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PRESBYTERY
 DISPLAY'D,
 FOR THE
 JUSTIFICATION
 Of such as do not like the
 GOVERNMENT,
 And for the
 BENEFIT
 Of Those that do not understand it.

Omne Ignotum pro Magnifico est.

Tacit. Jul Agricolaë vita.

The Fourth Edition Corrected.

LONDON,
 Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in St. Paul's
 Church-yard. MDCLXXXI.

The Preface.

THis little Treatise was Printed in 1644. in form of a Letter: but upon perusal, finding it was well calculated for 1663; I have presum'd to send it into the World once again, and such as I found it, to a syllable, saving only the change of the Title, and the Addition of this Preface.

It came to my hand with the Authority of a very Judicious and Honourable Person; Whose Name should now warrant it to the Publick, but that it carries its own Justification within it self.

The Subject it treats of, is, The Holy Discipline of the Kirk, and it is handled with that Order, Clearness, and Modesty, which does abundantly witness the Author of it to have been a great Master both of his Pen and Passions. It exhibits, in fine, The PLATFORM OF PRESBYTERY; so pertinently, and succinctly couch'd, that in an Hours time a man may give himself a full Prospect and Account of the whole Mystery.

R. L'Estrange.

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Presbytery displayed.

SIR,

Yesterday you desired me to give you some Proofs, by which it may appear how inconsistent Presbyterian Government is with Monarchy. You were pleased to tell me that some good and worthy men do desire to be satisfied in this Point.

It seemeth, these men do not think that *Presbyterial Government* is destructive of the true necessary and perpetual Government of the Church, which is Episcopacy; instituted by Christ, propagated by his Apostles, and continued by uninterrupted practice above 1500 years in the Church, and to this day retained in the greatest part of the Christian World. We deceive our selves, to promise or expect to King or Kingdom, Prince or Subject, Peace and Safety, or deliverance from our troubles, and distresses, if we subordinate Fundamentals in Religion, necessary truths of Faith, Worship and Government, to our publick or private civil good. Nor am I able to express how high an Impiety it is, at this time when God's hand is out against us justly for our sins, to be so disposed and fixed upon a resolution, that to redeem external Peace, we will imbrace any Government of the Church, provided it be consistent with Monarchy: and will not scruple, not only to shake off the true and necessary Government instituted by our Lord: but, by Law, endeavour by highest Authority to condemn it as Antichristian. If this be not to frame mischief by a Law, I know not what is. If this provoke not more wrath, more vengeance, make not the Land spew us all out, I am infinitely deceived. We may promise to our selves that by such a course we may say like to the man in the Gospel. *Soul, take thy rest for many days;* but, it feareth me the success and event shall be much like to his case. Sir, I pray you consider what Peace hath King or Kingdom enjoyed here or in *Ireland*, since Episcopacy in *Scotland* by Law was damned, and the Presbyterian Anarchy (the Seminary of all feud Faction and Rebellion as will appear by what ensueth) by Law and Supream Authority established.

I cannot dissemble, but to a man of your worth and integrity I must unfold my self: I admire to see too too many amongst us here (where is great plenty of able Gentlemen of excellent Learning, worth, wit, and all other perfections and endowments, as in any Nation besides) to be so prepared that they are too too inclinable, if not actually resolved

SIR,

Presbytery displayed.

Joh. 4. Act. 17.

resolved, to admit and authorize in this Kingdom and Church what they know not: and so forsake that happy Native proper Government of the Church, the sweet fruits of which they have reaped for many years to the admiration, if not envy, of other Kingdoms, States, and Churches. This is Samaritan-like, to worship that we know not. Or, Athenian-like, to consecrate an Altar and to sacrifice to an unknown God.

Your worth and noble Favours oblige me so much to you, that I cannot choose but obey your command. And, for your satisfaction, I present you with a short view (as in a Map) of Presbyterial Government; give you a little touch of their Maxim, and suitable Practices, and that with as much truth and honesty as your goodness expects from me. By which it will be more than apparent, that Presbytery as it is at this day somewhere within his Majesty's Dominions, is not only inconsistent but also destructive of Monarchy; And where it obtaineth, it disturbeth the quiet and peace publick and private of King and Kingdom. This is that you desire, and, to satisfy you, to this I confine my self.

This Presbyterial Government within its Verge hath four Judicatories. 1. A Parochial Session. 2. A Presbyterial Consistory 3. A Provincial Synod. 4. A General Assembly. The Parochial Session moveth in the lowest Sphere. The General Assembly is the Primum mobile, the highest Orb, which carrieth all with its motions, although the rest have their proper and specifick motions. The other two are in the middle, and interjected Orbs. I shall begin at the lowest Judicatory, and so shall orderly ascend to the Supreams.

Of the Parochial Sessions.

1. Of the Session, how and of whom constituted.

Every Parish hath one or more Ministers. If more, all of them are equal in all honour and jurisdiction, only the Senior hath the precedence. To the Minister, or Ministers of each Parish, to make up a Session, in which is fixed the Parochial Jurisdiction, a competent number of Lay-Elders, (whom they call Presbyteri non-doces) and Deacons, proportionable to the precinct and extent of the Parish are conjoynd: which associate Body thus compacted, is the Spiritual-Parochial-Sanhedrim.

This Session sits once a week, or oftner, pro re nata. In which, all Parochial Cases which concern external order and censure, are determined and ordered.

The Minister is Moderator.

If there be but one Minister in the Parish, he is Constant Moderator.

Presbytery displayed.

If there be more, they moderate by turns, either weekly, or monthly as they agree.

Whatsoever thing is ordered, determined, or decreed, is done by the joyn't-consents of the Minister, Lay-Elders, and Deacons, or by the plurality of Voices: The Minister, who is the Moderator hath no casting, no Negative Voice.

He hath no Negative Voice.

The power of all Jurisdiction, is radically and equally in all; for binding, for loosing, for all Censures Ecclesiastical, for Orders which concern external Order and Worship. So the Power of the Keyes is as much in the Lay-Elders and Deacons, as in the Minister or Ministers. What Sacrilegious intrusions upon Sacred Orders this is, I need not inform one of your understanding.

The Jurisdiction spiritual is radically in the Lay-Elders.

To make this frame good, they maintain, that Jure divino there be four Orders of Ecclesiastical Offices, (allow me to speak in this Epistle all along their Dialect) or Persons. 1. Preaching-Elders, whom they call Ministers. 2. Doctors, these are Professors in the Chair, such as are in Universities. 3. Lay, or Ruling-Elders, who now have Vocem deliberativam & decisivam in rebus Fidei, cultus, Politia, and in foro exteriori Ecclesie, in censuris Ecclesiasticis, are as much interess'd and authorized as Preaching-Elders. 4. Deacons, who have trust of the Means and Moneys destinated for pious and charitable uses.

Their four Sacred Orders.

This is very considerable too, that although they hold these four Orders and Offices necessary for the Government of Christ's Church, de Jure divino, by Divine Right and Institution; yet neither the Parochial Conclave, nor any Presbyterial Consistory (except it be where the Presbyterial Seat is in a City where an University is) have any Doctor or Doctors amongst them. Nay, which is more, nor be any such in their General Assemblies, or if they be, they appear only in that capacity as Commissioners from, and for the University.

It is worth your notice-taking, that their Lay-Elders and Deacons are yearly elected. Here is truly verified of them, that, Hodie Clericus, cras Laicus.

This year they are sacred, the next year profane.

The things within the compass of Session jurisdiction, are things meerly Parochial, the ordering of the Parish-Church and peculiar Service, the censure of lesser Scandals (I must speak their words) as Fornication, Drunkenness, Scolding, Profanation of the Sabbath (they mean the Lords-day) &c. Capital scandalous Crimes, or Scandals of highest strain, are reserved as cases of peculiar jurisdiction for the Presbytery; as also lesser Offences when they are attended with

The competent cases of this Session.

Obstinacy

Presbytery displayed.

Obstinacy, and what is censurable and punishable by the greater Excommunication. If I mistake not, they know not much, at least use not much, the lesser Excommunication. In the cases above-mentioned the Cognition, Examination and Judgment of the Cause is proper to the Presbytery; the Minister with his Parochial Conclave, are only the Executioners. If any Parochial difficult Case occur, which this Parochial Sanhedrim cannot determine, the use is to consult with the Presbytery.

They enjoy civil punishment and fines.

When the Session censureth any Delinquent, or scandalous person, they order his publick and solemn repentance (if by some superior Judicatory it be not determined) as they think fit; by plurality of Voices; after performance of which Order, the Penitent is received into the Communion of the Church. But before the Delinquent be admitted to do his Repentance, he is fined in a pecuniary mulct, at their discretion, proportioned to the demerit of the Offence, and the ability of the person, as he is poorer or richer. It is true, this money is, for the most part, employed to pious and charitable uses. As they punish by Pecuniary fines, so corporally too, by imprisoning the persons of the Delinquents, using them disgracefully, carting them through the Cities, making them stand in Fogges, as they call them, Pillaries, (which in the Country-Churches are fixed to the two sides of the main door of the Parish-Church) cutting the half of their Hair, shaving their Beards; &c. and it is more than ordinary, by their Original and Proper power, to banish them out of the bounds and limits of the Parish, or Presbytery, as they list to order it. Is not this Potestas utriusque gladii? And would not a good Learned Jurist say, that this is not only intrusion upon merely civil Power, but upon the very Royal Rights themselves? The Imperial Law, if I be not mistaken, maketh banishment so peculiar to the Sovereign Authority, that without its power and consent, it cannot be inflicted upon any civis, any Subject.

They will not Baptise the Child, if either of the Parents have not paid the fine or satisfied the Church.

Their ordinary practice more in this, is; that when a pecuniary mulct is inflicted, if the Delinquent pay not the defined and determined summe, or at least give security for the payment of it, although he should testify all the contrition is requisite, by humble confession, and offer most willingly to do all penance, to give all satisfaction, he will not be admitted to satisfy publicly: nay, he is proceeded against for Contumacy, and they will threaten Excommunication.

Nor is that to be passed by, that if a Child be born in Fornication, and either of the Parents hath not satisfied the Church: they will refuse

Presbytery displayed.

refuse to Baptize the poor infant, till the Church get satisfaction. This is consonant with Scripture, Anima que peccaverit, ipsa morietur. It is fit now in the next place to speak of.

The Presbytery.

Which is the next Judicatory, to which the Session is subordinate. It hath in it somewhere more, somewhere fewer, Parish-Churches; as some are made up of Twenty, some of Twelve, some of fewer.

All persons within these Parishes, within the Precinct of this Presbytery, of what quality soever (the King or His Family herein are not exempted; nay, nor from the jurisdiction of His Parochial Session) are under the power and jurisdiction of this Grand Consistory.

The Members Constituents of the Presbytery.

The Members Constituents of this Presbytery are all the Parochial Ministers within its compass, and a Lay-Elder for each Parish. The Lay-Elders are in number equal to the Preaching-Elders, and in Power, Voice, Jurisdiction, in Heresie, Idolatry, Worship, Censure, &c. are Pari consortio honoris & potestatis praeediti, are so equal and uniform, that a Plowman from the Plow, or a Tradesman from his Shop, sitting there in the capacity of a Lay Elder, his voice is as good as the voice of the most Reverend and Learned Divine, if any be there. They maintain a parity in all, only a little difference in this, that a Lay-Elder cannot be Moderator: Yet have they no Canon for it. And we are able to prove by their Books, that men who were never in Sacred Orders of Priest or Bishop have been Moderators, not only of their Presbytery, but of their so much Idolized General Assembly. Mr. Robert Poole, who was never Priest, nor Deacon, only Reader in St. Andrews, was in one turn, for a year, or half a year, or some lasting time, Moderator of the Presbytery of St. Andrews; and Mr. George Buchanan, who was never Church-man; and Mr. Andrew Melvil, who had never the Order of Deacon, both of them have been Moderators of their Great General Assembly.

The cases proper to this Judicatory, are, 1. Such as are from every individual Parish within its compass referred, or presented. 2. All Crimes and Scandals of highest strain, namely, such as are civilly punishable by death. 3. All Crimes which come under the censure of Excommunication. 4. All Appeals from Sessions. 5. All Differences which cannot be composed or determined in the Parochial Conclave. 6. The visitation and censure of all what is amiss in every Parish, either in Preacher or other. 7. The appointing of Readers, and School-Masters.

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They

Presbytery displayed.

The time of Meeting.

They meet once a week in some places, in other places, only once a fortnight. All the Ministers in their several turns, at their Meeting, Exercise as they call it; that is, there is appointed by the Presbytery, some one Book of Old or New-Testament, which every one by turns in his own course interpreteth in the Parish-Church, where the Presbytery doth meet. Two always speak, the first from the Readers Desk or Pew: the other, in some other place distant from him, but convenient for hearing. The first Analyseth, Interpreteth, and taketh away the doubts of his Text; and (as they enjoyn) he is bound to the Doctoral part. The second, when the first hath done, addeth to what is said: hath a Warrant to supply the defects, or correct the Errors of the first Speaker; but especially his charge is the Pastoral part, to apply the Text, and bring it home to the affections.

Lay-Precashers.

There be Ingredients in this Exercise, such as God's Church before this late Age never knew, a kind of Creatures whom they call Expectants. These are Students in Divinity, or Countrey School-Masters or such Youths who are bred with some Gamaliel; who after that they have given their private trials by Preaching and Dispute, are enrolled Expectants, of such or such a Presbytery. These must keep their turns in Exercising, and adding (as they call it) with the actual Ministers, (so they call them) and once admitted to that Presbytery, may, whensoever employed, Preach in any Parish-Church within the bounds of that Presbytery, do all Ministerial acts, except Baptize, or give the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, (for ought I know, there is no consecration used by them in that holy Action, but a meer Thanksgiving) nay, they may be constant helpers, and Co-Preachers with a Rabbi, if he, the Parish, and Presbytery agree to it. I pray you shew me where ever you read of such a profanation, that a Lay-man without Orders, Imposition of Hands, shall be a publick Preacher of God's Word, and intrude upon this Sacred Function. These for the most part were the Beardless Boys King James of blessed Memory, mentioneth in the Conference at Hampton-Court, who would brave him to his face. pag. 4.

Within one County there may be two or three, more or fewer Presbyteries, according as there be more or fewer Parish-Churches; and yet all these Presbyteries are independant one from another: only it is remarkable, that the Presbytery of Edinburgh, because (as they speak) it is seated on the Watch-Tower, hath welnigh obtained by custom, and other means, a Superintending power, over all other Presbyteries; and other Presbyteries many times

Presbytery displayed.

times send thither to have resolution of their difficult Cases. The reason is, besides the Eminency of this City by its Wealth, and the residence of all higher Courts of Justice there, (although this Allobrogical brood maintain Parity,) there be notwithstanding some few Patriarchs, who rule and over-rule all; who Lord it, and Pope it, over the Lord's Inheritance; and in this City ordinarily are some of these Patriarchs: and the Responsa prudentum from hence are received as Oracles by remote Presbyteries, and revered as Answers by Urim and Thummim.

