

Protection, to govern them by the Laws of the Kingdom, and to defend them in their Rights and Liberties, by Your Royal Power: offering themselves in most humble manner to Your Majesty, with their Vows, to bestow Land, Life, and what else is in their power for the Maintenance of Religion, for the Safety of Your Majesty's Sacred Person, and Maintenance of Your Crown, which they intreat Your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God, that for many years You may happily enjoy the same.

The King made this Answer: *I do esteem the Affections of my good People, more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by God's Assistance, to bestow my Life in their Defence; Wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion, and this Kingdom flourish in all Happiness.*

Thereafter, the Commissioners of Burroughs and Barons, and the Noblemen accompanied his Majesty to the Kirk of Scoon, in Order and Rank according to their Quality, two and two. The Spurs being carried by the Earl of Eglington. Next, the Sword by the Earl of Rothes. Then the Scepter, by the Earl of Crauford and Lindesay. And the Crown by Marquis of Argile, immediately before the King. Then came the King, with the great Constable on his Right hand, and the great Marshal on his Left, his Train being carried by the Lord Erskine, the Lord Montgomery, the Lord Newbottle, and the Lord Machlene, four Earl's eldest Sons, under a Canopy of crimson Velvet, supported by six Earl's Sons; to wit, the Lord Drummond, the Lord Carnegie, the Lord Ramsey, the Lord Johnstoun, the Lord Brechin, the Lord Yester; and the six Carriers supported by six Noblemen's Sons. Thus the King's Majesty enter'd the Kirk.

The Kirk being fitted, and prepared with a Table, whereupon the Honours were laid, and a Chair set in a fitting place for his Majesty's hearing of Sermon, over against the Minister; and another Chair on the other side, where he receiv'd the Crown; before which there was a Bench decently cover'd, as also for Seats about for Noblemen, Barons, and Burgeses. And there being also a Stage in a fit place, erected of 24 Foot square, about four Foot high from the ground, cover'd with Carpets, with two Stairs, one from the West, another to the East: upon which great Stage, there was another little Stage erected, some two Foot high, ascending by two Steps; on which the Throne or Chair of State was set.

The Kirk thus fittingly prepar'd, the King's Majesty entereth the same, accompanied as aforesaid, and first setteth himself in his Chair, for hearing of Sermon.

All being quietly compos'd unto Attention, Mr. Robert Douglas, Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, after incalling upon God by Prayer, preach'd the following Sermon. A

A SERMON preach'd at Scoon, Jan. 1. 1651. at the Coronation of CHARLES the Second.

By *Robert Douglas*, Minister at *Edinburgh*, Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly.

2 KINGS XI. Vers. 12, 17.

And he brought forth the King's Son, and put the Crown upon him, and gave him the Testimony; and they made him King, and anointed him, and they clapt their hands and said, God save the King.

And Jehoiada made a Covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the People, that they should be the Lord's people, between the King also and the People.

IN this Text of Scripture, you have the Solemn Enthroning of *Joash*, a young King, and that in a very troublesome time; for *Athaliah*, the Mother of *Abaziah*, had cruelly murder'd the Royal Seed, and usurp'd the Kingdom by the space of six years. Only this young Prince was preserv'd by *Jehoshaba*, the Sister of *Abaziah*, and Wife to *Jehoiada* the High-Priest, being hid with her in the House of the Lord all that time.

Good Interpreters do conjecture, tho *Joash* be call'd the Son of *Abaziah*, that he was not his Son by Nature, but by Succession to the Crown. They say, that the Race of *Solomon* ceased here, and the Kingdom came to the Posterity of *Nathan*, the Son of *David*. Because, 2 Chron. 12. 9. it is said, *The house of Abaziah had no power to keep the Kingdom*, which they conceive to be for the want of Children in that House; and because of the absurdity and unnaturalness of the fact, that *Athaliah* the Grandmother should have cut off her Son's Children. I shall not stand upon the matter; Only I may say, if they were

were *Ahaziah's* own Children, it was a most unnatural and cruel Fact of *Athaliah* to cut off her own Posterity.

For the Usurpation, there might have been two Motives. 1. It seemeth, that when *Ahaziah* went to Battel, *Athaliah* was left to govern the Kingdom; and her Son *Ahaziah* being slain before his return, she thought the Government sweet, and could not part with it; and because the Royal Seed stood in her way, she cruelly destroy'd them, that she might reign with the greater freedom. 2. She was earnest to set up a false Worship, even the Worship of *Baal*, which she thought could not be so well done, as by cutting off the Royal Race, and getting the sole Power in her Hand, that she might do what she pleas'd.

The Business you are about this day is not unlike. You are to invest a young King in the Throne in a very troublesome time; and wicked Men have risen up, and usurp'd the Kingdom, and put to Death the late King most unnaturally. The like Motives seem to have prevail'd with them. 1. These Men by Falshood and Dissimulation have gotten Power in their hands, which to them is so sweet, that they are unwilling to part with it: And because the King and his Seed stood in their way, they have made away the King, and disinherited his Children, that the sole Power might be in their hand. 2. They have a Number of damnable Errors, and a false Worship to set up; and intend to take away the Ordinances of Christ, and Government of his Kirk. All this cannot be done, unless they have the sole Power in their hands; and this they cannot have, till the King and his Posterity be cut off. But I leave this, and come to the present Solemnity. There is a Prince to be inthron'd, good *Jehoiada* will have the Crown put upon his Head.

It may be question'd, why they went about this Coronation in a time of so great hazard, when *Athaliah* had reign'd six years? Had it not been better to have defeated *Athaliah*, and then to have crowned the King? Two Reasons may be render'd, why they delay not the Coronation. 1. To crown the King, was a Duty they were bound to; Hazard should not make them leave their Duty. They did their Duty, and left the success to God. 2. They crowned the young King, to endear the People's Affections to their own native Prince, and to alienate their Hearts from her that had usurp'd the Kingdom. If they had delay'd, the King being known to be preserv'd, it might have brought on, not only Compliance with her, but also Subjection to her Government, by resting in it; and being content to lay aside the righteous Heir of the Crown.

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The same is observ'd in our Case, and many wonder that you should Crown the King in a dangerous time, when the Usurpers have such Power in the Land; the same Reasons may serve to answer for your doing. 1. It is our necessary Duty to Crown the King upon all hazards, and to leave the success to God. 2. It appeareth now, it hath been too long delay'd. Delay is dangerous, because of the Compliance of some, and Treachery of others. If it shall be delay'd longer, it is to be fear'd, that the most part shall sit down under the shadow of the *Bramble*, the destroying Usurpers.

I come to the particular handling of this present Text, and to speak from it to the present Time: I have read the 12th and 17th Verses; because of these two which meet together, the Crowning of a King, and his renewing the Covenant. Amongst many particulars which may be handled from the Text, I shall confine my self to these Five. 1. The Crown; *He put the Crown upon his Head.* 2. The Testimony; *He gave him the Testimony.* 3. The Anointing; *They Anointed him.* These three are in the 12th Verse. As for that which is spoken of the People's Joy, we shall give it a touch when we come to the People's Duty. 4. The Covenant between God, and the King, and the People: *Jehoiada made a Covenant between God and the King, and the People; that they should be the Lord's People.* 5. The Covenant between the King and the People; *Between the King also and the People:* both in the 17th Verse.

First, The Crown is put upon his Head. A Crown is the most excellent Badg of Royal Majesty. To discourse on Crowns in a State-way, I shall leave unto States-men, and lay only these Three before you of the Crown.

1. In putting on of the Crown, it would be well fastned. For Kings Crowns are oftentimes tottering; and this is a time wherein they totter. There are two Things which make King's Crowns to totter, Great Sins, and great Commotions and Troubles: take heed of both.

1. There are many Sins upon our King and his Family. Sin will make the surest Crown, that ever Men set on, to totter. The Sins of former Kings have made this a tottering Crown. I shall not insist here, seeing there hath been a solemn Day of Humiliation through the Land, on *Thursday* last, for the Sins of the Royal Family. I wish the Lord may bless it; and desire the King be truly humbled for his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's House, which have been great. Beware of putting on these Sins with the Crown; for if you put them on, all the Well-wishers to a King, in the Three Kingdoms, will not be able to hold on the Crown, and keep it

it from tottering ; yea, from falling. Lord, take away the Controversy with the Royal Family, that the Crown may be fastned sure upon the King's Head, without falling or tottering.

2. Troubles and Commotions in a Kingdom, make Crowns to totter. A Crown at the best, and in the most calm Times, is full of Trouble ; which if it were well weigh'd by Men, there would not be such hunting after Crowns. I read of a great Man who, considering the Trouble and Care that accompanied a Crown, said, He would not take it up at his Foot, tho he might have it for taking. Now if a Crown at the best be so full of Troubles, what shall one think of a Crown at the worst, when there are so great Commotions, wherein the Crown is directly aim'd at ? Surely it must be a tottering Crown at the least, especially when former Sins have brought on these Troubles. As the remedy of the former is true Humiliation, and turning unto God ; so the remedy of the latter, is *Psal. 21. 3.* (speaking of David's Crown) *Thou settest a Crown of pure Gold upon his Head.* God set on David's Crown ; and therefore it was settled, notwithstanding of many Troubles. Men may set on Crowns, and they may be thrown off again : But when God setteth them on, they will be fast. Enemies have touched the Crown of our King, and casten it off in the other Kingdom, and have made it totter in this Kingdom. Both the King who is to be crown'd, and you who are to crown him, should deal earnestly with God, to set the Crown on the King's Head, and to keep it on against all the Commotions of this Generation. 2. A King should esteem more of the People he reigneth over, than of his Crown : Kings use to be so taken up with their Crowns, that they despise their People. I would have a King following Christ, the King of his People, who saith of them, *Isa. 62. 3.* *Thou shalt be a Crown of Glory in the hand of the Lord, and a Royal Diadem in the hand of thy God.* Christ counteth his People his Crown and Diadem ; so should a King esteem the People of the Lord, over whom he ruleth, to be as his Crown and Diadem ; take away the People, and a Crown is but an empty Symbol. 3. A King, when he getteth his Crown on his Head, should think at the best, it is but a fading Crown. All the Crowns of Kings are but fading Crowns ; therefore they should have an eye upon that *Crown of Glory that fadeth not away, 1 Pet. 5. 4.* and upon a *Kingdom that cannot be shaken, Heb. 12. 28.* That Crown and Kingdom belongeth not to Kings as Kings, but unto Believers ; and a believing King hath this comfort, that when he hath endured a while, and been tried, he shall receive the *Crown of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.*

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II. The second Thing in this Solemnity, is the *Testimony*; by this is meant the Law of God, so call'd, because it testifieth of the Mind and Will of God. It was commanded, *Deut. 17. 18, 19. When the King shall sit upon the Throne of his Kingdom, he shall write a Copy of the Book of the Law, and it shall be with him, that he may read therein all the days of his life.* The King should have the *Testimony* for these three main Uses.

1. For his Information in the Way of God, *Deut. 17. 19.* This Use of the King's having the Book of the Law is expressed; *That he may learn to fear the Lord his God:* The Reading of other Books may do a King good for Government, but no Book will teach him the Way of Salvation, but the Book of God. Christ biddeth *search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life, and they testify of me, Joh. 5. 39.* He is a blessed Man who meditateth in the Law of the Lord day and night, *Psal. 1. 1.* King David was well acquainted herewith, as appeareth, *Psal. 119.* Kings should be well exercised in Scripture. It is reported of *Alphonfus, King of Aragon*, that he read the Bible fourteen times, with Glosses thereupon. I recommend to the King, to take some Hours for reading Holy Scripture: It will be a good means to make him acquainted with God's Mind, and with Christ a Saviour.

2. For his direction in Government. Kings read Books that they may learn to govern well, which I condemn not; but all the Books a King can read, will not make him govern to please God, as this Book; I know nothing that is good in Government, but a King may learn it out of the Book of God. For this Cause *Joshua* is commanded, *Josh. 1. 8. That the Book of the Law shall not depart out of his mouth;* and he is commanded to do according to that which is written therein. He should not only do himself that which is written in it, but do and govern his People according to that is written in it. King David knew this Use of the *Testimony*, who said, *Psal. 119. 24. Thy Testimonies are my delight, and my Counsellors.* The best Counsels that ever a King getteth, are in the Book of God; yea, the *Testimonies* are the best and surest Counsellors: because, altho King's Counsellors be never so wise and trusty, yet they use not to be so free with a King as they ought: But the Scripture will tell Kings very freely both their Sin and their Duty.

3. For Preservation and Custody. The King is *Custos utriusque Tabulae*; the Keeper of both Tables: Not that he should take upon him the Power to dispense the Word of God, or to dispense with it: But that he should preserve the Word of God, and the true Religion according to the Word of God, pure, intire, and uncorrupted, within his Dominions, and transmit them so to Posterity; and also be careful to see his Subjects

Subjects observe both Tables, and to punish the Transgressors of the same.

III. The third Thing in this Solemnity is, the Anointing of the King. The Anointing of Kings was not absolutely necessary under the Old Testament; for we read not that all the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* were Anointed. The *Hebrews* observe, that Anointing of Kings was used in three Cases.

1. When the first of a Family was made King, as *Saul*, *David*.
2. When there was a Question for the Crown, as in the Case of *Solomon* and *Adonijah*. 3. When there was an Interruption of the Lawful Succession by Usurpation, as in the Case of *Joash*, there is an Interruption by the Usurpation of *Athaliah*; therefore he is Anointed. If this Observation hold, as it is probable, then it was not absolutely necessary under the Old Testament; and therefore far less under the New.

