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TRUTH ITS
MANIFEST.

2. 1. 1 OR,

A short and true Relation
of divers main passages of
things (in some whereof the Scots
are particularly concerned)
from the very first beginning of
these unhappy Troubles
to this day.

Published by Authority.

*Amicus Scotus, amicus Anglus, amicus Rex,
amicus Senatus: sed magis amica Dei
Gloria, & salus populi.*

Zech. 8. 16.

*These are the things that ye shall do: Speak ye
every man the truth to his Neighbour: execute
the Judgment of Truth and Peace in your gates.
17 And let none of you imagine evill in your
hearts against his Neighbour, and love no false
Oath; for all these are things that I hate, saith
the Lord.*

LONDON,
Printed in the year 1645.

Thomas F. Toxar



SCS #1117



To the Faithfull Reader,

Christian Reader,

May it please thee, at this time, to receive a free and true Discourse of sundry and main occurrences of businesses, here amongst us, tendred unto thee by a real Friend, and faithfull Servant of thine, in the Lord; who makes it a good part of his earnest study, to enquire in all seriousnesse after the truth of those things, which thus busie us all in these miserable dayes of ours, every where; (what in thoughts, what in words, what in deeds, with the motives, occasions, reasons, and ends thereof) and this, truly, not to content his vain curiosity, and meerly to feed his empty brains with notions; as many read Books, and hearken after news; but, for the good of the Publick, unto the Service whereof, he freely and cheerfully devotes his pains and labours; and so with pleasure, he, in all freedom of heart, imparts unto others, of what he judgeth to be true, and conducing to the good of Church and State, without inequall partiality, or base siding with any faction, the great disease in these our evil dayes of foolish and weak men: And the principall occasion of these our great and long sufferings, with

the tedious delays, and many hindrances of carrying on the publick Work, by action in the Field, and Counsell at home, to the benefit of Church and State. This he doth, without regard to the persons of any whosoever, having no intent to offend the least by cynicall mordacitie, nor mind to curry favour with the greatest, by insinuating flattery, being (by Gods great mercy towards him, unworthy worm) pretty free from the chief cause of those distempers ordinary to most men: For, on the one part he knows no man who hath so far wronged him, in his own particular, as to move him unto anger or wrath against the person of any; and he hath ever thought it contrary to good Christianity, and dissonant from morall honesty, to inveigh scurrilously against mens persons, as Pamphleteers do now a dayes, for the most part.

Wherefore, he speaketh of the failings in divers kinds and degrees (wherewith he is highly offended, and much scandalized) of men of all ranks and conditions in both Kingdoms, without designation of their persons by name: Yea, he is so far from naming any man in particular, for his errors, that he makes mention but of a very few by name, and those with elege and praise, wishing from his heart that he had just occasion to name all those to their advantage, at whose faults he points at.

Further, he heartily blesseth God, who in his Fatherly care towards him hitherto, (and he hopes will

will do so to the end, being assured that he, who giveth the principall, will not deny the accessory, if he thinks it fit for his own Glory and our good. hath provided for him wherewith to sustain his nature, without great excesse or much want, and hath schooled him both by precept and practise, to live and be content of little, and so, not being so urged by a neer nipping necessity, or imaginary poverty, as to sell or betray the Truth for a morsell of bread, nor so led away with the exorbitant desire of preferment or profit, as to cog in upon any terms by flattery, lying, and faining with those, in whose hands the distribution of such things is amongst us for the present: He dare be bold to speak home to the Point, and tell down-right the truth of things, according to his best information, wherein the Church and State are so much concerned, not fearing to be crossed in his private interest, and put back from his hopes, by displeasing the gods, yet without giving just occasion of offence to any.

Moreover, he preferreth the possessing of himself with calm and freedom of spirit, having his little viaticum, such as it is, simple and coarse, to the glistening slavery, with toiling and moiling of ambitious and covetous ones; to whatsoever hight with lustre and fair shew they attain unto, in the eyes of the world, and opinion of men, knowing that it is dear bought, with losse of time, and often with credit and conscience, and to be nothing

but a meer shadow, which in a moment vanisheth.

To the performance of this usefull and necessary Duty, he conceiveth himself bound in conscience, before God and man, for these respects and reasons:

First, every one of us all, in our severall ranks and stations, ought, so far as in us lieth, advance the glory of God, and hinder whatsoever is contrary to it, or against it; for, he is the Lord our God: Then being bound to the hearty Love of our Neighbour, we ought with earnestnesse procure his true good, and hinder him from receiving evill, or committing sin whereby evill may come upon him, since he is flesh of our flesh, and bones of our bones: This is inculcate in the Scripture over and over again; Yea, we are bidden rebuke our Brother, or Neighbour, plainly, when he sinneth, in any kinde: otherwise we are said to be haters of him; namely, we are to hinder him from walking about with lies among the people, and from conspiring with the wicked. Read Levit. 19. 16, 17.

Next, The Church whereof we are Children, and the Countrey whereof we are Members, requirereth and expecteth of us all, that with our whole power and might, we procure, in all uprightnesse and singlenesse of heart, their true good, and stop whatsoever appears to be against the same, either in word or deed; thoughts being onely known to God. To this duty unto Church and State, we are not one'y bound at one time, by a generall tye; but
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we iterate and renew this bond upon us really, although perhaps not so solemnly, from time to time, as we receive benefits by or from them, according to the ordinary practice of us all.

Thirdly, Are we not all obliged by our late Nationall Covenant, and sworn to advance the settling of the Church-Reformation, according to the Word of God, and conform to the best Reformed Churches, and to the settling of a solid Peace to the good of the People, by putting forward the Service, and opposing the open and declared Enemy, with the crafty Malignants, of whatsoever kind, secretly undermining us in the pursuance of this our good Cause, by cabales, factions, lies, devises, and plots, and with whatsoever else the wicked heart of man full of wyles for his own and his Neighbours ruin? All these tyes and bonds are shaken off and broken by the most part of us, either through negligent lazinesse, and remisse slacknesse, not minding them, and not having before our eyes as we ought the least part of this our duty; or through base connivence and treacherous compliance to the wicked courses of the Enemies against the Cause we say we do maintain, I am sure at least we ought to maintain; or by open and professed Apostasie, we have joyned our hearts and affection with the Common Enemy, who so actively by all means opposeth this Cause of God, and persecuteth his people for it; for by-ends making our account, howsoever the

World goes, we will do our turn.

This is done both in Scotland and England, not by a few, but by many; not by little and small ones, not by some of the chief and Leaders of the rest; but by stopping things through humane infirmity and weaknesse, upon mistake, and ignorance; but with study and an high hand upon malice.

Here we shall say a word or two of the carriage of those two Nations, in the going on with the work of the Lord, for the settling of the Church, and quiet of his People. We shall begin at those of Scotland, who some few yeers ago were lifted up with praises among men, for their faithfull minding and following earnestly this great Work of God, all by-ends laid aside, for which God blessed them from Heaven, and made them be called happy among men; for they had their hearts desire in the busines, and their Enemies were subdued by them: But now, alas, too many of them leaving off their former integrity and sincerity to the Cause of God, and their Love unto him, following the devices and desires of their own corrupt hearts, in pride, covetousnesse, and factions, notwithstanding the earnest and pressing admonitions, both in private and publick, of the Prophets and Ministers of God, they continue in their evill courses, preposterously minding themselves and their worldly foolish interest of ambition and avarice, more then God, and the Cause of his Church and people. For this, God

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(as it were by an essay to try these men if they would, laying aside their crooked wayes, mind him and his Service heartily and sincerely) sends amongst them an handfull of contemptible, profane, and wicked villains for a rod; whom, at first, they despise and neglect; going on in their wonted waies, while the holy Name of God is profaned by those Sons of Belial, a part of their Land is wasted, the poore People spoiled and slain, with all other barbarous usage; and so the number and power of those Slaves of Iniquity is growing, while they are plotting, caballing, and devising how to supplant another, and increase their severall factions, the seed of dissension being sowed amongst them by the Enemy, to divide, and so more easily to compassse his ends upon them, which they would not and could not see, blinded with their corrupt passion. Then, God, to admonish them anew, suffers some of those, whom they had employed against the Sons of Rebellion, to betray their trust, and omit divers good occasions, in all appearance, to make havock of these off-scourings of men, yea, some to run over unto the Rogues in the boure of fight; and so, the Enemies of God and goodnesse, do advance their pernicious designe, and commit what mischief they list.

Yet, all this will not do with those hard-hearted and stubborn men, still employing and busying their thoughts how to bear down one another;

yea,

yea, some there were amongst them, who were not sorry in their hearts, of the progresse that those despicable villains made in the Countrey against the Service of the Common Cause, conceiving it did help to the setting up of their faction. But, since the affronts and blows received at divers times from those contemptible Rascals, did not move those ingrate Children to lay aside their extravagances, and mind God and his Work with their whole heart, God sends a Pestilence amongst them, in their Towns and Cities, namely, in their chief City, the place of their delights; which rageth with such fury, that hardly the like hath been heard of in that Land; to try if at last those men would leave off, some of them, their slacknesse and remissnesse in pursuing the Service of the Cause of Gods Church and People; others, their conniving and complying with his Enemies, and others, their helping of those villains with means and advice, in opposing the Cause of God, and oppressing his People. But, they remain obdured, like children of disobedience, in their perverse wayes. So, at length, God in his wrath, for these ingrate childrens sake, delivers up the Land, in a manner, to the hands of their wicked Enemies, making it, for a time, which he hath shortened in his Mercy, as far to be scorned and misprised, for their not heartily minding him and his Service, as it had been before esteemed and extolled for its adhering to him, and doing his
Service

Service faithfully. Yea, some of the chief men of the Land, who had been cried up for Valour and Wisdom, are constrained to flie away, and have their lives for a prey.

So God, who from the beginning of all those unhappy disturbances, till this last time, had made Scotland a Mirrour of his Mercy, in testimony of its faithfulness, adhering unto him; makes it an example of his Justice, for those mens back-sliding from him, and so, for some Achan, and Nabals, doth punish the whole Land.

Thus, Judgement begins at the House of God: now let England look seriously to it; for the same very sins, which have been committed in Scotland, and for which it lately hath been punished in a high measure, by the heavy rod of a chastising and angry God, are now raining in England, namely, ambition and avarice, with many more which have not been seen in Scotland: for example; heresies, errors, and Sects of all sorts, to the dishonour of God, and to the withdrawing of the People from his Truth, are connived at, and countenanced by some of those who are in Authority. Of this sin Scotland is free.

Then, there be some of power and credit, who are so far from furthering the Reformation of the Church (as they and we all are sworn to by the Covenant) that they hinder the same, not onely by secret undermining, and by hid Plots; but by a continued

tinued open profession against it. Of this also, by Gods Mercy, Scotland is not so guilty.

Next, There be great oppressions, vexations, concussions, and injustices done unto the People, by divers in authority; of which sin I wish I could say, Scotland is free; as I have said of others: The cry of all these is very loud unto Heaven, calling for vengeance. It may be that God, as he hath not begun so soon to shew his Mercy unto England as he did unto Scotland, will not send his Judgement upon it so speedily; yet, doubtlesse, without a serious Repentance, and a true turning unto God, Judgement will come, and the longer it is a coming, the heavier it will be, and stay the longer.

It is not the good Cause of Church and State that will do Englands turn, more then the Temple and the Law of old did save Judah from ruin, nor the same good Cause hath kept Scotland from punishment; the good Cause ill managed, by negligence, ambition, avarice, faction, self-conceit, and other vices of that kind, draweth vengeance upon those who have the managing of it, and makes the Cause to be in derision. Never good Cause hath been worse managed by the ignorance of some weak men, and by the malice of other wicked ones.

At last, God will maintain his Cause (no thanks to thee) without thee, for he needs not thy help to do it; but, since he hath been pleased

to make use of thee in the Service of this his Cause, he expects faithfulness and zeal to it from thee, free from worldly and humane interest: otherwaies vengeance is at thy doore; for God, as he will not, in his Worship and Cult, have the linsley-wolsey of mens inventions intermingled with his pure and sacred Ordixances; so he will not, in managing the Service of his Cause and of his People, that men bring in the mixture or addition of their own interest; for God will have our work wholly for himself; and if we be faithfull in it, he will not forget to give us wh it we need to have for our selves; otherwayes he will not onely cast us off and our work, but will curse both it and us.

Again I say, Let England take example at her Neighbour; yet God in his Judgement doth remember his Mercy unto Scotland, and for his own Names sake will keep his promise unto his faithfull ones, who have ever been and are constant to his Cause, whereof he hath a great number of all ranks and conditions in that distressed Countrey, and will not suffer this proud insulting Enemy to domineer any longer thus over his poore people, far lesse to set up again his abominations, and profane the holy Name of our God any longer: he already hath begun to arise, and to throw his Enemies to the dust; for it is against him they fight, and for his sake they thus trouble, vex, and sorely oppresse his People. And although that most men in
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that Countrey, at this great last blow, were stricken with astonishment, yet many have continued with sincere resolution, and have taken courage to go on with the Service of the Cause of God, with their whole heart and strength, acknowledging Gods Justice in this his thus chastising the Land, and confessing heartily their sins by which they have so provoked God to anger, and are truly sorry, not so much for the sufferings they now lie under, as for the offending their good God, on whom they are resolved to rely, and in whom they will constantly trust, and to whom they will more neerly adhere then ever; let him deal with them as he pleaseth, they are the Servants, he is the Lord; they are the Pot, he is the Potter; they are the creatures, and he is the Creator: whose will is alwayes good, not onely in it self, but for us, if we be obedient and faithfull unto him, who also hath begun to dissipate his Enemies, and to give comfort to his People by an unexpected and full Victory over these wicked ones, and so to lift up the head of his faithfull ones again in that distressed Land, in despite of their foes, and mangre those who wish them no good, and to the grief of those who scorned them in their lowe condition. To God be the praise, to whom I recommend thee: And so, to be shorc, I go to the Discourse.



A short and true Relation
 of divers passages of things,
 Wherein the *Scots* are particularly
 concerned, from the first beginning of these
 troubles to this day.

IT is not unknown to men of understanding; how that, many sinistrous reports, one after another, raised of the *Scots* (for their faithfulness and constancy to the Cause of Religion and Liberty, in these Dominions) by Malignants, that is, by Atheists, Libertines, Papists, Prelatists, and Sectaries of all kinds, officiating in their severall wayes for the Common Enemy, and spread abroad by the contrivers thereof, with the help of their instruments, Agents, and Favourers; then received by the simpler sort, not knowing the truth of things, lesse the drift of the Malignants, in these calumnies; otherwayes well-meaning people, (for the truth is no sooner made known unto them, but they willingly lay hold on it; and being admonished of the pernicious designe of the adversaries, they do abhorre and detest both it and them;) hath done, and yet doth great prejudice, according to the intent of the Enemy, unto the service now in hand, of the Common Cause of Church and State, these two inseparable twins, which both Kingdoms do now maintain, and intend to do unanimously with heart and hand, as they stand bound and united to lay aside all other and former
 eyes.

eyes, by the Nationall Covenant, through the great providence of God, in mercy to both, so that they prove faithfull and constant to this Cause of his and of his people, according to the said Covenant, against all opposition whatsoever, whether by declared and open war, or by clandestine and indirect undermining.

Wherefore, after long forbearance with grief of mind, and compassion to see faithfull men and earnest in this Common Cause, so maliciously traduced, and, in them, the good Cause so much wronged; as likewise, so many well-affected men to the said Cause, so grossly abused by crafty lyes, and impudent untruths: I have thought fit, for the good and service of the Common Cause, to the advancement whereof, every one is obliged to contribute according to what he hath, as he will answer one day to him, whose Cause first and principally it is, to undeceive many well minded men, and to right, in some measure, those faithfull men to the Cause, who are so wickedly slandered, in giving unto the publick this true and short Discourse; whereby the truth of divers things will be made more known, lyes in a kind repressed, and the service of the Common Cause somewhat furthered; at least it will not be so far kept back, as it hath hitherto been by these undermining courses.

And the rather do I undertake this task, that those in a manner are silent, by whom most men do expect the clear truth of things of this kind not so generally known, should be conveyed to all by a particular publication of them in writing, to the end that this course of so maliciously lying against trusty men may be stopped, and the well meaning men no longer thus abused. But these, of whom men look for performance of this duty, going about the main work they are come hither for in all earnestnesse, and singlennesse of heart, with care and diligence, and not without a great deal of drudging to and fro, as
faithfull

faithfull and trusty labourers, doe take but little notice of this wicked practise of their and the cause its Enemies by lyes, howsoever industriously devised, and cunningly set forth, as altogether below them, chusing rather that their own good carriage, with constant resolution, and faithfull endeavours, and that of their Country-men engaged with them in the same businesse, although in another way, in sincerity of heart, advancing the publike work now in hand, should speak for them both, then either a flourishing tongue, or a nimble pen.

Here, although I value much the goodnesse of these men to relye rather upon their own and their Countreymens honesty and integrity, in and about the work, then upon the setting forth of any Declaration; by writing of their own and their friends faithfull proceedings, and fair carrying on of things, in the publike service: Yet in this I cannot esteem their prudence; for, albeit native beauty ought not to be set forth by painting and patches, being compleat in it self: yet it must be kept free from spots and dirt, and made seen unto all, under a modest and comely dressing, by which means it is more pleasing and better liked of every one.

And although where there is no fault, no Apologie ought to be made; yet, to make the truth openly known (when it is disguised) for the information of those who take things meerly upon trust, and to stop the going on of wicked men with lies, is not only an Act of Wisdom, but of Piety, yea, of Necessity, if men will not abandon the interest of a good cause to the malice of the enemies thereof: and, as it is said by the wise man, *Thou art not to answer a fool according to his folly*, that is, in exorbitancy, &c. lest in so doing thou become like unto him; even so by the same wise man thou art ordained to answer a fool as is fit and convenient, for the suppressing of his folly, lest he think himself wise, and so go on in his evill course, to

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the dishonour of God the Father of truth, and to the prejudice of both Church and State, who are to be directed by the truth. Surely, if ever at any time the lye and calumny of the fool (for so I call the calumniator, how cunningly soever he lyeth) is to be repressed with a fit answer, it is at this time, when there lieth so much at the stake in both Kingdoms, as Religion and Libertie, with whatsoever else is, or ought to be dear unto men.

Now then, to answer unto the calumnies of those Malignants, & to make the simple truth known to all, is absolutely necessary at this occasion, to the end that not onely the lyer may find his craft to be folly, but also his wicked intent to be disappointed, which is no lesse then a breach betwixt the two Nations, and hath been such from the beginning; and consequently the ruine of both, now so united and joyned in the common interest of Church and State, that they must sink or swim together; for if they should once divide, as the one doubtlesse will be presently undone; so the end of the other will not be far off. Wherefore he that doth any evil office, to raise or increase jealousie betwixt them, under whatsoever pretext, is worse then any open Enemy, and what he intends to the publike, will come upon himself, that is, ruine, with disgrace.

But, me thinks I heare you, whom I blame for silence in so necessary a case, and so needfull a time, say, *We have not been wanting in this very thing you finde fault with*: For we have constantly and diligently communicated all things of any moment, freely and ingeniously, in all truth and simplenesse of heart, to some chief leading men, our particuler good friends, upon whom we have relyed, from our first hither-coming, in all things concerning us and our Countrey-men, employed in the service, to the end that they should convey the truth of businesse, as in discretion they thought fit, and did see cause, for the publike good, and for the right of

us their friends, to the Houses, and from thence to the publike.

To this I answer, You have mistaken the right way, Sirs, for you should have made your addressees to the whole Parliament, or at least to the Committee appointed by the Parliament to hear you, consult with you, in a word, to deale or treat with you of all things, wherein you and they are jointly concerned; and not suffer your selves to be engrossed by some few, howsoever they be Prime men: and what do you know, if by thus suffering your selves to be as it were led by them, hath not increased their credit? For men may say, that they have reason to follow those, by whom you of so much reputation of wisdom and resolution, are guided, &c. Further, should not you have thought, that particular men, howsoever they serve the publike, have ordinarily particular ends of ambition and avarice, which the publike cannot have? And although those your friends be free of these distempers, yet you are not assured of their constancy unto you; for many things fall out betwixt man and man, which makes them not onely fall from intimacy of one with another; but makes them adverse and opposite one to another often times. And, although your friends be free of this infirmity; Are you wise men to relie upon others, for doing the things you should do your selves without a Procure? He that trusteth another to do a thing fitting for himself to do, must expect to have the thing done, if at all done, neither so timely, nor so well, at least, not so soon, nor so to his minde, as it falleth out often: of extraordinary occasions and occurrences, there is no certaine rule.

Next, I know, you will say, *We have acquainted the Houses of Parliament to the full, with the truth of all things, by our severall papers given unto them at divers times, upon divers occasions, and we have made known unto the Synod what concerneth Church businesse, and so we think we have done enough in this.* But

But give me leave, Sirs, under favour, herein also you are hugely mistaken; you do well to communicate freely and carefully unto the House of Parliament all things, and to acquaint them with your proceedings, wherein they have common interest with you, for the publike service of Church and State, in these Dominions; I hope they do so with you at least, they ought to do it, for the common good of both; otherwayes, the work wherein both Kingdoms are so ingaged, and you both are employed, will go but slowly and limpingly on: Yet this is not enough; for, first, the main passages of publike things done, and the chief reasons of the doing thereof, are to be made known to the whole Church and State, since the whole hath the chief interest in things common to all: although you are to communicate your counsels, deliberations, and conclusions of things to be done, for fear of miscarriage, onely to the Trustees of Church and State, as your selves are; Yet I say again, what, is *de facto* concerning all, must be made known to all; for the Trustees of the State and Church, are not Lords of them, as Kings and Popes pretend to be; but servants, as they avouch themselves, set on work by them, for the good of both, upon trust, which if they betray, they are double Traitors: First, they falsifie their truth to the State and Church, whereof they are Members and Children, and to whom they owe all under God. Next, they betray the trust imposed upon them, for the good and benefit of both Church and State. Yea, the Houses of Parliament themselves, shew you the way how to carry your selves in this very particular; for they not onely, to the satisfaction of the whole Kingdome, cause publish the things done by those whom they, as Trustees, have employed to carry on the service of the publike in the Fields; but also, they publish unto the Kingdom Decla-
 ations

rations of their honest intentions, and faire proceedings, with Votes and Ordinances, for the good of Church and State : And I am sure, the Trustees of your Nation for your Church and State, have done so from the beginning; in your particular troubles; and that, not onely to your owne Countrey, but also to your neighbours, which hath done no harme, neither to the advancement of your affaires at home, nor to your reputation abroad.

Although the Houses of Parliament rest satisfied in themselves of the honesty of your proceedings : Yet this giveth but small satisfaction unto the Kingdom.

Yea, when you send in your papers to the Houses, it may happen that divers Members are absent at the time, and so remaine as ignorant of your affaires, as before the in-giving of the papers; for the Houses are so taken up with other thoughts and busineses, that they cannot acquaint the absents with your owne affaires; yea, some who are present in the Houses, at the reading of your papers, are carried off their attention unto you, by divers distractions, and so receive but small knowledge by them: For lesse can the houses take leisure to publish your affaires unto the world; yea, I know not if in rigour they are tyed to do it. Although I confesse, it would be a good turne for the Publike, and a Brotherly office, if they would take the pains to do, or cause do it: Howsoever, I am sure, the Houses are not so obliged to this duty, as your selves are; neither although they were, can they do it so fully as you, not being so particularly acquainted with things.

In a word, in duty you ought to make known unto the publike your owne proceedings, and these of your Countrey-men, employed in the service of the Common Cause; that it may be made manifest what good you have done alone, either by counsell in the

Houses, or by action in the Field; what you have been assistants in, and what you ever have been willing to do, and are still minded to do, providing you be not stopped; and if you have been stopped, let it be declared where the fault lieth, and not you beare the burden of other mens mistakes and errors.

Next, is it not fit, that it be published what you have done for such vast sums of money raised upon the publike for your use, as is given out, and how much you have received of it: that if you have received all, you may make knowne what you have done for all; and if you have received more then your due, you are in conscience and honour to doe the publike the service you are paid for before hand: as likewise, if you have not received all which is raised for you, that it may be known how much of it is wanting, and enquiry may be made what is become of the rest; and so, if you make it appear unto the world, that there is much still due unto you of your pay, far above what you have received; then all honest people, being truly informed of things, will approve your faithfull and fair carriage, acknowledge your love and kindnesse, thank God for your helpe and assistance at such an exigence, and be heartily civill unto you, till God enable them to recompence you for your faithfull pains, according to your just deserts, and their earnest desires; and so things will redound to your credit and advantage.

You may know and feel all this, what I have bin saying unto you, to be true, according to sense and reason, by one single instance; to lay aside all others at this time:

And it is this of the papers you gave into the Houses, about the latter end of *May* last, upon occasion of high murmurings against you, in and about the Houses, by information of Malignants, which gave abundant satisfaction to so many of both Houses, as either heard them read (as is well known) or
read

read them themselves with attention : But, others of the Houses, who are not acquainted with your papers, partly not hearing them, although present when perhaps they are delivered in, by reason of their other thoughts ; partly being absent, at that time, remained still ignorant of your affaires, and possessed with calumnies against you: Far more then the rest of the Kingdom.

After some dayes, one Copy of these your papers having fallen, by chance, in the hands of a well-wisher to the Cause, and no enemy of yours, was published under the name of *the Scots Manifest*, without your knowledge, which hath done more despise to the Enemies of the Truth, than any thing you have done this long time, and more right unto you than you looked for, yea, not your silence deserved ; yet not so much as is needfull for you and your friends; for it did stop the mouths of the wicked calumniators, and inform many well-meaning men: and divers Members of the Houses there were, who had not heard of such a thing, before it was printed; to say nothing of the generality of the people, every where. Yea, I am told, it went beyond Sea, and there stopped the mouths of Malignants, and gained those who were indifferent, and confirmed your friends.

But what, will you say, *Must the hid things, or Mysteries of State be divulged?* No, I do not mean it, nor do I say it ; For I leave the Mysteries of State to the Mystes thereof ; Onely my simple meaning and honest desire is, that these things which are not, and ought to be made known to all, be not kept in a mist by a mysterious prudency, but communicated to the publike; such are the things *de facto*, and of reason, whetein all are concerned : and these are the things I spake of.

Besides, you must think, there be many men not particularly employed in the publike Service, who have both hearts and brains, to serve the

Common Cause; but cannot doe it, while all is thus kept in a cloud, as in the *Romish* Church, where the Mystes thinke all men idiots but themselves, and keep from the people the things of God.

Then you will say, to tell plainly and openly, *The Truth, perhaps, will not be pleasing to all, yea, perchance not to some of our fellow-Labourers.* My advice is not, that you say or write any thing, in intention to displease the least of men, far lesse to displease these your Fellow-Labourers: But let Truth be said above all things, when the publike requires it for its service; and we our selves are bound upon our own credit to do it. Be angry who will; God keep me from neglect and contempt, for lying or suppressing the Truth; I fear not anger for any publishing of Truth: He that is not bold to publish the Truth, for timorousnesse, belyeth his own knowledge, and I dare say, betrayeth the Truth. You that are trusted with the carriage of things, in Truth, and for the Truth, are not only bound to make known the truth of what you do and say, to the world, as it hath been said; but, further you are obliged in conscience, and the publike expects it of you, that you presse home the Truth with vigour and resolution, in all freedom, down-right in all places, and at all occasions, where you meet for consultation, deliberation, debate, and conclusion of things concerning Church or State, in Politike and Ecclesiastike Assemblies; and in so doing, you will gaine the price, having all honest men to stand to you; and will put such a terrour in Malignants, that their malice will be much abated.