There is none who liveth within the verge of a Presbytery, but is answerable to this Classis and Judicatory, and must appear whensoever or for whatsoever cited. The King and his Family are not exempted, nor privileged. If He be cited and appear not, He may be excommunicated for his disobedience and contumacy: If He appear, He must submit His Earthly Scepter to that their Scepter, which they term the Scepter of Christ; He must do what is enjoyned. The Presbytery is Independent from the Crown of an Earthly King, who is God's and Christ's Vicegerent in the General Kingdom of his Providence only: But this Sanhedrim is Christ's Vicegerent in his oeconomicall Kingdom as Mediator, as they speak; and consequently to it He must vail his Crown, submit his Scepter: and from it receive Christ's Law and Ordinances.

King James of Blessed Memory, knew this well, who therefore in that Conference at Hampton-Court, pag. 79. saith, "A Scottish Presbytery, as well agreeth with a Monarchy, as God and the Devil: then Jack and Thom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasures censure Me and my Councel, and all My proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus. Then Dick shall reply, and say, Nay marry, but we will have it thus. And therefore here I must once reiterate my former speeches (the King is answering to D. Rainolds, who seemeth to beg of His Majesty a presbytery, or something like to it,) "Le Roy's avisera: Stay I pray you for one seaven years before you demand that of me: and if you then find me purse and fat, and my Wind-pipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: For, let that Government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough, both our hands full. But, D. Rainolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone.

It is more than notoriously known to many yet living, and is upon Record in the Presbytery Books of Edinburgh, how King James not once, but many times hath sent men of Honour and good quality, demanding James.

The presbytery hath kept state with King James.

Presbytery displayed.

manding, or rather requesting for some things at their hands; who have heard the Commissioners propose the King's mind: But they, to keep the power and place Christ hath given them in that dignity, suitable to so high a trust, have dismissed the Gentlemen sent by the King without answer, and by an Order of that Spiritual house, have appointed one or two, as Commissioners of the Presbytery, to go to the King with their will and pleasure, loosing nothing of Christ's authority, and carrying themselves with the King, almost as if two free Estates, or two free Kings had met and were dealing together.

All Cases and Crimes are within the censure of the Presbytery.

As no person is exempted from obedience and submission to this power, so no crime or sin whatsoever committed, or suspected to be committed within the Seignory of this petty Principality. And that sometimes is so extravagantly and transcendently too lookt after, and called in question, (especially if indiscreet Zeal or holy Spleen work and move by the Spirit on a holy Brother) that if there be a fact and fault committed, secret, or known to very few, it is brought forth to the light of the World: There is no care taken to reconcile the lapsed to God in a private way, and to conceal his Offence, but disgraced he is publickly. What sound repentance this may work, judge you. How consonant this is to the Apostolical Canon, *They that sin publicly, rebuke publicly*; and to the common Maxim of the Church, *De occultis non judicat Ecclesia*; he may easily see, who hath not divorced himself from common sense and reason. To cure these secret sins by the power of the Keys in interiori foro conscientia, and cover them with the Mantle of Charity, smelleth rankly of Auricular Confession, Popish absolution, and *Sigillum confessionis*. See the Conference at Hampton-Court, pag. 93. It is certain, a foolish man revealing foolishly his faults to his Wife, the zealous Wife upon some quarelling betwixt her and her Husband, hath gon to a good Minister, revealed what was told her, and the honest impartial Minister hath convented the man, charged him with his sins, and made him confess, satisfy, and do penance publickly.

Crimes suspected, are curiously here inquired after.

Nay, upon a surmise, suggestion, suspicion, or any mis-information, if the Minister, or Lay-Elders delate (that is present) two persons to converse so familiarly, that it is to be feared that they are guilty of Fornication, if they be unmarried, or of Adultery; if both of them, or either of them be unmarried, they shall be cited, and convented, examined by all proofs, presumptions, interrogatories, &c. whether or not they have sinned. If that the presumptions be Pregnant although no proof be, they shall be put in close Prison, fed on bread and wa-

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Presbytery displayed.

ter, kept that none may come fit them, all Members Constituents of these Judicatories, appointed to try what they know against the next Court-day; when no proof can be had, and all the presumptions do not fasten guiltiness upon the accused, and the imprisonment and other hard usages cannot extort a confession, they are dismissed: But an Act is enacted, that if those two persons suspected of Fornication, or Adultery, shall be seen to meet, or be in company together, except they meet in Church or Market, it shall be holden *pro confesso*, as confessed, that they are guilty of what they are charged with.

Nay, sometimes the parties, although innocent and no real Evidence being produced against them, are brought on the Lord's-day publickly to the middle of the Church before the Pulpit, to declare, sometimes to confirm their Declaration by an Oath, that they are innocent and free of that Crime wherewith they are charged. And sometimes they are forced to make their publick Repentance in the Church, upon a Pillary, for their unchristian behaviour: because that, although the parties charged be free, yet their conversation hath been *suspicious and scandalous*.

A whole Volumn might be written of young Women by these courses disgraced and defamed: of many Families divided and scattered, whereas before there was no jealousy betwixt the Man and the Wife.

This Judicatory of the Presbytery is so high, and of so vast a latitude, that, as the Pope bringeth in all civil Causes to himself as a competent Judge, *sub formalitate peccati*; so, this Papal Conclave bringeth any thing, howsoever meerly and purely civil, under its lash, *sub formalitate scandalis*, as scandalous to a Christian profession.

Presbyterial Government inconsistent with the liberty of trade and Commerce.

It is not forgotten by many yet living, how the Presbytery of Edinburgh attempted to censure Ecclesiastically the Merchants there, for carrying Wheat to Spain in time of a Famine or Dearth there, for this was to feed and maintain God's enemies. But above all, that was a *piaculum*, an almost inexpiable sin, to transport Wax to Spain; for this was to be accessory to Idolatry, in respect the greatest part of this Wax was employed in making Tapers and Candles to the Virgin Mary, and other Saints.

In St. Andrews, I.T. was indebted to P.T. a considerable sum of money, the greatest part of his stock; I. T. delaying, or shuffling, or not able to pay, P.T. at the day of payment designed in the Bond, P.T. obtained before the Lords of Session, a Judgment against I.T. with power to demand payment in the King's Name, and upon disobedience

Inconsistent with the authority of civil Judicatories.

Presbytery displayed.

ence to be out-lawed, and fall into a *Præmunire*, or escheating of his moveable Goods and Chattels. *I.T.* bemoans himself to the Presbytery. The Presbytery convents *P. T.* before them, threatens him with Excommunication, if he did persist to put in Execution the Judgment of the highest Judicatory in the Kingdom: and for fear of this dreadful Court and horrid sentence, he passes from his pursuit, continueth the demanding of repaying of his Money. You see here what power this Presbytery hath over all, and the highest of civil Judicatories.

The Presbytery at pleasure repealeth Royal Grants, by Law confirmed.

Infinite instances of this kind may be produced: give me leave to add one of a higher strain, The City of *Edenburgh*, by the Kings of *Scotland*, amongst other favours and priviledges, hath a Royal Grant of a weekly Market-day on Monday. This grant is confirmed by Letters Patents under the great Seal, and by the standing Laws of the Kingdom; The Presbytery here by their transcendent sole authority, discharged any Market to be kept on Monday; the reason was, because it occasioned the travelling of Men and Horses the Lord's-day before, which profaned the Sabbath. If the Tradesmen, who found at home what loss they had by wanting their Market, had not with force and violence opposed their Sovereignty, and made them forsake it, it was like enough to have passed, and obtained longer.

The most active in this case were the Shoo-makers, who were most prejudiced by the discharge of the Monday-Market. They threatened the Ministry-Right down, that if they persisted in that course, they would thrust them out of the Gates of the City: which threats restored the Mondays-Market. When King *James*, that Miracle of Piety, Learning, and Royal Prudence, heard of this; he, with uncovered head, and lifted up hands, said to this, or much about this sense, *I thank God the Shoo-makers have more power to repress the insolency and violence of the Presbytery, than I and my Council both.*

The Presbytery will not suffer Landlords to sue for their Rents.

It is known to many yet living, that they have cited before them Noblemen and Gentlemen of good quality, who had intended civil Actions against their own Tenants before the ordinary Judge, and discharged them to prosecute them any further, under the pain of Ecclesiastical censures. This was *in re civili*, in a civil business, but *modus considerandi*, as they took notice of it, was *spiritual*. And why? because the holy Brethren pretended, this did withdraw people from their *lawful Vocations*, bred *Strifes*, and contention amongst Brethren, and did hinder the progress of the Gospel.

As the particular Ministers of individual Parishes are under them, so they find the tyranny of their *Archisynagogi*; their prime leading

Presbytery displayed.

leading Ministers, in that measure, that their little finger is heavier than a Bishops whole hand and loyns. Bishops are like to a Paternal Government, chastising with Rods; but the Presbyterians scourge them with Scorpions: any Lord, Knight, or Esquire, who is cunning, and can by fair carriage, or otherwise, gain favour or credit with some few *Patriarchal Presbyters*, he is able at pleasure to turn out an honest man (who perhaps is too free in rebuking the Gentleman for his sins, or cannot or will not condescend to grant his unlawful and unjust demands) and to bring in one to his own fancy and humor, with whom, and by whom he is able to work and effectuate his own bad intendments. This *holy Sanhedrim*, although the Parochial Minister for *Intellectual abilities*, be sufficiently enabled, and for *Moral Integrity*, be blameless, yet they will find it fit he be transplanted from that Church, because the Congregation is not edified by him; at a Visitation the Landlord is able to make all say, and witness, they are not edified by him; or if a Presbyter who hath more power with the *Dominus Moderator*, and his assistants, being in a Parish of a small stipend, and espying somewhere a better Parish, and an honest man in it, but not so much respected by the high Priests of the *Sanhedrim*, he will turn him out by the Presbytery, enter the charge, and reap the benefit of a better Parish, and place the other (it may be, and often proves so, the better and worthier man) in another Parish of less worth, and deterior his condition. There needs no other reason for this, but that this sacred Consistory, directed and assisted with infallibility, do find it, *à Re Ecclesiæ*, that it is for God's glory and the good of the Church.

Some few of the Presbytery tyrannize over the rest of their poor Brethren, remove and transplant at pleasure.

I might instance a world of these Examples; only let me tell you one of the Presbytery of *Cooper in Fife*. A Nobleman there having one Master *Weymis*, an honest man, a Preacher and Parson at one of the Churches, the which whole Parish belonged to the Nobleman, used all the intreaties, all the threatnings he could, to persuade Master *Weymis* to make over to him, and his house, the Right of the Benefice, which, if I mistake not, was a Parsonage. The good man refused it: the Nobleman finding the man immoveable, having prepared the way with the *Ring-leaders*, accuseth the honest man before the Presbytery, obtained sentence of removing Mr. *Weymis* from that Church and benefice, and bringeth in one Mr. *Scrogie*, who with the consent of the Presbytery, sacrilegiously made over the Right of the Church to the Noble Man and his Family. Mr. *Weymis* was transplanted to another Church. The Right made over by *Scrogie*.

An honest man removed from his place, and one by them brought in, to make away sacrilegiously the Church Patrimony.

Presbytery displayed.

Scrogie, was afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament. King James, when this Nobleman came to him, spoke to him to this sense: My Lord, I wonder how you have so much power with the Presbytery to obtain such a thing, and work so strange a matter, I pray you teach me the way, for I would gladly know it. The Nobleman answered, to this sense, or much about it; Sir, you take not the right way, I prepared my business, by gaining the prime men to my course, I sent to A. B's house so much Malt, and to C. D's house so much Meal; to N. a Carcase of Bief; this got me the power to put away Weymis, to bring in Scrogie, and from him, with the consent of the Presbytery, to have the right of the Parsonage impropriate to me and my house: Sir, this course you must take, if you would work any thing by or with these men.

The Testament of a Gentleman of Wit, and more than ordinary worth and esteem, is to this day extant, (although he died many years ago) wherein confessing his many sins (he was much guilty of uncleanness, and was of more than ordinary reach in Political and Subtile ways) abhorring himself for them, and earnestly begging pardon, professed, and protested, that no sin did wound his Conscience so much, as his deep Hypocrisie, who, without the true fear of God, made great shew of Religion, where none, or little was, and to cover his sins from the World, to hide his shame, and the better to effectuate his private designs, he made much of some few prime leading Ministers: by doing of which, he was not challenged for his sins; and was enabled to work his other ends. This hath been, and is this day a constant course kept by all of that cutt or coat.

The Presbytery the Seminary and Nurseries of Feuds.

It is known, that no Kingdom of the King's was so much infested with Feudes (as they call them) as that of Scotland: nor was there any thing more ordinary, than Neighbourly Feuds in Parishes, to be fought to the effusion of much blood, partly beginning sometimes within the Church, and ended in the Church-yard, where many times some were killed. And it was as ordinary to find each Presbytery divided in their affection and course, according as they affected the one or the other party. Nor was Scotland ever free of Feuds, sheathing their Swords in their Neighbours Bowels, murdering one another, till a little before King James came into England; nor did ever that Kingdom enjoy such Peace and Plenty, as during the time of Episcopacy.

Sir, By the few Instances I have given you of many, you may see clearly that Presbyterian Government, is not only inconsistent with Mo-

Prebytery displayed.

Monarchy, but destructive of the Liberty of the Subjects Person and Trade; enchroaching upon all Authority, Sovereign, and Delegate; restraining at pleasure Causes and Suits commenced before Judges; forbidding Execution of Judgments obtained before the Ordinary Judges, repealing Grants, Letters Patents, Rights and Priviledges authorized by Law, assuming to its self the Civil Power, exacting Civil Fines, pecuniary Mulcts, inflicting corporal punishments painful and disgraceful; defaming young, disgracing married persons, and in brief, is against the Peace of the Kingdom, of Families, and of Neighbours. And for their Clergy or fellow Presbyters, they tyrannize over their Conscience, depose, or transplant them at pleasure, for reasons known to some few of the more active. It is proper now to speak next of

Provincial Synods.

IN describing of which we need not to insist much: for, except that the Jurisdiction is of great extent and latitude in its Essentials, Constitution, and Power, with the exercise of it, it is the very same.