Because it may be said, That in our Case there is an Interruption by Usurpation, let it be consider'd, That the Anointing under the Old Testament was Typical; altho all Kings were not Types of Christ, yet the Anointing of Kings, Priests, and Prophets, was Typical of Christ, and his Offices: But Christ being now come, all these Ceremonies cease; and therefore the Anointing of Kings ought not to be us'd in the New Testament.

If it be said, Anointing of Kings hath been in use among Christians, not only Papists, but Protestants; as in the Kingdom of *England*, and our late King was Anointed with Oyl. It may be reply'd, They who us'd it under the New Testament, took it from the *Jews*, without warrant. It was most in use with the Bishops of *Rome*, who, to keep Kings and Emperors subject to themselves, did swear them to the Pope, when they were Anointed, (and yet the *Jewish* Priests did never swear Kings to themselves) As for *England*, altho the Pope was casten off, yet the Subjection of Kings to Bishops was still retain'd; for they Anointed the King, and sware him to the Maintenance of their Prelatical Dignity. They are here who were Witnesses at the Coronation of the late King. The Bishops behoved to perform that Rite, and the King behoved to be sworn to them. But now, by the Blessing of God, Popery and Prelacy are remov'd: The Bishops, as Limbs of Antichrist, are put to the Door; let the Anointing of Kings with Oyl go to the Door with them, and let them never come in again.

The Anointing with material Oyl, maketh not a King the Anointed of the Lord, for he is so without it. He is the Anointed of the Lord, who by the Divine Ordinance and Appointment is a King, *Isa. 45. 1.* God called *Cyrus* his Anointed; yet

yet we read not that he was Anointed with Oyl. Kings are the Anointed of the Lord, because by the Ordinance of the Lord, their Authority is sacred and inviolable. It is enough for us to have the Thing, tho we want the Ceremony; which being laid aside, I will give some Observations of the Thing.

1. A King being the Lord's Anointed, should be thinking upon a better Unction, even that Spiritual Unction wherewith Believers are Anointed, which you have *1 John 2. 27. The Anointing ye have received of him, abideth in you.* And *2 Cor. 1. 21. He that hath anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us.* This Anointing is not proper to Kings, but common to Believers. Few Kings are so Anointed. A King should strive to be a good Christian, and then a good King: The Anointing with Grace, is better than the Anointing with Oyl. It is of more Worth for a King to be the Anointed of the Lord with Grace, than to be the greatest Monarch of the World without it.

2. This Anointing may put a King in mind of the Gifts, wherewith Kings should be indu'd, for discharge of the Royal Calling. For Anointing did signify the Gifts of Office. It is said of *Saul*, when he was anointed King, as *1 Sam. 10. 9. God gave him another heart.* And *Chap. 11. 6. The Spirit of God came upon him.* It is meant, of a heart for his Calling, and a spirit of Ability for Government. It should be our desire this day, that our King may have a Spirit for his Calling, as the Spirit of Wisdom, Fortitude, Justice, and other Princely Endowments.

3. This Anointing may put Subjects in mind of the Sacred Due of the Authority of a King. He should be respected as the Lord's Anointed. There are divers sorts of Persons that are Enemies to the Authority of Kings: As, 1. *Anabaptists*, who deny there should be Kings in the New Testament. They will have no Kings, nor Civil Magistrate. 2. The late *Photinians*, who speak respectfully of Kings and Magistrates, but they take away from them their Power, and the Exercise of it in the Administration of Justice. 3. These who rise against Kings in open Rebellion, as *Abshalom* and *Sheba*, who said, *What have we to do with David, the Son of Jesse? To your Tents, O Israel.* 4. They who do not rebel openly, yet they despise a King in their heart, like the Sons of *Belial*, *1 Sam. 10. last*, who said of *Saul*, after he was anointed King, *Shall this Man save us? And they despised him, and brought him no Presents.*

All these meet in our present Age. 1. *Anabaptists*, who are against the Being of Kings, are very rife: You may find, to your great Grief, a great Number of them in that Army, that have unjustly invaded the Land, who have trampled upon the

the Authority of Kings. 2. There are also of the second sort, who are secretly *Photinians* in this Point; they allow of Kings in Profession, but they are against the Exercise of their Power in the Administration of Justice. 3. A third sort are in open Rebellion, even all that Generation which are risen up, not only against the Person of the King, but Kingly Government. 4. There is a fourth who profess they acknowledge a King, but despise him in their heart, saying, *Shall this Man save us?* I wish all had *David's* Tenderness, whose heart smote him when he did but cut off the lap of *Saul's* garment; that we may be far from cutting off a lap of that just Power and Greatness which God hath allowed to the King, and we have bound our selves by Covenant not to diminish.

I have gone through the three Particulars contain'd in *ver. 12.* I come to the other two in *ver. 17.* which appertain also to this day's Work: For our King is not only to be crown'd, but to renew a Covenant with God and his People, and to make a Covenant with the People. Answerable hereto, there is a twofold Covenant in the Words; one between God, and the King and the People; God being the one Party, the King and the People the other. Another between the King, and the People; the King being the one Party, the People the other. The Covenant with God is the fourth Particular propounded to be spoken of. The Sum of the Covenant ye may find 2 *Kings* 23. 3. in *Josiah* his renewing the Covenant, *To walk after the Lord, and keep his Commandments and Testimonies with all thy heart, and to perform the words of the Covenant.* The renewing of the Covenant was after a great Defection from God, and the setting up of false Worship. The King and the People of God bound themselves before the Lord, to set up the true Worship, and to abolish the false. *Scotland* hath a preference in this before other Nations. In time of Defection they have renew'd a Covenant with God to reform all: And because the King, after a great Defection in that Family, is to renew the Covenant, I shall mention some Particulars from the League and Covenant.

1. We are bound to maintain the *True Reform'd Religion* in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government establish'd in this Kingdom, and to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in the other two Kingdoms, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Kirks. By this Article the King is oblig'd, not only to maintain Religion as it is establish'd in *Scotland*, but also to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in his other Kingdoms: The King should consider well, when it shall please God to restore him to his

Government there, that he is bound to endeavour the Establishment of the Work of Reformation there, as well as to maintain it here.

2. According to the second Article, the King is bound, without respect of persons, to extirpate *Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism* and *Prophaneness*, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to Sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness; and therefore *Popery* is not to be suffer'd in the Royal Family, nor within his Dominions: *Prelacy*, once pluckt up by the root, is not to be permitted to take root again; all *Heresy* and *Error* whatsoever must be opposed by him to the utmost of his power; and by the Covenant the King must be far from Toleration of any false Religion within his Dominions.

3. As the People are bound to maintain the King's Person and Authority in the Maintenance of the True Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom: So the King is bound with them to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and Liberties of the Subjects, according to the third Article.

4. We are bound to discover, and to bring unto condign Punishment all such as have been, or shall be, *Incendiaries, Malignants*, or *evil Instruments*, in hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from the People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongst the People. Hereby the King is bound to have an eye upon such, and neither allow of them, nor comply with them, but to concur according to his power to have them censured and punished, as is express'd in the fourth Article. I shall sum up all this, That a King entring in Covenant with God, should do as Kings did of old, when they entred into Covenant; they and their People went on in the Work of Reformation, as appeareth here, verse 8. *And all the people of the Land went into the house of Baal, and brake it down, &c.* And Godly *Josiah*, when he entred in Covenant, made a thorow Reformation. There is a fourfold Reformation in Scripture, and contain'd in the League and Covenant. 1. A Personal Reformation. 2. A Family-Reformation. 3. A Reformation of Judicatories. 4. A Reformation of the whole Land. Kings have had their hand in all the four, and therefore I recommend them to our King.

1. A Personal Reformation. A king should reform his own Life, that he may be a Pattern of Godliness to others; and to this he is tied by the Covenants. The Godly Reformers of *Judah* were Pious and Religious Men. A King should not follow *Machiavel* his Counsel, who requireth not that a Prince should be truly Religious, but saith, that a shadow of it, and external Simulation are sufficient: A devilish Counsel, and

it is just with God to bring a King to the shadow of a Kingdom, who hath but the shadow of Religion. We know that dissembling Kings have been punish'd of God; and let our King know, that no King but a Religious King can please God. *David* is highly commended for Godliness. *Hezekiah*, a Man eminent for Piety. *Josiah*, a young King, commended for the Tenderness of his Heart, when he heard the Law of the Lord read: He was much troubled before the Lord, when he heard the Judgments threatned against his Father's House and his People. It is earnestly wish'd, that our King's Heart may be tender, and he truly humbled before the Lord for the Sins of his Father's House, and of the Land; and for the many Evils that are upon that Family, and upon the Kingdom.

2. A Family-Reformation. The King should reform his Family after the Example of Godly Kings. *Asa*, when he entered in Covenant, spared not his Mother's Idolatry. The House of our King hath been much defiled by Idolatry. The King is now in Covenant, and to renew the Covenant, let the Royal Family be reform'd; and that it may be a Religious Family, wherein God will have pleasure, let it be purged, not only of Idolatry, but of Prophaneness and Looseness, which hath abounded in it. Much hath been spoken of this matter, but little hath been done in it. Let the King and others, who have charge in that Family, think it lieth upon them as a duty to purge it. And if you would have a Family well purg'd and constitute, take *David* for a Pattern, in the purgation and constitution of his, Psalm 10. *The froward heart, wicked persons and slanderers he will have far from him, but his eyes are upon the faithful of the Land, that they may dwell with him.* If there be a Man better than the other in the Land, he shall be for the King and his Family: Ye may extend this Reformation to the Court. A prophane Court is dangerous for a King; it hath been observ'd as a provoking Sin in *England*, which hath drawn down Judgment upon King and Court, as appeareth this day. It is to be wish'd that such were in the Court, as *David* speaketh of in that Psalm. Let the King see to it, and resolve with *David*, Psal. 101. 7. *That he who worketh deceit, shall not dwell within his house: and he who telleth lies, shall not tarry in his sight.*

3. Reformation in Judicatories. It should be carefully seen to, that Judicatories be reformed; and that Men fearing God, and hating Covetousness, may be placed in them. A King in Covenant should do as *Jehoshaphat* did, 2 Chron. 19. 5, 6, 7. *He set Judges in the Land, and said, Take heed what you do: Ye judge not for Men, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be before you, &c.*

4. The Reformation of the whole Land. The King's Eye should be upon it, 2 Chron. 19. 4. *Jehoshaphat went out through the people, from Beersheba to mount Ephraim, and brought them back to the Lord God of their Fathers.* Our Land hath great need of Reformation; for there is a part of it, that hath scarce ever yet found the benefit of it; they are lying without the Gospel. It will be a good Work for a covenanted King to have a care, that the Gospel may be preached through the whole Land: Care also would be taken, that they who have the Gospel, may live suitably thereto.

If a King would be a thorow Reformer, he must be reform'd himself, otherways he will never lay Reformation to heart. To make a King a good Reformer, I wish him these qualifications according to the Truth, and in Sincerity, wherewith they report *Trajan* the Emperor to have been indued. He was, 1. Devote at home. 2. Courageous in War. 3. Just in his Judicatories. 4. Prudent in all his Affairs. True Piety, Fortitude, Justice, and Prudence, are notable Qualifications in a Prince, who would reform a Kingdom, and reform well.

V. I come now to the fifth and last Particular; and that is the Covenant made between the King and the People. When a King is crowned, and received by the People, there is a Covenant or mutual Contract between him and them, containing Conditions mutually to be observ'd. Time will not suffer to insist upon many Particulars, I shall only lay before you three. First, It is clear from this Covenant, That a King hath not absolute Power to do what he pleaseth; he is tied to Conditions by virtue of a Covenant. Secondly, It is clear from this Covenant, That a People are bound to obey their King in the Lord. Thirdly, I shall present the King with directions, for the right Government of the People, who are bound to obey.

I. It is clear, That the King's Power is not absolute, as Kings and flattering Courtiers apprehend; a King's Power is a limited Power by this Covenant. And there is a threefold Limitation of the King's Power.

1. In regard of Subordination. There is a Power above his, even God's Power, whom he is oblig'd to obey; and to whom he must give an account of his Administration. Ye heard yesterday that Text, *By me Kings reign*, Prov. 8. 15. Kings have not only their Crowns from God, but they must reign according to his Will, which is clear from Rom. 13. 4. He is call'd the Minister of God: He is but God's Servant. I need not stay upon this, Kings and all others will acknowledge this Limitation.

2. In regard of Laws. A King is sworn at his Coronation to rule according to the standing receiv'd Laws of the Kingdom. The Laws he is sworn to, limit him, that he cannot do against them, without a sinful Breach of this Covenant between the King and the People.

3. In regard of Government. The total Government is not upon a King. He hath Counsellors, a Parliament, or Estates in the Land, who share in the burden of Government. No King should have the sole Government. It was never the mind of these, who receiv'd a King to rule them, to lay all their Government upon him, to do what he pleaseth, without controulment. There is no Man able alone to govern all. The Kingdom should not lay that upon one Man, who may easily miscarry. The Estates of the Land are bound in this Contract, to bear a burden with him.

