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THE FEAR OF

G O D

AND THE

K I N G.

Press'd in a Sermon,  
Preach'd at M E R C E R S  
Chappell, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of  
M A R C H, 1660.

TOGETHER WITH

*A brief Historical account of the Causes of  
our unhappy Distractions, and the onely  
way to Heal them.*

By M A T T H E W G R I E F F I T H, D. D.  
*and Chaplain to the late King.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for Tho: Iohnson at the Golden  
Key in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1660.



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QUEENS

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1885, May 20,  
Gift of the Heirs of  
GEORGE TICKNOR.

TO HIS  
EXCELLENCY,  
George Monck,  
CAPTAIN GENERAL  
of all the land forces of *England,*  
*Scotland and Ireland;* And one  
of the *Generals* of all the *Naval*-forces.

MY LORD,

 If you will be pleased to allow  
me to be a Physitian in the  
same sense that all Morall  
Divines do acknowledge the  
Body-Politic (consisting both of Church  
and State) to be a Patient, then I will now  
give your Highness a just account, both  
how far, and how faithfully I have practi-  
sed upon it, by vertue of my Profession.  
When I first observed things to be somewhat  
out of order, by reason of a light distemper,  
which then appeared by some infallible in-  
dications;

A 2



## The Epistle.

dications; I thought it my duty, to prescribe an unwholsom EleCtuary, (out of the 122. Psalm, at the 6. verse, in a Sermon which I was called to Preach in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Pauls, Anno, 1642. and I soon after publish't by command, under this Title; A Patheticall Perswasion to pray for the publique Peace) to be duly and devoutly taken every morning next our hearts; hoping that by Gods blessing on the Means, I should have prevented that distemper from growing into a formid disease; yet finding that my preventing Physique did not work so kind'y, and take so good an effect as I earnestly desired; but rather that this my so tenderly beloved Patient grew worse and worje; as not only being in process of time fallen into a fever, and that pestilentiaall, but also as having received divers dangerous wounds, which ranckling and festring inwardly, brought it into a spirituall Atrophie, and deep Consumption; and the parts ill-affected (for want of Christian care, and skill in such Mountebancks as were trusted with the cure, while my self, and most of the An-

cient

## The Epistle.

cient Orthodox Clergy were sequestred and silenc'd) began to gangrene: and when some of us became sensible thereof, we took the confidence, (being partly embolden'd by the connivence of the higher Powers that then were) to fall to the exercise of our Ministerial Function again, in such poor Parishes as would admit us: then I saw that it was high time, not onely to prescribe strong purgative medicines in the Pulpit, (contemp-tered of the Myrre of Mortification; the Aloes of Confession, and Contrition; the Rubarb of Restitution and Satisfaction, with divers other safe roots, seeds and flowers, fit and necessary to help to carry away by degrees, the incredible confluence of ill humours, and all such malignant matter as offended) but also, to put Pen to paper, and to appear in Print (as in this imperfect and impolisht picce, which as guilty of an high presumption, here in all humility begs your Lordships pardon) wherein my chief scope is to personate the good Samaritan; that as he cur'd the wounded Traveller, by searching his wounds with wine, and suppling them with Oyl: so I have



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here, both described the Rise, and Progress of our nationall malady, and also prescrib'd the onely Remedy; that I might be in, one kind instrumentall under God and your Highness, in the healing of the same.

And for both my present undertaking, and dedication, St. Luke (Chap. 1. 3.) makes an Apologie; It seem'd good unto me, having had perfect understanding of things from the very first, to write unto thee in order (most excellent Theophilus) that thou might'st know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed. And because we are now upon the point of recovery, and there is little visible cause of danger, gave onely by relapsing: therefore in a Sermon (which I was very lately cal'd to preach at Mercers Chappel) I have prescrib'd an wholsom dye ( approv'd of in Prov. 24. 21.) and which I have here also published; and I make no question but if it be conscientiously observ'd it will serve to prevent all relapsing in this kind for the future, Yet because Gods work is never more lively and mighty in operation, then when it is countenanc'd, and ass-

## The Epistle.

sted with the power of the Sword; give me leave not onely to crave your Lordships patronage to this poor Vade mecum; but also your gracious concurrence, & courageous carrying on of what you have already so happily begun in the name and cause of God, and his Anointed, till you have finish'd this great, and good work, and brought it to perfection: That we, and our children (among whom your name will be for ever precious) may truly say of you, as the Roman Histories do of Fabritius, The Sun may sooner be brought to alter his course, then you to alter your most heroick Resolution. My Lord, as it must needs grieve you to see these three distressed Kingdoms lye, like a Body without a Head: so it may also chear you to consider that the Comforter hath impowr'd you, (and in this nick of time, you onely) to make these dead and dry bones, live; You may by this one Act ennoble and eternize your selfe more in the hearts and chronicles of these three Kingdoms; then by all your former Victories, and the long line of your extraction from the Plantagenets, your Ancestors, which gave



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names to the Kings of England for many generations. It is a greater honour to make a King, then to be one. Your proper name minds you of being St. George for England: your Surname prompts you to stand for order: then let not panick fears, punctilio's of humane policy, or State-formalities, beguile you (whom we look upon as Iethro's Magistrate, who was a man of courage, fearing God, dealing truly, and hating covetousness) of that immarcescible Crown of Glory due to you, whom we hope that God hath design'd to be the repairer of the breach, and the temporall Redeemer of your native Countrey. The case of Rome differs so much from our present condition; that what prudent Fabius restor'd by cunctation, you cannot now possibly compass without expedition. All our hopes (under God) depend upon your skill at the Helm. Give me leave to conclude (as Mordecai clos'd with Ester 4.13. —) Think not with thy self that thou shalt escape in the Kings House, more then the rest: for if thou forbearst at this time, then shall our enlargement and deliverance  
rise

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rise from some other place; but thou, and thy house shall be destroyed: And who knows whether God hath reserv'd thee for such a time as this? Thank God for the power and opportunity you have now in your hands; and pardon the seasonable application by Him; who (as he is too old to fear, and too great a sufferer to flatter) hath no other ambition, but to deliver his own soul, and the Nation, by sincerely approving himself,

The humblest of your Lordships servants, and truest honourers,

MATT: GRIFFITH.







PROV. 24. 21.

*My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be seditious, or desirous of change, &c.*



OD, and the King, at the first blush, seem to stand in the Text, like those two *Cherubims* on the *Mercy-seat* (*Exod. 37. 9.*) *looking on each other*: yet with this difference, That God is an heavenly King, and eternal, 1 *Tim. 1. 17.* but the King is an earthly, and dying God, *Psal. 82. 6.* — And yet in a qualified sense, they are both *Gods*, and both *Kings*, and therefore both to be feared, as you are exhorted in the Text; *My son, fear God, and the King, and meddle not, &c.*

In



In which words (for my more orderly proceeding and your better profiting) be pleas'd to observe with me these four principall parts, *viz.* A *Preacher*, and his *Auditory*; His *Doctrine*, and his *Use*.

The first, *viz.* This *Preacher* is a *Prince* too; and in both a transcendent.

The second, *viz.* His *Auditory*, are *Sons*; and therefore *reverent*, and *obedient*.

The third, *viz.* His *Doctrine* is, *Fear God and the King*; a *Doctrine* at all times most expedient.

The fourth, *viz.* His *Use*, is, *Meddle not with them that be seditious, or desirous of change*: an *Use* at this time not impertinent. And therefore—

*My Son, fear God and the King, and meddle not, &c.*

This *Preacher*, *Salomon*, and his *Auditory*, *Sons*; I will touch onely (as a *Preface* to my ensuing *Discourse*) in a word or two; for no *Preface* should be long.

We

We find upon *Record* (in the 16. Chapter of *Saint Luke*) that rich Man sitting to *Father Abraham, sub forma pauperis*, that one might be sent from the dead to *preach* to his five surviving brethren: And though his *Petition* was denied upon an equitable reason, yet it seems here to be granted: For if there be any *Virtue* more then ordinary in the *Sermons* of the dead, I hope there will now some good be wrought on, and in you; for here is One that preaches to you from the dead; and this *Ecclesiastes* was a *Non sicut*; for whilest he lived, he was confessed on all sides, to be the wisest *Preacher*, and the wealthiest *Prince* that ever spake out of a *Pulpit*, or sway'd a *Scepter*: and he that is both wise, and wealthy, can never want an *Auditory*: It is *King Solomon* that *Preaches* here; I am but his *Eccbo*; the plain *Song* is His; mine's but the *Descant*; the *Text* is His, mine's but the *Paraphrase*, *Gloss*, or *Commentary*: yea, should I repeat but onely His *Text* once more,

you



you must acknowledge it to be an excellent *Sermon*, and a seasonable one too; and God grant it may *work* kindly upon you at this time, as it hath in the worst of times done on me, I thank the grace of God for it: and here I openly and ingenuously profess for my own part, that I never heard a better *Sermon* then this which wise *Solomon* preaches and presses here, *My son, fear God, and the King, and meddle not, &c.*

And as the *Sermon* is his, so I trust I may truly say, that his *Auditory* is mine: for though men were never of more different persuasions in this City and Nation, then they have been of late; yet such is my Christian charity, that there is not any one person in this great *Assembly*, to whom in truth and tenderness of my particular affection, as well as in King *Somons* genuine acceptance of the term, I may not say, *My son*: For (as the Learned observe) the *son* he speaks to here, was not his *son* by naturall generation (as the term is ordinarily used elsewhere) but only

only by paternall good affection: and so you are all my *sons*; and so you shall be, not onely whether you will, or no, but also whether I will, or not: for long since have I bound my self to you (as *St. Bernard* speaks, *Ad Abbatem pramonstratensem*) in holy Charity, even that love which never fails; and therefore no miscarriage of yours can make me cancell this *bond of perfectness* (as the *Apostle* dignifies it) but as an old (though unworthy) Minister of the *Gospel* of Christ I must own, and call each of you, *my son*. Though some *Interpreters* (I must tell you) make no more of this loving compellation, then that *Solomon* (being an exact *Preacher*) useth here, what *Rhetoricians* call *Captatio benevolentiae*; and so he saith, *My son*, when he would gently persuade his *Auditory* to *fear God, and the King*: As if he had said; (as it was his full intent and meaning) He that *fears God, and the King*, as he should and ought, shall no longer be my *subject* or *servant* onely, but he shall be henceforward, *my son*,  
by



by my gracious acceptation, and ad-  
option: And you all know well that it  
is no mean *Honour* to be the reputed  
Son of such a *King*, as King *Solomon*;  
or rather of a greater, better *King*  
then he, even of God himself, whose sons  
you are, if you fear him, as he exhorts in  
the Text: *And not only his sons* (saith *St. Paul*  
in the 8. to the *Romans*) *but heirs*  
*too; Heirs of God, and joynt heirs with*  
*Christ*; and that of no less then two in-  
comparable Kingdoms, viz. *The King-*  
*dom of grace in this life, and the kingdom*  
*of glory in the life to come.*

Hitherto of the *Preacher, Solomon*;  
and his *Auditory, Sons*; which how-  
ever they deserve to be amplified, and  
embroider'd with variety of the most  
*Orient* colours, yet I have purposely  
forborn, because I told you that for  
this once, I would use them onely as  
*Preface*; and I hope you will the rather  
pardon me, because by this means I  
am enabled to make the more hast to  
the *Doctrine of the Text, Fear God,*  
*and the King*: which is a *Doctrine* at all  
times,

times most expedient: and herein let  
me again commend to your Christian  
observation, both a single Act, *Fear*,  
and a double Object, *God, and the*  
*King.*

And because these three terms, *Fear*,  
*God, King*, are better understood in the  
*Theory*, as notions; then observed in  
our practice, and conscientiously o-  
bey'd; therefore in stead of spending  
so precious time in opening the terms,  
and of telling you what you know well  
enough already; I shall onely intreat  
you to take speciall notice of two  
things therein, which I believe to be  
most materiall:

One is, the conjunction and combi-  
nation of these terms; for it is not, *Fear*  
*God* alones or *fear* only the *King*; but it  
is, *Fear God, & the King*, both together.