Surely, I am perswaded, had you been stouter in the Synode, these strong heads, and factious few ones, who hitherto have troubled the settling of Church-affaires, and are likely to trouble the State, if it be not well looked to and neerly, had long ere now been quashed; and so, if you had not been so meal-mouthed with the sollicitme in reason, of the time and place,

place, I humbly conceive you had not met with so many rubs in your publike meetings, nor had your wholesome counsels found such opposition, nor your men of war been so kept off Field action. All which hath not onely done prejudice to the publike Service; but hath brought things to great hazard; yea, almost to the undoing of all: But, God in his mercy hath turned the balance, no thank to your remission, wh^{er} in God sheweth, although men will not do what they ought and can do for his Service, upon I cannot tell what consideration, he will do the work of men, by no men.

When I think on *John Knox*, and *George Buchanan*, how freely they spoke and writ, at all times, and upon all occasions, when the Church and State were concerned, without fear of any man or Assembly whatsoever; having nothing before their eyes, but the glory of God, and the good of his people. They were weak and infirm men, as we are all; but their stout zeal to the publike was admirable, and is ever to be remembred by us; not onely to their praise, but also to spur us up to imitate them in this heroike vertue. For me, I value the zeal and stoutnesse of these two Champions of the Truth, more then all their other vertues, however eminent they were.

But, you will say, *It is now another age, and consequently another way of carriage of things required.* It is true, we live now in another age, which is worse then that of these men: Wherefore, we must then strive with greater zeal and vertue, to oppose the wickednesse of this time; For although, by a prudentiall preventing and declining, by cleer-seeing men, many plots and devises of the wicked, may be for a time shunned: Yet, there is no way to make the wicked leave or weary of resisting and oppressing goodnesse, but by a vigorous and stout opposing of them.

Besides,

Besides, although the Cards be new we play withall; yet it is the same very Game that our Fathers had in *Scotland*, and our Neighbours had lately, in our daies, in *France*; Where and when nothing did prevaile, or do good unto the Cause, but resolution and zeal in carrying on the things, not onely against the Common Enemy; but also, against the false Friends, and they that walked then any other way, betrayed the Cause, and purchased unto themselves the title of silly inconsiderable men, of whatsoever ranke or degree they were.

To say nothing of the judgement of God that fell upon them, and to this day hangs upon them and theirs. I shun examples in this case; for I love to reprove faults, and spare mens persons.

Moreover, since the Malignants, every where, are so busie running to and fro, like so many Bees, with great care and heat, and so bold, to forge and invent lyes, by word and writing, to abuse the World, and so wrong treacherously the publike Service:

Why should not then faithfull men be diligent and stout, in all freedom, to make known the truth of things, for the confirming of the well-affected, and for stopping of the mouth of the wicked, and so consequently, for the better carrying on of the work now in hand?

Now, being thus friendly and freely admonished by one who wisheth well to the Common Cause you now serve, with his whole heart, and unto your selves in particular, in so far as you are faithfull and earnest, zealous and stout in this Cause of God and his people, laying aside all humane prudence, which is not subservient to zeal and stoutnesse, as well as to faithfulness and earnestnesse: I hope you will take care to minde this slip, by giving unto the publike a true and free relation of all things from time to time, as the occasion shall require; and in your meetings, about Church and State, to be stout and free,

free, for the advancing of the publike Service to the glory of God, to the good of his people, and to the contentment and satisfaction of well-affected men, in despite of malignancy.

In the interim, till you perform this duty, give me leave, in this place, plainly and homely to put unto the view of the World, the relation of some things of speciall note, hardly well known to many, at least taken notice of but by a few, concerning the carriage of the *Scots* ever since the very first beginning of these unhappy troubles to this day: the knowledge whereof, will doe good, I am sure, to the publike Service, and will help to right, in some measure, men both faithfull and constant in the Work: Yea, the commemoration of these things, although known, I am perswaded, will give content to all honest and well-meaning men, unto whom the publike good is dearer than the interest of any particular man whatsoever, with whom they ought to go along no further than the particular man goeth on with the publike of Church and State, laying aside all other relation. As for other men, I value them no more than the open declared enemies, who preferre the pleasure of one abused Prince, under pretext of obligation they have to him, unto the good of Church and State.

And thus I begin. The Common Enemy having designe to bring these Dominiions under spirituall and temporall slavery, all things disposed for his ends, according to his mind; thinks fit for his purpose to begin this great work in *Scotland*, promising unto himselfe to find least opposition there, for reasons which hitherto, by Gods mercy, hath deceived him.

The *Scots* being pressed to receive the corrupt *Liturgy*, (to say nothing in this place, of what was before put unto them) fairly decline it, by iterate supplications and humble remonstrances unto the

King:

King : But nothing will do the turn, they must receive the Prelats Master-peece, and *Romes* essay, the *Nove-Anti-Service-Book*, either by fair play or foul.

The *Scots* on the other side, constant to their principles, refuse to receive the Book; for which they are punished by the Prelats and the Court, to be refractaries and ruck fellows, without God, or Religion; which gave occasion to the *Scots* to make known, not onely unto their own people, at home; but, to all men abroad; namely, to their Brethren of *England*, by a publike Declaration, their condition, how they were wronged, the equity of their Cause, their lawfull proceedings, and their good intentions: by this means, their friends good will is confirmed unto them, and their enemies designe, in some measure, is broken; who did intend, by lyes, to steal from them the good affection of their friends.

Next, The *Scots* being constrained to have recourse to the Sword, for their just defence, all other means tryed failing, were back-bitten as mutinous, taking Arms for poverty, with intention to cast off the just Authority of their Native and lawfull Prince, and to invade *England* for the spoil thereof.

To these most pernicious calumnies, the *Scots* replyeth by another Declaration, particularly addressed unto *England*; whereby, they made known the absolute necessity of their taking up Arms, with their honest intentions therein: All which, they made good thereafter, in due time, by reall performance.

For, so soone as they had occasion to shew their respect to the King, they did it, with all readinesse and submission; and when they might have undone the Kings Army, and consequently invaded *England*, if they had pleased, and that with small opposition, instead of doing wrong to any *English*, they supplied the wants of those who were come against them, with victuals, which then did abound in the *Scots* Army, but was very short in the Kings; and
having

having the flower of the Kings Army in their power, I mean the party that went to *Dunslaw*; they suffered it to return back in safety, and used it with all civility, notwithstanding these chosen ones had come against promise, and without cause, to destroy them, and to invade the Countrey.

Thereafter, the peace being made, the *Scots* according to the agreement, went quietly home, and laid down their Arms, as was promised.

Then the Plot the abused King and his good Counsell had at *Berwick*, to draw the Chief men of *Scotland* to him, for to destroy them; and the breach of the Parliament; the burning in *London* of the Articles of agreement made at the borders, and many other like things, did not move the *Scots*, to recede in any measure from their dutifull respects to the King, nor from their love to the *English* Nation; neither the imprisonment of their Commissioners, against the Law of Nations, and the safe-conduct granted unto them upon publike Faith, nor the great Forces prepared against them, by Sea and by Land; nor the many lyes spread against them, through all *England*; nor the Prelaticall excommunication canonically spewed out against them, in all the Churches and Chappels of *England*: All these things, I say, did not make them give the least expression of disrespect to the King, nor disaffection to the *English*.

Upon this, the *Scots* published a Declaration anew unto the World, whereby they made knowne unto all, how hardly they were dealt withall; for, not onely the things stipulated with them, were not kept with them; but also, more and greater wrongs than formerly, were done to them: Yea, a second expedition of war undertaken to destroy them: and to fill up all, more lyes of no lesse importance, than the conquering of *England*, made and spread abroad of them, with other Thunderbolts of the Prelaticall censure, shot against them: Also, they

they make known by this Declaration, their Christian resolution, and just enterprize, with their good intentions in taking Arms again, for their own defence, and the Cause which they maintain; And by it, assureth their brethren of *England*, although they were resolved to come into their Countrey to seek out their Enemies, who were there gathering against them; and not to suffer the wicked ones to come unto them, and so make their own Countrey the Seat of the unhappy War: Yet, they had not the least thought to do any hurt to any body in *England*, except to their professed Enemies: So far were they from having the least thought of making a conquest. And that, when they had brought their Enemies to reason, they would go home in Peace.

All which, was thereafter performed by the Scots to the full: For, first, being entred into *England*, and having encountred one party of their Enemies, and routed it; when it was in their power to pursue the Victory, they stayed at *New-Castle* till things were agreed upon, betwixt the King and them.

This incoming of the Scots, gave occasion and liberty to divers of the Nobles of *England*, (of whom, some since have betray'd the Cause of God, and of his people; what by open Warfare, and what by clandestine undermining:) to desire, of the King a Parliament, for the good of the Kingdom. The King then durst not refuse their demand, by reason of the Scots, more then the continuance of it, which he granted likewise thereafter, for the same Cause.

Then the King, finding that the Parliament did not onely croise, but quite spoil his designs, he plots with his Army, which he had raised against the Scots, to come and destroy the said Parliament, and to take the spoil of *London*, for their reward. But the businesse being discovered, faileth; besides, they durst not undertake, howsoever they had promised, for fear of the Scots, who then were so near.

(17)
The King continuing in his wonted courses, after a little pause, tries the Scots if they will do the deed; and offers them for recompence, not only the spoile of *London*, but also the foure Counties next adjacent unto their COUNTRY, to be adjoined hereafter to it, with jewels of great value in pawne for performance, if onely they would be engaged into the businesse.

All these great offers, could not make the Scots willing to give their consent in any kinde to this wickednesse: For, they not only rejected the Kings offers; but also, giveth notice of the Plot to the Parliament, and to the Citie of *London*, that they might make their best use of it.

So, you may see, how that the Scots, under God, are the cause of the Assembling of the Parliament, of the continuance of it, being assembled, and of the preservation of it, from totall destruction and ruine.

The King, seeing that he was stopped by the Scots, first, in their own COUNTRY, next, in *England*, to carrie on his great designe, takes the Irish Papists by the hand, rather then be alwaies disappointed; and they willingly undertake to levie Arms for his Service, that is, for the Romish Cause; the Kings designe being subservient to the Romish Cause, although he abused thinks otherwaies, and believes that *Rome* serveth to his purpose. But, to begin the Work, they must make sure all the Protestants; and, if they cannot otherwaies. by murdering and massacring them; for they knew them, according to the Principles of Religion and State, to be forward, either for the Covenanters of *Scotland*, or for the troublesome Parliament of *England*, if not for both. But the Irish, neither would, nor durst enter to any open Action, so long as the Scots Army, in *England*, was afoot; therefore by all means it must be sent home and cashiered: and to facilitate the businesse, the Court-Parasites, Instruments

Struments of Iniquity, with their Emissaries, must raile and spread abroad, jealousies of the *Scots*, among the people of the Countrey and City, namely, in and about the Houses of Parliament; who having not before their eyes, the reall honesty and integrity of the *Scots*, known by so many faithfull and loyall expressions, and not keeping in their minds the many good offices done to them by the *Scots*; giveth, in fillinesse of mind, eare and place to the crafty tales and apprehensions, invented by the Agents of the Common Enemy, to bring them to confusion and trouble.

So the Plot taketh by the silly ones, and is set forward by the hid *Malignants*. Yea, in a word, it is managed with such addressie and successe, that the *Scots* must go home; and till they had done it, there could be no quiet, but increase of jealousies.

The *Scots*, although they were not acquainted with the height of mischief that was intended against the Church and State in these Dominions, by the Common Enemy, nor with the waies of it; yet, albeit they thought it very dangerous, after so many attempts of evill doing by the Enemy to retire them from *England*, not as yet well settled; and to cashierere their Army, remitting the event of things to God, resolve to returne home, and dismise their Army, and so make knowne unto all the World their Candour and Integrity, and to take away all jealousies, both from the King and from *England*; which they do according to promise, not failing in the least circumstance, yea, not of the day.

Well, the King having gained this point, to send home the *Scots*, and to make them lay downe their Armes, resolveth to follow them into *Scotland*, and to trie once more to drawe them to his designe; no perswasion being able to stay or to stop his voyage; he goeth in hast from *London*, and overtaketh the *Scots* as they were upon their removall from *Newcastle* for *Scotland*: He vieweth their Army by the way and talketh

talketh with the prime Officers thereof: He giveth Order to some of the good Physicians about him, to feele the pulse of the *Scots* softly, but they found the *Scots* pulse did not beat as they could have wished. He goeth on in his journey into *Scotland*, whither he is no sooner arrived, but he puts another designe afoot, premedi tated with many more before: for, it is the custome of the wise Court, to have, at one and the same time, divers undertakings in designe, of which, it is a very hard matter, if one or other do not take effect. Yea, they have found but too true, to our wofull experience, that many have taken effect, and that not of the lesser ones, wherefore the Court will never cease to devise and invent enterprises.

The Plot then set afoot by the K. in *Scotland*, was to make a considerable Party there for his ends: and to make the busines more facile, he resolveth to make sure the chief men of *Scotland*, who were likely either to stop the designe, or not further it. But, this Plot is also discovered, and so it failed. The next recourse was to the *Irish* Papist, his good *Friends*, unto whom, from *Scotland*, a Commission is dispatched, under the Great Seal (which Seal was at that instant time, in the Kings own custody) of that Kingdom, to hasten, according to former agreement, the raising of the *Irish* in Arms; who no sooner receive this new Order, but they break out, and at the first beginning of their Rebellion, declared that they had no ill will against any *Scots* in *Ireland*, for they were afraid of the *Scots* going over to the help of their Country-men, and so they would be stopped to go on with their Work; but their spleen was against these *Engl. sh* Protestants; who were Friends to that wicked Parliament in *England*, so untoward to the good King, and so adverse to their *Catholike* Cause.

This Declaration of the *Irish*, did not (although in favour of their Country-men) hinder the *Scots* to offer their present Service, for the repressing of the Rebel-

lion before things grew worse; The King fairly refuseth the offer, and answering with verball thanks, said that he neither could, nor would do any thing in the businesse, without the advice and assistance of the Parliament, now afoot in *England*; whereunto he was to reparaire in all haste. So he leaveth *Scotland*, saying, That every day he stayed there, was the losse of a County to him. He cometh to *London*, a little before *Christmas*; the Rebellion having begun in *Ireland* in *October*: But he goes very seldome to the Parliament, and when he goeth thither, he sayeth nothing concerning the Irish Rebellion, till by importunity he was constrained to it; and then what he said, was little, cold, and ambiguous. And when the Scots, by their Commissioners, who had followed him from *Scotland* hither, did offer againe a considerable help of ten thousand men, things were so carried, both in the Counsell and in the Parliawent, by the corrupt and ignorant Parry then, that the Scots were delayed from day to day, by one shift or other, for a long space, before that conditions could be agreed upon with them, for the sending of their help unto *Ireland*. And it was a longer time after the agreement, before things could be furnished unto them, for their Voyage.

By those means, the Rebels had adoe with lesse opposition; and consequently, with lesse difficulty carried on their barbarous Work of spoiling, burning, and massacring innocent people of all ranke and condition, without regard to sex or age.

The Scots are no sooner gone to *Ireland*, but they assist their Friends with such affection and successe, that after some skirmishes and encounters with the Rebels, the North Countrie of *Ireland*, whereunto their help was particularly assigned, became pretty well cleared of the Rebels, although much wasted and spoiled by them.

In this course hath the Scots continued to this day constantly

constantly opposing these bloody wretches, notwithstanding the change that hath fallen in the South part of that Kingdom, by the treachery of those whom the Parliament employed and trusted to. Then when the King made a Cessation with these barbarous Cannibals, the Scots resolutely declared against it; and have manfully opposed it to this day: Without which opposition of the Scots, it had been received every where in *Ireland*, and the Rebels then, having nothing to do at home, had come hither in Bands and Troops into this Island.

This did, and still doth the *Scots* persue their point, notwithstanding all the hardship they have suffered, and yet suffer in the Service, partly by reason of the great troubles here of the Parliament, not being able to supply their Friends, as they would, and as they need: partly by the negligence and unfaithfulness of those, who have been employed by the Parliament, and intrusted to have a care of supplying this need; which hath been so great, that the *Scots* Army in *Ireland*, had absolutely starved for cold and hunger, if they had not been helped from *Scotland*, in a high measure.

To return unto *England*: The mis-led King having left the Parliament, accompanied, or at least followed by numbers of men of divers degrees, Traitors to God and to their Country; namely by those double Traytors, who were Members of the Houses of Parliament: for, they not onely have been dishonest and unfaithfull to the Church and State, whereof they are both Members and Children; but, they have betrayed the trust wherewith they were trusted in both. By the assistance of which, he sets his designe on foot, to make open War against the Parliament, (although under a hid notion) to destroy it; all other Devices and Plots, contrived by him and his, having failed as we have seen.

Upon this, the *Scots*, in their respect to the King,

love unto their Brethren in *England*, and above all, in their affection to the Cause of the Church of God, send Commissioners unto the King, and from him to the Parliament, as the occasion should serve. They found the King at *Tork*, where he was pulling his sword out of its sheath, with all his might, and sharpening it in all haste, which God in his Judgements hath suffered him to thrust in the bowels of so many thousands of his people, here, so unnaturally and barbarously; not onely afar off, by not stopping it, by connivance or by Commission to his Agents and Instruments, as in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; but being present in Person, and taking pleasure in doing of it in his own sight, and seeing of it done.

In this place I do affirm, that there hath been more *christian blood* shed in these latter yeers, under the end of *K. James* and *K. Charles* Raings, by their Commissions, Approbation, connivences, and not forbidding, what at home, and what abroad, all which upon the matter they might have stopped, if it had been their pleasure, then were in the time of the ten *Roman* Persecutions. God turn the Kings heart towards him first, otherwayes he will never turn it toward his people.

The *Scots*, as we were saying, send to him, to desire him to leave off the design of embroiling himself and the people in a Civill War, in this Kingdom of *England*; withall, to offer him their utmost Service of Mediation and Intercession, for the taking away of all mistakes, and smoothing of things in a fair way, betwixt him and the Parliament. The mis-led King resolved to go on in evill courses, not onely neglects the respective & hearty offer of the *Scots*; but sends them home, not suffering them to come unto the Parliament, according to their order and desire, which was to try all fair means for the hindering of a War in *England*, and to stop the Massacres in *Ireland*.

The King having thus dismissed the *Scots*, goes

to his Work, which, having overcome some rubs at the first, he carrieth on apace; for having gathered together considerable Forces at *Shrewsbury*, from thence with his Army he marches towards *London*, notwithstanding the Parliaments Army lay, as it were, in his way, who met with him at *Edge-Hill*, and (contrary to his expectation) fights with him. He, after the Battel, having recollected the remnant of his men, although he had had the worse, continues his designe for *London*, and drew very neer unto it; but being, by strong hand, constrained to retire, he goeth to *Oxford*, where he hath kept his Court constantly ever since till this day.

The Scots seeing the commotions increasing in *England*, and considering the chief Instruments of those evils, could not in conscience and honesty, sit quiet any longer, and neither say nor do, while the State and Church of their Brethren in *England*, were thus in so great troubles; send first a Commissioner from their Church unto the Parliament: to desire them, that as God, in his good Providence, had furnished them just occasion to cast out the Prelates from among them, not onely as unusefull Members of their Assembly; but also, as Enemies to all their just proceedings for the good of Church and State; so they would be pleased to thrust out these Tyrants and belly-Gods from the Church, as main Instruments of all the disturbances, troubles, and miseries, which are come, and of more, in all appearance, yet coming, if God in his mercy prevent them not.

The Commissioner, after some debate, having obtained his demand, returneth homeward, & taking his way by the Court, then about *Shrewsbury*, made known to the King how he had sped in his errand, where-with he had acquainted him before, as he was going to the Parliament. And he desireth the King to give his consent unto the casting of the Prelats out of the Church, as he had done to the putting them out of

the Assembly of Parliament. To which the King did reply little or nothing; but he told the Commissioner, that he, and they who sent him, were hugely in stake, if they did think that the Houses of Parliament doth intend any settled Reformation, namely, as in *Scotland*; for, said he, you see how they do not reprove the Schismes and Sects of all kinds, which abound in and about *London*; yea, these evils are countenanced by some under-hand. Would to God that the Commissioner had had as just reason then, to answer unto the King, that he had been mis-informed, and that an untruth had been told him concerning Sectaries, as he hath been mistaken in the intention of both Houses of Parliament, for the settling Religion, according to the best way, as is expressed in the Nationall Covenant.

Then, after that things, by degrees, had come to a great height betwixt King and Parliament, much blood being shed, not onely in skirmishes and encounters, but also in pitched Battel, to wit, at *Edge hill*. The *Scots* not being able to forbear any further, to try once more by fair means, if it were possible, to stop the course of those miseries, too far already gone on, send word to the King, then at *Oxford*, and to the Parliament, of their good intentions; and demand a passe and safe-conduct from both, for Commissioners from them, to go unto both, and return home, as also to go to and fro betwixt them as cause should require. Of the Parliament, they had easily what they demanded, with thanks for their good will: But the King, not liking their offer, was loth to grant a passe; yet being put to it, he could not fairly deny, and so at length, after some reluctancy, he sends a passe as was desired, and safe-conduct to the *Scots*; which being received, they send their Commissioners straight to the King, unto whom they remonstrate home how that he had, by bad Counsell, cast himself in a Labyrinth of Evill, and the people of his Dominions; which

which doubtlesse, would bring both him and them to utter ruine, if not timely stopped in Gods Mercy, by his Wisdom and good Counsell.

The Commissioners, instead of any positive answer, receive nothing but doubts, ambiguities, delays, and shifts, whereof nothing could be made, but that the mis-led King was resolved to his own and his peoples ruine,

After a time, the *Scots* Commissioners told the King, that, according to their Order and Instructions, they intended to go unto the Parliament; which they hoped he would think well of, and approve. But the King, notwithstanding the passe and safe-conduct he had granted them to that purpose, would not suffer them to go unto the Parliament; yea, they were not permitted to speak with the Commissioners from the Parliament, who were then sent thither to the Court to treat when they were there. Such was the adverseneesse of the Court to Peace, notwithstanding all the Kings Protestations.

Further, the *Scots* Commissioners were so hardly used by the Court, namely, by the Prelaticall crew, that they could not in safety go openly and freely abroad.

This is not all. At that time the Rulers of the Court send abroad their Agents, to tell every where, namely, in and about *London*, what indignity the *Scots* did offer, first unto the King, then unto the Parliament, & to the whole *English* Nation, by taking upon them (being but Subjects) to examine the differences betwixt the King and Parliament, to compose them, and to make a Peace; it being more honourable both for the King, and Parliament, and the whole Nation, to be beholden for this unto a Neighbour-State or Prince, then unto the Kings own Subjects, not so good as others in many respects.

As this Discourse was invented, and spewed up and down by *Malignants*, so it was received by the

simpler sort, not knowing the interest of States, lesse, wherein the true Honour of Princes, States, and Nations consisteth? Yet, they might have considered, that it is better to take up things quietly at home, then to trouble the Neighbours with our affaires.

The Scots Commissioners, after some Moneths abode at Court, seeing they could do no good with the abused King, desire him to dismiss them, which he did put off from day to day, till at last he was written to by the State of *Scotland*, that if he sent not home in safety the Commissioners betwixt such and such a day, they would hold it as an open breach of the Peace, and that they would provide for businesse accordingly.

Upon this the Commissioners, loden with fair, but conditionall promises from the King (who yet would not anger them) of love and care of that his Native Kingdom, so that they would be quiet, (for he could not stop his mouth to say unto them, that if they would not stir, he could easily compasse his ends in *England*) take their leave at Court, and goe home. At their Arrivall, they finde a number, in the South-West of their Country, of Papists and other Malignants, men of broken fortunes, risen to disturbe the Peace of the Kingdom, by Order from the King, notwithstanding his fair words; which commotion was presently quashed, through Gods mercie, by the diligence and forwardnesse of the good Gentry and Nobility in those parts, who did rise like one man against these Sons of *Belial*.

As the Scots Commissioners retired home, the Houses of Parliament of *England* were made acquainted how that their good intentions were frustrated, themselves hardly used for a long time, but at last, with difficultie had gotten home.

Now, the State of *Scotland* seeing the Common Enemy come to the hight, that nothing will satisfie him,

him. but to all subversion of Church and State in these Dominions; only they, perhaps, might be kept for the last, although in intention they had been the first; judgeth it not enough, for their interest in the Common Cause, to keep an Army in *Ireland*; but also to be upon their guard at home, that they might stop any enterprize the Common Enemy should undertake against them, to have any progresse in their Countrie, if they did not altogether prevent it: and to help their Brethren in *England* with their Sword, since all other means so often tried, were disappointed by the malice of the Enemies. And so much the rather were they moved to this, that the Enemy was prevailing almost without let, for by that time he was Master not onely of the Field, but also of all the strong holds in the North, except *Hull* alone, with a numerous and victorious Army of Horse and Foote, domineering and spoiling every where: Likewise the West being almost altogether gone by the losse of *Excester*, the Defeat given to the Parliaments Forces at the *Vyses*, and the base surrendring of *Bristol*, *Banbury*, &c. the Enemy did thinke to carry all before him, ready to enter into the Associated Countries, yea, to come to the Gates of *London*; which they had done in all appearance, without the let of that Noble and never enough praised exploit of the Earle of *Essex*, of relieving of *Glocester*, almost at the last extremity, although valiantly defended by that brave Governour *Massey*, in despite of the proud Enemy; and thereafter in beating of him at *Newbery*.

While the Parliament was thus low, many faint-hearted, yea Members of the two Houses, ran away to the Enemy, and others did withdraw, studying, to their eternall shame, to make their Peace more plausibly with the Enemy, and not to run over to him at discretion, as others had done.

But when things are thus almost in despaite,
when

then it is thought fit time to have recourse to the *Scots*, and to call them for help : The Parliament, to trie if they could do the businesse themselves, without troubling the *Scots*, was wisdom : for what need you call for aid, and trouble your Neighbours, when you can do the businesse alone : but not to call for help till things be too low, it is very dangerous, say those who dive more deeply in affairs of this nature. But, the reason why the *Scots* were so long a calling in for help, was, not that the English were not willing to trouble their Brethren the *Scots*, for, why should they think of troubling the *Scots*, since their Fathers had been so teady to help *Scotland*, in its distresse then ? Generous hearts will as freely receive a courtesie, as they do one, otherwaies they were proud, and self-conceited : But, the true cause, (say they who know the mysteries of the time,) first was that the Sectaries, prevailing with the Rulers of affaires, did so keep them from meddling with the *Scots*, whom they knew to be no lesse adversaries to Schismes and Sects, then to Popery and Prelacy : Next, there were some who yet kept still a bit of a Bishop in their belly, although by both Houses declared to be not only unusefull in Church and State, but also enemies to both.

Howsoever, these considerations must be laid aside for a time, and in such extremity the *Scots* must be called to help ; yea, some of those who are said to be the greatest sticklers for Sectaries, must at least be employed in their calling in ; which was long of coming, after it was resolved upon, by the Shifts of the Enemies of Church and State.