A Provincial Synod is the Apish Imitation of a Provincial Council, consisting of a Metropolitan, and the Suffragan Bishops of his Province. With them, it is an associate body of the Commissioners chosen out of all the Individual Pyesbyteries within the Precinct of the Province. How many there be of them in the Kingdom of Scotland at this instant, I know not: but the Kingdom is divided into so many Provinces, as they in their prudence think it fittest for the Government of the Church.

What it is.

If I remember right, by their platform of Discipline these Provincial Synods are to meet twice a year, or oftner, pro re natâ.

These Synodal Assemblies have a superintending and over-ruling Power over all the Presbyteries within the limits of that Province.

The extent of their Power.

The Cases proper to these Courts, are, 1. All matters which do appertain to the whole Province. 2. All Referrs from all Presbyteries within its Verge. 3. All Cases of every several Presbytery, which were difficult, and could not there be determined. 4. The due censure of all what is thought to be done amiss in any Presbytery within its lath. 5. What is ordered and decreed in those Provincial Synods, tieth all within the particular Presbyteries and Parishes, as well Lay as Clergy men to obedience. Any Presbytery else, that moveth without the Sphere of this Province, is not tyed to obey what this decrees, by virtue of any Authority flowing from it.

The Cases which fall within their Jurisdiction.

Presbytery displayed.

The Politick Stratagem of the great Gammaliels.

The same course is holden in all things in the Provincial Synod, which is kept in the Presbyterial Consistory, so that I need not trouble you by reluming and repeating the like: onely here is some piece and use of good Policy, which is this; In a Province, there may be some four, or five, or six, or more, knowing leading Ministers, who over-rule different and distant Presbyteries, and so cannot formally and fairly joyn their wits and power to compass their common and private ends. The meeting of this Provincial Synod, occasioneth the meeting of those leading men in the same place; who after that they have communicated Counsels, and agreed upon the course, they are able to draw their Brethren, their Pupils of their Faction, as Servum pecus, slavishly, yet with much zeal to dispute, debate, and voice for what they in their wisdom think fit for their own ends: which course laid down, will be so prevalent, that if it be against King, Country Preacher, or Lay-men, in that concerneth the publick, or any private mans interest, to whom they stand ingaged, it is to as little purpose to some good men to oppose, or moderate this course, as to a man to stop a current of a flood, after a great inundation of rain, with his foot.

There is another trick of policy too, whereby the Apostles of this Province advance their own credit, that the wisest of the Nobility and Gentry see who are the active and doing men, and having their particular interest many times both in the publick, and their own private, they make their address to these Popes, gain them to their course, and strengthen themselves by the Spiritual Sword to disturb the publick, or to gain their private ends, whether right or wrong. When the Commissioners from hence return to their several Presbyteries, they intimate to them, to command the particular Ministers to preach in their Parishes, Doctrine tending to the advancement of those designs: and this is so much obeyed, that the Minister of the Kings Family, or Parish, must sing the same Song, although it concern the King in his Honour, or in that is most dear to him, and be to the prejudice of his Person, Sovereignty and Government.

The great honour which is given to the Patriarchal Presbyters.

These *ἀρχαῖοι*, these prime men of God, are attended and honoured so by the subtle and cunning Nobles and Gentlemen, that they are well nigh deified: in their coming to and fro, to Assemblies, Presbyteries, or upon other occasions, the most eminent of the Province wait upon them, intreat them to come to their Houses, set them at the head of the Tables by my Lady, provide for them the best Chambers. And that you may know, howsoever they pretend Parity that

Prebytery displayed.

that it is *protestatio contra factum*; never Bishop in Scotland hath come into Cities with such Convoys, been attended with such great personages, as some of this holy Brotherhood. It is to this day remembered, that when Mr. Robert Bruce came from his Visitation in the West, or South, returning to Edenburgh, and entring by the Canon-gate, King James looking out at his Window in his Palace at Halyrude House, with indignation, (which extorted from him an Oath) said, "Mr. Robert Bruce I am sure intends to be King. and declare himself Heir to King Robert the Bruce.

If you would allow me upon this to digress, I beg to be bold to tell you a true Story, and the most insolent I believe you ever read or heard. When Q. Elizabeth was waxed old, K. James bethinking how to come at the peaceable possession of that Right God and Nature had Intituled him to after her death; and resolving to recal and pardon the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Erroll, (who at that time were banished, and beyond Seas) feared, if by himself, and his, Sovereignty, he should do it, because they were professed Papists, he feared the Church would except against it, and move his Subjects to Sedition and Rebellion: yet the Noblemen were most able to strengthen him and do him best service in the Kingdom. To prevent this mischief, he sent one of his trusted and worthy Courtiers to Mr. Robert Bruce, one of the Ministers of Edenburg, who at that time had great sway in the Church, desiring him to come to his Majesty about some business of high Concernment. Mr. Robert did come. The good admirable King, welcomed him more than courteously, took him into his Retiring or Bed-chamber, spoke powerfully to this sense: Mr. Robert, I have sent for you to have your advice in a Business of Great weight, concerning the Peace of Scotland and England, and which concerns me in Right and Honour most nearly: Queen Elizabeth, my Sister and Cousin, is sick, and cannot live long, you know I have God's and Nature's Right to that Crown, I cannot lose it in Honour or in Justice, and yet my prayer to God is, that I may come at my Right without any blood. I know there is some Faction in England against me, but my friends are more prevalent there: It concerneth me, in point of prudence, to provide that there be no Faction and division in this my Kingdom of Scotland: for if this Kingdom be all one way for me in hearty obedience and subjection, the disaffected party in England will be better advised, than to work me trouble to their great disadvantage. Now saith the best and wisest of Kings, I fear nothing, but that these three Noblemen beyond Seas, because of their forfeiture, may be wrought upon by Papists, encouraged and enabled by them

The presumptuous carriage of Mr. Bruce toward King James.

Presbytery displayed.

there, and the English Papist who are most against my coming to the Crown of England, knowing I am a sound Protestant, to come hither and trouble Me and the Peace of this Kingdom. Do you not think it fit, that I give them a pardon, restore them to their Honour and Lands, and by so doing, so gain them, that thus I may save the effusion of Christian blood? To this demand so Piously made, the answer was: Sir you may pardon Angus and Arroll and recal them; but it is not fit, nor will you ever obtain my consent, to pardon or recal Huntly. To this the most gracious King sweetly reply'd: Mr. Robert, It were better for me to pardon and recal him, and not the other two, than the other two without him. 1. Because you know he hath a greater command, and is more powerful than both of them. 2. Next, you know I am more assured of his affection to me; for he hath married my dear and near Kinswoman, the Duke of Lenox his Sister. His rejoinder was, Sir I cannot agree to it. The King out of the great depth of his wisdom and prudence, and his transcendent goodness, concluded thus: Mr. Robert, I have imparted my most secret thoughts to you first before any, and to you only; I am so confident of your zeal and good affection to Me and My Honour, that I intreat you to think upon this matter a day or two; and after your better thoughts and prayers, return to me, and tell me clearly what you think. Thus was he dismissed with as much respect as the King could give to any of his highest Subjects. The truth is, at this time this man had more power in Edenburgh than the King; and his credit there had a mighty influence upon all his Sect, and many in the Kingdom. Within a day or two he returns to his Majesty, yet, if I be informed right, not till he was called upon: When he entred the Kings Presence-Chamber, the King took him into a secret retiring Room, as before, made the Dore be shut, and speaketh to this sense: Now Mr. Robert, I hope you have thought more seriously upon that weighty business I proposed to you the last day, and have prayed God to direct you and Me both; tell me then what you think of my purpose and resolution concerning those three Noblemen. He returneth this answer; Sir, the more I think of it, the more I am confirmed in the advise I gave to you the last day: I agree with all my heart that you recal Angus and Arroll, but for Huntly it cannot be. The King resumed and repeated his reasons before mentioned, and added some more: He obstinately opposed and contradicted it. All do know, who knew any thing of these times, that Angus and Arroll were as bigot Papists, if not more, than Huntly; there was no difference in Religion: the truth is, Master Bruce was a Lover of the Earl of Argyle, who loved not much the Earl of Huntly. This was the Spirit inspired him, as it seemeth,

Presbytery displayed.

seemeth. King James desired his reasons: he gave none, but spoke Majestically. Then the King told him downright, Mr. Robert, I have told you my purpose; you see how nearly and highly it concerneth me; I have given you my reasons for my resolution, you give me your opinion, but you strengthen it not with reason; wherefore I will hold my own resolution, and do as I first spoke to you. To the which (with Christian and Subject-like reverence!) he returned this reply; well, Sir, you may do as you list; but choose you, ye shall not have me and the Earl of Huntly both for you. Sir, Judge by this in what case Monarchy is, in such a Government: for that this is truth, I am as much assured of, as moral certainty can assure any man of moral truth which with his own Ears he hath not heard. And yet this man was but Minister of Edenburgh.

To return thither, from whence we digressed, that you may know, that this great Honour which is done to those great ones, the Cabinet-Council of all Provincial and General Assemblies, by these cunning and subtle Nobels and others, is not done in the name of a Disciple, in the name of a prophet, reflect a little with your eyes, and consider how the same men respect and entertain their own Parish Minister: When the Gamaliel sits by my Lady, the Parish Priest, will be below the Candlestick; and will be forced to come to his Lord or Laird, and Chrouch down for a morsel of Bread, and small piece of Money. Nay, before the Gamaliel be gone, he must prompt and Catechise the poor Stipendiary, how to carry himself with the Lord and Laird, not to exact too rigorously what is due in his competent Stipend, nor in Preaching, Doctrine or Discipline, to offend the Lord or Laird: such good Christians, such Jehoshuah's, Nehemiah's, and Esdras's, are to be much made of, for the cause of God. I dare to say, never Bishop or Archbishop in England or Scotland, hath used more authority, nor did ever carry themselves so arrogantly towards the meanest of their Clergy, as these men do over their simpler Brethren. I come now at last to

The General Assembly.

This is the Great and High Sanhedrim; the last resolution of the Prerogative of this Highest Glory and Dignity he can upon Earth. Here is the ultimate Court. decision of all Controversies. Here you may find really that fancied infallibility of the Pope. The Jurisdiction in this is universal, in all concerneth Ecclesiastica, Ecclesiasticos, and what concerneth all Temporalia in ordine ad Spiritualia.

The

Presbytery displayed.

The In'epen-
dent Sovereignty of it.

The authority of it is sovereign, independent from any derived to them by trust immediately from Christ; to him alone they are accountable. Whosoever obeyeth not this Sovereignty, is to be Excommunicate; the Magistrate is at their command, and, as they prescribe, to punish in Estate, in Body, in Life and Death; If the King obey not, He is to be Excommunicated; and, to strengthen this, the Nobility, Gentry, Collective-body, nay, every individual person is to concur, to compel and censure him to the utmost of his power, to punish, to dethrone, to un-King, to Kill, &c. Let us come and see how this goodly Judicatory is made up.

Of whom and how it is composed.

It is composed, 1. First, of the Commissioners sent from all the Presbyteries of the Kingdom. Which (as I hear and am informed) is thus ordered. Every Presbytery sendeth out two Preaching Elders, and a Lay-Elder. By this it seemeth that the Clergy hath the advantage. 2. Secondly, therefore consider, that besides the Commissioners from Presbyteries, there cometh from every Burrough and Corporation one Commissioner; and *Edenburgh*, for some Spiritual prerogative no doubt, is honoured and priviledged to send two. 3. Thirdly, the Universities and Colledges send their Commissioners, which for the most part are not Doctors nor Ministers, but Lay-men and Graduates in Liberal Arts and Sciences. This will go near to equal the number of Lay-Commissioners to that of Preaching-Ministers.

How the King is a member of it, and of no power above the meanest Ruling Elder.

4. The King is a Member constituent too, and should be there either *personally* by himself, or *virtually* and *representatively*, in, or by his Commissioner. He hath one voyce too, and that *affirmative* only. In what Capacity they admit the King to be a Member constituent of this Spiritual Court, I know not well if they be agreed upon it. Some hold that he is there as *Princeps membrum*. By this I see he is the first Gentleman there, and, it may be, hath the right hand too. Some say, as a Representative of the Civil body of the Kingdom, and sits there in that capacity. All of them agree in this, that he is bound by his own Prefence, or Commissioners, to see and provide that no disturbance or violence be offered.

The King if present, and His Commissioner if absent, have so much honour indulged to Him, that He or His Commissioner may have four, or five or six *assistants* for advice; but these Synodical Fathers give their Indulgences with such circumspect prudence, that, to preserve Christ's honour, and their own, entire, the King, or His Commissioner may debate and advise with His Counsel, or Assistants, or

Presbytery displayed.

or desire any of them to speak, while matters are in *debating*; But when it cometh to the decision and determination by voices (and plurality of voyces maketh the decree) the King has *only one voyce*, and that *Affirmative* onely, not *Negative*.

By this it is certain, that if the greater part of voices determine contrary to the King's voyce, nay to His Mind and Conscience, He is bound to put it in Execution: for *potestas juris* is radically in the whole Assembly, the King hath no more but *potestatem Facti*, to be an Executioner *Rei Judicatae*, of the Decrees; otherwise, He is censurable; and if He be obstinately refractory, He is not worthy to hold His Crown.

The King must execute their Commands, although they be against His Conscience.

The King presides too, as they confesse; but so, that it is only civilly, and in His civil capacity.

If I be not mistaken, yet I dare not avouch this confidently, the King hath not Power to propose any thing spiritual, or that concerneth the Church; but, if He do it, it must be done by the Right Father of the Assembly, the *Moderator*. This I dare to say, that neither the King, nor His Commissioner can hinder or oppose the proposing of any thing they think concerneth the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. For this were no *free general Assembly*, and to limit the *holy one of Israel*. Nay if the thing proposed conceived by them to be Spiritual, be so twisted with the things civil, that the ordering or establishing of it may carry along with it a change and distemper in the State and Government, or import danger to the King and Crown; The Moderator, or any Commissioner hath power to propose it, determinate it, and never to consider or reflect upon the danger of King, State, or Kingdom, and that for God and Christ's glory.

The proper, natural, and right president of this Seraphical Judicatory, is one of the Preaching Elders (although we observe before, how Lay-men, as *Buchanan*, *Melvil*, *Bruce*, have been Moderators) a Lay-Elder now cannot be Moderator.

The proper Moderator is a Preacher.

Here is the Legislative power, here is the Sovereignty of Christs Kingdom, here is the highest Tribunal and Judicatory of Christ upon the Earth; from which no person, no Office, no Condition of Creature is priviledged; from it lyeth no appeal.