The other is, the right order and dis-  
position of them, for it is said here, first  
*fear God*; and then *fear the King, My son,*  
*fear, &c.*

And now, If in the first place we  
have regard to the conjunction of  
B these





these terms, we cannot but observe, that *God and the King* are coupled in the Text; and what the holy Ghost hath thus firmly combin'd, we may not, we must not dare to put asunder; for in the seventh Chapter of *Judges*, at the 20. verse, *The Sword of the Lord and Gideon*, is spoken of as but one two-handed Sword; the Lord gives it, and *Gideon* girds it to himself; *Gideon* gives the blow, and the Lord gives the blessing; & Kings at their *Coronation*, have a sword given them; the *Militia*; the power of life and death is put into their hands; for the King is Gods Sword-bearer, and he *bears not the sword in vain*, saith the Apostle, *Rom. 13. 4.* And therefore he bears it not in vain, because God hath put it into his hands; and bears it with him: And there is no fighting against God; but they fight against God, who resist his Ordinance, and go about to wrest the sword out of the hands of his Anointed; whom (in the 105. *Psal. 5.*) he hath fenced about with a *Nolite Tangere*.

*re, &c. Touch not mine anointed*; for they that touch him, in the sense there prohibited, offer violence to God himself: as he tells *Samuels* they have not resisted or rejected thee, but me: so indissoluble is the conjunction of *God and the King*, and therefore, *My son*, saith *Solomon*, fear both.

And this I press the rather, because too many of late, and some to this very day, that are great pretenders to the fear of God, do not in truth fear the King at all: and having for the present divested him of all his native and legall rights, one of which is his power; they look upon him (as the *Philistines* did upon *Samson* without his hair, in which his strength lay) with scorn and contempt, as if he were as weak and worthless as other men: but let them remember how God renewed *Samsons* strength, to revenge himself at last. Others (on the contrary) have seem'd so to fear the King, that they did not set the fear of God before their eyes; but as *Ephesion* said to *Alexander*, *Ar-*



*nescis te Imperatorem esse, & leges dare, non accipere?* So these were ready to maintain that Paradox, or rather Heterodox, *viz.* That Kings may do what they list, and that they are to give Laws, but to live under none.

The plain truth is, both these are dangerous extremes; for he that in fearing God, excludes the King, is a pure hypocrite, and he that to promote the fear of the King, excludes the fear of God, is a prophane Parasite: and therefore, that you may the better avoid both these dangerous Rocks, on which so many have made Shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, let me entreat and exhort you, ever to joyn the fear of God and the King in your practice, as here *Solomon* doth in his Precept, *My son, fear God, and the King:* for this is the right combination and conjunction.

And if, in the next place, we have regard to the order and disposition of these terms in the Text, we shall soon observe how God is first to be fear'd, and

and then the King: as *S<sup>t</sup> Peter* reasons *Whether it is meet to obey God or man? judge ye.* If God command one thing, and the King should command the contrary, then I say, Gods command is to be prefer'd; and yet let me tell you, that the King is not to be disobeyed: for a true *Christian* is obliged to a two-fold obedience; active, and passive: where the King commands things lawfull, there yeild active obedience, and know that it is your duty to do them: but if he should command such a thing as you may not lawfully do, then you must not resist, but suffer patiently for your not doing it, and this is your passive obedience: and in both these you may still keep a good conscience: for as I said but now, though God be to be prefer'd, yet God will not have his Anointed to be disobeyed.

Indeed, some of the *Heathens* deified their King, as *Belus, Saturn, Jupiter, &c.* And the men of *Tyre* (*Act 12.*) deified King *Herod*, crying out, The



voyce of God, and not of man. But I must tell you, that the same Spirit of *truth*, that bids you both to *fear* and *honour Kings*, forbids you to *adore* them. The surest and safest way is this which *Solomon* chalks out in the *Text*, *viz.* First, to *fear God*, and then *the King*: whose sacred *Person* and *Function* (as *Gods Ordinance*) merits at our hands, so much honour, fear, and reverence, from our outward and inward man, as can possibly stand with the due *fear* of *God*: and to speak freely, I shall hardly be brought to believe, that he doth make a conscience of fearing *God*, as he ought, who doth not for *Gods* sake (being so frequently and so strictly commanded thereunto in both the *Testaments*;) make a conscience also of fearing the *King*, as the express Image, and Anointed of *God* himself. Then, *My Son*, *fear God*, and *the King*; and in thy *fear*, observe both the *fast combination* and *conjunction*; and also the right order and disposition of them.

And so I have soon done with the  
*Doctrine,*

*Doctrine*, which being so clear in it self, and (like a *Mathematicall Principle*) shining by its own light, needs no farther demonstration: and give me leave to tell you, that hitherto I have contracted my self on purpose, that I might have somewhat the more time to spend on the fourth and last part of my *Text*, which in the distribution of the words into parts, I call'd the *Use* and *Application*, in these words; *And meddle not with them*, &c. And herein I shall a little enlarge my *Discourse* (according to the *mode* of these *Reforming Times*, which commonly insists most upon *Use* and *Application*) and for this once, I shall do it the rather, because both the *simple necessity* of pressing this so seasonable a *Point*, and also because I am convinc'd in *Reason*, that your *Christian Expectation* calls upon me for it; and you shall have it *fully* and *faithfully*, *God* willing.

The words in the *Originall* are of a *large* extent, and accordingly rendred by divers of the Learned, diversly. For,



Pagnin, out of the *Hebream*, reads it, *Et cum iterantibus iniquitates suas, ne miscas te*: that is, *mingle not thy self with such as iterate their iniquities.*

The *Chaldee Paraphrase* hath it, *Et cum stultis ne miscaris*: that is, *Be not thou mixt with fools.*

Cardinall *Cajetan*, and divers others translate it, *Et cum mutatoribus*, &c. that is, *Have thou nothing to do with such as are Changelings*; and to shew that by *Changelings*, he doth not mean such silly souls, as this too censorious, and over-credulous Age calls *Pure Naturalls*; *Vatablus* renders it, *Et cum rerum novarum studiosis*, &c. *Meddle not with such as are desirous of change*; for all such for want of the true fear of God, do commonly prove most unnaturall to their King, and Countrey, by inwardly and inordinate affecting, and outwardly, preposterously affecting *Innovation*, which is the greatest *boutefen* in a settled estate; and accordingly rendred *Socrates* so odious to *Athens*; *Cesar* to *Rome*; and *Christ* himself to the *Jews*,  
who

who generally look'd upon him as an *Innovator*, though God knows, and bears him witness, that he came not to destroy the *Lam*, but to fulfill it.

Our best and last *Translation* reads it, *Meddle not with them that are seditious*. Here then we have divers learned men of divers minds, in rendring the words out of the *Hebream* context. Each of them abounds in his own sense; and each of these senses may be true; sure I am they want not good Authority to justify their severall readings. And think not this strange; for I must tell you, that the *Holy Tongue* is but a very narrow Language; and so one word in *Hebream*, ordinarily signifies divers things; as I could give you many instances, but that this in the Text is sufficient. And sure I am, that very good use may be made here of the severall readings; and since we are now upon that which I call the use of my Text, it will, I hope, be well worth the while, to see and observe what wholesome Lessons we may learn from all, and every





every of these four *Translations*.

The first whereof reads it, *Keep not company with customary sinners*: and if you say, Why not with them? The Princely Prophet *David* tells you the reason (Psal. 1. 1.) where he saith, *Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of the scorner*; which are but so many degrees of sin: And it is most certain, that he who walks in the counsel of the ungodly, and stands in the way of sinners, will ere long come to complacency in sin, and so take up his seat in the chair of the scorner. Or, as *Pagnin* renders it; *In Cathedra pestilentia*, to signifie, that as an habituated sinner becomes at last a scorner; so a scorner, like a pestilentiall chair, will mortally infect all that come neer him: Then, *My son*, come not in his walk; stand not in his way; sit not in his seat; at least, keep not unnecessary company with him; if either thou wouldst be safe here, or saved hereafter.

*He that touches Pitch* (saith *Solomon*)  
shall

shall be defiled. And as the Proverb is true of materiall pitch, so it is much more of the morall: for some of the *Ancients* usually resemble a customary sinner to pitch, if he touches, he smutches you: then soul not your fingers with him; or, which is worse, your souls. We read, that as soon as the children of *Israel* were mingled with the *Heathen Idolaters*, they learn'd their works. And elsewhere the *Text* saith, *That of the froward thou shalt learn frowardness*. But all customary sinners are froward, and that from their youth up: and we use to say, *That the cloth that is dyed in the wool, will never lose it's colour*: but all habituated sinners are dyed in the wool, if I may so speak; my meaning is, they will hardly be reclaimed; — *Dedit Nebulone parente, &c.* Like rotten Apples, they infect the sound; Then say of them as *Jacob* did of *Simcon* and *Levi*, brethren in evil; Into their secret let not my soul enter; *My glory*, be not thou joyned to their assembly, lest you become as wicked and Phanatique as themselves; for in  
this



this sense that of Saint Cyprian is undoubtedly true: *Discit facere dum consuecit videre*: Here each spectator becomes an actor, and acts a part by seeing others play. The company and congregation of the wicked is the Devils kingdom; and take heed what is said in Ecclesiasticall History (that the Devil finding a pure Virgin in an impure place; he entred into her, and really possessed her, giving this reason to the Exorcist, *Inveni eam in regno meo*) be not true in you, that if the Devil find you in some corner-creeping Conventicle, or in any other evil company, or unwarrantable place, he do not (as Lord of the Soyl) seize on you as so many strayers; and enter you in his black book as his proper goods and chattels; and so your later end prove worse then your beginning.

Divines well observe that some sins are common to all, as Anger; some proper to some natures, as Ambition: and to some ages, as lust to youth, avarice to old age; some sins are neither naturall,  
nor

nor unnaturall, as swearing; and some are against nature, as gluttony and drunkenness: But of all sins it is most certain, that an habit once gotten, is seldom lost: and therefore the Cretes used this as that which they conceiv'd to be the heaviest curse, *O may he fall into an ill habit!* presuming that out of this, as it is the strongest snare of the Devil, so it is extreme difficult to extricate ones self; for the Devil hath prescription against all such; and Lawyers say, that prescription hath the force of a Law: and St. Chrysostom saith, that it was much for Jonas to recover out of the belly of that fish: but it is a great deal harder to recover out of a long custom of sin; which in some respect is held morally impossible. And therefore I say with Salomon in the Text, *My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that iterate their iniquities*; so Pagnin reads it out of the Hebrew; and so you have the first Use.

But what Pagnin renders customary sinners, the Chaldee Paraphrast reads,  
fools;



Fools; *Et cum stultis ne misceris*; that is, Blend not thy self with fools: So that all such as for want of the fear of God, and the King, keep ill company, and live in any ill custome, are stark fools: and though they be wise in their own eyes; yea, and passe in this world for great Politicians, as Achitophel in his time was call'd and counted an Oracle: yet as Thamar told Amnon, sinne will make them to be numbred among the fools of Israel: for they that are wise to do evil (as the Prophet speaks) but to do well, have no understanding, are Solomons fools: and that I may not seem to say it onely, I will prove that they have all the characteristical notes, and remarkable properties of fools. For,

1. They are as ignorant, and indocible as any fool: The Ox knowes his owner, and the Ass his Masters crib (saith the Lord in *Isaiab* 1. 3.) but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. The Apostle saith, that they are alwayes learning, yet never come to the knowledge of the truth. And as Militides of Athens could not

tell whether his Father or his Mother brought him forth: So these know not, acknowledge not their holy Mother, the church, who was the womb that bare them, and whose paps gave them suck. And it is well if they acknowledge their father.

Secondly; They are as self-will'd, & self-conceited, as any fool; tell them of their schisme, sacriledge, sedition, rebellion, and any other crime of which they stand guilty by the Law of God, and the King: and they will not be convinc'd of their wickedness; and as Salomon speaks of a fool; they fear not til they feel the rod upon their own backs. And elsewhere the same Salomon saith, *Seest thou a man that is wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool then of him*; for of a naturall fool God requires no more then he gives: but of these wilfull fools, he will exact a reason, and a reckoning of all their misdoings. And let me add, He that is wise in his own conceit, is both a wise man, and a fool; a wise man in his own opinion, and a fool in all mens else.

