malleus Schismaticorum*, Mr. *L'Estranges* first and second Books of *Dissenters Sayings*, under the Heads of *Reformation by Blood*, and *The War Justified*, &c.

Cut down the Malignants, (so was the Royal Party named) with the Sword of Justice, Root them out, and consume them with Fire, that no root may spring again. (*Walker's Sermon, Jan. 29. 1644.*) If the Devil himself had fill'd the Pulpit, that Old *Walker*, who like a Roaring Lion goes to and fro seeking whom he may devour, could not certainly in fewer words have expressed more Comprehensive Cruelty, or a more Barbarous Thirst after Humane Blood.

But you shall hear another. There is no dallying with God now, saith *Cafe*, much delay hath been used already, too much; God is angry, and he seems to ask this once more, *Will you strike? Will you execute Judgment, or will you not? Tell me; for if you will not, I will: I will have the Enemies Blood, and yours too, if you will not execute Vengeance upon Delinquents, for the Day of Vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my Redeemed is come, Isa 63.* (*Cafe, before the Commons, 1644.*) Never could the Lipsure of any, who pretended to fear the *Divinity* which they ador'd, except a *Presbyterian's*, dare to affront him by such a positive, audacious, and blasphemous *Prosopopeia*; herein shewing himself a false Prophet by putting on his Horns of Iron, and pushing on every side of him for Blood and Slaughter; never did any wretched and uninspired Mortal so presumptuously and peremptorily undertake to speak the Sovereign will and pleasure of the Merciful Creator, as this bold *Schismatick* does in this most

sanguinary Decree, as if he had been admitted into the Cabinet Council with the Almighty, and had not only outgon St. Paul who travelled to the Third Heavens, but had received a more ample Commission, than that Apostle, to relate, what the other tells us, 2 Cor. Cap. 12. Ver. 4. *was unspeakable and not lawful for a Man to utter*: But God be praised, who hath assured us by the Mouths of his Inspired Servants, the Prophets, that he hath no Pleasure in the Death of his Enemies, as this false Prophet would have us believe; and hereby we may easily discover, that it was he, who was a Murderer from the beginning, who inspired them with these Bloody Doctrines, and this Method of abusing Scripture, at which we know he has a most notable Talent.

But if any Person desire to see a Summary of the sanguinary desires of the Separatists, he may consult a Pamphlet Intituled, *Justices Plea*, Printed and Published August, 1st. 1644, of which this is the Abridgment.

The Cruel Miscreant addresses himself to the Assembly of Divines, (and by that, he should be a Presbyterian) and vehemently exhorts them to move the High and Honorable Court of Parliament, that Justice may be speedily and severely Executed upon all the most Disloyal and Treacherous Enemies of the Kingdom.

For, saith he, One, if not the main, provoking Cause of all our Miseries, is that Wrath-provoking Sin of Impunity, and not Executing Justice and deserved Punishment upon Eminent Offenders and Malefactors amongst us. Then he falls upon quoting and misapplying Scripture, and the History of Achan, Joshua 7th, and from thence proceeds to charge the Blood of Bohemia, the Palatinate, Rochel, the Isle of Rhee, Ireland and England, upon the King and Loyal Party, whom according to the Presbyterian Rhetorick he Styles Papists, Atheists, Pontificians, and Malignants of all Sorts and Sexes; and, adds he, some of them are put into our Hand as so many devoted Achans, accursed ones, yet of all of them, but one Capital Offender, except some Inferiour ones, Three in London, and as many at Bristol, brought by our Renowned Joshuahs (meaning the Faction of the Two Houses) to deserved Death and Destruction. (P. 1.)

The

The Remedy, saith he, of *Englands* Malady, which is a *State Gangrene*, is the serious, zealous, and un pitying Execution of Justice upon the said Malefactors, and by no means out of Pretence of sinful Pity or Partiality to spare the Lives of any, whom God hath thus appointed to Death.

And this he endeavours to prove to be a Duty, first, from Precepts, *Gen. Cap. 9. Ver. 6. Whosoever sheddeth Mans Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.* This is a general Rule, saith he, and, from one end of the *Bible* to the other, admits of no Exception either of Princes or Peasants, Noble or Ignoble. (So that here you see is a Fatal Blow directly levell'd at the Kings Neck by the *Presbyterian* Doctrine, though the *Independents* robb'd them of the power of putting it in practice) but he goes forward, leaving the impressions of his Cloven-footed Tutor upon every step he takes, and falls with him to his *Scriptum est*, quoting *1 Sam. Chap. 15. Ver. 2, 3. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, I remember that which Amaleck did to Israel, how he laid wait for him in the Way, when he came up from Egypt. Now go, and smite Amaleck, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not, but slay both Man and Woman, Infant and Suckling, Oxe and Sheep, Camel and Ass.* (The Royalists were the *Amalekites*, and the most Religious King in the World was in *Presbyterian* Dialect, *Agag*, and this was the Doom, to which they were adjudged by these pretended Saints, and that too as peremptorily, as if God had told them his Will by immediate Revelation, as he did to *Samuel*, and had declared the King and his Loyal Subjects his unpardonable Enemies, and as Wicked Idolaters, as were the *Amalekites*, and their King, *Agag*.) But the killing Blow was alway that passage, *Revelations. Chap. 18. Ver. 6. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works, in the Cup which she filled, fill to her double, and then to be sure they came to the dashing out the Brains of the Babylonish Brats, the Cavaleers against the Stones.* Lastly, adds he, that of the Prophet *Jeremy*, which I most humbly and heartily desire all our Grave and Godly Parliamentary Worthies should be most often and extraordinarily minded of, *Jer. Chap. 48.*

ver. 10. *Cursed be he, that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and Cursed be he, that keepeth back his Sword from Blood.* Here's a Precept, cries out this Son of the *Horseleech*, with a witness indeed, a Precept under no less than a Curse, yea an ingeminated Curse, to shew the certainty and severity of Gods displeasure in the neglect of it; yea we see, it is called a dealing deceitfully with God and Men, to do it slightly, much more not to do it at all; the Lord give those, whom it most nearly concerns, care and conscience timely and truly to set upon it. (Page 3.)

But lest the Authority of perverted *Scripture-Precepts* should not be sufficient to stimulate and instigate the Heads of the Faction to so much Cruelty, and so many indiscriminating premeditated Murders, he proceeds to furnish *Presidents* to fortifie his bloody Doctrine; and first, saith he affirmatively, *Phineas Executed Judgment on Zimri and Cozbi.* Upon which Text, adds he, as Reverend and Mellifluous Mr. *Marshal* in his Sermon observes, That one man, by his Holy Zeal, may be a means to save a whole Kingdom; how much more then a whole *Parliament*, punishing Offenders in a Legal way by the Rule of Justice. Then he produces *Jehu*, Executing Vengeance upon *Joram* and *Ahaziah*, two Kings, and slaying the seventy Sons of *Ahab*, and the two and forty Brethren of *Ahaziah* King of *Judah*. 2 *Kings* Chap. 9 and 10.

