

scandalous villain the north-country hath of late years bred, is at first dash admitted to the earl's secret councils, who discovers all his designs to him, and yet he was to be but a single trooper, that procured no other man to the party. The king and the government have no reason to apprehend any danger, if the wisest of those they suppose their enemies manage affairs at this rate. Dennis is to raise all his name, Irish papists, for the defence of the protestant cause; and if the old native popish Irish will be for a commonwealth, the Earl of Shaftsbury engages they shall get their lands again; so kind is he to the papists, to out his best friends that are possessed of them.

As for their paper called an Association, 'tis truly their own, and of their own making. Mr Gwyn, a Yorkist, a creature of Mr Seymour, an enemy to the Earl of Shaftsbury, comes by force into his house, demands the keys of his closet, carries with him several other persons of his own party, where they did what they pleased; and though the Earl of Shaftsbury desired they would shew what papers they took, and that a list might be agreed on, yet they refused it; besides, all the papers they reserved at the council were marked by the Earl of Shaftsbury's agents, either by Mr Wilson or Mr Starkey; this only was marked by neither. And Mr Blathwait refused to give a list of those papers which they kept. But if the paper were really found in the Earl of Shaftsbury's closet, does Mr Sandars, the great lawyer, think that it did affect him with treason, or that the grand jury could have found a bill upon it; or why did he, that had a chief hand in drawing up the indictment, ground no part of it upon this paper?

But I most wonder at Mr Sandars, that, being a lawyer, he falls so heavy upon juries, and will not allow them the liberty that the law ever gave them. They are of no use to the people, if they are necessitated to obey the judge's directions; and if the wisest, wealthiest, and men of best repute of the city of London, (as these gentlemen were,) have not the liberty of finding, or not finding a bill, we should give little thanks for being governed by such law. Does Mr Sandars think they are obliged to find a bill, because four or five of the most infamous villains in the world have sworn the greatest improbabilities in nature? If so, and that it be a true doctrine, that the credibility of the witnesses is not to be considered by the jury, the Lord have mercy upon all protestants; for it is notoriously known, they may have forty Irish witnesses to any thing that may be desired against them; every day's experience shews it in that country, and they have now found their way over hither. And the popish agents are excellently skilled in supporting their evidence with English testimony, out of Newgate and the King's-Bench. I should ask Mr Sandars two questions, not whether he hath or will take the oath of supremacy, but whether he thinks the evidence was full and sufficient, in my Lord Shaftsbury's case, to cause the jury to find a bill? The other is, whether, if this paper of association, granted to be as treasonable as he pleases to make it, and to be found in this manner in my Lord Shaftsbury's study, can be imputed to my lord as any crime, or what crime it is, there being no proof that he ever saw it, read it, or conferred with any about it? But Mr Sandars hath laid aside his law, and is turned Hector for the catholic cause; hath lent his name for a job of church-work; and is to be recorded in the Paper Office for his great merit, and endeavouring to render juries useless to the people.

You cannot wonder, sir, if you find such men, and such things, every day appear more and more; there are such powerful influences on our affairs, that this popish plot must, at any rate, be made a protestant one. How many instances have we had of this these last two years, and when they will leave off, that are so well protected, God only knows; but you are not to set your helping hand to such things as these; there is a God above that will certainly inquire after such matters; and if you have patience but a while, the wicked that thus prosper, their place shall know them no more.

A Letter from a Friend to a Person of Quality, in Answer to a Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend, about Abhorrors and Addressors. 1682.

MY LORD,

FOR that's the style I shall presume to treat the unknown [person of quality] in, to whom this letter is addressed.

Yours of the 24th past, in answer to mine of January 6th, I have had the honour to receive, wherein you are pleased to espouse the Association, and *ignoramus* juries, as if they were your own project, and your own creatures; not troubling your head about the foolish scruples that I begg'd your advice upon; to wit [the fear of losing the reputation of a loyal subject and a good son of the church;] those two points being manifestly the least part of your noble care throughout the whole paper.

Your lordship professes [plainness and freedom in your reply;—without flattery;] and you acquit yourself to admiration; for the English nobility, gentry, and clergy, were never made so many drunken sots, brainless coxcombs, rascals, and hypocrites, in such a way of openness and liberty, and under so little caution of ceremony and respect, as in this plain, free letter of your lordship's; and all [according to the rule of the apostle,] you say, [Let every man speak truth to his neighbour;] which wants only the subjoining of another text, [not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness.]

That which follows looks like a slip of your lordship's pen; when, in saying that [your gentlemen of quality and estate generally go these highways,] you acknowledge the majority of men of value and condition to be against you; and yet, under favour, in your fourth column, you make [the wisest, wealthiest, and men of best repute in the city of London,] to be on the other side; for which preference, many, more eminent citizens than those there in question, will con your lordship little thank. And then the expression of, These high, (you mean these arbitrary) ways, sounds a little harsh, in the case of protesting against downright treason, as if it were a less crime to associate in a conspiracy to depose the king, than to join in a resolution to defend him.

Your lordship proceeds, after this, to a distribution of these men of quality, first into [secret or church papists;] at which rate, without proving or disproving, your honour may make even as many papists as you please. But it is to be noted, that only our secret republicans have had the luck to discover these same secret papists.

Your second division, my lord, is into those that [gape after honours and court preferments,] which is a reproach of the same latitude with the other; but it is much better yet to serve the government, upon a prospect of interest or hope of reward, (which is the very worst of the case,) than upon a pique, for a disgrace or disappointment, to break out into transports of malice and revenge against it; of which we have had many instances, to which your lordship cannot be altogether a stranger.

Your third sort, my lord, is of [those that enslave themselves for the saving or gaining of an office or commission in their country,] which at the most comes but to this, that some would honestly maintain the power and interest that they have got,

* The author means to intimate that he considered the person of quality to be Lord Shaftsbury.

while others are at work, by treacherous and unlawful means, to recover the usurped power that they have lost.

Your lordship is now pleased to conclude with those that are corrupted [by a vile and sordid education under the clergy,] which relishes rather of the soul of an agitator than of a peer; for here are two thirds of the three estates struck off and blasted already, and there wants but one step more to bring all to a level, and that point comes on now in course.

You tell the world, my lord, that [the yeoman and plain countryman hath kept his senses, when the greatest part of the nobility and gentry have lost theirs.] The good gentleman at the Old-Bailey, on the night of triumph, and the little *querpo* Levite, when they waved their hats and cry'd, Shout, shout, boys, to the rabble, could have done no more themselves than this comes to: But, for a person of quality to set up clouted shoes for the oracles of law and government, turn the nobility and gentry to school in Bedlam, and reprobate the very religion of the church of England, as well as the churchmen, all in a breath, is to outdo the worst of men and of times; to introduce new articles of faith and of state; and, in effect, an appeal from the privy-council to the Bear-garden. What, with submission, could a Massianello or a Wat Tyler have said more? Wherefore be pleased, my lord, to recall your terrible sentence upon the [generality,] &c. which are no less than the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled in parliament, and allow them to be men that go soberly and temperately about their business.

[Are there any so blind, (you say,) as not to see how our churchmen repent their departing from Rome, and long to be there again?] Your lordship must have better eyes than your neighbours to discover this; but it is a notion calculated for those that see nothing at all; and a kind of St Anthony's fire,^a that is enough to infect the whole mass of the nation with schismatical scabs and tetter.

Your lordship's zeal, in the next place, for the protestant religion, must not be forgotten: [What shall we do for our sister that hath no breasts?]^a Nor your notable remark, that [without university learning none can imagine how it should be preserved under a popish prince, that chuses popish bishops, and under a king that favours that popish choice.]

As for university learning, it may do much, 'tis true, towards the maintaining a paradox; but the sophistry of a close committee is able to put Cambridge and Oxford in a bag, and prove the best reformed church upon the face of the earth to be flat popery. Happy are they, my lord, that have been brought up at the feet of these Gamaliels: But popery must down at last, under what shape soever; and then there's no more to be done, but whatsoever your lordship has a mind to put down, to call it popery; and, at any rate, *delenda est Carthago*.

Your lordship's following quære is a very bitter one, (but under a mistaken character,) [consider how long the dissolute and drunken part of our nobility and gentry will hold out as confessors for the protestant church of England:] Some grains of abatement, good my lord, for the weaknesses of flesh and blood: or, however, cast in treason, sacrilege, perjury, murder, oppression, into the other scale. Set the translation of *l'escole des filles* against a glass to the best in Christendom; a bottle extraordinary to the confusion of his royal highness, against another to his health; and, in half a word, the practice of all Martial's bawdry against the crime of understanding it. Upon this whole matter, my lord, you will need no expositor.

Your lordship is now pleased to reflect upon [the steadiness of these worthy gentlemen;] (for men worthy I presume.) He that's steady to what's uppermost is as stea-

^a Alluding to Shaftesbury's christian name.

^a Whitleck's Memor. p. 671.

^b In Shaftesbury's study were found two lists of Whigs and Tories, the former titled *worthy men*, the latter *men worthy*, which was said to imply, worthy to be hanged.

dy, in one respect, as he that stands firm to his honour and his duty is steady in another; and your lordship's letter shews you too much a statesman, not to make this persuasion an article of your creed.

You do well, my lord, to drive the nail of popery home to the head; and thereupon you say, That [a popish prince need but to order his lord-lieutenants and sheriffs to furnish military juries, that shall believe Irish evidence, to hang any man he has a mind to, that was too busy in the protestant cause; especially if the lord-lieutenant take a governor out of the university.] Your lordship, under correction, has made another false step here, in discovering, that your protestants are against our universities; and that your main battery strikes upon the chief supporters and administrators of the government: But yet, setting the contemplation of juries, that may, possibly, hang at pleasure, against other true protestant juries, that do certainly save at pleasure, your lordship might put into your eye what you have gotten by this supposition, and see never the worse; for we are not now to learn, that your Amsterdam, Queen's Arms, and Nag's Head juries, will do wonders.

Your lordship, perhaps, would have spared the Irish evidence, but for want of a friend at your elbow to mind you who they were that first brought them over; what instance was used for a pardon for a man of quality without a name; and a blank warrant for an unknown person of undoubted credit, to prove the plot: And this man of credit found, at last, upon further information, to have a hand in a matter of fifty or sixty murders.[†]

I shall say little, my lord, to your severe animadversion upon the addressors, in the next clause, only I wish you had not charged his majesty with abandoning his people in their greatest distresses, in the same period. The judge that brought up the address from Hereford falls next in your way: 'Tis Baron Gregory that you speak of; and I shall only refer your honour to Colonel Birch for his justification. Mr Sandars also lies under the lash for acting contrary to law; but it is not said contrary to what law.

Your lordship speaks of [the association, as a man of straw set up to fight against; and of addresses going round the nation to oppose it.] First, the proof, where it was found, clears it to be no imposture in the finders of it: Secondly, the setting up of a new scheme of government is a great deal more, under favour, than the setting up a man of straw, according to your lordship's pleasant allusion: And, Thirdly, as to going round with the addresses, what can be more reasonable than to encounter an oath of conspiracy with a band of allegiance? But [this is to persuade the people, I find, that there's a protestant plot;] and (by your lordship's leave) the other is to cast a mist before their eyes, that they should not discern the rebellious association to be a fanatical one. There's a scandal also upon [the proceedings published by authority] but nothing said either where or what. It is urged farther, that [neither the judges nor the jury could think the Earl of Shaftsbury guilty.] The judges speak for themselves in their charge; and guilty, or not guilty, was not the question before the grand jury. As to the said earl's being a statesman, his lordship has in all times, and by all people, been reputed one; and I have nothing to oppose, either to his lordship's abilities or innocence; but yet the criminating of witnesses does not at all evince the integrity of the person accused; for it many times falls out, that men of honour could speak to the same purposes if they would; but there are certain tendernesses, in the confidence of hospitality and conversation, that men will not depart from, but upon terms of the greatest necessity.

The calumnies of the next paragraph [upon Mr Gwin's forcing my lord's house, and his and Mr Blathwait's refusing my lord and his agents a list of the papers they took,]

[†] This was perhaps Captain Blood, who was at one time a plot witness.

are exposed over and over already, and every step of the proceeding made out beyond contradiction.

A good part of what remains is an expostulatory invective against Mr Sandars, and only a ventilation of popular amusements, without citing any authority, or laying any foundation, [Shall a grand jury find a bill upon the oath of villains that swear improbabilities?] Give me leave now to put it the other way: Shall a grand jury refuse to find a bill upon those circumstances, when, if that improbability should prove a truth, the king's life is lost by it? And yet again, my lord, it seems to be a plausible question, put afterwards to Mr Sandars, [How far this association, taking the matter of it, and the finding of it in my lord's study, for granted, can be imputable to the Earl of Shaftesbury?] It is utterly impossible, my lord, to answer this question, because the grand jury stifled the presentment, before it could be known whether it would affect my lord or not.

Your lordship does kindly, however, in taking notice that Mr Sandars is to be recorded in the Paper-office, and lodged among the heroes of the age; as sequestrators, decimators, committee men, Mr Baxter's Saints, noble peers, and true protestants without number, that stand registered there among the Men Worthy.

I am now coming, my lord, to the close of your letter, where you say [If you have patience but a while, the wicked that thus prosper, their place shall know them no more.] I do most humbly beg your lordship's interpretation of this passage, whether it be intended as a denunciation, a prediction, or a friendly caution; and whether this great work is to be done by fire and brimstone, a massacre, or a rebellion?

The Addresses importing an Abhorrence of an Association, pretended to have been seized in the Earl of Shaftesbury's Closet, laid open and detected, in a Letter to a Friend.
1682.

SIR,

I perceive by your's of March the 4th, that the fermentation which the nation is put into; must be cherished by the same ways and methods that it was first occasioned and caused: For should the heats and animosities among protestants be once suffered to assuage and abate, the Romish designs against the protestant religion, and the liberties of England, would not only miscarry and prove abortive; but they who have been wheedled to betray God and their country, by contributing ignorantly to the promotion and service of their ends, would be the first to express their indignation against the papists, both as an effect of their resentment, for having been, through their influence, thrown into a lunacy and delirium, and as an evidence to the kingdom that they are at last cured of their distraction. And therefore the operation and efficacy of the declaration against the two last parliaments being wholly spent, I am not surprised to find an advantage taken from a pretended paper, importing an unlawful association against the government, for the perpetuating rancours amongst his majesty's liege people, and the casting those back again into a fever, who were recovering their senses, and coming to a sedate mind: and as all men are worse upon relapses than they were of their first diseases, so we are not to think it strange, that people are more extravagant in their late addresses, than they were in the former. But there being so many

things to be said in return to your letter, and being by command confined to represent my thoughts in one sheet, I shall preface no farther, but apply myself to obey you in the most compendious manner I can.

Nor shall I pronounce that of the late addresses, which a celebrated court-author doth, concerning those made to Oliver Cromwell; namely, That they were no other than leagues offensive and defensive between him and the faction; and that while his care was for engaging one party, it was for destroying another: For though some little folk, who officiously manage this affair, may have such a project, yet it is impossible that his majesty should either propose or countenance so base and destructive a design.

Nor will I say, that it had been but reasonable, that they who do embark in new addresses should have first seen the fruits and effects of their former: For whereas they seek to justify themselves in what they did, by the assurances which they suppose his majesty gave them of having frequent parliaments, though he had dissolved two or three, without giving them time to perfect those important matters which the whole nation apprehended they were called for, so it would have been some argument of the candour and sincerity of their intentions in what they did before, if they had forborne their late applications, till they had found, that they were not mistaken in the grounds upon which they think to vindicate themselves for what they then did.

Neither will I insist upon this, That it had become them to be well assured that there was such a paper, stiled an Association, found in my Lord Shaftsbury's closet, before they took upon them to talk so loudly of it, and vent themselves in so strange and unaccountable expressions upon Mr Gwyn's bare suggestion of such a thing. For as it is most certain, that it was not the foundation of my lord's apprehension and commitment, seeing the bag into which it was put, when said to be seized in his lordship's study, was not opened till after his confinement in the Tower for high-treason; so it is not impossible but that they who had the confidence to impose other things upon this noble peer in the printed relation of the proceedings at the Old-Bailey, than were deposed by the witnesses in court, might with the same liberty, and for the same end, forge and invent this paper, and ascribe it to his lordship.² For whereas Smith, upon giving his evidence at the bar, said, that the Earl of Shaftsbury told him he was sorry that the king saw not his danger, &c. they who undertook the communicating those proceedings to the world make Smith declare upon oath, that the said earl told him he was glad the king saw not his danger.

Nor shall I insist upon this, that it had been but congruous, and what became Englishmen, to have testified their detestation of the many late sham plots, whereby our enemies have been endeavouring to destroy loyal and innocent protestants, as well as their declaring an abhorrency of a pretended association against the monarchy; and the rather, because the forging crimes for involving guiltless persons in danger, hath been real; whereas such an association as the late clamour is raised upon, was, for what yet

¹ Memento, 2d edit. p. 29.

² The whig writers preserved a prudent degree of ambiguity concerning the draught of the Association found in Shaftsbury's study; for while they endeavoured to defend the purpose and principles for which it was proposed, they insinuated that it might possibly have been shuffled in amongst Lord Shaftsbury's papers by the messenger who seized them. It was said, to strengthen this suspicion, that Wilson, the earl's secretary, was employed by him to indorse all the papers which the messengers seized and carried off, and that this scroll had no such indorsement: it was even added, that Wilson himself was imprisoned to deprive Shaftsbury of the benefit of his evidence to this point. There is, however, no reason to think the paper was not actually found in the earl's repositories. Hence Dryden says, "The late copy of your intended Association you neither wholly justify nor condemn; but as the papists, when they are unopposed, fly out into all the pageantries of worship, but in times of war, when they are hard pressed by arguments, lie close intrenched behind the council of Trent; so now, when your affairs are in a low condition, you dare not pretend that to be a legal combination; but whensoever you are afloat, I doubt not but it will be maintained and justified to purpose: for indeed there is nothing to defend it but the sword; it is the proper time to say any thing when men have all things in their power."—*Epistle to the Whigs*, *apud* DRYDEN'S Works, IX. 421.

appears, only feigned and imaginary. We have seen some of the best persons in the kingdom cast into prisons, and arraigned in courts, upon malicious subornations and popish sham conspiracies; but no man can produce so much as a name subscribed to any paper, whereby to persuade himself or others of a combination against his majesty and the government. Nor can they be thought to bear any great loyalty to the king, who have not some regard for the safety of his protestant subjects, and the reformation of the protestant religion. And therefore, while some are so busy here and there to gather hands to addresses of another nature, it were but a seasonable piece of service to the king, and a duty which all law, both divine and human, will justify, for others to make an address to his majesty, that we may have the benefit and protection of his government, and that our lives and estates may be defended from the malice of those, who, by hiring and suborning mercenary villains to swear forged crimes against us, have been unweariedly designing our ruin. And as it is not to be supposed that an application of this nature would be unacceptable to the king, the end and aim of his reign being not only to look after our obedience to his law, but to see that we are kept safe from the wrath and rage of our enemies; so it would tend to the honour of London, to lead the way to others in so useful and at this time so necessary a duty.

Nor shall I do more but barely intimate, that it looks ill, and seems calculated for no good design, to find addresses for dissolving parliaments, and abhorring all associations, countenanced and promoted, while petitions for a parliament were forbidden by proclamation, and the petitioners publicly reprimanded. For, supposing that some one paper, bearing the name of an Association, was unduly framed and worded, is this a justifiable ground to ridicule and abhor every association, though never so well adapted for the preservation of his majesty's person and dignity, and promoted in a parliamentary way, and not to take till it receive the royal stamp? How strangely does it look in a well-governed state, to find such a one as the Mayor of Gl—, who was admitted into the freedom of that city, for the good service which he did in fighting against Charles Stuart at Worcester, (as the words inserted in their town-book bear) to be hugged and embraced for advancing addresses of one complexion, while in the mean time many loyal gentlemen, who shed their blood, lost their estates, and underwent imprisonment and exile for the king, are frowned upon for offering to appear in applications of another figure. Men of principle act always uniformly; whereas such as are swayed by interest are ready to engage with the same heat in every thing that lies in subserviency to their gain. Some people think it not enough to atone for their former actions by their future loyalty, but they seek to expiate their crimes on one side, by running into illegal, rigorous, and mad excesses on the other. And I heartily wish that an eminent magistrate in the city of London,* may not hope to make a compensation for having been a clerk to a regiment in the war against the late king, by complying with and pursuing whatsoever some men about the court, or such who are influenced by those that are, put him upon. But what is this age degenerated into, that they who have served themselves of dissenters in order to their getting into places of trust, by proclaiming what blessed opportunities they have enjoyed with that sort of men under this

* "The mayor, &c. of the loyal city of Gloucester declared before God and the whole world, that they did abominate, detest, and from their hearts abhor that most impious, devilish, and traitorous association, hatched in hell, and lodged in the hands of known and most eminent disturbers of the peace of the kingdom; an association not to be mentioned among Christians without amazement; that threatened ruin both to church and state, and had again involved us in blood, had not God of his great mercy detoured it, &c. That they would give their utmost assistance and compliance to whatever methods his majesty's princely wisdom should propose and command them for the preservation of his sacred person, the most happily established government in church and state, and the legal succession to the crown, against all pretences and designs, of what sort or faction soever, to the total expence of their estates and blood."—*RALPH'S History of England*, vol. I. p. 669.