The *Scots*, notwithstanding all that had been signified unto them, concerning the favouring of Sectaries by the Parliament, and of their retaining somewhat of the old leaven of Prelacy ; seeing that their help was altogether needful to save the Church and State of *England* from ruine ; heartily received the

the call, being already resolved beforehand upon the Point, and undertaketh, with a Christian and manly resolution, to engage themselves in a seen danger, and to undergo the hazard (but, for Christ and his People no hazard is to be regarded) to help their afflicted Brethren: Yet, with this precaution, that the Parliament should sincerely joyn with them in the settling of the Church, as they were heartily willing to assist them against the Common Enemy.

This condition was granted unto the Scots by the Commissioners from the Parliament of *England*, ; and to this end, it was agreed upon, at the desire of the Scots, that there should be one Covenant and League made betwixt both Kingdoms, and sworne to, for the settling of the Church according to the Word of God, and conform to the best Reformed Churches, and by name, to the Church of *Scotland*, with the just Liberty of the People, and against all opposition whatsoever. But, because the English Commissioners would not take upon them to draw up and to make the Covenant there in *Scotland*, they desired that there might be Commissioners sent from *Scotland* unto the Parliament of *England*, for the drawing up of the said Covenant, and so was done ; for the Scots Commissioners assisting, the Covenant, after divers debates, was made, and thereafter subscribed, sworn first by the Houses, Synod, and the Scots Commissioners, and then by the People, and sent unto *Scotland*, where it was received, subscribed, and sworne by the Convention of States, and then by the people: with all, in testimony of their true meaning, the Houses of Parliament desireth the Commissioners of *Scotland* to assist in the Synode, in their deliberations and conclusions concerning the Church.

The Covenant is no sooner taken, but the King leaveth off to accuse the Parliament of continuing Schismes and Sects, and therefore tels us, that he
will

will have care of tender consciences, and this to make faction and division, as we have seen since.

While things were thus managing at *London*, about the Covenant, the English Commissioners in *Scotland*, are agreed with the *Scots*, concerning the Army they were to send into *England*: the Articles of agreement being drawn up, and consented to by both parties; Commissions were given for twenty thousand men; who with all the haste possible, were gathered together, and then immediately set forth: so in *January* they march, when it was both great frost and snow, and entering into *England*, with small opposition come as far in as *Tyne*: the Countrey, much burdened before, was either all wasted and utterly spoiled by the Enemy, hearing the *Scots* coming with a great number of men, and great power; so they could likely finde nothing in that Country, but what by strength of Arm they could pull out of the hands of the Enemy. Thus did the *Scots* fight for a while with their Enemies, to wit, with a multitude of men well armed; with evil weather, in the most intemperate time of the yeer, and with want of Victuals, which was the worst of all: and truly it had gone hard with them, if it had not bin for the provisions sent to them from home, which came but by difficile and uncertain carriage by Sea, by reason of the storm which fell out then: Yet, these resolute men were still gaining ground upon the Enemy, in number of men as great as they, at least, and far exceeding them in Horse, till at last they passed the River *Tyne*, having so wearied and harrassed the Enemy with continuall skirmishes and onsets, obliging them to lye without, and keep so strait and constant guard and watch, that in the end he was constrained to retire, and give way to the constant forwardnesse of the *Scots*; divers of his men leaving him for wearinesse and want, others falling sick, and numbers being killed at divers encounters; at one namely there was eight hundred of them slain at *Banden*. For

For all this, while the Scots were thus fighting with these three Enemies above-named, for the Common Cause expressed in the Covenant, some men at London, and that not of the meaner sort, did not stick to whisper in the ear one to another, that the Scots did not carry themselves neither as military men, nor as men of courage : this was the lesse regarded, that it was made by those, who, against their will, did give way to their calling in.

The Scots did so take up the Enemy in the North, about New-castle and Duresme, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, assisted by Sir John Meldrum, took the Field again (having for a long time been confined to Hull) and tryes Fortuue: he begins at Selby, which he manfully assauls, and happily takes.

Then those who had not been well pleased at the coming in of the Scots, did begin to say, Now since Selby was taken in, the Scots might retire, they could do the work without them; but this discourse did not take by many.

The Enemy hearing the news of this brave exploit, fearing for York, lest Sir Thomas should carry it, runs as fast as he could towards that City.

The Scots, as soon as they hear of the Enemies removall, go after him on his heels, taking some of his men and baggage, and follow him unto the Gates of York. Upon this, my Lord Fairfax and Sir Thomas joyn with the Scots, who send to the Earl of Manchester for his help, to besiege York, the Town being of such circuit, that the Scots alone, having left of their men in Sunderland and other places taken by them from the enemy, neer New-castle, were not able to compasse it with such a circumlineation as was needfull, and keep the Fields too, so full of adversaries; yea, nor with the help that my Lord Fairfax brought unto them, Manchester joyns with the Scots. There were some here that were against Manchester's going Northwards to the Scots, not caring

how much work the *Scots* had, and how little success.

A little hereafter, (to make stories short) while the Forces of *Manchester* and *Fairfax*, joyned with the *Scots*, are about the Siege of *Yotk*, unanimously going on with the work; there is one who goes from hence to sow the seed of dissention amongst those united Forces, namely, berwixt the Generals, *Lesley*, *Fairfax*, and *Manchester*, since their conjunction could not be stopped, as it was aimed at: but, this designe is disappointed; under Gods Mercy, by the wisdom of the Generals. After a while, by another party, the like designe is set a foot, to wir, by some of those who are opposite to the settled Government of the Church: although this designe did not, for the time, take so far, by the prudence of the same Generals, under Gods Providence, as to make a division; yet, it came to a kinde of distaste and dislike; for, those of that party beginning to see that the *Scots* way, concerning Church-businesse, was absolutely against their mind, as mainly then began to be open to all by the pressing home in the Synod by the *Scots* Commissioners there, the Church-Government to be settled, according (as it is sworn to in the Covenant) to the Word of God, the example of the primitive time, & of the best reformed Neighbour Church, by name of that in *Scotland*; and their putting on to repress all Sects and Schisms, to the end that blasphemies and all phanaticall dreams of foolish idle brains, might be kept under, at least, if not altogether chased away. Those of this party be-think themselves now, since they were come to some strength, they must not rely so much upon the *Scots*, being able to stand upon their own legs by their own Forces, as they had done when they were weak & in dislike with the people, for the miscarriage of things, (say those who pretend to know the main passages of businesse:) Then, their next care was, how by degrees to eclipse the reputation of the *Scots* for their
own

own esteem, as they had extol'd them formerly so highly for their advantage ; and this they have been doing by little and little, with a great deal of cunning unto this day, and by that means have brought the businesse amongst us to the condition we are at for the present, having no settled Church at all.

After some moneths Siege, the united Forces before *York* hearing of Prince *Ruperts* coming towards them, send a party of both Nations into the Town of *Manchester* to secure the place, and to busie the Enemy in his way towards them, till they had advanced their work at *York*: The Enemy seeing he could easily master that place, and passing through with his daily increasing Army, goes on : as he was approaching, the united Forces send Scouts to know his march and his strength ; upon whose relation, they leave the Siege, and go to meet and fight him, thinking if they had dispatched his Forces, they would have lesse ad in the work they had stuck so long to : Upon mis-information, they take the wrong way to meet the Enemy: so he had, upon this mistake, free access to the Town.

The united Forces, seeing their mischance, turn their course to stop the Enemies further coming South-ward ; he putt up with the successe of gaining free access to the Town, resolves to follow the united Forces, and fight them, promising unto himself, that his good Fortune would continue ; and if he had given a blow to their Forces, he would easily put an end to the designe in hand ; for, the *Scots* being once routed, the main let and hinderance to the proceedings of the Court, would much diminish the reputation of the Parliaments party.

On the other side, the united Forces perceiving the Enemies mind, turn head towards him, fight him, and, by Gods blessing, rout him ; but, not without losse ; for, notwithstanding all the care taken by the old and experimented Chief Commanders, first to put all in as good order as time and place could permit, and to keep

keep things in order in time of Battell; the new raised
 Horses of *York-shire*, neglecting the command and
 example of their Noble and Gallant Leader, who in
 this occasion, as in all other, carried himself valorou-
 sly; fall in disorder themselves, and turning towards
 those of their own side that were to second them, put
 many in such confusion, that they would take no no-
 tice of any Commander or Leader; yea, they carry
 some of their Leaders away with them by violence.

In this Battell, divers gallant men of both Nations
 had an honourable share of the Victory: but none I
 hear of, without disparagement to any, did appear so
 much in action that day with gallantry, as *David Lesley*.
 Here, those of the party we spoke of a little before,
 to indear themselves to the people, attribute unto
 themselves the honour of the day, and stick not to
 call one of theirs *The Saviour of the three Kingdoms*,
 when God knows, he that they then did extoll so
 much, did not appear at all in the heat of the busi-
 nesse, having received at first a little scar, kept off,
 till the worst was past. This had not been spoken of
 at all, if some idle men to gull the world had not gi-
 ven the honour of the day to those who had but lit-
 tle, or no share in it.

After the Victory, and the Town of *York* taken in,
 the Generals write to the Houses of Parliament to
 give thanks to God; and, in token of their thankful-
 nesse, to sett'e the businesse of the Church, and try
 once more if it were possible to reconcile differences
 with the King, in a peaceable way.

Things being settled at *Yorke*, by common con-
 sent, the *Scots* go to *New-castle* to besiege it, as
 the fittest service they could do for the publike then;
 neer the place they join with the Earl of *Calender* his
 Forces, who had come from *Scotland* to repress the
 raging Enemy about *New-castle*: while Generall *Le-
 sley* was at *York* with his Army, the *Scots* drawing neer
New-castle, *Calender* and *David Lesley*, with six men
 mote,

more went to view the place, from which there issued two Troops of Horse, which the eight men routed, having charged twice through them.

The Scots for a long time endeavoured to take in the Town by fair means, but at last, through the obstinancy of those who were within, they were constrained to storm it, and so carried it.

Those very men, who at the Battel near *York* were put in disorder and fled, with others, gave the assault, and took *Newcastle*.

Thus, the Scots being Masters of the Town; wrong no man, woman, nor child, in their persons, take a mediocre composition for the spoil; in a word, they carry themselves with such moderation, that the Enemies who had been in Arms against them, were constrained to speak well of them.

Few daies after the taking of *Newcastle*, the Castle of *Tinnouth* is taken by the Scots: The winter by this time beginning, after so hard employment of the last winter, and so royling a Somer-work, as the Siege of *York* and the Battel, besides divers skirmishes and encounters with the Enemy, then the long Siege of *Newcastle*, and at last the storming of it; they resolve to put their men in Gartisons.

During the Siege of *Newcastle*, many calumnies were raised against the Scots, & spew'd abroad by Malignants, and received here by the simpler sort. As the taking of *Newcastle* was the most important peece of service of kinde, that could be done for the time to the Kingdom of *England*, namely to the City of *London*; so it did rejoyce a'l honest men: but on the other side, the Malignants of all kinds were sorry at the doing of it; but more sorry, that it was done by those, who are so constantly opposite to their courses.

The Scots are not sooner peaceable Masters of *Newcastle*, but the trade is renewed again betwixt it and *London*; so the comfort of the poor of *London*, who were starving for want of fire, & to the benefit of the

richer sort. The Coales above and under ground, were rated and disposed on in enquiry, to the best use of the publike, not wronging the particular, according to the advice, & by the Order of the Committee of both Kingdoms, then residing in the *North*, as the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament can bear witness: to whose consciences I appeale, if all this be not true, And the *English* prisoners, taken by the *Scots*, have been disposed on according to the will of both Houses of Parliament, as soon as it was possible to be done, by Military Order.

Now the *Scots* after the taking of *New-castle*, although they were free of the open opposition of the Common Enemy for a time, yet they were molested, vexed, crossed, & traduced by the *Malignants*, Agents to the Enemy, in the Northern parts, besides those in and about *London*.

Here you must know, that those of the Northern Countreyes of *England*, have been constantly given to superstition, as men neglected in their instruction, or of purpose detained in ignorance by the Prelats, forecasting that means to make them the surer for their designs: And so, the King himselfe, at two severall times, did find them ready for his design: The Earl of *New-castle* thereafter, did find them likewise ready to follow him: So, what by breeding, and what by latter yeers custome, they are for the most part in that Countrey, *Malignants*. Next, the heavy pressures of Soldiers for so many yeers, with the barrenness of the soile (the *Scots* now coming upon them) made them clamorous, things not going according to their mind: For, first not liking the Cause; next, being already so spent, they were very sensible of the least thing could be demanded of them; joint the malice of some of the chief men in the Countrey, made the people murmur at first, then rise up in Arms; but, blessed be God, the insurrection was soon calmed.

Further, some of those who are employed by the

Parliament to manage the Affaires of these Countreyes, have put too much power in the hands of these who are wicked *Malignants*, being either professed Recusants, or at the best Prelatiques, sticking to the old Service-Book, yea, some of those who have been in actual Rebellion against the State under the Earl of *New-castle*, who are of the Committees of these Countreyes, now having the power in their hands, spoile the Country, and oppresse honest men, laying the blame of all upon the *Scots*, as hath been of late represented unto the House of Commons, by men without exception, deputed heither from those Countreyes, in the name of many good men, to acquaint the Houses with the state of busineses there.

The *Malignants* of the *North* Countreys carry their busineses so, that they find Favourers and Agents to excuse them, and to further their evill courses, Let this, what I say here, be thoroughly sifted out, & it will be found too true, to the prejudice of the good Cause. God help us, and amend us; for, what can we expect, when lyers and other wicked men, find this favour and patronage?

The Winter declining, the *Scots* dispose themselves for the Field-Service, so soon as [the provisions demanded, in a very moderate proportion, could be had from hence: which went but late to them, by reason there was a time spent for obtaining the Ordinance from the Parliament; next, a time for making ready; thirdly, a time of sending of things. In the interim the *Scots*, although busied in keeping the il-affected of the Countrey in obedience to the State, send parties now and then, upon occasion, as the publike Service required, for example, to Sir *William Brereton*, and to *Scarborough*, &c. at last, the *Rendezvous* is assigned to the Army the 15 of *April*, to this effect, they require the Committee of that Country to provide draughts, against the day aforesaid; but, they could not have any in readines till the first day of *May*, at what time they

marched to *Rippon*, with intention to come straight Southward, according to the direction of the Committee of both Kingdoms, if they could have some few daies provisions (upon all hazards) and draughts. But; notwithstanding all their care and pains, they could obtain nothing but delays and incertainties, with promises only of provision from night to night.

If the *Scots* had had their reasonable demands : for Provisions and Draughts, they had been neer the Enemy before he had done the evill he did at *Leicester* and elsewhere.

While the *Scots* were at *Rippon*, it was resolved that *David Lesley* should go into *Lancaster-shire* with a Parry, and he was to have a thousand *York-shire* Horse to assist : but, what performances there was of this, God knows ; for he had nor the third of armed men, although a thousand was promised.

By this time, the *Scots* are advertised that the Enemy was with a flying Army to passe through *Lancaster-shire*, to *Carlile*, and from thence into *Scotland* : upon which advice resolution is taken by the consent of the Committees, that the *Scots* should go into *Lancaster-shire*, and stop the Enemies passage Northward. After a serious enquiry made, the one'y way for them to go, is by all means through *Westmerland*: From *Rippon*, notwithstanding the roughness and difficulties of the Country ; in four daies they are upon the borders of *Lancaster-shire* with the whole Army ; whether being arrived, they have intelligence of the Enemies turning back again Southward ; immediately they desire some small provisions for their Souldiers, and draughts, at the Committee of *Westmerland* & *Cumberland* : but they found them very slow and unwilling. Likewise, the *Scots* being so neer, they desired that their Forces before *Carlile* should be supplied so far with Victuals as to keep them from starving; wherein they were the more earnest, that they saw how slackly those who were with their Forces, followed the business :

nes: Doubtles, if they had then left *Carlile*, the Enemy had bin supplied, and had kept it to this day; which in all appearance was the desire of the Committees.

After the Scots had ordained things the best they could concerning *Carlile*, they march Southward in all haste, beyond ordinary course or rate; for, some daies they marched above twenty miles: but after, they were constrained to stay in some places, one, two and three daies. for draughts.

While the Scots were struggling with these difficulties, news are sent to the Parliament that the Scots were gone, no body knew whether, & that they spoiled all the Country: and this was not done by open and declared Enemies, but by some of those whom the Parliament trust in those Countries with the managing of affaires; yea, by some who formerly did professe hearty friendship unto the Scots: but the wheel of their own interest turning about, not only have they delinquished the Scots, but also, have declared themselves point-blank opposite unto them, and this without any cause: so far prevaieth the private interest with men, who seems to be best.

Then, great murmures rise: that the Scots would abandon their Brethren at such a necessary time, leaving all the burden of the war unto the Forces of the Parliament in the South, Thus were the Scots innocently traduced by Malignants.

Upon this, the Scots Commissioners here, take occasion to send a Gentleman to the Army, to know the truth and veritie of things; and within a day or two thereafter, seeing the sinistrous reports increasing, sent two of their own number to be satisfied of all things more fully, and hasten their coming South.

In the mean time, the Houses of Parliament presse to know what was become of the Scots, and why they had gone this unexpected way, and why, after so many earnest calls, they did not march Southward, the good of the Publike Service so requiring.

Whereupon, the Scots Commissioners gave in two papers to the Houses, containing a plain and full relation of the naked truth and reason of things desired; the ignorance of which had, by the shifts of Malignants, officiating for the Common Enemy, occasioned a great murmur against the Scots up and down.

Those papers gave such satisfaction to all those who heard them read, and gave attention to them, that nothing was to be replied to the least circumstance mentioned in them; yea, not by those who had been most inclining to give credit to sinistrous reports. Yet, those papers were so little divulged, that divers of the House of Commons, who either had been absent when they were given in, or not attentive when they were read, did not know of any such things,

Next, although the Papers had given full content to the Houses, yet the slanders of Malignants not only continued, but increased daily more and more against the Scots.

After some few daies, there falleth a Copie of these papers into the hands of one, which being shewed by him to some well-affected men, and lovers of the Common Cause, were thought fit by all means, for the publike good, to be published. As this was a doing, some Malignants get notice of it, and strive to stop it, by dealing with him who had the chief care of the businesse; but in vain, for he was resolved to go on with his designe: so, he giveth the Papers to the Presse, which the Printer intitles, *The Scots Manifest*: This being published, opened the eyes of many men, to see the truth of things which formerly had been kept in a cloud.

The publishing of this *Manifest*, did much vex the Malignants; but, they were then more grieved to see it so well received, and the truth therein contained, so greedily laid hold on by the people, whom they hitherto had so grossely abused by their malicious lies.

Upon

Upon this, these lye-inventers bethink themselves of another shift to couzen the world in this same busi- nesse, and they go this way to work; seeing they could not hinder the printing of the *Manifest*, they resolve to know whether, or no, the thing had been done by Order from the Commissioners, who being enquired if they had caused print the *Manifest*, they answered, no; and so it was, for without their know- ledge the thing was done; because that those who had a care of the printing of it, knew very well that the Commissioners, going on in their ordinary course, upon I know what prudentiall scrupulosity, do make known nothing of that they acquaint the Houses with, fearing to offend, howsoever needfull to be opened for the Publike Service, and their own credit; but, if there be any thing to be said against them, although without ground, they must hear of it on the deaf-side of their ear, and it must be in every bod- ies mouth. Then the forgers and publishers of lyes gave out, that the *Manifest* was a false and supposed thing, since the Commissioners did not owne it; when as they only did say, that they had no hand in the printing of it, although they avouch the thing to be in it self most true.

Thus in this place I have set down a full relation of the publishing of the *Manifest*, whereof I touched somewhat before, upon another occasion, to make more known unto the world, with what cunning and crafty malice the Malignants of all kindes do oppose the truth upon all occasions, and how they study to hide it from those whom it doth concern; to the end they may feed them with lyes more easily, the truth being kept from them.

After that the Commissioners had sent, as we have said, to the Army two severall dispatches, the House of Commons thinks fit likewise to send some of their number to the Scottish Army, to see how things went in the said Army, and to hasten it Southward;

who meet the Army about *Rippon*, and come along with it to *Nottingham*, where those Gentle-men leave the Army, and come back to the Houses, whom they acquainted with the truth of all things, as namely, of the good condition of the Army, consisting in a fair number of brave Commanders and lusty Souldiers, of their ability and readinesse to do Service. Which such a relation, as it did content and please honest men, so it did gall and vex the *Mal.gnants* of all kindes. But, with what difficulties, of want of provisions and of carriage the Army had to struggle with in this march, and hath had formerly, yea, hath to this day, for any thing I know, except things be mended of late, as now I hope they are, or at least will be shortly, is beyond expression, partly through the neglect of some, partly through the malice of others, (and that not of the meaner sort) who make their study, not onely to afford no encouragement to those who are come for their help ; but also, give them all the distast they can, to make them weary of the Service, yea, to make them do things by the Law of necessity to keep themselves from starving, which other wayes they would not, and so make them odious to those for whose good they are come into this Countrey. If this were done by an open Enemy, yea, by those who declare themselves to be indifferent, it were to be in some kinde digested, but, it is done by some who would make men beleeve, that they are not onely most addicted to the good Cause ; but also, that they are advancers of the Service, whereas they make onely the Cause serve for a cloke to their ambition and avarice, in their heart caring for nothing, how soever they make a shew otherwayes, but to compaſſe their own ends, whereunto a shew of affection to the good Cause doth contribute, mainly, where they have any credit.

But to leave of complaining of those who are neither faithfull nor honest to the Cause, in thus use-
ing

ing the Scots, I (going on in my Discourse) will say a word or two, in this place, to the clearing of three things, whereof the first is concerning the moneyes received by the Scots for their pay, since their first undertaking either in *Ireland* or in *England* unto this day.

The next is how and what provisions they have had for their going on with the Service, either here or in *Ireland*. The third is the disorders committed by the Scots in their Armies, either in *England* or in *Ireland*.

First, I assure you in the name of the Scots that their earnest desire is, that all these things in particular be exactly tryed by the Law of Arms, and in equity judged where the failings are, and by whom and how, to the end that every one may have his due of praise or of shame, of thanks or of blame, of recompence or of punishment, of remembrance or of oblivion, according as the cause shall require: and the sooner this be done, the better it will be for the Service of the publike, and the encouragement of honesty, and the repressing of wickedneise.

In the mean time I will tell you in generall, that what money is received by the Scots, is far short of what they ought to have, and that they could wish their Armies in *England* (to say nothing of their Forces in *Ireland*) had as much money for six weeks, as the other Forces, employed in the Service with them, have in two weeks and this without jealousy, or envie that others are looked & cared for; yet there is no reason why they should be neglected, since they are constantly following the publike Service with activity & faithfulness. There is a great stir of sending money to them, and far greater of raising it for them, although they receive but a very small proportion, in regard of what is allowed for them, & lesse of what is due unto them, and least of all, what is said to be leavied for them; Wherefore, I say again, they are (at least should be) most desirous of fair reckonings

konings among Friends; let the payment come when it may, the most pressing necessity being supplied.

Next, For provisions, besides the smalnesse of them, they come so slowly, I must say again, that when they are upon their march, they are constrained to stay three dayes in one place against their will, for one dayes provision, and draughts can hardly be had for their march: as it hath been in their march, so it is in their abode, witneise their being ten dayes before *Hereford*, not seeing bread but one day, all the rest living upon Beanes, green Corn, and Fruits. In these they are so crossed, that it seems to be done expressly, for the dis-enabling them, so far as may be, to do the publike Service answerable to their own desire and readinesse, and to the expectation of the Kingdom.

As for the disorders said to be done in the Army, as it is acknowledged that they are not Angels of Light, without feeling, being but poor infirme men, they cannot but fail and do amisse, in many and many a thing; so they are not Camelions to live upon the air; but are of such constitutions, that they must have more solid food of necessity for their subsistence, which now and then they cannot come by so orderly as should be. Yet I dare be bold to say, that the *Scots* Army is as well regulated, as most Armies are, without vanity be it said; and that exorbitancy or scandal is no sooner known, but it is censured and punished according to its degree, by Ecclesiasticall & Military Law; and that no complaint is made, but it is heard and answered, according to equity and reason: Yea, Proclamations are made to incite every one that hath any complaint, to repaire unto the prime Officers, or Counsell of War: Yet, let the leaders do what they can, some slips will fall out among the Souldiers that are not allowable; and indeed the Commanders cannot be altogether so exact as otherwise they would be with the Souldiers, since the pay

is so slow, and so little of it at a time, and provisions so scarce and so hardly had; for, when the belly is thus extremely pinched, it were hard measure to beat the back.

When the Scots Army came to *Nottingham*, the Generall sent a Letter subscribed by himself, and two more, unto the Committee of both Kingdomes, whereby, in few words, he tels how that the Scots employed in this Service of the Common Cause, have had, and have to this day, very harsh usuage and hard measure in divers fashions, even from those who not only by the Common Interest of both Nations, are bound to be their Friends and Brethren; but also, from those who formerly made a particular shew of friendship unto them: Yet, notwithstanding all this, he declareth how that with heary earnestnesse, they are in readinesse to go on faithfully and resolutely with the Work: But, judging that a view of the Letter it self would give satisfaction to many; I have thought fit to set down here a true Copy of it, furnished unto me by a Friend.

*A Letter of the Scots Generall at Nottingham
to the Committee of both Kingdoms.*

My Lords and Gentlemen;

THe continuance of a firm Union and good correspondence betwixt the Kingdomes, is so much in our thoughts and wishes, as that without it, we can expect no better then the weakning, yea, the undoing of this Common Cause, and the strengthening of the Common Enemies; and, although there be neither few nor small occasions and discouragements from the mis-representation of our Actions, and mis-apprehensions of our intentions, from the cooling, if not changing, of that affection formerly expressed, both towards our selves, and towards divers of

our Countrey-men, who have deserved well for their abilities and faithfulness in the publike; and from the usage and entertainment of this Army, which is neither to that which other Armies in this Kingdom do receive, nor according to the Treaty between the Kingdoms, nor at all certain, such as can avoid the hatred and discontent of the people, whose affections and good will we desire to carry along with us; yet, notwithstanding all these, and the like discouragements, our Actions have been, are, and shall be reall testimonies of our constant resolution to pursue actively the ends expressed in the Covenant, and to adventure our selves, and whatsoever is dearest to us, in this Cause; and that, as we had great reason to march into Westmerland, in regard of the Intelligence both then and since confirmed to us, so we have been as ready and willing to come South-ward, as we were desired by the honourable Houses of Parliament and by your Lordships: and we have marched with more speed, and lesse interruption, then is usuall in such cases; yea, our march had been more speedy, if we had not been stayed in some places, for want of draughts and provisions; and now we are, with the assistance of God Almighty, to undertake any Action which may be fittest for the Cause and safety of both Kingdoms. But, if (which God forbid) for want of the conjunction and assistance promised, or for want of necessary provisions, the publike work be retarded, or disappointed, we shall be blamelesse. And therefore we do recommend to your Lordships most serious deliberation, that some more effectuall and speedy course may be taken for necessary provisions to this Army, that both Officers and Souldiers may have in all orderly and constant way, not only a part of their pay in Victuals, but, a part in money, for their other necessary uses: and in case of our conjunction with any other Forces of this Kingdom, that then the provisions of this Army be no worse then of those other Forces: which things as they are just in themselves, so they are the rather desired, that this Army be not burthensome, nor hatefull to the Counties where we come, and that we may not be redacted to the unhappy necessity of not punishments.

nishments, wrongs, and disorders strictly, which as we have not onely forbidden by the strictest Edicts, but have exemplarily and severely punished, so shall we ever be ready upon complaint and proof of the fact, either to punish the same by death, or other condigne punishment, according to the quality of the offence.