From *Positive* he proceeds to *Negative Presidents*, as he calls them, to shew that God was displeased for neglecting Executing Vengeance upon Capital Offenders; instancing in the Quarrel between the *Benjamites* and *Israelites*, *Judges* Chap 20th. the whole Chapter being, as he saith, the very Case of *England*; comparing the King and his Party to the wicked *Benjamites*, who had committed and justified that inhumane Rape upon the *Levites* Concubine, and the *Parliament* and Faction to the true *Israelites*. Then he tells you the story of *Ahab's* permitting *Benhadad* to escape, 1 *Kings* Chap 20. ver. 42. And he said unto him, thus saith the Lord, because thou hast let go out of thy hands a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy Life shall go for his Life, and thy People for his People. Then he instances in *Saul's* forfeiting his

his Kingdom for sparing *Agag*, King of the *Amalekites*,
1 Sam. Chap. 15. Ver. 23. Because thou hast rejected the
word of the Lord, he hath rejected thee from being King. (A
 strong push for Deposing and Murdering the King, as
 being rejected of God, as *Saul* was.)

But in regard this was addressed to People, who had
 Pretended most wonderful tenderness of *Conscience*, lest
 there should be any remains of that, he comes now to
 hardning of them by answering an Objection.

Obj. What is all this to us of the *Ministry*?

Ans^r. It concerns you all very much, and you also in
 the first place, even You, *Reverend Gentlemen*: Such as
 are Arch-Enemies to God and his most *Righteous Cause*,
 who have suck'd the Blood of Gods precious Ones, are
 now held in Prison among us; they are only imprison-
 ed, but some only pinch'd in their Purfes and set at Liberty,
 at least from danger of Death: And this I say, nay God
 says, Justice is grievously neglected, and the just Wrath
 of God highly incensed and exasperated against us for
 the same. Now you, *Reverend Gentlemen*, are *Sentinels*
 and Watchmen, *Ezek. Chap. 3. Ver. 7. and Chap. 33. Ver.*
7, 8. And you are to give timely and serious warning to
 the Superior Magistrates, *Esa. Chap. 58. Ver. 1. Cry aloud,*
spare not, lift up your voices like Trumpets, to Advise, Preach,
 Petition to purpose, our most Noble and Honorable *Par-*
liamentary Worthies, to put in serious, zealous, and speedy
 Execution, this God-pleasing, Wrath-appeasing Work
 of Severity, and exactly punishing all Grand Offenders,
 and Arch-Adversaries of God and the Kingdom, whoso-
 ever they be.

Then he reminds them, that Justice was done on the
 Earl of *Strafford* by the City of *London's* means, who, a-
 bout two years since, with an Unanimous and Zealous
 consent Assembled gravely and advisedly together, and
 in a sober and substantial manner by their most hum-
 ble Petition, craving and crying out for Justice against
 that pernicious *Traytor*, and Cruel Crafty Enemy of
 the State, the Earl of *Strafford*, accordingly obtained the
 thing desired.

And now he comes to intitle *God* to this *Bloody Divinity*, and, as if he had adored some of the inhumane *Idols* of the *Pagans*, to bespeak *Hecatombs* of Humane Sacrifices to honor and serve him with: Say, saith he, What Honor and Dignity hath been done to God for all the late Victories? Much by the Parliament; but whatever hath been, all is too little; and therefore some Extraordinary and Eminent Work, tending to the High Honour of the Lord, our most glorious wonder-working God; nothing like destroying those *Achans* and *Agags*, whether Great by Place, or Noble by Birth.

But then again, his almost smothered *Conscience* gets a little breath to cross his sanguinary *Divinity* with an Objection, whilst he stops her Cries with an impertinent and shuffling Answer.

Obj. But what, saith he? Nothing but Blood and Cruelty? Make the *Parliament* a *Parliament* of Blood? May not Mercy be as Honourable, as thus fiercely shedding Blood?

Ans. I, or rather Gods Word saith, Who art thou that darest call that Act Bloody, which God himself calls Justice and Judgment, and wherein God is so delighted. Secondly, I say not all, but as the Prophet *Jeremy*, Chap. 15. Ver. 2. Thus saith the Lord, such as are for Death to Death; and such as are for the Sword to the Sword, and such as are for the Famine to the Famine, and such as are for the Captivity to the Captivity. (So that you see, the tender Mercies of a *Presbyterian* are Cruelty, and the Merciful *Schismatick* is not altogether for Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering; no, good Man! he is only for Sword, Famine, and Captivity, for some of them; and I dare say, had the abused Text had Plague, Fire, and Water in it, the Compassionate Creature would graciously have condescended to spare the *Malignants* from Death, to have Committed them to those other lingring Punishments: But here's no Quarter to be given, not one grain of Mercy to be found in his Heart, no Pardon to be had or hoped, and, in the Battel of *Presbyterian* Vengeance, none are like to escape.)

But

But now he comes to wind up his Bloody Bottoms, and concludes, That this Advice is given in singleness and sincerity of heart, for that he may say with *David*, *What have I done, is there not a Cause?*

Here is the very Heart, the Soul, the Conscience of a *True Protestant Schismatick*, and indeed the very Spirit of *Separation* laid naked and open to the view of all Mankind. Here's a Window into the very Bosome of the Faction; where one may see Revenge and Cruelty, Malice and Murder, Hatred of Monarchy, and Contempt of Kings, and ten thousand other Impieties lodged in every corner of his breast. How would these Cruel People now like the *Lex Talionis*, *Adonibezek's Law*, not only to have their Toes and Thumbs cut off, but, according to their own Divinity, since they are most manifestly Guilty of what they falsely accuse the Loyal Party, to be Condemned to all the Severities, which they have so uncompassionately allotted to others: But they are out of that danger, our Religion teaches us a far different *Temper*, and would they give the Government any tolerable assurance, that it were possible for them to be peaceable, and forbear pulling the Penalties of the Laws, made for its security, upon their own Heads, they might grow old, and go in quiet to their own, if they would let others hope to do so to their Graves.

I will add but one Instance more, and that shall be of Mr. *Love*, whose unpeaceful Zeal was one great occasion of the breaking off the *Uxbridge Treaty*, by which means so many thousands of poor Souls were sent in the succeeding Wars, to Untimely and Bloody Deaths.

Men, saith he, who lye under the Guilt of much Innocent Blood are not meet persons to be at Peace with, till all the Guilt of the Blood be expiated and avenged, either by the Sword of the Law, or the Law of the Sword. 'Tis the Sword, not Disputes and Treaties, that must end this Controversie; (just point blank contrary to the Text, which is exactly according to the Presbyterian Divinity). Wherefore turn your Plow-shares into Swords, and your Pruning-hooks into Spears, to fight the Lords Battels, to avenge the Blood of Saints; which hath been spilt; it must be avenged either by us, or upon us. (Loves Sermon at Uxbridge Treaty, 1644.)

And so it happened; *Providence* it seems taking him at his Word; and some part of that Innocent Blood, which was shed by his incitement, being by those of his own Party, according to his *Oraculous*, tho' otherwise intended, Prediction, avenged upon himself; which because it fell out by a very uncommon accident, and known to very few, *Providence* seeming to interpose between him and a Pardon, which was intended for him, and to shew us, that *vir sanguinum non dimidiabit dies suos*, Blood-thirsty Men shall not live out half their Days, I think it will not here be impertinent to my Design, or unprofitable either to the present or future Times, to make publick the *Relation* of it, which I had from the Mouth of a very Loyal, Worthy, and Credible Person; which was thus.