The King hath no Power to appoint the time or place of this Assembly, but once a year it must necessarily meet. And at the close of every Assembly, the President appointeth the day and place for the next. If any great exigency really, or in their fanse intervening, requireth the meeting of a general Assembly before the time determined,

They indict the Assembly by their own Power.

Presbytery displayed.

The vast Power of this Court.

mined; the Commissioners from the Assembly are to make remonstrance of it unto the King.

Whatsoever power the Pope unjustly usurpeth, The Catholick Church, or, her virtual and Representative An œcumenical Council, justly challengeth; this General Assembly vindicateth to it self, only Authoritative, by way of authority, within the Church of that Kingdom and Nation; yet Consensive and Charitative, to extend to all Neighbor-Churches in the World; what ever it be that concerneth, fidem, cultum, Regimen, &c. credenda, agenda.

And yet if this infallible Supream Judicatory would reserve to it self that jurisdiction is due to men in Sacred Orders, and which intrinsically, radically, and originally is in them ex vi Ordinis, although Presbyters intrude upon higher callings; and they place all Ecclesiastical power, at least communicate it to Lay-people, the Prince's condition were tolerable: Nay, if they did only trench upon what is due to Sovereignty, and with which he is invested from God almighty, which is restrained ad Externum hominem, and Externum Regimen, although Sovereignty by it be brought into straiter and narrower bounds; a King might be in some poor condition, although robbed of His Right. But when they come to this, that in ordine ad spiritualia, in order to spiritual things, they will give the King Laws, repeal His Laws, command and expect performance and obedience, otherwise excommunicate; and if a King neglect that Excommunication, incite inferiour Magistrates, Nobles, and Commons, to bring Him in order, to compel and force him; He is in a worse condition under this Sovereignty, than under the Pope, by how much it is worse to a King to be subjected to an untamed furious Beast, the Multitude, than to the tyranny of One.

Lay-men Judges in highest points of faith and worship, &c.

All these Lay-Elders, all these Commissioners from Corporations and Burrows, are de jure divino as fully Judges in all matters of faith, worship, government; Judges of Heresie, Idolatry, Superstition, of the highest points of Orthodox and Catholick mysteries, of the grossest and subtillest Heresies, Arianism, Arminianism, Macedonianism, Montanism, Socinianism, Anabaptism, &c. as any man in sacred Orders there; have vocem deliberativam, vocem decisivam, have a debating, discursive voice, and concur as much with the influence of their voice to prescribe and give us Normam fidei, cultus, politia, a Confession of faith, a Prescript for worship, Canons for Government and discipline, as ever Bishops had in lawfull Christian Councils. (Bishops, Limbs and Members of Antichrist, are no part of it.)

Now

Prebytery displayed.

Now is forgotten that of the Council of Calcedon, Concilium Episcoporum est; and that old Barbarous, but Christian enough Verse;

Ite faras Laici, non est vobis locus yci.

I would gladly ask of one of these Rabbies and great Masters in Israel, How cometh it that the Commissioners of Burrows sit there, voyce there? Are they too, De jure divino, by divine right? if they answer, that such are chosen as are, or have been Lay-Elders, I re-joyn; the Lay-Elders come in that capacity onely, as Commissioners of the particular Presbyteries: These are not Members Constituents of the Presbytery in that capacity, that they are, or have been Lay-Elders; but have right and interest in this high Court in that capacity meerly as Commissioners of Burrows. Look upon their Acts of General Assembly, and you will find, that it authorizes Commissioners from Burrows to be parts constituent of this Judicatory, quætales, as sent from the Burrows.

Commissioners of Burrows are there only in a Lay-capacity.

Again I ask, Seeing you make Doctors one of your four holy Functions Ecclesiastical, constituted by Christ, in what Judicatory find we them? In Sessions they are not: In few Presbyteries they be; and, if there, in some other capacity. In General Assemblies, if any be, they appear as Commissioners from the Universitie, in this capacity only. And many times it is seen, that Professors of Philosophy have been Commissioners of Colledges in General Assemblies.

We find Doctors no where.

Leaving these Absurdities, which are monstrously gross, I come to consider next, what is the Sovereign power of this high Sanhedrim. If they would in Christian moderation assume no more to themselves, but only a Directive power, and by humble Remonstrances and supplications, with that reverence is due to Sovereignty and Majesty, Petition the King to animate their Acts, Canons, and Constitutions with the influence of his Legislative power, this were fair quarter. But by your favour, no sooner have they enacted it here, and so soon as it is solemnly intimated, which is, by returning to every Presbytery, with its Commissioners, a Copy of the Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, and by the Presbyteries order every Minister hath published them in the Parish-Church; all things so done are animated with a Possessive Power, by the influence these Orders receive from that Legislative Power Christ hath intrusted them with in his œconomical Kingdom. All then are bound to obedience, if it be in the meanest indifferent thing, nay, if this order cross or repeal a standing Law, all Disobedients are liable to all Ecclesiastical Censures,

The Power which this Sanhedrim assumes to it self.

D

and

Presbytery displayed.

They are above the King, and all Sovereignty.

If they cannot reform by the King, they may by any other means else.

Religion may be reformed or preserved by violence.

If the King will not, the Nobles may.

and may forthwith be proceeded against, even till they be delivered over into the hands of the Devil.

This Assembly is above the King: to them he ought to give an account of His Faith; to their confession of faith He must conform himself; to their Orders He must give obedience; otherwise He is excommunicable, deposible. Ifear you scarce believe me: yet truly Non verenda retego, sed inverecunda confuto. I discover not the nakedness of the Father, the shame of Brother, nor Friend; would to God the Tenets and practises were buried in Hell, and the Maintainers regained to God by true repentance, and forsaking their ways: I discover only things that are past all shame, and which our Church can never own. Sir if you will hardly believe me in this, let me give you their Assertions in this Case, and their conformable practice.

It is their constant Catholick Tenet, that if the King, Queen, Regent or Protector, or whosoever he or she is in whose Person Sovereignty is fixed, or in whose Person it is representatively fixed, only by a fiduciary trust, during the non-age of the Prince or Princess, will not submit himself to this holy Scepter, will not, according to its Prescript reform Religion, preserve it in its integrity, any man or men are bound to do it at their direction. I spare Martin Juniors faith in this, that there is no authority above the Brotherhood. "No Magistrate (saith he, Thef. 17, 18, 22.) may lawfully maim or deform the body of Christ, which is the Church; no lawful Church-government is changeable, at the pleasure of the Magistrate; of necessity all Christian Magistrates are bound to receive this Government. Nor will I insist upon Vigginton's assertion; That "what the holy Brotherhood cannot obtain by suit & dispute, the people must bring it to pass. "You desire the tenets and practises of the Church of Scotland only.

The Scots maintain, that if the King, or Queen, will not reform Religion, they may take upon them by violence and power to reform it. This they have learned of their Grandfather Knox, as you may read in an Epistle of his, written from Diepe, Anno 1557 And Knox Histor. pag. 213. What is lawful for Reformation, is lawful for preservation of Religion.

1. And here they begin with the Nobles: and determine right down, Noblemen ought to reform Religion, if the King will not. Knox, App. 25. Again, That God hath appointed the Nobility to bridle the inordinate appetites of Princes, and in so doing, they cannot be accused, as Resisters of Authority. Knox Hist. 343. And That it is their duty to repress the rage and insolency of Princes. Knox App. 33.

2. In

Prebytery displayed.

2. In the second place, if the Nobles will not do it, The people and Commonalty may reform Religion, at the order and direction of the Brotherhood. Knox to the Commonalty. fol. 49, 50. The Commonalty by their power, may bridle cruel beasts; (They mean Priests and Prelates) Knox to the Commonalty, fol. 55. The Commonalty may lawfully require of their Sovereign to have true preachers; and if he be negligent, they may themselves provide them, maintain them, defend them against all that do persecute them, and may detain the profits of the Church-livings from the other sort; that is to say Priests, Papists, Prelates, and Malignants. Knox. Com. f. 55.

3. In the third place, if they come to the happiness, to have Nobles and commons obedient to their commandments, for reformation, or preservation of true Religion (which must be so as they fancy) I am deceived, if they allow not more violence and esteem it more piety zeal, and justice. Their Tenets are; The Commonalty concurring with the Nobles, may compel to cease from their tyranny. Knox to the Commonalty fol. 47. Again, The Nobility and Commonalty ought to reform Religion, and in that case may remove from honours, and may punish such as God hath condemned, Deut. 13. of what estate, condition, or honour soever. Knox, App. fol. 28. 30.

4. In the fourth place, if the Nobles will not joyn with the People or Commonalty in the reformation, or preservation of true Religion, at the direction of the Ministry, the inferiour Magistrates may, and should do it. Knox Hist. p. 217.

5. In the fifth place, before so good a work be not done, if Nobles or the whole, or greatest part of the Commonalty will not be obedient, assisting, and aiding to so good a work; Every individual man and person is bound to advance this good work, to kill Papist, Priest, Prelate, Malignant; nay, a King, if He stand out an Enemy to God, and Christ, and cannot otherwise be reclaimed, or removed, nor by suit, or dispute gained to the right way, (I dare say, their Doctrine leads to this) see Knox App. fol. 30. where roundly he saith, The punishment of such crimes as touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to Kings and chief Rulers only, but also to the whole body of the People, and to every member of the same, to revenge the injury done against God. Again see him fol. 35. The People are bound by oath to God to revenge, to the utmost of their power, the injury done against God's Majesty. To this purpose they alledge the Examples of Phineas, who in his zeal killed the Adulterers: Of Ebud, who in the same zeal killed Eglon in his private Chamber, (remember he was a King:) Of Jael, who killed Sisera: Of Matathias, who in zeal killed a Jew for committing

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of

If neither King nor Nobles, the People may.

If Nobles and Commons joyn, there is hope of some greater success.

Inferiour Magistrates and People may joyn.

Every individual in this good work, may and ought to the utmost of his power, to intend and endeavour Reformation.

Presbytery displayed.

of Idolatry; and who in the same zeal at the same time killed the Kings's Commissioner. Sir, put these things together, and see, where this Sovereign Supream Ecclesiastical Judicatory hath such dominion and power over mens Consciences, that being directed by their Ministry, they are bound to do to the utmost of their power, for reformation and preservation of Religion, What sacred person of any King can be secured? What man offending against the Majesty of God (which is as they fantasie many times) may not be taken-away by one like to a Ravilliack? What Commissioner or Councillor of the King but in doing his best service to his Master, he may be stoned like to Adoram, and all this go in popular esteem currant for good service and extraordinary zeal to God and his Cause.

All or as many as are well affected, may covenant, and combine for doing this work.

The Confederates may by themselves give Orders.

Practices upon the Tenents.

Orders of Reformation prescribed without the Authority of Sovereignty.

6. In the sixth place upon those grounds, Covenants and Confederacies come in to strengthen all, to joyn Purfes, Persons, Wit, and Strength, *Contra omnes mortales, Regiâ Majestate non exceptâ*, against King and Bishop, Prince and Prelate, to the defence of the good cause; with a combination every one to be aiding, assisting, and maintaining one another in so good a Cause.

7. In the last place cometh their Orders for Reformation, or Preservation, and that by themselves and the collective body, or any Associates whatsoever, without Respect, Reverence, or Obedience to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince.

The practice is clearly seen in Mr. Knox his proceedings, for after that by his Letter, which we mentioned before, written to *Scotland, Anno, 1557.* from *Diepe*, and otherwise, he had infused the above named principles into many, an Oath of confederacy was taken amongst them, and subscription under their hands to some agreement. This gave life to that tumultuary Reformation, much strength being added to it, by the concurrence of the Sacrilegious; hoping thus to swallow up the Church Revenues, which is more than certain was against *Knox* his mind, and the first Reformers. As we deplore great losses the Church had by this reformation, and do thank God heartily for his admirable bounty and mercy in the good of truth we got by it, yet we will never wrong Reformed Religion so much as to account of that as an orderly reformation; we deny not, But it was attended with much Seditious, Faction and Rebellion.

Anno 1558. without the Authority of Sovereignty, nay, without the knowledg of it, these Confederates, at the direction of their Ministry, prescribed Orders for Reformation of Religion to be observed and practised throughout the whole Kingdom. See *Knox story*, p. 217 They 2. 8.

Presbytery displayed.

They go farther: they writ an Imperious Letter, to the Religious houses, in the name of the Congregation, commanding all of them to remove from thence against such a day, or then they would eject them by force. *Knox*, *ibid.*

They charge their adverse party to obey their Orders.

Within very short time after. a Parliment being holden by the Queen Regent, (*Queen Mary's* Mother, and great Grandmother to our gracious Sovereign) they make a Protestation, that except they had their desires, they would go on in their intended course of Reformation; that neither they, nor any that joyned with them, should incur therefore any danger in life, or lands, or other Civil Penalties; and that if any violence hapned in pursuit of those matters, they should thank themselves. It is very observable, they were all bound in that Confederacy to assist and strengthen each other in that course. See *Knox Hist.* pag. 256. First, here you have the Direction of the Ministry. Next you have a Confederacy and bond of mutual defence. Thirdly, you have Orders and Decrees agreed upon in common. Fourthly, you have Warrants issued out to make or force all to be put in execution. Fifthly, you have a protestation, and that a threatning one too, against the Queen Regent and whole Parliament. Sir, are those things consistent with Monarchy? what Scripture? what Father? what practice of the Church doth warrant such a Reformation?

They protest against King and Parliament.

Come on, and you shall have them anon in open contemning Sovereign Authority. The Queen Regent, to suppress these beginnings, and to nip them in the bud, cites them to appear at *Stirling*. They appear not, They are out-lawed: all men under pain of Treason are inhibited to assist them. There is no obedience, but all in the confederacy adhere to them. I cannot, for my part, justify this Divinity.

They contemn Sovereign Authority.

From disobedience and contempt, they are guilty of usurping the Royal Power: for very shortly after, *Anno 1559.* immediately after a Sermon preached by *Knox* in *Saint-Johnstown*, at his exhortation and direction, they fall to the pulling down of the Religious Houses, and within two or three dayes equal three of them to the ground. Sir, Can it appear that by Holy Writ, or Reason, such Popular tumultuary Reformations are warrantable? Is it not intrinsically inherent in the Crown, or wheresoever Sovereignty is fixed? And so they proceeded in *Fife, Angus, Mornis, Stirling, Lowbrian, &c.* and through the whole Kingdom. See *Knox Hist.* p. 263. Here were many goodly and rich Churches spoiled, robbed, and cast down.

They usurp Royal Power.

After

They renounce their lawful Sovereign.