These Men who have flatter'd Kings, to take unto them an absolute Power to do what they please, have wronged Kings and Kingdoms. It had been good, that Kings of late had carried themselves so, as this Question of King's Power might never have come in debate; for they have been great losers thereby: Kings are very desirous to have things spoken and written to hold up their arbitrary and unlimited Power; but that way doth exceedingly wrong them. There is one, a learned Man, I confess, who hath written a Book for the Maintenance of the absolute Power of Kings, call'd *Defensio Regia*, whereby he hath wrong'd himself in his Reputation, and the King in his Government. As for the Fact in taking away the Life of the late King (whatever was God's Justice in it) I do agree with him to condemn it, as a most unjust and horrid Fact, upon their part who did: But when he cometh to speak to the Power of Kings, in giving unto them an absolute and illimited Power, urging the damnable Maxim, *Quod libet licet*, he will have a King to do what he pleaseth impune, and without controulment; in this I cannot but dissent from him.

In regard of Subordination, some say, That a King is countable to none but God: Do what he will, let God take order with it. This leadeth Kings to Atheism, let them do what they please, and take God in their own hand. In regard of Laws, they teach nothing to Kings but Tyranny: And in regard of Government, they teach a King to take an arbitrary Power to himself, to do what he pleaseth without controulment. How dangerous this hath been to Kings, is clear by sad experience. Abuse of Power, and Arbitrary Government, hath been one of God's great Controversies with our Kings and Predecessors: God in his Justice, because Power hath been

abused, hath thrown it out of their hands: And I may confidently say, That God's Controversy with the Kings of the Earth, is for their Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government.

It is good for our King to learn to be wise in time, and know, that he receiveth this day a Power to govern, but a Power limited by Contract; and these Conditions he is bound by Oath to stand to. Kings are deceiv'd, who think that the People are ordain'd for the King, and not the King for the People. The Scripture sheweth the contrary, *Rom. 13. 4. The King is the Minister of God for the People's good.* God will not have a King in an arbitrary way to encroach upon the Possessions of Subjects, *Ezek. 45. 7, 8. A portion is appointed for the Prince.* And it is said, *My Princes shall no more oppress my People; and the rest of the Land shall he give unto the House of Israel, according to their Tribes.* The King hath his distinct Possessions and Revenues from the People's: He must not oppress and do what he pleaseth, there must be no Tyranny upon the Throne.

I desire not to speak much of this Subject. Men have been very tender in meddling with the Power of Kings; yet seeing these days have brought forth Debates concerning the Power of Kings, it will be necessary to be clear in the matter. Extremities would be shun'd. A King should keep within the bounds of the Covenant made with the People, in the Exercise of his Power. Concerning the last, I shall propound these three to your consideration.

1. A King abusing his Power, to the Overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which are the very Fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be control'd and oppos'd: And if he set himself to overthrow all these by Arms, then they who have power, as the Estates of a Land, may and ought to resist by Arms; because he doth, by that Opposition, break the very Bonds, and overthroweth all the Essentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may serve to justify the Proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in a hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.

2. Every Breach of Covenant, wherein a King faileth, after he hath enter'd in Covenant, doth not dissolve the Bond of the Covenant. Neither should Subjects lay aside a King for every Breach, except the Breaches be such as overthrow the Fundamentals of the Covenant with the People. Many Examples of this may be brought from Scripture. I shall give but one: King *Asa* enter'd solemnly in Covenant with God and his People, *2 Chron. 15.* After that he falleth in gross Trans-

Transgressions and Breaches, 2 *Chron.* 16. He associates himself and enter'd in League with *Benhadad* King of Syria, an Idolater; he imprison'd *Hanani* the Lord's Prophet, who reprov'd him, and threaten'd Judgment against that Association; and at the same time he oppress'd some of the People: And yet, for all this, they neither lay aside, nor count him an Hypocrite.

3. Private Persons should be very circumspect about that which they do in relation to the Authority of Kings. It is very dangerous for private Men to meddle with the Power of Kings, and the suspending of them from the Exercise thereof. I do ingenuously confess, that I find no Example of it. The Prophets taught not such Doctrine to their People, nor the Apostles, nor the Reformed Kirks. Have ever private Men, Pastors, or Professors, given into the Estates of a Land as their Judgment, unto which they resolv'd to adhere, That a King should be suspended from the Exercise of his Power? And if we look upon those godly Pastors who liv'd in King *James's* time, of whom one may truly say, more faithful men liv'd not in these last times; for they spar'd not to tell the King his faults to his face; yea, some of them suffer'd Persecution for their Honesty and Freedom: yet we never read nor have heard, that any of those godly Pastors join'd with other private men, did ever remonstrate to Parliament or Estate, as their Judgment, That the King should be suspended from the Exercise of his Royal Power.

II. It is clear from this Covenant, that People should obey their King in the Lord: For as the King is bound by Covenant to make use of his Power to their Good, so are they bound to obey him in the Lord, in the Exercise of that Power. About the People's Duty to the King, take these four Observations.

1. That the Obedience of the People is in subordination to God: for the Covenant is first with God, and then with the King. If a King command any thing contrary to the Will of God, in this case *Peter* saith, *It is better to obey God than Man.* There is a Line drawn from God to the People; they are lowest in the Line, and have Magistrates superior and supreme above them, and God above all. When the King commandeth the People that which is lawful and commanded by God, then he should be obey'd, because he standeth in the right Line under God, who hath put him in his place. But if he command that which is unlawful, and forbidden of God, in that he shall not be obey'd to do it, because he is out of his line. That a King is to be obey'd with this Subordination, is evident from Scripture: Take one place for all, *Rom.* 13. At the
R 4 begin.

beginning ye have both Obedience urg'd to Superior Power as the Ordinance of God, and Damnation threaten'd against those who resist the lawful Powers.

It is said by some, that many Ministers in *Scotland* will not have King *Jesus*, but King *Charles* to reign. Faithful men are wrong'd by such Speeches. I do not understand these men. For if they think that a *King* and *Jesus* are inconsistent, then they will have no King. But I shall be far from entertaining such Thoughts of them. If they think the doing of a necessary Duty for King *Charles*, is to prefer his Interest to Christ's, this also is an Error. Honest Ministers can very well discern between the Interest of Christ and of the King. I know no Ministers that set up King *Charles* with prejudice to Christ's Interest.

There are three sorts of Persons who are not to be allow'd in relation to the King's Interest. (1.) Such as have not been content to oppose a King in an evil course (as they might lawfully do) but contrary to Covenant, Vows, many Declarations, have cast off Kings and Kingly Government. These are the *Sectaries*. (2.) They who are so taken up with a King, as they prefer a King's Interest to Christ's Interest; which was the Sin of our Engagers. (3.) They who will have no Duty done to a King, for fear of prejudging Christ's Interest. Those are to be allow'd, who urge Duty to a King in subordination to Christ.

I shall desire that men be real, when they make mention of Christ's Interest: For these three mention'd, profess and pretend the Interest of Christ. The *Sectaries* cover their destroying of Kings with Christ's Interest; whereunto indeed they have had no respect, being Enemies to his Kingdom, and Experience hath made it undeniable. The *Engagers* alledg'd they were for Christ's Interest, but they misplac'd it: Christ's Interest should have gone before, but they drew it after the Interest of a King; which evidenc'd their want of due Respect to Christ's Interest. As for the third, who delay Duty for fear of preferring the King's Interests to Christ, I shall not take upon me to judg their Intentions; I wish they have charity to those who think they may do Duty to a King in subordination to Christ, yea that they ought and should do Duty, whatever mens fear of the prejudice may follow.

If to be against the suspending of the King from the Exercise of his Power, and to be for the crowning of the King according to the publick Faith of the Kingdom, he first performing all that Kirk and State requir'd of him, in relation to Religion and Civil Liberties: If this be, I say, to prefer a KING to CHRIST, let all men that are unbiass'd be Judges

Judges in the case. We shall well avow, that we crown a King in subordination to God, and his Interest in subordination to Christ's; which we judge not only agreeable to the Word of God, but also that we are bound expressly in the Covenant to maintain the King, in the Preservation and Defence of the True Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom, and not to diminish his just Power and Greatness.

2. That the Covenant between God, and the King and the People, goeth before the Covenant between the King and the People; which sheweth that a People's entering Covenant with God, doth not lessen their Obedience and Allegiance to the King, but increaseth it, and maketh Obedience firmer: because we are in covenant with God, we should the more obey a covenanted King. It is a great error to think that a Covenant diminisheth Obedience; it was ever thought cumulative. And indeed true Religion layeth strict Ties upon Men, in doing of their Duty: Rom. 13. 5. *We must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake.* A Necessity to obey is laid upon all. Many Subjects obey for Wrath, but the Godly obey for Conscience sake.

3. That a King covenanted with God, should be much respected by his Subjects; they should love him: There is an inbred Affection in the Hearts of the People to their King. In the 12th Verse it is said, *That the People clap'd their hands for Joy, and said, God save the King.* They had no sooner seen their native King install'd in his Kingdom, but they rejoic'd exceedingly, and saluted him with Wishes of Safety. Whatever be mens Affections or Respects this day to our King, certainly it is a Duty lying on us, both to pray for and rejoice in his Safety. The very end that God hath in giving us Kings, maketh this clear, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. *That we may live under them in Godliness and Honesty.* And therefore Prayers and Supplications are to be made for all Kings, even for those that are not in covenant, much more for those that are in covenant. You are receiving this day a crowned covenanted King; pray for saving Grace to him, and that God would deliver him and us out of the hand of *these cruel Enemies*, and bless his Government, and cause us to live a quiet and peaceable life under him in all Godliness and Honesty.

4. That as the King is solemnly sworn to maintain the Rights of the Subjects against Enemies, and is bound to hazard his Life, and all that he hath, for their defence; so the People are also bound to maintain his Person and Authority, and to hazard Life, and all that they have, in defending him.

I shall not take the Question in its full latitude, taking in what a People are bound to, in pursuing a King's Right in another

ther Nation; which is not our present Question. Our Question is, what a People should do, when a Kingdom is unjustly invaded by a foreign Enemy, which seeks the Overthrow of Religion, King, and Kingdom? Surely, if Men be ty'd to any Duty to a King and Kingdom, they are ty'd in this case. I have two sorts of Men to meet with here, who are deficient in doing this covenanted Duty: 1. Those who do not act against the Enemy. 2. Those who do act for the Enemy.

1. The first I meet with, are they who act not, but lie by to behold what will become of all. Three sorts of men act not for the Defence of an invaded Kingdom: 1st, Those who withdraw themselves from publick Counsels, as from Parliament or Committee of Estates. This withdrawing is not to act. 2^{dly}, These act not, who upon an apprehension of the desperate state of things, do think that all is in such a condition by the prevailing of the Enemy, that there is no Remedy; and therefore that it is best, to sit still and see how things go. 3^{dly}, They who do not act, upon scruple of Conscience. I shall ever respect Tenderness of Conscience, and wish there be no more but Tenderness. If there be no more, men will strive to have their Consciences well inform'd.

They may be supposed to scruple upon one of these grounds. 1. To act in such a Cause, for the King's Interest: Sure I am, this was a doubt before, but all seem'd to agree to act for the King's Interest in subordination to Christ, and this day there is no more sought. We own the King's Interest, only in subordination to Christ. Or 2. To join to him with such Instruments as are Enemies to the work of God, Our Answer to the Estates Query resolves, that such should not be trusted: But we do not count these Enemies, who profess Repentance, and declare themselves solemnly to be for the Cause and the Covenant; and do evidence it by their willingness to fight for them. If it be said their Repentance is but counterfeit, we are bound to think otherwise in Charity, till the contrary be seen. No man can judg of the Reality of Hearts; for we have now found by Experience, that men, who have been accounted above all exception, have betray'd their Trust. If any who have not yet repented of their former course should be intrusted, we shall be sorry for it; and plainly say, that it ought not to be.

But I think there must be more in this, that men say they cannot act: For my self, I love not that word in our case. It is too frequent, *He cannot act*, and *He cannot act*. I fear there be three sorts of Persons lurking under this cover: 1st, Such as are *Pusillanimous*, who have no courage to act against the Enemy. The word is true of them, *They cannot act*, because *they*

they dare not act. 2dly, Such as are selfish men, serving their Idol Credit. He hath been a man of Honour, and now he feareth here will be no credit to fight against the prevailing Enemy; therefore he cannot act, and save his credit. Be who thou wilt that hath this before thee, God shall blast thy Reputation. Thou shalt neither have Honour nor Credit, to do a right turn in God's Cause. 3dly, Such as are *Compliers*, who cannot act, because they have a purpose to comply. There are that cannot act in an Army, but they can betray an Army by not acting. There are that cannot act for Safety of a Kingdom, but they do betray it by not acting. In a word, there are those who cannot join to act with those whom they account *Malignants* (I speak not of declar'd and known *Malignants*) but they can join with *Seſtaries*, open and declared Enemies to Kirk and Kingdom. I wish Subjects, who are bound to fight for the Kingdom, would lay by that Phrase of not acting, which is so frequent in the mouth of *Compliers*, and offensive to them who would approve themselves in doing Duty for endanger'd Religion, King, and Kingdom.

That Men may be more clear to act, I shall offer to your Consideration some Passages of Scripture about those who do act against a common Enemy.