That the *Independents*, after the Murder of the King, having made themselves absolute *Conquerors*, and Masters of the Sword, and thereby snatched the Lawrels of Victory from the *Presbyterian* Brows, who had, together with them, born the heat and burthen of the Day, and sweat so hard in the *Common Cause*; and that they had now every where crushed their fair hopes of Erecting their rigorous *Discipline* in the Establishment of a National Church-Government, according to the *Geneva* and *Scottish* Model, so that the Sneaking *Presbyterians* were even forced to content themselves with a bare *Toleration*, being every hour affronted by the Huffing *Independents*, and every moment menaced with Ruine, by taking away the burthen of Tithes, the maintenance of their Cause and Ministers; they began to consult which way to retrieve themselves from those desperate Events, which seemed, like black Clouds, to hang over their Heads, ready to discharge themselves and all their Storms and Thunder upon them. And seeing no way more probable, than to follow the Example of their Dear Brethren of Scotland, they cast their thoughts upon a *Treaty* with the King, then in Exile; but that this was out of pure kindness to themselves, and not in the least to the King or his Interest, it is most evident, both because they utterly refused therein to joyn with the Loyal Party, and that even Mr. Love himself, with his latest Breath upon the Scaffold, assures us,
That

That it was true, he did oppose in his Place and Calling, the Forces and Tyranny of the late King; and, were he alive again, faith he, and should I live longer, (the Cause being as then it was) I should oppose him longer.

The Crafty *Independents*, whose jealousy of the *Presbyterian* Interest and Power made fearful of them, and those fears vigilant, having their Spies, Emissaries, Informers, and Intelligencers in every Corner, even in the Kings Court, during his Exile, quickly got the scent of this *Presbyterian Intrigue*; and *Love*, as a Principal Man of the *Presbyterian Faction*, being most zealous and forward, and, by reason of his precipitate boiling temper of Spirit, less circumspect and cautious, was immediately Discovered, Apprehended, Tryed, Convicted, and Condemned for this *High Treason* against the State.

But he being the *Minion* of the *Presbyterians*, and they considering, what a wound of Infamy it would give to their, even expiring, Reputation thorow the whole Nation, if he should die for this Crime of supposed *Loyalty*, therefore extraordinary Intercessions and Applications were made to the *Commons*, then Styled *The Supreme Authority of the Nation*, for his Deliverance; all his faithful Zeal and memorable Services in former Times were recounted, and the danger of disobliging and losing the *Presbyterian* Interest and Kindness; and how hazardous it might be to the Common-wealth, not yet well settled, if, by such severities, the *Presbyterians* should be provoked to joyn with the *Malignant Party*, were among other Sollicitations represented and insinuated to the *Grandees* of the *Independent Party*. But this *Supreme Authority of the Nation* having now struck their Top-sail to *Cromwel*, who wore the Flag of Sovereignty, even over this goodly *Supreme Authority*, till such time as they had sent a dispatch to their Great Dictator *Oliver*, to consult his Sovereign Will, and to know from his Lips, upon which all Mens Destinies now depended, their *Supremeships* at *Westminster* durst not condescend to give *Love* a Pardon for his Life, only Execution was respited for some little time.

Cromwel, being then absent in *Scotland*, upon the Receipt of this Account from the *Slaves*, whom he was pleased to

call his *Masters*, having taken the matter into his grave Deliberation, returns his Answer in a private Letter to one of his Confidants, but I cannot positively charge my Memory, whether *Scot* or *Martin*; and therein, according to his Politicks, considering, that at present his hands were full, and fearing, lest the *English Presbyterians* should rise at his back, and joyn with the *Scottish Kirk-Party*, with whom he was now ingaged, he graciously Condescends, that *Love* should be for a considerable time Reprieved, and, upon good Security from Him and his Party of their future behaviour, Pardoned.

Now by what Impulse or Direction God only knows, two or three *Gentlemen*, who had formerly been of the *Kings Army*, happening to travel the *Northern Road*, and meeting the *Post*, who, among others, was charged with this Letter, and inquiring of him, Whether he had; any *Scotch Letters*, to which he innocently replied, He had; a Curiosity seized their Imagination to peep into the Secrets of the *Usurping Powers*; and therefore taking the *Post* aside out of the High Road, into a convenient place, and opening his *Male*, they took out and opened the *Scottish Pacquet*, and, among others, this of *Cromwels*, which carried a Warrant for a Reprieve for *Love*; upon the reading of which, one of them immediately cried out, *Oh! that is the Rogue, that ruin'd us, by breaking off the Treaty at Uxbridge*; and thereupon putting that Letter in his pocket, they restored the rest to the *Post*, telling him, there were his Letters again, and immediately mounting, and putting Spurs to their Horses, they pursued their intended Journey.

The Pacquet arriving at *London*, and several Letters from *Cromwel* to diverse Persons, without one single Syllable concerning *Love*, the Party took it for granted, that this Silence was intended as an absolute Denial: And therefore, not daring to draw upon themselves the high displeasure of *Cromwel*, either by a second Importunity to save him, or by a Delay of Execution, in a few days after the Warrant for his dispatch into the other World was signed, and he, who had been instrumental in bringing so many Noble Heads; and even the *Kings*, to that Infamous and Untimely Death, had himself the Honour of the *Axe*, and to have

have the blood of so many Innocents, as was shed by his Party, avenged upon himself, according to his Sanguinary and Prophetick Divinity.

But, while my Pen runs in this full Carreer against these Cruel and Sanguinary *Principles*, it is more than probable, that the usual Courtesie of the *Faction* will bestow the Title of a bloody-minded *Persecutor* upon me; and that the intent of this Exposure of their Positions is designed purposely to Expose their Persons to the Hatred and severest Punishments of the Laws and Government. Now though, while I keep my self to the strictest Rules of Truth, I should little value the worst of their Imputations, yet considering, that they are wont to extend their Calumnies from single Persons to the whole *Order* of our *Church*, I have too much Duty and Tenderneſs, for the Reputation of that Glorious and truly *Apostolical* Church, whereof I esteem it my greatest Honour to be one of her meanest Servants, to suffer the least Spot, through my willing default, to sully her Beauteous Face: I must therefore make my most Solemn *Protestation*, that, as I have not the least Animosity to any Mans Person, so I have not the least Inclination that prompts me to any kind of Cruelty; nay, it is my perfect abhorrence of Blood and Cruelty, that compels me for the Satisfaction of the Importunities of my own Conscience, to use my utmost Industry to prevent the effusion of Humane Blood. It is to prevent the growth of these Fatal *Principles*, which, if not in time suppressed and subdued, threaten again to break out among us, and open the Veins of these Miserable *Nations*: It is because I would with my utmost Power hinder these deluded people, who become distracted with the Raving Poison of such Divinity, either from Executing their Bloody Treasons and Malice upon others, or running themselves to Execution upon the Sword of *Justice*. It is against the Immortal mischief of the *Principles*, and not the Mortal Lives of the deluded *Professors* of them, that I level all my blows; and that our Grand-Children may learn Wisdom from our harms and dangers; and know how to distinguish by their Fruits the *Cedar* Government of *Monarchy*, from the Bramble Government of *Faction* and *Usurpation*; that

Revel. Chap. 2.
ver. 9.