* This seems to be levelled at Sir John Moore, the first lord mayor of London, for some years who was in the Tory interest.

and that non-conformist minister, should, instead of expressing a concern for the protestant religion, answerable to the care of it, and the stations they are in, not only abandon, but from weakness, fear, or worse principles, submit to be tools to accelerate its ruin.

However, I am sure the government hath no cause of apprehending danger either from fanatick preachers or people, seeing some of the most famed amongst them, after having been a hundred times deceived and imposed upon, are still ready to be bribed by a dinner or a smile, or wheedled by a fair word, to co-operate with their enemies, and become instrumental of their own destruction. And therefore it is to be desired, that some of the dissenting ecclesiasticks would be contented with grace, which is the talent that God hath given them, and not pretend to civil wisdom, seeing it is evident to all the world, that the great Dispenser hath withheld it from them.

These things being briefly intimated, it is now time to advance those reflections and observations, which we judge proper to be offered upon the occasion of the late abhorring addresses. Nor will it be amiss, in the first place, to take notice how some men's opinions concerning these kind of applications do alter and vary according to, and in correspondence with the design and interests which men serve. For the very person that is not only principally employed in framing the draughts which are remitted into the country, where lieutenants, justices, and curates, are commissioned to procure subscriptions to them, but whose province it is to publish their usefulness to the government, and to make the world believe what security the state receiveth from them, in order to its support, in the pursuance of present councils: I say, this very gentleman had different thoughts concerning addresses some years ago, when they came in shoals to Oliver Cromwell, and with great multitudes of hands subjoined to them, from what he now hath.

For, says he, those numerous and pretended applications, as they were but an artifice to piece up the protector's broken power, as far as well it could be, so they were but false glosses upon his power, and Cromwell was too wise to think them other. For being gained by contrivement and force, or at least by importunity, half a score pitiful wretches stiled themselves the people of such or such a county, and there was the total of the reckoning.¹

But we may the less wonder at this change of judgment in some men, as to the significance or insignificance of addresses, if we consider, how much the opinion of the papists is altered from what it was ninety years ago, as to the right which the next in the royal line hath to inherit the crown after the ruling prince. For whereas we have nothing from them now, but that it is an unpardonable sin to exclude the presumptive heir, be his principles what they will, and our danger from him, in case he succeed, never so visible, they spake another kind of language towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when they foresaw that a protestant was likely after her to ascend the throne; namely, That succession to government is neither established by the law of nature, nor the law of revelation, but only by human sanctions, which men may cancel and alter as their interest determines them.² For though they tell us now of the indispensable obligations we are under, of submitting quietly, in case his majesty should die, to the Duke of York, albeit we cannot but think the subversion of our religion, and the extirpation of ourselves, ready to ensue thereupon, yet they were pleased to tell our ancestors, that free people were under ties to the next of the royal line, but that they ought to put the scepter into such a one's hand, under whom they might promise themselves to live with safety and honour.

But we may the more easily pardon the papists for shifting principles according to the posture which their affairs stand in, if we will observe how the protestants of this

¹ See Mr L'Estrange's Memento, p. 30.

² See Doleman.

age differ from those of the former, in reference to the duty of submitting to, or debarring a popish successor: For whereas heretofore not only the whole clergy, but the nobility and gentry, courtiers as well as others, derived their main arguments against Mary Queen of Scots from the danger the protestant religion would be in, if, being in their power, she were suffered to survive Queen Elizabeth: It is now come to pass, that many of all orders and ranks, who pretend themselves protestants, are not only contented that a popish prince may be dispensed with as to his religion himself, and live quietly amongst them, but they seem uneasy in having a protestant king, and long to have one of popish principles to-rule over them.* How disagreeable, as to a popish successor, are the late addresses, from the petitions, votes, and acts of parliament, and the carriage of the whole kingdom in the 14th, 27th, 28th and 29th years of Queen Elizabeth? Then an association to revenge the death of the queen upon the papists, in case she came to an untimely end, was esteemed a piece of loyalty, and promoted by the chief ministers of state; but now the abhorring not only an ill-framed paper bearing that title, but all kinds of associations of this nature and tendency, if his majesty should fall by popish hands, is accounted the character both of a good subject and a true church of England man. Do we live in the same clime that our ancestors did? or doth the like generous blood run in our veins which did in theirs? Alas, by running counter to the wisdom of our fore-fathers, we proclaim ourselves a degenerate issue, and are a reproach to the memory of them who begot us, and who transmitted the protestant religion and English liberties down to us!

And as all addresses of this nature tend to render the king, who ought to reign in the hearts of all his people, the head merely of one part, and that a very inconsiderable one, if compared with the bulk of the nation, so they only serve to publish to all the world the distractions of the kingdom, and to proclaim in the face of the sun the weakness of the government. What do the foreigners say upon the perusal of our gazettes, but that either things are not managed in England according to the laws of the constitution, or that his majesty of Britain reigns precariously, seeing his ministers seek to support the transactions of state, by courting the applause of a few little folks, here and there, through the kingdom? Nor can any sort of men do the king a greater disservice, than to administer grounds to our neighbours abroad, to entertain such sentiments of us and our affairs. I tremble to think what the wisest among ourselves say of these proceedings, for though all men acquit his majesty from any intentions but what are gracious as well as just, yet they cannot but judge that some ill men are by these addresses endeavouring to number the people, and to enroll partisans for some hidden design.

But the most fatal effect and consequence of these addresses, is the depriving the king of that security which the wisdom of the parliament had provided for his person against the papists. For, as nothing is so dear to a true English parliament, as the life of their sovereign, so the best expedient which our late parliaments could think of to preserve his majesty from the dangers which he was exposed unto from the conspiracies of the Romish crew, was the proposing an association amongst the protestants to revenge his death. And as they could entertain no friendship for the king, who advised him to dissolve the parliament before that bill was prepared and past, so it is apparent, that whosoever countenanceth the abhorrence of all associations, does what in him lies to leave the king open and naked to the hellish designs of the Romish faction.

Nor is it unworthy the serious consideration of all loyal persons, how they have both provided against the revenge of the nation, and for their own establishment in power in case his majesty should be taken off; for as they have excluded all endeavours of revenging his death, by getting every thing ridiculed and abhorred that lies in a suberviency thereunto, so they have taken care for their own safety, after the perpetration

* See *Bowe's Journal*.

of such a villainy, by obtaining all places civil and military to be filled with such in whom they may entirely confide. And as it is not long since the King of Portugal was laid aside, and confined to the Tarcera's, so it is remarkable that it was effected without a blow, and by this more than any thing else, that there were none in publick employ but who were zealots for his brother, that supplanted him, and stept into his throne.

But are such as subscribe these addresses sensible whereabout we are, and how much the popish interest is advanced within these two years? For, hath not the Duke of York intruded himself into the administration of affairs in Scotland, without taking the oaths which the laws of that kingdom do require? Hath he not, at the same time that he caused protestant dissenters to be disturbed and apprehended, permitted mass to be said under the same roof, or at the next door? Hath he given any security to protestants there for their safety in the profession of the protestant religion, though he hath gotten himself excepted from all tests that relate to the preservation or liberty of it? Are not the papists in Lancashire arrived to that boldness, as to murder his majesty's officers in the discharge of their duty, and to rescue recusants out of the hands of those that had taken them in execution? Hath not the high sheriff of Northumberland carried 'Squire Riddel and 'Squire Claverine, and divers other papists who were prisoners for the popish plot, to Edinburgh, to kiss the duke's hand; and this both in defiance of all law and against his trust? But it would require a volume to recount all I know of this nature; and therefore shall only add, that they must be prepared to worship the Host, and wear chains, who either promote or subscribe the addresses which are now carrying on.

I am, sir,
Entirely your's.

A Second Return to the Letter of a Noble Peer, concerning the Addresses. 1682.

MY LORD,

THE favour you conferred upon me, to permit me to write to your honour, with a condescending invitation, occasioned that of March the 4th, directed to your hand; in which my thoughts of the numerous addresses seemed to me so plainly set down that no mistake could ensue: yet it hath otherwise happened, and your answer, although not altogether differing from my expectation, is not wholly such, nor so ingenious, as I expected. I could have wished that, as you printed the answer, you had with it published my letter which gave the occasion, that if any knowledge of the persons between whom this intercourse is used should give the world occasion to repeat our names, and descant upon our judgments, I might not appear, after so much resolute constancy, now dotish and fluctuating.

But for your whole discourse, noble peer, I must be plain in telling you, that not I, but the likeness of it to that speech you made in the House, which, being published, the hangman committed to the flames, hath published you the author; and you do so mince this association, and turn and wind it so tenderly, that it seems your own projection, and a brat so taking in your affections that every abhorrence of it is a dagger's point at your heart. You are much in labour to have it believed never to have a being, thinking that way to secure it from the zealous abhorrrers; and yet, at every other turn, your fondness of it makes you break out into commendations of its pretty

features and usefulness. Indeed, your shiftings shew you to have something of a debauched modesty left, and that you are ashamed of what you so much love. My willingness to excuse what will bear it saith this of you ; but the generality cry out upon your impudence, in saying, " An Association pretended to have been seized in the Earl of Shaftsbury's closet," when nothing was ever more exactly proved, nothing more unquestionable and free from dispute, nothing more defended by that lord's clientage, and even owned in the court by two of his compurgators, (for they acted such more than jury-men) who, looking upon it, said, " This is the same with that which we saw produced and promoted in the House of Commons." And, by the way, you may take notice what justice was like to be done the king, when his cause was in the hand of persons guilty of the same conspiracy ; for, should they have found the bill, they had directed the attorney-general to draw up one against themselves ; as truly it is to be lamented that they and all others should escape free from punishment, who in the House saw and promoted this damnable plot of association, and did not so discover it as to have the projectors and forwarders rewarded with their merited rope. The authors of such parliamentary proceedings ought to have their heads advanced to the house top, to admonish their successors of modesty and allegiance.

But to return, your title, at the first sight, made me merry with the remembrance of your lordship's and that religious party's you so diligently served, accustomed activity, that out-run their sagacity, laying open dangerous plots and designs before they were detected. As your lordship hath been frequently termed a Cat, from your noted skill in falling safely, so you further merit it from the apology of the cat changed into a beautiful woman, receiving a change only in form not in conditions. You are, by the exceeding greatness of royal favour, raised to very great riches and honour, not only out of mean fortune, but (pray pardon my plainness and necessary freedom) an ill state, as you are too conscious, that merited severity ; yet all indulgences, all unmerited additions of lustre and fortune cannot alter you, but you must be catting, still playing your old tricks, laying open before detecting. Your wit hath, like Galba's, very unseemly lodgings, and is no other than what may be conjectured to proceed out of so ill-contrived a frame, mischievous and unlucky ; it serveth to no eminent counsel, but to impose upon the silly and credulous multitude, who adore you, as some idolaters are said to choose and worship their god, for its excellent deformity. No man, who makes a just and serious inspection into these addresses, sayeth any thing but what becomes generous and loyal subjects, whom the sense of their own duty, and the odious practices of men of your principles, stir up to these expressions of fidelity on their own part, and a most reasonable abhorrence and detestation of the others.

And now, because it is an answer to my letter, you lay upon me the task of inquiring what this monster, which you have ripped up and laid open, is ?

You begin to tell me, that the fermentation which the nation is put into must be cherished by the ways that first occasioned it, and that the Romish designs against the protestant religion and liberties of England would miscarry, if the heats and animosities between protestants were not artificially fomented. Here the tale you tell of the Romish designs is so exceedingly stale, that it stinks abominably, and is rejected by most of the apprehensive dissenters and factious party, who see it in vain to talk any more at that rate, the generality of the nation being cured of those fits which the affrightful noise of popery put it into. For, as soon as honest and quiet men hear any begin to blather those fusty discourses, they leave them as men tainted and rusty, tools (as you call them) to your trade of protestant joinery.* And the truth is, you

* Colledge, imprisoned at the same time with Shaftsbury, and liberated by a verdict of *ignoramus*, but afterwards convicted and executed at Oxford, was usually called the *Protestant Joiner*, from the trade which he followed.

all so torment and saw what you take in hand to polish, that it's great pity the masters of the company are not hanged, for company, with the journeymen. It is time indeed some end were put to the lunacy the kingdom hath been afflicted with; and, I hope, we may conclude it wrought, or near effecting, seeing the greatest part of what you stile distracted are recovered, and you are found not lords of the ascendant predominant over affections, but witches and jugglers that have held men under some short surprisal, but are delivered by Divine Providence, president at the council-table. Even they who commend you do not believe you, and the rest will never trust you; neither have you shot your bolt any thing near the mark, in saying, the operation of the declaration against the two last parliaments being wholly spent, this against the association is slipt in and managed to perpetuate rancours; for yourself, I fear to your grief, find to the contrary, both that the efficacy of the declaration is not spent, but hath produced this brisk and genuine offspring, the natural issue of so incomparable a conjunction as the people's affections answering their prince's condescension and love; and that it is so far from fostering animosities, that it is the most certain bond of union that could ever have been framed; a league, indeed, offensive and defensive, not as your squinting loyalty and unmannerly comparison would make it seem, between the prince and a faction, but between the king and all his subjects, who conscientiously respect their own duty and the general welfare. We never think or call that a faction which, compelled by the fear of God, honoureth the king; but you who, of all men living, have the greatest provocations to admire and love regal clemency and bounty, do most wretchedly, after all the strictest engagements to loyalty, turn back like a dog to his vomit, and are pleased no otherwise, but during your respect to that vile excrescence of government which hath been spewed out and abhorred, as your beloved association is now, chiefly for its tendency towards the same.

After you have made a citation of a loyal gentleman's words, you will needs insinuate from them a parity of his most excellent majesty's, and that basest of usurpers Oliver's cause; and do in effect deride all that out of devotion worship the true God, because some out of fear or illusion have worshipped the devil. Usurpers, conscious to themselves what hatred their ambitious and tyrannical invasions merit, study popularity, and are forced to fawn upon the worst of men, whom they interest to impose upon others, and always rule by arts contrary to the prescriptions of legal and just monarchy; they either affright or corrupt men to obsequious acknowledgements; these, with majestic but gracious countenance, receive the due tributes of voluntary obedience, and encourage fidelity, to the shame and terror of such as associate and consult, by their king's, to disturb the publick peace. Because some unduly flattered Oliver, once your master, therefore you will allow none to give our lawful king those proper elogies and thanks which his wise and excellent government challenges from all whom God hath blessed with judgment to see and rejoice in their happiness, by and under him.

But this, with your lordship, is a base and destructive design. A strong affirmation, which you would have received, although you have forgotten to tell us the reason. And so, in truth, you have the sense which should direct us to what you mean in saying, "It would have been some argument of the addressors candour, and sincerity of their intentions in what they did before, if they had forborne their hard applications till they had found they were not mistaken in the grounds upon which they think to vindicate themselves for what they then did." Something your lordship did here conceive, but, being ill-miswifed, is spoiled in the production. As to what you said a little before, you are as unfortunate in your expressions and reasoning; for these addressors are not sick of your lordship's megrims and distempers of the brain, that giddily rave and anticipate the fruits of royal councils before maturity. They, as all brave spirits, are blessed with humility, and meddle not with the king's prerogative, neither take

upon them to instruct him when a parliament will be most seasonably called; but leave it to his wisdom; from which, by God's blessing upon it, they hope to reap the satisfactory effects of these and their former addresses, while your lordship and your factious adherents shall sit in melancholy postures, and enviously assist your tormenting angels in your own vexation.

How you call Mr Gwyn's oath "A bare suggestion," I understand not; neither what credit you gain by saying "This association was, for what appears, only feigned and imaginary." Those few words, upon this account before spoken, may, I think, suffice; for all your scrupulous artifice will neither cover nor colour that villany. You may as well call in question, whether that noble and loyal peer was accused and indicted, as whether that paper was seized in his closet, or any where promoted by associators; you may as well question, whether that lord ever was lord-chancellor, and afterward made good his own words in his speech to lord-treasurer, and found his majesty "A prince under whom the unfortunate fall gently;" whether, afterward, in the House of Peers, he made any speeches in opposition to a certain strict test for the discovery of popery, promoted in that house; whether he was since at Oxford, and afterward committed to the Tower?

Your lordship thinks it congruous, that the addressors testify their detestation of the many sham-plots whereby loyal and innocent protestants have been endeavoured to be destroyed; and what is more evident, than that they do this, abhorring both the real and sham-plots which bold and bloody-minded factions, under the name, forsooth, of protestants, were engaged in, to the destruction of the king, religion, and government? This you are fierce and zealous to have done, yet being done you dislike and complain of it; and what's the reason, but because, while you cry out of popish plots, and popish sham-plots only, these addressors, the true friends of the protestant religion and peace of these kingdoms, see you involved in the same plots which you cry out against, and engage to defend the king and established religion against all conspirators whatsoever, whether popishly, schismatically, or heretically affected?

But when all of you make such a din about protestants, and name the protestant religion, why do you not set forth what this protestant religion is, that we may know it before we engage to defend it? The religion established in the church of England we are sure you would destroy, not preserve; for this the addressors promise and desire to preserve, which promises only give you these galls and disturbances. Neither will you own the presbyterian to be the only protestant, nor with the presbyterian the independent, for then the other younger brethren, Anabaptist, Brownist, Quaker, Fifth-Monarchyman, and all the rest of this large family, will take it very ill to be rejected as spurious, and unprovided of protestant portions. If you take all into your politick ark, whether feathered or naked, cloven-footed, clawed, or hooped, this conjunction will make England, in the next generation, surpass any part of Africa for monstrous issue, when those of Baxter's, Vincent's, and Jacomb's holy protestant herds shall mingle with Protestant-Muggletonians, Protestant-Quakers, Protestant-Ranters, and your honour's, which is Protestant-Atheists. Considering then the impossibility of such pretended union in different opinions, knit together in one band of religion, and yet that if any one or more part or opinion be rejected, the project is that way inconsistent with what it throws out, and would seem; because there is a rupture made with the Muggletonian or Ranter, or whomsoever this holy league receives not, who yet hath as good a title to that *vocabulum* of protestant as Jack Presbyter, Jack of Leyden, George of Munster, or Hugh Peters when he came from New England: therefore I find the league hits not upon the score of religion, but all these are protestants, as protesting against monarchy and the whole present frame of government, and that can no otherwise come under one name of protestant, than by joining with it the word rebel;

and then, Protestant-Rebel speaks all the parties together, Presbyterian, Muggletonian, Anabaptist, &c. being as the colours of yellow, tawny, green, &c. by which the several regiments are to be distinguished. And these, you think meet, the city of London should lead the way to address for their protection, until they may conveniently be (as is aforesaid) united and formed into a body that can defend and set up for itself. But your lordship is still unfortunate, advising impertinently; for the city, seeing the design, hath, in the lord-mayor and lieutenancy, taken a truly safe, commendable, and contrary way to your prescription, and so have bid your honour good night, wishing you to sleep for more wit.

And when parliaments shall, instead of endeavours to perfect the important matters of the kingdom, sit down and spin out more time in doing nothing than other parliaments have taken to dispatch multitudes of affairs; or rather in doing nothing but chalking out unwarrantable rules for the subjects to grow licentious, and act as in an authorized disobedience; what reason is there that good and peaceable men should not make to their prince grateful addresses for his care of them in dissolving such parliaments, and scattering the impending mischiefs which threatened ruin to our universe? As an anniversary day of thanksgiving for our deliverance from the ineffable calamities we sustained by that traiterous convention, called a Parliament, assembled under King Charles the First, whom they devilishly persecuted, unkinged and murdered, is appointed upon the day of the birth and happy return of his sacred majesty now reigning; it seems to me as reasonable that those days, whereon his majesty secured the liberty of the subject by dissolving the last parliaments, be kept festival, in commemoration of our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were encompassed while they were in session.

Neither are all associations (as either your nine-eyed perusal reads, or your distorted and grieved fancy interprets them) abhorred in any of these addresses, which detest only those two diabolical ones, the first, of the Solemn League and Covenant, and this seized in the Earl of S——'s closet, but are themselves pious and loyal associations, excellently adapted, to use your words, for the preservation of his majesty's person and dignity, and the protestant religion now by law established. But for your so justly abhorred association, which you would insinuate was to have had the royal stamp, pray tell me where and when those audacious ruffians (who would not allow their king, in the management of his settled revenues, the privilege which the meanest owner of a chattel-lease hath in the disposal of it) did agree and consent, more than in the taking the covenant, to ask the king's leave and liking? Or rather, tell me whether you would not first have taken it, and have afterwards, upon the point of the spear, tendered it to him for his approbation and stamp at Holmby-House, the Isle of Wight, or Hurst Castle?