1. *Judges 5*. There are many reprov'd for lying still, while an Enemy had invaded the Land; as *Reuben* with his Divisions, *Gilead*, *Dan*, and *Asher*, seeking themselves; all are reprov'd for not joining with the People of God, who were willing to jeopard their Lives against a mighty oppressing Enemy. But there is one Passage concerning *Meroz*, ver. 23. which fitteth our purpose; The Angel of the Lord said, Curse ye *Meroz*, Curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof; they came not to the help of the Lord, to help the Lord against the Mighty. What this *Meroz* was, is not clear; yet all Interpreters agree, that they had opportunity and power to have join'd with and help'd the People of God, and it is probable they were near the place of the Fight. They are cursed for not coming to the help of the Lord's People. This may be apply'd to these in the Land, who will not help the Lord against the Mighty.

2. Another Passage you have, *Numb. 23*. *Reuben* and *Gad* having a multitude of Cattel, and having seen the Land of *Gilead*, that it was a place for Cattel, they desire of *Moses* and the Princes, that that Land be given them, and they may not pass over *Jordan*, ver. 6, 7. *Moses* reprov'd them in these words; Shall your Brethren go to War, and shall ye sit still? Wherefore discourage ye the Hearts of the Children of Israel? Verse 16, 17, 18. *Reuben* and *Gad* make their Apology, shewing that they have no such Intention to sit still, only they desire their

their Wives and little ones may stay there ; they themselves promise to go over *Jordan* armed before *Israel*, and not return before they were possess'd in the Land. Then *Moses* said unto them, ver. 20, 21, 22. *If you do so, then this shall be your Possession : but ver. 23. If you do not so, behold ye have sinned against the Lord, and be sure your Sin shall find you out.*

I may apply this to them that cannot act ; Will ye sit still when the rest of your Brethren are to hazard their Lives against the Enemy ? We have reason to reprove you. If *Moses*, that faithful Servant of God, was still jealous of *Reuben* and *Gad*, even after their Apology and Promise to act (for he saith, *if you do not so*) have not honest and faithful Servants of God ground to be jealous of their Brethren who refuse to act ? Let them apologize what they will for their not acting, I say they sin against the Lord, and their Sin shall find them out. It will be clearly seen upon what intention they do not act.

3. A third Passage is in 1 *Sam.* 23. 26. *Saul* hath *David* inclos'd that he can hardly escape ; in that very instant there cometh a Messenger to *Saul*, saying, verse 27. *Haste thee and come, for the Philistines have invaded the Land.* At the hearing of this Message, verse 28. *Saul* return'd from pursuing after *David*, and went against the *Philistines*. It is true, the Lord did provide for his Servant *David's* Escape by this means ; but if you consider *Saul*, he took it not so. Nothing moved him to leave this Pursuit, but the Condition of the Land, by the invading of an Enemy.

Three things might have mov'd *Saul* to stay and pursue *David*.

1. He hath him now in a strait, and hath such advantage, that he might have thought not to come readily by the like.

2. That altho the *Philistines* be Enemies, yet *David* is the most dangerous Enemy ; for he aimeth at no less than the Crown. It were better to take Conditions of the Enemy, than to suffer *David* to live, and take the Crown.

3. He might have said, If I leave *David* at this time, and fight with the *Philistines*, and be beaten, he will get a power in his hand to undo me and my Posterity. These may seem strong Motives, but *Saul* is not moved with any of these. The present Danger is the *Philistines* invading the Land : and this Danger is to be opposed, come of the Danger from *David* what will. As if *Saul* had said, I will let *David* alone, I will meet with him another time, and reckon with him ; now there is no time for it, the *Philistines* are in the Land, let us make hast against them. I wish that many of our Countrymen had as great Love to their Country, and as publick a Spirit for it, as this profane King had ; then there would not be so many Questions for acting, as men make this day.

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The Objections I have been touching are in men's Thoughts and Heads. First, some say now the Malignants are under, for this Enemy is their Rod, it is best to put them out of having any power. Yea, there are some who would more willingly go to undo those, whom they account Malignants, than against the common Enemy who are wasting the Land. If they had *Saul's* Resolution, they would say, the *Philistines* are in the Land, let them alone, we will reckon with them at another time; we will now go against the common Enemy.

They have also the second Objection: The Malignants are more dangerous Enemies than the Sectaries. I shall not now compare them at equal distance, and abstract from the present Danger: But I shall compare them in the present posture of Affairs. I am sure the Sectaries having power in their hands, and a great part of the Land in their possession, are far more dangerous than Malignants, who have no power for the present; and therefore the Resolution should be, The Sectaries have invaded the Land, and are destroying it, let us go against them.

The third Objection weigheth much with many; The Malignants being employ'd to fight for their Country, may get such power in their hands, as may hurt the Cause. For answer, 1st, The Resolution given to the Query of the Estates, provideth against that; for therein is a Desire that no such Power should be put into their hands. 2^{dly}, This Fear goeth upon a supposition that they do not repent their former course. This is an uncharitable Judgment. We are bound to be more charitable of men professing Repentance; for with such we have to do only. And to speak a word by the way, to you who have been upon a malignant course; Little good is expected from you, I pray you be honest and disappoint them. I wish you true Repentance, which will both disappoint them, and be profitable to your selves. 3^{dly}, I desire it may be consider'd, whether or not fear of a Danger to come from Men, if they prevail against the common Enemy, being only clothed with a capacity to fight for their Country, be an Argument of rising to oppose a seen and certain Danger coming from an Enemy clothed with Power, and still prevailing. I conceive it ought to be far from any, to hinder Men to defend their Country in such a case. I confess indeed, the Cause which we maintain hath met with many Enemies which have been against it, which require much tenderness. Therefore Men are to be admitted to Trust, with such Exceptions as may keep them out who are still Enemies to the Cause of God, have not profess'd Repentance, renounc'd their former Courses, and declar'd themselves for *Cause and Covenant*. I doubt

doubt not but it shall be found, that the admitting of such to fight in our case, as it standeth, is agreeable to the Word of God, and is not against the former publick Resolutions of Kirk and State.

The second sort of Persons we are to meet with, are such as act for the Enemy against the Kingdom. If they be curs'd who will not come out to help the Lord against the Mighty; what a Curse shall be upon them, who help the Mighty against the Lord, as they do who act for the Enemy? Three ways is the Enemy help'd against the Cause and People of God.

1. By keeping Correspondence with them, and giving them Intelligence: There is nothing done in Kirk or State, but they have Intelligence of it: A baser way hath never been used in any Nation. Your Counsels and Purposes are made known to them. If there be any such here (as I fear there be) let them take this to them, they are of those *who help the Mighty against the Lord*, and the Curse shall stick to them.

2. By strengthening the Enemies hands with Questions, Debates, and Determinations, in Papers tending to the justifying of their unjust Invasion. Whatever hath been mens Intentions in taking that way, yet the thing done by them hath tended to the advantage of the Enemy, and hath divided those who should have been join'd in the Cause, to the great weakning of the Kingdom; and this interpretatively is to act for the Mighty against the Lord.

3. By gross Compliance with the Enemy, and going in to them; doing all the evil Offices they can against their native Kingdom. If *Meroz* was curs'd for not helping, shall not these perfidious Covenant-Breakers, and treacherous Dealers against a distressed Land, be much more accursed for helping and assisting a destroying Enemy, so far as lieth in their power? *Isa. 31. 3.* may be truly apply'd to them who are helping Strangers, Enemies to God, his Kirk and Religion; *Both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they all shall fall together.*

III. The third particular about this Covenant resteth to be spoken of; to wit, some Directions to the King, for the right performing his Duty: whereof I shall give seven.

1. A King meeting with many difficulties in doing of Duty, by reason of strong Corruption within, and many Tentations without, he should be careful to seek God by Prayer for Grace to overcome these Impediments, and for an understanding Heart to govern his People. *Solomon* having in his Option to ask what he would, he ask'd an understanding Heart, to go in and out before his People; knowing that the Government
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of a People was a very difficult work, and needed more than ordinary Understanding. A King a Foe hath many Enemies (as our King hath this day) and a Praying King is a Prevailing King. *Asa* when he had to do with a mighty Enemy, 2 Chron. 14. pray'd fervently, and prevail'd. *Jehoshaphat* was invaded with a mighty Enemy, 2 Chron. 20. he pray'd and did prevail. *Hezekiah* pray'd against *Senacherib's* huge Army, and prevail'd, 2 Chron. 32.

Sir, you have many Difficulties and Oppositions to meet with: Acquaint your self with Prayer: Be instant with God, and he will fight for you. Prayers are not in much request at Court; but a covenanted King must bring them in request. I know a King is burden'd with a multiplicity of Affairs, and will meet with many Diversions: But, Sir, you must not be diverted; take hours and set them apart for that Exercise: Men being once acquainted with your way, will not dare to divert you. Prayer to God will make your Affairs easy all the day. I read of a King of whom his Courtiers said, He spoke oftner with God, than with Men. If you be frequent in Prayer, you may expect the Blessing of the most High upon your self and upon your Government.

2. A King must be careful of the Kingdom which he hath sworn to maintain. We have had many of too private a Spirit, by whom Self-interest hath been prefer'd to the publick. It becometh a King well to be of a publick Spirit, to care more for the Publick than his own Interest. Senates and States have had Motto's written over the doors of the Meeting-places: Over the Senate-House of *Rome* was written, *Ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat*: I shall wish this may be written over your Assembly-Houses; but there is another which I would have written with it, *Ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat*. Be careful of both; let not Kirk nor State suffer hurt; let them go together. The best way for standing of a Kingdom, is a well-constitute Kirk. They deceive Kings, who make them believe that the Government of the Kirk, I mean Presbyterian Government, cannot sute with Monarchy. They sute well, it being the Ordinance of Christ, rendring to God what is God's, and to *Cæsar* what is *Cæsar's*.

Sir, Kings who have a tender Care of the Kirk, *Isa. 41. 2.* are call'd *Nursing Fathers*. You would be careful that the Gospel may have free Passage thro the Kingdom, and that the Government of the Kirk may be preserv'd intire, according to your solemn Engagement. The Kirk hath met with many Enemies, as *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Malignants*, which I pass as known Enemies. But there are two sorts more, who at this time would be carefully look'd on.

1st. Sectaries?

1st, *Seſtaries*, great Enemies to the Kirk, and to all the Ordinances of Chriſt, and more particularly to Presbyterian Government, which they have and would have altogether deſtroy'd. A King ſhould ſet himſelf againſt theſe, becauſe they are Enemies as well to the King as to the Kirk, and ſtrive to make both fall together.

2^{dly}, *Eractians*, more dangerous Snares to Kings, than *Seſtaries*; becauſe Kings can look well enough to theſe, who are againſt themſelves and their Power, as *Seſtaries*, who will have no King; but *Eractians* give more Power to Kings than they ſhould have, and are great Enemies to Presbyterian Government: For they would make Kings believe, that there is no Government but the Civil, and deriv'd from thence; which is a great wrong to the Son of God, who hath the Government of the Kirk diſtinct from the Civil, yet no ways prejudicial to it, being ſpiritual, and of another nature. Chriſt did put the Magiſtrate out of ſuſpicion, that his Kingdom was prejudicial to Civil Government, affirming, *My Kingdom is not of this world*. This Government Chriſt hath not committed to Kings, but to the Office-bearers of his Houſe; who in regard of Civil Subjection are under the Civil Power as well as others, but in their Spiritual Adminiſtration they are under Chriſt, who hath not given to any King upon earth the Diſpenſation of Spiritual things to his People.

Sir, you are in Covenant with God and his People, and are oblig'd to maintain *Presbyterian Government*, as well againſt *Eractians* as *Seſtaries*. I know this *Eractian* Humour aboundeth at Court. It may be ſome endeavour to make your Reproach upon that, for which God hath puniſh'd your Predeceſſors. Be who he will that meddleth with this Government to overturn it, it ſhall be as heavy to him as the burdensom Stone to the Enemies of the Kirk; *They are cut in pieces, who burden themſelves with it*, Zach. 12.

3. A King in Covenant with the People of God, ſhould make much of thoſe who are in Covenant with him; having in high eſtimation the faithful Servants of Chriſt, and the godly People of the Land. It is rare to find Kings Lovers of faithful Miniſters and pious People. It hath been the fault of our own Kings to perſecute the Godly.

(1.) Let the King love the Servants of Chriſt, who ſpeak the Truth. Evil Kings are branded with this, that they contemn'd the Prophets: 2 *Chron.* 25. when *Amaziah* had taken the Gods of *Seir*, and ſet them up for his Gods, a Prophet came to him, and reprov'd him, unto whom the King ſaid, *Who made thee of the King's Council? Forbear, leſt thou be ſmitten*. This Contempt of the Prophet's Warning, is a Fore-runner of

of following Destruction. Be a careful Hearer of God's Word; take with Reproof, esteem of it, as *David* did, *Psal.* 141. 5. *An excellent Oil, which shall not break the Head.* To make much of the faithful Servants of Christ, will be an Evidence of Reality.

(2.) Let the King esteem well of godly Professors. Let Piety be in account. It is a fault very common, that pious Men, because of their conscientious and strict walking, are hated by the Profane, who love to live loosely. It is usual with Profane Men, to labour to bring Kings unto a distaste of the Godly; especially when Men who have profess'd Piety, become scandalous: whereupon they are ready to judg all pious Men to be like them, and take occasion to speak evil of Piety. I fear at this time, when Men who have been commended for Piety, have faln foully, and betray'd their Trust; that men will take advantage to speak against the Godly of the Land. Beware of this, for it's Satan's Policy to put Piety out of request. Let not this move any: Fall who will, Piety is still the same, and pious men will make Conscience both of their ways and trust. Remember they are precious in God's eyes, who will not suffer men to despise them, without their Reward. Sir, let not your Heart be from the Godly in the Land. Whatever hath faln out at this time, I dare affirm, there are very many really Godly Men, who by their Prayers are supporting your Throne.