St. Jude. ver.
13.

they may know the true difference between the truly Apostolical, Loyal, and Obedient Church of England, and those false Schismatics, who call themselves *True Protestants*, but are of the *Synagogue of Satan*: That they may understand the difference betwixt those Glorious Stars, the Angels of the Churches, the Bishops, which are for ever fixed in the powerful Right-hand of the Son of God, and those New Lights, unfixed Meteors, wandring Stars, for whom, St. Jude tells us, is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.

As for Exasperating the Government against them, as it is not my design, and, that I address my whole discourse by way of *Caution* to private Persons; so they ought rather to accuse their own Actions and not my Words, if the Government be justly Exasperated against them. And indeed, as it would be a very foolish Presumption in me, to pretend to advice, so it would be a superfluous Vanity to go about to exasperate the Government, since it is most certain the Government knows them sufficiently already, and if the Tongues and Pens of all mankind were for ever silenced, their own Mouths, Pens, Words and Actions never cease to make *Proclamations* against themselves, and to provoke the Government, even at no less Peril, than not only its *Well-being*, but its very *Being*, to take such Effectual Care of them, as to secure the Monarch and Monarchy, the Church and Apostolical *Hierarchy*, from the continual Attempts of their unwearied Practices both secret and open against them. And it is a Duty, which not only the Government owes it self by the most Primitive and Innate Law of *Self-Preservation*, but it is bound by all the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, and by all the Obligations, both Divine and Humane, by the strongest Reasons of Wisdom and Interest, to protect and defend the Loyal, Dutiful, Peaceable, and Obedient Subjects, against the wicked Designs of the Seditious, Unruly, and Rebellious. And, as every Good man may modestly challenge this Protection from the Government, so ought every Honest Man heartily to lend his best assistance towards the Support of that Power, from which he expects Protection, by detecting the Designs,

signs, exposing the Artifices, and weakning the Force of its implacable Enemies, and such our *Separatists* have proved themselves sufficiently to be, had there been no other Pens, but their own, imployed against them.

And because the whole World, to whose hands these *Papers* shall come, shall witness for me, that I have Treated them at a far more temperate Rate, than these Brethren in Iniquity have treated each other in their mutual Quarrels, in their Censures, and exposing each others destructive Principles: And that, if they find themselves pierced through the very heart of their *Reputation*, they may, with the *Eagle* in the *Fable*, perceive, that the Arrow, from which they received their Mortal wound, is feathered from their own Wings; I will present the Reader with a *Dialogue*, taken out of their own Writings, and in their own proper *Language*, which possibly may not be indivertive, and, I hope, not unuseful or unserviceable to the design of Exposing, and, if possible, Exploding these Wicked, Turbulent, and Factious Opinions out of the Minds of Mankind.

And that it may be known which are their Words, and what is only inserted to reduce it into the form of a Familiar discourse, those Expressions, which serve only to tack it together, are printed in *Italick*, the other in the ordinary *Roman Letter*.

Independent. *Here's a stir indeed! What a bustle do these Presbyterians make for Reformation of Church-Government? We must put in An Humble Supplication to the King and Parliament, in opposition to these Motions of the Presbyterians for a Reformation. (Independents Petition, Printed at Amsterdam. 1641.)*

Presbyterian. *And what art thou?*

Independent. *A poor Suppliant of the Congregational way, who am come, with some others of our Church, to present our Humble Petition to the King and Parliament, for some Liberty and Indulgence to be shewed to the Tender Consciences of our Gathered Churches.*

Presbyt. *What? An Independent! A Brownist, a Separatist, I warrant you; None else would oppose this glorious Reformation and Endeavour to set Christ upon his Throne.*

M

Indep.

Indep. Good Sir! be not scandalized at the Name or the Thing. We are for the purity of the Gospel, according to the Pattern in the Mount.

Presbyt. Oh! You are one of that new-born Bastard Sect of Independency, which is nothing but a Confounding Ataxy, Rent upon Rent, and a Schisme of Schismes, until all Church Community be torn into Atomes; every three Men (nay every three Women, among you) dissociating themselves into an ἐξελθουσικία, a Will-Worship of their own devising, which fondly and madly you call a Church. But where, I pray, and in what corner of the world, hath this aëry Independency been asleep until these days? Quo consule? Under what Kings Reign was it born? Where may I hear, that it hath a being? Where may I read, (below the World in the Moon) that ever it had a being? I will be bold to brand it with the name of a new-minted Seminary for all Self-Pride, Heresie, Schisme, Sedition, and for all Libertinisme: An Outside seeming Saintship, a Pestilence to all Government, except a Traiterous and clouted Anarchy. (Sir Edward Deerings Speeches, Page 82. Sect. 2.)

Indep. I perceive, Sir, your Worship is a member of the most Honourable House of Commons, and, I hope, you will entertain a better Opinion of your weak Brethren, whose Tender Consciences cannot come up to all your Heights.

Presbyt. Never, Never, I assure you. Independency! Why it is a Genus Generalissimum of all Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Schismes; compounded of, first, a Jew, arrogating to be, with them, the peculiar People of God: Secondly, Christian, in acknowledging the Scriptures, some of them at least, tho' Pharisees themselves, and Publicaning all the World, whereas True Religion is like Jacobs Ladder, *Stat pede in terris, caput inter nubila condit*. Thirdly, Turk, submitting all to the Fate and Power of the Sword, Religion, Laws, and Liberty, that Idol of the People. (Walkers History of Independency, at the beginning.)

Independ. Good your Worship, what ever you think of us, be pleased according to the trust reposed in you, as one of our Representatives, to deliver our Petition to the House, where I hope we have many Friends; you know there hath passed a
Vote

Vote of the Commons of England for it, and I hope you have too much Honour for that Body to deny that Request.

Presbyt. I know indeed very well, that your Schismatical Party hath been so Clamorous with Petitions, that a Vote was passed in your Favour, That it is the undoubted Right of Subjects to Petition, and afterwards to acquiesce in the Wisdom and Justice of the two Houses. (*Hist. of Indep.*)

Indep. Upon the Foundation of that undoubted Right it is, that we Address our selves to that Honourable Assembly. And you will see by the contents of our Petition, that it is time for us to stir, and that we have reason to complain. For as to the Motions of the Presbyterians for Reformation in Church Government, in the whole, *First*, there is much Self-seeking; for to what end is it motioned, to have Parish-Ministers raised up to an equal Height (as it were) of Power, and Authority with the Bishops, but that They and the Bishops together, keeping from the people their Rights and Liberties in the Gospel, may equally Lord it, and do what they please without control? But our hope is, that the Parliament, being Men in whom the Lord hath put Wisdom and Understanding, will for their Brethren and Companions sake, yea, and for their own Souls sakes too, prudently foresee the Evil, and prevent the Motion, and not put Authority into their hands, who will be, if they have it, as great Persecutors of the Saints, as the Prelates formerly have been, and so instead of one Lordly Domineering Bishop in a Diocese, we shall then have one in every Parish, and in some more, to oppress and suppress all such as walk up to their Light more Closely and Conscionably in all Gods ways; and what we speak, we speak no more than what we have had woeful Experience of, and can make good by Proof. But in the next place, we cannot but take notice, of their mixing of Heaven and Earth together, motioning for a Discipline which is a very *Hotch-Potch*, a *Gallimaufrey* compounded of Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Popery, thinking in likelyhood to please all sides, by framing, like the *Samaritans*, a Worship of Sundry Religions: But the Lord sees their Halting, and will one day reward them

for it in their own bosoms, as they have deserved; and for these Reasons, we desire the removing of this devised Liturgy and Hierarchy, and that *Christ's* true Ministry, Worship, and Government may be established by Act of Parliament (*Petition of the Independents, supra citat.*)

Presbyt. But when you have Petitioned, you do not Acquiesce in the Wisdom and Justice of the two Houses, who would have you quietly to attend the intended Reformation, which they hope to perfect ere long by those Arms, which they have raised to rescue the King from the Hands of his Evil Councillors, and bring him back to his Great Council the Parliament.