After this they disclaim Sovereign Authority, except it be as they please, and have their desires. The Queen Regent threatned St. *Johnstown*, where this disorder was first acted. They of the Confederacy writ to her in plain terms, "That except she stayed from that cruelty, they should be compelled to take the Sword of just defence; and protested, that without the Reformation which they desired, they would never be subject to any mortal man. See Knox pag. 265.

They command all the Bretherhood to be assistants.

More followed. By a Letter they cite all their Brethren to repair unto them; and that you may know that their Letters were Authoritative Commands, and that all the authority is from the *Independent Sovereignty of the Church*, consider how they write to the Nobility, upon pain of Excommunication to joyn with them. *Knox* *ibid.* pag. 268, 269, 272.

They are obeyed; the Queens Herald is abused.

How much this Ecclesiastical Sovereignty did exalt it self above the Civil, is more than apparent in this, that when an Herald in his Coat of Arms commanded all men under pain of Treason, to return to their houses, by publick sound of Trumpet in *Glasgow*; no man obeyed that charge, but went forward to their associates, *Habes confidentem reum.* *Knox*, pag. 274.

They denounce War against their Adversaries.

They denounce War too, which was ever judged to be the peculiar specifick Prerogative of Sovereignty, for they writ to the Bishops and Clergy, *That except they desisted from dealing against them, they would, with all force and power, execute just vengeance and punishment upon them: and that they would begin the same war, which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites.* Which manner of proceeding, they termed a resisting of the Enemy. *Knox Hist.* 275, 276.

They will hear of no peace, but enter into a Combination for mutual defence.

The poor Queen Regent was brought to an Accommodation, and the Assembly at St. *Johnstown* was dismissed. But at their parting, they entred into a League by Oath, that if any one Member of their *Congregation* (this in the *Scottish* is equivalent to *Ecclesia*) should be troubled, they should all *concur, assist, and convene again together, for the defence of the same.* *Knox* pag. 283.

The Queen Regent finding this Sovereignty over-bear Hers, and the Peace of the Kingdom shaken, by a Declaration published and proclaimed, testified her desire of Peace, and descended so much, that really it was only a Request. They scorned it, would none of it, confuted it by another, did exhort those of their Faction to *encourage themselves in the Lord*, to stand upon their Guard like to the re-builders of *Hierusalem* and the Temple, with the Sword in one hand, and the Bible in another, wherein they gave the Queen many times the

Lye,

Lye, and abused her with reproachful and contumelious speeches. The Subjects that continue their obedience are honoured with no better tearm than to be called, *The Queens Faction*. You may read this at leisure and pleasure in *Knox History*, pag. 330. 333. 362. 364. Nay, they renounced their obedience unto Her, protested, that whosoever should take Her part, *should be punished as Traytors, whensoever God should put the Sword of Justice into their hands.* *Knox Hist.* 364.

At last they rise to the highest pitch of Rebellion, and *Anno 1560.* They depose the Queen Regent, the pre-determination being given, that it was lawful for them to do so, by Mr. *Knox* and Mr. *Wilcocks.* This is upon record yet in that Kingdom, and is set down by Mr. *Knox* himself, *Hist.* pag. 372. 378. And it is observable, that the Queen, if I remember right, lived but a Moneth, or little more, after this pious act.

Sir, you will now say, that I speak too hardly of our first Reformers and Reformation, and would know, what is my opinion of them and it. To deal clearly, God is my witness, I am no Papist, but do abhor Popery as much as any, and that I am no Puritan the other party will witness for me. I am bound to speak the truth in my heart: and, to give some satisfaction, I say, 1. First, as I am able, I bless and praise God most heartily, that we were delivered from the Popes Tyranny, and that gross *Egyptian* darkness we were under: which I ascribe to the admirable wisdom, and infinitely transcendent goodness of God. 2. Next, I leave the men to God's mercy; but for the manner of proceeding; the way they took, I dare not, I will not approve it: but will say with *Jacob*, *In concilium eorum ne veniat anima mea.* 3. Thirdly, I daily heartily bewail that, that too too much Idolized Reformation in an excessive hatred against Popery, did run too much to the other extrem; that the goodly Order and Government necessary of the Church was shouldered out; the publick Service and Worship of God, with its decency, reverence, and comeliness, was much defaced, disgraced; that goodly, stately, and rich Churches, were abused, robbed, and equalled to the ground; and that the Church Patrimony was dilapidated: And yet this was not so much done by the first called Reformers, as by their Disciples, *Ætas parentum peior avis.*

It feareth me, besides that God is punishing our present sins, that, by this scourge, which is gilded with the specious, but spurious compellation of a *glorious, thorow, second-Reformation*, he is in the same justice punishing the sins of that first Reformation. For my part, I judge

They depose the Queen Regent.

The Authors modest opinion of that is called the first Reformation of Scotland.

Presbytery displayed.

judge verily, that Church had never an orderly and warrantable Reformation, till it was happily begun and advanced by King James, when he took the Government in his own hands, and was like to come to a great perfection under the Government of our most gracious Sovereign King Charles. Although I deny not but the seed of truth were sown by Hamilton, Wiseheart, Mylne, and others, who before Knox his time did preach truth, cast down the Errours of Rome in the peoples hearts, were far from stirring up the Subjects against lawful Authority, and like the ancient Martyrs, did suffer patiently and seal the truth of the Gospel with their blood. If Knox and his Complices had kept in this way, I am certain that Church had been more happy; nor had we seen such robbery and deformity in the Church. Sure I am, great, many, and more than ordinary sins in them, and us, and our fore-Fathers, have brought us to be plunged in these almost inextricable miseries: And till we proportionably repent, we cannot look to see better dayes, what is dis-joynted in State set aright, and the beauty of God's House restored: Which God of his mercy grant to us, for his only Son Jesus Christ.

By what is said, it appears sufficiently, that this *Spiritual Sovereignty* is far above the King's Crown and what we undurtook, to make their practises prove their tenets, is more than evident: only one thing rests to be proved, that this Sovereignty may authorize any and every private man to do to the utmost of their power for the Reformation of Religion, to plunder, kill, &c.

Sir, I refer you to Mr. Knox History of the Church of Scotland, pag. 143, 144, 145. where relating how Cardinal Beaton Archbishop of St. Andrews, (a man whom I justifie not, neither commend much) was killed by Norman Lesly, John Lesly, Peter Charmichael, & James Melvil, in his own house the Castle of St Andrews, who were all only private Gentlemen; and if you will trust Buchanan, the cause was a jar betwixt Norman Lesly and the Cardinal; upon Knox's faith, the quarrel was, the killing of Mr. George Wiseheart (a good man undoubtedly.) The Cardinal could have no mercy, although he cried pitifully for it, saying *I am a Priest, ye will not slay me*; Knox I say, relating this History, commends the fact of James Melvil, killing him with grave and pious words in his mouth, as a godly fact. The sum of the story is, when they entred the Cardinal's Chamber with some sixteen or seventeen more, John Lesly, and Peter Charmichael, fell violently and passionately on him, but James Melvil with gravity and piety withdrew them, and said, "This work and judgment of

Practice of mischief done by private men, and commended by them.

God,

Prebytery displayed.

"God (although it be secret) ought to be done with great gravity. And presenting unto him the point of the Sword, said, Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of thy shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God Mr. George Wiseheart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it a vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it. For, here before my God I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble, thou couldest have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike thee: but only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy Gospel. And the meek man of God, as he is there termed, stroke him twice or thrice thorow with a stog-sword; and he fell. I give all this, that James Melvil did this in revenge of Mr. George Wiseheart being slain by the Cardinal; what Divinity will warrant this fact of James Melvil's to be a good and godly fact (for so it is noted in the Margent) to a private man to murder or kill thus a Priest, an Arch-bishop of so high dignity? The result of all is, he did it gravely, in cold blood, told him so much, that he was sent from God, he had no private end; the motive stirred him up to this godly fact, was that he had been and remained at that time an enemy to Jesus Christ and his holy Gospel; he exhorted him to repentance; and for all his great sins, as Knox writes the story, he allowed him no more time, but so much as was spent in his Godly Harang: for immediately after, he was twice thrust thorow. But those Seraphical Doctors know, *Nescit tarda molimina Spiritus Sanctus*; and the Spirit can work suddenly, *Inter os & offam; Inter Pontem & Fontem*, especially where and when they are sent of God to do such great good works. But this is *protestatio contra factum*: Whatever Mr. Melvil said in his Protestation, Knox doth witness, that the Cardinal being murdered, they seized upon the Artillery and Ammunition, wherewith that Fortrefs was plentifully furnished, and likewise upon the rich Hangings, household-stuff of all sorts, Apparel, Copes, Jewels, Ornaments of Churches, great store of Gold and Silver-Plate, besides no small quantity of treasure in ready Coyn.

I could instance some practises about the time of the Parliament in Anno 1621. commonly called the Marques of Hamilton's Parliament, but because that will only reflect upon some particular persons, I pass it willingly and wittingly.

It is most certain, when the pious and learned Doctors of Aberdeen, did demand of the Patriarchs of this late Covenant, why they did not by Preaching, Printing, Censuring, or some real deed, exprefs their

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Presbytery displayed.

their detestation of that horrid Fact done by the Rascally-rout of *Edenburgh* the 23. of *July*, 1537. where, at the first reading of the Service there, a great many Bishops being in the Cathedral Church, the Serving-women rose barbarously within the Church, did throw their Stools at the Bishop of the place, and the Dean, who was officiating; did cry out most horribly, that the Maior, Aldermen, and others within, could hardly compose it for a long time; and the worst and basest of the people, who were without, did throw in great stones at the Glass-windows, the Doors being shut. After the arising of the Commotion, to prevent more tumult and danger, and when Service and Sermon were done, the Bishops, Maior, and Aldermen going home with the Lord Chancellor and some B. attending his Grace, the Bishop, and Dean of *Edenburgh*, with others, were well nigh stoned in the streets; when, I say, it was demanded of these Apostles, why they did not condemn this unchristian barbarous outrage, void of Piety and Reason, and without any example in the Christian Church, the sum of their Answer was, and to this day is, That such a zealous people were to be left to their own Warrant, they knew not by what Spirit they were governed, God worketh great works many times by basest means: and yet those Nobles, those zealous, those intelligent and knowing Christians (whereof many of them in *Edenburgh* were known Coal-stealers and Whores) were the first active Instruments in this glorious Reformation. I confess this Divinity is so transcendent and Metaphysical, that it exceeds my capacity, and is so fruitful upon any occasion to work all or the greatest of mischiefs, that I do not see how it can consist with peace or safety of King, Kingdom, Church, or of any entrusted with greatest trust in Church or State. Sir, I believe any rational man may see by this, how superlatively this spiritual Seignory is above King and Royal Sovereignty. I leave it to your own judgment and memory to recollect it, and to bring home the conclusion that this Government Ecclesiastical is inconsistent with Monarchy, with the Peace of a Kingdom, and is, or may be, in time, a mother and Nurse of as much Rebellion and Treason, as any Jesuitism of the highest dye, if not more. Certainly, *Rome*, although a Whore, and hath a Cup of Abomination in her hand, is not so bad nor so abominable; I pray God to keep all good Christians clean of both.

Let us go on; In Faith, Worship, and all spiritual things, they vindicate to themselves such a Sovereignty, that King, Council, Parliament, nay, all together, must not touch the Scepter of Christ: they are

Prebytery displayed.

are to determine, define, take cognisance, accuse, sentence, punish; neither King, nor King and Council, nor King and Parliament, all, must assume power here; for otherwise, it is to intrude upon Christ and his Right.

This Sovereignty is of so high a strain, so large an extent, that when they have decreed any thing in this supream infallible Judiciary, that they may have the better obedience, to demand the King and Parliaments approbation; this is not demanded as a thing arbitrary, which the King and Parliament may do or not do; or leaving it to his Royal Judgment with the advice of his Parliament, to qualify or rectify their Decrees, and Orders; No, no truly; that is to betray the trust Christ hath given them, they need not supplicate or petition for it, it is in them but an act of courtesie to shew dutiful obedience. And if the King and Parliament will not grant it, they are armed with as much power from Heaven, as to force them to do it, by Excommunication, and making all good Christians joyn with them in God's Cause.

When they demand the Royal Confirmation of their Decrees, it is only an Act of Courtesie.

Sir, I fear you think I speak liberally. God forbid I should do it. I doubt not but you have read the *Scottish Pope's* Sermon preached at *Westminster*, and Printed by Order of the house: since you have it, I will not spend time and paper to cite his words, which giveth to the King no more. But to make this appear, I give you some unanswerable Reasons. 1. It is certain in *Scotland*, Mr. *Knox* and his Complices set on their Reformation without the Queen, or Queen Regent's authority, or the authority of Parliament. For *Anno 1558.* they made their Confederacy; gave out their Orders for Reformation throughout the whole Kingdom. *Anno 1559.* they acted their Reformation, by casting down Churches, Abbeys, &c. casting out Priests, Fryers, &c. and all this by their own radical and original Power. Queen *Mary* their true and lawful Sovereign, did authorize them in nothing, she was then in *France*. The Queen Dowager, Queen Regent King *James* the Fifth's Widow, having the Sovereignty by fiduciary trust, in regard of the absence of the Queen her Daughter; did not authorize it, nay, she did by her authority oppose it, contradict it, came in Arms against it. The Parliament was not till the year 1560. (how holden for the present I cannot tell) but in that Parliament they set out a Confession of Faith, reformed Religion: but when they sent to King and Queen beyond Seas (Queen *Mary* was then married to *Francis* the Second in *France*) to confirm or ratify the Acts thereof, they denied. When intelligence was given to the Confederates, they

An Instance, Anno 1559.

Presbytery displayed.

professed they little regarded the denial of King and Queen; for, say they, (*Knox Hist.* pag. 500.) *All we did was rather to shew our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any strength to our Religion.*

Another Instance, Anno 1571.

Another in this kind you have; In Anno 1571. King James then being King, and the Earl of Marre being Regent, an Assembly, was holden at Leith, where, by the Order of the Assembly, and Ordinance of the Regent and Council, some Commissioners were appointed from the Regent and Council, and some from the General Assembly to condescend upon a platform of Discipline, which was agreed to on both sides. The platform is, that the Government of the Church shall be by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, &c. The order and course of all their Nomination, Election &c. is just conform to that in England at this day, and as it was in Scotland before this new happy Reformation. This was enrolled in the Council-Books of that Kingdom, and stands there to this day: this I know certainly, and if I be not deceived, and almost I dare say it, except they have wronged their most famous, and their most ancient Councils, the platform is upon Record in the General Assembly-Books.