How strangely, you say, it looks, that the mayor of Gl——, who is recorded to have done service against Charles Stuart at Worcester, should now be hugged for advancing these addresses! From a person of good credit I am assured, that this gentleman, now mayor of Gl——, was in those times, with all the family, expelled that city, because persons of known loyalty. But if it be as you say, it is not so strange to see deceived men undeceived, which happening, none are wont to be more zealous maintainers of the cause which they once opposed. But it may be, you reflect on him, and the eminent magistrate in the city of London, by reason of the opinion received by many, that rebellion is never truly repented of: But 'tis a mistake; for although it be rare, yet we have seen divers eminent persons, great in the rebellious times, far greater in the king's; as Col. J—— B——, and D—— L—— H——, one of the five members, yet since a privy counsellor, and ambassador, entrusted with the weightiest affairs of the realm; and, above all, the Earl of S——, whose riches, honours, and trusts, were

almost unaccountable ; yet, to say these were not men of principles acting uniformly, but swayed by interest, and ready to engage with the same heat in every thing that lieth in subserviency to their gain, what is this, but to upbraid those pious, great, and wise ministers of state with insincerity, which must be an inlet to all villainy and corruption ; which, for you to think, or me to say, were a crime never to be expiated ? Therefore, if nothing in men's actions and manners doth appear, but what speaks them obedient, all good men will rejoice at their conversion, notwithstanding the affrightful blackness of their former transactions.

As for your brethren and fathers of your protestant corporation and interest, discourse them as you please at your own leisure : But while your zeal to the former times transports you, no wonder you mistake men and business, and dream all things transacted after the usurper's mode, as if the country gentlemen, grand-jurors, and chief burghers of corporations in these days, are like your upstarts, who were indeed mere tools, and must be managed like puppets, ere they could squeek a pitiful address to those baubles of authority. And then, your mentioning the different opinions of the papists in our days from those in Queen Elizabeth's reign, in the cause of succession, makes me wonder at your either error or imposing confidence, if you either believe, or would perswade others to believe, the whirling zealots have not a papistical rule and method for all they do and say, and change sense and language as they are taught from Rome. You now all along say expressly the same which they then did ; but the doctrine introduced under the title of the whole clergy, nobility, gentry, and courtiers arguments, concerning the succession of Mary Queen of Scots, is wholly false : For, whereas some of the puritan gang, (which then began to be somewhat in esteem with religious time-servers,) did preach up, and throw forth such discourses as you mention, yet was it far from the sense of the clergy or sincere statesman, who would not alter from the pattern of loyalty set before them, and sealed with the blood and sufferings of those who drew it, in the case of Queen Mary's and Lady Jane Grey's title to the crown. Though they saw the danger, yet they had learned to believe in and rely upon the Divine Providence, which takes care for the safety of the church, and blesseth it chiefly when the governors thereof renounce the refuge of indirect politicks.

And then, what a story you tell of associations in Queen Elizabeth's time ; which, had they been entered into without her consent, and of such a draught as this abhorred one, which you so much dandle, no *ignoramus* jury should have rescued the abettors and concealers from the gallows. And yet you presently destroy your own rare tale in the following paragraph, by prattling where the king should reign, even in the hearts of his people, which you would suppose he doth only of those who subscribe these addresses, an inconsiderable parcel of men, (you say) if compared with the bulk of the nation. Pray, my lord, tell me, whether the subscribers in Queen Elizabeth's time were a tenth part of the number ? Yet were they a joyful guard to her, who, having their hands, was assured of the rest of inferior ranks, who were under the subscribers command. And whereas you pretend these addresses do proclaim the weakness of the government, you are out in that note upon the text, for they most certainly magnify it, rendering it glorious abroad and at home, in the eyes of all who wish the prosperity of it ; being also a disheartening to its enemies, whether foreign or domestick. Nothing can be imagined more to increase the honours of esteem towards him in our neighbours affections, than to see the readiness of the King of Great Britain's subjects, throughout the whole kingdom, to assert the royal prerogatives, and give such hearty engagements to defend his majesty's sacred person, crown, and dignities, the religion by law established, and the right of succession ; which last is no less reputation abroad and at home than the former, because all disputes and heart-burnings concerning his successor, disturbing his people's affections, make him uneasy, and frequently proves of as ill consequence to any prince, as if his own title were in con-

troveray; but that, settled and indubitable, strengthens his power, and blunts the sharpest edge of malice against that prince that hath such a revenger of any his reproaches or injuries. And when the heads and principal members of all counties, cities, towns, and other corporations, do, with so filial respect, purge themselves of all sinister designs or intentions towards the crown, either in the present fruition, or future inheritance, and out of the ardency of honest affections abhor all such vitiated and rotten members as you and others, who are, and have been versed in indirect and disloyal practices, not only foreign malignity, but your's, is hereby shattered in pieces, and you, who pretend you tremble at others, are in an agony with the thoughts of this, and the co operating stings of conscience.

What your lordship mentions concerning the Portugal king is foreign to the matter discoursed, and more ridiculously introduced, than I should a petition that your honour, as a reward for your oratory and manners, should be sent to the house of correction.

To conclude, seeing your lordship so great a counsellor and fortunate statesman as never to be believed or loved, never to attain to what you seek, because your mind is more changeling than your unsightly body gives us to suppose; and alway knowing, that you never speak truth but as the devil did scripture, to corrupt the holy to apostacy, (our own searchings having caused us strongly to confide in the Duke of York's loyalty and unparalleled love of his prince, his untainted candour and sincerity towards all who faithfully respect their duty and allegiance,) your forming such terrible dangers to the king and kingdom by his authority and succession, doth sufficiently secure us from fear: For, were there any real danger imminent, you would never discover it, it being impossible but you should have an hand in it. And this giant popery, as it is magnified by your opticks to us, is but a dwarf; how much properer he may appear to some, when shewn from off your monkey shoulders, I cannot tell, and leave you to the trial; whom I desire to pardon for any thing harshly expressed, because I hope it may prove beneficial to your honour, and if so, it is the same to

Your Lordship's very
Friend and Servant, &c.

From Newmarket, March 16th.

A Reply to the Second Return. 1682.

From the beginning of the following letter, it seems the intention of the writer to fix the foregoing tracts upon Lord Hallifax. He accuses his lordship of having wavered betwixt the Earl of Shaftsbury's party and that of Charles. Nor indeed was Hallifax, in the eyes of the sharp-sighted courtiers, free from all suspicion, as appears from the following passage:

"Now there were those who, considering how nearly Lord Hallifax was related to Lord Shaftsbury, imagined his lordship was not grieved to see the latter was no longer a prisoner; and, indeed, what made me, among others, bend a little this way was, that waiting on his lordship a little early, I found one of my Lord Shaftsbury's gentlemen with him. But his lordship denied it all very seriously to me, and said he would ere long convince the world of their mistake."—*Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, Lond. 1735-8, p. 128.*

I RECEIVED your's in print by the penny post, and expected the date from Ruff. abbey, ¹ and not from Newmarket, but I understand your lordship hath given your agents in this town the lye, and not retired to your country house upon the duke's coming, but have rather posted down to Newmarket, with the new Hosanna of O duke, I ve for ever, which was some years since, O king, live for ever. ² I find your lordship is no good judge of stile, for I can assure you the letter was not the Earl of S—'s, and therefore you do ill to take this occasion of railing at him, unless you are resolved to save charges, and do that in your own person, which others are so unsuccessfully hired to do. It is a notorious false testimony to say that earl was raised from a mean fortune, when it is well known his father, in 1630, long before the troubles, had a revenue of between 8 and 9000*l.* per annum; and I have heard him often say, he would yield himself to be the worst man alive, if he in the king's service got his maintenance, or did lay up above half his paternal revenue; and I think so able a man may be allowed at least to be maintained in so great employments. Neither do I understand that malicious hint of merited severity; it was never applied to any man that had one of the chief hands in restoring a prince to his kingdom, as I know he had; and without whose courage and dexterity, some men, the most highly rewarded, had done otherwise than they did; ³ therefore I have heard him say often, that the act of

¹ Rufford Abbey, in Nottinghamshire, was the seat of the Marquis of Halifax.

² "The same day having been to visit the Duchess of Portsmouth, my Lord Halifax took me home with him from Whitehall. On the way, I acquainted him, that the general report was, that his lordship opposed the Duke of York's interest with the king, and his return from Scotland, which his highness most urgently pressed. His reply was, that it was well if the duke's over hastiness did not turn out to his own disadvantage; that his highness had a sort of hungry servants about him who were eternally pressing for his return, nor would ever let him be at rest till, with a view to their own interest, they put their master upon what might prove much to his prejudice. And true it is, that whilst his highness was near the king's person, every body believed his majesty to be principally swayed and actuated by his advice, and consequently that popish councils were then uppermost; whereas, he did a great deal of good in Scotland by keeping a watchful eye over that mutinous kingdom. But the papists and others, his highness's creatures, pretended he was kept in Scotland that his enemies might the more easily work him out of his brother's good opinion; and that the ministers might have the king all to themselves, and guide him according to their own will and pleasure. Upon this, Lord Halifax observed, there was great partiality in the judgment of men; for that, in common justice, they ought to take as much notice of things that were managed for the duke's advantage, as of what seemed to be otherwise. That, for instance, nobody had commended the ministers for getting the Duke of Richmond to be master of the horse in prejudice to the Duke of Monmouth; though it must prove a great obstacle to his return to the king's person, and though most evident it was, that no greater service could be done to his highness than to keep the Duke of Monmouth from court."—*Memoirs of Sir JOHN RESESSEY, Lond. 1735-8. p. 129.*

³ The following story is told in Locke's *Memoirs*, but it is only upon the authority of Shaftsbury himself. It seems to contain an explanation of the innuendo in the text:—

"Monk, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the removal of Richard, marching with the army he had with him into England, gave fair promises all along in his way to London to the Rump, that were then sitting, who had sent commissioners to him that accompanied him. When he was come to town, though he had promised fair to the rump and commonwealth party on the one hand, and gave hopes to the royalists on the other, yet at last he agreed with the French ambassador to take the government on himself, by whom he had promise from Mazarine of assistance from France to support him in his undertaking. This bargain was struck up between them late at night, but not so secretly but that his wife, who had posted herself conveniently behind the hangings, where she could hear all that passed, finding what was resolved, sent her brother Clarges away immediately with notice of it to Sir A. A. She was zealous for the restoration of the king, and had therefore promised Sir A. to watch her husband, and inform him from time to time how matters went. Upon this notice, Sir A. caused a council of state, whereof he was one, to be summoned; and when they were met he desired the clerks to withdraw, he having matter of great importance to communicate to them. The doors of the council-chamber being locked, and the keys being laid upon the tables, he began to charge Monk, not in a direct and open accusation, but in obscure intimations and doubtful expressions, giving ground of suspicion that he was playing false with them and not doing as he promised. This he did so skilfully and intelligibly to Monk, that he perceived he was discovered, and therefore, in his answer to him, fumbled and seemed out of order, so that the rest of the council perceived there was something in it, though they knew not what the matter was. The general at last averred, that what had been suggested was upon groundless suspicions; that he was true to his principles, and stood firm to what he had professed to them, and had no secret designs that ought to disturb them; and that he was ready to give them all manner of satisfaction: Whereupon Sir A. A. closing with him

oblivion was an act of the king's honour and justice, but not of his mercy; it being a treaty and agreement much more sacred than any act of parliament can be; and I must tell your lordship, and your friends the papists, that if you consider what promises, declarations, and engagements the dissenting protestants had, both of his majesty, his lords and his bishops, at the time of his coming over, and how they have been since used, and with what submission and loyalty they have carried themselves, you will not find a parallel instance.

But your lordship's business is to keep your hounds in full cry against the pretended association; for since you cannot find one really in being, a red-herring from your own kitchen must be hunted and trailed through the kingdom to make a noise.

The malice is more than the wit in the matter. You have broken down your gates in the chace, and made so many — gaps in your own hedges, that your cattle are broke out and come to the pound; and what sort of beasts you trade in will be discovered. It is an impudence beyond the jesuits, to say that nothing was more exactly proved, nothing more unquestionable and free from disputes, than that the Association was seized in the earl's closet; Gwyn himself neither does nor dare positively swear it, and it is judged in that great case of Monsieur Fouquet, that a man is not answerable for papers seized, when he is refused to deliver them upon inventory. Fouquet's enemies were not more bloody and inveterate than the earl's, nor the concern of state against him higher; and yet the law of nature and reason can never subject a man to so unreasonable a danger. Besides, was it ever heard that any man was questioned for a loose paper without any hand to it, found in his study, that cannot be proved to this day, nor ever will, that he ever saw, read, or conferred with any about it; neither is it to be proved, notwithstanding all this popish clamour and abhorrors, that ever any one man did ever sign, or act upon it, or any thing like it. But your lordship is very plain in the matter, and would have the parliament men in the House of Commons, who promoted the association, have their heads advanced to the house-top. I do not doubt but your lordship and your friends the papists, (whose religion you have lately taken up, and mean to use while it is convenient,) are of that mind; but it is for some other votes they then made of declaring enemies to the king and kingdom, for otherwise your lordship, and some of your friends, are as much guilty as any of the House of Commons of the association; it being to be proved that the association, and the banishing the duke for ever, was your lordship's proposition in the lords house in the last Westminster parliament. The first utterly disliked by the Earl of Shaftsbury, as no expedient they could trust in, since your lordship, and others of your make, could not be kept from being in the head of it. But those eminent and worthy persons of the Earl of Shaftsbury's jury must be railed at at any rate: Yet where your lordship found that two of the jury should say, This is the same with that which we

and making a farther use of what he said than what he intended, (for he meant no more than so far as to get away from them upon this assurance which he gave them.) But Sir A. A. told him, that if he was sincere in what he said, he might presently remove all scruples, if he would take away their commissions from such and such officers in his army, and give them to those whom he named, and that presently before he went out of the room. Monk was in himself no quick man; he was guilty alone among a company of men who he knew not what they would do with him, for they all struck in with Sir A. A. and plainly perceived that Monk had designed some foul play. For these straightis being thus close pressed, and knowing not how else to extricate himself, he consented to what was proposed, and so immediately before he stirred, a great part of the commissions of his officers were changed; and Sir Edward Harley, among the rest, who was a member of the council, and there present, was made governor of Dunkirk, in the room of Sir William Lockhart, and was sent away immediately to take possession of it, by which means the army ceased to be at Monk's devotion, and was put into hands that would not serve him in the design he had undertaken. The French ambassador, who had, the night before, sent away an express to Mazarine, positively to assure him that things went here as he desired, and that Monk was fixed by him in his resolution to take on himself the government, was not a little astonished the next day, to find things taking another turn; and, indeed, this so much disgraced him in the French court that he was presently called home, and soon after broke his heart."

saw produced and promoted in the House of Commons, I cannot tell; I am sure there is no such expressions in the proceedings at the Old Bailey, published by authority: But, between the veracity of a condemned jesuit in Newgate, and that of a statesman marked out by a vote of the House of Commons for an enemy to the king and kingdom, I see there is no great odds. Your lordship hath great reason to be angry, for I confess they spoiled the best design that was ever laid, by a damned popish party. The government according to law, with the help of Irish witnesses, and well-chosen juries, should have delivered you from all the honest, worthy, and considerable protestants of England, for it is plainly confessed by your lordship how far you meant to go; it is a thousand pities that the city charter were not gone, and that your lordship and your fellows might not have the naming of sheriffs for London and Middlesex, as well as the rest of the kingdom, and then it is plain what justice we should have for our lives and fortunes; the masters of the companies would then be hanged with the journeymen, and Sheriff Pilkinton's conscientious Surry jury would be found at every assizes; eight hundred pound damages given to a fellow that proved not a penny damage received, or possible to be received by it. But since your lordship and your friends have had so good a design spoiled, I cannot blame you to be angry; but I would very fain guess what you would next be at, or whether your patience will hold out until the city charter be taken away, which I assure myself will be long before it be done. I fear you will resort back to the pattern in the mount, and follow the precedent of your bloody predecessors, the Guises in France, cut our throats and condemn us after, since we will not quietly be condemned first and hanged after; I am sure this is the next step can reasonably be expected from men of your conscience, and from the principles and interests you are carrying on: Neither let any one blame me for minding you of it, for I know it hath been long in your mind, and often in your debates, and therefore I thought it more necessary to warn others of what you are most likely to do. And since you talk so much of the Duke of York's loyalty and love to his prince, I pray God preserve the king, and keep him out of your bloody hands.

I beg to know to what purpose your lordship recites that my Lord S——y was lord-chancellor; do you quarrel at any of his decrees or actions then? Or wherein did he not execute that office as a great and good man should? And what doth your lordship mean by the certain strict test for the discovery of popery, opposed by that lord in parliament? The test that was passed against popery (which every officer is obliged to take) is notoriously known was principally promoted by him: If your lordship mean the other bill of the test which he opposed, it is the same with what the Duke of York hath passed lately in Scotland, and is a great step to the destruction of the protestant religion. The truth is, there are so many of these downright popish touches in your paper, that I sometimes doubt whether it be your lordship's or no, since you are but a papist of two years standing, and yet they say young proselytes are the fiercest; but this paper must come from a papist, or voted enemy to the king and kingdom, since you tell us, that you would have the days of dissolving the two last parliaments kept festival, anniversarily, in commemoration of your deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith you were encompassed whilst they were in session, none but such fellows and their faction being then in danger. But I find your lordship extreme angry at the word faction; since you will please to have it that your worthy abhorrors and addressors are not a faction, but the total of the king's subjects, who

* Dryden's lines on Shaftsbury's administration of justice, while chancellor, must be in every reader's memory:—

"In Israel's court ne'er sate an Abethain,
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean;
Unbribed, unsought the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access."

conscientiously respect their own duty and the general welfare. Pray, my lord, let us examine this excellent position of your lordship's, setting aside your heat and railing. Does your lordship think that the choice of sheriffs, the great care in returning select men for grand-juries, the arts that were used to draw many of them into these abhorrences, are not well known to all the nation? We never doubt but you have choice of gentlemen to make sheriffs fit for your turn, and they have rogues to make under-sheriffs in every county; neither is it doubted that seventeen or eighteen men may be found in most counties for your turn, (although in some, and those great counties, you could not find above thirteen, and in several other countries you have failed absolutely,) and yet all this will not speak your party the hundredth part of the nation. Hath your lordship found out another way to make a distinction between the sense of the nation and that of a dangerous party, than that of the House of Commons? Will you tell me that a parliament chosen against all the opposition, industry, power, and money of the court, is not the sense of the greatest part of the nation? Will your lordship affirm that this is a faction, and your lordship, the papists, the Duke of York and his creatures, are the only loyal subjects to the king and government? And what sort of people these make up may be guessed by what you profess yourselves for. A government infinitely worse than that in Turkey, wherein the law shall be of no other use but as a mask to the prince's worst actions and tyranny; and our religion, estates, lives, and liberties subjected to the most arbitrary will of the prince, who, being a man, is as capable and liable to be extremely ill as any other; besides, what law you allow to this king, who is an excellent prince, as your king, must be allowed to the next, though he be the worst in nature. And yet you will find out a way, that, by naming judges, sheriffs, and juries, all things shall certainly go as the court and great men order; it is already so compleat in Scotland, where the proverb is, "Shew me the man and I will tell you the cause." This is a way that no sober or honest men were ever for in any country. The zeal of your lordship to preserve your greatness, of your duke to get a crown, and of the papists to introduce their religion, hath outgone, by many steps, all that ever went before you.

I acknowledge it the king's prerogative to call parliaments; but Edward III. tells us he was sworn, by his coronation oath, to provide remedy in parliament upon great emergencies. And our laws have been very careful to fix the frequency of them; and it is that only court that can keep all the rest useful to the king and people. They are brave spirits indeed, and blessed with a popish torish humility, or rather stupid folly, if not wicked villainous designs, that are unconcerned when a parliament should be called, and leave it to the prince, whether he pleased to have any or no. The law hath given us a right (nay it is our chiefest birthright, and without which we have nothing left us, but are mere slaves) to parliaments within such a distance of time. The prince hath the prerogative of appointing the day, and dissolving when the business is done; but the prince is obliged that we have parliaments within our time, and continued so as may be of effect to provide remedies for the emergent evils. His prerogative of appointing the day ought not to deprive us of our right of having them in such a time, neither ought his power to dissolve them, to render them useless to us.

I am heartily sorry your lordship is so ill instructed in the protestant religion, that you ask what it is; but you profess that yourself and your fellow addressors, abhorrors, are zealous for the religion by law established in the church of England; so then you do not know the protestant religion, but the religion by law established you are well acquainted with. What security will your lordship give, that when your army is compleated, and your militia abhorrors and addressors mustered, that you will not tell us that the religion established by law in the church of England is the old popish religion settled by Magna Charta, which is not repealable by any future act? For this good old cause your lordship and friends at court have nursed up the king of France to the

height he is now in Christendom, and all Europe is abundantly in your debt for it. *Quantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

I own myself a friend to the dissenting protestants, until your lordship can find out an infallible decider of points of faith.—I can give men leave to differ from me in opinion, whilst they live soberly and honestly by me.—There are none I know so inconsistent with government as the papist, who owns a foreign jurisdiction, and dissolves all natural religion to introduce his own.—And though your lordship is pleased to add the word rebel to the name protestant, yet it will agree much better with the papists, whose religion is rebellion; and it is impossible to find one true subject of them in the world, (to any but the pope) if they believe their own religion.