Indep. Alas! Alas! What do you tell us of Acquiescing? What Favour can tender Consciences expect from Rigid Presbyterians, who are resolved to set up their Discipline above all Power, and to enslave both King and People.

Presbyt. What can they expect but a Kingdom of Righteousness, and that the King should be made the most Glorious King in Christendome, as his Parliament hath promised him: That the Parliament should enjoy their Priviledges, the People their Liberties, and be freed from Monopolies, Ship-money, and the Antichristian Yoke of Prelacy: and a National Church-Government according to the Word of God, and the Solemn League and Covenant be established.

Indep. Ah Sir.! From thence arise all our Fears: Which are notably confirmed from former Experiences, wherever Presbytery hath obtained Power. For as to the King, he must never flatter himself with any hopes from the Presbyterians: Their Government carries such a special Enmity against Monarchy, * That whosoever will Found the one, must raise the Fundamentals of the other: For this little upstart Hierarchy can be little acknowledged, where Kingly Power is. This Epidemical Pest of Scotland was baptized by their Charity into a National Form in the Minority of King James, when the great Lords and Clergy, ruling all, divided Stakes, so that when he came at age, and thought to grasp a Scepter, he found a Manacle, for it had consumed the Monarchie to a Skeleton; the unlimited Power of the Convention of Estates, and General Assembly especially, like the Rod of Aaron,

* A shrewd
Maxim from
the Pen of one
who knew them
inwardly in cute.

was such a budding Evil, that it devoured the Rod of *Moses*. For, *where they prevail*, they will allow the *King* nothing but a Name without Substance; the Bishops neither Name nor Substance; And as for the People, they must expect no more favour from them than the Prince: For they leave the Lords, and Gentry, nothing but Slavery; and the Commons, Tyranny under the meanest of their fellow-Subjects. And to say truth, *Solomon's* great Vanity is a Prime Mystery of *Presbyterian* Government, Servants on horseback, and Princes on foot, for they assert, That Magistrates of what Degrees or Rank soever, ought to use the Sword as they advise or command; and compel others to submit to the Decree of the General Assembly. And with what furious violence did they press their Covenant, sequestering all that refused to take it? So that they tread down all by a Moarnival or Two of Tyrants, no less Monstrous perhaps for Pride than Ignorance in every Parochial Inquisition. And should their Government be established in England, for 24 Diocesses, we should have 1000 Presbyteries, besides the Torture of Classes, Provincial Juntos, Synods, Assemblies. And how many of the Clergy must be called off from their Charges, to take upon their shoulders the Weight of Government, which was their only Argument against the Bishops? And certainly, Tyranny is more supportable in a few than many hands; and there is nothing to be expected but a fiery Tryal, where the Furnace of Discipline is so excessively heated, as it is by the *Presbyterians*; there being in one Ordinance of theirs about the Lord Supper, no less than Eighty sins named, excluding the Persons accused of any one of them from it, all which are left to the Malice of their Elders to accuse, as they did *Susanna*. So that a Citizen shall not dare to dispose of his Estate; wear good Apparel; get ten, twenty, or thirty *per Cent.* by Lawful ways of Trade, without the leave of the Elders. And then for the Men of the Long Robe, what will become of them? For all matters of Controversie will come before the *Consistory*. And after all this, Lay-Eldership is a meer decoy; the Preaching *Presbyters* will do all, and the other must stand or fall according to his Report at

* Marchmont
Needham.

the General Assembly. (*The Case of the Kingdom Stated by M. N. Shewing the several Interests; Printed, 1647.*)

Presbyt. Kings and Parliaments have found a Notable Advocate of you, I have heard your Party speak other Language, even the most Wicked Blasphemies against this Reforming Glorious Parliament: And to what purpose are your Fawning Applications to them, whose Authority you do not own? Pray do but hear this Paper read, Upon sight and consideration of the Votes of Parliament, Dated *Die Veneris, 20 Februarii, 1645*, and upon the Ordinance: Dated *Sabbati 14 Martii 1645*. Intituled, an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament for keeping of Scandalous Persons from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the enabling of Congregations for the choice of Elders, and supplying defects in former Ordinances, and Directions of Parliament, concerning Church-Government. Resolved by Tender Conscience, with the consent of Gods Holy Word and Spirit assembled together, That the Word of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, without the Word of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, is no warrant for Tender Conscience to joyn with ungodly Parishes, in the choice of Spiritual Elders to Govern Gods Spiritual House.

* Observe this
Reservation, for
in ordine ad
Spiritualia,
draws all things
of civil nature
to their Juris-
diction.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament have the Civil Government over the Bodies and Estates in * Civil things, but the Lord Jesus in Spiritual.

Resolved, &c. That the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and the Parish Churches and Chappels therein, have not yet been proved to tender Conscience to be Churches of Christ: Nor have the Directions that passed both Houses, bearing Date, *19 August. 1645*. Nor the supplying Ordinance since, nor hath any thing of that nature been proved to be according to the Word of God, and that Tender Conscience never read of *Classes's*, nor Parochial Congregations in the *Bible*.

Resolved, &c. That therefore such Election of Parochial Congregational Elders, the Warning thereof, and the Sermon preparatory is, in the Judgment of tender Conscience, a taking Gods Name in vain.

Resol-

Resolved, &c. That the Major part of the Parishes, being Ungodly, will chuse Ungodly Elders; and that not all such, as have taken the National Covenant, are fit to chuse Godly Elders; that many persons under Age, and Servants without Families, are more Godly than their Parents and Masters that keep Families, and in Christs Church not to be excepted against in the Choice of Church-Officers, seeing that all Saints, both *Jews and Gentiles, Bond and Free*, are all one in Christ, *Gal. Chap. 3. ver. 28.* And that his Saints are not to have the Faith of Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, in respect of Persons.

Resolved, &c. That the Lord Mayor, and Cities Presidents, or any Presidents which tend, or have tended to the taking away or obstruction of the Settlement or Establishment of the Antient bounds of Liberty of Conscience, cannot amount in the least to be any binding President to Tender Conscience.