We further intreat and expect, that this War might be managed according to the Treaty by the Committees of both Kingdoms upon the place; and for that end, that a Quorum of the Commissioners from the Honourable Houses of Parliament, may be constantly with this Army; and that your Lordships may entertain charitable thoughts of our proceedings, confident that according to the knowledge which God hath given us in the matters of our profession, we shall improve all opportunities to the best advantage.

We shall not need to put your Lordships in remembrance how necessary it is, that before the Armies of either or of both Kingdoms undertake the besieging of any Town, they first endeavour a totall dissipation of all the Forces which the Enemy hath in the Fields; and so much the rather, because, by the blessing of God, the dissipation shall be more easie, if the Armies of both Kingdoms be continually aiding and assisting each one to other, and that each act their part, and attend the Enemies motions.

What we have written to your Lordships, we desire it may be made known to both Houses of Parliament, and City of London. And above all, that your Lordships would with all earnestnesse presse the expediting of the Reformation of Religion, and uniformity in Church-government, together with the speedy prosecuting and ending of this War, that we may return home with the comfort of Religion, and Peace settled, the fruits of our endeavours, much wished and longed for, by

Nottingham 12 June,

1645.

Your Lordships most humble Servants,

LEVEN. CALENDER.

HAMILTON.

WEE have heard how the Parliament of *England* sent Commissioners into *Scotland*, to call in the *Scots* unto its help, and to capitulate with them concerning their in-coming: We have heard also, how that Commissioners were sent from *Scotland* hither, to be at the drawing up of the Covenant betwixt the two Nations; who ever since have constantly assisted the Synod in the discussion of Church-affairs, more according to agreement betwixt the Nations; thereafter there was other Commissioners sent hither to share with the Parliament in the managing of State-busineses of Peace and War, whetein now both Kingdoms are joyntly ingaged. To this effect, the Houses of Parliament chuseth a certain number of Lords and Commons, to treat of all things concerning Peace and War jointly with the *Scots*, and so together they make up the Committee of both Kingdoms, wherein the *Scots* have a negative voice; and nothing is done, or at least ought to be done, without their knowledge and consent, concerning Peace or War, directly or indirectly, all play under boord, and clandestine dealing, being forbidden to both equally, upon the reason of the common interest of both.

Those who had been adverse unto the in-coming of the *Scots* to help the Parliament were much against the setting up of this Committee; but at last, after some debate, the thing is done in spite of opposition: So the Committee is set afoot for a certaine time of some few Moneths, by Ordinance of both Houses. The time prefixed for the sitting of the Committee is no sooner expired, but those same men, with the aide of others, whom they had stirred up to that purpose, cast in difficulties, and will by no means give

give consent for the continuance of this Committee : so for some daies it is broken up ; then earnest work there was to get it reestablished againe ; but all to small purpose , till in the end , there is found one Clause in the Ordinance for the setting it up at first , which did serve for the reestablishing of it , maugre those who did oppose it. Since that time , it hath continued constantly to this day , although not without vexation to some , namely , because the Committee could not sit without the *Scots* being present.

Now the *Scots* called and joined with the *English* to manage the affaires of the publike Service , for the Common Cause of Church and State ; at first , they did think that they were to have nothing , or at least , little ado , but to put forward the publike Service with earnestnesse and vigour , against the Common Enemy , without any let here by any of their own party ; and so , they resolve with themselves to be very modest and tender , with all warinesse in their proceedings with their Brethren of *England* , who had called them hither upon such assurance , and were so kinde unto them in their expressions , yea , so carefull of them , that they would have them to lodge neerer for their own convenience , and that of their Friends going to visit them ; and so the *Scots* remove from the City , where they had lodged in former time , and are placed in *Worcester-house* , where now they lodge.

Those who pretend to know more of the Mysteries of the World then other men , tell us , that the removing of the *Scots* from the City to *Worcester-house* , was not so much the convenience of the *Scots* , or of their Friends , which was intended , although so given out , as their weaning from their old Friends in the City , who formerly had been so usefull and so respective to them , by a cunning forecasting of some men , to wear them out of acquaint-

ance and intimacie with the City, being afraid not to carry on things so easily, according to their intent, if the *Scots* were constantly in time and familiar with the City.

Whatever the end of removing the *Scots* from the City was, it is fallen out so, that the *Scots* being at such a distance, have not been able to cherish and nourish their former intimacie and old Friendship with the City, as they are bound in gratitude carefully to do, and as the publike Service requireth, joint with their owne advantage.

Thereafter, the *Scots* finde a harder taske then they had promised unto themselves in the beginning; for, besides the great and main work against the Common Enemy, they finde some few men, here in the party whereunto they are joyned for the Service of the Common Cause of Religion and Liberty in all the three Kingdoms, who do not onely shew them but small favour, but also, as farre as can be without open breach, crosse and oppose them, and, in them, the publike Service: First, those who from the beginning did not approve of their in coming, for fear they should eclipse their lustre, and diminish their power, was cold and adverse to them.

Next, some others of those who had most bestirred themselves, and most appeared in the calling of the *Scots* to help; having done the worke of their in-bringing, lay downe a new ground for the repairing the breach of their own credit, which by the miscarriage of things, namely in the *West*. as we have said before, had been much diminished, and by degree make up their credit upon the decline of the others; whereunto their earnestness for the *Scots*, did much serve, and the *Scots* intimacie with them, for many gave willingly way unto them, when they did see them so intimate with the *Scots*, whom they knew to have

no by-ends; and those men, on the other side, did endeavour themselves unto the *Scots* by sundry good offices for a time, which they did unto them in things concerning their Forces in *England* and *Ireland*, employed in the common Service; and by their constant and frequent courting of the *Scots*, they did so take them up, that they alone, almost, were admitted to any privacy: then some did laugh in their sleeve, to see a few, not so considerable before, bear such a sway, and the *Scots* thus led by the nose; and others did complain, saying, *Why should this be?* It was expected the *Scots* Commissioners should have been open and free to all honest men, namely, to those of worth; yea, they ought to have been so for the good of the publique Service, and for their owne credit, not captiving themselves as it were to some few ones. Further, it was said, that they should have pressed home businesses more stoutly and more freely then they did, as they had done in former times, in their own particular affaires, when they had not so many professed and powerful Friends, letting nothing passe of that was clearly for the good of the publique.

By this complying complasance, the *Scots* Commissioners have given such advantage to those who for a time courted them most for their own ends, as it seems; for if it had been altogether for the publique, the *Scots* remaining constant to their point and principles, although with lesse vigour, I confesse, then I could wish, those men had not changed, for ends, which when they had obtained, one after another, did with draw from the *Scots*, and in a short time point-blanke oppose them, by whose help, they chiefly had raised their height of reputation and opinion among men.

The first and main occasion of mistake betwixt those men and the *Scots*, was the Church-government. When the *Scots* did engage themselves in this common business, they did stipulare with the *English* Commissioners, then in *Scotland*, that they should goe heartily and freely

along with them, in settling the Government and Discipline of the Church, as it was thereafter sworn to by both Kingdoms, in the Nationall Covenant. And when the *Scots* Commissioners came hither, and entered into the Synod, they found it had sat long, and advanced but small businesses; as for the Government, they had not touched it all, which in all appearance was kept off by a flight of Prelatists and Sectaries, to stop the settling of the Church according to the best way expressed there after in the Covenant.

The *Scots* seeing the losse of time, and the evils which were likely to follow, if there were no set government in the Church; presently moved the Synod to fall to the Discipline and Government; which they do, and therein a great deal of pains is taken in sifting out the Truth, & refuting the errors of ignorants, and opposition of headstrong wilfull men, who prefer the setting up of their own Chimerick fancies, & *Utopian* dreams, to the Peace of the Church; wherefore I may justly say, whatsoever gifts or endowments they have, whether of preaching or of praying, of languages, or sciences, since they want charity, they have nothing; for, if they had the least graine of charity, they would not thus disturbe the Church.

I adde, He that sacrificeth the Peace of the Church to the Idol of his own Imagination, is as he who causeth his children passe through the fire to *Moloch*.

After much strugling, things being brought neere a conclusion, some of those upon whose Friendship the *Scots* had till then so much relyed, did declare themselves to be altogether averse to the Government the *Scots* were so desirous of: whereat the *Scots* were much astonished: First, because the assurances given by those men unto them, in the beginning of their engagement, for furthering the Church-government intended; next, by reason of the Covenant, whereby the *Scots* conceive us all to be bound unto the government of the Church
 accor-

according to the Word of God, and the best Reformed Churches abroad, and namely to the government of the Church of *Scotland*.

Ever since that day to this day, those men having withdrawn their temporary affection from the *Scots*, have opposed their counsels, and crossed their proceedings, in every thing wherein they are concerned, as farre as in them lieth: And this they doe not onely themselves, but draw others, for humane respects, to side with them in so doing. Yea, some there be of this phantasticall opinion in this Kingdome, who sticke not to say, that they will rather choose to joyn with Popery, Prelacy, and with whatsoever blasphemy, or heresie, then to submit to the government of the Church by Presbytery: such is the phrensie of those mad men.

As those men we spoke of a little above, were, in what they could, against the in bringing of the *Scots*, and thereafter did oppose the setting afoot and the continuance of the Committee of both Kingdomes; so those second men, of late, have grumbled, yea to some of them words have escaped, that it was a trouble for the Committee to have the *Scots* adjoynts: Yea, it seems there was a designe to do businesse without the *Scots*, and that of great moment, wherein both the Nations are concerned, as may appeare, namely, by naming and assembling of a Sub-committee without knowledge of the *Scots*: wherewith the *Scots* acquainted the houses by their Papers, given in by them about the middle of *May* last. Further, the secret intelligence for the surprising and taking of *Oxford*, (at an easie place) then unfurnished with provisions, given by one *Patric Naper*, to a Sub-Committee of three, whereof, there was one of them a *Scot*, is neglected: notwithstanding the *Scots* did presse it much, that the thing should be tried; they could not prevaile: The excuse was, that till the Army then a moulding, was in a perfect frame, they woul undertake nothing. More, the enemy is acquainted with the secre

advice of the enterprize, and that particularly, who before had not taken notice of the weaknesse of the place named by the advice; which the Enemy finding to be true, repaires and strengthens.

All this then, is knowne to be true by intercepted Letters, which have not been communicated to the Scots Commissioners, notwithstanding the common Interest. I am much mistaken, if it was the Scot who discovered the advice to the enemy: Be it who will, let him lay his hand to his heart, and giving glory to God, confesse his own wickednesse; for at last, it will be discovered to his shame, I am perswaded.

When the Army was moulded, according to the mind of some few men, then Oxford must be besieged, and the Enemy suffered to run up and down, increase his Forces, and spoile the Countrey; yea, to bring all to a great hazard. Yet the new Army must lie before Oxford, wherein there was not the men by third part requisite to such a siege; far lesse to take in the Town: Yea, those men who were there, were not furnished with materials for the Siege. But, many thinke there was no intention to take the Towne by open Siege, by those who were contrivers of the designe, since they neglect to try if it could be done by surprize and secret enterprize: All this while, the chief Commander was most ready to act his part faithfully and gallantly, as he hath done happily since.

From this Siege the Scots not onely doe openly dissent, but also did protest against it: Yet when the thing was cryed out upon, not onely at home, but abroad, by Furrainers, who said, *That the Enemy was devouring the Flesh, while the Parliaments Forces were gnawing the Bones;* and they did not sticke to say, that faire dealing was not every where. More, the party of Horses which were ordained to follow the enemy, was recalled backe, against the advice of the Scots; who having acquainted the Houses of Parliament with those passages, should have
made

made knowne to the whole World, that after their own constant integrity, and simple sincerity, more and more made known to all, in these things, and the faults of others lifted out, and they not bearing the blame of other mens errors, the Service of the publique might go the better on.

Further, it was given out that the *Scots* not comming *South-ward*, was the occasion of all these disorders committed by the enemy.

But, let reason judge, whether or not, it was easier for an Army, provided with all things for the Field and marching, within few very miles of the Enemy, to follow him, disturbe him, and stop him from increasing his Forces, and doing Evill, then to an Army above two hundred miles distant, who notwithstanding their willingesse and readinesse to march, according to their calling *South-ward*, could get neither draughts, nor absolutely necessary provisions for a march, in such a proportion as was thought very reasonable.

The truth of which may appear, what troubles Generall *Lesley* found at *Rippon*, to get provisions and draughts, and how he went to *York* to that effect, but to very small purpose.

Let things be tried, and no longer thus carried in huggemugger, to the prejudice of the publique Service.

We have heard, how that, and upon what occasion, some of those, who had been so intimate with the *Scots* Commissioners, leave them, neglect them, and oppose them in their proceedings, so far as they can in a smooth way above-board, to say nothing of what is done underhand.

So in this place, you shall take notice, how that, on the other side, there be divers of those, who formerly had cared so little for the *Scots*, that they neither favoured their in coming, nor thereafter had assisted them so willingly, in their honest & faithful endeavor for the advancement of the publike Service; now, at last, bethinking themselves

of their owne error, and how that, without reason, they had been jealous of the *Scots*, they begin to goe along with them more freely and earnestly in the publique Worke, then they had done heretofore; which the *Scots*, minding mainly the furthering of the Service of the common Cause, take kindly at their hands, and welcome the expressions of their good affection to the Service, with respective civility; wishing from their heart, that those who are now withdrawn from them, would returne unto their wonted correspondence, in sincere and brotherly unanimity, for carrying on the heavy and tedious Work, now lying upon them all.

Upon this, there is a great murmuring against the *Scots*; that they had quite left off honest and well-affected men, and taken semi-Malignants by the hand, who not onely had been slacke and backward in the pursuance of the publique Service; but, adverse unto themselves in particular. To all this the *Scots* doe declare truly, that as when they came hither at first, they tooke no interest in any man more then they judged him, in all appearance, to interest himselfe heartily, without by-ends, in the common Cause; and, as yet, they doe the same, resolved to continue so unto the end, constant to their first Principles: and, if any men have withdrawn themselves from them, not willing to goe constantly along with them in this necessary course, they are sorry for those, of whose constancy they were in a kind assured: and they declare to the World, that they neither gave, nor intend to give any just distaste in their particular to any: But if men will sauffe, because they are not humoured in all things, who can helpe it? The *Scots* did thinke, at their comming in, to have nothing to doe with children and women, who must be humoured; but, with set and staid rationally men, without any by-respects, or private Fancies, wholly constant to the Cause both of Church and State, as we are all sworn by the Solemne Oath of the Nationall Covenant: As for those

those, who having cast off their former mistakes, now goe along with them more earnestly then formerly in the businesse, they cannot but welcome them, as all those who put to their helping-hand heartily in the least kind to the great Work of God, and of his people; however their carriage have been towards their persons, for the publique (they having no spleen nor grudge at any) forget whatsoever hath been amisse towards them, praying God to forgive, that his Worke may be carried on more cheerfully and unanimously, and they are likewise disposed and enclined towards those (who have left them off) to go along with them, so freely and so brotherly as at the first; and they will imbrace them cheerfully, in carrying on the businesse of Church and State with them. This they declare not to captive men by cunning insinuation, as factious ones doe; but to invite all men fairly to go on with the Work of Church and State, according to the Covenant, as they hope a blessing from Heaven, if they be zealous and faithfull, without equivocation; and may expect judgement, if they either faint or be not sincere. Of this enough for this time.

Yet, there is one thing I cannot passe, and it is this; There be hardly any divisions among these of this side, of which the blame is not laid upon the Scots; as if they had not had their jealousies one of another, and grudges one against another, by reason of particular interest and private opinion, before the Scots did joyne with them; when it is well knowne, that the Scots assistance, faithfull in the Counsell, and active in the Field, is not onely usefull and necessary for the opposing and repressing of the common Enemy; but also, for keeping together those, who otherwise, in all likelihood would fall asunder, and so the publique Service suffer, at which the enemy aimes.

Then I adde, that the Enemy, howsoever low he seemes to be at this instant, desires to have no better

Game, then that the *Scots* would retire, and withdraw their helping hand from the service; for he that of nothing made a party so great as to carry all before it, till he was repressed by the *Scots*, would raise up his party againe. But, in despite of the devill, and all opposition, whether clandestin or open, the *Scots* will stand firme and faithfull, for the carrying on the Work of God, and of his people.

After a certaine time, the States of both Kingdomes, resolved to try yet againe if they could reclaime and recall, upon any reasonable termes, the abused and misled Prince, from his evill courses of undoing the people and himselve, cause draw up certaine Propositions by Common Counsell of both Nations, which they send by Commissioners of both States, to the King; in whom they finde nothing but shifts and delays: So they return without effectuaring any thing.

A while thereafter, the infortunate Prince intending to make the simpler sort believe, that he was desirous, at last, of a reall agreement, sends hither Commissioners (of whose honest meaning the people did least doubt; but in the end, they were found to be cajecolors) to draw things towards a Treaty, unto which the *Scots* declared themselves to be inclined (the main businesse of Church and State being secured,) as willing to try all meanes possible, upon all occasion, to take up the differences in a faire way, to save further effusion of Christian and Brothers blood, and further ruine of those Countreys.

For this the *Scots* are cried out upon, as evill men, (by inconsiderate persons, set on by *Malignants*) notwithstanding the Treatie goes on, but to small purpose; the Kings Commissioners feeling the pulse of the Parliaments Commissioners, did promise unto themselves, upon what ground they know best, or at least should know, that they could carry all things to their mind, if it were not for the rude and stiffe-necked *Scots*,
who

who were so firme to their principles, and resolved rather to follow on the Worke with honour and conscience, although with hazard and danger, then to yeeld to a base agreement, to the prejudice of Church and State.

Upon this, the Court-Commissioners cry out against the *Scots*, as the onely hinderers of their ends, and the floggers of their designs, first at home in their owne Countrey, next here, both in the Fields, and in the Counsell.

By this you may see, if there were no other instance, with whom, and against whom the *Scots* have ado: what was the carriage of the *Scots* Commissioners, in the Treaty of both Church and States affaires; let both parties freely tell, if they did finde in the least point of honesty, faithfulness, resolution, prudence, knowledge, or respect a missing in them.

But, the Treaty ends, without any conclusion for good, nothing being intended by the Court in it, but to gaine time, and more and more to abuse the people, and so make the best advantage of busineses.

Things having been carried in the Field, almost ever since the beginning of these Wars, namely the last Summer, not so well as they might have been, for the advancement of the publique Service, by the fault of some of those who were employed in the said Service, whether it was want of skill, want of care, or want of sincerity and uprightnesse, in pursuance of the businesse; I will not in this place enquire, lesse will I resolve; but, a fault there was, and that a great one, and much amisse.

Wherefore, the Parliament, upon just reason, having tryed divers times to amend the errors of the Armies, and correct what was wrong in them, in a faire and smooth way, but all to small purpose; takes resolution to reforme wholly the Armies, and cast them in a new mould.

Whereof the *Scots* Commissioners hearing, for their interest in the common Cause, thinke fit for them to remember the Parliament of two things principally upon the point; whereof the first was, That in the new mould wherein the Armies were to be cast, care should be taken to make choice of men of experience and ability, so far as was possible, to doe the better the duties of the Service; for although now and then men ignorant of what they undertake, may doe perhaps a thing well; yet it stands that it should be so, not with reason, which must rule all actions.

The next was, that diligent care should be taken, for admitting none to imployment in the Armies, but such as were trusty and faithfull to the cause now in hand, as it is expressed in the Nationall Covenant: wherefore, it was desired, that every one imployed, in testimony of his honesty and faithfulnessse to the Cause, should take the Covenant publicuely.

The *Scots* tooke occasion to give these advices to the Parliament, upon information given them, first, that divers new men, and of little or no experience, were preferred by indirect meanes, and were to be imployed in places of command, for by-ends: then, that there were divers likewise named for preferment and imployment, who not only were suspected to be inclining to Schismes and Sects; but also professed Enemies to what is expressed in the Nationall Covenant concerning the Church, and consequently to the common Cause we are all sworn to.

These advices of the *Scots*, although they were not so much regarded as was needfull, yet they did produce this effect, that divers men of known worth and experience, were named to be kept in the new mould, although many were put out, and new men unknowne for Military vertue put in their places.

Next, after a great debate in the Houses, it is ordained that all the Commanders should take the Covenant

nant, under paine of cashiering, betwixt such and such a day: But how this Order is observed, I know not; I doubt it is not so well as it should be. As for the common Souldiers, it was not to be pressed upon them, which makes men admire, not well knowing the reason of things, how that the prisoners Souldiers taken of the enemy should have the Oath tendered unto them, in token of their imbraeing the Parliaments party and cause; and these Souldiers of the Parliaments owne side, are not to be tyed to the Oath of the Nationall Covenant. Further, all men suspected to favour the advers party, brought before the Committees, namely of Examination, have the Oath put to them, which if they refuse, they are censured *Malignants*; yet the Parliaments Souldiers are to be free from the Oath, if they please. Yea, many were astonished to hear that it was debated in the Houses, whether those of the Armies should be put to the Oath of the soleme League, or no; whereunto the Houses themselves are sworne to, and for the maintenance of which, we all now stand, or at least we ought to stand, being sworn to it by so lawfull and necessary an Oath.

The reason why some men are backward to take the Oath, is that they are advers to the Government of the Church by Presbytery, which the Parliament is now a settling, although the businesse doe not goe on so quickly as by many is wished, by reason of so many rubs cast in by severall sorts of men, partly through ignorance, partly in opposition to the thing, for reasons far other then those they hitherto have given out, however specious. At this occasion, it was spoken publicly by one who is a prime man among those who are avers from the Government abovenamed of the Church, that, although in his judgement, (for so now adaies is opinion named) he did not approve Presbyteriall-Government in the Church; yet he at all times would submit to whatsoever Church-government the Parliament

liament should settle, either by passive or active obedience.

To this is answered; Whosoever saith that he will obey an Order or Law by passive obedience, is already actively in disobedience. Further, to call obedience passive, is as great an absurdity, as to call blacke, white; for obedience is nothing at all but the act of obeying, and to call an act passive, is absurd; action and passion being more different then blacke and white, for they are *Toto genere*, distant; and blacke and white are under *Unum genus*, not onely *Summum* of quality, but also Subaltern of colour.

Further, all vertue consists in action; so obedience being a vertue, cannot be said to be passive, that is, in passion. Wherefore he who first did invent the expression of passive obedience, did not weigh what he said, no more then those who since, not considering the exact distinction of things, have taken it up at the second hand, and have made so generall use of it. He who thinks, that by his passion, he giveth obedience unto the Law, is mightily mistaken; for, suffering, or passion, is laid upon a man for his not obeying, and to make him obey. Example: A man for debt is put in prison; the imprisonment which the debtor suffers, is not obedience to the Law, but a means employed to bring him unto the obedience thereof, that is, unto the paying of the debt. I know Divines speake much of the passive obedience of *Christ*; but this is of another condition, and so it belongs to another place. Besides, he who offers unto the Houses his passive obedience, endeavours what he can, and pleads earnestly to be free from it, as we have seen published by writing. Then also, it was said publikely by one, that the main quirell the Parliament stood for at first, and thereafter did take up Armes for, was not for Religion (which is as much to say, the maine different betwixt the Parliament and the corrupt Court. Papists, Prelatists, Atheists, and divers other instruments of error and

and iniquity, who having sworn enmity to the Truth, and goodnesse, opposeth it with all their cunning and power) nor the Reformation of the Church; but, the freedome and Liberty of the Subject.

Which saying is injurious, in my mind; for, to aver or publish, that the Parliament did not from the beginning intend a true Reformation of Religion, is a great wrong done to the Wisdome of the Parliament; for how can the Parliament be said or thought to be wise in God, without it hath his feare before its eyes? and how can the Parliament be said to have the feare of God before its eyes, if it hath no care of the establishing the Truth of Religion, and to repress the errours? I cannot conceive; for without the true Worship of God, there can be no true feare of him: Then, it is most false; for from the first beginning, did not the Parliament expresse, that it mainly intended a true Reformation, by divers instances, namely by their first Declaration, although now and then it hath been at a stand how to goe through with it, by reason of the lets that the Enemies of the Truth hath cast still in to this day, by open opposition and clandestine undermining? witness the pulling down of the high Commission-Court, the curbing of the Prelates tyranny, the making faithfull silenced Ministers freely preach; and so soon as the occasion offers it selfe, is it not imbraced, to throw the Prelates out of the Church, as Enemies to the Truth of God? Then the calling of the Synod: which things, with divers more, the Parliament had never done, if it had not intended mainly the Reformation of the Church and of Religion.

I must confesse, the busineses in the Synod did goe on but very remissly, before the *Scots* joyning, by the Nationall Covenant, with the Parliament, who hath since pressed it somewhat more home; and yet it goes on but very slowly, not so much by the open opposition of the professed Enemy, as by the crafty insinuation of
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some phantasticall and factious men, who have endeared themselves by some expression of good offices to the people, have buzzed some in authority in the care, they must not anger them for feare of losing so many good Friends, who give themselves out to be in great number, although if things were tried, it should be found that their number in City and Countrey, in the Field and in the Counsell, is farre short of what is said of it, and their affection to the Publique lesse: for, wise men will never believe, that those who are for confusion in the Church, are for the settled ordering of the State.

Further, if the Parliament did not make Religion at first its maine quarrell it stood for, and tooke Armes for, I pray you then when did the Parliament begin to make the Reformation of the Church its maine quarrell? At the joyning with the *Scots* by a Nationall Covenant, perhaps you will say; If so be, when *England* hath a settled Reformation of the Church, according to the Word of God, the practice of the first ages, and of the best Reformed Churches now adaies, it may thanke their poore Friends, distressed at this time for their sake, and neglected by divers.

I am assured, he that saith that the Parliament did not intend mainly Reformation from the beginning, careth but little for himselfe. Next, he makes the maine quarrell of the Parliament to be the Freedome and Liberty of the Subject. If under the notion of Freedome and Liberty, were understood first a free and liber profession of the Truth in a settled Reformed Church, as aforesaid, it were well; and in the second place, the honest Freedome and just Liberty in temporary things; such is the freedome that the truly reformed Churches abroad have constantly sought for to this day; who when they obtain the first, they stand not so much upon the second. But, let us see a little what can be the meaning of the Freedom and Liberty of the Subject, without Religion:

Is it to be free from the vexation of Monopolies, Projects, Ship-moneys, &c. and of some exorbitant courses of Judicatory, as of that of the Star-Chamber?

If in those alone, and in no other thing better and more, I beseech you, what benefit hath the Subject by being freed from the Court of the Star-Chamber? The people say, that some Committees of one City or County, doth more wrong in one yeer to the City or County, then the Star-chamber-Court did to the whole Kingdome in seven yeeres, if all things be well considered; for it did reach but one man here and there; but some Committees vex many and many a man. It is true, the wounds of the Star-chamber were very sore and deep, but they were not so frequent, and now and then they were mollified by some moderation; which divers Committees will not admit.