I find your lordship is very kind to court converts, and would pass over the blackness of all their former transactions; and you have great reason since you are so lately one yourself. But be not deluded; the papists think not as you think; they never forgive past offences.—Argyle cannot be forgiven the being his father's son.—Nor the Duke of Lauderdale will not be forgiven the having brought the covenant into England.—Tweedle will find hereafter, that it will be remembered he sat in Oliver's parliaments. And I should tell your lordship, that you will suffer hereafter by a halter of the Duke of York's providing, but that my skill in astrology hath told me a garter of your own using shall prevent it. The jealous churchmen that govern the popish interest never forgive, especially men capable of thinking and judging other things than they would have them.

Your lordship is extremely out when you tell us the associations in Queen Elizabeth's time were entered into with her consent and privity; when the queen herself, in her speech to the parliament, in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, did protest before God, that she never heard or thought of such matter, being wholly ignorant of it till a great number of hands, with many obligations, were shewn her at Hampton-Court, signed and subscribed with the hands and seals of the greatest in this land.—But you are pleased to call several parliaments, that about that time so extremely opposed the succession of Mary Queen of Scots, a puritan gang, and have found out a clergy, nobility, and gentry in the clouds that were of another opinion. No question there were some and great store of papists in those days, but I am sure the parliament were violently against her succession, as appears in the rolls; nay, and against her life too, for it was then daily experienced that the queen was not safe whilst the head of so desperate and bloody a religion as the papists was in being.

Pray, my lord, let me ask you freely if this is not the very case now? It was the opinion of our parliaments, and the truth appears every day more and more. Can your lordship make a difference between the case of Queen Elizabeth and her popish successor, Mary Queen of Scots (which yourself have so wisely instanced in and brought upon the stage) and the present case of our king and the Duke of York? Have the papists appeared less bloody in their designs since that time? Have they less passion for introducing their religion? Did the Queen of Scots discover more ambition for the crown of England than our duke hath? She was a prisoner in the queen's hands, and in custody, and had not the tenth part of the opportunity the duke hath, whose friends and creatures possess all the governments and commanderies both by sea and land, fill the courts and councils, so easy and unwary, pardon me if I so say, hath our king been. But the Duke of York's loyalty is not to be disputed! Though I remember the time when he got the fleet from his brother the prince and swore it to himself. And I appeal to the king, whether he knows not of several attempts that were made to set up the Duke of York before his coming over; and the transactions in the duke's name of the Duke of B——m and Colonel Hanfield, for the restoring the duke to the crown, and not the elder brother, are sufficiently to be proved. We are all witnesses of the king's marriage by the duke's father-in-law, to a lady of great birth, but such as the Spanish ambassador then undertook to prove could have no chil-

den; and immediately upon this marriage, the duke, as if sure of the matter, sets up with guards the prince's lodgings at court and seat in parliament, and all the establishment of his house exactly suitable to the prince of Wales. His unparalleled love to his prince appears in all this, and in nothing more than the civil treatment the king at this hour receives from him and his party; the throngs that attend the one, whilst the king walks the streets with two or three pages of his back-stairs. Our king is the first instance that was so willing to settle indubitably the title of his presumptive heir, and, to strengthen his power, gives it all up to his successor; but he goes far that never turns, especially in such perilous and unsafe ways. Our king is not only an excellent well-bred gentleman, but a man of great abilities and courage, three things his brother wants. Whenever the king will think of his own interest, he will not want hundreds of thousands to die at his feet; multitudes would adore him that hate and fear the religion and temper of his brother. Pray God bless the king, and give him yet more and more the spirit of discerning his interest and friends, and the courage to deliver himself from the hands of such unworthy base traitors, as we have reason to fear he is now encompassed with; which shall ever be the hearty prayers of,

Yours, &c.

The Earl Anglesey's State of the Government and Kingdom; prepared and intended for His Majesty, King Charles II. in the Year 1682, but the Storm impending growing so high prevented it then. With a short Vindication of his Lordship from several Aspersions cast upon him, in a pretended Letter that carries the Title of his Memoirs. By Sir John Thompson, Bart. afterwards Lord Haversham.

"The name of the Earl of Anglesey, and that of the editor of this piece, Sir John Thompson, Lord Haversham, may perhaps be sufficient to excite the attention of the public; but a word or two of introduction may nevertheless be necessary to clear up some particulars relating to it. In the first place, then, it appears, in the very title-page, that the letter called *The Earl of Anglesey's Memoirs* was the occasion of publishing this; and for what reason appears in the editor's preface; for whereas the drift of the former was to tell the world, that the business of Sir E. Godfrey, the firing of London, the popish plot, &c. were only fears, jealousies, and surmises; and Lord Anglesey gave his voice for the condemnation of Lord Stafford, (one of the lords accused as privy to that plot,) Sir John infers, that those *Memoirs* were none of his; and to clench his argument, produces this *State of the Government and Kingdom*, of his lordship's preparing, for the king's own use, as a piece of counter-evidence; shewing, that he who thought his majesty so ill served, and the nation so near being undone, could not countenance any such opinions as are suggested in the said *Memoirs*. But in the year 1702, when the controversies between the two houses, concerning their privileges, made all papers of that kind desirable to the public, another tract of his lordship's, called *The Rights of the Lords asserted, with Remarks on two Conferences held in the Year 1671*, was made public, by some other friend or relation of his lordship's; who, after lamenting the loss of his lordship's elaborate *History of Ireland*, from the year 1641 to the year 1660, (which was missing nobody could tell how,) blames one Sir Peter Pet for printing some of his scattered and unfinished papers, (written only to relieve his melancholy moments, and amuse himself under a long and tedious indisposition,) under the

specious title of Lord Anglesey's Memoirs. Here, therefore, it is admitted, that those papers were really that nobleman's; and the editor of *The Rights &c.* though anonymous, seems to be as well acquainted with his lordship's studies and opinions as either of the two former. If, therefore, there is a seeming difference in the evidence contained in the Memoirs, and the State, may they not be reconciled, by supposing that his lordship found as much reason to condemn the malcontents as the court? Or, if not, by considering them as two different expedients of the same courtier, who never designed that either of them should have been exposed to the censure of the public? The reader will decide on these conjectures as he finds cause: It remains, however, to be observed, 1. That the reason assigned by Sir John Thompson for Lord Anglesey's not presenting the paper to the king, which he thought of such importance for his majesty's service, namely, That the storm's growing so high prevented him, does not seem altogether so conclusive as he would have it imagined. The higher the storm the more the ship is in danger, and the more need there is of a good pilot; and how sure soever his lordship might be that his service would be rejected, it became him, as his majesty's sworn, faithful counsellor, to have made the tender. 2. That the November before this intended piece of volunteer advice was dated, his lordship had received a letter from the Duke of Ormonde, then residing in Dublin, in the capacity of a chief governor of Ireland, complaining of an answer to the Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs, as casting a reflection on the memory of the late king. 3. That his grace had caused this letter to be printed. 4. That from hence, the earl had all the reason in the world to believe the duke was under a court direction, in order to furnish his majesty with a pretence to remove him out of his office of lord privy-seal, and thereby to make room for Lord Halifax: And that when he was removed, as he actually was, in the August following, after a sort of a hearing before the council, by whom his said answer was voted a scandalous libel, he had nothing more to apprehend from the envy of his adversaries, since he had no other places to lose; and since his zeal against popery, which was the real cause of his disgrace, had not led him to join with the excluders against the Duke of York, as the only method to prevent the nation from being deluged by it. 5. That the earl did not think himself obliged, after such usage, to consult over-nicely the humour of the court; for he not only caused an account of the whole proceeding, between the Duke of Ormonde and himself before the council, to be published, but accompanied it with a copy of his expostulatory letter to the king upon it; and afterwards appeared at the Old Bailey, at the trial of Lord Russel, in behalf of that unfortunate nobleman, and to take off the edge of Lord Howard's evidence against him, by deposing, That he had heard him declare, with the utmost solemnity, the contrary of what he had now sworn: And, lastly, that in the close of the said account, he talks in a language very little agreeable to the drift of his Memoirs above cited: For he not only suggests, That popery was then flowing in upon us, and that both Dr Morley, Bishop of Winchester, and himself, were of the same opinion, for keeping it out, ten years before, when the papists were warmly set upon their design to introduce it, before their desperate plot, (these are his lordship's own words,) since discovered, (for which so many have suffered by the hand of justice,) was ripe for execution."

Without affecting to add to what is above stated, in the words of the former edition of this miscellany, I would observe, that the excellent address which follows contains advice fit for a faithful counsellor to give, and a good prince to receive.

To the King and Queen.

May it please your Majesties,

THIS paper was at first intended a present to your royal uncle, in which the noble author has studiously contracted his many and large experiences into a compass suitable to the leisure and view for which he designed it. How wise and great a statesman he was, and how fitted for an argument of this nature, by his great insight into men and business, (having from his youth breathed scarce any other air than that of courts,) how valued and esteemed by King Charles the Second for his wisdom and dexterity in reducing things to their true temper and legal standard, especially at an emergency, when either the folly or design of false or weak ministers had puzzled his

majesty's affairs, and made them almost desperate, those who knew him can better tell. It becomes me to be silent, lest I should injure his memory by saying too little, or displease others by saying too much; if any have so much curiosity, they may themselves make the judgment by this taste, that is left us of his mind, thoughts, and manly noble way of expressing himself, (a thing wherein his lordship had a peculiar happiness, not disguised in the taudry dress, wherein he has been of late injuriously exposed.)

I have nothing to say in excuse for my presumption in this dedication to your majesties, but that it was designed for the service of the throne; and certainly a discourse of this nature, wherein you will see the wide differences between the faithful and wise councils of the dead, free from flattery, fear, or design, and those of the living, which are subject to them all, cannot but be acceptable to your majesties, especially in a time of so much action, danger, and disappointment.

Your majesties obedient subject and servant,

JOHN THOMPSON.

The Preface.

THE tombs and dormitories of the dead have always been held venerable; to invade their silence, or disturb their sleeping dust, much more to mangle, and then expose them, yet scarce cold, is a crime so detestably odious, nothing but a French barbarity^{*} could ever be guilty of: But, for a wise and great man to be abused in his thoughts, to be presented to the world as one that took pleasure in deceiving and imposing upon the understanding of others, to be made to think and speak things so low and mean, so dull and insipid, nay, quite contrary to his own sense and apprehension, is a cruelty and savageness so much greater, as that to be mortal, and thereby subject to violence and injury, is the common lot of all; but to be a fool, or a knave, is the particular curse but of some few.

And yet it has been the misfortune of a late noble lord to be thus represented to the world, in a book that bears the title of, *The Earl of Anglesey's Memoirs*; but is indeed so very unlike him, it is strange any should have the confidence to impose such a suppositious thing on the world; certainly this lord might have expected better treatment, after an age worn out with toil and pain for the public, than to have his study plundered, his papers rifled, his thoughts debased, by a dull and coarse allay, and his reputation set to sale for a little private advantage. Is there no original left of such a man, to shew him to the world, but this little miniature, these few sheets? Where is that expected work,[†] the expence of so much oil and thought, in which he might have hoped to live to future times? How can any that have either value for the memory of the dead, or regard for the censure of the living, detain any longer so useful and so finished a piece, which was at first undertaken for the service and information of the public?

The publisher perhaps might not design so maliciously, but this alters not the case; whoever reads that pamphlet, and believes it to be my Lord Anglesey's, must think him not only knave and fool, but somewhat more. His intention seems only to make the best of his absent friend, by borrowing his name to get a penny, or to ingratiate himself with a party, in hopes of preferment, when time shall be; and withal, to let the world know, what otherwise they were like ever to be ignorant of, what a man of worth and weight he is. Hence, are those so frequent and repeated praises[‡] of him-

^{*} See the account of the inhumanity of the French this summer at Heidelberg.

[†] His History of Ireland, just finished, as it were, before his death.

[‡] Page 4.

self. It is he that knows how softly to insinuate his notions with the gentleness of a philosopher, that has all the curious soft strokes of rhetoric¹ and reason, and all the structures of a great judgment² and fancy; all the mixtures of great and noble colours, able not only to prop up the great characters of King Charles's ministers, but to gild the pillory for offenders, whose short hints, like the slanting of lightning,³ or sudden glances, by their quick movement, have power to create the passions of love and admiration. And, in short, in the late conjuncture, while the *vulgus* of writers and lachrimists were associated⁴ in entailing the popular nuisance of fears and jealousies upon us, it was he alone who found out the way to remove them, by predicting, from natural causes, the happy future state of our country; and that the then fermentation would be perfective to it: Instead of which, had he told us King James's forsaking and deserting the party, that put the crown upon his head, the disregarding the opinions of his people, doing actions that raised their distrust, fears, and jealousies; the choice of weak and false ministers, the taking into his cabinet such as had abjured their religion; the closeting and tampering with parliaments, so that the nation had no hopes of having any, but such as the court were very well assured of; the appropriating and taking upon himself the faults and miscarriages of his favourites and ministers; and, in the midst of all this, the deepest security and unconcernedness imaginable, would at length prove fatal to him; the consequence had certainly been much more natural, and the event justified the prediction.

But how easily might this have been prevented, had he followed the wise examples of his great predecessors Edward III. and Henry IV. who, learning by the misfortunes of Edward II. Richard II. and to whom he immediately succeeded, how dangerous the strains of power, and loss of the people's affections were, did the more carefully maintain themselves in the good opinion and love of the people, by granting them all the reasonable securities they desired; redressing their grievances, and removing those (though innocent,) that were the least distasteful to the commons, of which we will mention a few precedents.

In 15th Edw. III. declaration was made, That such as found themselves aggrieved with the king or his officers, should, upon complaint, find remedy; and in the same parliament, at the request of the commons, that the chancellor, and all other officers there named, may be chosen in open parliament, and be openly sworn to observe the laws, it was enacted, That if any such officer died, or otherwise his place fall void, the king will have the assent of his nobles, and such officers shall be sworn the next parliament, according to their petition; and that at every parliament the king will assume into his hands all such offices, so as the said officers shall answer to the said objections.

In 17th Edw. III. the commons complain of the transporting the treasure, the discovery of the secrets of the realm, and that they neither could nor would, (they are the words of the record,) any longer bear so strange oppressions. Hereupon the act of provision was made.

21st Edw. III. N. 58. the commons complain, that whereas diverse merchants were slain and robbed on the sea by the king's enemies of France, they which undertook the conduct may be made come into this present parliament, to make gree to the merchants, who by their default have lost their goods: To which the king answers, let persons and places be assigned for hearing the plaints of all that will complain, to the end right and reason may be fully done to the plaintiff.

22d Edw. III. N. 7. the commons petition, That all wool, and other merchandize, may freely pass; to which the king answers, That the passage shall be free, paying to the king his due.

¹ Page 6.² Page 31.³ Page 6 and 22.⁴ Page 29, 37, and 39.

So in the 36th of Edward III. the king consents to a statute for the yearly holding a parliament.*

So the 45th of Edw. III. Numb. 31. when the commons affirm the decay of the navy to arise by three causes, viz. First, for that sundry mens ships are staid for the king long before they serve, whereby the owners are driven at their charges to find their mariners, to their undoing. Secondly, For that merchants, the nourishers of the navy, are often restrained their shipping, whereby mariners are driven to seek other trades and livings. Thirdly, For that the masters of the king's ships do take up masters of other ships, as good as themselves are; whereby the most of these ships do lie still, and the mariners are enforced to seek new livings, whereof they pray remedy. The king promises to provide a remedy.

Thus also in 1st Hen. IV. Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the king's command, tells them in parliament, That it is the king's will to govern by the honourable, discreet, and sage of the realm, and by their common consent, and not by his own will, nor after his own fashion, to rule the same; and further enforced, that this realm, of any under the sun, might best live of itself.

And in the 5th of Hen. IV. at the request of the commons, the lords according that four special persons should be removed out of the king's house, viz. the king's confessor, the abbot of Dore, Mr Richard Durham, and Crosby of the chamber; whereupon, Saturday the ninth of February, the said confessor, Durham and Crosby, came into the parliament before the king and lords, where the king excused them, saying, That he then knew no cause wherefore they should be removed, but only for that they were hated of the people, and therefore charged them to depart from his house according to the agreement; and the like he would have also procured against the abbot, if he had been present.

I am the more particular in these things, in answer to that assertion of the industrious Mr Prynne,² That the kings created and set up merely by parliaments, and their own power in them, without any true and hereditary title, have seldom answered the lords and commons expectations in the preservation of their just laws, and answers to their petitions.

It would exceed the bounds of a preface to go through the rest of these memoirs. The drift of the whole, however it be disguised, is to tell the world, in my Lord Anglesey's name, that the business of Sir Edm. Godfrey, the firing of London, the popish plot, were only fears, jealousies, and surmises.³ That the evidence did not rise high and clear enough to charge any papist with it, however the parliament and a great minister threw the guilt on them. But how probable it is that my Lord Anglesey should be of this opinion, that he should believe nothing of the popish plot, that, without malice, motive, or evidence, he should give his voice for the condemnation of my Lord Stafford, a person he himself thought innocent, that he should be, first, so much a monster, and then so meer a natural, as under his own hand to testify as much? Whether all this looks not more like the fiction and forgery of the publisher than the genuine sense of that great lord let every unprejudiced reader judge.

HAVING, by the obligations of your royal predecessors, to my ancestors and me, for several generations, laid under the strictest bonds of duty and allegiance, to employ my studies, long observation and experience, for the furtherance of the service of the crown

* Note.—According to the practice and usage of that time, a parliament signifies a new parliament; the sense and meaning of the law was, That there should be a new parliament chose in the time prescribed, which appears by this, that from the first of Edward the Third to the fourteenth of Henry the Fourth, which was but 87 years, there are yet remaining, besides what are lost by the injury of time, and carelessness of keepers, about 72 original writs.

² See Prynne's Preface to Sir R. Cotton's Records, Sect. 14.

³ Mem. P. 112.

and weal public, I could not contrive how to do it better and more effectually, than by offering the same to your majesty's view and royal consideration, by this scheme thereof, which is without intrigue for any party's animosity, or envy against any persons, or design of advantage or advancement to myself, or any relation or friends of mine. And the nature of true gratitude being to acknowledge and render service for favours received, without ambitious practice or expectation of further reward or recompence, than what shall freely flow from your majesty's spontaneous goodness and consideration, how to dispose of your subjects, so as may most advance your glory, and render you a redoubted king to your own people, and highly esteemed and courted by all your allies and other princes abroad, I have spent many hours to do it, in the best manner I am able, by the following discourse; which is not the result of melancholy and discontented thoughts, but of the most serious and dutiful consideration of the present state of your majesty's affairs, and how I might best serve you, in contributing to render your reign happy and peaceable.

Your majesty's discerning judgment cannot but perceive of what high esteem with all your people the wise and prosperous government of Queen Elizabeth over these kingdoms is to this day; and by what able counsellors (generally the choice of her own wisdom and knowledge, not private inclinations or respects) she swayed the scepter thereof, during a long reign, to the universal satisfaction of her subjects, and her great honour over all the world: and how in her time she made the right use of parliaments, (her great council) delighting in the frequency and faithfulness thereof, and in the unanimity of her people, whereof that most honourable assembly, well managed, will ever be the surest bond to your majesty and all your successors. In her time England flourished; religion, the darling thereof, prospered, and was firmly settled; none durst attempt inroad upon the rights and liberties of the subject: The laws had their uninterrupted course, and the several benches were supplied with most able judges, who held it their honour and duty to serve that renowned queen, on the profits arising legally by their places, without further charge to the crown, or reward, but advancement to higher degrees, after long and faithful service, which the queen was a great observer and judge of. Your majesty's royal grandfather King James, as he followed her steps, continued most of her council, built upon the happy foundations she had laid; had a prosperous and peaceable reign, without other interruption than what arose by heats between his majesty and some of his parliaments, which it is some blemish on that time, that they were not managed so dexterously as they had been in his predecessor's time, and was an introduction to succeeding mischiefs.

Your majesty's royal father was under some impression from the same cause, and by the long discontinuance of parliaments, discontents increased, jealousies were fomented, and affairs by ill ministers, and the unhappy accidents and juncture of the times, brought to such a crisis, that when a parliament was called, in the seventeenth year of his majesty's reign, and soon dissolved in heat and dissatisfaction, the necessity of affairs, and intervening misfortunes, and unhappy circumstances, soon brought on the great council of the peers; and by their advice, as the only remedy for growing evils, and to prevent impending mischiefs, another parliament was called and sat the same year; but by an unadvised act therein passed, derogatory to the king's prerogative, relative to parliaments, and temporarily changing the very constitution thereof, a foundation was laid for those divisions and miseries which ensued, and ended not with the ruin of that parliament, and the destruction of that great prince, to the high dishonour of the English nation; but were continued by many changes of hands and powers, till, by the wonderful providence of God, and love and duty of your subjects, your majesty was (by a parliament, assembled as the necessity of the time required, by your honest subjects usurping that incommunicable prerogative of the crown, for the restitution of monarchy itself) called home from your banishment, and restored to the throne of your ancestors,

with the greatest and most unanimous joy and acclamation of your people, that had been in any age or kingdom. And your majesty has reigned many years since, fond of, and in love with, parliaments, and received those marks and effects of their affection and freeness to your majesty, by the settlement of a large revenue, and otherwise, which all your predecessors, from the very original of parliaments put together, had not done; to the envy, no doubt, of all other kings and princes, especially of the ancient enemies of England.