Finally, It is Resolved, &c. That the Lord of Tender Conscience is Lord of all Lords and Laws, and never Ordained to bring in any thing into his Worship, but that which First was by his own Institution; and that therefore all Acts, Ordinances, Votes, Protestations, Declarations, &c. made, or which hereafter, without the Word of God, shall be made by any Person or Persons whatsoever, shall be of no Force against Tender Conscience, in the Worship of God; and that though such Humane Acts, Ordinances, &c. take hold only of all those Men that have the Mark of the Beast, but that Tender Conscience, and the Friends thereof, shall be Exempted there-from.

May 1, 1646. Ordered to be Printed,

Christian Meekness

Clerk to Tender Conscience.

[Several Votes of Tender Conscience, Printed, July 28. 1646.] Pray, do you own this Paper, good Mr. Independent?

Indep. Why truly, Sir, I do own it, and since you are so hot upon inflaving of poor Tender Consciences, I am to deal plainly with you, and to tell you, that the Manner of a true, pure, and perfect Reformation is hidden from your Eyes; You Presbyterians are Friends to the Midnight of Popery, your Directory is the Golden Calf of your own Invention,

your Two Children are Power and Maintenance : The Angel of the Lord hath Smitten you with Blindness, as he did the *Sodomites*, else you would have found the Door of the Visible Church : Your Way is a persecuting Way : Your Blind Guides would all be Controllers ; You are like your Fore-Fathers, the Blood-Thirsty Bishops ; you Pollute, Profane, and Trample under Foot *Christs* precious Truths ; you derive your Ordination from the Antichristian Prelates, and are the *Second Beast*, Rev. Chap. 13. ver. 2. *What can be said bad enough of this Sect of the Blasphemous, Persecuting, Treacherous Presbyterians, Popish Presbyterians, Profane Presbyterians ?* 'Tis you that, wherever you come, are guilty of all Divisions in Towns, Cities, Families ; *you, even you, Presbyterian Praters*, all whose Ways are Impure, Imperfect, and Impious. *Come on, Sir*, I'll shew you your Picture here in a Broad-side ; Do you see that Winged Heart mounting towards Heaven ? that is Tender Conscience ; look there, on the Right hand stands the *Pope* with the Latin Mass-book in one of his hands, and in the other a Sword to wound Tender Conscience ; on the left hand stands a *Prelate* in the same Posture, holding in his left hand The Liturgie ; and in the middle, d'ye mark ! there stands your Dapper *Sir Jack Presbyter* in his Cloak, in one hand a Dagger, with which he attempts to Wound the Winged Heart, and in his other hand the *Directory* ; Look ye, all these three are linked together in one Chain, to shew, that they have all the same Design, but *Presbyter* is the Worst of the Three, for, if you observe, you will see he tramples upon a Crown Imperial, which he hath gotten under his Feet ; but pray mark, *the Curst Cow hath the shortest Horns*, your *Presbyters's* Dagger is too short, and how good soever his Will may be, here's a Weight with a Chain fastened to his Bloody Dagger-hand, so that he is not able to reach the Flying Heart, but that, by the Help of her Wings, Tender Conscience mounts out of his ; and the reach of all her Enemies, and

The more

*You wound my dear and precious Tender Heart ;
Your Seared ones shall feel the grievous Smart.
All Three to injure me as Mortal Foe ;
Encreaseth your Eternal Wo, Wo, Wo.* Rev. 8. 13.

(*Dida-*

(*Dictated thoughts upon the Presbyterians late Petitions, for Complete and Universal Authority in Divine Ordinances, to be conferred upon them by Humane Authority. Printed, April. 14. 1646.*)

Presbyt. Most certainly, by his Foming at the mouth, the Man is distracted, and perfectly Raves; but, Sir, I shall give your Courage a Cooling Julep, by informing the House concerning you.

Indep. What do you tell us of the House, or the Parliament? I must tell you, that opposing of Independency is a perfect Theomachy, a plain Fighting against God. We are under the Government of Christ alone: No Power on Earth, or Earthly Lawgivers, may, can, or ought to give Laws for the Government of the Church. Neither Kings, nor Parliaments, nor Synods, have Authority to prescribe Laws or Rules for Church Government, to make Coactive Laws to bind Conscience to Conformity, or to inflict Mulets or Penalties for contempt or disobedience. For the Members of Parliament are chosen but by a Secular Rout, by the Generality and Riff-Raff of the World, Papists, Atheists, Drunkards, and Swearers. And the Parliament's Claiming this Power is seven times more undermining and destructive of their Power, Honor, Peace, and Safety; it is claiming the incommunicable Prerogative, and Regalities of Heaven; an attempt to make themselves equal with God. *Truth Triumphant over Falshood, &c. by W. Pryn, Printed by the Order of the House of Commons, June, 2. 1644, In the Epistle Dedicatory to the Parliament.*

Presbyt. You give the Parliament good encouragement to favour you; But I doubt not, but they, and all honest Men, are sufficiently sensible of, and acquainted with, your Temper and Inclinations, but lest they should not, I shall take the Liberty to inform Them and the Whole Nation, That if Independent Government be suffered at this insolent rate, in time it cannot but overthrow all other Sorts of Ecclesiastical Government, and Civil too by the same Principles; for in reality it destroys all Civil Power, Magistracy, Corporations, Parliaments, Courts of Justice; for what ever Meekness they may pretend, Independency is such a Turbulent, Dangerous, Unquiet, Schismatical Government, as will un-King, un-

Parliament, un-Church a Nation, nay un-Nation them. For it makes each several gathered Congregation, an absolute Monarchy, Church, Republick, and Nation within it self. It is a Model of Government more Rigid, Uncharitable, Unsociable, Papal, Tyrannical, Anti-Monarchical, Anti-Synodical, Anti-Parliamentary, than any Government whatsoever. *A full Reply to certain brief Observations, and Anti-Queries upon Pryn's 12 Queries*, Printed, Oct. 19. 1644.

Indep. *Unking, and Anti-Monarchical, Very fine! your Worship forgets the Proverb. Nay for that commend me to you Presbyterians; You are for a King that shall be no King, a King of Clouts. Have not you taught us, That Parliaments are the Supreme Power, and that Kings are Subordinate to them? That a King hath no Power to impose Taxes; to give Portions to his Children? That he cannot displace a Judge? That he is bound to confirm what is concluded by the States? That he is Obliged not to depart from the Parliament? That they may Summon him to Appear before them; Question him, Restrain him, Allow him only a Pension to support him; Order his House, Appoint him Counsellors, Appoint him Governors; Separate his Queen from him; Void his last Will; Seize his Revenues; Keep his Forts; Raise Arms against him; Bring in Foreigners; Banish him; Make Peace and Wars; Force him to resign his Right to the Crown; Force him to resign his Crown; Determine the Right of Succession to the Crown; Chuse their own Judges; Rescind the Kings Acts; Imprison him, put out his Eyes, strangle him; Absolve his Subjects from their Allegiance; Depose him; Disinherit him; Remove him at the Peoples pleasure; Elect another, Christian or Infidel? (Pryn's Sovereign Power of Parliaments; Ordered to be printed by the Committee for Printing, and Licensed by John White, Printed for Michael Sparke, Jun. June 23. 1643.)*