Thirdly, Like fools, they are all for



the present: as the Epicure cryed, *utere temporibus, presentibus utere rebus*: they neither fore-see, nor fear a change: they slight Christs counsell, Make unto you friends with the unrighteous Mammon, that they may receive you failing, into their everlasting habitations. Though they cannot but be sensible, that daily and hourly, some of their boon-companions fall, yet they will not believe that they shall fail, And whereas Solomon sends such foolish idlesbies to the Ant or Pismire, (Prov. 6.) to consider her wayes, which boords up provision in Summer, to support her in Winter: yet these use a foolish Proverb, Spend and God will send; and so like Grasshoppers, they sing and sport away their pretious time, which the Apostle exhorteth all that are wise, by all means to redeem: And (as in the days of Noah) they sit down to eat and drimb, till the main flood of Gods judgements overtakes, and overturns them.

Fourthly, Like fools, they prefer triffles before treasure: It is well observed by St. Augustine, that there is nothing

thing truly good, but what we cannot lose against our wills: such are God himself, and the good things which he hath prepared for us in his Kingdom, where neither moth can consume, nor rust canker; nor thieves break in and steal: and accordingly it is our Saviours counsel: Lay not up for your selves treasure on earth, because all earthly treasures are subject to one, or more of the mischiefs which I hinted but now: and yet these fools prefer a smoke of honour, a blast of fame, a dream of pleasure, a wedge of gold, a Babylonish garment, and the like transitory trash, before blessed Eternity. As when the French Cardinal was told by his ghostly father of the fulness of joy which is at Gods right hand, and pleasures for evermore; he fondly replied, that if he might choose, he would not leave his part in Paris for his part in Paradise: so these fools (with that wealthy young Ruler, which our Lord advised to sell all; and give it to the poor, promising him treasure in Heaven, but he went away sorrowfull, saith the Text) will not leave





that on earth, which they cannot long keep, to receive that in heaven which they can never lose.

Fifthly, and lastly, they are as malicious, and mischievous, as any fools: It is pastime to a fool to do mischief, saith Solomon (Prov. 10. 23.) Sin is his bable, he makes himself merry with it; and *letantur cum malefacerint*, saith David; they rejoyce when they have ruin'd others; and laugh to see them lament. Belshazzars sumptuous feast was heighten'd by the Hogo of his delicious meats and drinks, as they were served in the vessels of the Sanctuary: No bowls, to such Atheists, like a consecrated Challise to carouse in; and no flesh to sweet, as that which the Eagle rob'd the Altar of: Money gotten by stinking means (as the Roman Emperour told his son) smells as sweet as honest gain: *Lucri bonus est odor ex re qualibet*; what care such fools, to rend and tear the Churches garments, so their own may be whole; or to build up their Babels, with the ruines of Sion: So that we may justly cry out with Ter-

tullian

tullian, *Nostra suffodimus, ut sua edificent*, And when they have rob'd the Church of her patrimony, and the whole Kingdom of her ancient plenty; then a self-denying Ordinance (when there is no more left to be taken away) not onely makes satisfaction for the sacrilege, but justifies it to be no sin.

And how severely so ever Divine and humane Laws censure oppression, extortion, homicide, murder, schisme, sedition, rebellion, treason; and if there be any thing worse, that these mischievous fools have omitted, yet it is now but wiping their mouths (with the Harlot in the Proverbs) and then they may say as truly as she doth, that they have done no wickedness. And the Prophet David assigns the undoubted cause of all these and all other evils, where he saith, *That God comes not in all their thoughts*; that is, they never think upon God as a just Judge: and so they fear not him; for if they did, they would fear the King too; for they that flatter themselves that they do fear the one, when yet they live in open opposition,



and *actuall* rebellion against the other; are such *fools* in the *Text*, as you are charg'd not to *mingle with: My Son, fear God and the King, and mingle not with fools*; and so you see what use are you to make of the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, reading of the words out of the *Hebrew* context; and I call the *second Use*.

But in the *third place*, I told you that *Cardinal Cajetan*, and *Vatablus*, render the words both to one sense; for *cum mutatoribus*, saith the one, *Cum rerum novarum studiosis*, saith the other: *My Son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that are desirous of change*; and so one of our *English Translations* reads it: and this by degrees brings the *Text* somewhat *neerer* to the *Times*, and more *home* to our *selves*; who (out of a *desire of change*) have of late run through all *forms of Government*; and yet we have *done* nothing all the while, but what in us lay, *undone* our selves; yea, they that took most *delight* in *ringing* of these *changes*, cannot yet give any *satisfaction* to themselves for the *present*; and

much

much less can they *assure* themselves of any *sound settlement* for the future in the way they took; for as *Tacitus* (an excellent *Historian*, and great *Statesman* in his *time*) gravely observes, All *changes in Government*, commonly do *cheat* them most at *last*, who at *first* did most *desire* them.

True it is, That this *desire of change* is in all by *nature corrupted* by the *fall* of our *first Parents*; yea, even *before* the *fall*, the *desire of change* was the *very first bait*, with which the *Devil angled* for *Adam and Eve* in *Paradise*; who, though they were created so *holy* and *happy*, that they could not well be *better*; yet as soon as the *Serpent*, or the *Devil*, or rather the *Devil in the Serpent* had *suggested* to them (*Gen. 3. 5.*) *Ye shall be as gods, &c.* they fell *streight* to *nibbling*; and so by *eating* of the *forbidden fruit*, they have ever since *set all their childrens teeth an edge*, as the *Prophet* speaks.

It is *hard* for a good *Historian* to say on the *sudden*, how many *several kinds*



of Government were successively introduced among the Romans, by this insatiable desire of change: It is notorious that they had Kings, Senators, Dictators, Tribunes, Consuls, Cæsars, &c. of some of which that jeer was started, *Vigilantissimum habuimus Proconsulē*, &c. We have now had a most vigilant Proconsul, for during the whole time of his Consulship, he never slept, meaning, that he was elected at noon, and discarded before night. And by name, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, three of their noted Emperors, enjoyed their Dignity so short a space, that Apollonius wittily term'd them *Theban Emperors*; whereby he did insinuate, that as the Thebans were Lords of Greece but a short time; so these three continued Emperors of Rome but a few Moneths: so inconstant was the humour of the gyddy-headed Romans in those dayes, that whom they had but newly set up, without any other reason then a meere affectation of Novelty, and desire of change, they soon after pulled down. And no marvell, though the

*luxuriant.*

*luxuriant Romans*, that then knew little of God, were so desirous of change, when as we find Gods own people, the *Jemes*, not onely troubled with a *spice*, but desperately sick of this vertiginous disease: for they had their *Dukes*, or *Leaders*; their *Judges*; their *Prophets*; their *High-Priests*, their *Kings*; and for a time they had an *Inter-regnum*, and no King in *Israel*, beside divers other horrid *jarfalls* in government.

And if we draw nearer home, we cannot but take notice how predominant in all Ages, this desire of change hath bin in all parts of *Christendom*. What chopping and changing hath there been in *Bohemia*, *Portugall*, *Polonia*, *Sueruia*, &c. To which I might add the *Low-Countries*. And the Kingdom of *Naples* hath so often chang'd their Governours, that at last their *Estate* was represented in an *Asse*, that having cast his *Rider*, turn'd his head back, to see who would be so mad as to besstride him any more.

And even at this day the old Proverb (*Mens humana novitatis avida*)



is in nothing truer then in the point of *Government*: for all *States* have their *policies*, and *rule* by *Laws*: So it hath been, so it should be with us; and so it shall be, I hope, e're long: For a man were better to live among the most *barbarous* people under heaven, then under an *absolute Tyranny*, or *Arbitrary Government*. *Laws* there must be; and *lex à ligando*, saith the *Etymoliger*: It is call'd a *Law* from *bindings*; all *Laws* are like *yokes*: and this it was that formerly rendred this *Monarchy*, though never so *gracious* in the *publique administration* of *Justice*, both *commutative*, and *distributive*, yet to seem so *grievous* to them that *feared* neither *God*, nor the *King*: These (like so many *beasts*) finding themselves *pinch'd* with a *yoke*, I mean that of *Gods Law*, and the *King*, did never lin wincing and flinging, till they had cast it off; though by *divine dispensation* it hath since come to pass, that while they would not *submit* themselves to *Gods Ordinance*, but went about by *inlawfull* means to *extricate* them-

themselves out of one *pressure*. they fell all into an *heavier*; like the *Fish* in the *Proverb*, that *leaps out of the frying-pan into the fire*. Just as *Philip* of *Macedon* sold certain *Gracians* that had revolted from him to *T. Quintus*, the *Roman Commander*: *Commutastis vestram catenam politiore quidem, sed longiore*: that is, You have *exchang'd* your *chain* (meaning their *servile condition*) for one that at first sight *seems* a little better *polished*, but you will find it in time to be much more *heavy*, and *lasting*. And this was in effect, the genuine meaning of *Rebams* answer to his *discontented Petitioners*, viz. That they should *feel* his *little finger* far *heavier* then his *Fathers* *Joyns*; for whereas his *father* had onely *chipt* them with *scourges*, yet he meant to *scourge* them with *scorpions*. Do you help me out in making the *application*, which the *exigency* of time *constrains* me to *contract*.

And as when *Ichoikim* (in the 36. Chap. of *Jeremy*) had with a *Pen-knife* cut the *roll* of *Parchment*, which *Baruch* wrote





wrote from the mouth of the Prophet, and cast it into the fire; then the Prophet Jeremy took another roll, and gave it to Baruch the Scribe, and he wrote therein all the words of the book which Jehoiakin burnt in the fire; and there were added besides unto them many the like words: so that all he got by cutting and burning Gods Will reveal'd in writing against both him and his people, was onely to have more judgments first denounced, and then inflicted upon him and his: So all they that fight against God, and his Anointed, in stead of disingaging, do the more imangle themselves: and, like so many unruly Colts, get nothing by their disorderly desire of change, but onely to have the brand of Gods indignation fastned so much the deeper in their flesh. Thus they that wittingly and wilfully resist Gods Ordinance, turn that which they rely'd upon as their likeliest remedy, into the worst of mischiefs that could have befallen them.

And yet as the Spies that were sent  
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to search the Land of Canaan, reported that it was a land that did eat up the Inhabitants thereof. So it is pregnant in History, that very few Nations (out of the meer desire of change) will long endure any Government, no, nor scarce any Governour. The Belgick Commonwealth, the Kirk of Scotland, the Geneva Discipline, the New-Englanders Utopia, nor yet any settled in this Nation can please us long (who are yet in our wits) how then shall it satisfie the two Arch-enemies of all rule and government, the Anabaptistick Independents, and (the last extract of our Reformation) the Nonsensicall Quakers, who would (if they had power to their will) soon lay the axe to the root of all Magistracy, and Ministry whatsoever.

And what the prudent Italians say by way of Proverb, that the life of man is short, of Kings shorter, and of Popes shortest of all: is now generally true of all forms of Government; they are look'd upon as short-liv'd, and short-lasting; and all, and onely because of  
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this inordinate desire of *change*, especially in the *Anabaptists* and the *Quakers*, whose *Principles* are *destructive* of *rule* and *settlement*; in which both our *being*, as men, and our *well-being*, as *Christians*, do under *God*, and *his Christ*, chiefly *consist*. Yet I will be bold to say, that if those very *Phanatiques*, who are now so greedy of *parity*, and so fond of *Anarchy*, could be made *sensible* of the many *miseries* and *mischiefs*, which naturally *sprout* from that *bitter root*, and were bound to *live* any *considerable* time in such a *confusion* as they would bring us into; they would soon become more *wearry* of that *Calf* which now they do so unreasonably *Idolize*, then ever any men were of the *worst* form of *Government* that yet hath been heard of in any part of the habitable *World*.