The unhappy interruption that seems to be of late to those halcyon days, and the occasions thereof, are secrets of state which none must presume to be bold with, till your majesty's royal heart, which cannot but be touched with a just and sad sense thereof, shall incline to call for serious and free councils thereupon; by which it is not impossible to be informed how the change hath come, and by what means your majesty's reign may continue suitable to those beginnings and former happiness, till the aged conclusion thereof, which all your good subjects wish you.

Towards this, nevertheless, as far as I may adventure in generals (and out of an honest and dutiful mind) without being called, give me leave to unburthen my soul to your majesty, as followeth:

I know nothing more inclines a people to reverence and admire their king, than to see his affairs so governed that he needs not the supplies of his subjects; and that he lets them find that he is so far from a mind to invade their liberties, or to advance his own condition and greatness by the diminution of theirs, that he counts himself in this happy above the most absolute monarchs, that he is king of a rich, free, stout, and mighty people; and that he takes content, bountifully to expend his whole royal revenue (as your majesty doth, though it be double to that of any your famous progenitors) for the honour, greatness, and safety of your kingdoms, and in bounties to your subjects; wherein if your majesty hath exceeded (to the contracting of a troublesome and dangerous debt) counsels ought to be offered how you may be extricated, and supplies come from your subjects in parliament, not as the fruits of practice and importunity, but as grateful returns for benign and good government, as they were in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Towards the accomplishing hereof, your majesty may please to consider, and be informed, by means that may be offered, of all the particular bounties and favours that have flown from you since your restoration:

And have a book prepared for you, as King Henry VII., a wise prince had, of all that have merited from, or been obliged and rewarded by the crown; which your majesty may consult as a guide to you, additional to your personal knowledge of men (which is greater than any your predecessors had) before you resolve on any grant or bounty; wherein none ought to importune the king, but leave him to his own time and consideration; else the condition of modest men will be desperate, and the boldest beggars (though, perhaps, the unfittest persons) will be the surest speeders; princes, through their bountiful inclination and uneasiness at trouble, being more subject to be wrought upon by importunity than other men: but when your majesty upon deliberation hath said the word, let it be sacred and unchangeable, except upon just cause avowed to the party's shame.

In my time, many are grown to great estates, under your majesty's royal father and yourself, and many are in a course to arrive at the like, whilst your majesty sinks into a debt; from such you may confidently require diligent and faithful service and care, to ease your majesty, and do your work; so that your honour and dignity may be supported, and so that all your subjects may see and rejoice, that you have conferred your favours on such as render themselves worthy thereof, and ease the great pains and troubles that attend so weighty a crown as your majesty's is, to which their duty, as well as obligations, bind them; and the strife among them should be only, who should serve

so good a master best. I am sure I will have no difference with nor offend any of them, but upon that account: and therein I shall never doubt of protection and countenance from your majesty as far as I am trusted.

I know your majesty hath received much disquiet, by the attempts to weaken or shake the legal succession of the crown, against your majesty's declared resolution to the contrary; and cannot forget that I have often assured your majesty, such endeavours will be best diverted by wise and gentle handling of parliaments, and the right use of your house of peers, in such contests, wherein I have and shall ever be ready, in a parliamentary way, to do your majesty all the faithful service I am capable of, and to find out such expedients, as may satisfy your people, that their religion and liberties may be secured by other ways, that shall neither displease nor discompose your majesty, nor so much as raise in you a jealousy, that there is the least aim to invade your prerogative, or give you disquiet or disturbance.

It is within my memory, that the great case of habeas corpus, the business of the loans, &c. were bandied in parliament, viz. in the third year of your father's reign, which produced the petition of right to be made a law. After that, the case of ship money, which, for more assurance, after judgment in the House of Peers against it, by their ordinary authority and power of judicature, was branded and condemned by act of parliament as illegal and arbitrary, and all the judges questioned for their extrajudicial opinions; and yet, in this case, not only his majesty's learned council, but all the judges upon a case stated, were unanimous for the king's right; but being drawn, *ex parte*, (as the other cases were also,) it was very easy through fear or weakness of judgment, or want of the due ventilation and digestion, that causes of such import were wont to have, after many days hearing of council on both sides, and arguments at the bar and bench, to engage in mistakes; which, therefore, afterwards came to a publick disquisition in the court of King's Bench, and by writ of error in the Exchequer chamber, upon the opposition of private subjects, who would not sit down in a case of that consequence, where they conceived and were advised the right lay on their sides, against the opinion of the judges; who, being pre-engaged by ex-judicial opinions, had before, both in the King's-Bench, and all the judges of England, except three or four in the Exchequer-chamber, upon the writ of error, given judgment against the subject, yet, by the division of the judges, when it came to be an Exchequer-chamber case, (which I heard entirely,) and the free and learned arguing thereof, and view of the records, for supporting of the liberties of the subject, the eyes of the people were so opened, that the opposition to the payment of it grew general; and the first parliament which was called after, (as is before mentioned,) put an end to that controversy for ever. The progress and conclusion of this case ought to sway with your majesty, to be wary and circumspect in all cases of law for the future, that are not warranted by known law and practice, appearing upon mature consideration and debate. For here was more than ordinary caution used, before the king would impose a new burthen upon his subjects, though his necessities were, by the long continuance of parliaments, and intervening accidents, very great; and he had better vouchers, than are ever like to be had again in a controversy between the king and the subject; and yet all came to a sad reckoning, and raised jealousies, which are not quite extinguished to this day, and which, by attempts in new cases, which draw consequences that will raise apprehensions of insecurity to the subject, may unhappily revive. I have always thought it more dangerous to the crown, by colour and pretence of legal authority, to do a thing of general and standing import and alarm to the subject, than, without consideration, to do transient acts of violence, which I am well assured your majesty never will.

And your majesty having, not only by your coronation oath, (at which I was present,) legally and solemnly obliged yourself to the laws and customs and good go-

vernment of England, but by many declarations since in parliament, and otherwise, to the great satisfaction of your people of all degrees, removed the apprehensions some had taken up to the contrary, and are by too many still retained and improved, from the late unexpected dissolution of diverse parliaments, and their proving abortive.

I cannot but in zeal to your majesty's honour and safety, and that it may not be in the power of any wicked instruments to foment jealousies, or to raise doubts any longer, humbly beseech your majesty, (since it cannot be supposed that your majesty is skilled in the knowledge of all the laws,) that in all cases of difficulty, and which are not of ordinary cognizance and practice, but such, wherein the lives, liberties, and properties of your subjects in general, may be concerned, your majesty, to the end you may perform what you intend to your people, will require the debates and advice of your council at law, and your privy-council, before your majesty be engaged in points of law, that upon further consideration and trial will not hold, but raise disputes and bring blemish upon your majesty's proceedings; which else must light upon those whose duty it is faithfully to advise your majesty, and within the bounds of your oath and legal pleasure, so often declared.

The late war between your royal father and his parliament was as little expected (as any is now) to arise in this kingdom; but it came on insensibly and by degrees, and the intervening of unlooked-for accidents, until it raised a current that carried all before it, and had a dreadful progress and conclusion; yet the rise of it was but fears and jealousies, (no bigger, I may say, than a man's hand visible to us,) whatsoever might be in the womb of Providence. It is true no arming or gathering of forces now appears; there is no parliament in being, nor act in force, for any to continue until they will dissolve themselves; but the same English people which they were wont to represent live in their own houses, claim their good old laws and liberties, and are watchful over them: Who knows what the present licentious paper war may produce? It is come to open quarrelling already, and quarrels bring bloodshed. The scene is only changed from skirmishes and battles in the fields, and sieges of cities and towns; it is come now to contention in every house, to altercations and fightings between sheriffs and other officers, grand juries and petty juries; and they and the courts of justice, who by law are the conservators of our peace, are engaged in the quarrels, and verdicts are found, and judgments given, as the litigant parties exceed one the other in power and practice, more than by the merits of the cause, which engageth almost the whole people of one side or other in every case.

So that now justice hath lost its old, deep, still channel, and all causes are carried by a fierce, impetuous torrent, which in time, (if not diverted,) may break all our banks, and prove a general inundation; for it is come to this already, that all reverence to ministerial officers, juries, and judges, is lost; and there is now no case of moment, almost, wherein there is not mustering of parties; and, instead of parliaments, appeals are made to the people, who can neither meet nor judge in a body, and therefore end all controversies by quarrelling parties, whose judgment, if it were legal, can neither be known nor executed but in parliament, where the collective body of your people meet by representation, and where these ill symptoms of a divided and distempered kingdom can only hope for and receive a cure, which God and your majesty grant.¹

The Oracle of Truth hath said, "That a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand." Things frame as if it were the design, on all hands, to increase and foment divisions, instead of pacifying them; whence else is the intolerable licence of giving nick-names and marks of distinction and reproach to one another, to challenge and publish charnels of defiance, to scuffle and fight in the very streets and coffee-houses; and the dissenters in religion blamed and suffer for all this, as of old the cry was, *Christianos ad*

¹ This is a dreadful and just picture of these stormy times.

Leones, when there is such a general ferment of rancour and malice throughout the kingdom, as is never like to be removed, but by such remedies as shall be offered before I conclude?

To the discomposed estate of your majesty's own kingdoms, the disjointed and dangerous condition of Christendom, by the overgrown greatness and usurped dominion of the French king over other princes and states, doth not a little contribute; and when he shall have leisure and power to finish his secret councils and intrigues, to corrupt and engage in his designs your majesty's disaffected or ambitious subjects, or prevail with your majesty to believe that his purse or power, and strict friendship with your majesty, are necessary, or but probable means, to support your crown and dignity, and bridle the subjects which his artifices and insinuations have raised a jealousy of, it will occasion such a paroxysm, and such convulsions in the state, as may dangerously shake and hazard the peace of your kingdoms, if not render your great and renowned government a prey to foreigners.

But the fatal cause of all our mischiefs, present or apprehended, and which, if not by wisdom antidoted, may raise a fire which will burn and consume to the very foundations, is the unhappy perversion of the Duke of York, (the next heir to the crown,) in point of religion, which naturally raises jealousy of the power, designs, and practices of the old enemies of our religion and liberties, and undermines and emasculates the courage and constancy even of those and their posterity, who have been as faithful to, and suffered as much for, the crown as any the most pleased or contented in our impending miseries can pretend to have done.

In short, though the supreme wheel of Providence must be owned in all that is or may come upon us, yet every one seems to be at work to dig the kingdom's grave; and if God hath determined our confusion, the least accidental disorder will too naturally bring things to a general complaint and quarrel about religion, laws, liberties, and properties, unless, before the gangrene spread further, it be, by competent and wise council and steady government, made appear, that all these are secured past the fear or apprehension of all good and prudent men, and thereby that handle of contention wrested from the enemies, foreign and domestic, of our religion and peace.

Towards the attaining that wished-for end, and the delivering us from our divisions and fears, and rendering your majesty and kingdom safe, glorious, and happy, I shall now set before your majesty the most proper means and remedies that occur to me, upon the most serious consideration.

1. To begin with parliaments, where your majesty is in your greatest glory, and your kingdom in its greatest strength, activity, and usefulness: Your majesty, by your many declarations of your love to, and delight in them, and resolution of frequent assembling them, hath set such an edge upon the spirits of your people, (ever fond of parliaments,) that hope deferred will make their hearts faint, and raise jealousies which may breed ill blood before their meeting. But, preparatory to a better understanding, it were to be wished, that the licentious liberty now taken to asperse the memory and weaken the very constitution and power of parliaments were seasonably discountenanced and corrected. The blaming and reprehending of parliaments, or either house thereof, is a peculiar prerogative fit for your majesty alone, (who are the head of them, and whose great councils they are,) and which is to be exercised, according to the example of your majesty's most wise and prosperous predecessors, only in parliament time, when they may be heard and acquit themselves; or any slips, errors, or faults that shall appear, may be reformed, amended, or redressed; or, in cases disputable, new remedies applied to prevent future contests. And as the people in general, out of parliament, have no authority herein, much less a part of them, so I count it of very pernicious example and consequence, and no ways serviceable to your majesty, by whomsoever encouraged, that any numbers or degrees of men have pre-

sumed, (under what colour soever,) to trample upon the honour of dissolved parliaments, and arraign their proceedings, which are only to be examined and judged by parliament, who can alone rectify the same, if found erroneous and unwarrantable.

And I heartily wish this innovation may not prove one of the greatest obstacles to a good intelligence the next parliament, and that it may never be questioned with too much heat and resentment; which whosoever shall be chosen to serve therein, may think it their concern to do effectually, for the safety and preserving the chief privileges and rights of parliament, which are freedom and protection, (so that none may entertain and vent dishonourable thoughts of them, to the violation of their good names or persons.) and an exemption from being questioned or impeached in any other court or place, but in that, the only supreme court of the kingdom.

2. It will be your honour and safety to encourage and employ your ancient and deserving nobility and gentry, whose interest in their countries will be of more use and avail to your majesty, than all the bold and confident undertakings of those who seek themselves chiefly in all their pretences of love and duty to your majesty, and really weaken and diminish the admiration, affection, and esteem, which otherwise (from your gracious and wise government) your majesty may have with all your people, who are the most dutiful and fond of their prince in the world, if well and kindly used, as the most turbulent and fierce under the sun, if, by ill, or unsteady management of affairs, and too much subjecting of them to the will and humour of their fellow-subjects, and the oppressions which their too much presuming on his favour brings upon them, which they easily discover, (being a discerning people,) they find themselves transferred from the clemency, bounty, and kindness of their sovereign, and abandoned to the pride, malice, and imperious arbitrariness and will of those who are but subjects as well as they, and who want that natural affection and tenderness which their sovereign liege lord cannot but retain towards them, and whose wisdom, (which God, who advanceth them to the throne, usually endues them with,) must needs persuade him that he is weakened and made a less monarch, by the loss of the love and duty of his meanest subject.

3. The two great instruments of government with which your majesty, in right of your imperial crown, is solely entrusted by the law, are reward and punishment. Let the first be always dispensed freely, as your personal knowledge, or the best information that may be had, shall guide you, by your own immediate hand, that others may not receive the thanks and dependance due to you alone.

Sir Henry Sidney, great Sir Philip's father, who was lord-deputy of Ireland many times, and my great-grandfather, Sir John Perrot, who succeeded him in the same great charge and trust, and divers others, though they refused not to serve your predecessors, yet grew weary of the place, when in those troubled and dangerous times they were forced to spend of their own to support the dignity and honour of the crown. Such as serve your majesty so, in expectation of future regard to be had to their deserts, ought not to be forgotten when higher preferments, or more profitable, permanent, and easy happen than those they served in with submission and patient expectation. Nothing is more discouraging and offensive to the generality of subjects than to see men rise over hastily, and before their merits are known or taken notice of, perhaps whilst their demerit hath brought them into disesteem; whereas, those that are advanced by just degrees, and are seen shining in merit before they are clothed with honour or preferment, rejoice the kingdom, and are no more maligned than those who have served their apprenticeships and come to be lord-mayor.

Thus, in the best times, men have risen in the king's household, and in other establishments, from low degree; and, after long approved service and faithfulness, to high preferment and trust. And this encourageth industry and dutiful service, and is a

bond of safety ; whereas bought preferment, or attained by ill arts, is odious and dangerous to the master ; and when money is the only qualification, people mind solely how to come by that, let the means to accomplish it be what they will.

As for the other, which is punishment, let your majesty's love and clemency to your people make it appear to proceed from you unwillingly and of necessity, for the support and strengthening of government ; and be so executed as that it may not seem, or so much as be suspected, to come from any principle of cruelty, or delight in the pressures or fall of any persons. The known clemency of a prince, and inclination to mercy, doth more to oblige subjects than the strongest impressions of dread or fear ; it being natural to the veriest worm to turn again if he be unmercifully trod upon ; and despair to please, or causeless conceived jealousy, many times occasions the loss of most useful and honest servants.

4. I know your majesty to be a great patron of the church and church-men, and therefore, for their sakes (who are seldom wise for themselves) I presume to implore, that you will never countenance any of them that shall busy themselves with matters of state and government out of their sphere. In all my reading and experience, I find that in the most dangerous disorders and revolutions of the world, they have ever had a principal hand ; when their chief work should be to pray for and promote the peace of church and state in the calling God hath set them. And it never yet came under my observation or knowledge that any kingdom was happy or prosperous, where they had too great an influence, since the primitive time and zeal ; nor that ever it succeeded well to themselves, or gained upon those under their charge, when they shewed themselves active in temporal affairs, having a calling competent to employ the whole man, and are to give themselves to all diligence and piety, wherein they are promised a blessing ; as their great Master hath warned them, That His kingdom is not of this world ; and that they should not fight, nor strive, nor entangle themselves with the affairs of this life. It is observable what the pretended power of one to do so, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, hath brought the world to, and how difficultly encroachments of that tribe are removed ; your majesty is not to scruple the distinct and incommunicable exercise of that authority which the law gives you, and all your people have bound themselves to acknowledge your peculiar.

It is a hard imposition on your majesty, that you should (who are the father of your people) be called upon to imprison, confiscate, banish, or otherwise afflict and distress any of your peaceable and industrious subjects, because others take upon them (by what right let them consider) to denounce them excommunicate ; that were to punish their bodies because their souls are punished, for the clergy cannot so much as pretend a power to go further. And the magistrate hath little reason to hearken to those clergymen who are so diffident of their pretended authority, that though they cry up the power of the keys as their office, yet, when they have done, yield it to be so uneffectual a shadow of power as can do nothing without the civil magistrate's force, below whom it is to be debased, to be the clergy's executioner in punishing before he have tried the cause. The magistrate that seeth a man excommunicated for his fault should rather delay his civil force against that man to see what effect his excommunication will have ; for the conjunction of the sword with the excommunication makes the fruit of it undiscernable, so that none can see whether it did any thing at all, or whether all was done by the fear of the temporal sword. And to force ministers to absolve or give the holy sacrament to such as had rather take it than lie in gaol and be undone, is to set up such new terms of Christian communion as Christ never instituted nor will approve, church-communion being a privilege due only to volunteers and true penitents.

It were worthy your majesty to recommend for the clergy's practice and experience, the grace of self-denial they preach to others ; for, generally, none live more easy and

pleasurable lives than they, instead of the primitive austerity, mortification, and piety; or less pity, or oppose differences and disorders; well were it if too many did not foment and encourage them. These things have brought that contempt upon many of the clergy, that I am sorry to see, who remember the times, when for their unblameable life, painful discharge of their calling, hospitality, and watchfulness over men's souls, those of their flocks thought nothing too much, and were ready to pull out their right eyes for them.

5. As a prime foundation of your majesty's greatness and honour, let the settlement and increase of your majesty's revenue be laid to heart. I have often secretly lamented to see your majesty, who have the greatest and surest revenue of any potentate in Christendom but one, many times brought to such great streights by the ill management thereof, that I know not whether your majesty did not enjoy yourself more in the time of your exile, being deprived of all your own, than you do now; and your servants and followers better contented with hopes and expectations than they are now with their lank enjoyments, retrenchments, and suspensions.

Towards the redress hereof such should be sought out and encouraged that are able and willing to improve your revenue to the best advantage, without greedy pursuit of their own private gain; such men, no doubt, your majesty's kingdom doth afford, and may be found; and by a just calculation of the vast estates some have raised to themselves by a loose, low, and despicable way of ordering it, it will appear how and by what means your majesty becomes poor whilst others wallow in your riches; and what a vast detriment you are at till this great work be vigorously taken in hand and regulated, by which, no doubt, your revenue may be raised to some hundred thousands of pounds sterling above what it now amounts to. Let me bear the disgrace of being accounted an impostor if I evince not what I have said; and then your majesty will be the best judge how you have been served since your restoration: Though I accuse none that have served you hitherto, but desire all errors and failings may be remitted and forgotten upon condition that they who have had the misfortune (to give it no worse a character) of coming short of doing your majesty that service which is now proposed, may, with patience, and without envy or practice, see you better served by others for the future.

The shrunk sinews of your government being thus enlarged and strengthened, and the design appearing certain to your majesty, I do humbly propose,

I. That the greatness of your household may be restored to that of your most renowned predecessors; this will indeed advance your honour and esteem both at home and abroad. I who have lived to see the great hall of the king's house, and his cellars, buttery, and pantry, full of strangers at dinner, and between meals, have been heartily ashamed to see the times when a dinner, or a cup of wine, is hardly to be had for the best guests; nor so much as food for his council and other great persons that attend in progress, and when the court is in the country. When in parliament, your majesty had a full and ample recompence given you for purveyance, and which will more than doubly supply the want thereof; it was little expected things would come to this pass. But though there was then no appropriating of the hereditary excise granted in recompence, their intention that it should be so applied did sufficiently appear, and hath been generally expected.

II. The plentiful provision for your household having set your majesty and family at ease, the second thing to be cared for is the security of your majesty and government, by a well established provision for your new guards, till the unanimous love of your people, which I will not despair to see, may make your majesty judge it a superfluous charge; and the old guards, your majesty's ancestors were safe in, with the united affection of all your subjects (which you will deserve as well as any that ever swayed the scepter of this kingdom) sufficient.