Presbyt. *You are very Brisque in Charging us with what, if it be a Crime, you are as guilty of, as We: For Independency, if admitted, ruins not only Monarchy, but even our Sovereign Power of Parliaments, and cassates all Obedience. For you make Laws for your selves, which*
your

your Congregations must submit to, or be Excommunicated and delivered up to the Devil; you affirm, That every particular Congregation is a Complete, Intire, Absolute, Spiritual Republick, Corporation, Body, and City of God, of it self, and of absolute Authority within it self, subject to no other Jurisdiction, than that of Christ, and his Word, and Spirit; and not under any Congregation, Synod, or National Church, or humane Power whatsoever; and that the Parliament cannot make Canons or Rules to bind it, nor perscribe any Church-Government or Discipline to it: And in short, Independency is flat Popery, holding themselves, as the Pope doth, subject and accountable to none but Christ, as you may see in *Alv. Pelag. de planctu Ecclesiæ, lib. 1. Art. 6. 13. 31. 34, 35. 37.* And every Independent Minister is a perfect Pope. (*Pryns Truth triumphing over Falshood, supra citat.*) Nay, one of your Ministers in the Summer Islands, one White, was openly pronounced, in the presence of God and the whole Congregation, to be Supreme Head of that Church next under Christ, and none above him. *And your manner of entring into your Congregational way shews your true Temper; for after Confession of Sins, the Profelytes are admitted and received, and enter into Church-Covenant to stand to and maintain their Church and Discipline, Orders, Governors, and Government, to the uttermost of their Power and Abilities, and to strive therein, even unto Blood. (Letter from Summer Islands from one Richard Beak, who at 74 years of age was imprisoned 13 Months, for opposing this White and his Independent Congregation.)* But I hope the Parliament will serve you, as they did your busie Socinian Teacher Goodwin, and stop all your Mouths with a silencing Ordinance.

Indep. They served that precious man so indeed, for his Book called *Theomachia*, An excellent recompence for his kindness to them, which was, if any fault, *Error Amoris*, not *Amor Erroris* in him, and designed to prevent their dashing against this Stone, which will one day break all Power in pieces, (*Truth Triumphant, &c.*) But never trouble your selves, for we do not, with your Parliament Ordinances. which are but Parliament Toyes, (*Martins Eccho*) the People

never trusted the Parliament with Church Government, which they themselves have not, and therefore cannot give it: For what cannot be given, cannot be received; but had you the Arch-Bishops Power, I find you would exceed him in Cruelty of Persecution, you are the Parliaments *Evil Genius*, egging and inciting them to Acts of Tyranny against an Innocent People, and had you Command, you would Censure, Fine, Pillory, Imprison, Banish, and differ little from *Bonner* and *Gardiner* in *Queen Maryes Days*; (*A help to understand Mr. Pryn*) for you are neither better nor worse than a company of Prophane Apostates, Popish, Jesuitical Incendiaries, Haters of Gods People; and while we are fighting and hazarding our dearest Lives for the Subjects Liberty, as *Mr. Lilburn* too truly said of you, we are in danger of being brought into *Egyptian Bondage*, in this and other particulars by the Black-coat *Presbyterians*, who I am affraid will prove more Cruel Task-masters, than their dear Brethren the Bishops. For what *I pray* is the inhansing and ingrossing of Interpretations, Preachings, and Discipline into the *Presbyterians* Hands, but a meer Monopoly of the Spirit, and worse than the Monopoly of Sope. The Ordinance, That no Unordained Persons Preach, is a Patent of the Spirit, to get the whole Trade into their own Hands, to rob the People with what Ware and Price they please, to look in their Faces and pick their Pockets. (*A Fresh Discovery of some prodigious new wandring Blazing Stars and Fire brands, Styling themselves New Lights*, by *W. Pryn*, 1645.)

Presbyt. Nay, you and your un-ordained Independent Preachers, have made brave work in the Pulpit: It would make ones Hair stand an end, to hear what hath been taught by Ignorant, Impudent Mechanics; and what Damnable Blasphemies and Heresies have been broached by them among the People, for Soul-saving Truths: Such as these. That Christ's Righteousness is a beggarly Righteousness; That Christ's Blood did not purchase Heaven for any Man; That Christ shed his Blood for Kine and Horses, as well as for Men; That the Devils and Souls of Men are Mortal, and none but God Immortal; That we are only to believe the Scriptures

as they are agreeable to Sense and Reason ; That the Scriptures are uncertain, insufficient, and not an Infallible Rule of Faith ; That the Scriptures cannot be said to be the Word of God, Christ only being so ; That the Scriptures of the Old Testament do not bind Christians under the New ; That Adultery and Drunkenness are not Sins ; That Prayer in Families is unlawful ; That *Christ's* Sufferings were only for our Example, not to purchase Heaven for us ; That no Man was cast into Hell for Sin, but only because God would have it so ; That *Christ* will destroy all Government, Lawful, and Unlawful ; That God was never displeased with Men for Sin ; if he were, it were changeableness in God ; That the Church and Ministry of *England* are *Antichristian* ; That Toleration of *Jews, Turks, Pagans*, in all Nations is the Will of God ; That there is no Resurrection ; That if a Woman's Husband was sleeping, or absent, she may lawfully lye with another Man, because sleep is Death ; That *John Baptist's* Doctrine of Repentance was a Leathern Doctrine ; That *Adam's* Sin deserved not Hell ; That all the Heaven there is, is here on Earth ; That Universities are of the Devil, and Humane Learning of the Flesh ; That many shall be Saved, that were never Elected ; That They are the great *Anti-Christ*, who deny the general Redemption of the whole Creation ; That no Man had any thing to do to hinder it, if any Person should Worship the Sun or the Moon ; That the Doctrine of Repentance is a Soul-depraving Doctrine ; That the Lords Day ought not to be kept, all dayes being alike under the Gospel ; That Sanctification is but a Dunghill-dirty Qualification ; That there is no Church, no Ordinances, nor Ministers in the World ; That it is unlawful to teach Children to Pray ; That Infants shall not rise again, because they were not capable of knowing God, and so not of enjoying God. (*A Discovery of dangerous Heresies taught by Mechanicks. Printed April 26, 1647.*) And in short, Independency is a Seminary of Schismes, and dangerous Divisions in the Church and State ; a Flood-gate to let in all Heresies, Errors, Sects, Libertinisme, and even the Mahometan Doctrine. (*Twelve Queries about Church-Govern-*

ment against the Independents, by W. Pryn.