Little do these men understand the *deceitfulness* of their own *hearts*, which like *Africk*, is ever producing new *Monsters*: and the *god* of this world hath so *blinded* them, that they do little per-

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ceive the *corruption* of their own *nature*; which (like *some women with child*) often *longs* for such things, as being had, would *destroy* them. I cannot more fitly resemble these poor *seduc'd* souls then to *sick folks*, labouring of a *malignant feaver*; who by reason that their *palates* are *vitiated*, are not able to *distinguish*, during the time, *sweet* from *sour*, with whom nothing *relishes*, and to whom nothing is *pleasing* that the *Physician* *prescribes*; because though the *Physique* he administers be *proper* and *wholsome*, yet they cannot be *perswaded* to think it so, having *lost* their *taste*:”

Then, That I may a little *open* their *eyes*, I will shew them out of *Gregory Nazianzen* (in his excellent *Oration* of *Moderation* to be us'd in divine matters) what *intolerable* mischiefs are *engendred* by *confusion*, viz. In the *air* *thundrings*; in the *earth* *tremblings*; in the *sea* *storms*, and *shipwracks*; in *Cities* and *Families*, *strife* and *contention*, *Diseases* in the *body*; *death* and *damnation* in the *soul*;



soul; for the head of this Monster is the Devil; the heart is discontent; the eyes, envy; the eares, evil reports; the tongue, sedition; the hands, rapine and bloodshed, and the feet war, and destruction. Then my sons fear God, and the King, and meddle not with them that are desirous of change; because you are now convinc'd that they are like the fruit we call Meddlers, which are never good, till they be rotten.

The Mythologist appositely illustrates this ill affection in a fable to this effect: Upon a time the Frogs petition'd Jupiter to grant them a King; in condescension whereunto he tumbled among them a Log: and after they had leap'd a while both on it, and about it and found it to be insensible; then they petition'd again for a King that should be active and stirring; and thereupon he sent them a Crane, which straight fell to pecking them up: The Morall whereof shews plainly, that nothing can long give satisfaction to this natural desire

of change; whether the Governour, and government be a Log, or a Crane; passive or active; clement or cruell; gracious or gracious; yet such as desire change will soon disrelish both him and it; not so much because he is unfit to rule, as because they are unwilling to obey, either him, or any other: and though they sometimes are so well that they know not how to better themselves, and their condition, yet will they leave no stone unmov'd to unsettle and alter it: and rather be enslav'd by a bad, then constantly endure a good.

And, as in the Poeticall fable, Mercury could never fit a garment to the body of the Moon, because she is ever waxing or waining: so neither can any form of government long suit with the humour of the people, whose restless desire of change is such, that (like so many children) they commonly cry loudest for they know not what; and being rebellious by nature since the fall, they rise up against all Power, as it is power; not considering that all power is of God; and

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and therefore is to be submitted to, not onely for fear (as the *Apostle* speaks in the 13, Chapter to the *Romans*) but even for conscience sake.

*Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft*, (saith God by his *Prophet*) and mankind being bewitched with it; it falls out for the most part with us, as it doth with *Witches*; that chain (saith *Delrio*) which the *Diuel* makes the *Witch* believe to be of gold, she finds (when the mist is dispersed) to be but copper and counterfeit; and seeing her self deluded, she grows disconcerted; yet for want of *Grace*, goes on still as the *Devils drudge*, to the utter undoing of her self and others: Thus, what some few years ago we set up, and both approved and applauded; yet now, when we have even tired our selves in the ways of wickedness, and affliction hath given us understanding; we do justly both reject, and resist, as finding our selves cheated, begger'd, and utterly ruin'd by our own inventions; I mean, this desire of change: but the Lord in mercy change our desires before it be too late; and

and give us all grace conscienciously to follow wise *Solomons* counsell in the Text, viz. To fear God and the King; and not meddle with them that are desirous of change. And thus I have done with the third reading of the words out of the Original, and the Use you are to make of it.

But our last Translation runs, Meddle not with them that are seditious; for all such, qua such, fear neither God nor the King; and therefore were there no other reason, yet this one is enough to deterre you from meddling with them: but there be many more, as you shall see ere I have done, which I will touch onely with a light Pencil, and so conclude.

*Sedition is defin'd to be an insolent declination of self-conceited subjects, from such lawfull power as God hath set over them.* Saint Paul (in the 13. Chapter to the *Romans*, 2.) hath this *Apostolicall Canon*, Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers; where speaking in the plurall number, of powers, he implies, that





that there be more then one; divers forms of government, and all of them are powers; And the ~~vs~~ in each, hath an ~~vs~~, to its correlative; and the higher the power is, the more is our subjection obliged thereunto: But by our Fundamentall Laws; The King is the highest power, and all others that bear any rule among, and over us, are subordinate unto him: and St. Peter (in the second Chapter of his first Epistle Generall) asserts positively, that the King is Supreme; and the Philosopher will allow in unogue genere, but unum summum. So that the co-ordination which some seditious persons have so fiercely maintain'd of late, is point-blauk against, not onely Religion, but right reason. And as for the new coynd distinctions of the *con-* *✓* *Historian schismaticke*, whereby they have done their utmost to *entruate* the Kings Supremacy; and with the Cardinall in King Henry the 8. dayes, who set up his Cap above the Crown; these would set up their Kirks above the King, (Popery and Presbyterie, both in

opinions

opinions and practice, differ in many things onely in terms) by a Jesuiticall evasion of co-ordination, and subordination; of the Kings politick capacity, and his personall; of major singulis, and minor universis, &c. These, I say, and such like distinctions, are but the brain-sick fictions of seditious Malcontents, who cast off the fear of God and the King; and when they have wounded their own consciences, and all theirs, whom by such decoys they have drawn in to side with them, in stead of seriously repenting, they laugh out some such new-fangled distinction, and think therewith to salve up the matter. But the Casuists say peremptorily, *Non est distinguendum, ubi lex ipsa non distinguit*: we must not distinguish, where the law it self distinguishes not. But the Law in this case distinguishes not, as they know very well; & now you know it too, Meddle not with them; whom you have, and will find like the Trojane Horse, whose belly was lined with armed men, who first surprized, and then sacked Troy: *Et ab uno disce omnes.*

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And that I may the better take you off from meddling with the *seditions* hereafter; give me leave to *use* and *urge* two sorts of *Arguments*: the one I will draw from the due consideration of the bad causes; the other of the *sad consequences* of *sedition*.

The former, which I take from the *causes* of *sedition*, looks upon them either as *primary* & *efficient*, or *secondary* and *subservient*. The *primary* cause of *sedition*, is the *Devil*; who, as he *works* effectually in all the *children of disobedience*: so he ceaseth not to *stir* them up continually by his *perverse* and *pestilent suggestions*, and *infusions*, sometimes *secretly* and *unsuspectedly* to *undermine*, and sometimes *openly* and *impudently* to *rise up* against the *civil Magistrate*, who is *custos utriusq; tabulae*; and whom God hath so often expressly commanded us to *love*, *honour*, *serve*, *fear*, *obey*, *defend*, *preserve*, *maintain*, *fight for*; and in a word, *To render unto him all his dues*, as the *Apostle* expresseth it, and presseth us, in the 13 to the *Romans* 7. *Render therefore*

*therefore to all their dues, Tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour*; but both, *tribute*, and *custom*, and *fear*, and *honour* are the *Kings due*, God himself, who is *Lord paramount*, and the *onely great proprietary*, hath *made* and *declar'd* them so. And so we must not think in any of these kinds, that we *give* the *King* some-what that we may *justly keep*, as if it were *ours*; but we must *pay* them *unto him*, as a *debt due unto him*: And to signify this the more plainly, *St. Paul* here doth not say, *Da*, but *Reddite*. And our *Saviour* himself, to shew that *Christian liberty* will stand well enough with *civill. subjection*, useth the self-same term (in *Matth.* 22. 21.) *Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesars, and unto God the things that are Gods*: where he joyns *God* and *Caesar* together, to shew that both of them have their *distinct rights*; and that we must *pay* them to *both* accordingly: and that if we *defraud*, or *retain* the *dues* of the *one*, we must be *responsible* to the *censure*



and vengeance of the other; which I earnestly entreat the *seditions* to cherish upon.

The later, viz. the *ministeriall causes* of sedition are many and many: and therefore for brevities sake, I will hint but some few of them, which I conceive to be the *chief*, that you may know them to avoid them. And such are,

First, *Evil company, and counsels*; these the Devil useth as his *bellow* to blow the coals into a *flame*, which he first kindled, and set on fire. Tully (in his third Oration against Verres) gives him this *ill character*, viz. That he was, *Malus civis*, a bad Citizen; *Improbus Consul*, a worse Consul; because like Sylla, he looked more at his own *private gain*, then on the *publique good*; and *seditionus homo*, a seditionus man, that is, one that loved to engender strife, and raise tumult by ill arts among the people, then which nothing is more *dangerous* and *destructive*.

Plato (in his fifth Book *De Republica*) makes both *luxuriancy* in wealth to be

one *procreating cause* of Sedition: (as when horses are pamper'd, and provender-prick'd, they grow *head-strong* and *unuly*) And extreme poverty and begging necessity to be another. For, *Durum telum necessitas*: and our Proverb is, *That necessity bath no Law*: which holds not onely in this, that *poor folks* seldome have the *benefit* of the Law for want of moneys to see the *Lawyers* (among whom, *Might* commonly overcomes *Right*. *Abjue dativo accusativo, Roma favore negat*) But it holds in this respect too, because when men are in so low a *condition*, that they cannot possibly live in a *worse*, then they grow *male-content*, and *seditionus*, that by *embroyling* all, they may *enrich* themselves; what care they, in such a *desperate humour* to set other mens *houses on fire*, while they by the *help* of the *light* can see the *better* how to *run away* with their goods.

To which three; I might adde *Innovation* in Government; when it meets with *faction*, *self-conceit*, *prejudice*, and an *imbitter'd* stich and *contempt* in the



common people of the Higher powers; are so many procreating causes of sedition, which like an unluckie constellation ever portends evil, and never produces any good in a settled State: Wherefore since all the causes of sedition are so evil and ominous, My Son, meddle not with them that are seditions.

And yet let me tell you, that the consequences of sedition are far worse: For,

First, Sedition is ever turbulent; it sets all in an uproar; as you may observe (in Acts 19.) when Demetrius, and the Craftsmen, who were their Craftsmasters, saw their gain by Diana's silver shrines go down, by St. Pauls preaching that they were no gods which are made with hands; they strait rose up, and like mad men ran to and fro, crying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians, till they had soon put the whole City in combustion and confusion.

Secondly, Sedition fills all places with war, and bloodshed; as both Homer illustrates in his βατραχομομαχία; and Josephus (de Bello Judaico) shews at large  
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the barbarisme and bloody-mindedness of the factious and seditions.

Thirdly, The needlesse quarrels, and groundlesse contentions of the Seditions, how slight soever they seem at first, yet many times they (like snow-balls by long rolling) grow vast and formidable: and the incredible Story which Paulus Jovius tells of the one, became authentique and demonstrable, both formerly in the City of Jerusalem, and Syracuse; and of late, in the Fisherman of Naples; not to instance our own sad experience at home, which can hardly be paralleld.

Fourthly, Sedition many times ends in the conflagration of whole Towns and Cities, as Virgil Elegantly portrays it, in that of Troy; Jamque faces, & Saxa volant; furor arma ministrat.

Fifthly, How e'r the seditions commonly work like so many Moles, and Pyoners under ground; and like the Gunpowder-Traitors in vaults; (as by jealous whispers addle-shakings of the head, strugs and other discontented postures; scatter'd libels, scandalous imectives, Puritan





tan Pasquils, ambiguous answers to State-demands; and a thousand other wayes of undermining) yet at last they blow up all with a furiousnes, surmounting that of Gunpowder.

Sixthly, The plausible Prologues and pretenses of the seditious, do usually determine in a tragicall Catastrophe, as the factions between the Guelfs and Gibelines, though at first but personall (those engaging on the one side, these on the other) over-ran almost all Italy in the conclusion.

Seventhly, Sedition is most impetuous; & accordingly compar'd to such things as are most active & destructive: as to the Sea breaking in, which carries all before it. So to a fire breaking out, and a plague of pestilence; *Incipit ad uno, inscit omnes.*

Lastly, Sedition is a pernicious evil; *Thucydides* stiles it, All kind of evils. And *nullum malum perniciosius*, saith *Plato* in his Book last quoted; There is no evil more pernicious then sedition; for this divides, yea, and discorps a City: Division commonly ushers in destructi-

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on. And accordingly, when the Prophet *David* would curse the professed enemies of God, he began there. *Divide, Destroy; Divide their tongues, and destroy them, O Lord, for I have seen violence and strife in the City.* And all these evils of punishment have in one part or other in some measure befallen us, in one or other of the three Kingdoms; since so many of us for want of the true fear of God and the King, meddled with those whom we could not choose but know to be seditious, by their first kindling the coals, and their blowing up the quarrel betwixt King and Parliament: till to gratifie their own factions, and satisfie themselves and their own friends, they had brought us to this generall want, & woes, through want of Religion (I mean the true Protestant Religion, as it was here established in the Church of England, the soundest in Doctrins, and wisest in Discipline to the Primitive, of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom; and in stead of this one, which was truly Ancient, Catholique and Apostolique, we are

now



now like *Corinth*, where any Religion under Heaven may be found, save only the true.