4. A King should be careful whom he putteth in Places of Trust, as a main thing for the Good of the Kingdom. It is a Maxim, That Trust should not be put in their hands who have oppress'd the People, or have betray'd their Trust. There is a Passage in Story meet for this purpose: One *Septimius Arabinus*, a Man famous, or rather infamous, for Oppression, was put out of the Senate, but re-admitted. About this time *Alexander Severus* being chosen to the Empire, the Senators did entertain him with publick Salutations and Congratulations. *Severus* espying *Arabinus* amongst the Senators, cry'd out, *O Numina! Arabinus non solum vivit, sed in Senatum venit.* Ah! *Arabinus not only liveth, but he is in the Senate.* Out of just Indignation he could not endure to see him. As all are not meet for Places of Trust in Judicatories, so all are not meet for Places of Trust in Armies. Men would be chosen, who are godly and able for the Charge.

But there are some who are not meet for Trust: 1. They who are godly, but have no Skill or Ability for the Place. A man may be a truly godly man, who is not fit for such a Place; and no wrong is done to him, nor to God, when the Place is deny'd to him. I wonder how a godly man can take
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upon him a Place, whereof he hath no Skill. 2. They who have neither Skill nor Courage, are very unmeet; for if it be a Place of ever so great moment, Faint-heartedness will make them quit it. 3. They who are both skilful and stout, yet are not honest, but perfidious and treacherous, should have no Trust at all.

Of all these we have sad Experience, which should not move you to make choice of profane and godless men, by whom a Blessing is not to be expected; but it should move you to be wary in your Choice. I am confident such may be had, who will be faithful for Religion, King, and Kingdom.

5. There hath been much Debate about the Exercise of the King's Power, yet he is put in the Exercise of his Power, and this day put in a better capacity to exercise it by his Coronation. Many are afraid that the Exercise of his Power shall prove dangerous to the Cause; and indeed I confess there is a ground of fear, when we consider how this Power hath been abus'd by former Kings. Therefore, Sir, make good use of this Power, and see that you rather keep within bounds, than exceed in the Exercise of it. I may very well give such a Counsel, as an old Counsellor gave to a King of *France*. He having spent many years at Court, desir'd to retire into the Country for enjoying privacy fit for his Age; and having obtain'd leave, the King his Master requir'd him to set down and write some Advice of Government, to leave behind him; which he out of modesty declined. The King would not be deny'd, but left with him Pen and Ink, and a Sheet of Paper. He being alone, after some Thoughts wrote with fair and legible Characters in the head of the Sheet, *Modus*; in the middle of the sheet, *Modus*; and in the foot of the sheet, *Modus*; and wrote no more in all the Paper, which he wrap'd up and deliver'd to the King: meaning that the best Counsel he could give him, was, That he should keep temper in all things. Nothing more fit for a young King, than to keep temper in all. Take this Counsel, Sir, and be moderate in the use of your Power. The best way to keep Power, is Moderation in the use of it.

6. The King hath many Enemies, even such as are Enemies to his Family, and to all Kingly Government, and are now in the Bowels of this Kingdom, wasting and destroying. Behave your self according to Vows and Oaths that are upon you, so be active for the Relief of Christ's Kingdom, born down by them in all the three Kingdoms; and for the Relief of this Kingdom grievously oppress'd by them. We shall earnestly desire, that God would put that Spirit upon our King, ~~and enter'd upon~~ publick Government, which he hath put
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upon the Deliverers of his People from their cruel Oppressors.

In speaking of the King's Behaviour to Enemies, one thing I cannot pass. There is much spoken of a Treaty with his Enemy. I am not of the judgment of some, who distinguish a Treaty before Invasion, and after Invasion; and say, Treating is very lawful before Invasion, because it is supposed there is little wrong done; but after Invasion, when a Kingdom is wrong'd, and put to infinite Losses, they say a Treaty is to be shun'd: But in my judgment a Treaty may be lawful after Invasion, and Wrongs sustain'd. The end of War is Peace, neither should Desire of Revenge obstruct it, providing it be such a Treaty and Peace, as is not prejudicial to Religion, nor to the Safety of the Kingdom, nor to the undoubted Right of the King, nor the League and Covenant whereunto we are solemnly engaged.

But I must break off this Treaty with a Story related in *Plutarch*. The City of *Athens* was in a great strait, wherein they knew not what to do. *Themistocles* in this strait said, he had something wherein to give his Opinion, for the behoof of the State; but he thought it not fit to deliver himself publicly. *Aristides*, a man of great Trust, is appointed to hear him privately, and to make an account as he thought meet. When *Aristides* came to make his Report to the Senate, he told them, That *Themistocles*'s Advice was indeed profitable, but not honest; whereupon the People would not so much as hear it. There is much whispering of a Treaty, they are not willing to speak publicly of it. Hear them in private, and it may be the best Advice shall be profitable, but not honest. If a Treaty should be, let it be both profitable and honest, and no Lover of Peace will be against it.

7. Seeing the King is now upon renewing of the Covenants, it would be remember'd, that we enter into Covenant, according to our Profession therein, with Reality, Sincerity, and Constancy; which are the Qualifications of good Covenanters. Many doubt of your Reality in the Covenant: Let your Sincerity and Reality be evidenc'd by your Stedfastness and Constancy; for many have begun well, but have not been constant.

In the Sacred History of *Kings*, we find a Note put upon Kings according to their Carriages. One of three Sentences written upon them: 1. Some Kings have this written on them, *He did evil in the sight of the Lord*. They neither begin well, nor end well. Such a one was *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, and divers others in that History. 2dly, Others have this written

on them, *He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, but not with a perfect Heart.* Such a one was *Amaziah* King of *Judah*, 2 Chron. 25. 2. he was neither sincere nor constant: When God bless'd him with Victory against the *Edomites*, he fell foully from the true Worship of God, and set up the Gods of *Edom*. 3dly, A third Sentence is written upon the godly Kings of *Judah*; *He did right in the sight of the Lord, with a perfect Heart*, as *Asa*, *Hezekiah*, *Jehoshaphat*, and *Josiah*. They were both sincere and constant. Let us neither have the first nor the second, but the third written upon our King; *He did right in the sight of the Lord, with a perfect Heart.* Begin well, and continue constant.

Before I close, I shall take leave to lay before our young King two Examples to beware of, and one to follow: The two warning Examples, one of them is in my Text, another in our own History.

The first Example of *Joash*; he began well, and went on in godly Reformation all the days of *Jehoiada*: But it is observ'd, 2 Chron. 2. 17. after the days of *Jehoiada*, the Princes of *Judah* came and did obeisance to the King, and he hearkned unto them, ver. 18. It appeared they had been at wait till the Death of *Jehoiada*, and took that opportunity to destroy the true Worship of God, and set up false Worship, flattering the King for that effect: for it is said, *They left the House of the Lord, and served Groves and Idols*; and were so far from being reclaim'd by the Prophet of the Lord that was sent unto them, that they conspir'd against *Zechariah* the Son of *Jehoiada*, who reprov'd them mildly for their Idolatry, and stoned him with Stones, and slew him at the King's Commandment. And ver. 22. it is said, *Joash remember'd not the Kindness that Jehoiada his Father had done to him, but slew his Son.*

Sir, take this example for a Warning. You are oblig'd by the Covenant to go on in the Work of Reformation. It may be some Great ones are waiting their time, not having opportunity to work for the present, till afterward they may make obeisance, and persuade you to destroy all that hath been done in the Work of God these divers years. Beware of it, let no Allurement of Persuasion prevail with you to fall from that, which this day you bind your self to maintain.

Another Example I give you, yet in recent memory, of your Grandfather King *James*. He happen'd to be very young, in a time full of Difficulties; yet there was a godly Party in the Land, who did put the Crown upon his Head. And when he came to some years, he and his People enter'd in a Covenant with God: He was much commended by godly and faithful Men, comparing him to young *Josiah* standing at

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the Altar, renewing a Covenant with God. And he himself did thank God, that he was born in a Reformed Kirk, better reform'd than *England*, for they retain'd many Popish Ceremonies ; yea, better reform'd than *Geneva*, for they keep some Holy-days: Charging his People to be constant, and promising himself to continue in that Reformation, and to maintain the same. Notwithstanding of all this, he made a foul Defection: He remember'd not the Kindness of them who had held the Crown upon his Head ; yea, he persecuted faithful Ministers, for opposing that course of Defection. He never rested till he had undone Presbyterian Government and Kirk-Assemblies, setting up Bishops, and bringing in Ceremonies, against which he had formerly given large Testimony. In a word, he laid the Foundation, whereupon his Son, our late King, did build much mischief to Religion all the days of his Life.

Sir, I lay this Example before you the rather, because it is so near you, that the Guiltiness of the Transgression lieth upon the Throne and Family, and it is one of the Sins for which you have profess'd Humiliation very lately. Let it be laid to heart, take warning, requite not faithful mens Kindness with Persecution ; yea, requite not the Lord so, who hath preserv'd you to this time, and is setting a Crown upon your Head. Requite not the Lord with Apostacy and Defection from a sworn Covenant, but be stedfast in the Covenant, as you would give Testimony of your true Humiliation for the Defection of those that went before you.

I have set up these two Examples before you, as Beacons to warn you to keep off such dangerous Courses, and shall add one for Imitation ; which, if follow'd, may happily bring with it the Blessing of that godly man's adherence to God. The Example is of *Hezekiah*, who did that which was right in the sight of the Lord ; 2 Kings 18. 5, 6. It is said of him, *He trusted in the Lord God of Israel, and he clave unto the Lord, and departed not from following him, but kept his Commandments. And verse 7. The Lord was with him, and he prosper'd whithersoever he went forth.*

Sir, follow this Example, cleave unto the Lord, and depart not from following him, and the Lord will be with you, and prosper you whithersoever you go.

To this Lord, from whom we expect a Blessing on this day's Work, be Glory and Praise for ever. *Amen.*

SERMON being ended, Prayer was made for a Blessing upon the Doctrine deliver'd.

The King being to renew the Covenants, first the National Covenant, then the solemn League and Covenant were distinctly read.

After the reading of these Covenants, the Minister pray'd for Grace to perform the Contents of the Covenants, and for faithful Stedfastness in the Oath of God ; and then (the Ministers and Commissioners of the General Assembly, desir'd to be present, standing before the Pulpit) he ministr'd the Oath unto the King ; who kneeling, and lifting up his right Hand, did swear in the words following :

I Charles King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn Oath, in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of Hearts, my Allowance and Approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant above-written, and faithfully oblige my Self to prosecute the Ends thereof in my Station and Calling ; and that I for my self and Successors, shall consent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establish Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Catechisms in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are approv'd by the General Assemblies of this Kirk and Parliament of this Kingdom : And that I shall give my Royal Assent to Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other Dominions : And that I shall observe these in my own Practice and Family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any Change thereof.

After the King had thus solemnly sworn the National Covenant, the League and Covenant, and the King's Oath subjoin'd unto both, being drawn up in a fair Parchment, the King did subscribe the same in presence of all.

Thereafter the King ascendeth the Stage, and sitteth down in the Chair of State.

Then the Lords, Great Constable, and Marshal, went to the four corners of the Stage, with the Lyon going before them ; who spoke to the People these words : *Sirs, I do present unto you the King, Charles, the rightful and undoubted Heir of the Crown and Dignity of this Realm : This day is by the Parliament of this Kingdom appointed for his Coronation ; and are you not willing to have him for your King, and become Subjects to his Commandments ?*

In which Action the King's Majesty stood up, showing himself to the People in each corner ; And the People express'd their Willingness by chearful Acclamations, in these words, *God save the King, Charles the Second.* There

Thereafter the King's Majesty, supported by the Constable and Marshal, cometh down from the Stage, and sitteth down in the Chair, where he heard the Sermon.

The Minister, accompany'd with the Ministers before mention'd, cometh from the Pulpit toward the King, and requireth, if he was willing to take the Oath, appointed to be taken at the Coronation.

The King answer'd, He was most willing.

Then the Oath of Coronation, as it is contain'd in the eighth Act of the first Parliament of K. James, being read by the Lyon, the Tenour whereof followeth:

BEcause that the Increase of Vertue, and suppressing of Idolatry, craveth, That the Prince and the People be of one perfect Religion, which of God's mercy is now presently profess'd within this Realm: Therefore it is statuted and ordain'd, by our Sovereign Lord, my Lord Regent, and three Estates of this present Parliament, That all Kings, Princes, and Magistrates whatsoever, holding their place, which hereafter at any time shall happen to reign, and bear rule over this Realm, at the time of their Coronation, and receit of their Princel Authority, make their faithful Promise in the presence of the Eternal God; That enduring the whole course of their Lives, they shall serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as he hath requir'd in his most Holy Word, reveal'd and contain'd in the New and Old Testaments: And according to the same Word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the Preaching of his Holy Word, and due and right Ministration of the Sacraments now receiv'd, and preach'd within this Realm. And shall abolish and gain-stayd all false Religions, contrary to the same: and shall rule the People committed to their charge, according to the Will and Command of God reveal'd in his foresaid Word, and according to the loveable Laws, and Constitutions receiv'd in this Realm, no ways repugnant to the said Word of the Eternal God; and shall procure to the uttermost of their Power, to the Kirk of God, and whole Christian People, true and perfect Peace, in time coming. The Right and Rents, with all just Privileges of the Crown of Scotland, to preserve and keep inviolated; neither shall they transfer, nor alienate the same. They shall forbid and repress in all Estates and Degrees, Reas, Oppression, and all kind of Wrong. In all Judgments they shall command and procure that Justice and Equity be kept to all Creatures, without exception, as the Lord and Father of Mercies be merciful unto them: And out of their Lands and Empire they shall be careful to root out all Hereticks, and Enemies to the true Worship of God, that shall be convict by the True Kirk of God of the aforesaid Crimes: And that they shall faithfully affirm the things above-written by their solemn Oath.