Indep. Well, Well! You may talk what you please of Heresies, Errors, Sects, and Schismes, but this I am assured of, That all the Plagues of Egypt were but a Flea-biting to what one *Presbyterial* Church would be, the Pope himself is as truly Christian as our *Presbyterie*; they can never be Good to others, who are guilty of such Ingratitude to the Bishops, from whom, formerly they received the Holy Ghost, with all their Spiritual Preferments, and were first put into a capacity of Lording it, as they do, over the People; whom, like ungracious Children, viperous Vermine, inhumane Cannibals, notwithstanding their Grace and Favour, they have devoured up and shared the Inheritance among them. (*A Sacred Decree, &c.*) *Presbyterial* Government is much more truly said to be Prelatical, than the Episcopal; nay both Papal and Episcopal Government is better than *Presbyterian*, more Uniform, and have continued many Hundred of Years longer than *Presbytery*, and were long before *Presbytery* was thought of; it was but a Shift at a Pinch, that the Devil made, when neither of the other would serve his Turn, and so came up *Presbyterie*, but what good the Devil will have of it, I know not, for who knows the Luck of a Lowfie Cur, he may prove a good Dog. (*Robinson's Answer to Pryn's 12 Queries. And the Arraignment of Persecution, cited by Pryn in his Fresh Discovery, &c.*)

Presbyt. Oh, Monstrous! I now find it true, what my worthy Friend Dr. Bastwick saith of you, viz. A Man may truly say of Independents, *Diabolus cacavit illos*, they are the very Nephews of *Heliogabalus*, Terrible Dissemblers, and Notorious Liars; if they get Authority, down go the Churches, which must be made *Tophets* of; down go Gentry and Nobility, the Sons of *Belial*, (*Bastwick's Letter to Vicars.*) Remember your Solemn League and Covenant; pray, Mr. Independent, did not you joyn with us in it, and do you now renounce both that and the Parliament? I must tell you, That to withdraw from this Community, the Parliament, our Representatives, is next Door to withdrawing from, and renouncing God himself; nay it is a plain Renouncing of him, and Warring against him.

him. The Cause is Holy, Just, and Good, and God will come in for the Defence of it in his own Time; In taking the Covenant, *you, as well as we*, have Vowed, and we will not Repent, to oppose these Adversaries to Death; be they Bishops, Lawyers, Devils, (He is their Prince) we will oppose these to Death, nay we Vow and Covenant now to take up Arms against King and Queen, both setting themselves against God, and the Power of Godliness: For though we have taken the Oath of Allegiance, we are only Sworn to Obey the King, while he Obeys God; for what are the Princes and Nobles of the Earth, but God's Scullions to clear up and purge his Vessels appointed to Honour? Pray, Good Mr. Independent, remember your self and the Covenant. (*The Covenant Asserted*, Printed, August 14. 1643.)

Indep. The Covenant cannot bind us, till one Clause viz. according to the Word of God, be determined: And having done the utmost to fulfil it, by helping you to Extirpate Root and Branch, we have done all the Covenant requires, (*The Case of the Kingdom stated, &c.*) but besides, it is a meer Snare to catch the People with the Face of Reformation, never kept, nor intended to be kept by your selves that made and imposed it on others; for by the Covenant you were Sworn to root out all Popery, but yet you have Established Tithes, the Root of Popery, (*Lilburn cited by Pryn, Fresh Discovery, &c.*) and in truth it is impossible to be kept, and the Makers of it have run into wilfull Perjury, it is a Makebate, Persecuting, Soul-destroying, England-dividing, and Undoing Covenant, (*England's Birthright by J. Lilburn:*) And therefore, as Mr. Goodwin tells you, to Violate such an Abominable and Accursed Oath, as this Covenant is, is an Holy and a Blessed Perjury, (*12 Cautions by J. Goodwin, in opposition to Pryn's 12 Queries.*)

Presbyt. I have often heard some of your Party say indeed, That Presbyterian Government came in with Knox, and must go out with Knocks, and Mr. Solicitor gave us your *Ultima Ratio* for it the other Day in the House, with a Menace, That you must have Recourse to the Power of the Sword, the longest Sword take all; so that as Dr.

Bastwick says, we must expect shortly, that, according to your frequent threatnings, you will fall to Cutting of the Throatsof the *Presbyterians*. (*Hist. of Independ. and Bastwick's Post-script to Burton.*)

Indep. Nay, the Truth is, We are resolved to have none of your Blew-Cap Reformation. Your Reverend Assembly of Divines is such a Quagmire of Croking Frogs, composed of Skip-Jack *Presbyters*, a Synodian Whore, a Trayterous Synod, so many *Presbyterian* Horse-Leaches, Blood-thirsty Cattle, Jesuitical Traytors, that it is a meer Consistory of Devils, guided by the Holy Ghost sent in a Cloak-bag from *Scotland*, that there is no induring of them any longer. (*Arraignment of Persecution. And Martin's Echo, Printed, 1646.*)

Presbyt. One may now with half an Eye see what you would be at. You have got the Sword, and you will Govern with it: Your Insolencies are plain Evidences of your Intentions. One of your Prophane Crew, the last Sabbath, gave up a Bill at Mr. *Calamie's* Church in these Words, You are desired to remember in your Prayers the Sick and Weak Estate of those Priest-Ridden Slaves, that went about to gather Hands to the Petition for Disbanding of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army. (*Real Persecution, or the Foundation of a general Toleration displaid, Collected out of the Libels of Sectaries against Presbyterian Ministers, Printed Feb. 1. 1646.*)

Indep. Does that make you start? Nay then you shall have more, I'll shew you the Nativity and Fortune of your Dear Friend Sir John Presbyter, and his Son Sir Simon Synod. 'Twas e'en the Devil made the Urchin Sir *John Presbyter*, a poor Abject Fugitive newly come out of *Scotland*; but his Life is like neither to be good nor long; he will be brought to some untimely End, perhaps Hanging: his Teeth and Nails must be pluck'd out, and cut off by an Independent Barber, that hereafter he may never Bite or Scratch more; for these all hate a Tithe-devouring Priest, as they hate the Devil: And for your Synod, it will soon be dissolved, and the Devil chained up.

Reverend

*Reverend Assembly, up, arise, and jogg,
 For you have fairely fish'd and catch'd a Frogg.
 Now you have sate four years, pray can you tell
 A man the way that Christ went down to Hell?
 In all this time what can a Wise Man think,
 That you have done ought else but eat and drink?
 Presbytery climb'd up to th' top of Fame,
 Directory and all from Scotland came,
 O monstrous Idleness! alack and welly,
 Our Learned Clergy mind nought but their Belly.*

(*Real Persecution, &c.*) And to be short with you, National Churches under the Gospel, are of Anti-Christ's setting up. Your present Church is a true Whorish Mother, and you are her Bastardly Children; your Worship is of the Devil and Anti-Christ's Invention, Institution, and Setting up, *and to convince you what you are to trust to,* precious Mr. Peters, and some others, met with Mr. Lilburn the other day at the Wind-mill Tavern, where he moved to Petition the Parliament for the present Dissolving of your Assembly, and sending them home to their Country Cures. *And you know, what an influence that Godly Man hath upon the Army and Parliament.* (*Fresh discovery, &c. supra citat.*)

Presbyt. Hugh Peter! *I know that Turncoat full well: Look you here, and you shall see him in his Canonical Habit, and by his Scantling you may take a measure of your Party, and what Credit or Faith is to be given to Men whose Consciences are made of Weathercock-Metal.* Here's a Letter which Mr. Pryn avers he found in the late Archbishop of Canterbury's Study, written with Hugh's own Hand, and thus indorsed by the Arch-Bishop, viz. Mr. Hugh Peter's Submission before the Bishop of London, Aug. 17. 1627. *Which shews what a profligate, faithless Wretch that main Pillar of your Religion is.*

Indep. Come, I know Mr. Peters must write Excellently, let's hear it, otherwise I shall believe you abuse both him and me.

Presbyt. Then thus it was penned.