Secondly, of *Law*, for we have had for many years, no benefit of the old and well-known *Laws* of the Land, but only an *Arbitrary government*, chang'd like an *Almanack*, from year to year, at the will of our now *lords pro tempore ratione*.

Thirdly, Of *liberty*; which hath been no other of late, but meer *vassallage*, for if we did not what our *Task-masters* list'd to impose upon us, *bonds* and *imprisonments* wait'd for us (as *Saint Paul* speaks of himself in the 20 of the *Acts*) in every place.

Fourthly, Of *Property*, for no man all this while, could with any assurance, call any thing he had *his own*; It was but starting up a *Covenant*, *Engagement*, or an *Oath* of abjuration for all; or picking a quarrel with any particular person, and then he must be *imprison'd*, *pillag'd*, and *plunder'd* without *bail* or *main-prize*.

Fifthly, Of *peace*; for when we did but *purſue* in our actions, or but *petition* and

and pray for publick peace out of never so good affection, we were voted *Delinquents*, *Malignants*, *Ill-affected*.

Sixthly, Of *plenty*, for this *City* and *Nation*, which for affluence in all kinds, was the envy & admiration of the whole earth, are now reduc'd to such extreme necessity, through the continuance of the war, and maintainance of the *Army*, that had no enemy: and the generall decay of *trade*, (there being no considerable importation or exportation of goods for many years) that the rich are not able to succour and support the poor, which are become *innumerable*, *quo ad nos*; and the poor must, e're long, either fall upon the rich mens *coffers*, or eat up one anothers *carcasses*.

Seventhly, Of *Truth*, *Justice*, *Charity*, *King*, and *God* himself; all which (save that there be a few names in *Sardis*; and that *God* hath an election of grace in all places and ages) seem among us, like *materia prima*, at this day, to have no other being then in terms. Indeed, all this while, the prevailing factions have taken



taken the Name of God into their mouths (as the Prophet speaks in the 50 *Psalm*) though the love of their interest made them hate to be reformed: and they had some forms of godliness, though in their works they deny'd the power thereof. And now, if you enquire how, and why all these, and divers other *unspeakable evils* have laien upon us so heavy, and under most of which we languish at this day? you are fully answered in the *Text*: It is first for your *customary sins yet unrepented of*; secondly, for your *fooling*, as Solomon useth the term in this Book of the *Proverbs*; (Some mens *successè* in their *sins* hath *fool'd* them into down-right *Atheisme*;) thirdly, for your *exorbitant desire of change*, which hath thus by degrees *allay'd* your *pure wine* with *water*, and turned all your *ancient treasure* into *trash* and *tumpery*; and especially, for your *meddling* with the *seditions*, whom you first *encourag'd*, *countenanc'd*, *assist'd*, *protect'd*, and *sided with*, against all that was call'd *God* among us: & now

you

you *reap* the *fruits*, and *eat* the *earnings* of your own *heads*, *hearts*, and *hands*; which I hope will be a *fair warning* to you, and all generations yet to come, to fear God and the King, as you are here exhorted, and to meddle no more with the *seditions*, for the many, weighty *reasons* already alledg'd. And yet, if we look well upon the words, we shall find all these and more, and worse, partly *express'd* in the close of the *Text*, which urgeth this; *For their destruction comes suddenly*; and therefore my Son, *meddle not with them*; and partly implied; when he *queries* thus, *And who knows the end thereof?* Of either of which, give me leave to speak but a word or two more, and no more.

It is observable, that the Scripture seldom speaks of the death of Gods *Servants*, but either with some *allay* of the *bitterness*, and *acrimony* thereof; and thus it is call'd not a death, but a *departing*, a *dissolution*, a *sleep*, a *resting* under hope, a *refreshing*, &c. Or with some *addition* either of honour, as *Precious*



eous in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints: Or of happiness, as Blessed are the dead that dye in the Lord, &c. But when it speaks of the death of the wicked, (such as are all *customary, obstinate, and impenitent sinners; All Atheistical fools; all Innovators that are desirous of change; and all schismatical and seditious persons*) then it useth for the most part some *terms of horror and torment by way of aggravation*: And so they are said *not to dye the common death of all men; but to be drown'd in destruction and perdition; to be firept away with the Becsome of destruction; to perish in the gain-saying of Core*: And here their *destruction comes sodainly*; which shews that there is both *violence in the motion*, since it is not death, but destruction; and also *celerity in the execution of it*: Since their destruction comes, it's spoken in the *present tense*, and comes *sodainly*, and shall both take them away *unprepar'd*, and leave them no way to *escape*. As I might instance first in the *generall*, in *Tora, Dothan, and Abiram*, and the two

hundred

*hundred and fifty Princes of the congregation, men of renown, and all that sided with them in that sedition which they rais'd against Moses and Aaron, (Gods Magistrate and High priest) who were all swallowed up quick by the earth opening; as we read in Numb. 16. which may serve as a warning piece to us, &c.*

And next in many particulars; for fair-spoken *Absolom* (who seditiously assembled the mighty men of Israel together against his *Natural and Civil father, King David*) was suddainly twiched up in the *forke of a Tree*, and so left hanging between *heaven and earth*.

So *Zimri* who at first *conspir'd* against, and then *stew his Master*, (King *Elah* in 1 *King. 16.*) soon after *burnt himself to death* in the close of the same Chapter.

So *Sheba*, a man of *Belial*, for blowing the *trumpet of Sedition*, saying, *We have no part in David, every man to his tents, O Israel* (in 1 *Sam. 20. 1.*) was soon after *beheaded by the men of Abel*; and his *head was cast over the wals to Foab* 2 in





the end of the same Chapter. Not to multiply Scripture instances; how e're they that are *desirous of change*, and *seditions* men, may *flatter* themselves in a *seeming impurity*; yet our own *Chronicles*, yea, our own *sad experience* abundantly testifie this truth, That *their destruction comes suddainly*: How many *memorable and fearful examples of divine justice* in this kind have we seen of late, whose *punishment* was as *notorious* as their *sin*. Then, *my son*, *meddle not with them*; (for whether you look into the *Law of God*, or into the *Civill Law*, which is the *Law of Nations*; or into the *Common Law of England*) still you will find, that their *destruction* comes *suddainly*: and one would think that is *bad enough*; and yet I must tell you, or rather the *Text* it self tels you, that there is a *great deal more*, and *worse* behind: For my *Text* is like a *Bee* that hath both *honey* and a *sting*. It begins (as you have heard) with the *fear of God* and the *King*, which is all *honey*: but if *Changlings* and *seditions* persons

(of

(of which the world is too full) will none of this sweet and soveraign *honey*; I mean *the fear*, which I spake of but now; yet whether they *will or no*, they shall *feel the sting*; for their *destruction* comes *suddainly*; there is their *temporal death*: And *who knows the end thereof* (saith *Solomon*.)

This *Quis scit*, is a *Nemo scit*: This *Interrogation* is *equipollent* to a single *Negation*: as if he had said, No man *knows* it while he *lives here*; though this *Quis scit* hath begotten *infinite* and *intricate questions*; yet no man *alive* is able to *unriddle* and *resolve* them; but the *seditions*, nor they neither till (as it is said of *Judas, Act. 1.*) they *go to their own place*; and that you may not go *thither* for company, let me counsel you, as *Moses* doth the *Israelites* (*Numb. 16.*) *Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest that you perish in all their sins.*

And (which I must not forget) this *Question of Solomon, Who knows the end thereof?* implies, that there is *more* in the

destruction



destruction of the seditious, then a *meer* temporal death; for all men *know* the end thereof; it hints what *St. John* calls the *second death*, viz. *Condemnation*, or in plain English, *Damnation*, which is eternal, a *parte post*, as the learned speak: and *who knows the end thereof?* The *worme* (saith the Prophet) *never dies*, and the *fire never goes out*. Then as you *love your lives*, and the *life of your lives*, your *dearest souls*; and the *soul of your souls*, *salvation* it self, *meddle not with them*: and so I *conclude* as I began, *My son, fear God, and the King, and meddle not with them that are customary sinners, foolish Atheists; desirous of change, and seditious; for their destruction comes suddenly, and who knows the end thereof.* And that we may never know it, the Lord by his *spirit of Grace* work in us the true *fear of God, and the King.*

The

The Samaritan revived; and the course he then took to cure the wounded Traveller, by pouring in Wine and Oyl; Historically applyed for the sound and speedy healing of our present dangerous Distractions.



It is a *Truth* generally received, That no *state or condition on earth* is absolutely *perfect and happy*; so it hath been the *unwearied endeavor* of all that are *wise and good*, to attain unto *happiness* and *perfection* in every kind, as near as *humane frailty* would admit. And because nothing contributes more to *happiness* then *Government*, which by curbing the *unruly passions* of men, doth both help to *safeguard* their persons, and distinguish their *Interests*; so as they may freely and quietly enjoy what the



Law calls their *Property*; therefore the ancient *Sages* have taken a great deal of pains to find out, not onely what kind of *Government* is best in it self, but also what is most suitable and agreeable to the natural complexion, and constitution of each particular *Countrey*, and accordingly our *British* Ancestors (so renowned in *History* for their piety, prudence, courage, and loyalty) pitch'd at last upon *Monarchy*, as not onely acknowledged on all hands to be the best form of civil *Government*; but as most proper to the humour, and most proportionable to the temper of this ancient and formerly flourishing Nation.

And because they observed that the best things corrupted, do commonly prove *worst*, and that it is possible that *Monarchy* may degenerate into *Tyranny*; therefore they provided that our *Government* (though *Monarchicall*) should be so temper'd, that no Law should be imposed by the *King* upon the People, exacting their obedience,

without their consent given by their *Representatives* assembled in *Parliament* (consisting of the three *Estates*) that as a threefold *Cord* is not easily broken: so if any of the three should become *excentrick*, the other two by their mutual concurrence, and reasonable interposition might evenly bound and ballance it. And we have felt of late, by wofull experiance, that when the *House of Commons* grew so predominant, as first to Vote down, and then quite take away the other two *Estates* (which were of old more rightly, and more essentially interess'd in the *Legislative power* then themselves; and accordingly by assisting his *Majesty*, should have restrained them) into what an *Illis* of evils we have ever since been plung'd, and how sharply we have smarted for this their usurpation and intrusion.

And because what is said of that *Person* that travelled between *Jerusalem* and *Fericho*, is too true of this *Nation*, which, to speak plainly, is fallen into



the hands of *Thieves*, that have robb'd and spoyl'd it, and by so often wounding it, have now left it half dead, therefore how e're others of known abilities do account it *good sleeping in a whole skin* (passing by, like the *Priest* and the *Levite*, branded in that *Parable*.) and will take no cognizance of our lamentable case; lest they should be engag'd in, and either endamag'd or endanger'd by undertaking the *Cure*; yet by Gods grace I am resolv'd (with the good *Samaritan*) to pour in both *Wine* and *Oyl*; that first by thoroughly searching the deep, if not deadly wounds of his *Body-politique* with my *Wine*; and then gently suppling it with my *Oyl*; I may do my utmost endeavour to *heal* and *recover* it.