As for the freedome from Ship-money, Monopolies, Projects, &c. *Vox populi* saith there be more taxes and contributions laid upon the people in one yeere, now adaies, then for many yeeres in Ship-money, &c. Yea, which is the worst, this burden must continue, God knows how long, besides the way of levying it by the inferior Officers, which makes the taxes more grievous; and the best affected men, for the most part, are most loaden; such is the cry and complaint of the people through the City and Countrey.

So, if the Subject had not the gaine of a Reformed settled Church and Religion, he were in a worse case then formerly. Next there is found but very little more just and honest Liberty for the Subject, then before; onely the Sectaries take greater Licence then they were wont to doe; and phantasticall men, to vent their idle imaginations, and to abuse the simpler ones; as likewise scurrilous fellowes take upon them to say and write what they list against truth and goodnesse.

All which is a meere licentiousnesse and libertinage, tending to the trouble of the people, and not to their good,

good, so far is it from the Liberty of honest and discreet men, who desireth and ought to live, within the bounds of good and wholesome constitutions both of Church and State. What is said here of taxes, is not to blame them; for it is known, there must be tribute levied for the supporting of the burdens of the Common wealth, namely and most, in time of War, for its good and benefit; but, to make known the abuse, that it may be amended.

At the beginning of these Wars here in *England*, betwixt the King and Parliament, both parties did draw unto them so many of the *Scots* Officers, as they could conveniently; neither of them having then in their own opinion such Commanders, or, at least, in such number as to make their Armies compleat to their mind, of their own men.

So the *Scots* were employed in chiefe and prime places of command, on both sides: hence divers men indifferent, not as yet engaged by affection to either party, conceiving that neither party could have knowne how to mannage, or goe on with the War, without the *Scots* Commanders, wished those *Scots* many miles beyond Sea.

To the King went and tooke Service of him, not onely divers who had been *Malignants* from the first beginning; but also, some superficiall Covenanters, who not diving into busineses, did make small scruple to serve the King in this War, it not being against the Letter of their Covenant, as they conceived; for, the King protesting from day to day, that he would stand firme to the true Religion, and maintaine it, his intention in taking up Armes, being onely to repress some factious persons who had affronted him: and the Parliament not then making it so cleare to every one, by their expressions, that the maine quarrell the adversary had, was the subversion of Religion, made some not to discern things so clearely
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as otherwayes they had done, it things had been more plainly set down.

To the service of the Parliament, come divers of good affection, being perswaded that the quarrell of *England*, was one and the same with that in *Scotland*, howsoever by the cunning of the adversary disguised, and although not then so cleared by the Parliament as was need.

The Enemy seeing that sundry Scots Officers and Commanders were undertaking service under the Parliament, by his Emissaries up and down, doth what he can to draw them on his side, or, at least, to make them keep off from serving the Parliament. In this he did prevaile with some, who will have their just reward in due time.

Then, after the Warre began, and some Field-actiōns being done, the Enemy perceiving how that divers Scots Officers had carried themselves gallantly, in the service of the Parliament, returns again to his former courses, and dealeth by his Instruments and Agents here, to corrupt and debauch those men of Command, upon whom the eyes of many were; the Agents of the Enemy goe craftily to work, to compasse their ends upon those men; for, first, by cunning insinuations, they enter in privacy with them; Next, they make them faire promises, with specious words of the Kings good intentions towards the publike good of both Church and State, and of the particular esteem he had of their worth and deserts: Then those good Agents for the Enemy, underhand, cause give distaste to the Scots Officers, by neglecting of them, and otherwayes, yea, by some *Boutefeux* there were of them quarrelled in *Westminster-Hall*, with reproach that they took the meat out of the *English* mouthes, who could manage and pursue the War as well, at least, as they.

If this quarrell had not been timely taken up by the Wisdom of the Parliament, it had grown to a great

height, according to the designe and desire of the Enemy.

This crafty dealing of the adversary by his Agents, did prevaile so far, that some of the Scots Officers, not so touched with the interest of the good Cause as they ought to have been, nor as they outwardly professed, left off the Service of the Parliament for a time, upon I know not what foolish excuse; and thereafter, upon a change, fell to the Work again. Next, there were others so far perswaded, as to lay down their Commissions, and go to the Enemy and serve him for a while; and thereafter leaving him, returned hither again.

The Scots Officers with the Enemy were in high esteem, and in good respect among those they did serve, till the State of Scotland joyned with the Parliament of England, in action for the common Cause; from thence, by little and little, the Scots with the Enemy became so to be neglected and ill thought of, that there were many of them constrained to goe away, and others have been taken and killed by this side, so that, for the present, there be very few, at least of any note, with the Enemy.

On this side likewise, the Scots Officers, notwithstanding the State of Scotland was now interested and joyned with the Parliament, by degrees came to be little regarded, neglected, and divers of them laid aside, after that sundry of them had lost their lives, fighting valiantly for the Cause, others had lost their blood, and others suffered imprisonment; at last, at the making up of the new Modell, were cashiered of the Scots, in one day, above two hundred of them, brave fellows, who constantly had carried themselves with honesty and gallantry, without giving them any satisfaction, or at least very little, for what is justly due unto them, and cost some of them very deare: The reason given out against them, was, That not being such Professors of holinesse as was required, it was to be feared they would not be so earnest and so forward,

forward, as was needfull, in this new Frame.

Then, those cashiered *Scots* Commanders having danced attendance a long time, to small purpose, in pursuance of their just demands, constant to their grounds, although they were thus harshly used, they would not abandon the Service of the Common Cause: so, they resolve to go to the Forces of their Countrey-men, and serve with them in the same Cause; and send some of them, accompanied with a number of good fellows, before, towards the *Scots* Army, till the rest were ready.

Those *Scots* who went away first towards their Countrey-men, being upon their journey, they chanced to be at and near *Leicester*, when the Enemy made his approaches to that place. The *Scots*, in meer kindnesse and love to those who were engaged with them in the Common Cause, without any Commission from the Parliament, or from the *Scots* Generall, stay and help their Friends: and how manfull their carriage was, in the assistance of their Brethren, is so known, that it will never be forgotten, when there is any mention of *Leicester* businesse. In generall, I will say this of them; That, if they had been seconded, the Towne of *Leicester* had not been taken by the Enemy; but, having expected assistance from those whom they came to help, after divers had prodgalized their blood (some were killed & some taken) with the losse of their Liberty and of all they had, they were constrained to yeeld to force, not without being admired by the vanquours for their valour. Thereafter, those that were taken prisoners, finding their opportunity, lay hold on it at the first, and they carry the businesse so, that they not only gaine their own freedome, but make themselves Masters of those in whose hands they were.

If those things had been done by some other men, all the Pamphlets about the City of *London*, should have been full of them.

In this businesse, albeit the Scots did expresse their kindnesse really to their friends, and made known their valour to all; yet here, I must tell you, they did not shew their prudence; for, if the Enemy had known them to have no Commission, (as they had none) by Law of Arms he had given them no quarter.

On the one side, the ignorance of the Enemy did hinder him to deal with the Scots, being in his power, according to the rigour of the Law of Arms; On the other side, their valour and kindnesse did prevaile little for thanks or recompence from those, for whose service they had undergone such hazard.

At the framing of the new Modell, were cashiered many, yea almost all the Scots Officers, as we have been speaking; yet, were named four Generall Officers of the Scots to be kept in the new Army; which some did for the good opinion they had of the worth and usefulness of those men for the service: Others did it, lest the people should enquire why so many Scots at one time should be thus put out of service, whose faithfulness and forwardness was known, being free of the guilt of the late miscarriage of things in the Fields.

Those few Officers, although they were named to be kept in the new Modell; they did conceive, that they had tacitely their *Quietus est*; first, by cashiering their Countrey-men, who were known to be well deserving and faithfull men unto the Covenant, (which is the Rule of that we fight for) and by naming them to inferiour employments in this new Modell, then to what they had come to be preferred to by their own vertue. Next, by bringing in new men, not acquainted with War, in equall command with them, and under them, and some of those professed not to favour the Covenant, unto which the Scots were resolved to stick to; So, they thought fit to take the course of their other Countrey-men, and to lay down their Commissions for feare of further

ther inconvenience, namely, if any mischance should fall out, apprehending the blame should be cast upon them; and then they could hardly expect true fellowship or obedience to orders in the service, of those in that Army who had another minde then they concerning the busineses, as it is expressed in the Covenant. The disobedience thereafter of some, in the new Modell, to the expresse Ordinances of Parliament, made this apprehension good.

Vpon this, there is a great cry given out against those few Scots, as if they had abandoned the service at such a time of need, but never a word how that two hundred Scots had been put off the service.

Here it may bee asked, Whether those few Scots were more in the wrong to the publike service, by laying down their Commissions, serving still the same Cause, with those who are constant to their principles with them, then those who put off the service at one time, two hundred valiant and well deserving men.

I could have wished, for my part, and have said it often, that those few men had laid aside all consideration and apprehension, howsoever just, and continued in the Modell, leaving the event of things to God.

Now it is said, that God hath blessed the honesty and piety of some men extraordinarily, in the new Army, so that great things are done by it.

I acknowledge with a thankfull heart to God, that he, in his mercy, hath done great things of late by that Army; but no thanks to the profession of holinesse of this or that man, profession being often a cloak for interest and faction: Vnder God, we must not forget thanks to the valiant and prosperous Generall, who is acknowledged by all to be truly honest and faithfull to the Covenant, and little spoken of.

Then, howsoever God in his good Providence doth great things by weak & inconsiderable men; yet I am certain, it is the surest way to employ men of

skill and of experience, in any work we are going about; and surely, we cannot look for a good successe of any businesse whatsoever, when we neglect to employ those whom God hath fitted with ability for the work, if we can have such.

I know, God is above all rule; but, this is the ordinary course, both with God and among men; the examples are so clear in all busineses among the sons of men, that it is idle to alledge any; onely I shall say, that there is more of this choyce of fit men to be remarked in the War, then in any other thing among men, as it hath been observed of old by judicious men; yet God, in War, more then in any thing else, sheweth his over-ruling power, and that he is above the ordinary course of things. But, to put God to shew here his over-ruling hand, in an extraordinary way, without need, is a kinde of tempting of him; for, since he hath, in his wise Dispensation, ordained an ordinary course for doing of busineses, to be used by men fitted by him for the work, he promised tacitely his blessing thereunto, providing alwayes that we rely onely upon him, and not upon the second causes.

More, in all this successe there was never more seen of God, and lesse of men; and those men who would make men beleve that they are the doers of all, if things were nearly tryed, will be found to be far short in their share of the action, however they be deep in praise.

A word more: It was not without a mystery, that so many gallant Officers of both Nations were cashiered under pretext of want of piety and honesty, being free of any guilt of the former miscarriages; and yet the ordinary souldiers kept still in the service, whose piety is known to be lesse, as men of little and small breeding, and so of lesse knowledge of God and of themselves, and consequently not so given to the practice of goodnesse, and so abstract from evill, having but small light, they cannot do so well as others, who

who have better breeding then they ; and upon mistake they may more easily be brought over to doe what is amisse for themselves and for others, yea, for the publike service of Church and State, and so become a prey to abusers and deceivers.

Moreover, there is a great stir about *Carlisle*, now in the hands of the Scots, for the service of the Parliament. For the better understanding of things, we shall take them at a further rise.

So long as these two Kingdoms were under two severall Princes, *Carlisle* and *Berwick* were two Garrison-Towns upon the Frontiers; but so soon as these Kingdoms did come unto one Princes hands, those places were ordered to be forsaken, and their fortifications rased, and to bee no more a partition wall; which was done accordingly, and so they remained for many years, till of late, that is, till the beginning of the first troubles of the Scots with the abused King, who caused then to reaire those places in some kinde, and put Garisons in them.

Thereafter, at the first pacification upon the Frontiers, betwixt the King and the Scots, those places were to be relinquished, as they had beene formerly.

By the Articles of agreement at the second pacification, the same was confirmed, and that by the Authority of this same Parliament now sitting, gathered together, continued and preserved by the help and aid of the Scots, as the most envious must confesse.

The King, beginning his barbarous War against the Parliament, makes *Carlisle* sure, which by degrees insensibly he furnisheth with a strong Garison, and Munition accordingly, as a place fit for his purpose for vexing of the Scots upon occasion, whom he did foresee would not side with him in this wicked designe, if they were not opposite unto him; and for receiving his *Irish* Rebels, to do mischief to both Kingdoms as they pleased, if they were not stopped.

And so, sincethen, he hath kept it, till within these few dayes; and it hath served for a seat and a passage for troubling both kingdoms.

The Houses of Parliament, on the other side, a little after, possesse themselves of *Berwick*, which the King did not regard so much, as not so considerable for his purpose; and also, it was too much in the eyes of men to be seised upon by him, at the first beginning.

When the *Scots* come into *England*, at this time, to help their Brethren, who had bin so kinde unto them in their troubles, and whose Fathers had assisted their Fathers in the Cause of Reformation and Liberty; by agreement betwixt the Parliament and them, they had *Berwick* delivered up unto them, for facilitating their entry, and advancing the Service they engaged themselves in: and if *Carlile* had bin in the power of the Parliament then, it had bin delivered unto the *Scots* without any more ado, as freely as *Berwick* was, for the very same reason. Yea more, if it had bin required then, it had bin promised unto the *Scots*: I do not mean of necessity, but of meere consideration to the publike Service.

Now, the Northen Countrey of *England*, through Gods Mercy, being pretty well cleared by the help of the *Scots*, of the open professed and declared Common Enemy; it is thought fit, first to block up, and then to besiege *Carlile*: The *Scots* undertake the businesse, and to this purpose, sent of their Army thither a party of both Horse and Foot, under the command of a Generall Officer, and he hath some Forces of the Countrey to assist and help him, in the performance of the service; which the *Scots* did not so hardly presse as to storm the Town, for sparing of blood which they are loth to shed, if the businesse can be carried on otherwayes, (witness *New-castle*, where they shunned to shed blood, and being constrained to it, they did shed as little blood as ever hath been seen upon

upon such an occasion) so they resolve to take the Town by want of necessary provision.

Some of those of the Countrey, who were joynt with the Scots in the service, were so far from helping them, that, by the treachery of their Leaders, they did what they could not only to hinder the businesse, but also to wrong the Scots in what was in their power; for, when they were ordered to keep their own quarters strictly, and suffer nothing to go unto the Enemy; and if he sallied out of the Town, to fall upon him; they were so far from performing their Order, that when it was in their power to hurt the Enemy, they shot powder without bullets at him, and privately they suffered provision to be carried unto him through their quarters; yea, by secret combination, they agreed with the Enemy, that if he would sally out, and fall upon the Scots quarters, they should yeeld no help unto them, although they were joynt with them in the service.

Which proceedings of some of the *North* Countrey men, by the knavery of some of the Commanders, whereof the chief lately had been in open Rebellion against the Parliament, under the Earl of *New-castle*; being made known unto the Scots, they had a nearer eye to their actions, and obliged them thereafter to play fairer play: Those double-minded Leaders, seeing themselves disappointed of their former intents by the care of the Scots, go another way to work; and perceiving by the vigilance of the Scots, that the Town, receiving no help from without, must render it selfe; underhand, and not acquainting the Scots, enter in a private Treaty with the Enemy, and offer him great conditions.

This being also discovered by the Scots, caused them summon the Town, and offer to it reasonable conditions, which the Enemy did accept, although they were not so advantageous for him, in all points, as those offered by the others.

The reason why the Enemy did accept the Scots conditions, and not the others, was, first, Hee could not trust to any condition from those who were so wicked, that they were not trusty to the party they professed themselves to be of, and to their associates.

Next, The Enemy seeing the chiefe man, among those double ones, to be but an inferiour Officer, and one who never had seen greater War then the plundering and spoyling of his own Countrey, under the Earl of *New-castle*, with whom he had been a Lievtenant Colonell, at the most, and now at this time preferred, for some ends, to be a Colonell. Then, there was no Committee there, who could authorize him to capitulate, or make good his capitulation, where the Scots were; for, by agreement betwixt the Scots and the Parliament, things of consequence in the War, wherein the Scots had a hand, were to be ordered by the Committee of both Kingdoms upon the place, or residing with the Scots Army, and that not being (as there was none then) by the Scots Generall his Order; and so he ordained, according to the first agreement, Lievtenant Generall *David Lesley* to take in the Town, upon such conditions as he should think fit for the good of the publike service, and put a Garison in it.

Those who came out of the Town, were conducted unto *Worcester*, who were but six score when they arrived thither, the rest being fallen away in their march, either upon consideration of the publike, or of their own private interest.

Thus *Carlisle* is put in obedience of the Parliament, for the publike service, according to the first agreement; And if the Scots had not followed the businesse, in all appearance, it either had still remained in the hands of open Enemies, or, at least, had fallen in the hands of those *Malignants*, who neither have respect to the credit of the Parliament, nor regard to
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the good of the people ; for they dishonour the one, and waste the other.

All the while that the Scots were before *Carlisle*, there was not onely a neglect, but such a malice against them, from some of the chief Leaders of the Country there, that they had starved for want, if the Generall had not sent a good part of the moneys that he had for the marching and taking the Field of the Army. Thus is the publique served by some of the Countrey-Committees, abusing the Authority they have from the Parliament.

After all this, the Scots are cryed out upon by *Malignants* ; yea, they write to the Houses against them as Enemies to the publique good, to the Parliament, and to the people of *England*, notwithstanding that, since the very first beginning of these troubles they have carried themselves faithfully, honestly, and kindly towards *England*, in despite of all Enemies, and particularly towards the Parliament, who were the cause of assembling it, continuing it, and preserving it, first from the great plot made against; next, by actively upholding it when it was very low, as it was at their in-coming.

The reason why the Scots have put a Garison of their own men in *Carlisle*, for a time, is from the constitution of the present affaires in both Kingdomes; for, having found such base and wicked dealing, by some of the chief men in the Northern Countreys, they did not conceive it fit for the publique Service, to put the place in the hands of those who already possessed with power (by some unfaithful ones, trusted by the Parliament with the ordering of things in those places) do nothing but oppose the design of the Parliament expressed in the Covenant, and oppress the people, as is made known unto the Parliament by the Commissioners from those Countreys, (men of credit and worth, who have done and suffered much for the cause against the Common Enemy) sent hither from many

good people, to complain against those wicked ones, Enemies to God and to his people: And when it shall be thought fit for the Common good of both Nations, now so united, it will with all cheerfulness be left by the Scots; And to this, the State of *Scotland* will willingly engage it selfe by all the assurances can be required in reason.

The common Enemy, since he could not keep out *Carlisle* in open War against the Parliament, doth his next best to have it in the *Malignants*, his Friends, hands, that at least indirectly, he may do his work; and since he failed of both those, he striveth by his Emissaries and Agents to make it an apple of discord betwixt the two united Nations; but this will faile him also, how cunningly soever he goes about this designe; for, the Wisdome of both States is such, that the mistake will be taken away shortly, and that the State of *England* will see clearly, the Scots in possessing themselves of *Carlisle*, and excluding those wicked ones above mentioned, have not only done a good piece of service to the publike and the Common Cause of both Kingdoms; but also, in particular to the well-affected people in those parts, who are under the heavy pressure of those wicked men, and had been far more, if they had more power, whereunto the possession of *Carlisle* was such an addition, that it would make them double Tyrants and Brigants.

As the common Enemy, not only by open Warre by Land, but also by false undermining by his Agents and Instruments, who partly are absolutely addicted to his wicked design, partly by interest of preferment and benefit, although they care but little for his ends, (in the Field and in the Counsell, in the City and in the Countrey) do what they can, with all care and forecasting, to stop the publike service by many and many wayes; this is known too well, to be so little regarded: Even so by Sea, he steereth the same course; for, not only by open War he doth oppose the publike

like Work now in hand, in taking and destroying all that he can; but likewise he useth indirect meanes by the help of his Instruments for the hinderance of the service of the Common Cause now in hand.

Hence it is, that the Parliament Ships, not so vigorously opposing the Enemy, and not giving timely assistance to their Friends, interess'd in the Cause; so many of the Enemy his Ships, without resistance, go up and down so freely, and that there are so many Ships, Barks, &c. both English and Scots, taken by the Enemies.

Further, the Coasts of *Scotland*, are not so carefully guarded and kept, as they were promised to be, by agreement, which hath given and giveth still a great advantage to the Enemy, and hath done a great hurt to the Friends who are employed in the Cause with them against the Common Enemy, and in them to the service of the Cause.

These things have given occasion of complaints to many men, bemoaning their own condition, and how that the good of the people, and the service of the Common Cause, are no more and better looked to; yea, some in grief of heart, after their great sufferings, hardly taken notice of by those of whom they expect some redresse, say in their passion, that not only there is a great neglect, but in appearance there is some secret connivence by those who should follow this service. But to another businesse.

It is known to every one almost, how that for many and many dayes and meetings, there hath been a great deal ado in the Synod with some few factious and fantastical head-strong ones (men without love to the Peace of the Church of God) for the Government of the Church by Parochiall Presbyteries, subaltern to Classicall, and Classicall subaltern to Synodicall; which all being, after so many debates with Patience, Goodnesse, and Charity towards those men, demonstrated evidently

to be according to the Word of God, wherein it is grounded, conform to the practice of the Church planted and governed by the Apostles and their successors, for above two hundred yeers after Christ; and conform likewise to the best Reformed Neighbour Churches now a dayes.

But at length, the thing is concluded upon by the Synod, and almost approved by the Houses of Parliament, maugre all opposition made by the disturbers of the Peace of the Church, in the Synod, and of the sticklers for them anywhere else. Yet those restless spirits will not be quiet; for they give out that they will perform at last the thing they have bin so much urged to, and for so long a time; to wit, they will give unto the publike the Modell of Government they would be at, and to which they will stand to: But those who have a shrewd ghesse at those men, and at their wayes, assure us, that as they will not tell what they absolutely and positively professe, nor what they would be at; they will never give a set Modell of Government unto the publike, whereunto they minde to stand: For, whatsoever they do in opposition of the Government above named, they cannot agree among themselves unto any one thing, for, so many heads, so many wayes dissonant one from another, according to the nature of untruth and error, which is uncertain, and not constant to it self. Yea, there be somewho say, *That these men will not settle upon any thing at all, except it be upon continuing in phrenetical Fancies.*

Truely, as those factious ones, by rejecting all dependency, and subalternation of inferior Presbyteries to superior, in Church-government, have acquired unto themselves the Name of *Independents*; so if you cast your eyes upon the courses of those mens seeking of preferment and benefit, they may justly all be called *Seekers*, although there be but some few of them who go under the Name of *Seekers*, who would
fair

faint make the World believe, that they study
 to seek the Truth of God more then others,
 when God knows, they seek themselves and to
 set up their Fancies : For, there was never a
 generation among men, so nimble and so active
 about preferment and benefit, as those men are. The
 Iesuites are farre short of them, howsoever cryed up
 through the world for this; for they run up and
 down with care and cunning to lay hold on power and
 moneys, wherein they have come to good speed by
 their crafty insinuations, and the sillinesse of other
 men : Livers of all ranks, not excepting the higher
 amongst men, seeing their wayes advantageous, slide
 and cog in with them, for profit and employment.
 They, on the other side, receive none in their Society
 but those of meanes and gifts; poor people and
 simple are profane in their account : They worke
 hugely with rich mens wives, widdows, and daugh-
 ters, and stirring fellows in any kinde are good for
 them; and to carry on their businesse more smoothly,
 they plead for charity, that there may be a charitable
 interpretation of their carriage and proceeding,
 when God knows, they are destitute of all charity;
 first towards the Church in generall, whose peace
 they disturbe in a high measure; and towards parti-
 cular men, for they oppresse and afflict every honest
 man they can reach, in hatred to faithfulness unto the
 good of the Church and State, if all were well known
 and considered; for those who strive so much for
 confusion in the Church, aim at an Anarchy in the
 State doubtlesse. It is true, there are some well-mean-
 ing men that are insnared in the opinion of those
 men, concerning Church-government; but good
 people, they are not of the Cabale, nor of the secret
 Faction; who I doubt not upon fuller information,
 will leave the Error, and follow the Truth. So, there
 be many honest and well-meaning people, who ad-
 here and follow the Iesuites who are not acquaint-

ted with the mysteries of their iniquity.

Then, with a great deal of deceit, they cry out against the rigidnesse of Presbyteriall government, as aforesaid, to make the people beleevc that it will tye them to such a strictnesse and rigidity, or austerity, that all Christian Liberty will be taken away from them. Wherein they do lie most abominably against the practice of all the Reformed Churches where this Government hath place, namely in *Scotland* and *France*, wherein if there be any thing amisse of this kinde, it is towards lenity rather then austerity.

Yet these men give out, that they are more holy then other men, and of a stricter life, and will not admit to their Society any who will not follow the strictnesse they professe externally; but their carriage being near looked to, will be found as far distant from what they professe, as the *Capuchins* hypocrisie is from true piety.

The businesse is no sooner concluded concerning the Church Government, maugre *Independents*, but there arise other difficulties and rubs in the way, to hinder the setting of it: Such obstacles are cast in by the Enemy to stop the building of the Temple.

First, some will not allow it to be of divine right, notwithstanding it is demonstrated to have its ground in the Scripture so clearly that it cannot be denied, and practised by the Apostles and their successors.

Then, There is a great stir concerning the power of the Presbytery, to admit and keep off people from the Table of the Lord, and to receive men unto the Communion of the Church, or to seclude them from it: Which power some will have to be only in the Civill Magistrate, wherein there is a great mistake. From the begining of the world to the giving of the Law, both functions of the spirituall Ministry concerning God and Religion, and of the civill Ministry concerning the externall Society of men, being

in one man, to witt, in the Father, and the eldest Son in the Fathers room; things were not so clearely distinct: But then, at the giving of the Law, God in his appointed time, & in his wise dispensation, having ordained the functions of his spirituall Ministry of Church, and of the civill Ministry of State, to be in severall persons, things become cleare to bee distinct; so, the power belonging severally to each Ministry was to bee exercised distinctly by those who were set aside severally, for the severall Ministries: And as the one Minister had power over the things concerning his Ministry, so the other over his, it is cleare by Scripture.

Thus, things did continue from *Moses* to *Christ*, although now and then not without some alteration in change, by reason of the revolutions of affaires, in the state of *Israel* and of *Judah*

In the Christian Church, the distinct Ministries being in distinct persons, the power belonging to the severall Ministries, must bee in distinct persons, according to their Ministries; and although the Civill Magistrate, or Minister of State, is not to exercise the spirituall Ministry; nor what belongeth to it; yet he is obliged to oversee the Minister of spirituall things, to doe his duty faithfully and diligently. Of this, much hath been said and written in former times, and of late, by men of the clearest judgment, and of most understanding in things of this nature. Besides, the feare of men, lest the spirituall Scepter and Rod of Christ should be prejudicialle to their worldly Authority, the frequent encroaching of the Ministers of the Church upon the Civill Minister (to wave what is done elswhere, and what hath been in former times) here in these Islands, not onely of old, but in these latter yeares, Churches-Ministers ambition and avarice having cast us in all these troubles; doth afford just occasion of warinesse to the Civill Magistrate, to keep the Ministry and power of Church-men within the precinct of the Church; but it must not bee so as to

make them like the Trencher-Chaplain, to say a short grace and no more.