III. To uphold your sovereignty of the seas, and to procure your majesty's being feared and redoubted abroad, and your subjects accounting themselves safe at home; and in their trade and commerce to all parts of the world whither they should carry your name and fame, nothing will contribute more than a powerful fleet, which the circumstances of affairs, and the change thereof in that point all the world over require, should much exceed those of your predecessors, though they ever claimed the dominion of the seas; and that the best use may be made thereof, and with best husbandry and most certainty; that your store-houses, yards, and wharfs may be timely replenished with all warlike provisions and necessities whatsoever for the speedy setting out of fleets to sea, and your ships kept always in good repair for that end; without which such surprizes may happen as we have formerly felt, and occasions for service, never again to be recovered, may be lost, both being equally dishonourable and mischievous to your majesty and kingdoms.

IV. The next thing to assure the obedience of your subjects, and to advance your majesty's honour and esteem among all, is to provide that the course of justice may run uninterrupted; this being the chief end that the chief magistrates, or kings, are advanced above their brethren, and have a divine stamp set upon their authority as a bond of awe and obedience. In order hereunto, let your majesty's principal care be to chuse freely the most able and honest men, and of the greatest integrity, for judges in all the courts; they who punish others had need be very unblameable themselves. And here it ought to be well considered, whether, of all persons, judges should not hold by the freest tenure, and enjoy their places *quamdiu se bene gesserint* at least, and never be discountenanced or displaced but upon good proof of crimes or offences which render them unworthy that trust and dignity, and their punishment for which will rejoice your subjects. They, of all men, ought to be placed above the temptations of hopes or fears as much as is possible; then judgment will run down like a stream, and righteousness like mighty waters.

And where justice is to flow immediately from your majesty, as towards all officers and domestics that hold by no tenure but your royal pleasure, care would be taken of every step leading thereunto. Pick-thank informers and sycophants are the worst instruments that can get into princes courts; but if they do, they are not to be admitted to the king's ear; nevertheless, if intruders happen, let your majesty be so upon your guard that no man be undermined, borne down, or ruined by a whisper. It is but justice for your majesty to hear a servant you have esteemed, or perhaps rewarded as faithful, before you condemn or grieve him, or to make way, it may be, for a worse prejudice yourself, and undo him and his family; such errors many times cost princes dear. And your resolution being known, to hear before you judge, you will be delivered from tale-bearers and mean spirits that have not the courage or honesty to avow the accusations they make; and when just complaints are brought before you, by honest and owned informations, your majesty may be judge yourself; whereas otherwise, your majesty is but made the executioner of vile men's malice, villainy, or ambition; and your best and most useful and faithful servants may be whispered from you, and your majesty left in the hands of those who, for ends human frailty and designing ambitious men are subject to, will not spare to ruin or betray your majesty for advantage, the same secret way they destroyed their fellow subjects unseen.

Whereas those who intend your majesty real service will openly, and like men of honour (who fear the frown of no man) charge the guilty for justice sake.

Another main branch of justice is (that you may be king of all your subjects hearts) to find out ways to unite your people, and for that happy end, to avoid countenancing divided and dividing addresses, and invasions upon the liberties and franchise of your people, granted by your royal predecessors, or yourself; especially when the train and

design of them is visible, or hath its rise from your own court, or tend to foment heats and discontents, and raise jealousies.

The great Lord Bacon, Viscount St Alban's, who was not only a wise statesman, but Lord Chancellor of England, adviseth the king to be of no faction or party, but to make use of and be above all, if any be in his kingdom, or they will much prejudice his authority and business. If any great man, or others, be suspected, on good grounds, guilty of dangerous practice or crime, let the authority of the law, and not the cry of the people, (whether by art or inclination drawn to it) bear them down, who bawl Hosanna and Crucify, with equal zeal even against their Saviour; better it were that ten malefactors escape, than one innocent person should suffer by practice, injustice, or violence.

I should rejoice to see your people unanimously kind to your majesty, but for any to pretend it in diminution of better subjects than themselves, and in ways provoking, offensive, and reproachful, tending to the disquiet of your majesty, and disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, all good and wise men from their very souls abhor, as time will shew, when this land-flood of contention and humour, if not jesuitical practice, hath spent itself, which it will soon do, if not dangerously kept up and countenanced; in which case, as a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand, so, if my fears upon such intrigues succeed till the breach be wide as the sea, I have delivered my own soul by this timely warning, which I hope you will graciously consider. And the working pens of libellers being daily at work, to undermine our peace, and foment divisions, not unlikely employed by the worst enemies of this kingdom and government, it will be the highest recommendation of your majesty's kindness to, and care of your people, that this foul common-sewer of distempered brains and tainted hearts be diverted or shut up, lest it infect and poison the whole kingdom past recovery, and render the happiest church and state in the world a scorn to fools. And to prevent so great mischief, it will be as glorious in your majesty, to discountenance even the libellers, boldly pretending to write in support of the crown (which, God be thanked, stands as unshaken upon your majesty's head, as upon that of the greatest of your ancestors) as to punish others upon vain pretences, taking the same licence; so that the silencing and confusion of all libellers, as far as the law will warrant, may be one happy effect of your majesty's good and powerful government; and when the make-bates and sowers of division cease, then mutual love may be restored.

V. The last thing I shall trouble your majesty with is concerning the provident management of your revenue, which will be the greatest help to keep all the parts of your government in order.

I know well, and can make it manifest beyond contradiction, that vast reducements may be made of your charge in England, to general satisfaction, and with the discontent only of greedy officers and suitors, whose places may be better supplied of meritorious persons, or their issue, who being entailed to the crown by former favours to them or their ancestors for just merit, must be accounted better and stronger supports to your majesty, than those whose ambition or covetousness makes them crowd the court; yet never to entail your favours to any will beget diligence, and raise expectation in your followers and dependants.

I beseech your majesty to consider, what great things the crown of England hath done in former ages, with its own bare revenue, and by the love of its subjects, both in England, Ireland, and foreign countries; how your majesty comes now to be in pinching wants, and none of those great undertakings upon your hands, is fit to be enquired. One thing is obvious to me, which will persuade that other instances of ill management and mispence may be produced. Your majesty spends now yearly in Ireland's full peace, more than served to defray the charges of the crown, in the greatest rebellions of the Oneils, Tirones, Desmonds, and others; nay, I want not good

warrant to assure your majesty, that the chief governor's profits alone in that kingdom amount to more now than maintained the government of Ireland, both in the civil and military estate thereof, in some of the troubled and dangerous times of that kingdom; and hath incident to his office diverse favours, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, to oblige your subjects both great and small with, which should most properly be dispensed by your majesty's own hand, to weaken dependence on fellow subjects, and fix greater and stronger on your majesty.

To conclude, Though your majesty is in your own person above the reach of law, and sovereign of all your people, yet the law is your master and instructor how to govern, and your subjects assure themselves, you will never attempt the enervating that law by which you are king, and which you have not only by frequent declarations, but by solemn oath upon your throne, been obliged, in a most glorious presence of your people, to the maintenance of; and that therefore you will look upon any that shall propose or advise to the contrary as unfit persons to be near you; and on those who shall persuade you it is lawful, as sordid flatterers, and the worst and most dangerous enemies you and your kingdom have. What I set before your majesty, I have written freely, and like a sworn faithful counsellor; perhaps not like a wise man, with regard to myself, as things stand; but I have discharged my duty, and shall count it a reward if your majesty vouchsafe to read what I durst not but write, and which I beseech God to give a blessing to.

The Character of an Honest Man; whether stiled Whig or Tory, and his Opposite, the Knave: Together with some short Reflections on some Passages in a late Pamphlet, called The Character of a Popish Successor, and Considerations thereupon. By a Lover of Truth and Peace.

*Sola honesta utilia
Omnia si perdas animam servare memento.*

Anno 1683.

Elkanah Settle, well known as the unworthy competitor with Dryden for the public applause, was author of the celebrated pamphlet entitled "The Character of a Popish Successor, and what England might expect from one," in which he painted what might be expected from the Duke of York's bigotry in the blackest and most desperate colours. The tract becoming popular, a number of answers were written, many of which, as is usual in controversy, assumed a name resembling the title of the original. Thus there was a Character of the True-blue Protestant Poet, the Character of a Papist in Masquerade, the Character of a Rebellion, and among others the following Character of an Honest Man.

In April 1683, Settle retracted, and published a narrative, in which he declared that his sole motive for writing the Character of a Popish Successor was some private pique against the Duke of York about a play. He further informs us, that he had shewn the piece in MS. to his noble Aldersgate friend (Lord Shaftesbury,) who mended it a little, but censured the author for not speaking favourably enough of rebellion. Elkanah's evidence, however, is scarcely to be relied upon, for he had changed sides so effectually, that he wrote animadversions on Lord Russel's dying speech, and a panegyric on judge Jefferies.

It is a wise observation, made by a learned and worthy person of our age, That the name of a Christian is become too general to express our faith, there being a geography of religions as well as lands. But that there should be found a kind of geography of religions among protestants is more especially of very sad and serious consideration to all that own that title, and truly are such; from these differences in religion, and dividing us into sects and factions, there must of necessity arise different names to distinguish them one from another. Therefore, in the first place, they that make and cause schisms, factions, and divisions in the truly reformed protestant church of England, upon them will doubtless lie all the blame and guilt of those differences and different names amongst us.

Now as to those two great distinguishing names of Whig and Tory, of late arose amongst us. The name of Whig' began in Scotland in the year 1647, when Duke Hamilton, by order of the parliament, invaded the kingdom of England for relief of his majesty, then in the Isle of Wight: for no sooner did he invade England, but they rose in rebellion against the then parliament that then was loyal, and after the defeat of Duke Hamilton, called in Oliver Cromwell to their assistance against the Earl of Lanrick, the duke's own brother, upon which a ballad, but never suffered to be printed, was then made with this burthen, Away, Whigs, away, &c.² Which name of Whig being revived again of late years in Scotland, when the Scottish presbyterians, in sense of the obligation of their covenant, did meet at their field conventicles in spite of magistrates and laws, as they pretended to preach, pray, and worship God, but in truth, under that religious cover, as it plainly afterward appeared, to encourage, list, enrol, and muster their troops and companies, preparatory to that formidable rebellion that presently after broke out, headed by their principal ministers and preachers. This name of Whig only importing a factious and seditious fellow, as I humbly conceive. And when the presbyterian and fanatic party in England (upon the discovery of the popish plot) began to bustle and be rampant, and at least to shew themselves ready to play the same game of sedition and rebellion in England, (they still owning and adhering to the seditious principles of their brethren in Scotland,) the truly loyal party, the true protestants of the church of England, did think fit to apply the same name of Whig to the same kind of people here in England, and against which I see no reason, especially when they seem so willing to accept of the same, and not to be ashamed of it, but rather to glory in it, as a name that imports (as they would make us believe) religion, loyalty, integrity. But presently upon this, that non-conformist party (to their honour be it spoken) that they might, according to their usual custom, shew their inveterate malice and revenge, in which they were resolved not to be children, or out-done by the worst of their enemies, they retorted that ugly name of Tory upon all the truly loyal protestants of the church of England, making them all papists, or at best popishly affected, out-laws, robbers, such as our law saith have *Caput Lupinum*, fit and ready to be destroyed and knocked on the head by any one that could meet with them, but at best, to be such persons as refused to have Christ to reign over them, and therefore those words of his might be applied to them, "Bring them hither, and slay them before me."³

² The men of the western shires of Scotland used the word *whig whig*, in driving their horses. A tumultuous band of the peasantry of Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, which drove the committee of estates from Edinburgh, in 1648, received, from this circumstance, the name of the *Whigamore's Raid*.

³ There is an old jacobite song with a similar burden,

Awa' Whigs awa,' awa Whigs awa,'
Ye're but a pack o' traitor lowns can do nae gude at a'.

³ Tories was a name originally given to the Irish banditti and bog-trotters, transferred from them to the Irish Catholics, who usually attended the Duke of York, and at length extended to all the monarchical faction.

But, not to give you or myself any further trouble about the original or signification of the said names, but in this great confusion of names and persons (wherein possibly there is great mistakes in misapplying those names to several persons,) some honest men going under that name of Whig sometimes, as well as some dissolute and debauched persons that go under the names of Tories, who will never be any credit, but disgrace and prejudice, to the cause they seem to espouse. To give you the true difference and distinction between an honest christian man, and a knave or hypocrite. It being the best way I know to end the controversy, and that we may all readily meet and concenter in honesty and integrity, and in such honest and upright actions, which will only denominate us Christians in truth and sincerity. And indeed, as a late worthy author hath observed, if there be any use at all of opprobrious railing words, it must be either in reproof, or in the administration of justice. And certainly it were a great happiness to us in this nation, that we all were of that Roman gentleman's disposition of whom it is recorded, *Nescivit quid esset maledicere*, he knew not how to speak contumeliously to any man.

It is a thing most plain and evident, that the rise of most, or all the errors, heresies, seditious and rebellious principles and practices of our times, arises from the spirit of atheism, irreligion, dishonesty, and knavery abounding in men's hearts; for wisdom will not dwell with polluted souls, as the wise man speaketh. No wonder to see men hug their vices, to see the debauchees of our times plead for and defend their bestialities; or the seditious and disloyal schismatics, their undutiful, seditious, and disloyal actions and deportment towards their prince, and spiritual governors; yea, to see the aforesaid wickednesses so much to abound among us, that it is become a crime for a man to shew his zeal and affection to God, to his laws, to religion, and his prince and lawful governor. Therefore, that honesty and integrity, the genuine and proper fruit of true religion, be not lost in this confusion and crowd, let us consider the Honest Man and the Knave.

First, as to the Honest Man.

The honest Christian man is such an one that really hath great respect for God, and shews it upon all occasions, not in notions and talk, but in practice.

Honest Man.

He is one that, next to his respects to God and religion, looks upon it as his great duty to honour and reverence his prince and sovereign, God's vice-gerent on earth; he dares not be so impudent to call God father, and yet to despise his anointed, but renders unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as well as unto God the things that are God's.

Honest Man.

He is one that would not do the least evil, and thereby sin against God, and violate his conscience, for the greatest tem-

Then as to the Knave or Hypocrite.

The knave, or hypocrite, is one that maketh great pretences to God and religion, but it is only in shew, not in heart; he hath all his religion in his tongue, but little or none in his actions, of whom it may be said, *Quid prodest verbis tantum philosophari.*

Knave.

He is one that thinks his prince is in nature of the people's servant, and takes himself to be a proper judge of his prince's actions; and that whenever he apprehends his prince doth amiss in government, he may presently lawfully be a rebel, and resist him.

Knave.

He is one that matters not his duty, his soul and conscience, so that he may advance his interest, and obtain his will, and

poral advantage; he looks at his duty, and not at his seeming interest and advantage, knowing that in faithfully doing his duty lies his greatest interest and safety.

Honest Man.

He is one that cannot easily be persuaded, that such a person, that is of such a conversation as bids defiance to God and all his laws, can make conscience of what he swears before a magistrate, and is very tender of taking away any man's life upon such evidence.

Honest Man.

He is one that judgeth, that if the famous Queen Elizabeth had been disinherited, and put by her succession to the crown by her sister Queen Mary, and her popish parliaments, upon pretence that she was a protestant, it had been an unworthy, and an unjust, and wicked action.

Honest Man.

He is one that thinks, that the interest and welfare of the prince and his people are all one, and cannot be separated, and that the safety and welfare of himself and family necessarily depend upon their happiness and welfare.

Honest Man.

He is one that thinks that his lawful prince and governor is Charles by the grace of God, viz. is by God's appointment, and not made by the people, and so honoureth and obeyeth him, as set over him by God Almighty, the supreme governor of the world, for the welfare of the people.

Honest Man.

He is one that thinketh, that, (according to the true Christian doctrine, professed and maintained by the true reformed protestant church of England,) his prince is accountable only to God, and not to man for his actions; according as our laws

with great pretences of religion and conscience will play the knave for advantage, and values not his soul, so he may save his skin.

Knave.

He is one that cares not to applaud and make use of such persons as carry on his cause and design, and to advance his own ends and purposes, that values not *per fas et nefas*, to obtain his wicked purposes.

Knave.

He is one that, although he pretends himself to be a protestant, doth justify such proceedings which lead him to these absurdities, that the end of a thing being good, will sanctify the means, although never so wicked; and that what had been wickedly done by the papists had changed its nature and become good, if it had been done by protestants.

Knave.

He is one that continually talks of the party, and the patriots for the people, and doth endeavour to divide their joint interest one from the other, and make schisms and rents in the state between prince and people.

Knave.

He is one that thinketh his prince is a creature of the people's making, and judgeth, that he may and ought to be called in question by the people, to give an account of his stewardship, whenever the people think he rules amiss, and may be deposed also, and however he goes no farther with the jesuit, yet the natural consequence of deposing proves murdering their prince at last.

Knave.

He is one that judgeth this is court-flattery, that this is only court-doctrine, and not Christian: But that this privilege is given to the saints to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.

also determine, that the king can do no wrong.

Honest Man.

He is one that looketh upon himself to be most strictly obliged by God, to be loyal and faithful to his prince, and more especially when he hath bound himself by his oath of allegiance; and judgeth that neither people nor presbyter with his covenant can absolve him from the same.

Honest Man.

He is one who, when the king and kingdom's safety is concerned, willingly exposeth himself to all hazards and dangers, and will die at his prince's command in his defence, with these words in his mouth, *Dulce est pro principe et patria mori.*

Honest Man.

He is one that abhors, from his soul, that accursed and pernicious doctrine and position, that a lawful prince, when he misgoverns, may be resisted and withstood, and by subjects of any degree whatsoever; and that they are proper judges over their prince and governour, well knowing, and wisely considering, that once granting this privilege to subjects, and that they might terminate their loyalty at their pleasure, and be sole judges in their own case, no government could be secure, nor no prince in safety one moment, no longer than power and force were wanting in the people to effect their wills.

Honest Man.

He is one that loves his prince, and therefore cannot be so contradictory, as to reproach, or hate, his loyal brother, especially he having so often exposed himself to great dangers for the kingdom's safety and welfare, they being now the only remains of that royal martyr, whom

Knave.

He is one that takes the oath of allegiance, and after that the covenant with a limitation of his allegiance; then after that the engagement, and after that again the oath of allegiance; and the test, and what not: He cares not how he swears and forswears, and at last is as great a knave as he was at first, and hugs disloyalty in his bosom, against the time of the next resurrection of a second Cromwell and the good old cause.

Knave.

He is one who, when his prince is in dangers and streights, will do as wicked Shimei did to good David, defame and vilify him, curse and reproach him, and when there is an opportunity, take part with, and actually assist a rebellious Absalom against his father.

Knave.

He highly extols his own loyalty, and will needs be one of his prince's best subjects, although he strictly adheres to such desperate principles of rebellion and mischief, which, if put in practice, would ruin and destroy his prince, yea overturn the whole world, and reduce it to its first original chaos of confusion; yea he is such a one that would impose on his prince such hard conditions in governing, upon which he himself would be loth to accept of a crown, if it was offered him; nay, such terms as upon which the devil himself, the worst of creatures, would refuse a crown, if it were offered him; for he is too subtil and cunning to be in mercy of that monster of the common people.

Knave.

He is one that pretends love to his prince, yet cannot refrain from reproaching and casting all the odium possible upon his royal and loyal brother, whom the king so entirely loves.

he can hardly yet call to mind without tears.

Honest Man.

He is one that not only conscientiously observes the fasts and festivals of the church, but also those of the state, the 5th of November, the 30th of January, and 29th of May; for as he cannot but with grief, sorrow, and detestation, remember that accursed wickedness committed upon our martyred sovereign, and earnestly beg of Almighty God not to charge upon this nation the guilt of that innocent blood, so he cannot but give hearty thanks for those great and wonderful deliverances to this nation, especially that in restoring to us our prince, and those many happinesses we enjoy under his gracious government.

Honest Man.

He is one that, next his temporal parent his prince, the *Pater Patriæ*, bears great respect to his mother the Church, the ecclesiastical governors of this famous and best reformed protestant church of England as now by law established, the only bulwark and defence of all the protestant churches in the world; submitting himself to her laws and government, knowing, and wisely considering, that if she fall the protestant interest cannot stand, and therefore he is willing and ready to vindicate her liturgy and government, her officers and ministers, when aspersed by wicked adversaries.

Honest Man.

He is one, who although he cannot clear all the clergy of the church of England from irregularities and scandals, (it being impossible that any church in the world, in this state of imperfection wherein we live, should be free without spot or blemish;) especially considering that when our blessed Saviour was upon the earth, and had but twelve in his family, and yet one of them (though an apostle) was a devil, and that *nullum unquam ingenium pla-*

Knave.

He is one that pretends to be mighty zealous in observing the festival of Sunday, or the Lord's-day, which he calls the Sabbath, and thinks that will serve in exchange for all the rest; yea, he will tell us with great confidence, that he is very loyal, and loves his prince, and abominates the murder of his father, although he neither observes either the 30th of January, or 29th of May, when the laws require also the same of him. And when certainly the refusing or neglecting to observe the 30th of January cannot amount to less than tacitly, and by consequence, justifying and approving the said horrid villainy then acted, which I hope they will be so wise as to consider of against the next 30th of January.

Knave.