And here affecting brevity, I will pass by all such infirmitiēs as a *quick-sight* might have discern'd in the first ten years of the late Kings reign; and I will take my rise no further then an ordinary *Politician* might have easily observ'd; *viz.* That the Kings of *France*,  
Spain,

*Spain*, and the *States* of the *Low Countries*, growing at that *Time* daily more and more *potent* by *Sea* and *Land*; and some of them not only threatening invasion, but also year after year, and almost daily committing upon the *Narrow seas*, such out-rages and insolencies, as could not well be any longer endur'd: His Majesty (not only to support his own *just Greatness*, and the *Honour* of the *Nation*, but also both to secure his *Subjects* at home, and to give check to the *Neighbouring Princes* abroad; (all which without far greater supplies then the ancient *Revenue* of the *Crown*; could not possibly then be done to any purpose) rais'd *ship-money*; yet not untill such time as divers of the *Judges* had freely deliver'd their *Opinions*, that in such *Articles* of necessity, he might *lawfully* do it. Now grant that the *King* had therein extended His *Prerogative* a little too farre; though when the *Case* was argu'd, the *Judges* were divided about it, and one half of them *stoutly* and *stiffly* maintain'd it





it to be *Law*) ye in regard first *He* was in some sort then necessitated to do what *He* did for the weighty *Reasons* prealleged; Next in regard it was all the *Taxe* which was then yearly paid: To both which, let me add, that in regard it was but a *Flea-bite* to each particular man, in comparison of those insupportable Pressures, under which we have laien *groaning* and *gasping* ever since; all sober and unbyassed men must and will confess, that it had been a great deal better for us to have patiently endur'd that single inconvenience, then so many mischiefs as have since befallen us; and that had the *Ship-money* been illegall, yet the *Remedy* hath been far worse then the *Disease*.

The *Ship-money* was no sooner assessed, but straight start up a *discontented party*, which (having learn'd out of *Machiavil*; that it is best fishing in troubled waters) greedily laid hold upon that *obliquity*, to render his *Majesty* odious: for they not only denied

ed the payment, but fell down right into seditious and tumultuous courses: for the effectuall composing whereof his Majesty thought that the speedy calling of a *Parliament* would be the most likely expedient; and accordingly of his accustomed grace and clemency, he issu'd out his Writs to convene such a great Council as by their *Wisdom* and *Moderation* might wholly salve up what was past, and secure us from all Innovation for the future. But the Tributes of the People by ill Arts, had so *imbitter'd* and *exasperated* the severall Counties and Corporations, that instead of grave, able, and worthy *Patriots*, few or no *Knights* and *Burgesses* were chosen, but of the old *Puritan Faction*, whom this *Church* and *State*, ever since the *Reformation*, have found to be inveterate and irreconciliable Enemies to *Peace* and *Truth*; Both which, though they seem'd to cry up in the Beginning of the late Troubles; yet it appeareth at this day, that they will not lay down their



their Arms, that they may have Peace; nor yet leave their lying; that they may have Truth. These tender Conscienc'd Men (so they call'd themselves) had then an Opportunity put into their hands to actuate, what in Corners they had so many Ages together afore-hand design'd; viz. not only the regular Alteration, but utter Abolition and Extirpation of the so truly ancient and every way excellent Government both of Church and State; though the poor People that chose them, and many of them in the Simplicity of their Souls, neither did, nor indeed could give them any such unlimited, and 'extravagant' Power, as that *Conventicle* (being flesh'd with improbable Successes) did afterwards by degrees assume to *Themselves*; And I call it a *Conventicle* in the same Sence that the *Trent-council* was so call'd, and because there was packing in Both much alike before the prevailing Faction in either could accomplish their Designs. The Members being met, after

ter, an hearty Thanksgiving among *Themselves*, that their Party was so numerous; and an hypocritical *Humiliation* for the Evils they intended; they fell close to work; and the better to carry on their Designs, they publisht a *Remonstrance* to the Kingdom, in which (with accursed *Cham*) they laid open their Civil Fathers nakedness (such as it was) and to render Him not onely odious, but ridiculous, they affix'd some personall faults upon *Him*, which *He* was in no wise guilty of. And *his over-sights* (if *He* had any) they did aggravate and embroider with such malicious *Rhetorick*, that they did thereby gull the well-meaning People into a kind of Credulity, or at least Anxiety; and so by little and little they did estrange and alienate their former good Opinions, and dutiful Affections from their lawfull and gracious S O V E R A I G N: a *Practise* treasonable in it self, and so confest to be in any others; yet, they not onely *conniv'd* at it, in themselves,



selves, and absolved themselves for it; but justified it as a Vertue both needfull and commendable; which it is confest by their new *Legislative Power*, they might both as colourably and warrantably do, as a Lord in the House of Peers did professedly maintain that we may do Evill that Good may come thereof; and they had no other ground but his bare word (and that expressly contrary to Gods Word) whereon they built the whole Fabrick of their *Utopian Reformation*: of which we can yet see no other Fruits but the Prophanation of Churches, yea, even of *Saint Pauls*, the renowned *Mother-Church* of this *City and Nation*, which is not only turn'd into a Den of *Thieves*, but a Stable for *Horses*; which seem to have as much *Religion* and *Christianity*, as some of the *Men-beasts* that ride them: and more horrid *Oppressions* by *High Courts of Justice*, and other arbitrary *Impositions*, then ever were done by colour of Authority in the Reign of all the Kings since

since the *Conquest*. These and worse are the visible Fruits of their pretended Reformation, as you shall see ere I have done. The *Foundation* whereof being laid in such rotten *Principles*, the *Structure* (though like the *City-Pagants*, it was somewhat specious at first, as being richly gilded, and fairly painted) was not likely to prove much better; yet they carryed on that which they call'd the *Cause* (for they were asham'd to call the *Rebellion* by its proper Name) vigorously, and brought it by degrees to that goodly *Babel*, and confus'd *Chaos* that now it is: For first they contriv'd a *Protestation*, which (like a *Viper*) had its teeth so buryed in its gums, that it seem'd at first blush an harmless beast, though the bite thereof was deadly: for though the *Protestation* had divers plausible Pretenses interwoven in it, and was made, as they said (like our ordinary *Almanacks*) only for the *Meridian* of the *House*; yet as soon as the *Members* had taken it, it was impos'd upon the



the *People*; and the chief ends of it were; first, to cement the *Factions* fast each to other: Secondly, like a *Shibboleth* to distinguish an *Ephramite* from an *Israelite*. Thirdly, to fortifie themselves against the KING and all his *Adherents*; And fourthly, to bear them out against the *Reach* and *Lash* of all *penall Laws*, to which they might possibly become obnoxious in their future *Arbitrary Proceedings*. And having thus prepar'd the *Way*, they fell to purging the *House* of all such as they call'd and accounted *Ill-affected*, and *Malignants*; that is, in plain *English*, They expell'd all such conscientious *Persons*, as either out of the *Fear of GOD*, or *Fidelity* to His *Anointed*, would not concur in their dangerous *Votes*; and detestable *Resolutions*: and they purg'd it so often, and made their *Potions* so strong and fullsome, that e're long they had not left any considerable number of honest and upright *Men* among them. And the *Purgative Physick* having wrought,

wrought as well as they could wish, the next thing they Voted, was the securing of some of his Majesties ablest, and faithfullst Counsellors (as my Lord of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, and others) whom they afterwards (as my Lord *Digbie* truly phras'd it) murder'd with the *Sword* of Justice: for my Lord of *Strafford* lost his Head onely for high *Misdemeanors*, as they call'd them: and the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* suffered *Martyrdom*, onely to gratifie the *People* of the *City*; which either out of *Malice* or *Ignorance* had petition'd that he should suffer for their sins, (it seems) for he was charg'd with none that were mortal; and the *Dignity* of his *Life* which they publish'd to detract from his *Good Name*, and *Fame*, shall keep both upon *Record* to sweeten his *Memoriall* to all succeeding *Generations*. And when the *Members* had thus shaken; if not shatter'd these two pillars, they caus'd others of His *Majesties* *Friends* in Order to *Self-preservation*





to withdraw and conceal themselves seeing that by their Stay, though they might have hazarded themselves, yet they could not have help'd Him who must no longer (forsooth) be trusted with the Militia (one of the fastest and fairest Flowers of the Crown, & without which a Monarch is a King and no King) but it must be put into such hands as they could confide in: and that being taken away, A Vote or two stript Him of all Power, in a trice, both by Sea and Land. All his Forts, and Ports, Castles, Magazines, and Ships, were not onely seiz'd by them; but both man'd and kept, and turn'd, and fortifid against Him. And about that Time Sir Richard Gournie Lord Mayor of London (a Man of so singular Integrity, that the whole City for the time stood upright in him), was committed to the Tower; and Isaac Pennington substituted; whose Name more properly should have been Julian; For the Church of England never had so damn'd an Apostate, and fiery a Persecu-

cuter

utor of her faithfull Sons, the loyall Clergy, as this Pennington; during the time of whose Mayoraltie most of the Orthodox Ministers were sequestred, and many of them clapt a Ship-board, and thrust into prisons, that their Churches might be fill'd with such Schismaticks and Sectaries, as would crydown the King and the Church, and bawl up the Cause, and Mr. Till at Saint Olives in South-wick; 1642. some of them came to such an height of Blasphe-my, that they blusht not to preach to their amaz'd Congregations, that this Parliament had done more good for us by their Reformation, then C H R I S T had done by his passion. And as it is observed in the body naturall; that a raw stomach makes a rheumatick head, and a rheumatick head makes a raw stomach: So it proves no lesse true in the body politicke, that a factious Church-man makes a seditious Common-wealths-man; and a seditious Common-wealths-man makes a factious Church-man: For the new

F. 2

Lay-



Lay-Levites shewing the Way, soon after, some of the Members tell from *whispering*, to speak open *Treason* in the *House*: And when His Majesty in his own Person, attended with some few of his Menial servants, required those five might be delivered up to a legal *Triall*, the *House* (by the help of the *City*) not only protected the *Traitors* but also Voted the *Kings* Demand of them, to be a high breach of the Priviledges of *Parliament*: and I believe the *Pope* will as soon give us a certain List of *Apostolicall Traditions*, as the *Parliament* will do of their Priviledges; all which is not held safe, to either Prince or People to know. These are *Arcana imperii*, and will help both *Pope* and *Parliament* out in all Exigencies, and upon all Emergences whatsoever. The *King* being thus stript out of all power, and cheated out of the good affection of his liege people; it was then but ask and have. The *Kings* Negative Voyce was voted down, and he now neither may, nor

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must deny the Members any thing. Then they Petition for a *Trienniall Parliament*, and it was granted; yet that did not satisfie; for the truth is, they made use of the *Trienniall*, as a talking-horse to a perpetuall *Parliament*; for which they had the confidence, or rather the impudence, to petition too, though they knew that the *King* could not justly grant it, (as tending to the inevitable destruction of himself and the people committed to his *Trust*;) yet they resolv'd, though the *King* could not grant it, yet he should not deny it: For while this hung in suspense, the Members tamper'd with *Senne*, *Mannaring*, and other Zelots (Citizens of desperate Opinions, and despicable fortunes) to sally with their *Minnydons* down to *White-hall* in great numbers, and greater disorder; where many *Sea-men* of the same strain were hyr'd *under-hand* to meet them by water; that so, what with their huge numbers, and their hideous noyse, they might at last intimidate the *Court*;



and having thus first extorted from the King his consent to an *Act* for a perpetuall *Parliament*, they might soon after induce, if not inforce him, by withdrawing himself from the imminent danger of a popular fury, to provide, as well as possibly he could in such straits, for his present and future preservation. The King being thus forc'd to absent himself, the Members laid about them lustily; passing Vote after Vote, and Order upon Order; though I cannot stand to recount (neither is it much materiall if I could to say) either by what Artifice, or in what Order they passed them.