Give me leave to tell you by the way one thing, that the Negative Faith, which is *sine rugâ, sine maculâ* was framed, Anno 1580. and it is believed; that in that Negative Faith, Episcopacy is abjured, as Antichristian; yet An. 1581. this same Government is renewed, ratified, and ordained to continue constant, and not be changed till his Majesty come to perfect age, and to be kept or changed then only in what he and his great Council the Parliament, shall think fit, and not otherwise. Before this, the King, his Household, and Council, had subscribed the Negative Faith; can any man, not void of judgment and discretion, think, that the King, his Household, and Council, in subscribing it did judge Episcopacy Popish and Antichristian?

Next, it is worth your notice-taking, that as I honour the good parts which were in Knox and his fellow-labourers, I never accounted them as Apostles; men secured from error; yet I will say so much for their justification, that they were greater Enemies to Sacriledg than their after-Disciples; and were not against the Order of Episcopacy, as Popish and Antichristian, as Mr Andrew Melvil and his Disciples afterward maintained. Nor were they so foolish, to seclude all Church-men from voyce in Parliament: only their desire was, that seeing the Popish Bishops were allowed to enjoy their Benefices and Rents during their life-time, (this was more than our charitable glorious Reformers allowed to their Protestant Bishops now.) with all

Presbytery displayed.

all other Priviledges except spiritual Jurisdiction, that they should not sit in Parliament as the representative of the Church, but in their places should sit the Superintendents and Commissioners of the Church. Which indeed were somewhat like to Bishops, but resembled more Arch-Presbyters than Bishops.

To return again thither from whence we digressed; After that that platform of Discipline was so agreed and established, as we told before, Mr. Andrew Melvil comes to Scotland about the year 1574. or 75. *ultra-citra*. This man, a good Hebrician and Linguist, and full of the Geneva Talmud which was now more refined, beginneth to set Presbyterian Discipline higher, to make a second book of Policy, or devout Imaginations, acknowledgeth no more Orders in the Church than the Four above-named. A Bishop was no more in Scripture but the same identically with Presbyter. And where Abbots and Priors to his time were nominated and admitted to the Abbies and Priors as Church-men, gave their trials and were collated (as they speak) by the Superintendents; This great Doctor found out another Divinity, that there was no Bishop but a Parish Priest; Scriptures for Abbots and Priors, there were no such in God's Book. At this time, and, from that they call Reformation to this time, there was Bishoprick nor Abby annexed to the Crown, and consequently not improper to any Subject. It is true, Lay-men held them *in commendam* by the King's gift, but as men able to do the King and Church good service: and before their right could be compleated or perfected, they were to return to the King from the Superintendent a Collation or Certificate, that he was of that ability to do good service to the King and Church. Men sacrilegiously disposed, grasped greedily this Doctrine; and thanked God that their names as Abbots and Priors were not in the Book of God. And to have these Church-livings and dignities with Bishopricks annexed to the Crown, and from thence to impropriate them to them, and their Heirs; they deified Mr. Melvil, and contributed their best wits and uttermost power to raise Presbyterian Government higher. And by the sole authority of that they call the Church, they began without the King, Council or Parliament's consent or authority, to distribute the whole Kingdom into so many Presbyteries, as they thought fit in their discretion and by the direction of the holy Spirit: and did procure private Subscriptions to their new Book of Policy, and put it in practice. Sir, I hope you are the more apt to believe this, because you know in England the Disciplinaryans in London meetings debated and

They set on their Discipline by themselves.

and established their orders, in secret and not-warrantable Conventions, and much about the same time; and great correspondence was entertained betwixt the Scots and the English at that time. How that Book of Discipline was practised without any authority, in Surrey and Northampton-shire, and other places, you know well enough.

Now I pray you, When, without Authority, by their own inherent radical Right, they make Orders, reform, establish a Discipline; Do these men imagine, that the concurrence of Christian Authority-Sovereign is absolutely necessary? Or that their demand is any thing else but an act of courtesie, when by themselves and Assistants they may establish and practise it?

This second Book of Policy Master Melvil's Reformation, is the Epocha of our second Reformation. The fruits of which I will tell you were, the Annexation of all Bishopricks, Abbeyes, Priories, &c. to the Crown, which was effectuated Anno 1587.

If you will cast your eyes upon the third glorious Reformation, that makes the Popes knees shake like Belfazzers, when he did see the hand-writing on the wall, (that is, if we will speak truly, this deformation which is the disgrace of reformed Catholick Religion, and which threatneth Church and Religion, King and Kingdom with ruin) you will finde these men have sung a note above Ela, have ordered and practised more than all that went before them. *Hanc movere nolo Camarinam.* I hope a better wit and more Elegant and Eloquent Pen, shall sometime Anatomise this Monster, and so lay it open to the view of the world, that it shall appear to be no true brood of the Reformed Catholick Protestant Religion.

All must preach as they direct.

2. Secondly, another Argument to prove that this Superlative Sovereignty *in spiritualibus*, hath all its most natural Subjects at it's devotion and obedience, is this, that what they command to be Preached, must found alike in all their Synagogues. And whosoever he be that is the Minister of the King's Family, he must preach the same. There is no coequal, corrival, or co-ordinate Power that can do so much as *intercedere* make the least sort of crossing, opposing, or interposing. Is it not known that the Kings Minister in Scotland at the direction of this Conclave, when his Council have been to meet frequently for Treaty with Ambassadors from forraign Kings, upon the Lord's day or Week-dais Sermon before the meeting, *μετὶ παύσησιν*, in great freedom of the Spirit, hath told him all the Council of God from Heaven, with a denunciation of Judgments if he swerve

swerve from it. And if the King had gone to the Church of *Edenburgh*, a Beardless Boy had told him more sound wisdom from Heaven, how to article and conclude in matters of highest concernment, betwixt him and *Spain*, or him and *France*, than all the wisest Councillors and greatest Nobles in the Land: and this, forsooth, must be the King and Council's rule.

3. Thirdly, do they not challenge to themselves the sole power to appoint publick Fasts, to give the reasons of it, which ordinarily are, that God's Judgements are incumbent and eminent upon Church and Kingdom, for the sins of the Governour and Governours, and that the Government is amiss. And the consequent or effect of these Fasts is, too too frequently and ordinarily, some Commotion, Sedition, Rebellion, or, at last some change of Court, Council, or Session.

They appoint publick Fasts.

I cannot here passe by a story as true as strange. While King James was in Scotland, two French Ambassadors had remained some months there with him: being ready to depart and take their leave of the King, the King for His own, and the French Kings greater Honour, sent on a Saturday for the Maior and Aldermen of *Edenburgh*, commanding them the very next Monday to Feast the French Ambassadors. The ministers of *Edenburgh* to affront the King, and the King of *France* too, on Sunday intervening indict a solemn fast to be kept to morrow on Monday, the day appointed the Saturday before by His Majesty for the entertainment of the Ambassadors. The Magistrates of *Edenburgh* proudly contemne the command of the supream spiritual powers, and, out of carnal affection, feast the King and French Ambassadors Royally and Nobly on Monday; When the Ministers and the good Christians of *Edenburgh* fast, the King, the Ambassadors, and Magistrates of *Edenburgh* feast, *ô facinus horrendum!* But to avert Gods Judgment from the Land, the Maior and Aldermen were cited and convented (here was some favor that the King and Ambassadors, were not; but, I will tell you, it was partiality and corruption, for some of the Ministers were the Kings Pensioners, and this kept the King free) to be censured for their high Scandal in contemning so solemn a Fast. There was much work: but the King who was the chief and almost sole transgressor, with interposed delays and much sollicitation and prudence, took off the edge of their zeal, and the pursuit ceased.

A strange affront offered to K. James.

4. That this Assembly is Sovereign in all Spirituals, admits no Co-

None preaching Treason is censurable by any but by them.

Co-ordinate or Co-equal power, far less a superiour, is clear in this; That if any Preacher be charged before King or Council for any offence to be punished, if they in any case can cloath it with a spiritual respect, or circumstantiate it so that it may be qualified for the Spiritual High *Sanhedrim*, the party cited and convented, may and ought to appeal to the *General Assembly*, as to the Judge competent. Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, if I be not deceived, was the first spiritual Counsellor of Law, that taught this way. It is certain, that what they preach in Pulpit is not censurable by King, Parliament, nor Council, or any Judge or Judicatory else. There be two reasons for it: one is, that *Spiritus Prophetarum subjecti Prophetis*, the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets only, 1 *Cor.* 14. the t^other is, whilst men are there in that infallible Pulpit, they are ruled by some superiour good Spirit; and they dare not blame or condemn them, lest they should offend and sin against the Spirit: and so although a man Preach down-right Treason, if it be in this place he is privileged. It is known and I hope, yet remembered, that after King *James* of blessed memory *Anno.* 1584. made many good Laws to curb the Insolency of Ministers; did by Statute and Act of Parliament declare His Supremacy over Ecclesiastical Persons and Causes; condemn all Judicatories in use which were not by his own authority established; (He meant the Presbyterial); That the Ministers then did importune the King to repeal them: and when that would not do, did they not fall at last into open railing against him in Pulpit as an enemy to *Christ* and his Kingdom? They dispersed through the Kingdom, infamous libels against his Person and Royal Honour: they branded him as an Apostate from the truth, and reviled him as an offspring of the cruel and bloody house of *Guise*. This forced the King to put out a Declaration *Anno* 1585. in print yet extant, to vindicate himself and his Honour from that unchristian and more than disloyal calumnie. At or about the very same time some fugitive Ministers out of *Scotland*, pretending, they were Persecutors, did in the Pulpits of *London*, with their foul mouths, raile against his Majesty, the wisest and learnedest of Kings: so that the Scottish Ambassador was forced to complain to Queen *Elizabeth* of it: Her Majesty gave present order to the Lord Bishop of *London* then, to silence all the Scottish Preachers ther

Now that this *Sanhedrim* is only competent Judge in *Spiritualibus*, and that one convented before King and Council, may decline His and

and the Council's authority, although he hath preached Treason, appeareth clearly.

1. First if this had not been an ordinary practice before this time, what needeth the making of that Act of Parliament, *Anno* 1584. declaring it Treason, in all times to come, to decline the Power and Jurisdiction of the King and His Council? 2. Secondly, Has not *James Gibson* Minister at *Pencaitland* witnessed for or against himself rather, in this case, in Print? who publickly in his preachings compared His Majesty unto *Jeroboam*, told him, He should be the least of his Race, reproached him as a Persecutor; and much more of this zealous stuff: Who being convented before the King and Council, and accused of those pious Crimes, he with that boldness becometh His Order, justified all, saying to His Majesty, *As long as you maintain these cursed Acts of 1584. the tyranny of Bishops, you are a Persecutor. And adds, that as Jeroboam for the leading of the people of Israel from the Laws of the house of Judah, and from the true worship of God, was rooted out, he and all his posterity: so should the King (if He continued in that wicked course, maintaining those wicked acts against God) be rooted out and concluded the race.* Much more to the like purpose was said, and, if any look upon the Privy-Council Books of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he will find this a truth. He was convented 27. *Decemb.* *Anno* 1585. This man was an Oracle consulted, and gave his answer in *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, and *Hacket's* extraordinary motion, which story you know better than I.

Mr. *Black*, Minister of *St. Andrews*, was convented too before the King and Council about the same time, who appealed from King and Council to the *Presbytery* or *General Assembly*; this last had spoken against both King and Queen. There was a great business for the two mens Appeals, their Brethren sided so much with them that the King had too much to do. At last out of more than warrantable indulgence, His Majesty was content to insist no farther against them before His Council; but to remit their censure to the *General Assembly* it self: before which it was clearly proved, that in Pulpit they had spoken reproachful and treasonable speeches; yet could the King by no power or intreaty obtain of them to inflict any punishment upon them, because, said they, *They knew not with what Spirit they were over-ruled.*

I will shut up this point with one Instance, more than sufficient to make the truth of what I say to appear. Before King *James* came to the Crown of *England*, it was ordinary in *Scotland* to have a *General Assembly*

Presbytery displayed.

Assembly once a year, and oftner *pro re natâ*, upon any great Exigent. The last which was kept during His Majesties abode there was *Anno 1602.* in the close of which the next ensuing was appointed to be at *Aberdeen, An. 1603.* In the interim the King succeeding to *Q. Elizabeth,* and being in *England,* He was so much taken up with the affairs of this Kingdom, that he was necessitated to lay aside those concerned *Scotland;* and for this reason His Majesty thought it fit to adjourn the Assembly (unto which he had a special eye, knowing their turbulent disposition and experienced in it whilest he was present amongst them) to the next Summer in *Anno 1604.* When the time appointed was come, His Majesties more weighty affairs not suffering him to think upon the *Assemblies business,* he gave order to Prorogate it to another and longer day; which was accordingly done by publick Proclamation, authorized by His Honorable Privy-Council of that Kingdom. Notwithstanding all which, some thirteen or fourteen Godly zealous Brethren must needs meet at *Aberdeen* at the day appointed for the Assembly. They established and formalized the Judicatorie, by constituting a Moderator, a Clerk, and other essential Members of the Court. The Lords of Council understanding this contempt, sent a Gentleman of good quality and place, with an Herald at Arms, to discharge and dissolve the Holy-meeting. The Commissioner and Herald were entertained with as much respect, as before they had given reverence to the Proclamation issued out by the Sovereign authority of the King with the advice of his Honourable Privy Counsel: The *Holy Fathers in the great Sanhedrim* protested and professed, that in Conscience and Duty to Almighty God, they were bound to preserve the Churches right, and could not, would not give way to that power the King sacrilegiously usurped, which properly and natively belonged to the *Church virtual, The Assembly.* They kept and continued the Assembly some daies, and finding that no more of the holy Brotherhood came to joyn with them, they dissolved, and to preserve the holy right of the Church appointed the time and place of meeting for the next Assembly. The King hearing this gave order to His Privy-Council to cite and convent them before them, and to punish this High contempt. The more zealous Champions of the *Lord of Hosts* appeared, and with an undaunted courage gave into the Lords of Council a *Protestation, a Declinator* from the King's Council, and appealed to the next *General Assembly,* as the sole and competent judge in this case and cause, The King's Attorney or Advocate, by order from the Council-Table, was ordained

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Prebytery displayed.

to pursue them criminally before the Lord Justice-General, and that upon the Act of Parliament mentionend before *Anno 1584.* upon which Order, the one half confessed their fault, and easily made their Peace, and obtained pardon. The zealots were convicted of Treason, *ad Terrorem & Exemplum* more than for any other end or respect: and only banished the Kingdom, Of whom the most part thereafter upon their confession and submission were pardoned, came home, lived and enjoyed their own, or at least as good, if not better Benefices. Sir, are these things consistent with Monarchy, or the obedience is due to Sovereignty and its Highest Courts?