The Minister tender'd the Oath unto the King, who kneeling, and holding up his Right hand, swore in these words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contain'd in this Oath.*

This done, the King's Majesty sitteth down in his Chair, and reposeth himself a little.

Then the King ariseth from his Chair, and is disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of the Princely Robe, wherewith he entred the Kirk, and is invested by the said Chamberlain in his Royal Robes.

Thereafter, the King being brought to the Chair on the North-side of the Kirk, supported as formerly, the Sword was brought by Sir William Cockburn of Langtown Gentleman-Usher, from the Table, and deliver'd to Lion King of Arms, who giveth it to the Lord Great Constable, who putteth the same in the King's hand, saying, Sir, *Receive this Kingly Sword, for the defence of the Faith of Christ, and Protection of his Kirk, and of the true Religion, as it is presently professed within this Kingdom, and according to the National Covenant, and League and Covenant, and for executing Equity and Justice, and for punishment of all iniquity and injustice.*

This done, the Great Constable receiveth the Sword from the King, and girdeth the same about his side.

Thereafter the King sitteth down in his Chair; and then the Spurs were put on him by the Earl-Marshal.

Thereafter, Archibald Marquis of Argyle, having taken the Crown in his hands, the Minister prayed to this purpose:

That the Lord would purge the Crown from the sins and transgressions of them that did reign before him: That it might be a pure Crown; That God would settle the Crown upon the King's Head: And since Men that set it on, were not able to settle it; that the Lord would put it on, and preserve it. And then the said Marquis put the Crown on the King's Head.

Which done, Lion King of Arms, the Great Constable standing by him, causeth an Herald to call the whole Noblemen one by one, according to their Ranks; who coming before the King kneeling, and with their Hand touching the Crown on the King's Head, swore these words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to my utmost.* And when they had done, then all the Nobility held up their hands, and swore to be loyal and true Subjects, and faithful to the Crown.

The Earl-Marshal, with the Lion, going to the four Corners of the Stage, the Lion proclaimeth the Obligatory Oath of the People. And the People holding up their hands all the time, did swear, *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth*

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and reigneth for ever, we become your Liege-men, and Truth and Faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you against all manner of folks whatsoever, in your service, according to the National Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant.

Then did the Earls and Vicounts put on their Crowns: and the Lion likewise put on his.

Then did the Lord Chamberlain loose the Sword wherewith the King was girded; and drew it, and deliver'd it drawn into the King's hands, and the King put it into the hands of the great Constable to carry it naked before him.

Then John Earl of Crawford and Lindsay took the Scepter, and put it in the King's Right hand, saying, Sir, receive this Scepter, the sign of Royal Power of the Kingdom, that you may govern your self right, and defend all the Christian People committed by God to your charge, punishing the wicked, and protecting the just.

Then did the King ascend the Stage, attended by the Officers of the Crown and Nobility, and was installed in the Royal Throne by Archibald Marquis of Argyle, saying, Stand and hold fast from henceforth, the place whereof you are the Lawful and Righteous Heir, by a long and lineal Succession of your Fathers, which is now delivered unto you by authority of Almighty God.

When the King was set down upon the Throne, the Minister spoke to him a word of Exhortation, as followeth.

Sir, You are set down upon the Throne in a very difficult time: I shall therefore put you in mind of a Scriptural expression of a Throne, 1 Chron. 29. 23. It is said, Solomon sat on the Throne of the Lord. Sir, you are a King, and a King in Covenant with the Lord; if You would have the Lord to own you to be his King, and his Throne to be your Throne, I desire you may have some thoughts of this expression.

1. It is the Lord's Throne; Remember you have a King above you, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who commandeth Thrones: He setteth Kings and Thrones, and dethroneth them at his pleasure: Therefore take a word of advice: Be thankful to him, who hath brought you through many wanderings to set you on this Throne: Kiss the Son, lest he be angry; and learn to serve him with fear, who is terrible to the Kings of the Earth. 2. Your Throne is the Lord's Throne, and your People the Lord's People: Let not your heart be lifted up above your brethren, Deut. 17. 20. They are your brethren, not only flesh of your flesh, but brethren by Covenant with God; let your Government be refreshing unto them, as the rain on the mown grass. 3. Your Throne is the Lord's Throne; beware of making his Throne a Throne of Iniquity: There is such a Throne, Psal. 94. 20. which frameth mischief by a Law: God will not own such a Throne, it hath no fellowship with him. Sir, there is too much iniquity upon the Throne by your Predecessors, who framed mischief by a Law; such Laws as have been destructive

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to Religion, and grievous to the Lord's People : You are on the Throne, and have the Scepter ; beware of touching mischievous Laws therewith. But as the Throne is the Lord's Throne, let the Laws be the Lord's Laws, agreeable to his Word ; such as are terrible to evil doers, and comfortable to the godly, and a relief to the poor and oppressed in the Land. 4. The Lord's Throne putteth you in mind whom you shall have about the Throne ; wicked Counsellors are not for a King upon the Lord's Throne : Solomon knew this, who said, Prov. 25. 5. Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be establish'd in Righteousness. And Prov. 20. 8. A King upon the Throne scattereth away all evil with his eyes. 5. The Lord's Throne putteth you in mind, that the Judgment on the Throne should be the Lord's ; take the Exhortation, Jer. 22. from the beginning ; the Prophet hath a Command to go to the House of the King of Judah, and say, Hear the Word of the Lord, O King of Judah, that sitteth upon the Throne, and thy servants, and thy people ; Execute ye Judgment and Righteousness, and deliver the Spoil out of the hand of the Oppressor : and do no wrong, do no violence to the Stranger, the Fatherless, nor the Widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place. If ye do this thing indeed, then shall there enter by the gates of this House, Kings sitting upon the Throne of David. But if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, This house shall become a desolation. And ver. 7. I will prepare Destroyers against thee.

Sir, Destroyers are prepar'd for the Injustice of the Throne ; I intreat you, execute righteous Judgment ; if you do it not, your House will be a Desolation : But if you do that which is right, God shall remove the Destroyers, and you shall be establish'd on your Throne : and there shall yet be Dignity in your House, for your Servants, and for your People.

Lastly, If your Throne be the Throne of the Lord, take a word of Encouragement against Throne-Adversaries. Your Enemies are the Enemies of the Lord's Throne : Make your Peace with God in Christ, and the Lord shall scatter your Enemies from the Throne, and he shall magnify you yet in the sight of these Nations, and make the misled People submit themselves willingly to your Government. Sir, If you use well the Lord's Throne, on which you are set, then the two words in the place cited, 1 Chron. 29. 23. spoken of Solomon sitting on the Throne of the Lord, *He prospered, and all Israel obey'd him, shall belong unto you ; your People shall obey you in the Lord, and you shall prosper in the sight of the Nations round about.*

Then the Lord Chancellor went to the four Corners of the Stage, the Lion King of Arms going before him ; and proclaim'd his Majesty's free Pardon to all Breakers of Penal Statutes, and made offer thereof. Whereupon the People cried, *God save the King.* Then

Then the King, supported by the great Constable, Marshal, and accompanied with the Chancellor, arose from the Throne, and went out at door prepared for that purpose, to a Stage, and sheweth himself to the People without, who clapped their hands, and cried with a loud Voice, a long time, *God save the King.*

Then the King returning, and sitting down upon the Throne, deliver'd the Scepter to the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, to be carried before him. Thereafter the Lion King of Arms rehearsed the Royal Line of the Kings upward, to Fergus the first.

Then the Lion called the Lords one by one, who kneeling, and holding their hands betwixt the King's hands, did swear these words; *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I become your Liegeman, and Truth and Faith shall bear unto you, and live and dye with you, against all manner of folks whatsoever, in your service, according to the National Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant.*

And every one of them kissed the King's left Cheek.

When these Solemnities were ended, the Minister standing before the King on his Throne, pronounced this Blessing.

The Lord bless thee, and save thee; the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the Name of the God of Jacob defend thee: the Lord send thee help from the Sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Sion. Amen.

After the Blessing pronounc'd, the Minister went to the Pulpit, and had the following Exhortation, the King sitting still upon the Throne. Ye have this day a King Crowned, and entred into Covenant with God, and his People; look, both King and People, that ye keep this Covenant, and beware of the breach of it. That you may be the more careful to keep it, I will lay a few things before you.

I remember when the Solemn League and Covenant was entred by both Nations, the Commissioners from England being present in the East Kirk of *Edinburgh*, a passage was cited out of *Nehem.* 6. 13. which I shall now again cite. *Nehemiah* required an Oath of the Nobles and People, to restore the mortgaged Lands, which they promised to do: after the Oath was tendred, in the 13th Verse he did shake his Lap, and said, *So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not his promise; even thus be he shaken out and emptied, and all the Congregations said, Amen.* Since that time many of those who were in Covenant are shaken out of it, yea, they have shaken off the Covenant, and laid it aside. It is true, they are prospering this Day, and think that they prosper by laying aside the Covenant; but they will be deceiv'd; that word spoken then, shall not fall to the ground; God shall shake them

them out of their possession, and empty them for their perfidious Breach of the Covenant.

The same I say to King and Nobles, and all that are in Covenant. If you break that Covenant, being so solemnly sworn, all these who have touch'd your Crown, and sworn to support it, shall not be able to hold it on; but God will shake it off, and turn you from the Throne: And ye Noblemen, who are assistant to the putting on of the Crown, and setting the King upon the Throne; if ye shall either assist, or advise the King to break the Covenant, and overturn the Work of God, he shall shake you out of your Possessions, and empty you of all your Glory.

Another passage I offer to your Consideration, *Jer. 34. 8.* After that *Zedekiah* had promised to proclaim Liberty to all the Lord's People, who were Servants, and entred in a Covenant, he and his Princes, to let them go free, and according to the Oath had let them go; afterwards they caused the Servants to return, and brought them in subjection, *ver. 11.* What followeth upon this Breach? *Ver. 15, 16.* *Ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight in proclaiming liberty: but ye turned, and made them servants again.* And therefore, *ver. 18, 19, 20, 21.* *I will give the men who have transgressed my Covenant, who have not performed the words of the Covenant which they made before me, when they cut the Calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof, I will even give them into the hands of their enemies, into the hand of them that seek their life, even Zedekiah and his Princes.* If the Breach of a Covenant, made for the Liberty of Servants, was so punish'd, what shall be the Punishment of the Breach of a Covenant for Religion, and Liberty of the People of God? There is nothing more terrible to Kings and Princes, than to be given into the hands of Enemies, that seek their life. If ye would escape this Judgment, let King and Princes keep their Covenant made with God: Your Enemies, who seek your Life, are in the Land; if you break the Covenant, it may be fear'd, God will give you over unto them as a Prey: But if ye yet keep Covenant, it may be expected, God will keep you out of their hands.

Let not the place ye heard opened be forgotten; for in it ye have an Example of Divine Justice against *Joash* and the Princes, for breaking that Covenant, *2 Chron. 24. 23.* The Princes, who inticed that Breach, are destroy'd. And in the 24th Verse it is said, *The Army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and the Lord deliver'd a very great Host into their hands; because they had forsaken the Lord God of their Fathers: so they executed judgment against Joash.* And verse 25. *His own servants conspired against him, and slew him on his bed, &c.* The Con-
spiracy

spiracy of Servants or Subjects against their King, is a wicked course: But God in his righteous Judgments suffereth Subjects to conspire and rebel against their Princes, because they rebel against God: And he suffereth Subjects to break the Covenant made with a King, because he breaketh the Covenant made with God. I may say freely, that a chief cause of the Judgment upon the King's House, hath been the Grandfather's Breach of Covenant with God, and the Father's following his steps, in opposing the Work of God, and his Kirk within these Kingdoms: They broke Covenant with God, and Men have broken Covenant with them; yea, most cruelly and perfidiously have invaded the Royal Family, and trodden upon all Princely Dignity.

Be wise by their Example. You are now sitting upon the Throne of the Kingdom, and your Nobles about you; there is one above you, even *Jesus* the King of *Sion*; and I, as his Servant, dare not but be free with you. I charge you Sir, in His Name, that you keep this Covenant in all Points; if you break this Covenant, and come against this Cause, I assure you the Controversy is not ended between God and your Family, but will be carried on to further weakning, if not the overthrow of it: But if you shall keep this Covenant, and befriend the Kingdom of Christ, it may be from this day God shall begin to do you good; altho your Estate be very weak, God is able to raise you, and make you to reign, maugre the opposition of all your Enemies: And howsoever it shall please the Lord to dispose, you shall have peace toward God, through Christ the Mediator.