But to be short and plain; a new broad Seal was made; and by vertue thereof Commissions were issued forth to raise Forces by Sea and Land against the King, and his evill Counsellors (as they stil'd all that in the integrity of their hearts did adhere unto him:) Open War was proclaim'd, and the Zelots brought in to make that Cause: Their plate, jewels, ear-rings, thimbles, and

and bodkins, which were first melted and then coin'd with the *Parlements* stamp: Fears and Jealousies were created, and fomented: new dangerous plots were daily discovered by the authors and contrivers of them: All known or suspected Loyallists were banish'd out of the line of communication: The Companies of the *City* took their turns to march down to *Westminster* daily to guard the House; and the *City* for the time seem'd to all sober men but a great *Bedlam*, in which, like so many mad men, they rattled with their chains, and hollowed, yea, and laughed, when in truth they did but help to hasten and lengthen their own misery. The *Scots* were call'd in to lend their brotherly assistance, and to this end a solemn League and Covenant was equivocally pen'd, and taken; and impos'd as a snare; to entrap all conscientious Subjects: A Directory was publish't for Uniformity in Doctrine and Worship, which had neither the Lords Prayer, nor any of the three

F 4

Creeds,



Creeds, nor the Decalogue in it: A Synod, or Assembly of Divines was chosen to do their jobs of Journey-work: The Bishops were first clapt in the Tower, and then voted down Root and Branch, and so was the House of the Lords Temporall alterwards: A disgracefull *Huz* and Cry was sent after his *Majestie*, and his *Royall Consort*, and his no lesse *innocent*, then *illustrious Progeny* were all *stigmatiz'd*: All that engag'd with, or but seem'd to favour *Him*, and his *righteous Cause*, were voted *Delinquents*, and *Malig-nants*: The Church of England (with-out any trial at all) was cast, and condemn'd: The observation of Holy-days, yea of all the Festivals kept in commemoration of *Christ* himself, was strept away with an Ordinance: The Orthodox Clergy were sequestred: Sa-criledge was justified to be no sin; and then the lands both of *King* and *Church* were all sold: The *Presbytery* was set up for three years: Weekly *Fasts* and *Humiliations* then were continued

from

from morning to night, which they us'd onely (as the Fryar spread his net) till they had caught the fish: Not onely Popish, but Jesuitical positions were preach'd, preis'd, and practis'd: as *killing*, yea, *King-killing* is no murther: Curle, ye *Meroz*, then rung aloud in every Pulpit. *Tryers* appointed to keep all right men out of the Church; and *Committees* authoriz'd in all Cities and Counties, as an Inquisition to exercise the faith and patience of the *Cavaliers*. Great was the number of the *Preachers*; for a lying spirit made both some Lords, and their Coach-men; some Mechanicks, and their Apprentices; yea, some Mistresses and their Maid-maukins, all gifted in that kind; which were not able to discern and distinguish between faith and faction; reformation, and rebellion; conscience, and conspiracy; holiness and hypocrisie; yea, Jesuits disguis'd like several sorts of Handicrafts men in corners and Conventicles, were encouraged to sow the seeds of Sedition and Rebellion,

on,





on, whilst the poor people were seduced to follow them, and to crie them up for gilded men, and so induc'd to believe that there is no such need of preaching Ministers, since God in these reforming times has pour'd out his Spirit upon all flesh. And all men are taught of God both to pray and prophesie, if they would but stir up the grace that is in them, as these did who seem'd to have no other calling or enabling then they themselves had. The Schisme was dilated; Conventicles countenanc'd; The Scriptures main'd and mingled whilst they made use of the word of Christ, to betray the cause of Christ; divers Battails fought with various succels. Some *Treaties* pretend'd by the *House*, but no *accommodation* ever intended; *For he that draws his sword against his Prince, must cast away the scabbard, &c.* In fine, his *Majesties* forces were totally routed at *Marston*, and he being in a very great strait, put himself into the hands of his native Country-men, the *SCOTS*; who treache-

cherously sold him to the goodly Members sitting at *Westminster*, who after they had cag'd him a while, and hurried him from post to pillar (as we say) I mean from one prison and Jaylor to another; and finding that they held him like a Wolf by the ears; whether they held him or let him go, they were still in danger; as not being able to satisfie and secure their own Guilt; they at last set up a mock-Court of Justice, in which they formally arraign'd and condemn'd him; and then most inhumanely murder'd him before the Gates of his own Palace, and usuall place of residence.

*Hic Finis CAROLI Fatorum, &c.* — And here observe by the way, that though the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and all other Schismatiques and Sectaries, may well be called *LEGION*, for they are many; yet though they be never so many, and never so far differing, and disagreeing each from other, in their heads; yet like *Samsons* Foxes, they are  
tyed



tyed together by the tayls : and like *Simion* and *Levi*, they agreed like brethren in actuating this, which was as capitall a crime, and as horrid an iniquity, as ever the Sun beheld. And which I may not pretermitt in silence) when the *Zelots* first took up Arms, they pretended that they did it not against the *KING*, but his evil Counsellors : But God (who is the Tryer and Searcher of the Heart and the Reins) knew full well, that it was the *Kings Person* and *office* that they rebel'd against; and therefore his providence protected Him in the day of Battail, and put Him safe and sound into their hands: that all the World might see by their Actuall murdering Him at last, that they had intentionally murder'd Him from the first rise of the Rebellion: Thus what they did with the full sway and swinge of their Wills, did even against their Wills conduce towards their making good in his *Exit*, what they had often promis'd in the Entrance of their damnable Undertakings,

kings, viz. That they would make Him a *Glorious King*, meaning a *King* in *G L O R I E*. To which let me add, that had the *Sectaries* been then subdued, they would then have ever hankered after Rebellion, and cryed what glorious things they would have done, had they prospered in their pretended Reformation. And therefore Divine Providence so ordered the Business, that the worse Cause for the time got the better, to stop their Mouths, and let them see that their *head-strong* and *brain-sick Undertakings* (though seemingly prosperous for a time) tended only to, and ended only in their Confusion.

The King being thus translated, and all his Royal Progeny being banish'd for the present, and by an Act of this perpetual Parliament, for ever disabled for swaying the three Scepters of their Birth-right; and the Kingdomes themselves being strangely metamorphos'd into a Common-Wealth, as some are pleas'd to call it

(The



<sup>The name of</sup> (The \*publike WeaLth  
the East, 666. of engLAND ) though all  
the natural *Subjects*, and free-born  
*Inhabitants*, find it in *Truth* to be a  
Common, or *Publique Woe*; for all  
things are now so far out of course,  
that we can neither well endure the  
*Disease* nor the *Remedy*; and so it  
seems to fare with us at this day, as  
once it did with GODS own people, of  
whom it is said, *That when there was*  
*no King in Israel, every one did that which*  
*seemed right in his own Eyes*; and conse-  
quently, few; or none did that then  
which was right in GODS eyes. And  
this being just our Case in this *Inter-*  
*regnum*; The *Factions* that were so com-  
bin'd in prosecuting, and persecu-  
ting of the *King*, began to fall asunder  
in dividing the *Spoil*, and each set up  
for it self.

The *Presbyterians*, as they had the  
largest share in the *Plunder*, at first,  
(and so were best able to purchase the  
Lands lately belonging to the *King*  
and the *Church*). so had they then the  
greatest

greatest power; for the *General*, and  
the *Admiral*, *Essex* and *Warwick*, were  
both theirs. But after *Essex* his death,  
(whether it were natural, as some say  
he dyed of a *Suifet*, he being a noted  
*Epicure*, that serv'd no other God but  
his own belly; or as others say; it was  
violent, and that he was *poys'on'd*;  
which if true, was the just *Reward*  
of his *Rebellion*) the morally *Jacobine*  
*Independents* out-witted their *Brethren*,  
and their *Elders* too, I mean the *Esau-*  
*ite Presbyterians*; and got for a time  
both the *Birthright*; and the *Blessing* of  
the *Civill power*, and conduct of the  
*Army* into their hands, till ere long  
the *Lieutenant General*, *v. Cromwel*, (a  
man fast to no *Religion*; but *Interest*)  
by his *Absalom-like* *Insinuation* with  
the *Commanders*, and by his *Preach-*  
*ing*, *Praying*, and other *Gifts* in cant-  
ing, had so gain'd the general good  
*Opinion* of the *Common Souldiers*,  
that he was on the sudden proclaim'd  
*Protector*. And though all men look'd  
upon him as a meer *Usurper*, and *In-*  
truder



truder; Yet he did so shuffle and pack the *Cards* ( sometimes making *Friends*, other whiles preventing *Enemies* ) that what between Love and Fear, Rewards and Punishments, he held fast what he had so unjustly seiz'd on, so long as he lived; And if any wonder how he first got, and then held the *Imperial Dignity*? Let me tell them, that this brave *Oliver*, besides that he was a *Gentleman* born, and so had liberal *Education* at home in *Peace*, and abroad in the *Wars*: he was also a man of excellent natural *Parts*, and so thorough a *Politician*, that he check'd at nothing which was ill: He pay'd his way to Preferment, through Blood, Perjury, &c. And having got the Power, he laid aside the golden *Scepter*, as an insignificant bauble for legitimate *Princes* to play with, and pleas'd themselves, and rul'd this ( which he observ'd to be a stirring, and a headstrong people ) with a *Rod of Iron*: If with *Alexander the Great*, he met with such a *Gordian knot*, as he could not

we

well untie, he strait cut it in two with his sword: And when the pummel was too blunt, then ( with *Charles the fifth* ) he turn'd the Point, which he kept sharp, and speedy in the Execution of Justice, be it right or wrong, as we say: And though our former *Princes* look'd upon *Parliaments* with some dread; and both King and people have of late snar'd under them: Yet this *Oliver* call'd, and broke them up when he pleas'd. He plaid with *Parliaments*, as Ladies do with Serpents without stings, and made their power fruitless, their Malice toothlesse. Briefly, he made *Spain*, *France*, and *Holland*, for the Time like the Sect we call *Quakers*; and to stand in fear of Him, whom they did not, could not love.

*Richard* the eldest son of *Oliver* was ( as *Thurloe* said ) design'd to succeed his father in the *Protectorship*; and accordingly declar'd by the then Council of *State*: and his second son *Henry* continued a while his Vicegerency in *Ireland*; but the Members of the perpetual Parliament ( having an aking

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tooth against *Oliver*, for expelling them from the House, and taking them from the Receipt of Custome (which was indeed but a customary Deceit, feeding themselves fat by starving of us, and filling their own purses by emptying, and exhausting ours) observing the said *Rubard* and *Henry*, for want either of Reason or Resolution, to be altogether unfit to rule; and taking advantage of their manifold wants & weaknesses, I say, the said Members then (being countenanced by some of the chief Officers of the Army) re-entred the House, as their ancient Inheritance and Free-hold: and between Hopes and Fears prevailed with those two Novices, to quit their places and power, without any Bustle, or visible Reluctation; And the two tame Creatures being gone, the beasts of Prey (which had been so long kept fasting) grew the more keen and ravenous, swallowing all they could seize upon, by deglution; and (like the Devil) rag'd the more because their time was but short. For the day of our redemption draw-

drawing near; and the people being wearied, if not worried by such chop-pings and changings, as they had observ'd in Church and State, (which had run through all Forms of Government, without any present satisfaction, or hopes of future settlement) and that after so prodigall effusion of Time, Treasure, and Bloud, they had done, in effect, nothing all this while, but undone themselves: then (as if GOD had put a new Spirit into the old *Britains*, which had opened their eyes) it seems that all Counties, and Corporations, and this City above the rest: (in which there were about that time so many commotions, and cursory insurrections of the Apprentices) had under-hand promis'd to rise as one man; and to stand for a free Parliament (which they knew could not legally be call'd without the King) as the onely visible means to redeem us, and our Posterity, from the House of Bondage; in which we have been constrain'd so many years to make the full tale of Bricks, though our hard-heart-



ed Taskmasters would not allow us the usuall proportion of straw. And however this Animosity was universall, and concluded on to be generall throughout the Kingdom, yet (the rest being prevented by County-Troops, and other Forces which the vigilancy of the Members had soon dispers'd into all parts suspected, and so the generall rising was disappoint-ed) Sir *George Booth* and his party were the first, if not the onely men, (beside Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with some few of the *Uelsh*) that took the Field in a considerable Body: The Report whereof had no sooner alarm'd these *Southern* parts, but the Members design'd *Lambert* to march *North-west*, to quell the Rebels (as they called them in a Proclamation set forth by the House, to which I refer the Reader) and he with all possible speed advanc'd towards *Cheeshire*, whose expectation being foild by the not timely rising and conjunction of the associated Counties, Sir *George Booths* party was dispers'd without any great dispute; and

and *Lambert* without a coasliet return'd victorious; And now the Phanticks began to promise themselves perpetuall peace and safety, and a secure raig. But they were very much deceiv'd in looking for an abiding City here, where they might rest and revell: For *Lambert* having gotten reputation by that which indeed was a seeming successe without a victory; then (as it was said of *Marius*) he led the Army, and Ambition led him (who was a Prince of *Olivers* faith, that had learnt of his Great Lord and Master, to keep no Oaths, or Engagements, Covenants, Vowes, or Promises, but what he wanted either power or opportunity to break) and he grew impatient (like *Caesar*) of having any power above his; and accordingly he routed the poor Members, though of the same body samatick, and put them on the suddain to seek out new habitations. But the nine dayes wonder was hardly over, ere He, and his Confederates found that their head-pieces were sounder and better then their