He is one that pretends himself to be a protestant, yea, the only true protestant, because he is a dissenter from Rome; yet not only contemns, despiseth, and vilifieth the church of England and her government and liturgy. And sometimes he goes farther, and pretends to be a true son of the church, as it is by law established, yet can find in his heart to disgrace, disparage, and cast all the dirt he can meet with at her clergy, and intimately comply with phanatics, the church's implacable enemies; and calls himself a protestant, and the only protestant, when he is hardly a Christian.

Knave.

He is one that, without any sense of human frailty, abandoning all charity, cares not what lies and slanders he raises and fomenteth, even such as are false and black as hell. He is not ashamed to brand most, if not all, our worthy clergy of the church of England, with the name of drunken parsons, and all the true sons of the church with the same title, or else with the name of papists, so that it is impossible that any one should escape; for if some be of a more

cuil sine veniâ, that no man lives without fault; and that it would be a miracle therefore, especially in this degenerate and debauched age we live in, that our clergy should wholly escape the general contagion. But, notwithstanding this, he bids him that is without sin among those of our church's enemies, to throw the first stone at them; for he judges that they are guilty of the greater crimes, as pride, peevishness, implacable malice, and revenge, that makes them most like the devil, and that *melius est humilitas in malis, quam superbia in bonis*. However things are not as he could wish, he is most willing and ready to follow the example of the famous Constantine, who professed himself to be ready, if he knew of any grievous sins in any of his clergy, to hide and cover them from the eye of the world with his cloak, knowing well their faults would very much reflect on the honour of their Lord and Master and his holy religion. And he cannot but be true to the interest of the religion he professeth to own, and abhors to run with the hare and to take hold with the hound.

Honest Man.

He is one that credits and confides in his prince and sovereign, when he is graciously pleased to declare that he will rule according to his laws, and maintain the true protestant religion. This hath ever been the character of an honest mind, who is ready to trust another, thinking all men as honest as themselves, although they sometimes suffer thereby; but as to his prince, he looks upon it as his duty, which God Almighty hath laid upon him, to confide in him.

Honest Man.

He is one that is humble and peaceable, for humility and peaceableness ever accompany an honest heart. His great care is to bring water to allay those heats that are raised in church and state by the un-

free and careless conversation, they are all papists, or popishly affected at the best. They have well studied that maxim, *Audacter calumniare semper aliquid hærebit, et calumnia leviter volat, sed graviter vulnerat, leviter volat, sed non tam leviter revocatur*. And, as a late worthy author hath observed, speaking of the vulgar and common sort of people, whom no kind of reason so much abuseth and carrieth away as when the discredit of the person is retorted on the cause, a master-piece of our adversaries late policies it was, as he observes, to put into the hands of the people such pamphlets, which did not hurt our cause at all, but our persons. To give you only a taste of their gross abuse of our clergy, I shall give it you in these two abusive lines of that worthy person therein mentioned:

Have you not seen the Dean of Paul's 'Irenicum withdrawn?

Blowing the coals for Rome, in hopes of sleeves of lawn.

Knave.

He is one that is studious to raise up fears and jealousies in the hearts of the king's subjects against their prince, and publick transactions of the state, and thereby causing murmurings and complainings, seditions, tumults, and disorders, and sooner will give credence to a Fitz-Harris than his gracious prince and governor; and delights, like the salamander, to live in the fire, although he will certainly perish also himself in the general ruin.

Knave.

He is one that is proud and insolent, heady, and high-minded, as St Jude stiles him who is impatient of being governed; would command all others, and be commanded by none himself. It is observed

* The celebrated Dr Stillingfleet had been engaged in a controversy with the papists, and in his tract entitled *Irenicum*, he had offered the basis of a comprehending system, which united protestants of all persuasions. But, as during the last years of Charles's reign, he sided with the court, he was unjustly charged with having become favourable to Rome. The verses are a parody on the concluding lines of the satire entitled *The Young Statesman*, imputed to Dryden.

ruly and boisterous lusts and passions of wicked men, threatening publick and general ruin; and notwithstanding the great cry against popery, thinks that there is at least as great danger to us from the want of true piety and religion, and from that horrid atheism and hypocrisy which he sees plainly to abound among us, and which he certainly knows will be our ruin if there were neither pope nor papist in the world. The principles of irreligion being that which will bring ruin upon any state or kingdom in the world; and humbly conceives that it is impossible to preserve unity without conformity to what is by law established.

Honest Man.

He is one that reads the sacred scriptures, and although not like that famous Christian who is said always to have read it upon his knees, yet with great humility and reverence; and is not so ready to interpret scripture as to read it; and takes the assistance of the best guides, the worthy pastors and ministers of the church wherein he lives, about the true sense and meaning of the same in doubtful and difficult places: and wisely thinks he may as well trust them with the interpretation of the doubtful places in scripture, as the translation of the scriptures; for if their honesty may be questioned in the lesser, the interpretation, it may be much more questioned in the greatest trust, which is the text itself. He considers, that advice once given to a vestal virgin, (*coli Deus sanctè magis quam scitè*,) hath in this great work of exposition of scripture an especial place; it is to be managed with fear and reverence, as a worthy author hath it.

by wise men, that those men which are over-busy are unfit to govern; for they move all things, and leave nothing without question and innovation; and, as the father speaks, they, (out of desire to amend what is already well) by these fiery dispositions, are raised divisions and confusions; and divided family against family, yea, a man against himself. And, to be short, men of this temper are as fireballs and granadoes, that cannot rest till they have fired all about them.

Knave.

He is one that with audacious boldness takes the Bible into his hands, and will undertake as readily to give the sense of it as to read it. Every sectary makes it speak what he pleaseth, even sedition and rebellion, and, under pretence of interpretation of scripture, they violently broach their own conceits, although a wrested proof (as a worthy author observes) is but like a suborned witness; and further, that as the worm eats out the heart of the plant that bred it, so whatsoever is done amiss in this kind naturally works no other end but destruction of him that doth it. This sin of wresting the scriptures in the eye of some of the ancients seemed so ugly, that they have ranged it in the same rank with the sin against the Holy Ghost, and therefore have pronounced it a sin greater than can be forgiven; for this is not a sin of infirmity, but a sin of wit and strength; for, as it hath been observed of the painters and statuaries of the heathens, they were wont to paint many times their goddesses like their mistresses, and then think them most fair when they were most like what they best loved; so it is with many professors of religion; they can temper the precepts thereof to their own liking, and lay upon them glosses and interpretations, as it were colours, and make it look like what they love.

Honest Man.

He is one that doth not pick and chuse of his duty what he thinks fit, but endeavours after an uniform obedience; he looks upon the second table of the law of God and the duties of it, as properly the parts of religion and Christianity as the duties and observations of the first; and abhors to separate religion and loyalty; considering that his blessed Saviour made it his main and principal design, in all his sermons, while he was upon earth, to persuade men to the duties of the second table.

Honest Man.

He is one that looks upon these two parts, a true faith and an honest conversation, to be necessary to a Christian; for, as one hath well observed, a true profession without honest conversation, not only saves not, but increaseth our weight of punishment; but a good life without true profession, though it bring us not to heaven, yet it lessens the measure of our judgment; and that a moral man, so called, is a Christian by the surer side. His great care is to store his mind with just and honest principles, and then makes it his endeavour to live after them; and of all religions and opinions in the world, he concludes those cannot be of God that cause schisms, sedition, and commotions in church and state, and give trouble to God's vicegerents on earth, knowing well that true Christianity is a gospel of peace.

Honest Man.

He is one that thinketh it not superfluous, but his duty at all times, and upon all occasions, to express his loyalty, and cry, God save the king; but more especially, he cannot forbear when he apprehends the crown and government to shake, and be unsteady by means of murmuring and seditious subjects, but would willingly support it; and as they defame and curse, so he blesseth and prayeth for them; and dares be so bold as vindicate his sovereign against the calumnies and reproaches of

Knave.

He is one that hath a great seeming zeal for the duties of the first table, and in the mean time reproaches the duties of the second, and those that make conscience of them, with the names of moralists and meer moral men, and will be saints in the church, and devils in the market; and be very demure and religious on the Sunday, though all the week after a man had as good meet with a Jew or a Turk in his trade and dealings with them, and come off better.

Knave.

He is one that indulgeth corrupt and erroneous principles, which suit best with his proud and turbulent schismatical humour, and thinks he knows as much as the best doctor can teach him; he is heady, high-minded, as St. Jude describes him, and then be sure you shall presently hear him speak evil of dignities, who is destitute both of a true faith and sound principles, and of an honest and ingenuous conversation; and a thousand to one you will find him a mushroom, an upstart, one lately grown rich; of whom it hath been observed, that they differ from other rich men only in this, that commonly they have all the faults that rich men have, and many more.

Knave.

He is one that, with Judas, cries out, What needs this waste? What needs these addresses and protestations of loyalty? This abuseth the prince; and although he pretends more than ordinary zeal against popery, and for the protestant religion and the liberty of the subject, yet will not be brought to join with his loyal neighbours in giving his majesty thanks for his late royal assurance of these to us; so that whatever he is in shew, he is a knave at the bottom, as he that runs may read.

wicked men ; and as he hates idolatry, so he likewise detests sedition and rebellion, which the prophet Samuel compares with it.

Honest Man.

He is one that as he looks on it as his duty to abide and be content in the station wherein God hath set him, so he doth not trouble or distract himself with future events, nor discompose his mind with possibilities of future dangers ; he neither meddles with the secrets of God Almighty, nor the *arcani imperii* of his prince ; he truly considers that our life is a warfare, as one hath observed, and every man in the world hath his station and place, from whence he may not move but by the direction and appointment of God his general, or magistrates, which are as captains and lieutenants under him. And as, from his own honesty and integrity, he enjoys a great measure of peace in his mind, so he is always most ready to promote peace in the world ; and being true to the interest of the protestant religion, as it is now by law happily established in England, cannot be indulgent towards phanaticks and dissenters, nor lay them in his bosom, seeing plainly they design the overthrow thereof, yet heartily desires their reformation and conformity to the laws, if it might be ; but in case they are so desperately resolved never to be reconciled, and to ruin all rather than not to have their wills, he cannot but desire they may be so restrained and kept under by the execution of the good laws of the kingdom, that they may be never able to hurt us or our established true religion so dear to us. And when he daily sees, by sad experience, the dismal effects of factions and differences in religion, viz. hatred, emulation, wrath, strife, divisions, heresies, murthier, which lay whole nations in war and blood, no wonder he cannot be reconciled to them.

Honest Man.

He is one that cannot endure to be irreverent at the publick worship of God ; for as he gives God his heart, so he cannot but testify those respects he bears to him

Knave.

He is one that cannot be at rest, but is continually raising fears, and foreseeing things quite out of his reach and view ; and will needs torment himself with the reality of such things that possibly may never be or come to pass. And, to prevent what he thus fears, fears not to rush into sin, that doubtless is more to be feared than suffering. And seeing his neighbour with a sword by his side, will needs be assaulting him, and take it from him for fear his neighbour should make use of it to kill him ; he will also by all means turn statesman, and be meddling with and mending state affairs, so infinitely above his sphere and capacity ; but, as he being of a proud and turbulent spirit, he enjoys no peace within, so would be a means to banish it out of the earth, and would fain fire the whole world before the general conflagration.

Knave.

He is one that thinks that God is so much his friend, that he is not his King and Lord. That he must be so worshipped in spirit and truth, as not to be therefore wor-

in the outward reverent gestures of the body, especially when time and place will allow it; he abhors not to shew as great reverence to God as to his prince; and when the custom of his country is to approach his prince upon his knee, he cannot think it fit to draw near to the King of kings with a less bodily worship, and cannot but be much troubled to see Christians perform a more slight, slovenly, and superficial service to the true living God, than heathens have afforded to their dumb idols.

Honest Man.

He is one that hath resolution and courage to be just and honest, minds mainly his duty, and is not much solicitous what he suffers in a good and honest cause; he is neither to be cajoled by fair words, or threatened out of the duties of that station wherein God hath set him, and thinks the safety of his religion, prince, and country, are not such slight and mean concerns, as to be trifled and played with; he therefore, in these grand affairs, thinks he cannot be just and honest, except he be courageous and resolute; and, to conclude, he endeavours sincerely to follow after whatever things are true, whatever things are pure, whatever things are honest, whatever things are just, whatever things are of good report, whatever things are praise-worthy, and in this exercise he is *homo quadratus*, constant, steady, resolved, whatever condition he may be cast into.

Thus having, in the midst of the confusions of parties and names now amongst us, endeavoured to characterise an honest man, a good Christian, that is honest and just to the principles of his Christianity, especially as to his deportment towards the publick, with a description of his opposite, the knave or hypocrite. And now one would think it could not be a difficult task, but the easiest thing in the world, to persuade us all to be honest men; when, together with the happiness of a good conscience, a serene soul (the greatest happiness of mankind here on earth) we may also thereby speedily put an end to all our differences and distractions, and of all our different factions and parties; and then there will be no use of Whig or Tory, or any other nick-name, being all honest-men, good Christians, good protestants, good subjects. Alas! without this honesty and integrity of heart, it matters not what religion we profess, nor by what names we are distinguished. For this is most certain, a knave or hypocrite can be saved in none. Now if our disaffected party, our dissenters, would thus consent, how happy might they and we be, to concur together, to be of one honest, sound mind, true Christians, good protestants, all true sons of one and the same truly and excellently well

shipped with bodily worship. And he is so spiritually minded, as makes him forget that God hath given him a body as well as a soul, to concur together in his service; and hates all order, rites, and ceremonies, appointed by the wisdom of the church, to keep up and maintain a reverence to sacred performances in the publick worship of the most high God.

Knave.

He is one that is a timorous, mean-spirited man, that hopes his good meaning will excuse him, and dare not be true to his own principles, and therefore is ready to put favourable constructions upon apparent, insolent, and wicked actions, that tend to the ruin of the cause he pretends firmly to own; and by his want of courage and resolution, (and fear of loss of his wealth especially) undoes both the cause he owns, and himself also, in conclusion: For in vain it is for any one to think to secure his own cabin when the ship is sinking.

reformed church of England, and thereby keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, all true and loyal subjects to one and the same prince, and him the best in the world; and hereby how should we manifest ourselves to be not only *Christiani*, but *Chrestiani*, as the antient Christians were accounted, a word signifying benignity and sweetness of disposition and temper. And how willingly should we of the church of England be to be reconciled to the dissenters, if they would be perswaded to be reconciled to their prince and the laws? But, alas! *Hic labor, hoc opus!* who is able to effect it? When they are grown to that height of madness and folly, and drive furiously like Jehu, that although we lay before them their religion, their wives and children, *et dulcia pignora*, and yet they will not lay aside their madness, but drive over them all, what can be said or done to them?

Having therefore very little encouragement to hope to do any good on them, that are resolved to be rather what they are, than what they should and ought to be; and how can sober and serious discourses prevail, in an age when, on the one hand, all religion and seriousness is scoffed and derided, and on the other hand, when men are given up to a reprobate mind, to strong delusions, to believe lies? When they are all as the deaf adder, that stoppeth his ear to the best of charmers; when they are so wickedly malicious as to reproach all good protestants with the names of tories, outlaws, papists, popishly-affected papists in masquerade, whereby they take in and conclude our famous, learned, and worthy bishops and clergy, and all sober, wise, and serious protestants, the sons of the church; and thus cloath them (as the Heathens did the primitive Christians) with beasts skins, designing to have them devoured by that monster of the vulgar, who, as a late learned author observes, is that great enemy of reason, virtue, and religion, that numerous piece of monstrosity, which, taken asunder, seem men and the reasonable creatures of God, but confused together, make but one great beast, and a monstrosity more prodigious than Hydra. And therein not only including the baser and minor sort of people, but the rabble even amongst the gentry, a sort of plebeian heads, whose fancy move with the same wheel as those, men in the same level with mechanicks, though their fortunes do somewhat gild their infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies.

How can we therefore trust these false brethren? How dangerous is it to lay these vipers in our bosoms, who breathe out nothing but ruin and destruction to us the loyal protestants, true sons of the church of England as now by law established? And, alas! if they would seriously consider it, do they not even very many of them bring the innocent blood of the royal martyr upon themselves, that blood that (it is much to be feared) still calls aloud to heaven for vengeance; for do they not tacitly and by consequence justify the said horrid crime, First, by being seditious, and continually murmuring and complaining, finding fault with government and governors, which was the first step to sedition, war, and blood, and destruction of the king. And in the next place, do they not proceed and go on by owning and justifying, pleading for, and acting by those abominable and seditious tenets, opinions, and principles that were also the cause of the said dreadful confusions, war and blood, and by which his sacred majesty was brought to his fatal end with the ruin of our religion and country? Yea, some of them are grown to that height of impudence, as to neglect and refuse also the religious observation of the 30th of January or 29th of May. Now whether these men do not by these their actings justify and plead for all the late horrid villainies? and whether the voice of their actions be not plainly that of the Jews to Pilate (when they demanded of him the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour) his blood be upon us and our children? leave it to be seriously considered by them; and also that the sin of bloodshed suffers not God to forget judgment, or entertain a thought of mercy, as hath been observed by the learned. In the next place, therefore, let me have my recourse to you, O ye noble and heroick souls (for there is a nobility without heraldry) especially you of this

great and famous city of London, with your late honest, loyal, and worthy lord mayor, who abominate phanaticism as well as popery, and anarchy as well as tyranny, and who (in this time of confusion and danger, when there are so many with all their might, within their phanatick circles, under pretence of the names of religion, liberty, property, &c. are raising most hideous and terrible storms, both in church and state,) are yet resolved to adhere closely to God and the king, the church and state, and in that to the welfare of yourselves and families. Consider, that as without all doubt the great end of the laws of the kingdom, and of all charters and privileges at any time granted to the subjects from the favour and indulgence of princes, is not to weaken the hands of their prince, but for his support, and for the promoting of order, government, and peace, (without which law signifies nothing); so, if subjects shall so far degenerate, and be so abominably ungrateful as to make use of the said favours of their princes against the prince himself, and to attempt to overthrow the government, and pretend law for all this, certainly this is no other (as I humbly conceive) than under pretence of law to overthrow the law. As for instance, when they will needs pitch upon and choose such officers of the king's who shall return *ignoramus* juries to acquit malefactors and offenders against the laws of the kingdom, so far that the prince is forced to complain he can have no justice and right done him; and if, by reason thereof, seditious and wicked persons take freedom to abuse and reproach the prince and government at pleasure, and to enter into associations and combinations against the same,—I say, if such things as these be suffered, what can be expected but that the crown and government, and all public peace and safety should be subverted and overthrown.

O quantum mali nimium subtilitas !

And be encouraged however to go on, and matter not what the enemies of your prince and the church stile you in their dialect, although they call you tories or devils a thousand times, (as Luther is said to do of Calvin,) and design, whenever they have power, to deal with you as tories, rogues, and outlaws; yet let us not fear, but stand our ground. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit*; the Most High will stand by us, who is the great supporter of his vicegerents here on earth that govern by him and for him; and question not but Charles the Second will (in spite of his enemies) be Charles the Great; he knows well, both *Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*, and from whom we have the greatest assurances possible of all that may satisfy all honest, religious, loyal hearts. And, alas! if we should be so infatuated as to question his royal word, (contrary to our duty that God hath layed on us,) whom must we trust? A fellow-subject against his prince, a rebel, an usurper, a tyrant? Yea, this certainly will be our lot, if we will not confide in so gracious a prince, who is even such in the judgment of his very enemies. Let us go on courageously in the name of God, and not fear to hazard our lives and fortunes, when our prince's and the church's safety call for it. *Audentes fortuna juvat*. And let us be sober and wise, and not betray so good a cause as this, either by our carelessness or indifferency, or our intemperance and debauchery, or by want of valour. Shall the enemies of truth and peace, the industrious servants, or rather slaves of the prince of darkness, be more sedulous, serious, and courageous in their wicked and disloyal attempts than we in this cause of God, and the king and the church? Yea, they in ruining and destroying all, than we in saving all; and certainly it would be a very strange revolution, and contrary to all the usual methods of divine Providence, if God should permit, twice in one age, such abominable wickedness to become successful among us, as to the overthrow of monarchy and this excellently well reformed church of England, and thereby the overthrow of all the protestant churches abroad; and if ever (to prevent the said mischief) we should come to this desperate shift, that either we must admit of anarchy or tyranny, let us wisely

consider things, and as of two evils the least is always to be chosen, so, by the universal consent of mankind, tyranny hath been accounted a lesser evil than anarchy, according to that usual maxim, that it is better and safer to live in that place or kingdom where almost every thing we do is unlawful, than where every thing is lawful. And, in conclusion, if we must be destroyed and perish, it better agrees, especially with all generous and noble souls, to be at last devoured by a lion, than to be destroyed by vermin; but, however, from both such evils and plagues let us heartily pray, "Good Lord deliver us."