As for you who are Nobles and Peers of the Land, your share is great in this Day of Coronation; ye have come and touched the Crown, and sworn to support it; ye have handled the Sword and Scepter, and have set down the King upon his Throne.

1. I charge you keep your Covenant with God; and see that ye never be moved your selves to come against it in any Head or Article thereof; and that ye give no Counsel to the King to come against that Doctrine, Worship, Government and Discipline of the Kirk, establish'd in this Land, as you would eschew the Judgment of Covenant-breakers. If the King and ye, who are engag'd to support the Crown, conspire together against the Kingdom of Christ; both ye that do support, and he that is supported, will fall together. I press this the more, because it is a rare thing to see a King and Great Men for Christ; in the long Catalogue of Kings, which ye have heard recited this Day, there will be found few who have been for Christ.

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2. I charge you also, because of your many Oaths to the King, that you keep them inviolably. Be faithful to him according to your Covenant, the Oaths of God are upon you; if directly or indirectly you do any thing against his standing, God, by whom ye have sworn, will be avenged upon you for the Breach of his Oath.

And now I will close up all in one word more to You, Sir: You are the only Covenanted King with God and his People in the World: Many have obstructed your Entry in it; now seeing the Lord hath brought you in over all these Obstructions, only observe to do what is contained therein; and it shall prove a happy Time for You and Your House. And because you are entered in Times of great difficulty, wherein small strength seems to remain with you in the eyes of the World, for recovering your just Power and Greatness; therefore take the Counsel which *David*, when he was dying, gave to his Son *Solomon*, 1 Kings 2. 2, 3. *Be strong, and show thy self a Man, and keep the Charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his Commandments, that thou may'st prosper in all that thou do'st, and whithersoever thou turnest thy self.*

After this Exhortation, the Minister closed the whole Action with Prayer; and the 20th Psalm being sung, he dismissed the People with the Blessing.

Then did the King's Majesty descend from the Stage, with the Crown upon his Head; and receiving again the Scepter in his Hand, returned with the whole Train in solemn manner to his Palace, the Sword being carried before him.

Phenix X.

*The ANSWER of the States-General
of the United Provinces of the
Low-Countries, to the Declara-
tion of War of the King of Great
Britain. Printed in 1674.*

Publsh'd by Their Lordship's Order.

THE States-General of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries; To all to whom these shall come, Greeting.
The Hopes we had hitherto, that Our continual seeking of Peace would, in time, prove more successful; and that the reiterated Instances of the Prince of *Orange* should at last carry it above the Arts which have been us'd against us, have kept us from publishing sooner an Answer to the *Declaration* of War of his Majesty of *Great Britain*; Being unwilling to encrease the Feud, or to let the whole World see at what rate so great a King hath been abus'd, by the publishing in his Name of a *Manifest*, wherein Truth is what hath been least aim'd at, and which is all full of things that deserve so little to bear in the Front so Illustrious a Name.

But since all our Endeavours, as well as those of the Prince of *Orange*, have prov'd fruitless; and that our most earnest Suits are not only rejected with Scorn, but are also look'd upon as Injuries, as it appears by the Exceptions that have been
taken

taken at the respectful Letter we had written to his said Majesty, the care we are bound to have of our Honour, and what we owe to our Subjects, doth not give us leave to defer any longer the laying of our Innocence open, and to make known to all *Europe* the Justice of our Arms, which we'll be always ready to lay down as soon as the Violence of our Enemies shall cease; as we did not take them up, but out of an unavoidable necessity.

Howbeit, before we go further, we think it necessary to desire his Majesty of *Great Britain* to be persuaded, that our intention is not to offend his Royal Person, for which we have ever had, and will still have, all imaginable Respect, altho the strength of Truth doth constrain us to disown most of what his Ministers have persuaded him to aver.

We do also desire all those of the *English* Nation, into whose hands these may come, to read them with an impartial Mind, and to seek only the Truth in them, without considering it comes from Enemies, since we bear that Title with much regret; and that we desire nothing more earnestly, than to see our selves united again with a Nation, to which we are link'd by the sacred Bond of the same Religion, besides a joint Interest in several other respects.

English Declaration.

WE have been always so zealous for the Quiet of Christendom, and so careful not to Invade any other Kingdom or State, that We hope the World will do Us the Justice to believe, that it is nothing but inevitable Necessity forceth Us to the Resolution of taking up Arms.

Immediately upon Our Restoration to Our Crowns, the first work We undertook, was the establishing of Peace, and the settling a good Correspondence between Us and Our Neighbours; and in particular, Our care was, to conclude a strict League with the States-General of the United Provinces,

upon

A N S W E R.

WE never intended to call in question the peaceable and generous Intentions of the King of *Great Britain*; and we are enough persuaded, that all the misunderstanding that hath been between us since his Restoration, hath proceeded only from the Counsels of ill-affected Persons. But by reason that to what concerns the Person of his Majesty, (which we do not gainsay) they add several groundless Accusations relating to our selves, a short and faithful Account of what hath pass'd most considerable before the

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upon such equal Terms, as would certainly not have been broken, if any Obligations could have kept them within the bounds of Friendship or Justice.

This League was maintain'd inviolable on Our part. But in the Year 1664. we were stirred up by the Complaints of Our People, and the unanimous Vote of Both Our Houses of Parliament; finding it a vain Attempt to endeavour the Prosperity of Our Kingdoms by peaceable ways at home, whilst Our Subjects were still expos'd to the Injuries and Oppressions of those States abroad.

That whole Summer was spent in Negotiations and Endeavours on Our side, to bring them to reasonable Terms, which notwithstanding all We could do, proved at length ineffectual; for the more we pursued them with friendly Propositions, the more obstinately they kept off from agreeing with us.

Upon this ensued the War in the Year 1665. and continued to the Year 1667. in all which time Our Victories and their Losses were memorable enough, to put them in mind of being more faithful to their Leagues for the future. But instead of that, the Peace was no sooner made, but they returned to their usual custom of breaking Articles, and supplanting our Trade.

be of no less advantage to the Inhabitants of our Provinces than to his own Subjects, and that they should all taste the fruits of it with an equal satisfaction: Adding to this, that he should not without jealousy see us prefer the Friendship or Alliance of any other Prince before his. Several general Proposals and Projects of Treaties were made even at that time; after which we sent a solemn Embassy to put an end to what had been already propos'd, and to offer on our part all that

the Treaty of Breda, will sufficiently demonstrate which of both Parties hath most endeavour'd to preserve a fair Correspondence, and who have sought Peace with the greatest reality and zeal.

When his Majesty of Great Britain was miraculously called again by his Subjects to the Government of his Kingdoms, he was pleased to make choice of one of our Towns to receive the Deputies that were sent to him, and stay'd with us till all things were ready for his Transportation. During the said time, we endeavour'd to give him all possible Demonstrations of Our respect to his Person, and of the fervent desire we had to purchase his Friendship, and to preserve the same inviolable. And what we did in that respect, prov'd so acceptable to his Majesty, and did so far persuade him of the sincerity of our intentions, that he was pleased to acknowledge it much beyond what we expected; and assured us, with the most obliging Expressions, that he was resolved, and did earnestly desire to enter with our State into a stricter Alliance than any of his Predecessors had done, and that he did hope his Restoration would

was both reasonable and feasible. But our Embassadors were no sooner arriv'd, but they perceiv'd a great Alteration in the Mind and Inclinations of his said Majesty, and found that some ill-affected Persons had possess'd him against us since he had left the *Hague*: So that instead of concluding the Alliance which he had propos'd to us Himself, he began to side with other Princes against us. And in particular, tho' the War we had with *Portugal* was most just and most warrantable, yet he openly threatned to break with us, if we did seek any longer, by way of Arms, a reparation of the Wrongs we had receiv'd from that Crown.

In the mean time, our Embassadors did not intermit their Instances, and press'd with all possible Zeal for the concluding of a stricter Alliance with the Crown of *England*: But after several Objections and Difficulties rais'd by that Court, upon the Articles which our Embassadors had propos'd, in conformity to the Project that had been made, whilst his Majesty was still at the *Hague*; the Commissioners with whom they treated, offer'd them at last, after above a Year's delay, the Treaty which was concluded in the Year 1654 with *Cromwell*; And this Treaty could not be confirm'd neither, but with much difficulty and trouble, and with the addition of several Points, that made it more disadvantageous to us than the very Treaty of 1654.

At last, having overcome all those Difficulties, and given to the King of *Great Britain* so clear Proofs of the singular Esteem we had of his Friendship, we thought thereby to have laid the Foundation of a firm and durable Peace, and did hope the *English* Ministers would have contributed on their part, as we did on ours, to extinguish the least Sparks of Discord: But the Treaty was no sooner concluded, than they began to renew and set on foot certain Pretensions, that were regulated in general by the Treaty, but not perfectly ended. And whilst the Embassador *Downing* made a great Noise in the *Hague*, of a few groundless Demands of some private Merchants, they sent a Fleet to possess themselves of several Places belonging to us upon the Coast of *Guiney*, and of all the *New Netherlands*; and that in the midst of a settled Peace, without a previous Declaration of War, and without any denial on our part, to give them satisfaction upon any Complaint they had made: and afterwards they seiz'd all our Merchant Ships that sail'd along their Coast.

These Excesses were follow'd by a Declaration of War; during which, we may truly say, we never refus'd to hearken to any Overture of Peace that was made to us, either by Princes and States, or by any other unconcern'd Persons: But, to
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the contrary, we let no opportunity slip of making Overtures of Peace our selves, upon the least glimpse of hopes it might be done with success. Having in order to that kept our Ambassador in *England*, during the best part of the War; and having still, since his coming away, offer'd from time to time to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, the very Alternative upon which Peace was at last concluded (which was either to keep what had been conquer'd on either side, or to restore all reciprocally) without seeking to make any advantage of the Conjunction of *France*, which had then declar'd in our behalf.

All this doth sufficiently shew how zealous we have always been for Peace; and even without any other proof, one may easily imagine we'll ever be desirous of what is the true Foundation of the Happiness of our Country, as it is the Support of our Trade.

All those that are in any measure acquainted with the state of our Affairs, can't but know that a War by Sea, such as this we are engag'd in now, is of all Rocks, that which at all times we'll avoid with the greatest Care; and that nothing but an inevitable Necessity can bring us to the Taking up of Arms; in case they will but grant us ever so little Prudence and Wisdom, altho they would not own we keep our Treaties (as we may truly say we have ever done) out of a Principle of Conscience and Honour. And therefore the Proofs which *England* doth instance in, of our averfeness to Peace, and of the perpetual Infraction of our Treaties, must needs carry a strong Demonstration with them, to make good a Paradox that is so much against all Sense and Reason. Let us then examine in order those pretended *Infractions*, and see how far the Compilers of the *Manifesto* do make it appear we have violated the Peace of *Breda*.

FOR Instance; The States were particularly engag'd in an Article of the Treaty at *Breda*, to send Commissioners to Us at London, about the Regulation of our Trade in the East-Indies: But they were so far from doing it upon that Obligation, that when we sent over Our Ambassador to put them in mind of it, he could not in three years time get from them any satisfaction in the material Points; nor a forbearance of the Wrongs which Our Subjects receiv'd in those Parts:

THE first Infraction they complain of, and which in all likelihood ought to be very considerable, since it leads the Van, hath four several Branches: 1. That we were bound by the aforesaid Treaty of *Breda*, to send Commissioners to London, to regulate the *East-India Trade*; which we have not done. 2. That this forc'd the King of *Great Britain* to send us an Ambassador, to put us in mind of what we had promis'd.

promis'd. 3. That the said Embassador could not in three years time get from us any satisfaction in the material Points; nor, 4. A forbearance of the Wrongs which the Subjects of his said Majesty receiv'd in those Parts.

Whereupon we can't but take notice, that this, in all probability, is the first *Manifesto* in the World that ever began with an Article, whereof every part is a mere Supposition; and wherein, of all the Matter of Fact that is alledg'd, there is not the least Point agreeable to Truth. For, 1. Let the whole Treaty of *Breda* be read and examin'd with Care, no Clause will be found whereby either in express or equivalent Terms, we were bound to send Commissioners to *London*; much less to send any thither for the Regulation of the *East-India* Trade, which is not so much as mention'd in all the Treaty. Which makes us wonder at the surprizing Boldness of those who dare publish and aver, in the sight of all *Europe*, a thing which doth confute it self; and the Falshood whereof may be evinc'd, by producing only the very Treaty they do quote and ground themselves upon. 2. How is it possible the King of *Great Britain* should send us an Ambassador, to put us in mind of that which never was, and which we could not have promised, since it had not been so much as spoken of? 3. What Essential Points could have been mov'd upon an imaginary Clause and Engagement? and there being nothing in that respect agreed upon by the Treaty of *Breda*, what satisfaction could they demand from us? 4. We may with Sincerity and Truth affirm, that hitherto we have not heard that our *East-India* Company, since the last Peace, hath done any wrong to, or committed any Violence against the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain*; and withal, that his Embassador never complain'd to us of it in the least; which undoubtedly he would have done, if there had been any ground for it. But to demonstrate further the Injustice of this Complaint, and how ill grounded it is, we are assured from good hands, that the Committee of the *English East-India* Company, having been desir'd by the Court to bring in their Grievances, with a List of the Injuries they had receiv'd in the *Indies* since the Treaty of *Breda*; they answer'd in writing, They had receiv'd none.