As the Church Ministers are not to meddle with civill affaires, so the civill Ministers ought not to meddle with things meerely spirituall; such are the censures of the Church, which is commonly called the power of the Keyes.

Further, as Prelates with their Emissaries, have put Christ out of his Throne in a kind, making themselves Lords and Masters of his Flocke and Heritage; so, on the other side, those who take away the due power of the Keyes from the Ministers of Christ in his Church, doth him a great deal of wrong in his spirituall Kingdome. Therefore, let us look to it, lest when wee have pulled downe Tyranny Antichristian out of the Church, wee doe not leave it to confusion and Anarchie, and so to be inflaved to the Fancy and humour of weak men. But of this, let it suffice in this place.

Moreover, as the *Scotts* did constantly, in all their owne troubles ever from the beginning to this day, lay hold upon all the occasions they could meet withall, to try if it were possible by faire meanes to redeeme the misled King from his evill ways, and to calme all things with the least noise or stir that could be; so it hath beene their constant course here, both before and since their conjunction in action with the English in this common cause, to try by faire meanes, if the King could be prevailed with, for his own good and that of the people, and now at his time, after so many advantages obtained of late upon the adverse party, they have thought it fit to desire the Parliament to send to the King, to try him yet againe, if at last he will condescend to what is fitting in reason and conscience for the settling of Church and State, as it hath been proposed unto him, with a ripe deliberation, after a serious debate, and laying aside all evill Councill, wherewith he hath beene so long misled, come home to the Parliament, the great Councell of the land.

This

This advice of the *Scotts*, as it is liked by the wiser and better sort of men, who have mainly the publike service before their eyes; so, by the hotter kinde of people, who breath nothing but violence and extremity, it is cryed out upon as prejudiciable unto the common cause, and will give an advantage to the Enemies; since the King is not to bee reclaimed by faire meanes, and will never yeeld to reason but upon meere necessity.

It is but too true, I am assured, and I must confesse, there bee but very small hopes of doing any good with the King, or gaining any good upon him in that way; for besides that nothing hath been gained by all the former Messages sent to him, or by Treaties with him, the violation of the Peace made twice with the *Scotts*, the many Plots both in Scotland, and in England to undoe all, the bloody businesse in Irel. the last intercepted Letters, wherein he expresseth his mind, and the intelligence we have from all places abroad, tells us sufficiently that hee will continue still in this persecuting way of Church and State, so long as he can hold out. The reason of this his perseverance in those courses, is cleare to any rationall man, and it is this: There is a great designe now a foot in these Dominions, which is to bring all to spirituall and temporall slavery and thraldome, more then it was in the blindest times; which will bee kept up with all might and slight, so long as is possible; and the abused King who is the chiefe Agent in this businesse, will bee kept to it, and not suffered to give over the work, but go on so long as they who set him about it, can furnish him with any encouragement, by hopes, counsell and Intelligence, monys, Arms or by any other assistance whatsoever, to keep life in the businesse.

Now, if you will aske who be those who have set this great designe a foot, and have engaged the King in it; I will tell you, *Rome*, *France*, and *Spaine*: The Pope, to have all under him, at least, as formerly: The *Spaniards*

and *French*; first, both in respect of the *Holy Father*, as Christian and Catholike Sonnes; then each of the two hath his owne private interest besides: The *Spaniard*, by the meanes, hopes for a number of good Friends here, (the work succeeding) by reason of the common Catholicity, and to have *Ireland* absolutely at his devotion, to side with him upon such occasion as he shall require; for, it is every where remarked, that the Popish of these Dominions have a double dose of *Catholicism* in their bellies, and to bee Spanish; and as they are addicted to the tyranny of *Rome* over the inward man, also they are affected to the tyranny of *Spaine* over the outward man; so ingrate are they towards God, and so unnaturall towards their own Country.

The *French* hath his particular interest in the worke; for, since hee could by no meanes get the King to side with him in opposing the *Austrian*, and to help his nearest Allies and Confederates against his and their Enemies; in spleen and revenge, hath put many Irons in the fire to give him work at home, to undoe himselfe and his people.

Next, the *French*, by the putting the King to work at home, and by keeping him to it, goe's on with his owne worke against the *Austrian*, namely in *Flanders*, wherein these Dominions have the most interest to looke to, by reason of the nearnesse and the narrow Seas.

Then, the *French* hath a further drift, who when hee hath any leasure from his wars with the *Austrian*, either by an accommodation, or by an absolute Victory, hee may send hither a party to make the *Holla*, with a Vengeance, little to the content of either Prince or People; yea, to seeke by a strong hand that which the *Norman* offered to the then *French* King, and he refused.

These are the shares and parts that *Rome*, *Spaine*, and *France* take in our troubles, howsoever they give out other ways: for prooffe of this, to lay aside many things which might be here alleaged.

First, for *Rome*, I pray you, put before your eyes the constant & neer commerce the corrupt Court & the wicked Clergie have had with *Rome*, and have to this day, with the Letters betwixt the King and the Pope, and the sending Agents hence to *Rome*, and from thence hither, and a Nuntio into *Ireland*, who hath been received there with great pomp and state in respect to holy *Rome*.

Next, for *Spaine* and its adherents in the Catholike Cause, to say nothing of what is past in the kindling of the fire amongst us, by severall underblowings: I pray you to consider the Residents now of *Castill*, *Portugall*, of *Venice*, *Florence*, *Lorraine*, &c. what their carriage is, how enclined to the Court, and how averse to the Parliament.

As for *France*, The late *Fac totum* of that Court, did acknowledge it to be one of his Master-peeces, to have kindled the fire in all these Dominions, first, in *Scotland*, next in *Ireland*, and last, a little before his death, in *England*; whereabout hee had above a dozen of Agents at one time, acting their severall parts in this act here with us. Those who have succeeded in his place, carry on things in his way very neere, namely in what concerns us, as may appeare by the sending into *Scotland*, to hinder the *Scots* joyning with the Parliament, and by the continuall supplies which are sent from *France* to the Enemies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Residents of *France* their expressions in favour of the Enemies.

All this is done really, albeit not avouched by public Authority.

Notwithstanding that both *Spanish* and *French* give out, they will keepe faire with the States of both Kingdomes: and indeed the commerce in some kind is continued; but, they receive in their Sea-Townes Pyrates with the spoiles they take from both Nations, who are now confederate in this Common Cause.

Then some others, who, at first, although they had not perhaps put their hands to cast us in those troubles; yet, seeing us inclining thereunto, have put them forward, and have given help to our miseries. Such are some of Holland, who, against the principles and grounds of their owne State, have by their late Ambassadors, declared themselves to be inflav'd to our corrupt Court, for their owne private interests, and for the interest of him who namely set them a work.

When I spake of Holland, Spain, France, yea, of Rome it selfe, I doe not meane the common people; but those who have chiefe hand in affaires and in Government: for, God knowes the people of those Countries are as innocent of any evill Office done unto us now, as our people were free from doing harme to the Protestants of France and Germany.

The King of Denmark would faine have had his hand in the businesse; but he hath found other things to doe.

Yet after all this, since wee constantly pray for our King both in publike and in private, if it were Gods will, to reclaime him unto himselfe; and then that wee might live a godly, sober, and quiet life under him; I see no reason why we should not try upon all occasions to regaine him, leaving the event and successe to God, as the favourable hearing of our prayers for him, to God his good will and pleasure; which, is not being declared unto us upon the point, we demand upon the condition of his good will and pleasure, and not absolutely as his and the salvation of our soules, concerning which he hath manifested his will, in his word, unto us.

Now in this place, and at this time, I know it will be expected, to have somewhat said of the present condition of Scotland: So, to discharge this duty in some measure, I give you this discourse in few words; and as neere the truth as I can, being at such a distance, not having so full intelligence; which I pray you to take thus.

The Common Enemy seeing himselfe disappointed of effectuating, to his mind, his wicked designe by his enterprises of War, and his failing Plots in *Scotland*; then the *Scots* refusing in *England* to serve him in this designe, as thereafter their helping the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, and last of all their aiding *England* when it was very low, against his bloody Agents; finds if it had not been for the *Scots*, he had not had such rubbes and obstacles, and so hee had gone more freely on with his worke: Wherefore since the *Scots* were in a kind the only hinderers of the compassing of his designe, hee thinks how to be revenged of them, and to make them leave off this active opposing of him and his designe. After many things proposed and tryed to small purpose, at last, it is resolved by the Court to send home the *Malignant* Lords, to see what they can do; who, according to order, go home, submit to the State, and take the Covenant. Divers other *Malignants* who had been lurking in and about the Countrey do the same, and so they make all their peace. More, there were other double minded Lords, who hitherto had carried themselves so warily, albeit they were known to be disaffected, yet the the Laws of the Land could not lay hold on them, receiving a favourable interpretation by the help of their Kindred, Freinds, and Allies.

At this time a good part of the best affected men were employed abroad either in *England* or in *Ireland*, what in action in the Feild, and what in Councell; and the military men, who had been most stirring in their own last troubles were employed in either of these two places, and some were gone to *France* to serve that King in his Wars.

The countrey being thus emptied of men of Councell and of businesse as also men of War; the Agents for the Common Enemy bethinke themselves that they have fair occasion to doe somewhat for the designe they in their heart affect and follow: but to goe more smoothly to

worke, they must be employed in the Service of the Countrey, which being emptied as is said of honest and able men, did admit them, and was in manner of necessity constrained to make use of them in the Counsell of State and in divers other assemblies, and in all Committies almost.

This point being gained, resolution is taken to send a party of stirring men from *Ireland* over into *Scotland*: the *West* Islands are designed to be the only fit place, by reason of the neerenesse and easinesse of the traject, besides those parts of the Countrey were then negligently looked to: They pickt upon a determinate fellow called *Alexander Macdonald*, commonly named *Colehittoch* from his Fathers name, (which signifieth as much as crafty Cole, or Colen) as being the Son who most resembleth the Father, although he hath divers other Sons. This man as an outlaw had left *Scotland*, and gone over to *Ireland*, where he joyned with the Rebels, and fought for them against the *Protestants* for a time and after some dislike he leaves them, and joynes with the *Scots*, and bringeth some few hundreds of such men as himself with him. The Generall receives him, and he serves the *Scots* against the Rebels for a while: he tels the Generall, that he had a great mind to have pardon for his former errors, and make his peace with his native Countrey the Generall undertakes it but finding the matter not so easie to be don and so soon, as he expected, by reason (as is given out) of the naughtinesse of the man; others say, that therewas a particular spleene that stopped it. At this, *Macdonald* frets, and goes backe again to the *Irish* Rebels, who received him kindly, partly in regard of his activity, partly in regard of his near Kindred with the Earle of *Antrim*. To be short, resolution being taken to send over into *Scotland*, and that into the Isles, choice is made of him, who having picked out, from among the Rebels, some few hundreds of desperate fellowes, what
native

native Irish, what Scots habituated in *Ireland*, what Islanders and Highlanders of his own humour and Friends, goe's for *Scotland*, lands in the *west* among the Isles and Hills, where he finds but little, if any opposition. At his thus arrivall with out any rub, divers of his old acquaintance and outlaws with him repaire unto him, so he increaseth his number: at the beginning, the businesse was laught at, but, seing the number of those lewd men increase dayly, it is thought fit to looke after them. He that had most interest, was in *England* for the time, who upon the newes, goe's home and takes Commission, with divers Nobles and Gentlemen, to pursue the Enemy; but the pursuit was with such slacknesse, that the Enemy gains daily ground, and his number increaseth.

By this time, *Montrose* who had secret correspondence with *Macdonald*, upon advice, goes secretly from the *North* of *England* (where he had bestirred himself as in the *South* of *Scotland*, but had been repulsed by the *English* and *Scots* forces in those parts) with few men *incognito*, and joynes with *Macdonald*.

The two being joyned, *Montrose* declares himself Generall of the party, and sheweth his Commission from the King, with many fair pretences to stand for the *Scots* Covenant, and to continew the Government of the Church as it is now settled, and also, to ease the People of the burthens laid upon them by some factious men, as he called them: This he promiseth, assisted with Papists, Atheists, forsworn men, and outlaws; which he performeth much at the rate of him who set him a work, spoiling, burning, and slaying men, women, and children; in a word, using all kind of barbarous dealing where he could be Master; yea, divers were murdered in their beds.

Then, those Nobles and Gentlemen who had Commission from the State of *Scotland*, go against the despicable Enemy, and the first rencounter was at the bridge of *lerne*, where some betrayng the Commission they had

had, runne to the Enemy, others astonished fled away, and others sell their lives at the dearest rate they were able to doe: so with a few, hee had the better of a great number. The Enemy had another reincounter a while thereafter, with the like, although not so great successe, by treachery also: After which his courage and number increased so, that the people began to apprehend and feare him.

Vpon this, the State sends more men to help, and thinks fit to employ an old expert officer to command in chiefe against these rebels, who seeing greater preparation made against them then formerly, retire to the hills, and foreseeing the Army of the Country could not stay altogether in one place, for provision, and then for action, but must be divided into diverse squadrons; the Enemy, from the hills, upon intelligence given him by Malignants of the Country and of the Army, falls now and then upon Gentlemens houses, Villages, and Townes, which hee spoyles and makes a prey of; and sometimes falls upon one quarter or other of the States Forces, where hee thought to finde least opposition, although he found many honest men that fought most valiantly against him, and killed diverse of his men, yet by the treason of some Commander or other, for the most part, he come off with advantage; and now within these few dayes, he hath had the greatest of all with a fewer number of men. For the Enemy, before that great overthrow at *Killyth*, neere *Glasgo*, could never equall the Forces of the State against him, yea, he was inferiour to them in number by many.

Although God be the Lord of Hosts, and it is he who giveth wisdom and resolution for Victories; yet since men have a hand in this businesse, we cannot but enquire if the men employed in the worke have done their part according to their trust and the abilities wherewith God hath inabled them.

I know, that it is ordinary with people, (who rise lit-
tle

le higher then to men) when there is some good successe obtained by any man, to adore him, and when things go amisse, to lay the fault upon man, yea, perhaps, upon the same man whom they had a little before adored. Of this wee have examples among our selves, not to goe to former times and forraigne places.

Yet here, it is too well knowne to our losse, that there hath bin a continued evill carriage of things, by diverse of the Officers, namely, by him that did command in Chiefe; and there be shrewd presumptions to guesse that there is a great deale of Knavery, although I cannot tell so positively how; as,

First, The great complaints of the expert and faithfull Commanders, who, being neerest to the Game, could see best, and judge best of faire play or foule, against the managing of the Warre.

Next, The posture of the Country, when this vile party entred into the land, and the entertainment it hath had since.

Then, the correspondence the Enemy had with some of high note and employment in the Country affaires, with the secret favour and connivence of others.

Further, By the open treason of those who have run unto him, although employed against him; yea, there bee who have runne unto him in the Field, when they should have fought against him, as wee have said before.

More, The assurance that the Malignants had of Victory long before it came, at home in the Country, here in England, and beyond Sea.

To this exigence, with the now-trouble of a barbarous Enemy and of false brethren, have honest men brought themselves to; and the poore Countrey, who had carried on their owne businesse with such resolution and wisdom, and had kept so under their feet (as it were) the sonnes of Belial and children of falshood and lyes, that they durst not grumble, but submit quietly, for their
kindnesse

kindnesse to their neighbours in *England* and *Ireland*, among whom they have dispersed themselves for their service; and for overplus, they are payed with ingratitude, neglect, yea calumnies and affronts for their paines, by diverse of those for whom they have drawne all this upon them, and for whom they have hazarded and many losed their lives, when they might all this while have sat at home quietly: but, they hope that the same God, who set them first about this his work, for all this, wil inable them in mercy to bee stedfast to this his cause, for which they now so much suffer, and will, at last, free them from trouble, and end the busines to his own glory and the good of his people, in despite of all Malignancy and opposition whatsoever, for, when God hath chastised his own for a time, hee will throw the scourge in the fire, and shew them his great power in redeeming them from the hand of the wicked, upon whom the Tempest of the Lord goe's forth, and the Whirle wind that hangeth over, shall light upon the heads of the wicked and hypocrites; yea, the fierce wrath of the Lord shall not returne untill he have done and performed the intent of his heart upon his Enemies: and the Lord will say unto *Israel*, *Thou People, who hast escaped the sword, hast found Grace in the Wilderness, and I will goe before thee to cause thee to rest, for I have loved thee with an everlasting Love; wherefore with Mercy have I drawne thee, and I will make a new Covenant with thee, thou hast broken the old which I made with thee when I brought thee out of Ægypt; and this shall be the new Covenant I will make with thee, I will put my Law in thine inward parts, and write it in thine heart, and thou shalt be my people, and I will be thy God.* Let us therefore wait upon the Lord with patience, who will not faile in his promise, if we returne unto him with true repentance for our sinnes, and with a serious resolution to stick constantly close unto him, with our whole heart; and already this is begun in our eyes.

There

There hath bin of late a great blustering of some secret under-hand dealings with the common enemy, by some few men without the knowledge of the publike; of which I have thought fit to say these few words, in this place; and to understand the thing more at length, wee call to minde how that the King, this last winter, sent hither his Commissioners, to cajeole, who according to their Order, did cajeole the Scots and Independants; and how far they prevailed then with the Independants by their cajeolery, I cannot tell: but, I am sure, they did not gain of the Scots the least point of any thing, yea, not of any expression or thought of busines, which could be in any kind interpreted to have a doubtful meaning in it, not to be for the Churches & States advantage in the 3 Kingdoms according to the Covenant; as the Scots have made appeare in their constant fair carriage, in all busines of Church and State, maugre envie, namely in the last Treaty at *Vxbridge*, where they did shew really what honesty and faithfulnesse they had in their heart, as I have said before.

The Treaty being ended without any agreement, the Court, after a time, sends one hither; for, although hee gives out that he stole away, yet he came with the knowledge of the Court; and things being tryed neerely, it may happily bee found that he came hither by Order expresse, with instructions; who is a great cajeolor to use the Courts own word, that is, in plain language, a meer cheater who hath vowed to cozen those of this party, if he can, by his lyes: This cajeolor, as the former two, endeavours, first, to cajeole the Scots; and finding he had a cold coale to blow, hee leaveth off the designe with them, and makes his addresses unto the Independents, but how he hath sped with them, it is not as yet fully known, things not being manifested; yet some sidling businessses there hath bin betwixt him and them, whether or no by the whole Cabale, or by some few of the prime of the faction, it is unknown to the World,

First, That there was some under-hand-dealing by them with the Enemy, the intercepted Letters of Digby unto Leg, give a shrewd prooffe of it.

Next, The papers found since in the Cajolors frinds closet, whereof some were written by his owne hand, point at things not so faire.

When these things are tryed to the full, wee hope the light of all will appeare, which all faithfull men wish it may bee done exactly and speedily: And till then, mens mindes will not bee satisfied, and they wil hardly refraine to speak of these things, howsoever it be taken; for they conceive not only by the opennes of the time they are freed from the thraldome of the old corrupt Court; but also, since they have interest in the businesse, and have hazarded all what they have or had for the publike service, they may expresse their thoughts freely of Occurrences, so it be with discretion, sparing mens persons, till things be full cleared: And sincerely I thinke, no innocent man can bee angry at this; if any in Conscience finds himselfe guilty in any kinde, he will doe well to suffer it patiently, for feare he suffer more, if things goe exactly on to a tryall.

The light that happily may bee found out of this, will not and cannot bee by a mathematicall or metaphysicall demonstration, yet by so certaine proofes as the condition of the thing can suffer or require, for, businesse of this nature take probable concluding Arguments for demonstration, as wee are taught by the Doctors of the Politicks.

I know some have suffered for their free expressions concerning these things, yet, I am confident, it had bin greater wisdom (under favour) to let go free speeches, rather then to examine them too neerely, namely, when they proceed, without malice or scurrility, from honest men, who in their zeale, perhaps, now and then,

may exceed the exact termes strict moderation; and this, I am perswaded, hath been the constant practice of wise men, grounded upon this: if the discourse be groundlesse, it falls of it selfe. If there be any ground by stirring and ripping up speeches, things will appear open, which other wayes in a short time, would have been buried in oblivion, perhaps.

I forbear instances of names as in all my discourse, keeping my self to generalls, although I could have furnished divers examples upon every poynt I have touched; for, albeit it be said, He that speaks in generall of all & to all, speaks of none and to none, yet every one may make use of what is said in generall, and apply it unto himself, for the good of the publike and of himself; which I wish every one that reads this discourse, may do in all singleness of heart, as it is set forth by him in sincerity, who hath no other end in it, besides the glory of God, the good of Church, and State, and the true advantage of every honest man, without the least wroug-meaning unto any man; but an earnest desire that every one who is right and honest in this Cause, without by-respects, may continue so till the end; and that those who have gone a wrong way, either in secret or openly, may return into the right way, to the glory of God, the advancement of this his Cause and of his people, with their own prayse and benefit.

We have heard how that the *Scots*, (having from *Nottingham* declared again, particularly unto the Parliament, their continued good intentions and readinesse to pursue the publike Work in hand, for the Glory of God and the good of his People, according to the Covenant they entred in with the Parliament) did stay some dayes there to know the pleasure, of the Houses of Parl. what peece of Service they required at that time, or expected from them; and so soone as they

they were acquainted with the Parliaments desire, they did march *west-ward*, towards *Wales*, to pursue the Enemy, and to clear the Feilds of him if it were possible. As they were marching through *Worcestershire*, with all dilligence, to go straight to the Enemy, the noble Committee of that County, for the Parliament, makes them (being strangers) to goe out of their way many myles, and make a great circuit, to the losse of time, and toying of the Army, when they had but a very short cut. This was done by this fore-named Committee, to have their own and their Friends Villages free from one nights lodging of the Army; so dear is the publique Service unto these Committee-men, which they have so much in their mouthes every where, and so little in their hearts; as appears by the actions of many of them, in the carriage of things.

Well, the *Scots* having made this circuit with difficulties, go on to seek out the Enemy; but he retires from before them, and having divided the Forces he had, sends them here and there through the Hills of *Wales*:

The *Scots* finding that the Enemy durst not appear with a body before them in the Field, and not thinking it convenient to divide their Army in parties in a hilly Countey, where they could have no provision, and where they were little assured of any frendship, (the Countrey, for the most part, being either possessed actually by the Enemy, or inclined to his party) upon this, did judge it best to stay with their Army at the entry of that Countrey, to attend the Enemy his motions: But, when they had resolved to do so, as the onely best for the publique Service, they found murmures raised against them by malicious men, and entertained by silly ones; That they did lye heavy upon the Countrey, and did

no worke: But what worke should they do? Enemy they could finde none to fight withall, for he was retired from the plaine Field among the Hills, as we have said; to wait upon the Enemy, was absolutely the best, till he was quite so disordered, that the Fields were free of him.

But to stop clamours of idle men, the *Scots* resolve to break their own rule and maxime, and to besiege a Town, which being resolved upon, the question was Whether *Worcester* or *Hereford* should be besieged? after debate they must besiege *Hereford*, which they go about with all earnestnesse and alacrity, with a serious intent to compass the designe, and they are promised to be furnished with all they needed, or had want of for the Service.

The *Malignants*, then, did say, that the Town had but a paper-wall, and pepper-bullets would soon beate it down: but when the *Scots* drew neer it, they found the wall made of a more solid matter, and well lined within with earth, besides a large and deep ditch without; Yet, the *Scots* go about their businesse cheerfully, and set a regular Siege before the place, looking to be supplied with necessary things according to agreement, for the pursuance of the work, namely with provision of Victuals as was promised, and 200*l.* six shill. *per diem* for the souldiers, which was to be raised of the Neighbour-Country about; but they never to this day received one token; so that, for the most part, they were put to a very hard thift; for divers dayes they did see no bread, and were constrained to live upon fruit; it was a hundred pounds to a penny that they fell not all sick of this: but God had mercy of them, when they were thus neglected by their Friends. At last, there is some provision of cheese, bread, and meat, made for them: then the ammunition was small, and long acoming to their Army, so that they spent more time in expectation of things, then they did in the work it

self; yet they go on with it, although not with such speed as they themselves wished: they caused to make divers mines, which for the most part being brought to perfection, were drowned by the great raines that fell down there the space of eight dayes together.

The Enemy, which had fled unto the hills of *Wales*, knowing the *Scots* to be so deeply in the Siege of *Hereford*, takes his time, and having gathered a great body of Horse together, by night and day, making a great circuit for fear of the *Scots*, marched towards the *North*, where he had many favourers, and was promised great supplies to make up a great Army; and so much the rather that the Rebels had then successe in *Scotland*, by the permission of God, and through the miscarriage of the Leaders of the innocent people.

The *Scots*, so soon as they heard of the sudden march of the Enemy, send the most part of their Horse, under the command of *David Lesley*, to follow him, which he did with such activity and diligence, that he did get before him, and made him returne back, against his will.

While *David Lesley*, with his men, are thus carefully following the Service, rumours are raised against them, That they had left their own Army, and that none could hear of them, nor know where they were: The Pamphlets (in and about *London*) were stuffed with great promises from other men, when God knows, they were far away from the Enemy then, and so he had leasure to spoile *Huntington*, and to goe towards *Worcester*; all, which they might have hindered, if they had been as neer him as was given out.

The *Scots* who were before *Hereford*, seeing the Enemy his coming neer them, and not having Horse enough to deale with him, send to their Friends at *London*, to the effect order might be speedily taken, that a thousand Horse, upon such an exigence, should be sent neer un to them, as to *Glecester*, or to any other
conve-

convenient place, to wait upon the Enemy, and joyn with the Horse they had left with them, to oppose the Enemy, if need should be, for the going on with the work. The businesse is proposed to the Committee of both Kingdoms, where, after a great debate, some of those who had been so earnest for the *Scots* formerly, seeing they could not prevaile by open opposing of the thing, withdraw from the Committee, that the thing might be stopped, the number not being sufficient to conclude the businesse without them.

So, things having failed at the Committee it is thereafter proposed by Friends in the House of Commons; but so carried, that the *Scots* are disappointed, although the thing was feasible with ease, either from the Army then before *Bristol*, or by *Massey* his Horse, (as overture was then made by some,) or by the Horse about *Oxford*.

Well, the *Scots* must digest this pillule, howsoever bitter unto them, in regard of the hindering of the publike Service: Yet, for all this, upon the first day of *September*, the *Scots* call a Councell of War, and in it, is resolved to storm the Town of *Hereford*, and orders were given out to severall Regiments for the making of all things ready for a storme against the next morning. These orders are no sooner issued, but intelligence is sent to the Army, from severall Committees of the Parliament thereabout, that the Enemy was drawing towards them with a great number of Horse: By this time, notice was given them also of the great overthrow the Rebels in *Scotland* had given there to the States Forces. All these things set together, did much perplex their minds: to suffer the thing to go out of their hands as it were, about which they had taken so much pains, and were so neer a compassing their end, was displeasing; besides the idle talk of *Malignants* and ignorants that would be raised upon them, if they did rise from

the Siege : On the other side , seeing the Enemy come so neer, with such a power of Horse, as was given out by good intelligence, who might have cut off easily all provisions from them, and so have destroyed the Army with little or small losse unto himself ; (which had not been disliked here by some :) then, while the Scots were busied with the storming of the Town, the Enemy might have fallen upon them, and so have made them give over the enterprife : On the other side, they thought fit not to put things so to hazard, as the losse of such an Army, not knowing how to make it up again so soon, being far from home; and seeing that *Scotland* was in such a pittifull condition for the time, that it perhaps would have need of their Army. Things being thus thought on, all considerations laid aside, the conclusion was to raise the siege, and to retire North-ward, and so 'twas done : The businesse was so well looked to, by the Commanders, that the Enemy sallying out of the Town, upon the removeall, fell upon the rear; but, had no advantage of them, yea, was constrained to retire with the losse of divers of his men, both Commanders and souldiers.