So absolute and uncontrollable is this high Celestial Court, that it commandeth Conscience and Soul, disposeth of Body and Estate in the point of Religion, that if you conform not in all, neither Soul, nor Body, nor Estate, can be in Peace; nay, no toleration can be allowed where this sovereignty domineereth. And to make this power of the larger extent, it is certain, their faith and things necessary to Salvation, are of greater latitude than that of the Council of *Trent.*

The Sovereignty Ecclesiastical, tyrannizeth over Conscience, Body, and Estate.

If any doth not, after a little time granted for information, conform and subscribe to their Confession of Faith, (which is more in Negatives and Destructives, than affirmatives and Positives) their rule of Government, their manner of Worship, and what else in their opinion is necessary to Salvation, (and in this I am sure they are more rigorous than ever God or Catholick Church was, for if you dissent but from them in a Theological Tenet, it is Heresie) you are forthwith excommunicated, and given over to the Devil: after which, upon the remonstrance of a Commissioner from the Prebytery to the civil Judge, there is a Warrant from Supreme Authority given out to command you to Conform (this is different from the Writ *De excommunicato capiendo*) or then within few dayes to be put to the horn (that is out-lawed.) Upon disobedience the tender Conscience not conforming, the Out-lawed's Estate moveable (Chattels we call it) become proper to the King. God knoweth, little of this benefit commeth to the King's Thesaurer: but, a *Donator to the Escheit,* which ordinarily is the Convicted's mortal Enemy, for a little composition hath the right made over, and hath the benefit of the Escheit. If, within a year and day he give not obedience and conformity; his whole Revenues and Rents of immoveable Goods are forfeit to the King during his life-time. Some Enemy of His, or Favourite of the Thesaurers, obtaineth the King's Right, and the King hath little or nothing

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Presbytery displayed.

thing of it. Here you have him stript of all his Estate moveable, immoveable. Yet here is not an end: but still upon Remonstrance of the *Presbyteries or Church's Commissioner*, another Writ goeth out, which they call Letters of Caption, (that is, if I mistake not, the Tant' amount of the Writ *De Excommunicato capiendo*) which is directed to all Sheriffs Stuards, Provosts, &c. to seize and secure his Person wheresoever it may be apprehended, and to commit him to close Prison as a Rebel. If he skulk and hide himself, then upon the same Remonstrance goeth out a Writ, which there they call *Letters of Inter-communing* (I know nothing in the Law like this) the intent is, that none of the King's Subjects commune or confer with him *co-ram* or personally, or by Letter or interposed Person keep intelligence or correspondence with him; otherwise the intercommuner is to be judged and reputed to be a Rebel of the same guiltiness. You will be pleased to remember this when the Church requireth all these of the civil Magistrate (so they are pleased to term Sovereignty) he is bound to grant them. Now, Sir, I pray you consider, if this is not in many respects worse than the Inquisition, when an Opinion in a Theological Tenet different from the assured Faith of those *Gamaliels* may bring a man unto all those troubles. Only to make amends for this, remember, this authoritative way preserveth a Church from Heresie, Error, Superstition, and Schism.

This Court is Judge of Treason in relation to Religion, and of fit and worthy Counsellors for a King.

There is another practice of the power of this Court, that for the glory of God, the honour of King, the good and preservation of Church and Religion, it may assume to its self to be Judge of what is Treason, what is not: who are fit Councillors for a King, who not. Practice is the most sure infallible and clear proof and demonstration of power. I will give you one in the case of Treason, that none dare to say it is a Lye, and which can be made good by the authentick and publick Records of Parliament and Council of *Scotland*; and their own noble Acts of General Assembly.

When King *James*, about the age of *Josias*, (when in holy Writ it is recorded of him that he began to seek the Lord with all his heart) had taken the Government of the Kingdom in his own hand; and did Reign and Rule with such Prudence incomparable, admirable, that none could justly except against Him or His Government: yet such was the restless ambition of some, who could not with patience endure the trust of others, especially of that Noble worthy *Esme Duke of Lenox*, His Majesty's nearest Kinsman and highest Favourite, and that justly for His most eminent Noble Endowments: These dif-

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discontented Gentlemen layed down a resolution to get the King into their hands and power, and to thrust out that Noble Prince. They watched an opportunity, when the King came to his sport of Hunting near to *Saint-Johnstown* with an ordinary attendance (the Noble Peer standing with others at *Edenburgh*, for the King and Kingdoms better service) surprized him fearing no ill, seized his Person, carried him along to the Castle of *Ruiben*, kept him so that none could have access to him, till he was forced to command the Duke of *Lennox* to depart the Kingdom (which out of zeal and love to the King he did, in Winter imbarquing at *Dunbritton*, came to *France* and died shortly after) and to change all his Servants they disliked, and to surround him with themselves and their own. They kept their King in captivity the space of nine Moneths, suffering none to come at him but such as they pleased. The wise King put a good face upon a fowl business, seemed to like well of them and their courses. Nevertheless the best and most knowing of Subjects grumbled exceedingly to see their Prince so abused. The Conspirators understanding it, did advise upon the best course to satisfy the people, and to bring them to approve their way. They wrought with the chief Rulers of the Synagogue, and prevailed. At the next General assembly, they give in a Remonstrance to them then sitting in *Edenburgh*, declaring the *Extraordinary Reason* that moved them to secure His Majesty's Person in the Castle of *Ruiben*: their zeal to the Reformed Religion, which was in imminent and apparent danger by the practices of the Duke, who was sent from *France* to *Scotland* of purpose to corrupt the young King: their care to secure the King's Royal Person, whom the Duke intended to convey privately to *France*: their desire to free the Subjects from the bloody tyranny and oppression both of their lives and goods by the malicious disposition and insatiable avarice of those who were about him and over-ruled him; and a great many more specious pretences, (which are not much different from these of this time:) upon this Narrative the humble Petition to this Superlative Sovereignty was, that the holy Brotherhood would be pleased to give an approbation to this their Heroick and Christian fact, and whatsoever was their judgment they would obey it; with this *Proviso*, that it should be made known to all good Christians within the Realm. The Demand was pious and just, the holy Assembly, secured from erring and error, and not encroaching upon any thing meerly civil; but in a case of so high concernment *in ordine ad spiritualia*, as competent Judges, do take the case into their consideration,

sideration, and after mature deliberation, being assisted with a fancied infallible direction, give out their Verdict, authorise and approve all in substance or circumstance to be holily and justly with much zeal and discretion done. In all this they exceeded not their power, and that because, what was done, was for the advancement of God's glory, the honour and personal safety of the King, and publick good of the Kingdom: That all good people might rest content and be fully satisfied it was further ordained, That all Ministers shall upon their return to their Parishes, intimate so much to all their Flocks; and withal exhort all people to esteem the Actors as good Christians and Patriots, that for the causes above-mentioned were necessitated to take this course, to preserve Religion, to rectifie the Errours of Court, which were brought and wrought to that height that both Religion and Policy were in the greatest imaginable danger. The Ordinance was accordingly performed, to no small grief of honest Subjects and Christians. Sir if there were no more Instances, What do you think of this?

It is worth your notice-taking, that this Noble Duke dying in France, who before His coming to Scotland, had been bred in Popery, became a Protestant when He came thither, and was King James his Convert. While he was a dying, Romish Priests were most earnest for access to reconcile him to that Church; but he, adhering to truth, and protesting with all his Promise to his Cousin King James, would admit none, and died in the Communion of the Protestant reformed Church.

The Sovereignty of the Assembly is above all Laws, and may repeal them.

This high Court, the General Assembly, *in ordine ad spiritualia* challengeth and practiseth a Sovereign power above all Civil Laws and Statutes, and Acts of Parliament. And that with that power, that of it self it may repeal and condemn standing Laws and Acts of Parliament, which are in practice, and observed within the Kingdom.

To give you a recent example and instance of this; Since this Assembly of late in this distemper hath recovered its place and power, the Generall Assemblies of Glasgow and Edenburgh have damned Bishops as Antichristian and against their reformation. I wave this. More, they have secluded Bishops or any Church-man from having any Voyce in Parliament, Conventions, or Council. Thus by their own most proper Ecclesiastical Authority, they have made void many Acts of Parliament there, which before were in force and practice. As that in Anno 1584. *Declaring it Treason to call in question the power and authority of any of the three Estates,* (that is, Bishops,

Bishops, Lords, and Commons) or any one of them. This Act was made only to preserve the Priviledges of the Ecclesiastical Estate inviolable. This is evident by the King's Declaration put forth the year following 1585. Again, they have made void another Act of Parliament in Anno 1596. *Ordaining, Ministers that should be provided by His Majesty to Prelacies to have Vote in Parliament; as being the third Estate.* Another in Anno 1606.

The same Assemblies, did declare the Acts of the Assemblies of Glasgow, Perth, &c. null, void, and unlawful: which notwithstanding were enacted as Municipal Laws, obedience commanded, and practised in the greatest part of the Kingdom. How much King James his happy memory is blasted, by these supercilious new Orders of those Assemblies, my Pen blusheth to expresse.

The same Assemblies have condemned the High Commission Court, declared by Act of Parliament. And this is done upon this ground (which proveth their *Sovereignty in spiritualibus*) because it was not consented to by the Church: That is, the vertual Church, the General Assembly.

When I consider these things, I cannot sufficiently wonder how the High-Court of Parliament of England, hath swallowed and sworn their Covenant, which in its right sense doth establish a Court above King and Parliament. Judge you, Sir, if this Oath be *in Judicio, veritate, & justitia.*

If King and Parliament be subordinate to this Court *in spiritualibus, or in temporalibus in ordine ad Ecclesiastica*, all the reason in the world will plead, that it is most just, that all Judicatories whatsoever, even the Supreamest from whom lieth no Appeal, submit and subject themselves to it.

All Judicatories are subordinate to this *Synhedrim.*

The holy Fathers of this Court have shewn their Right in this Point too. To confirm this, fearing I have wearied you, I will bring but one Instance, and spare to trouble you with more.

This Story can be made good by Records, which I am to tell you. And first, give me leave to inform you, That the *Lords of Session* (who by Act of Parliament are so) are in all *Civil Causes* the Supream Judicatory of the Kingdom under the King. No Judgment passed there can be rectified or reduced by any Judicatory, under the King and Parliament, but by themselves, which is only by *suspension of Execution* of that is judged and decreed, or by *action of Reduction*: This is nothing but *Provocatio a Philippo male edocto, ad Philippum rectius edoctum.* This thus premised, I come home.

Mr.

Presbytery displayed.

Mr. John Graham, one of the Judges of that associate Body, had commenced an ordinary and proper Suit before the Lords of Session, obtained Decree and Judgment according to his Libel. After which, a rumour was noised abroad, that the Writs and Evidences, upon which his Suit and the Judgment upon it were founded, were forged and false. The General Assembly took notice of this unjust Decree, as they to whom the inspection of religion and Justice belongeth, and who were bound not to suffer such an unjust Judgment to take place and be executed. They send for Mr. John Graham, commanding him by their authority to pass from his Decree, to make no use of it against the Party against whom it was obtained, and that because it was purchased upon false grounds, and it gave occasion of great scandal, that he being a Judge should make use of such Writs. His answer was, If any would challenge his Decree or Judgment upon any just ground, he might have his recourse to the ordinary Judge, and take it away by way of reduction; but so long as it was not reduced, it concerned him to take the benefit of it. Then seeing that they could not prevail by Admonition, they threatened him with Excommunication, if he did not what they enjoyed. He Appeals from them to the Lords of Session, as the only Competent Judges in such cases: notwithstanding they resolve to proceed against him. The Lords of Session finding themselves interested, and the assembly usurping upon them and their power, in this proceeding against one of their own number, who had appealed to them in a civil cause already judged by them; directed some of their number to the Assembly, and desired them not to meddle any more in that business, as being meerly civil, and no wayes belonging to their jurisdiction. This produced no other effect, but incensed the holy Fathers to rail against the Judges as wicked and corrupt men, who sided one with another whether it were right or wrong. The business at last came to this hight, that the Lords of Session (who would not suffer them to encroach upon their Priviledges) by vertue of that Delegate-power and authority they were envested with from the King, threatened to out-law them, and to proclaim them Rebels to the King, if they proceeded any further, and would not admit of the Appeal. The Assembly finding themselves too weak, and not able to make their part good by power (in which case only they will be Martyrs) fell from the pursuit, and all was quieted.

Sir, I pray you to consider, in what condition are they that live under such a Government that is boundless and universal; will give

Prebytery displayed.

give Laws to King, Council, and Parliament; Repeal theirs at pleasures; reduce and make void Decrees and Judgment of highest Judicatories, &c. What Peace or Tranquillity can there be in such a State or Kingdom? Give me leave to tell you a true Story. It is known and lamented by all good men this day, how King James His Soul was vexed with them, that manytimes they have made Him fall out in tears. A Noble-man, a most wise man, then Chancellor, seeing the King extreamly troubled at the miscarriage of the Ministry, said to Him: Sir no man is to be blamed, that you are so much troubled with the Ministers, as your self; for when they do any thing amiss, you never cease till by your Royal Prudence and authority you set it aright again: but, would you leave them to themselves, the very body of the People would rise up against them, and stone them out of the Kingdom. His Majesty returned a most pious answer, worthy to be written in letters of Gold in marble, that all Kings may learn it; My Lord, saith He, your advice is shrewd policy, but your counsel is not good piety. If I had no more to do but to serve my self of them for a politick end, your advice is good, and I know it would prove so. But God hath appointed me a Nurse or Father of his Church, it is my charge from my Lord and Master to preserve his Church, and not to ruinate it. Which if I do, God will ruinate me and my Posterity.

King James, in the Conference at Hampton-Court, hath well observed, that this Ecclesiastical Government prepareth way, and ushereth in a Democratical Government. And he telleth also, that in His Mother Queen Mary's absence, and in his own Minority and non-age, it was much thought upon and intended. Their Maxims of Divinity lead to it: for they say, *Respublica est in Ecclesia*: The Church and her policy are the House, the Civil Government is but the Hangings, which necessarily for decency and good order must be made conformable to the House. Monarchy is enmity against the Church. *Catherwood* in his book intituled *Altare Damacenum*, gives you it in down right tearms, *Natura insitum est omnibus Regibus in Christum odium*; and in his Preface or Epistle (I have not the Book by me) he calls *K James, Infensissimum & infestissimum purioris Religionis hostem*. And that they may now exercise all their power, and bring the Kingdom to a popular State, which was not so feisible before, it is more than probable, and much to be feared, and with great prudence to be prevented: because the General Assembly hath in it now the prime Noble-men of the Kingdom, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Lords:

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Presbytery displayed.

the most active and knowing Knights of Counties, and Esquires, the wisest Citizens and Corporations, and this in the capacity of Ruling-elders, who discontented are able here to make a Faction, call King, Session Council, or whom they please before them, because of their supream, universal and independent jurisdiction. And this Judicatory cannot err in its determination, for it is undoubtedly secured from error, and assisted with infallibility.