But what is little less surprizing than all the rest, is, that they lay to our charge to have violated the Treaty of *Breda* in relation to the *East-India* Trade, which is not mention'd in it, instead of returning us Thanks for what we have done in that respect, without being bound to't by any Treaty; and merely to let the King and all the *English* Nation see at what rate we were willing to purchase and to preserve their Friendship. In few words, the thing was thus.

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The Peace which was treated of at *Breda* being much desired by the greatest part of *Europe*, and the time being too short to enter into a particular Negotiation for a Treaty of Marine between *England* and us, it was agreed to make use provisionally of that which we had concluded with *France* in the Year 1662, beginning from the 26th Article, to the 42d inclusively; it being resolv'd at the same time that, after the Peace concluded, Commissioners should be chosen on both sides to agree upon a more particular Regulation of Marine, for the reciprocal Ease and Convenience of the Merchants of both Nations: Which kind of Treaties being only to determine the *Countraband* Goods, and to prevent the Interruption, which War commonly causeth in the Trade of Neutral Nations, is altogether different from a Regulation of Trade in the *East-Indies*. Moreover, the Winter following *England* having design'd the Preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and having sent us Sir *William Temple* to enter into a Negotiation with us in order to it, we concluded in a little time three several Treaties with him; viz. The one a *Defensive League* between Us; The other for the Defence of the *Low-Countries*, which afterwards was call'd the *Triple Alliance*; and the third an absolute Treaty of *Marine*, which was concluded on the 7th of *February* 1668, and which left no room for the Nomination of the Commissioners that had been spoken of at *Breda*, since this Treaty had settled what they should have treated about, and that there was nothing to be added to a formal and absolute Regulation.

After the Conclusion of this Treaty, some *English* Merchants did represent to the Court, that some Articles of it were doubtful and impracticable; whereupon Sir *William Temple* deliver'd us a Memorial, dated the 26th of *November* 1668, without mentioning therein the *East-India* Trade: and on the first of *December* following he gave our Commissioners two Articles of the Treaty of *Marine*, which were complain'd of, and added to them four Articles more, to be as a Rule between the two Companies in their *East-India* Trade; but which, in truth, were mere Demands the *English* Company made for their private advantage. Whereupon we must not omit, that neither in the Memorials which the said Ambassador gave us, nor in all the Conferences he had with our Deputies, he never mention'd in the least the Treaty of *Breda*, and did never ground his Demands either upon the said Treaty, or upon any other Engagement or Obligation on our part.

The whole was imparted to our Assembly on the very same day; where after a serious Debate, altho we might have refus'd to make any Alteration in a Treaty which had been Con-

cluded and Ratified in the usual Forms: That withal, as to what related to the Articles which the *English East-India Company* had procur'd to be deliver'd to us, we were not bound by any Treaty, or other Engagement, to enter with them into a Regulation of the *East-India Trade*, much less to grant them several Points, which were all for their private advantage, without any possibility for us to reap reciprocally the least benefit of the said Regulation; which was also directly contrary to the Laws generally receiv'd in, and to the common use of the *Indies*. And lastly, that they complain'd of no wrong (as indeed they could not have done it with any Justice) done to them by our Company: And thus had so much the less cause to urge for a more particular Regulation, whilst there was no necessity for it. Yet we thought fit to pass by all those Considerations, and to give to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and to all the *English Nation*, this new Proof of the singular Esteem we had of their Friendship, and of our desire to tie the Knot of our Union yet faster, and to make it, if it were possible, indissoluble. Upon which ground we order'd our Commissioners to prepare an Answer to the Proposals of the aforesaid Ambassador, and to confer with him in order to a speedy conclusion of that Work. And all we can say in general of the said Negotiation, the Particulars whereof would be too tedious for those that are not vers'd in those matters, is, That of four principal Points which were propos'd by the said Ambassador, we granted and agreed upon three; and without rejecting the fourth, we only desir'd a further clearing of some ambiguous Clauses one of the Articles contain'd; which, instead of settling a good Correspondence between the two Companies, might have occasion'd new Debates, and have prov'd of dangerous consequence.

And the better to evidence how desirous we were to give all possible satisfaction to *England*, being sensible that the Letters which were written on both sides, did not sufficiently clear all Doubts, we sent the *Sieur Van Beuningen* chiefly to put an end to the said Treaty between the two Companies. But whether the *English Ministers*, who were appointed to treat with him as Commissioners, were unwilling to explain themselves more particularly upon the ambiguous Clauses, whereof a further clearing was demanded, lest they should discover the unjust Sense wherein they intended to take them afterwards; Or that they were afraid lest the conclusion of that Treaty should have united more strictly both Nations, and so might have prov'd a new Obstacle to the War they already design'd at that time, the said *Van Beuningen* could obtain no positive Answer upon what he desir'd, and came back without any

any progress made in his Negotiation; which could not be renew'd since, by reason of the misunderstanding, which still encreas'd from that time, unto the breaking out of the War.

IN the West-Indies they went a little farther: For by an Article in the same Treaty, we were to restore Surinam into their hands; and by Articles upon the place confirm'd by that Treaty, they were to give Liberty to all Our Subjects in that Colony, to transport themselves and their Estates into any other of Our Plantations. In pursuance of this Agreement, We deliver'd up the Place, and yet they detain'd all Our Men in it; only Majr Banister they sent away Prisoner, for but desiring to remove according to the Articles. Our Ambassador complaining of this behaviour, after two years solicitation, obtain'd an Order for the performance of those Articles: But when We sent Commissioners, and two Ships to bring Our Men away, the Hollanders (according to their former practice in the business of Poleroon for above forty years together) sent private Orders contradictory to those they had own'd to Us in publick; and so the only effect of Our Commissioners journey thither, was to bring away some few of the poorest of Our Subjects, and the Prayers and Cries of the most considerable and wealthiest of them, for relief out of that Captivity. After this, We made Our Complaints by Our Letter in August last to the States General, wherein We desir'd an Order to their Gouverneurs there, for the full observance of those Articles; yet to this time We could never receive one word of answer or satisfaction.

Surinam is a Colony upon the Coast of Guiana in America, which did belong to the English, and which some Ships we had sent thither, master'd during the late War, on the 6th of March 1667. N. S.

At the taking of it, our Officers granted to the Inhabitants a Capitulation; wherein, amongst other things, it was express'd, that whenever any of the said Inhabitants should have a mind to remove out of the Colony, they should have leave to sell their Estates; and that in such case the Governour should take care for their Transportation, together with their Effects, at a reasonable Rate.

After we had had the said Colony some Months in our possession, the English Forces conquer'd it again. But as by the Treaty of Breda it was agreed to surrender reciprocally, and transfer to each other all Right of Sovereignty to the Places which were possess'd on either side on the 1st of May 1667, and that we were then yet in possession of Surinam, the said Colony did belong to us, and was to be restor'd us by the Treaty aforesaid; as it was at last (after long delays, and many reiterated Instances from us) by virtue of an Order of the King of Great Britain, dated the 8th of July 1668.

Being thus possess'd again of the said Place, one *Banister*, who commanded there at the time our Officers brought the last Order of the King of *England* for the restitution of it, declar'd to our Governour, that he intended to leave the Colony, and enjoy the benefit of the aforesaid Capitulation; which indeed he might lawfully do. But not being satisfied with demanding for himself what would not have been denied him, he acted as if he had been still Governour of the Colony, and demanded in a very high manner the same permission, in the name of several Planters, as their Deputy, and thereunto by them authoriz'd. Whereupon the Governour aforesaid being inform'd, that the said *Banister* did Night and Day cabal in the Colony, and us'd in a seditious manner both Promises and Threats to associate to him as many as he could, and engage them to go away with him; and looking upon such a carriage as directly contrary to the Sovereignty which had been transfer'd to us by the Treaty of *Breda*, by virtue whereof all the Inhabitants of the said Colony were become our Subjects, and consequently could not meet together, nor act as a Body without our leave, much less to make themselves Heads of Parties, and to cabal against our Interest, as the said *Banister* had done; our said Governour not thinking fit to punish him himself, sent him to us to inflict upon him what Punishment we should think convenient. Upon his Arrival, Sir *William Temple* having spoken to us in his behalf, we granted him his liberty: And altho the Inhabitants of *Surinam*, by their being become our Subjects, had lost all Right of applying themselves to any other Authority but our own, and so, that no Foreign Prince could with any Justice make himself Judg of any former Capitulation; Our Subjects having no lawful way to go out of our Territories but by asking our leave, which also we may affirm, never to have denied to any of the Inhabitants of that Colony that have apply'd themselves to us, or to our Officers: Yet to let his Majesty of *Great Britain* see how ready we were to comply with him, and how far we were from designing to use our new Subjects with any rigour, or to deny to them the least of the Privileges which were promised them in our name, we consented to enter with his Majesty's Embassador into a Negotiation upon the said matter, and to regulate with him the manner how the aforesaid Capitulation should be executed. Upon this several Difficulties did arise; The Court of *England* endeavouring to strain the words of the Capitulation beyond their true sense, thereby to destroy as much as they could our said Colony, and asking every day somewhat new; whilst the Intention of those that govern'd was not to compose Differences in an amicable way, but rather to leave still,

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with much Art, some Seed of Dissension, thereby to have an opportunity of making a noise, and by their false Complaints to persuade the *English* Nation, we were strange Tyrants who kept their Countrymen in a barbarous Captivity, without being moved by their Prayers and Crys. Whereas we may truly say, that excepting *Banister*, we have heard of no *English*-man at *Surinam* that desir'd to remove, without being thereunto induc'd either thro the Promises or Threats of some of the Agents from *England*.

The first Difficulty was concerning the Slaves, which *Banister*, with his Associates, did pretend they might carry off, and take along with them, by virtue of the Capitulation; altho it be plain both by the Words of the Capitulation aforesaid, and by the Testimony of our Officers that sign'd it, that no such Privilege had been granted to them. But at last, to oblige as much as we were able his Majesty of *Great Britain*, we yielded that Point, and consented to what his said Majesty desir'd of us, how prejudicial soever the thing was to us.

But as the Intention of the Court of *England*, was only either to destroy our Colony, or to force us to deny them somewhat that might give them a pretence of complaining of us, tho never so unjustly; they did not think to have done their work by carrying away from us a very great number of Slaves. And foreseeing we would not be long without buying new ones in stead of them, they thought upon a new way to destroy our Sugar-Works, which they were forc'd to leave behind, and desir'd afterwards they might carry away the Coppers and other necessary Utensils for the making of Sugar; altho in the common Acceptation, thro all the Colonies of *America*, and by the manner they were fasten'd and fix'd, they were properly a part of the Sugarworks, and therefore not transportable in their nature. This Demand was so unreasonable, and so foreign to all that was specify'd in the Capitulation, that we had but too much cause wholly to reject it. But still to demonstrate what value we did set upon the Friendship of the King of *Great Britain*, and how far we were willing to condescend even to all his Desires, we did likewise give way to it.

Besides this, they desir'd they might send *English* Ships, for the Transportation of such as should be minded to leave the Colony; in hopes that this sending might engage those to go off, that had not design'd it: not to reject the Invitation of so Great a King, by suffering the Ships he sent them at his own charge, to return empty. These little Arts were not unknown to us. And altho this Demand was directly contrary to the Laws and to the Practice of all Colonies in *America*,

rica, where no Prince or State do suffer any Ships but their own to come to any Plantation they do respectively possess; and that withal it was expressly agreed by the Capitulation, that our Governour should furnish with Ships (at a moderate rate) such Inhabitants as would remove out of the said Colony: Yet we once more pass'd by all those Considerations, and granted it, as we had done all the rest.

But by reason they fear'd still, the sending of the Ships might not have the Success they expected, unless they did send at the same time some trusty Agents, to give the same a greater Reputation, and to endeavour understand to persuade the *English* Inhabitants to go away with them; they press'd that they might name Commissioners to carry the Orders we sent to our Governour (in conformity to what we had granted to his Majesty of *Great Britain*) and to be present at the executing of them. This we granted them also, and desired only they would make choice of such Persons as were unconcern'd and well-meaning, to the end all things might be fairly ended, and with mutual Satisfaction. But how rational and how just soever this our Request was, the *English* Court insisted upon the often-mention'd *Banister* to be the chief Person of this Embassy: And being resolv'd on our part to give the highest Proofs of our Condescension, we oppos'd it no longer; altho we had so much cause to suspect him.

A final end was put to this Negotiation by our Ministers in *England*; and the last Orders we sent to our Governour were agreed upon between the late Secretary *Trevor* and them, much against the Expectation of the other *English* Ministers, who did not think we could have been brought to part with so much of our Right, nor grant so many things we were not bound to, and which were so prejudicial to us. But as the secret Reasons and Motives which kept the said Ministers from perfecting the private Treaty between the *East-India* Companies, which was so far advanc'd, made them fear likewise lest the business of *Surinam* should be amicably ended, neither of them agreeing with the measures they had lately taken at *Dover*, where the Court had gone to receive the *Dutchess of Orleans*; they were not in the least pleas'd with what the said Secretary *Trevor* had done, and began to think of means to stop the Execution of it; without remembering then the Prayers and the Crys of those poor Subjects, who (say they in their *Manifesto*) long for Relief out of their Captivity.

In order to that, not daring to fall openly upon the said Secretary, nor to impeach him themselves, they refer'd the Agreement he had made to the Scrutiny of the Council of Plantations, to see whether they could not find somewhat else to