The Scots, at the siege lost two gallant men of prime note, *Craford* and *Gordon*, with lesse then a hundred of common souldiers, by sicknesse, and by the sword : They retired having very few sick in their Army, and leaving none at all behinde them, save one Gentleman, who had been wounded.

When the Army set downe before *Hereford*, *Sir William Flemin*, from within the Town, sends word by writing to the Generall and to the Earle of *Calendar* his Uncle, that he would speak with them concerning businesse of moment ; which they refuse him flatly, and sent hither his Letter and the ir answer unto him.

Sir William Fleming is quiet for a time ; and seeing he could not prevaile with the General, nor with his Uncle,

Uncle, bethinks himself to do^m mischief, or, at least, to raise jealousies another way; and so he makes his addresses to two or three young Gentlemen of his own standing, and his neer cozens; which being discovered, my young Gentlemen were called to an accompt for it, and did ingeniously confesse that they had had communication with their cozen, but without any discourse of publike busineses, as they gave out upon oath and protestation: for the present they were onely checked for their fault; but, it will not do the turn, and the full censure will not fail them more then those unruly and idle few ones, who repaired thither to the Armaies from the arille Horse of *Westminster*, under the name of *Reformado's*, as two or three others, who having left the Enemy, took service of the *Scots*: since nothing can heal these lewd fellowes of their distempers, it is resolved to give them all a double dose of cashier, and so to purge the Army of all idle men with the first conveniency, for fear of further evill from the disbauched ones.

David Lesley being at the pursuit of the Enemy South-ward, then neer the River of *Trent*, receives a Letter from the Chancellor of *Scotland*, to acquaint him with the late disaster that was fallen out in *Scotland*, and to desire him to come with all diligence to relieve his^o own Countrey: Upon the receipt of the Letter, he thinkes onely to take a party of his Company with him, and to send the rest back again unto the Army, then at *Hereford*, which he knew would have great use of them, as we have seen they had indeed: but, the whole Company cryed out like one man, that if he would not lead them all to relieve their own Countrey in such distresse, they would go of themselves: So, he resolves to haste homeward with his whole number, to the relief of his Countrey, and acquaints the Committee of both Kingdomes with it on one side, and the General also on the other side.

(110)
David Lesley goe's home, and in few words, under God, with the help of the Forces he finds ready in the Countrey, fights with the Rebels two dayes consecutives, one next after another, kills many, takes many prisoners, and routs them totally; and so, by Gods Providence, changed quite the face of affaires there, and takes away the slander that *Malignants* laid upon the Scots, that they would not fight in their own Countrey.

The late disaster that the good party in *Scotland* had received, was written hither by divers from the place and from *Berwick*, with many circumstances.

Here, many good, honest, and well-affected men, were highly moved and afflicted at it, partly for the affliction of their Brethren, partly for the event which might follow, if the then there prevailing Enemy should go on thus with successe, and so there was a solemn Fast ordained by the Houses of Parliament, for prayers and supplications in behalf of *Scotland*, which was performed accordingly.

But, divers others did laugh in their sleeves at this affliction, and were glad in their souls at it, for divers respects:

First, The declared *Malignants* openly addicted to the Common Enemy, did promise unto themselves, if the Rebels went on this way with successe in *Scotland*, they would ere long come unto *England*, and turn all up-side down here, with the help they would find here to side with them.

Next, All the opposers of Reformation and setting of the Church-Government, as Atheists, Prelatists, Libertines, &c. with all those who will admit no Government in the Church but what shall be settled meerely by humane municipiall constitution, without having any eye to the Word of God, the practise of the Apostles, and Primitive times, and
the

the best Reformed Churches now adayes ; although they be bound by the Covenant to do it ; for, they did hope, by these means , to be free of the importunity of the Scots , who are the only men (as is beleev'd by those) that presse for Government of the Church.

Then, Some prime of the Faction of *Independents* did leap for joy of the infortune of the Scots ; for although they knew too well, if the Scots had not stood in the gap two severall times formerly with arms against the storme of the Prelaticall party, they had never durst appear, except they had changed their coat, whereunto some were resolved on, as we are given to understand, yea, to say *Amen* to the Letany, either in the old or in the new Service-Booke, for money and preferment : such is their zeal to purity. And although they remember very well, that if the Scots had not come in this last time, they had so carried, or miscarried things, for their by-ends of ambition and avarice, that they had not been able to go in the streets, some of them had made their accompt to goe beyond Seas, having sent before them trunks well stuffed, as the history goe's : Yea, they are not onely saved from ruine by the Scots ; but, by them, they have made themselves considerable.

The Character which one giveth to a certaine people, may justly be attributed unto these men, arrogant and inconstant, extream jealous of other men : sometimes they court and feast men for their own profit, and when their turne is done, they reject them, and care not more for them.

As David Lesly was going home, it was said aloud, *Why should the Scots thus deal with us, being at our sold, to go away without our leave, upon a private Letter of a man ? besides our Commissioners from Scotland write us, that some of the chief Leaders in that Land, desire not David Lesley his comming thither : upon which advice, he is loytring idle up and downe in the North, when he should be at his Ser-*

vice before Hereford, with the Foot-Army. Why would not the Scots make their estate known unto us sooner?

I answer to all, ingrate that thou art, Hath not the Scots dealt fair with thee, to make thy quarrel his own, and hath undergone this great burthen under which he now groanes for thy sake, to free thee from burthen? Yea, he is become, in a kinde, miserable, to put thee out of misery; a thing not to be parallel'd.

There is an innate justice in the souls of all gallant men, to assist him who suffers for us,

We read of one *Volumnius*, (Roman) who would needs dye upon the body of *Lucullus*, because he was the occasion of *Lucullus* his undertaking the War. But this motion is far from these factious ingrate men.

As for thy sold thou speaks of, Let it be known to all, It is not for thy money the Scots fight for; their souls are not so neer given, going upon other higher principles. It may be some Souldier of fortun hath got something, what by fair means, what by plundering, occasioned by thy not paying the Army: but what is this to a whole Countrey, which is exhausted of men and substance for thy sake and thy service, what in *Ireland*, what in *England*? besides, where one Souldier hath gotten any thing, there be a hundred who are in the next degree to starving for want. Then, the allowance agreed upon, is so small, that it is far short of what is necessary for the maintenance of so many Horsemen and Foot, so far off is it from profit: and with-all what is promised, is so ill payed, that these seven moneths they have had but one moneths pay, which the City of *London* hath payed unto them.

Therefore, it is all honest Scots desire, that things should be called to an accompt, to the end it may be seen and known where the fault lieth.

If the Scots were able to uphold the charge of this great War on their own stock, or doe things upon nothing, as they are, both in Counsell and in the Field,
 spending

spending their spirits, bodies, and times, for the Service, they would be dear Brethren: Yet, I do not know if they did not do things according to the mind of some, whether they would be so indeed. They are not fit for the intent of some men.

The man who writ to *David Lesley*, is one whose wisdom and zeal to the publique Cause and Service, as time and occasions have required, hath been known these seven yeers by-past: besides, he writ by the order of the *Scots* Lords, then assembled at *Berwick*, and followed his Letter himself with instructions to that purpose from the Lords and others.

So, under favour, your Commissioners have been mistaken in this thing, or at least misinformed, as in that which some from thence writ, that the divisions are greater in *Scotland* then in *England*: for, although among those who oppose the Common Enemy, the Union hath not been so cordiall and sincere as we could wish it had been, and there have been jarres, dissentions, and factions amongst some for pre-eminence, which have cost us dear: yet, there are no schismes and sects endured: in a word, there is no party set to oppose the settling of the Church, according to the Covenant, blessed be God.

Then, *David Lesley* went straight home, without loitring in the *North*, to the worke he was called for: and God, according to his honest hearts desire, hath blessed him in the service wonderfully,

And, for making known sooner the particulars of the affaires of *Scotland*, it had been done little good, in appearance, witnesse the cold comfort, which hath been yeilded now, when things are known surely. God in his Mercy to that poor Countrey, with his immediate hand, hath relieved it from thraldom, as taking delight in, and hearing the prayers of his people here and there for it. And, I am sure, as the wickednesse of the then raging Enemy, hath gone up before

fore the Lord, and hath brought sudden vengeance downe upon him from Heaven: so, I dare say, the ingratitude of some, without repentance, will neither be forgiven nor forgotten of God, and not onely for not giving help in time of need unto those who have crucified themselves, in a manner, for their Brethren: but also, for setting the promise of a small help, at such a rate as was offered then, will be blamed by the posterity, when it shall be recorded what *Scotland* hath done and undergone for their Brethren, and what thanks the *Scots* have for their pains.

I leave off particulars at this time, till another occasion.

Here let me tell you, Gentlemen, this late Victory in *Scotland* hath given the Common Enemy the greatest blow he hath received since the beginning of these troubles to this day, as most prejudicial: to his grand designe; and I hope, it will prove a fatal stroke unto it, if our sins hinder not the good Work of the Lord.

Then the *Scots* forsooth in their affliction, must be called no more Brethren but Cozens, by occasion of a gybing expression in a Letter, intercepted of one who wronged himself last Winter as far by his cajoling as now by his gybing. But, upon this change, they are Brethren again.

To end this, the *Scots* have found as great opposition in the business they are come about, both for Church and State, unlookd for, from those who should side with them, and help them in their Work: then ever they did by the Prelats, in their own particular businesses.

But, to another point, it is said, *The Scots could not take Hereford, and did not fight with the Enemy, with all their skill and valour; and yet, the new Army doth such feats beyond expression, taking Towns and defeating Armies, how.*

(11)
As for fighting with the Enemy, it is not possible, except he can be found: The Scots have earnestly sought the occasion to fight, by seeking out the Enemy; but, he fled before them, and was not to be reinforced.

As for taking of Townes, we say with us, He that hath meal and water, may make dough and bread, if he please, with a little fire; but, he that wants the said ingredients, can make none.

It is easie for an Army, furnished to hearts desire, with all things fit for a service, to be acting and doing: But, those who are unfurnished, must have care for provision, if they will not starve; so, wanting of bread keeps back many generous spirits from good action, whereunto their inclinations lead them.

The late Cardinal *de Richelieu*, the *sequi-Machiavell* of his dayes, brought himself into the reputation of the World, by bestowing largely and fully every thing that might conduce to the work he was about, without sparing in any measure at all; which was easie for him to do, having all what his Master had at his disposall: this having succeeded with him, although with charge, he is cryed up, by those who knew him not throughly, to be the *Genius of France*, and for a miracle of nature; when God knowes, he had little above the ordinary of men, except pride and ambition, accompanied with tyranny and Atheisme. He, finding this to have prospered well with himself, then being in a high esteem, resolves to set his own Friends, Kindred, and Allies a work, to make them to be great among men; but, for fear of mischance and displeasing the world, he must likewise employ some men of great reputation and merit, which he doth; his own Friends are well furnished with all things they could desire for action, as provision and ammunition, with what they will, going to any businesse, and so did effectuate divers things.

things. The men of great respect and vertue did miscarry, for the most part, in their undertakings, for meer want. By those means the Cardinal his Friends were cryed up, and the men of worth were slighted.

If there be any such intent in those who are so carefull of one Army, and neglect in a manner (let the world guesse) I tell thee, others employed in the publike service, do complain upon just occasion of hard usage and want, as well as the *Scots*.

At this time *Bristol* is taken in again, and he that had lost it before, is admitted to his place again. The world is astonished to see him sit as Judge in *Israel*, who liveth but *Freeario*, being a man condemned to death by an authorized Counsell of War, the sentence not being recalled nor taken off: Whether this hath a parallell, I cannot tell; but it is thought strange. It *Rupert* hath lost it more baseiy, let him answer for it: one fault doth not excuse another.

It is said, *The Gentleman was never put out of his place.*

Then I say, first, without any more ado, Why did he not then continue his sitting in his place?

Next, If the House did still acknowledge him constantly for one of its Members, Why did the House suffer this so a high breach of Parliament, as a Counsell of War sit for so long a time, so neer them, and so openly, upon the life and honour of one of the Members, when the least Member of the House (if there be any greater or lesser in it, after the Speaker) being put to any strait, can claim the Priviledge of Parliament?

Yet, this was not done by the House, nor by the Gentleman, to exempt him from censure, and the House from breach of its Priviledge.

You may say again, *The Gentleman was tryed and condemned as a Officer of War, by a Martiall Court, and not as a Member of the House; and that Court is put down, and those*

those who then sat upon the businesse in that Counsell are cashiered for their pains, whatsoever some of the Counsell did to favour him.

All this I grant to be possibly true: But, the sentence then was judged to be just, and as yet hath not been judged to be otherwise. And if the Officer of War had then suffered according to his condemnation, (which he had done, if he that then had the chief power, had not pardoned him) where would the Member of the House have been this day? Surely, in this now recruiting of the House another had been named in his lieu, in all appearance of lesse ability and parts fit to be a Senator: For, I hear, the Gentleman hath good and rare parts for a Senate: So, his Friends, under favour, of their wisdom, in putting him upon employment whereunto nature and breeding hath not fitted him, have done great wrong to the Gentleman, and much disservice to the State: when men are put in businesse whereto their inclinations lead them not, they ordinarily work in vain, and spoil the businesse for the most part. Wherefore, every one should betake himself to to that whereunto nature and his inclination hath most fitted him, if he can chuse: but, where there is a necessity, a man must do the best he can in businesse wherein he hath but small inclination, yea, perhaps, whereunto he is advers; and then he makes properly of necessity vertue.

I know there be some noble Genies fit for all employments; but, to try and make experiment if we be able for all, in things of great weight, is dangerous, both for our self and for others. This is the generall disease of us all, that we will hunt after the vain name of capacity and ability in things we understand not, and are not fitted for; which is more now adayes in fashion, then ever: yea, many take upon them to do the duty of an Office, wherein they have no skill, and unto which they are no wayes fitted by nature and breeding.

Hence

Hence it is, we have so many souldiers preaching, or rather bawling, in the Fields, and Coblers, with other fellows, in that kind, preaching, or, at least, prating in Tubs, in the Cities, against the Ordinance of God for the Ministry of his Church.

Here it may be said, *The Scots have done the like, in a manner, yea worse, with some in their own Countrey, receiving men into their Society and Counsell, who were gilty and drelared Enemies against the State; so,*

— *Ventam petimusque damusque vicissim.*

I answer, The question is not whether the *Scots* have done the like, or worse, in their own Countrey; but, whether or not in reason this ought to be done: Let the *Scots*, in Gods name, bear the blame of their own faults and errors as well as the *English*, *Tros Italusve fuit nullo discrimine habebit.* I am very sure, the *Scots* have payed soundly for their failing in this kind, and so they may do still, if they mend not their error: But after such a scourge for this fault, among others, there is hope they will be wiser hereafter; although *sero*, yet *serio*, as the *Phrigiens* do, it is a sad lecture, and a dear-bought lesson they have by this experience: to fail, is a step unto wisdom, somerimes, if not unto those who have failed, at least, unto others not to fail.

I know, the failing of *Scotland*, in this particular, to be one of the greatest blemishes upon that Countrey, and one of the greatest weakneses they are inclined to.

For, VVhat will not the *Scots* do for their Friends, Kindred, and Allies? In time of calme they hazard their private estates often to ruine, for Friends; and in time of trouble, they had put the *Publike* too much neer ruine and totall subversion, except God had come in on a sudden to deliver it, no thanks to them, but to God, and little to any man: their kindnesse shewn unto their Kindreds, Friends, and Allies,
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what by a favourable interpretation of the evill carriage of their Friends, what by employing their Friends unfit in some employments; for their owne or their Friends sake, hath bin one of the main occasions of the great miseries they were in of late; it will do yet more mischief in the Field and in the Counsell, if they doe not mend it, not onely by chastising the guilty according to their demerits; but, by removing the unworthy from employments.

V Was it not a strange thing, that that infortunate and unhappy Leader of the State of *Scotlands* Forces, against the Rebels, after so many affronts received by the Enemy, and so slack pursuance of the VVork by him, should be thanked publikely for his good Service, by those who made him to be employed against the will and sentiment of divers good men, yea, continued in employment to the discontent of many, till he brought things to the unhappy late disaster?

Surely, howsoever God hath changed the scene of things in *Scotland*, unto the better for his people, in his Mercy, no thanks to the self-Kindred, Friends, Allies, Lovers. If those men doe not seriously repent of their cruell compassions of the guilty, and of self-love to their Friends, Kindred, and Allies, they will without doubt, be punished for it heavily from Heaven, and disgraced among men: and if they be not more earnest to see Judgement done upon the wicked ones, then formerly they have favoured them, vengeance is at their door. To tell me of sparing noble blood, is but a toy; all blood is alike, if it be not corrupt with evill humours: Nobility and Gentry are but civill distinctions among men, without change of blood.

Since the beginning of those late troubles, divers have obtained the title of Nobles and Gentlemen, which they had not before, without change of their blood, I suppose.

True Nobility consists in vertue, and not in an imaginary shew.

This is said without disparagement of the truly noble descending of men of known vertue, and vertuous themselves: but, to respect a man for his Fathers vertue only, he not following the foot-step of his Father; and to neglect a vertuous man, whosever his Father was, is to converse with the dead, and not to live with the living.

To be short, For men to do for their own, either for saving them from evill, or for advancing of them to good, is naturall and fit to be done; but to do either of the two, with the damage of any other, is unjust and evill; far more, with the detriment and hazard of the publike; above all, when it is ingaged in the Service of the Cause of God, for his Glory, and for the sifety of our souls: For, who gave the power to take from any parricular his just due, and give it to another without his consent? then how dare thou, in conscience, withdraw from the publike its just claim of thee wholly, for its good, to the glory of God and benefit of his People?

Here I must say, to the eternall praise of the wisdom of the Parliament of *Eng'land*, that they would never admit unto their Assembly any of these backsliders who went to the Enemy; yea, they have punished some Delinquents of both Houses by death.

These last dayes, I meet with a printed paper, the title whereof did shew it to be the latter part of the Letter, written and sent from *Bristol*, containing a particular Relation of divers main passages of the besieging and taking in of that place. It seems strange to sundry, to see this peece of the latter not so communicated abroad unto the World, with the former part printed alone, and seen but in the hands of some few; seeing the Publike is concerned in it, as much as least as in the former part, although it hath
but

but small affinitie unto the Siege and taking in of that Town.

VVherefore , for the Service of the Publike of Church and State , whereunto we are all obliged in our severall Stations, not onely by our common interest , but also, by our Solemn Covenant, I have thought fit to give this peece of the Letter unto the view of the VVorld ; and so to be communicated unto all , according to the intent of the VVriter thereof, which was, doubtlesse, that it should be as much divulged, as the other part, otherwayes he had never joyned them together to be heard and read by so many.

The words are these , according to the Copy I have seen, and word by word conform to the Originall, as I am informed ; thus following :

Presbyterians , Independants, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer ; they agree here, know no names of difference ; pity it is it should be otherwayes any where : all that belceve have the reall Vnitie, which is most glorious, because inward and spirituall, in the body and to the head ; for being united in Formes, commonly called Vniformity, every Christian will for Peace sake study and do as far as conscience will permit : and from Brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason ; in other things God hath put the Sword in the Parliaments hands, for the terrour of evill doers ; and the praise of them that do well : if any plead exemption from it, he knowes not the Gospel ; if any would wring it out of your hands, or steal it from

you, under what pretence soever, I hope they shall do it without effect; that God will maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof, is the prayer of

VVhich words, before we go on any further, are remarked to be set down in such a way, that at the first, every one who reads, can scarcely reach unto the meaning of them, and it should seem to be done of purpose, rather then of confusion of notions in the VVriters mind.

It hath been the constant practice of deep men, and pretenders to depth, to write so intricately and perplexedly, to the end that the lesse hold might be laid upon what is written.

This hath given occasion to divers to read the words more diligently and attentively, who for the ease of the simpler, have set down these few Observations following: as,

1. If there be no difference betwixt *Presbyterians* and *Independents* where the VVriter of the Letter is, how cometh this man to discern them one from another? For, where no difference is, it is hard to discern: It may be he is of a more diving spirit then most men, and so cometh to the knowledge of things beyond others.

2. If the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* agree so well there, how happeneth it that the *Independents* are so adwers with fierceness to the *Presbyterians* elsewhere? The *Independent* cannot brook the *Presbyterian* in any employment almost, but he must supplant him if he can, or at least, oppose him in all he can.

3. It is pitie there should be a rent betwixt the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*; But, whose fault is it? Hath not the *Presbyterian* with all meekness of mind and long patience, born with the *Independents*, striving

ving to bring them from their extravagance, but in vain? for, the more they are born with, the worse they are, and the farther from submitting themselves to the Truth of God.

4. If the *Presbyterian* (as is said) be really united with the *Independents*, why is he branded as prophane, and not thought worthy of the holy society of the *Independents*?

5. Since there is an inward Unity betwixt the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, whence is it that they agree not in things of the mind; the mind, and its things being esteemed inward? This is a riddle, solve who will: then conscience is of the mind and in the mind, being a part of the mind: Yet, it suffers not the *Independent* to uniforme with the *Presbyterian*.

6. The *Writer* pleads for no compulsion for things of the mind. If by the things of the mind, he means these things which remain within the mind, and go no further, and are called *ενδιαθετα*, he needs not plead, for there can be no compulsion of them: But, if he means, by things of the mind, things proceeding from the mind, called *προφορικα*, they being outward, they may suffer compulsion: And if he pleads for no compulsion of these things, because they are things of the mind; he may as justly plead for no compulsion for a man, to say, write, and do what he hath in his mind.

7. He speaks of light and reason. All the phanaticall phrenesies that ever have been broached in the Church to this day, do pretend to a degree of particular light, although it be meer darknesse. Next, The *Socinians* and *Arminians* namely plead for reason, no men so much, except our *Independents*: But, how their Rabbies, in the Synod, have proved their light to be clear, and their reason to be true, it is well known: no men ever had longer time, nor more kinde invitation,

to shew their light and reason ; and for all that, being convinced by the Word of God and the practise of the best Reformed Neighbour Churches, their light is proved to be darknesse, and their reason erroneous, they continded in it.

8. Again, he saith, *We look for no compulsion from Brethren, for things of the mind:*

Then I pray thee, Is not the Common Law of England a thing of the mind, being a part of practi- call reason applied to this Countrey? This man denieth the Parliament to have any thing to do with it ; and so the Parliament, by this mans saying, hath nei- ther to do with Church nor State, being he hath no- thing to do with things of the mind, which are the only proper things of men, above the meerly naturall and sensible creatures.

9. He saith in other things, *God hath put the Sword in the hands of the Parliament.* Doth not this man deny all right to the Parliament, *Circa facta*, or about holy things, or Religion, which are things of the mind? And consequently, he blameth the Parliament for meddling, in any kinde, with the Reformation of Religion, for suppressing Popery, and rejecting Prelacy, yea, for obliging themselves by Covenant to reform the Church according to the Word of God and the best reformed Churches, and so to have made a lawfull Oath, in binding themselves to doe which they ought not, and have no right to do.

10. Is not this expression directly against the Co- venant, wherein by Oath we are to maintain the do- ctrine, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, and to reform the Churches of England and Ireland, according to the Word of God, and the exam- ple of the best reformed Churches abroad, namely of Scotland, and is it not point-blank opposite to the De- claration of both Houses, made before the taking up Arms by the Parliament, wherein the defence of the

true Religion is set down as a main cause? And so, it is a lye that the Parliament did not make Religion its quarrell, at first.

11. Is not this against the now proceedings of the Parliament, in the setting of the reformed Church-government, and discipline, who are so cautious that they will have the supream power over all things in their own hands, for feare of miscarriage?

12. Is not the Uniformity, which is sought for, betwixt the *Presbyterian* and *Independents*, externall, the inward being already, by this mans words? and if externall, then the Parliament hath power over it.

13. It seems in that Army, that the externall Uniformity is also, by this mans saying, betwixt *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; but how it stands with truth, I know not: for, we hear that some *Independent* Officers do preach, whereunto no *Presbyterian* will give his content, far lesse will he practise it: and so, there can be no Uniformity, at least, without difference.

14. He speaketh of wringing and stealing the Sword out of the Parliaments hands: Surely, *Presbyterians* are so free from this, that, under God, they have put the Sword in the Parliaments hands, and have kept it in their hands; for,

First, If the *Scots Presbyterians* had not stood in the gap, at first, two severall times, the Parliament had never had the Sword actually in their hands; for, if they had not been assembled, they could not have had the Sword in their hands.

Then, If the *Scots* had not come in, when they came last at such a needfull time, the Sword, in all appearance, had been wrung out of the Parliaments hands by the open and declared Enemy. And for stealing of it out of their hands, I know none, and fear none, but those who deny them to have any power in the Church-affaires, and to be guardian of the first Table as well as of the second.

Aud howsoever that the prime sticklers of the *Independents* have screwed themselves in the Service of the Parliament, and in employment elsewhere, to make the World believe they do all, and are the onely patriots, (to this purpose, they have gained the most part of the scribling Pamphletiers about the City, to set forth lyes and tales for them) also, they must be the onely men named and proned in Churches, if they chance to be where any action is with successe, although they have but little hand in it: God knows, they are the cause of so many disturbances amongst us, and of thus universally through Cities and Countreys, blaspheming the Name of God, by so many mad and damnable heresies, violating their Solemn Oath and Covenant. For, if the *Independents* had not kept backe the settling of the Church-government, all this evill had beene stopt, and things had beene carried on unanimously for the settling of the Church and State, to the Glory of God and the good of his people: But, we blesse God for the condition we are in, hoping for a better, assured as he is bringing low apace the publicke Enemy, so he will pull downe the undermining *Independents*, ere it be long.

Many things more have beene thought and said of this part of the Letter asorenamed, which for brevity we omit: But, in a word, it is said of it that in these few lines the malicious Plot of factious *Independents* is more discovered, against Church and State, then by whatsoever hath been said or written by them to this day: and so take up the passive obedience of these men.

But, me thinks I hear some say, *What, to hold in such esteem, and speak so of those who have thus and still do venture their lives for the Commonwealth?*

I answer, If we had to do with forrain Enemies, who were to enter into these Kingdoms to invade them, and if the *Independents* would goe on with the
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rest of the Countrey to resist the Enemies, we should acknowledge them to be good Patriots so far: But here now, the businesse is quite otherwise; for, we have a Civill War amongst our selves both for Religion and Liberty, which the professed and declared, yet, intestine Enemy, would subvert and spoile, if he could, by any means, and set up tyranny and superstition.

It is true, The *Independents* joyn with us in this to oppose this intestine Common Enemy, in some measure, to stop his wicked designe.

For, They stand against tyranny in both Church and State with us: but, with the intent to bring confusion in the Church, and consequently, all errors, heresies, and blasphemies, as we find now by wofull experience, to the dishonour of God and the losse of many soules, and thereafter infallibly, to bring Anarchy in the State, whereby all kinde of disorder must needs follow, for the Church being the soul of the State, when it is not right and well settled, the State cannot be but in disorder.