A holy trick which hatcheth all Sedition and Treason.

This divine Policy hath another sacred trick to preserve its Sovereignty and to continue it, which is this: The General Assembly ordinarily meets but once a year, yet at the end and close of every General Assembly, there is a choice made of some Commissioners, (a Committee) who are to reside, or at least upon any necessary occasion to be at *Edenburgh*. These are the virtual Assembly, and their power continueth till the next General Assembly. They are in the first place, to intimate to the King the desire and demands of the Assembly, and to see *all due civil Sanction and confirmation given to it*: the King, His Council, His Parliament can change nothing of their sacred Decrees without their consent. What ever new occurrence is in Church or State *pro re nata*, these Commissioners are to give order and to see, *ne quid detrimenti Ecclesia capiat*. It is true, their orders bind only in the interim betwixt the two Assemblies, and the next plenary General Assembly may *derogare, abrogare, obrogare, &c.* Yet give me leave to tell you truth, these great Delegates with their power have so much influence upon the next General Assembly, that their *προβλεψμασι* precognitions and predeterminations are formally and legally enacted. Nor is this to be wondered at: for the *Achitophels* and *Foabs* of Church and Kingdom, the best head-peices of greatest depth, Preaching and Ruling-Elders, are in this Junto.

Here are all disturbing Seditions, and treasonable courses hatched and conceived: whether it be Treason against the King, Sedition in State or kingdom, the change of Court, the removing of Courtiers from the King, the surrounding of him with others, &c. The next Assembly owns all their courses, decrees them under pretence of piety, Reformation of abuses, removing of Malignants from the King and from his Council, from being Judges in the supreamest Judicatories of the Kingdom, &c. By this means, at pleasure, when and where they will, they procure Parliaments to work for their own private ends. To facilitate the work, order is given to all Presbyteries, to command all the Ministers to preach to their Flocks, to make

Prebytery displayed.

make and keep Fasts, for the danger the Church is in; that the King is inclinable, nay inclining to Popery; that there are none in trust or power by Him, in Court, Council, Exchequer, or Session, but such as are Popish or Popishly affected: and such they must be, if they once determine it. And woful experience hath confirmed it, that worthy, innocent, and deserving men have suffered, and the King hath been forced to abandon His best Servants.

This close Committee hath all these Prerogatives: 1. During the interim betwixt two Assemblies, they have trust to see that all the Orders and Decrees of the Grand Consistory should be put in execution. 2. Next upon any Exigent intervening, they have the power, by their influence upon all the Presbyteries in the Kingdom, to make them go which way they thought fit for their own ends, both to make the Ministers preach their sense, and to work with all the people to believe, the postures of affairs in Church and State were as they informed and represented them. 3. Thirdly, here were all things prepared for the next great meeting of the General Assembly.

By these means things projected were effected. This way the Queen Regent was put from Her Regency. This way Queen *Mary* was expelled *Scotland*. This way King *James* His captivity at *Rubens* was found to be good service. This way that Noble Duke of *Lenox, Esme*, was made a Papist, and the King forced to abandon him, and he to depart the Kingdom in Winter being sick, and shortly after died in *France*. By this means, if I be not deceived, was that infamous day the 17 of *December, Anno 1596.* (*atro signanda lapillo*) renowned for a most horrid Infurrection in *Edenburgh* against King *James* and His prime Counsellors, I beg leave to give you a short account of it.

King *James* whilest He was King of *Scotland*, by all forraign Kings Princes and States, was admired for His extraordinary Royal Endowments. Ambassadors from many beyond Seas at the same time and almost constantly, were with him. The smalness of the patrimony of that Crown, was not able to maintain that Royal deportment He kept. Besides, being too too Royally liberal and magnificent, His Coffers were empty, and at this time scarce was His Majesty able to maintain the necessary charge of His house in that measure which was suitable to so Royal a King. To rectifie this, the King with the advice of His Council, entrusted with all his Rents, Revenues, and Casualties Eight prime men of good worth and integrity, Officers of State, Counsellors and Judges. This was done that all might be rightly regulated, and before all things His Tables at Court kept

The Story of 17. December 1596.

Presbytery displayed.

like a Kings, that forraign Ambassadors might not espy any want which might derogate from the Honour of King and Kingdom. The ordinary Tables of the Court were regulated; the Courtiers daily allowance was re-trenched; which they could not away with. They and other discontented persons did reproachfully call these men, *The Octavians*. They who grumbled at this, and would right themselves, to gain their intendment, hit upon the ordinary and safest way; that was, to begin with the Church. They inform, The forraign Ambassadors did work upon the King to turn Papist: it was like they would prevail; for these *Octavians* were all such in their hearts, and dissembled only in professing to keep a communion with the Protestant Church; if those were not removed from the King, and good men put about him, Religion, Kingdom, and all were undone. When this had been often informed and suggested, early in the morning on the 17 of *December*, three of the King's domestick Servants came to Mr. *Walter Balcanqual's* house; The Ministry of *Edenburgh*; and others Commissioners of the General Assembly, with some of the best Christians of *Edenburgh* are sent for, they meet there. The King's Servants inform that all was undone, if they did not in time and speedily prevent; for the Marquess of *Huntly*, (this was the late Marquess who came occasionally the Night before to Court; and it is true he was Popish, but God knows he was free of what he was charged with) say they, was with the King till twelve a Clock at Night in his Bed-chamber yester-night; it is resolved upon to re-erect Popery; and so, many of your best Citizens and Christians are to be seized upon; some to be sent to *Blackness*, some to *Innerness*, some to *Dunbritton*, &c. The case was apprehended in that zeal which became the cause. The resolution taken, was, that Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* being to preach that very day in the Chancel of *Saint Giles* Church, which they call the little Church, after Sermon and Prayer done, he should desire all good Brethren and Christians to meet immediately forthwith there for the good of Church and Religion. Noblemen, Gentlemen, Preachers, Burgesses, all who affected the good cause did meet. Mr. *Robert Bruce* was appointed by common consent Moderator. It is laid open in what case Church and Religion, State and Kingdom are, the urgent instant necessity is made to appear. The result of the determination was, that presently they go to Arms: and by holy force, to pull from the King's side those Popish *Octavians*: That a Letter be written to *John Lord Marquess of Hamilton* to come to *Edenburgh*, to be Captain of the Congregation, and in regard

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gard the king had made defection from the true Religion, He being the nearest of the blood should come and take the Government upon him. I know the just Copy of this Letter is extant to this day. They run to Arms, the word is, *The Sword of the Lord and Gideon*. The good King was in the place of Justice; the prime of the *Octavians* with him; hearing something of the uproar and tumult, by a secret passage, he and some other go up to the Exchequer-house over head. A great Lord was Head of the Congregation, he and some others came Commissioners to the King, were admitted, demanded those *Octavians* to justice, the King asked this Lord, How durst he against His Authority, His Laws, His Proclamation, keep unlawful Meetings at *Edenburgh* (for the King before had discharged the meeting of those Commissioners of Assembly; or any other meeting whatsoever without his Royal Warrant.) The Lord, with courage in zeal to a good Cause, told the King, that he should see ere long, they durst do more. The Lord, or some other, taketh hold of one of the *Octavians* Gown, who was President of Session; but he pulleth his Gown out of his hand, and conveyeth himself down to the house where the Lords did sit in Judgment. In fine, the King and Lords were forced, to shun the danger of this tumultuary Insurrection, to close up the Doors, and some to stand with their Swords drawn if any should offer violence to break up the Doors. Some good Subjects, especially *Alexander Home* of *Northborvick* for the time Provost of *Edenburgh*, and *Roger Mackmath* (whom King *James* ordinarily called his Bailly) with others well disposed and Loyally affected Subjects, and namely the *Hammermen* rise up in Arms for the King, who partly by smooth words, and partly by threats, husht and housed the Factious and Seditious. The King came out of the place of Judicatory, and on foot, attended with many Nobles, Gentlemen, and other good Subjects, came to His Palace at *Halyrude-house* in peace: where immediately in the Afternoon, he convened His Privy-council, and by his Wisdom and Authority so repressed and punished that Insolency, that all the time of his Reign, the like Barbarous treacherous course was never attempted. I hope you are the more apt to believe this, when you remember, What a Petition or Declaration was presented to Queen *Elizabeth* at *Greenwich*, Anno 1582. to remove from Her Service and Trust such as they know were not well affected to the Religion and Church.

Sir, I could make, it appear how all Seditious almost and Rebellions in that Kingdom, have been set afoot or fomented by this Government

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vernment Presbyterian: How neighbourly-Feuds have been increased and entertained: How Moneys collected for the relief and support of Geneva, were by the chief Gamaliels and Presbyters interverted, imploied to raise and pay Souldiers to aid and assist the Earl of Boibwel and his Complices in Rebellion against the King. I fear I have wearied you already; the Subject is everlasting, and I am weary of it.

If I should give account of the late practises and tenets of this late Covenant, it were possible to let you see that it hath far exceeded all the mischief ever their fore-fathers did, although they tread in the same footsteps. The reason why I have spared it, is not I feared it, I hope to discover it sometime to the World by anatomising it fully. Next, I hope, you have espied the Noble passages of it; and are sufficiently confirmed, that nothing can be more destructive of Monarchy, and the peace of any Government. To shut up all, give me leave in the close to give the Articles of their Apostatical Creed inconsistent with Monarchy; which they hold as the Twelve Articles of the Apostolical Symbol, I will touch only the prime of those; for their other Articles, they are so many and of so vast an extent, abounding in Negatives; that as King James saith well, He that would keep them is not able to keep them in his Brain, but must keep them in a Table-book.

The Articles of the Dogmatical Presbyterian Faith, inconsistent with Monarchy.

Their Dogmatical Creed.

1. AS I have said before; They preach and maintain that the Church is the House of God, the Civil Policy and Government are only the Hangings.

2. Next they believe, All Ministers are *pari consortio honoris & potestatis praevidi*, that there must be a parity in the Church. Joyn these two together, and you have a fair way for Democracy.

3. They vindicate to themselves and their Consistory, a soveraign, compleat, universal, independent power in all things spiritual that concern Salvation, they have not only the directive power but the Legislative also; and all temporal things in order to salvation and Religion come within the Verge of their Scepter. All Sovereign Power, (wheresoever you fix it, whether in one, as in a Monarchy; or in few, as in an Aristocracy; or in many, or all, by vicissitudinary turns) have only the Executive power to do as they command, and is bound to

to

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to preserve by its Power, Laws, and Arms, their sacred and celestial Priviledges and Sovereignty.

4. Whatsoever Laws civilly exacted by Kings or Parliament they concieve to be against the Laws of the Kingdom of Christ, by their native proper intrinsecal right immediately derived from Christ, they may repeal and make void, discharge the Subject to obey them. They may decree not only different Laws of their own from the standing Laws of the Kingdom, but contrary, contradictory and destructive of them. And have withal so much coactive power, that if obedience be denied to the Laws of this Sovereignty, they can destroy the Souls of the Subjects, by delivering them over to Satan.

5. No Minister preaching in Pulpit, Sediton or Treason, or railing at King, Council, the prime Judges, is accountable, or punishable by King Parliament, Council or any Judicatory whatsoever; But from all, he may appeal to the Sanhedrim and Consistory as the sole and proper competent Judge.

6. What Corroboration or civil confirmation or Sanction they demand of the King, which he is able to do civilly (for they will give him no formal interest in any sacred or religious thing) He is bound to Grant it, and to obey them as Christs immediate Vice-gerents, otherwise they may Excommunicate him.

7. Reformation and Preservation of Religion, especially to prescribe the way and Orders for Reformation is solely theirs.

8. The King is bound to put their Orders in execution, but if neither He, nor His Council, nor His Parliament will do it, the inferior Judges, the Nobles, the Commons, nay, every individual man to his utmost power, at their direction, are bound to do it.

9. That they may without warrant of Supream Authority Assemble where and when they will, for God and Christ's Cause and for the Liberty and Peace of Subject and Kingdom *in ordine ad spiritualia*; and there they may Covenant together, swear, and subscribe for the Glory of God, the advancement of Religion, and conspire and combine in a mutual defence one of another in this holy Cause and League.

10. They teach and maintain, that all Sovereignty and Majesty in a King is originally, immediately, and properly derived from the Community, and that only by way of a fiduciary trust; so that it is habitually and radically still in the people, and the King hath no greater portion or proportion than He hath by the first popular fundamental Constitution. And in case of deficiency, the collective body may supply in Church or State the defects of His Government. For Male-administration

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ministracion the King is censurable; For enormous Errours He is deposable, and they may disinherit His Posterity.

11. That a defensive War is lawful against a bad King, or a weak King seduced by Malignant Council.

12. They may oppose and resist all his Officers and Commissioners by force and violence, if they come to execute His illegal Commands. And if He will be so obstinate that He will come in Arms against these good Christians, they resist not His Authority, but His Will: nor His Office, but His Person.

Besides, their practice, upon these grounds, is to bring all Cases, all Causes, under their Cognition and Judgment, *sub formalitate scandali*, by which the King is robbed of His Sacred Prorogative; The Judges of their Authority, and all Subjects of their Right and Quiet. The rest of their Extravagant Maxims, inconsistent with Monarchy and the peace of Government, are reduceable to these Heads. More than this you desire not.

Sir, being infinitely obliged to you, and honouring you much for your worth and excellent parts, cursorily and hastily, I have written this answer to you. Not intending thereby to reproach any person particularly whatsoever, but to lay open to the World how dangerous a Government this is, not only for Monarchy, but for all Governments whatsoever: and that our eyes being opened we may choose rather to endure any torment temporary, than to enter into this treacherous and damnable Covenant, destructive of Religion, King, Church, Peace of all, and the Liberty of the Subject. To swear to these things as established *De jure divino*, and to put on poor people to act Treason and Rebellion, making them believe they are Confessors and Martyrs. If this give you any satisfaction, I have what I desire: If you doubt of the truth of any thing, I hope I am able to make all here good by faithful and authentick Records, or Testimony of such as are worthy of trust. I pray you keep it for your own use only, for I should be loath any but a Friend see it, it is so rudely done, but I dare say, truly and faithfully.

God save his Church from this Scourge, and give us Peace and Truth, which shall be the daily prayer of

Your poor Friend and

obliged Servant.