heads; and that they had made a great deal more haste, then good speed: for upon mature deliberation, they became sensible that the common soldiers were then ready to mutiny for want of pay; and that the Officers had neither ready monies to stop their mouths, nor any possible way whereby to raise them. And while they were in this tottering condition, Posts out of the *North* (like *Job's* Messengers of ill News) came tripping at each others heels; and the news grew so hot, that *Generall Monk* had taken the Field and was marching *Southward*, that it did no little cool his courage. And at a Council of War, *Lambert* was appointed to advance *Northward* to obstruct the Generals inroad: yet he did not set forward till such time as the *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, and all other *Scismaticks* were here put into Arms, as the onely godly party, in which both that Army; and *Icton* their Lord Mayor, and *Titchborn*, with divers prime Citizens of the Faction could then confide; to which let me ad-

that *Generall Fleetwood* undertook to keep all quiet here: to whom *Lambert* on his march dispatch'd severall missives, as so many cautions to keep the Members from re-admission into the House; which though he Religiously observ'd, as far as he was able, yet *Hazleridge*, *Morley*, and the rest of the *Rump* (for so they were abusively then call'd between the scorn and hatred of the common people) out-witting and over-powering the phlegmatick General, did by such power as they brought with them from *Portsmouth*, force their re-entry into the House; and did, Spider-like, eviscerate and spin out themselves, and their time, that so they might not want new Cobwebs (such as the Oath of Abjuration, and the Assesment of an hundred thousand pounds a Moneth, and such like trifles) wherein to entangle and engage us. As the House sate, hatching these Cocatrice Eggs, they cast *Lambert* such a bone to pick, as beat out all his teeth, and left him no more power, then ordinarily the Prince of this



world gives to the children of disobedience, whom he strips and whips at last, as the Guerdon of their former service: and *Lamberts* forces being dispers'd by an Order of the House, Generall *Monck* marched on hitherwards without the least opposition; and which is more, all the Counties which lay in, or neer the way, as he march'd, did unanimously petition him (as if he had been some petty Prince, and Saviour of the people, as we hope he will prove, ere he hath done) for a free Parliament; promising withall, that in order thereunto, they would stand to him with their lives and fortunes; but both his carriage and expressions, were then so reserv'd and doubtfull, that the Petitioners were dismissed with little satisfaction, save that the man is eminently civil. Among which Petitioners, there were divers honest men, both of the Aldermen, Common Council, and young men of the City; who (for shewing their good affections to such a free Parliament) were secur'd in the Tower,

and

and other Prisons: for though the Members used to give thanks to such as presented them with Petitions, fram'd in the House, and subscrib'd both in City and Country, according to their direction (which decoy was grown stale, and almost out of fashion) yet now, when they saw all parts petition for a free Parliament, (which they resented as destructive to their new model'd *Common-wealth*) they grew more impatient, and insolent, then ordinary; especially when upon Generall *Moncks* first approach, they observ'd his fair compliance, and forward observance of the Council of States extravagant Order; To break down the City Gates, and to pull up their Posts, and Chains, a violence so unexpected, that it did not onely startle the honest Common-Council for the present; but it so extremely disgusted the Citizens in generall, that though soon after he laboured to salve up the matter by some healing plaisters; yet they did not forget, that he had not onely broke their heads, but

had





had with some dishonour made them, for the time, to pull in their Hornes; with which they had (like so many mad Oxen) gored the King and his party, during the continuance of the War; which as it took its first rise thence, so God grant it may not end there, as the just punishment of their factions forwardnesse.

To sweeten them again, he scatter'd a few sugar-plums among them, promising that they should have a *Free Parliament*: and thereupon the giddy-headed multitude straight made great exclamations, some of them openly in the Streets, crying *God bleſſe King CHARLES*, God send us a King again; and others drank healths to the King and to the General, as they were then well warm'd with strong drink, as well as with the flame of the Bonfires: And you will easily believe, that all the Bells in *London* rung for joy; though the more grave and sober sort saw not then any great reason why: Yea, to this day, The Rump is so far from being routed, that they are rather recruited:

and

and so onely inabled to do more mischief, unlesse many of the secluded Members (which are lately introduced) are become Real Converts (as it is not without some good grounds generally hop'd) though for the present the Qualifications w<sup>ch</sup> they prescribe to all *Countries* and *Corporations* to be duly observ'd in the Election of the new *Knights* and *Burgesſes*, give the whole Kingdome just cause to suspect, that the intent and meaning of the House, is to have no free choise at all, because they wil not allow any to be chosen as Members of the next, but onely such as have signally testified their good affections to this: and (if I may deliver my mind without offence) I cannot see (as things now stand) how they can legally issue out Writts to call a new *Parl.* without the Kings consent; Or grant they could, why the Members now assembled, should not have altogether as much power and will to redeem their poor bleeding Country which they have thus imbroi'd, as the next can have, supposing it to be as good as

thus



Thus with the good *Samaritan* wine, I have search'd the yet festering sores of the *Body-Politic*; I have lanc'd them to the quick, and not only let out the impollumated matter, but taken away the proud, and dead flesh; for God knows that it is the humble, and earnest desire of my heart and Soul rather soundly to heal our wounds, then onely superficially to skin them over; lest if they break out again, the parts that are ill-affected, should gangrene, and so the whole body perishi. Now I come with the *Samaritan* to pour in my Oyl, and to apply an healing *Balsam*; to which do you joyn with me in prayer, that God would be pleas'd to give his blessing.

The most authentique Physicians say, that the exact knowledge of any Disease, is the first step to the Cure: and that the next is a vellecity in the Patient to be made whole: The former (by Gods assistance) we have attain'd unto by that discovery, which hath hitherto been made; and that the latter is no lesse necessary, may be gather'd

from that unexpected question, which our blessed Lord himself started to the man that had layn so many years cripl'd at the Pool of *Bethesda*; *Wilt thou be made whole?* which had been super-vacaneous, but that some will not; as the Prophet *Jeremy* speaks of *Babylon*; *We would have cured Babylon, but she would not be healed.* And Christ be-moans *Jerusalem*, saying, *How often would I have gather'd thee, even as an hen gathers her chickens under her wings? But thou wouldst not.*

Thus at this day we see some of our ordinary beggars go about with scald heads, and running sores upon them; who might be cured in our Hospitals, and cost them nothing; yet they will not; partly, that they may have the more plausible cause to beg, and partly that they may beget more compassion in the spectators; but principally, that these visible griefs may be a superfedas against the Statute, that provides such Vagrants should be set in the stocks, or sent to the House of Correction: And the truth is, that there be  
divers



divers members at this day, both of Church, and State, that will by no meanes endure to hear of any healing. *Balsoms*, or so much as the least overture of an Accommodation; because they are afraid, that if the times should turn, and the Law (which is the rule of Right) should take place; they should then not only lose the sweet liberty, or rather licentiousness, to say, and do what they list, but also be constrained to refund by Restitution, and vomit up e're long all such goods or lands, as they have (against law and conscience) already swallowed.

And to such particular cases (of which there is no end) it is impossible for any man to apply so many proper Remedies: All such must be relieved by some special Act of *Parl.* provided, when there is cause: My scope is to heal the body Politick, and so many members thereof (as being become truly sensible of the mortal disease in which they have so long lain languishing) are willing to be restor'd to their former health, and happinesse; as the three  
nations

nations (formerly sway'd by one gracious Monarch) do jointly and severally now profess themselves to be.

And as our first distemper grew into a form'd disease, and that pestilential, because when things were out of order, we did not humble our selves before God in prayer, quickned with fasting (prayers and teares being all the weapons that God allows Christians to take up against their lawfull Princes) but made our addresss onely to a *Parliament*, in which alone we did then put all our belief, and confidence: so God hath now severely scourg'd us with that arm of flesh, which as an Idol we set up in his stead (and so we can justly blame none but our selves, for we reap but what we sow'd, & drink but what we brew'd) and he hath turn'd that which we look'd upon as our onely remedie into an Epidemical, and almost incurable maladie; to bring us at last to acknowledge ingenuously, that as neither power nor policy can prevail against Gods institution: so we must depend upon him alone for safety, and  
salvation.



salvation. King *Asa* was onely troubled with a disease in his feet (one would think it was far enough from his heart) and yet because he sought to the Physician for help in the first place, when as he should have gone unto God it proved mortal. And as the woman of *Syro-phaneia*, that so many years was troubled with an *issue of blood*; though she spent all she had upon Physicians, yet was not cured till she came to Christ: So howe're it must be confest, that a *Parliament* rightly constituted, be a proper Physician for the *Body-Politick*, yet it cannot cure our present *Bloody-flux*, without the special concurrence and benediction of the Almighty; for it is most certain that no second Cause can work to any purpose, without the influence; and assistance of the first.

The Law both of God, and this Land, run all upon the right, and power of *Kings*, under whom (as Gods Ordinance) we have not onely liv'd; but flourish'd many hundred years: All the free-born people of these three  
King-

Kingdoms, are bound not only by the former oaths of *Allegiance*, and *Supremacy*; but also by the *Protestation*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour by all means the preservation of the *King*, and his Successors, and consequently of *Charles the Second*, who is the undoubted Heir of his Fathers rights, and our hopes; without whose gracious concurrence no Law can be binding to us, and during whose exile, we have lived onely under *Usurpation* and *tyranny*, enmity and animosity, poverty for want of trade, and continual excessive assessments to pay the Souldiers, who can never have all their arrears before we have a *King*: neither can we expect to see any end of War and Blood-shed, and all the mischiefs and miseries which now lie so heavy upon us, till our lawful King be reduc'd and restor'd. As when a bone is broken, or out of joynt, the Patient can never be freed from exquisite pain, till it be not onely set, but set right again: so though we have been long





not onely out of joynt, but even broken in pieces; and have suffered inexpressible pangs and pains; yet to this day we feel little or no ease, because none have had us in hand, but such *Empiricks* and *Mountebanks*, as (wanting either skill or fidelitie) have in stead of healing our wounds, inflam'd the distemper. None can set us right again, but only He, who is (under God) our proper *Physitian*, and Father of our Countrey. Then a *King* we must have, for none can extricate us out of all those difficulties and dangers in which we have so deeply involved our selves; none can give just and full satisfaction to all factions and interests, but a *King*. And He, not a *Perkin Warbeck*, nor yet a baffled *Richard*, but our lawfull *King*, *CHARLES*; without whom we are now convinc'd, that we can neither enjoy our birth-right in this world, nor Gods blessing in the world to come; notwithstanding all the former or later blasphemies of our *Rabshakebs*: After that *Saul* was anointed

nointed *King*, he was despised by some, as we read, in the 10<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the first Book of *Samuel*: but it is to be noted, that God there calls those that despised the *King*, sons of *Belial*; (as having cast off the yoke, for so the *Hebrew* word signifies.) Now you know it was the Devil who first cast off Gods yoke, when affecting equality, he said, *I will be like the most High*. And they are call'd the sons of *Belial*, that did then and there cast off the *Kings* yoke: but those that cast off the yoke of God, and the *King*; and of God in the *Kings* (yea, though it were but king *Saul*) were themselves but so many castaways; for they were of their father the Devil, saith our Saviour; ther's their Pedegree. But the Text I quoted out of *Samuel*, adds withall, *that the band of men of chivalry, whose hearts God had touch'd, follow'd king Saul home to Gibeah*; whence I necessarily infer, that those which in this generall desire and endeavour fairly to compose things in difference, do not follow



This is the former of which  
Milton replied by his  
Brief notes upon a Person  
: One Note, Symmetrical

III. 431.

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The Milton notes  
in answer to the  
Person



low God and the King, shew plainly, that God hath not yet touch'd their hearts; which as soon as he hath done effectually, they will be brought to confess, that without the restitution of King CHARLES to his native rights, we can in reason look for no solid settlement of Religion, or Law, Liberty or Property, Peace or Plenty, Honour or Safety. To all these we can never be firmly restor'd but by the King; and the King not forc'd to come by his birth-right as a Conqueror, but fairly call'd in, either by this or the next Parliament: That as our sins in choosing heretofore, and hitherto cleaving to a factious Parliament, have almost utterly ruin'd us, so this, or a free Parliament (upon their and our serious repentance) may be instrumentall (under God) to make us speedy reparation.

FINIS.