Then, Although in doctrine they with us oppose the grosse Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, yet, they give way to all kind of damnable errors, albeit more subtle and not so grosse, by their liberty.

And so, The *Independents* do give out, they do much for the Common-wealth. But, for Religion they say nothing: seeing they will have the Parliament to have nothing to do with it. All is for their by-ends, and setting up of their Faction against Church and State; witnesse all their crafty Plots and devices which are remarked by the clearest seeing men.

More, The *Independents* fight with us in opposing the Common Enemy, as the *Papists* do with the Prelaticall party against us, that is, for their own interest, without any eye to the advancement of the publicke good. But, to say no more of this now, I go to another Point.

Within these few dayes there fell in my hands a paper, wherein was printed a Petition of numbers of good Citizens of London, for setting Church-govern-ment ; which Petition hath been branded by some of the weekly Pamphletiers, as a thing evill and wicked against the publick good of Church and State, where-upon sundry have taken the occasion to cast their eyes, and seriously to try the truth of things.

Wherefore I have thought fit, seeing these malicious malignant fellowes speake so against the truth of the thing so bitterly, to insert it here in this place, in intent that every one may see what it is ; for my part, to my mind, I have not scene any thing of this kinde fitter to be known to all, and published unto the World ; but, the thing will speake for it selfe, where-of I furnish thee here a true Copy.

To the Right Honourable the
Lords and Commons assembled
in PARLIAMENT.

The humble Petition of

Humbly sheweth,

THAT we account true Religion the life and Crown of all our Liberties and Priviledges : A pure and perfect Reformation in all choisest Ordinances, and lustre and beauty of Religion : And those persons much are honoured of their God, whom he pleaseth to employ in the promoting and accomplishing of such a Reformation. Such honour was in part cast upon our pious Predecessours, in the dayes of King Edward the sixth, and Queen Eliza-
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beth (of happy memory,) when after the dark mid-night of Popery, the day of Reformation in Doctrine and Worship began sweetly to dawn upon this Kingdom: But divine Providence hath devolved a double honour upon this age, and therein principally upon You (Noble Senators) whom God hath wonderfully raised up, more perfectly to repair his House in all the beauties of Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, having mightily stirred up Your spirits heartily to resolve it, solemnly to covenant it, and really to exhibit some first fruits of it in the Directory for publike Worship, which we accept with all thankfulness.

Notwithstanding, we are not able longer to conceal from Your Honours, how extremely our spirits are perplexed and amazed, that the great businessse of Church-Government and Discipline (whereupon the whole strife of the present Reformation will live, and whereby all Christs precious Ordinances, and in particular the Lords Supper, should be preserved from all contempt and profanation) should to this very day remain unestablished by your civill Sanction: For, we verily beleve that England was never blessed with such a Parliament as You are: That an English Parliament never had such a learne, pious, and faithfull Synod, to hold forth sincerely the mind of Christ, and the Modell of Church-government agreeable to his will, as You have: That no Parliament ever had such, and so forcible ingagements unto them from God, and unto God, as are upon You: And that the City of London did never so flourish, with such a conscionable and painfull Ministry, (ready to put the Government and Discipline into execution, for a Pattern and encouragement to all the Kingdom) as we have at this day. Whence then should it be, that the children being come so neer to the birth, there is yet no strength to bring forth?

Bear with us a little in this fervour of our spirits, (it is for Religion, Reformation, and the House of our God, and we cannot hold our peace.) What way soever we cast
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our eye, we cannot but see most sad fruits of the not settling of Church-Government to this day: Hence many abominable errors and damnable heresies are broached amongst us without controule, and the precious Truths which Jesus Christ sealed with his Blood are trampled under foot: Hence, the pure and holy Ordinances of Christ, especially of the Lords Supper, are either woefully profaned by persons grossely ignorant and scandalous, or, uncomfortably omitted in many places, now, for a long time together, which should be often dispenced: Hence, multitudes of unstable souls have fallen off (especially within these two or three years last past) into many strange Sects, maintaining most horrid and blasphemous opinions, incorporating themselves into separate Assemblies, setting up illiterate persons to be their Pastors, and managing their meetings with great boldnesse and insolency, in contempt of all Authority, to the disturbance of the City, every one doing what is right in his own eyes, and there is no course to reclaim them. Hence, unnaturall flames of division (especially about Church-goverment) are occasioned, in the same Kingdom, betwixt People and People; in the same City, betwixt Minister and Minister: in the same Congregation, betwixt Pastor and Flock, yea, in the same Family, betwixt Master and servant, betwixt Parents and children, betwixt Husbands and Wives: differences in opinions breeding alienation of affection, and both breaking out into many bitter and reproachfull contentions. Hence, Orthodox Ministers are despised and discouraged in their Ministry, hopeful plants disheartned, and deterred from the Ministry, publike Assemblies are forsaken: the pretended Preachers of new Gospels, cried up: universall toleration of all opinions and Religions pleaded for: the Sabbaths and monethly days of Humiliation (though backed by Your Authority) wilfully contemned: and, a wide sluice opened unto all profanenesse and licentiousnesse. Finally, hence it comes to passe, that the hearts of the truly godly, who have so long groaned after Reformation, are overwhelmed with griefe
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and faintings through hope deferred: our Friends in Forrain Countreyes (especially our deare Brethren of Scotland) are astonish'd of our delays: our Enemies at home, scorn and insult over us, as given up to a spirit of giddinesse, looking at this City as a Stage of Schisme, and Faction, and Heresie: our distempers grow more incurable, and Reformation every day more difficult and improbable, and though our God hath rewarded our beginnings of Reformation, with his beginnings of deliverance, yet, hath he also of late manifested divers sad and remarkable tokens of his displeasure, from Heaven, against England and Scotland, both by Sword and Pestilence, because (as we justly feare) we make no more hast to compleat the Reformation, in all the desirable perfections of it, according to our Covenant, wherein (led by Your precept and example) we have religiously lifted up our hands to the most High God.

When we consider these things, we could pour out our very souls in us: For, God is our record (and Your Honours also in part can bear us witnesse) what we have done and suffered in this, concerning the Cause of God and Religion, and how we have spared neither our prayers, nor tears, nor outward estates, nor limbs, nor blood, nor our dearest lives for the publike, but, especially for the promoting of a speedy and perfect Reformation in all matters of Religion: without which, we value no worldly comforts; with which, we hope we shall fear no earthly crosses; and till this be effected, we cannot expect that God will fully blesse either You or us, with compleate deliverance.

Wherefore, we most ardently and humbly importune this renowned Parliament, our chief hope and help, under God, in this case.

1. That as You tender the happinesse of this miserable Church, the true prosperity of this distracted Kingdom, the timely comfort of all Your reall Friends, the seasonable cure of all our deep distempers, before they grow remedlesse; the hastening of the Kingdomes enlargement
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from all ist pressing distresses, and its enjoyment of all contrary blessings from the Lord; the exaltation of the Name of God, whose Glory is now prophaned to the dust; and, Your faithfull performing of the Covenant with the most High God, touching Reformation: You would make all possible haste forthwith to establish, by your civill Sanction, that Government and Discipline amongst us, which Christ hath left to his Church; (a Modell whereof the Reverend Assembly of Divines, according to the wisdom given unto them, have framed, and (as we understand) already presented to Your Honours) which being established, we shall better be enabled, with greater hope and patience, to waite till the Confession of Faith, and publike Catechisme can be finished; which must necessarily take up a far longer time then can possibly be spared from the setting of Government, without many unavoidable and desperate mischiefs. And, we beseech You to remember how the Lord hath hastened of late, to load You and us, in a short time, with his so many benefits, as the Victory at Naseby, of the quick recovery of Leicester, the relief of Taunton, the surrendring of many strong holds into Your hands, as Bridgewater, Scarborough, Pontfract, Canon-frome, Sherborn, and Bristoll: And what more reall expression of gratitude, for such high favours, can you render unto the Lord, then to hasten the repairing of his House, that so hastens the building up of Yours? as You were effectually pressed at the publike Thanks-giving after Naseby Field, which Sermon was by Order of both Houses of Parliament commanded to be Printed; which gives us good hope that our seconding of that now which was then Preached in our ears, and took deep impression on our spirits, will be an acceptable Service unto Your Honours.

2. That whensoever Church government shall be settled by Your Authority, amongst us, it may be established with such a compleat measure of power and Authority upon the Presbyteries which shall be erected in England, as may fully enable them to maintain all
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choicest Sacred Ordinances, especially the Holy Supper of the Lord, in their highest splendour and purity, hold forth in the Word, against all contempt, pollution, and prophana:ion whatsoever, by grosse ignorance or scandall, that so the Lord may be fully for You, when You shall be fully for him: the glory of this may surpassse the glory of all former Reformationis; all occasion of Schisme and separation, by reason of impurity, or imperfection of Ecclesiasticall administrations, may be removed: all stumbl'ing blocks to tender consciences may be so taken out of the way, that all the Brethren (though now of different opinions) may sweetly joyne together in the Worship of God, with one heart and one soul: all our precious Ministers may be encouraged to hold on in their Stations, without being inforced to desert them: and, all gracious spirits at home, together with all our godly Friends abroad, may heartily cry, Grace, Grace:

And Your Petitioners beholding the Lord Christ triumphing thus gloriously in the utmost purity of all his Ordinances, shall never repent of what they have already done or endured, nor repine at what they may hereafter possibly do, or endure in reference to this so glorious a Work; but shall constantly triumph in the praises of our God, both for crowning our Church with such spirituall Glory, and for lifting up Your hearts, in these Sacred things, to do so worthily.

Now

Now, when thou hast read this Petition, I am sure thou canst not but say, it is written in terms full of respect, and most just in it selfe: Yet, the *Independents* seeing it crosse their ends, have, by hook and crook, dealt so cunningly by their secret undermining, that the Petition is not presented to the Houses, who, as I do hear, are about now to do, without longer delay, what is contained in the said Petition, with as much earnestnesse as if it had been tendred, although the *Independents* would make the Houses of Parliament believe that they have nothing to do with Religion, being a thing of the mind, and that freedom in Religion must be left to every one, which they call *Liberty of Conscience without compulsion*, as if the Parliament had forgot whereunto it did oblige it self solemnly by Covenant, to wit, to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches, and to bring the Churches in the three Dominions to Uniformity; as also, if they had forgotten their own Declaration, which they made before they took Arms *August 3. 1642.* wherein they declare to the full, that they have taken Arms, namely, and in first place for Religion, *all other things being subservient and instrumentary to it,* (to use their own words.) Therefore, those who, out of a desire of a dissolute licence, apprehending censure would keep off the Reformation intended by the Parliament, must be no good men; and those are impudent lyers, who say, *That the Parliaments first quarrell was not for Religion*, when the main drift of the Declaration is to make known unto the people, that the Parliament stood principally for the true Religion, and was resolved to reform it from corruption, and setled it in purity.

But, it will be said, *It is unfit, yea scandalous to advise by Petition, the Parliament to this duty; for, that is tacitly*

racily to accuse it to fail in performing the duty, which the Parliament intends in due time, warily, not willing to do things of such a weight without a full consideration of all inconveniencs, which may ensue, lest thereafter a fault be found, when it will be so easie mended.

To all this it is answered in very few words thus ; If it be evill to remember the Parliament by way of petitioning, to perform so main a duty as the setting of Church-Government throughout, according to our Covenant ; I pray, Why hath the lowest rank and degree of people been, not only suffered, more then once, by this same Parliament, to present their desires unto it by Petition, for amending and redressing things of lesse moment, that were then in custome and established, yea, in a manner thought binding by a Law ; but, heartily welcommed, and they received a favourable answer to their demands, and so, others were invited by their example to doe the same ?

Then, although this petitioning had not been in custome, since it hath been formerly thought no wayes derogatory to Majesty for to petiton the Prince concerning things not onely private, but also, publike, I pray you, How commeth it to passe, that the Parliament can be in any kind disparaged by this petitioning, coming for so weighty and so necessary a businesse ?

More, The best and wisest Magistrates that ever have been to this day, have received well the Petitions of people, for doing of right upon occasion, and yet, they have not thought it to be any prejudice to them, nor were they scandalized at it. And, do we not all petition God, who is so far from taking it ill from our hands, that he commands us to do it, and is angry when we do it not, yea, he makes us and helpeth us to do it ?

Further, Tell me in conscience, Hath not the Parliament need, not onely to be remembered, but also, pressed in a kinde by earnest Petitions, to settle the
Church

Church whereabout it hath been so long, now above these four yeers : and so much the more, that some dare say and write unto them, that it is not their businesse, howsoever they make the contrary manifest ?

But, it is replied, *The Parliament is resolved to do it in a prudentiall way, and in due time.*

Surely, we are all perswaded that the Parliament is resolved to doe it, since they have sworn it so solemnly, and since they declared to have taken Arms for the preservation of true Religion ; the prudentiall way is good every where, and, almost, at all times. Yet, give me leave to say, where there is most humane prudence, there is least divine wisdom, such is the weaknesse of infirm men ; (although there should be most the former being subservient to the other, namely, in things of the Church) for, by humane prudence, the Church hath formerly been brought to thraldom, justly odious and grievous to all.

Let us therefore look to it, that we bring it not unto confusion, when we free it from thraldom by our humane prudence.

As for the *due time*, Surely the time is more then due, after so many delays and procrastinations, and, although there had been no time omitted to settle the Church, yet it cannot be a fault to sollicite the Parliament thereunto by Petition ; for, we deal so with God, whom, although we know that he will do what we need and what he would have in due time, yet, we petition him to hasten it, which he is well pleased with.

But, it is said, *We must not hasten too much for fear of offending our Friends, and those who have been usefull to us, and are to this day*

It is a pittifull case, that the fear of offending our Friends doth hinder us to go on with the work of God, and that our Friends should be hinderance in it : but, since our Friends could not hinder us to take the Co-
nant

venant solemnly, for this purpose namely, nor promise this duty by Declaration from the beginning; why should they thus prevaile with us, to stop us, I pray you, to perform what we have vowed? Besides, they can be no good Friends to us, who hinder us to perform our lawfull Vow to God: and, if we neglect the service of God, or be slack in performing it, what can we expect of him unto whose service we prefer the will of men?

Then, let those who are in Authority consider, what availeth us, to have a sore or evill repressed or taken away, if another as bad, if not worse, come in its place: For example, What benefit is there, to have the Prelaticall tyranny with their superstition, and the Idolatry of Rome, stopped and put away from among us, if on the other side, we fall in disorder and confusion, and in lieu of superstition and Idolatry, we cast our selves into damnable heresies, errors, and extravagancies, almost without number, which by the not settling the Church do now so spread amongst us, unto the scandall of all honest and well-affected to the good of the Church, both at home and abroad, and more to the hazard of losing of so many souls, which are now led away with errors by strong delusion, from God, and, most of all, to the dishonour of the holy Name of God, which is blasphemed by these heresies?

Let those in Authority then, in the Name of God, go on with an hearty resolution to end this Work hastily, and let it not be imputed to their proper weakness, since, being free of all opposition by the open and Common Enemy, they are now able enough to compass the Work they have been so long about.

Now, I hear, there is exception taken that it should be said, *The Scots are astonished.*

I tell thee in all assurance, that the Scots are not exely astonished and amazed at a long putting off

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from day to day, of the settling of the Church, by so many tedious lets and obstacles, cast in by some who are no Friends to a through and full Reformation: but also, the Scots are grieved at it in their hearts, yea, they give many a sigh and groane for it.

Formerly it was given out, *The onely let would be among those of higher rank, who had so much a Bishop in them, and they were so addicted to the Service-Book, they would never be brought to mind a true Reformation.*

But, that apprehension is taken away, blessed be God; for those of higher rank are as willing to settle the Church as can be required of them: and for those of inferior degree, I am perswaded they are so well affected, for the most part, as can be desired. So, the businesse sticketh in a very few, partly by the liberty that some would have to do what they list, without any Ecclesiasticall check, partly by the phancy of some others, who would have their empy dreams a foot, in lieu of the reall Truth, and, by some others who would be all in all, in Church and State.

But, I am perswaded, that the same God who hath brought so low, and under, the open and declared opposition of Papists and Prelatists, with their adherents, that it cannot now stop the settling of the Reformation amongst us: So, God will, in his appointed time, and we hope ere it be long, take away all intestine and undermining hinderance, in despite of the malice of vain men: for, what is of God, must subsist, and all other work must of necessity fall to the ground.

Within these few dayes, there hath been a murmuring by some who have no cause to say so, *That the Scots, by their marching North-ward, have wronged the publike service:* and have made a buzzing of this among the simpler sort of people, wherein they shew first their malice against those who have done, and
are

re willing to do what they can for their good; and so he pursuing of the Service in hand: The Common Enemy seeing the declining of the season, promiseth unto himselfe to make a Winter-work of it, if he can, & divide us in the interim, if it were possible, one Nation from another: But, with Gods helpe, he shall not prevaile; for, I hope God will give us more grace and wisdome, notwithstanding the malice of men. And I am sure, at least, the calumnies and reproach raised against the *Scots*, will fall upon the heads of the inventers and contrivers of them. As for the faults of particular men among the *Scots*, in Gods Name, let them answer for themselves, and receive praise and blame accordingly.

I am sure, I say again, the *Scottish* Nation is earnest, faithfull, and constant to the Cause of God and of his People, according to promise and Covenant.

But, before I conclude, I will say this in truth, There was never a People in any age, who, by Gods blessing, did carry on the work of Reformation with more wisdome, and resolution, and successe, then the *Scots* did in their own Countrey, nor more compassionate of their Neighbours in distresse, nor more forward to help them by a ction and counsell, and to carry on the work of Reformation amongst them, then the *Scots* have beene and are to this hour towards their Brethren in *England* and *Ireland*: So, there was never a People so harshly used in divers kindes, by some of those for whose good they have beene and are so earnest: If this course usage went no further then their owne persons, meanes, and reputation, they could passe it with silence, and not so much as thinke of it, laying it aside in Christian charity and brotherly love, although they suffer much in all these by it, since they have joyned with their Neighbours to help them: But, since, by the neglecting, opposing, and in a word ill-dealing with the *Scots*, the service and work

they are about is wronged, stopped, and delayed, which is mainly and namely to helpe the setting forward the Reformation of the Church of God, with the just Liberty of the People, as it is expressed in the Nationall Covenant; they cannot but take it heavily to heart for the Name of Gods sake. Surely those ingrate ones, who have used, and, at this time, use thus their Brethren, who have ventured, yea, lost themselves in a manner, with all what is deare unto men, for their sake, and to doe them a double good, that is, to help them out of trouble, and to settle a true and through Reformation amongst them: have much to answer, not onely for their malice, unthankfulness, and ingratitude to those who have spent themselves for them: but also, for their stopping and hindering, so far as in them lieth, the good work of God, and by that means give occasion of the continuance of these miseries wherein we are all now involved, and almost overwhelmed. God forgive these men, and turn them truly unto him, if it be his will: otherwise let them have no power to hinder his good Cause.

And thus, good Reader, I have thought fit to give a little touch of divers main passages of these our troublesome businesses, leaving a fuller Discourse of things to another time and another place.

FINIS.



6 Much experience is the crowne of old men: the feare of God is their glory.
7 There be nine things which mine heart to be happy, and with my tongue: 1 To weigh thy words in a rebuke. 4 But she bore and he that lieth. 9 Give almes. 8 Wellis. and barre for thyer. 18 To be derstanding. 21 are thou. 22 others is dangerous. 22 tongue. 23 home, then to sojourne. 23 full, will lend to his neighbour, 24 strengtheneth his hand, keepeth elements.
25 thy neighbour in time of his * need, * Deut 15. 8. and pay thou thy neighbour againe in due season. mat. 5. 42. lak. 6. 35.
26 Keepe thy word, and deale faithfully with him; and thou shalt alwaies find the thing that is necessary for thee.
27 Many, when a thing was lent them, reckoned it to be found, and put them to trouble that helped them.
28 Till he hath receiued, he will kisse a mans hand, and for his neighbours money he will speake submissively: but when he should repay he will prolong the time, and returne words of griefe, and complain of the time.
29 If he preuaile, he shal hardly receive the halfe, and he will count as if he had found it: if not; hee hath deprived him of his money, and he hath gotten him an enemy without cause: hee payeth him with cursings and railings: and for honour, he will pay him disgrace.
30 Many therefore haue refused to lend, for other mens ill dealing, fearing to be defrauded.
31 Yet haue thou patience with a man in poore estate, and delay not to shew him mercy.
32 Helpe the poore for the Commandements sake, and turne him not away because of his power.
33 Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend, and let it not rust vnder a stone to be lost.
34 Lay vp thy treasure according to the commandements of the most High, and it shal bring thee more profit then gold.
35 Shut vp almes in thy store-houses: and it shal deliuer thee from all affliction.
36 It shall fight for thee against thine enemies, better then a mighty shield and strong speare.
37 An honest man is surety for his neighbour: but he that is impudent will forsake him.
38 Forget not the friendship of thy surety: for he hath giuen his life for thee.
39 A sinner will ouerthrow the good estate of his surety:
40 And he that is of an vnthankfull mind, will leaue him in [danger] that deliuered him.
41 Suretyship hath vdone many of good estate, and shaken them as a wave of the sea: mighty men hath it driven from their houses, so that they wandered among strang nations.
42 A wicked man transgressing the Commandements of the Lord, shall fall into suretyship: and he that vndertaketh and followeth other mens buisnesse for gaine, shal fall into suites.
43 Helpe thy neighbour according to thy power, and ware that thou chy selfe fall not into the

Aspar like the myx. and sweet frankincense in the penitence tree, I stretched out my branches are the branches of holiness, brought I forth pleasant savour, and the fruit of honour and riches. other of faire loue, and feare, and holy hope, I therefore being eternall in all my children, which are like mee all yee that be desirous of grace with my fruits. to will moriall is sweeter then b. when the honey com by cease, [rest me shall yet be. to abide in the all yet be the Commandements, and beare no neighbour: [remember] the Counsel, and winke at ignorance. from strife, and thou shalt diminish furious man will kindle strife. and disquieteth friends, and maketh them that be at peace. matter of the fire is, so it burneth; and his is, so is his wrath, and according anger riseth, and the stronger they are, the more they will be enflamed. attention kindleth a fire, and an hatefull blood. the sparke, it shall burne; if thou shalt be quenched, and both these whisperer, and double tongued: they reioyced many that were at peace. Tongue hath disquieted many: from nation to nation, strong cities are downe, and ouerthrowne the good men. Tongue hath cast out vertuous men, and them of their labours. knowen vnto it, shall neuer find it quietly. the whip maketh markes in the cheek of the tongue breaketh the face fallen by the edge of the tongue, so many as haue fallen by the sword is defended from it, and hath the victory thereof, who hath spoken hath bene bound on, and the

* Deut 15. 8. mat. 5. 42. lak. 6. 35.

Or if Me be able.

* Dan. 4. 29. mat. 6. 30. luke 11. 41. & 12. 33. 28. 10. 4. 1. 1. 6. 18. 19. * Job. 4. 8. 9. 10. Or if fail.

Who's leg: the a pic. Who's head, and a decision. Who's head, and a decision. Who's head, and a decision.

24 For it is a miserable life to goe from house to house: for where they are a stranger, they darst not open thy mouth.

25 Thou shalt entertaine and feasts, and haue no thanks: moreover, thou shalt heare bitter wordy.

26 Come thou stranger, and furnish a table, and feed me of that thou hast ready.

27 Give place thou stranger, to an honourable man, my brother cometh to be lodged, and I haue need of mine house.

28 These things are grieuous to a man of vnderstanding: the vbraiding of house-roume, and reproaching of the tender.

CHAP XXX

1 It is good to correct our children, 7 and not to coker them. 2 Health is better then Wealth. 22 Health and life are short-neaby griefe.

HE that loveth his son, causeth him off to feele the rod; that he may haue ioy of him in the end.

2 He that chastiseth his soune, shall haue ioy in him, and shall reioyce of him, among his acquaintance.

3 He that teacheth his soune, grienth the enemy: and before his friends he shall reioyce of him.

4 Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead: for hee hath left one behind him that is like himselfe.

5 While he liued, he saw and reioyed in him: and when he dyed he was not sorrowfull.

6 He left behind him an auenger against his enemies, and one that shall requite kindnesse to his friends.

7 He that maketh too much of his soune, shall bind vp his wounds, and his bowels will be troubled at euery cry.

8 An horse not broken becometh headstrong: and a child left to himselfe, will be willfull.

9 Coker thy child, and he shall make thee afraid: play with him, and he will bring thee to heauinnesse.

10 Laugh not with him, lest thou haue sorrow with him, and lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end.

11 Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his follies.

12 Bow downe his necke while he is young, and beat him on the sides while hee is a child, lest hee waxe stubborne, and be disobedient vnto thee, and so bring sorrow to thine heart.

13 Chastise thy son, and hold him to labour, lest his lewd behaviour be an offence vnto thee.

14 Better is the poore being sound, and strong of constitution, then a rich man that is afflicted in his body.

15 Health and good state of body are aboue all gold, and a strong body aboue infinite wealth.

16 There is no riches aboue a sound body, and no ioy aboue the ioy of the heart.

17 Death is better then a bitter life, or continuall sicknesse.

18 Delicates powred vpon a mouth shut vp, are as mellees of meat set vpon a scale.

19 What good dooth the offering vnto an idole: for neither can it see, nor smell: so is he that is

and the ioysters of a man. 23 Let not thine owne soule, and remouee sorrow farre from thee: killed many, and there is no cure.

24 Envy and wrath shorten the ioy: beinge age before the time.

25 A cheerefull and good nature, of his meat, and diet.

CHAP XXI

1 Of the desire of riches. 12 Of excessive eating, or drinking wine.

Watching for riches, cooeth the case thereof: druech.

2 Watching care, will not let a sore disease breake threape.

3 The rich hath great labours, and when hee is in his debetes.

4 The poore laboureth in his when he leauech off he is still nee.

5 He that loath gold, shall not hee that followeth corruption: thereof.

6 Gold hath bene the ruine, destruction was present.

7 It is a stumbling blocke vnto it, and euery soole shalbe t.

8 Blessed is the rich that is iust, and hath not gone after g.

9 Who is he? and we will e. wonderfull things hath he done.

10 Who hath bene tryed the see? Then let him glory. Who hath not offended, or done euil.

11 His goods shalbe established: gation shall declare his almes.

12 If thou sit at a bountifull, dy vpon it, and say not, There.

13 Remember that a wicked, and what is created more what therefore it weepech vpon euery.

14 Stretch not thine hand v. keth, and thrust it not with his.

15 Iudge of thy neighbour by discred in euery point.

16 Eate as it becommeth a which are set before thee: and thou be hated.

17 Lenech off first for manners: satiable lest thou offend.

18 Who thou sittest, and thine hand, first of all.

19 A very little is sufficient: tured, and hee fetcheth not his bed.

20 Sound sleepe cometh of rifech early, and his wies are paine of watching and chollec.

21 And if thou hast bene to scorth, vomit, and thou shalt be.

22 My son, heare me, and do: last thou shalt find as I told thee.

23 Who so is liberall of his speake well of him, and there.

Of children.
*Prou.
17.24 &
23.13.
Or good by him.
Or, knif fulke.
*Deut.
6.7.
*Psal.
128.

Or, afo- wised.

*Chap.
7.23.

Of health

16. C