But to avoid, if it be possible, the said great mischiefs and dangers, let us all in this nation be very careful in our next choice of parliament men, whenever his majesty shall think fit to call together that great and honourable assembly, to choose men of honesty and integrity, of religious, honest, and sound principles of the church of England; and to have a care of all such persons, that, notwithstanding their profession of being sons of the church of England, are strangely wheedled away with plausible pretences by the dishonest subtilty of the phanaticks, or such others whose minds are dis-tempered by prejudices, animosities, discontents, and distates against the government or governors; for men of the greatest abilities of mind and understanding, if they have not a principle of honesty and integrity and sound religion, or suffer their minds to be possessed with passion and prejudice, although otherwise wise and prudent, they cease then to be such, and therefore are useless and unfit to be trusted in the grand affairs of the kingdom, for *perit judicium cum res transit in affectum*; for it mainly concerns us (as a late parliament observed) to have a wise and good parliament, for it is only a parliament can undo us, if not such as it ought to be. And, indeed, if we send such men, that lie under such prejudices and discontents, or not of honest and sound principles, we do but cut our own throats; and it is but openly to do what the papists once did in secret, send barrels of gun-powder and lighted matches to the parliament house, which, once meeting together, will certainly blow up, not only the king and the two houses of parliament, but the whole kingdom also, from which great plague let us pray, "Good Lord deliver us."

How sad and deplorable is the condition of Christendom at present! how little do we consider our Christianity, and that the great end of our blessed Saviour's coming into the world was to make us all the sincere and faithful servants of God, and to publish a gospel of peace, to break down the partition wall between Jew and Gentile, to make all the world one family, to live in love and unity together, to constitute one pure church unto himself; therefore they must be the disciples of the prince of darkness, not of Christ, whose very principles and practices, their designs and vigorous endeavours, are for breaking this union, and for not healing the rents and breaches of the Christian part of the world. Now as to the present state of Christendom in general, it must needs be granted, that there is so much pride, superstition, such corrupting or defacing of the pure Christian doctrine, and such abominable corruption in worship and in practice, and so great uncharitableness among the Romanists on the one hand, and so much of pride and peevishness, passion, errors, schisms, divisions, animosities, hatred, and variance among protestants, especially among very many of them that pretend to that name, and such imprudent, furious opposition and uncharitableness by many of them against the Romanists on the other hand, which, together with the general scandalous lives of Christians of all sorts,—all which, being so diametrically opposite and contrary to our Christianity, and to the great design of the holy religion of the ever blessed Jesus, that it may very well be put to the question, whether we are at all Christians in Christendom? So that it may be justly feared, that if our Lord and Master Christ were now in the world, it would be a great question whether he would find faith on earth, and whether he would not disown the Christian part of the world as no Christians, except here and there scattered a few faithful de-

spised servants of his. I could very willingly be more favourable to these last and worst times of Christianity we live in, than to compare the present state thereof with the condition of the world in Noah's time; yet I cannot but much fear it may be truly said of us—"And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was evil continually—And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon earth."—Gen. xvi. 5, 6—13. I pray God preserve us (I mean Christendom) from what God there threatens, and that we be not swallowed up by an inundation of Mahometanism at last. But, as for us in this island, there will be no need to fear that inundation, for there is no need of the help of Turks or Infidels, or any other adversaries, to destroy those that are resolved to be their own assassins and destroy themselves.

Some short Reflections on some Passages in a late Pamphlet, called the Character of a Popish Successor; and Considerations thereupon.

Books and discourses, when they have not good and sound reasons to back them, are a sufficient confutation to themselves in the judgment of the wise and judicious, but are not so to others.

I shall, with the author, grant the consequences of a popish successor to be bad enough; but that a popish successor should destroy us all presently, make us absolute slaves, and persecute us with fire and faggot, these are rhodomantadoes and vain flourishes, and contrary to our own experience this day in France, where the famous gentleman, (as the author calls him,) who wants not power to work his will, and where the papists are the greater number, yet we know useth no such rigor of fire and faggot; yea, although when they have been in rebellion against him, or his predecessor, but gives them their lives, liberties, and estates, together with the public exercise of their religion, till of late he hath demolished some of their churches, and put greater restraints upon them; for he chuses rather to be a king of protestant subjects, than a *Roy de Ivoit*, although I conceive he would be very glad that they would be all of his religion.

I cannot conceive what the author's drift and end in his book is, except it be to set before our eyes a temptation to sin and wickedness, by injustice and rebellion, to save ourselves harmless. And if so, I may well say unto him, Avoid, Satan! thou amusest me with dreams and imaginations of strange and future contingencies, which God hath never revealed to thee shall come to pass. But, granting the worst, that as things may fall out, there may be a possibility that I and other good protestants may expect to suffer for our religion, it behoves me therefore, and all good Christians, good protestants, I think, to fit ourselves for suffering when it threatens us but at a great distance; far be it from me, that in the prospect of suffering, or martyrdom, I should dare to venture upon sin, to violate God's law to save myself. I must be just and loyal, not perjure myself; I will endeavour to honour my Lord and Master Christ and his holy religion by humble and peaceable subjection to what God in his all-wise providence pleaseth to lay upon me, never to save my skin, damn my soul. Let others resist lawful authority and rebel, and so become the devil's martyrs; I will endeavour,

by God's assistance, to keep a good conscience, whatever I may suffer. And let our bold and confident men beware; for God Almighty, who hath a care of all things, (as the excellent Grotius observes,) but not equally, because they are not equal; and that, according to the several degrees of things, there be degrees of Providence, he governs with a more careful hand the affairs of men than of inferior creatures; and, among all mankind, he hath a nearer inspection over kings, and other rulers of the nations, who are as it were earthly stars.

As for this author, is he not one of those that design to set the kingdom in a flame, that he may warm his fingers at the fire? But let him take heed; he may possibly be consumed himself in the flames he raiseth.

As for the D., his just and undoubted right to the crown, if he survives his brother, by the laws of God and nature, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, none can deny. And our Magna Charta provides, that no freeman shall be disseised of his freehold but by his inheritance, or forejudged of life or limb but by legal process, the laws of the land, and judgment of his peers; and by another branch, that the king's rights and privileges shall be preserved and untouched; one of the chiefest, and upon which all the rest depend, as on a corner stone, is the hereditariness of the monarchy. Nor does the king alone, in this particular, lie under the obligation of oaths; the lords and commons have not only bound themselves by act of parliament, 10. Jac. cap. 1. to defend the true and lawful heirs of the king, acknowledged the undoubted successors, with their lives and fortunes to the world's end, but do also swear, as often as they meet or take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to defend all the privileges, rights, and preeminences of the crown (under which none can imagine, but descent in the right line is included) against all pretenders whatsoever.

But, I humbly conceive, it will well become us in this nation, seriously to consider what hath been instrumental in bringing us under these sad threatening circumstances? Was it not our rebellion and wickedness that first dethroned, and then afterwards murdered, Charles the First, of blessed memory?—and that under pretence of securing the protestant religion against popery, and for the protection of the godly party? And then also banished the royal family, and forced them to seek their bread among strangers, yea, among papists? And, by these barbarous proceedings, did we not lay them open to all the solicitations and temptations in the world, if it were possible, to alter their religion?

Now what antipathy and averseness must needs such principles and horrid practices of injustice, sedition, rebellion, war, and blood, owned and avowed by so many pretending themselves protestants, work in the heart of a suffering prince, as would alienate any good and honest heart in the world from such a religion, owning and countenancing such barbarous actions? Although I must confess there is a very great mistake in it to charge protestants, the true sons of the church of England, with any such principles or practices, which they abominate and detest, which I would therefore, in all humility upon my knees, tender to the consideration of his R. H.

And now, if the D. be what the general surmise is, may I not justly retort the great argument made use of by the author? Those who warped the D. crooked, now would break him in pieces because he is not streight. And I cannot conceive why those persons, who manifest by their daily conversations to have no religion at all, should be so offended with popery, Mahumetanism, or heathenism, or any religion at all whatever, for what religion can hurt them? Or why our disaffected and fanaticks should so much dread suffering and martyrdom, when they are so ready to prevent it, and to buy it off by sin and wickedness, by injustice, disloyalty, perjury, and rebellion: for if they be but true to their own principles of self-preservation, and that they may do evil to save themselves, doubtless this principle will preserve them safe, let either popery or Mahumetanism, or any religion in the world, come in upon us; and I dare en-

gage myself, my life for theirs, they need never fear martyrdom ; for a single compliance will at any time, without question, keep them safe.

There are great mistakes and falsities in the author ; as that above one hundred thousand persons were slain at one riotous festival ; that no people in Q. Mary's days, in her whole reign, felt so signal marks of her vengeance as those very men that raised her to her throne. But although the papists have been bad enough, yet the protestant religion is so honest and innocent as it cannot but blush at the falsities and lies, although affirmed in her defence, for she hates to wrong or injure the worst of her enemies, yea, even the worst of creatures, even the devil himself : she abhors to benefit and advantage herself by lies and slanders. There are many also of most seditious tenets and positions in our author ; the very printing and publishing them excites to what the author seemingly condemns. And what a gross contradiction he is guilty of, so highly to applaud his majesty's royal father, and yet vilify his children ; and also to assert those very principles and practices which dethroned him, and, after, cut off his head.

As for the acts of parliament mentioned by the author, we must consider, I humbly conceive, not only what hath been done, and to infer we may do the like, but are principally to consider what foundations they had of justice and right, and what most of them came to in conclusion. The author intimates, that such acts can make those legitimate that are not, &c., which is worthy of observation in reference to D. M.

It must be granted, that by those statutes white was made black, and then presently after black was made white again ; but doubtless those colours never altered : for this is certain, things that are truly and essentially good or evil, just or unjust, true or false, cannot be ever altered from what they truly are, and will no more stoop and bend to acts of parliament, than the sun in its course. And it is as apparent that the attempts of the papacy to dispense with the divine laws, and making evil good, and good evil, hath laid an eternal blemish upon them.

Now, as a late author hath it, either the statutes of K. Henry VIII, about succession, were obligatory and valid in law, or they were not ; if not, then acts of parliament, contrary to the right of succession, are, without any more ado, null and void in law ; if they were, by what authority was the house of Suffolk excluded ? or King James admitted to the crown, contrary to so many statutes enacted against him ? Or how can we justify our predecessors from manifest perjury, who solemnly swore to maintain those statutes, unless we conclude they were illegal and void from the beginning, as being notoriously repugnant to all laws, both divine and humane, and consequently not fit to be observed, because *Quod male juratur, pejus servatur* ?

Therefore it is a very gross mistake to imagine that such noble and worthy persons, both of the clergy and laity, as have lately disowned and rejected the disinheritance of the D. are any whit warping towards popery, as some would falsely and wickedly misrepresent them to the world, but firmly adhere to the protestant church of England, as it is now by law established ; but it is the injustice and unreasonableness of the thing, which no honest heart can in conscience consent to, and which will bring a further great blemish and stain to the protestant profession. For the Christian, the protestant religion is too honest to countenance, and too excellent to need unjust and wicked actions to support its interest. For, as the said late author further speaks, no reason of state can be useful to the public, or justify any actions contrary to the laws of God and nations. And King James, in his answer to Cardinal Peron, speaks thus : " A breach made by one mischief must not be filled up by a greater inconvenience ; an error must not be shocked and shouldered with disloyalty, nor heresy with perjury, nor impiety with rebellion against God and the king. God used to try and to school his church, and will never forsake the church ; nor hath need to protect his church by any proditorious practices of perfidious Christians."

I cannot but stand amazed, therefore, at the late actions of men of reputed prudence and wisdom in these nations; but I humbly conceive they arose from these two roots or causes: First, from bad and erroneous principles, begot and cherished in the late times of tyranny and usurpation, (for, as Sir Edwin Sands well observes, a sweet mind and pure conversation be the natural fruits of a second belief and perswasion). Secondly, from the pride, passions, and lusts of men; for, as the worthy Dean of Canterbury observes, passions of wrath, malice, envy, and revenge do darken and distort the understandings of men, do tincture the mind with false colours, and fill it with prejudice, and undue apprehensions of things.

And, assuredly, did subjects but wisely and truly consider things, they would not only abhor and detest all sedition and rebellion, but all lesser degrees of disloyalty, viz. all slightings and contempt of their lawful prince and governor, knowing that as such lesser disloyalties lead, and have a tendency to the greater, and that such actions weaken his hands, and thereby the public peace and government, and are directly opposite to the interest, safety, and happiness of the people, and that every attempt upon their prince is but an attempt against themselves: And therefore I humbly conceive, whatever actions of this nature and kind appear at any time in the great councils of the kingdom must needs be most fatal and pernicious, and will in time render those excellent constitutions contemptible and useless also, as to those good ends for which they were appointed; for we may have frequent parliaments, and for some continuance of time also, and yet the nation never the better for them, if animosities and discontents, and fears and jealousies prevail among them, and religion and loyalty be the object of their contempt. It is therefore one of the greatest paradoxes and absurdities that ever was heard of in the world, for such persons to be accounted and esteemed the good and useful patriots of their country, who shew themselves disloyal and insolent against their prince; or to think that those can ever be friends to religion and the church who are secret enemies at least to the present ecclesiastical constitution and government, and the governors thereof; and have mean and contemptible thoughts of the clergy, and delight in defaming and reproaching them.

Our author of the *Character of a Popish Successor* goes on:—"How shall we," saith he, "dare to revolt? Remember, we are Christians, &c. We are bound indeed by our oaths of allegiance to a constant loyalty to the king and his lawful successors; very right, we are bound to be his lawful successors loyal subjects, but why his loyal slaves?"

To which I answer: If it be our lot to be under a tyrannical, yet lawful prince, I assert it, that by the Christian law we ought, notwithstanding, to be his loyal, although, as we judge, enslaved subjects; and if we resist, we resist the ordinance of God, and thereby shall purchase to ourselves damnation. And by this wicked, turbulent, and unchristian doctrine asserted by this author, it makes private subjects, as is before mentioned, to judge and determine of the actions of princes, and, at their own will and pleasure, to terminate and put an end to their loyalty and allegiance; which, if once granted, must of necessity subvert and overthrow all government in the world, and will furnish rebellious subjects with pretences for sedition and rebellion whenever any the least opportunity offers itself to them, and, by this means, will turn the world into war, confusion, and blood.

How doth our author bespatter and defile himself in drolling upon primitive Christian Innocence: for his words are these, "But, alas! that bugbear of passive obedience is a notion crept into the world, and most zealously, and perhaps as ignorantly defended." Thus is the suffering of the holy martyrs and confessors, the patience of the saints reproached by this pretended Christian; and the crown taken off the head of the holy Christian religion, and its glory laid in the dust: for this was ever its beauty and glory, that whatsoever the primitive Christians suffered for their religion,

they endured it with infinite meekness and patience, like their Lord and Master ; and, as it is attested in Scripture, refused deliverance by unjust and unlawful means, as by resistance and rebellion, although they had power to accomplish it. But, alas ! how is Christianity reproached also by our late author of Julian, who either makes Christians to be patient and submissive, or else because they know no better. Now certainly (as I humbly conceive) no action can be virtuous or praiseworthy that is not performed freely and voluntarily, and not forced.

Our author further goes on : " There never," saith he, " wanted the authority even of holy writ itself, on all occasions, to vindicate every thing." He speaks true, in that wicked men wrest and torture the sacred scriptures : And, as our late times of usurpation made good his assertions to the full, so our author himself verifies the same ; for when he speaks of Saul and David, and the kings of Israel, " here indeed," saith he, " a passive obedience was due, but what is that to a king of England ?" Was there ever such a sophistical distinction heard of in the world before, against all sound expositors of scripture throughout the world, yea, against common sense ? for I think I may say, in all monarchies, more or less, there are certain rules and bounds to the prince's prerogatives, and the subjects liberties and freedoms, for without it there can be no government or order, but more especially are most excellently well settled in our English monarchy, in which, as all others, there is no such expedient allowed of to cure the faults and misgovernment of a lawful prince by a greater crime of sedition and rebellion ; for doubtless that is but to attempt to cure a lesser evil by committing a greater, and but to skip out of a frying-pan into the fire. And the supreme power must not run in a circle, but be terminated somewhere, and doubtless more safely in a single person, which, if he prove bad, cannot live always, than in many substitutes of the people, which, if they prove tyrannous, have power to perpetuate the slavery of the people to eternity.

That maxim, That the king can do no wrong, (although he calls it specious flattery,) is sound and good ; not but that princes, as men, may err and do amiss, yet ought to be esteemed by us as earthly gods, and that we should always carry ourselves with that loyalty and respect towards them as if they were faultless. Again, the prince may also in a sense be said, that he can do no wrong, because he is subject to no earthly tribunal ; and, doubtless, it is therefore the best and wisest thing for subjects not so much to concern themselves with the faults of him that is above their reach, and only subject to the King of kings, otherwise than by their prayers to God and humble applications to their prince.

Our author affirms, but most untruly, that the original of monarchy was from the choice of the people, when, as the great philosopher Aristotle (as those that converse with his writings testify) calls monarchy the divinest sort of government, and derives the original of that government, not from any arbitrary election or choice of the people, but from the fatherhood, and the natural subjection children owed their parents, which he had, it seems, from his worthy master, divine Plato. He adds also, that all tyrants for the most part are made of the factious ring-leaders of the people, having got credit with the multitude by falsely impeaching and calumniating famous and renowned men.

Now, although it should be granted what our author affirms, that a popish prince, in introducing popery, would be guilty of a greater sin, yet that doubtless can be no licence for us, that are subjects, to commit that lesser sin (as he would make it) of opposing that tyranny by resistance ; and although our religion, lives, and liberties ought to be dear to us, yet not so dear to us as to constrain us to rush into those heinous and crying sins of sedition and rebellion, and so to endanger our more precious souls : for what will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ?

It is observed by the sage Xenophon, in the Life of Cyrus, that all the herds of beasts of all sorts are more willing to obey their pastors than men their magistrates; nay, rather more curst and hurtful are beasts to all others than to their rulers, and thence concludes, that it was more easy for a man to command and govern all living creatures in the world than men.

To which I may add, that government and peace in the world is the most desirable blessing to all; yet, in our times and age, it hath been a business of very great difficulty to magistrates and governors to maintain it and keep it up, in regard of the atheism, irreligion, passion, and lusts of men; for, as it is mentioned by the worthy dean of St Paul's, that Plutarch calls religion a foundation that knits and joyns societies together; and that it is more impossible for a commonwealth either to be formed or subsist without religion, than a city to stand without foundations. And, as the dean of Canterbury aforesaid observes, the principles of irreligion unjoynt the sinews, and blow up the very foundations of government; this turns all the sense of loyalty into folly. There is little need therefore, in our times, of seditious pamphlets to disturb and exasperate the vulgar, and to weaken the hands of our governors; and certainly, whatever is pretended, it is not the religion of God, but the lusts of men, that give trouble to his vicegerents in the world. Our protestant religion therefore, if it be a Christian, I am sure of it, will make us seek peace and pursue it. And sure this author, the devil's casuist, is near of kin to Mariana the jesuit, with whom he concurs in his wicked doctrine and principles.

The tares of seditious and wicked principles, so plentifully sown by the devil and his instruments in our days, what fruit we may shortly expect therefrom (if God in mercy prevent not) I shall leave to all wise and sober persons to consider: not less, doubtless, than great troubles to this nation, if not the utter ruin and overthrow thereof. And that I may not seem to speak my own sense and judgment herein, I shall give you some collections out of a wise and judicious speech delivered in the Star-Chamber by Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight, lord-keeper 10^o. Elizabethæ: his words are these: "It is given to the queen's majesty to understand that certain of her subjects, by their evil dispositions, do sow and spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation and dishonour, first, of Almighty God in the state of religion established by the laws of this realm, and also to the dishonour of her highness— What will become of these unbridled speeches in the end, if reformation be not had thereof? What cometh of factions and seditions we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beseech God long to defend us from. If such disorders be not redressed by law, then must force and violence reform. If force and violence prevail, then ye know that law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should only maintain good order. But if the bringing in of these seditious books make men's minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh seditions, seditions bring in tumults, tumults work insurrections and rebellions, insurrections make depopulations and desolations, and bring in utter ruin and destruction of men's bodies, goods, and lands; and if any sow the seed or root whereof these things come, and yet it can be said that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroy both publick and private weal, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciously. As for extreme and bloody laws, I have never liked of them; but where the execution of such laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the not execution may bring in danger half a hundred, I think this law, nor the execution thereof, may be justly called extreme and bloody. In such-like comparison I may utter my meaning as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. The truth is, to suffer disobedient subjects to take boldness against the laws of God and their prince, to wink

at the obstinate minds of such as be unbridled in their affections to maintain a—power—against the prince's prerogative established by laws, is not this to hatch dissention, and to cherish sedition? If these doings be not means to the disturbance and utter ruin of the realm, I know not what is good governance; if these be not the sparks of rebellion, what be they?" Thus far that wise statesman delivers himself his judgment in the best of times.

To conclude, it is said of wise Cato, that he refused that rhetoricians should plead, for this reason, *Quia orationis facundia facile possunt æqua et iniqua persuadere.* So I could have heartily wished that this my author, which I have mentioned, had either been furnished with a greater stock of honesty and integrity, or else had had less of eloquence and good language, and then he had done less mischief. Farewel.

Cease civil broils, O English subjects cease,
With war and blood stain this fair soil no more;
As God, so kings, must be obey'd with peace.
Be just therefore; to them their rights restore,
Wash with repentance these thine acts before.

SPEED.

Oates's Petition. To the King's most Excellent Majesty, and to the Lords and others of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council.

The days were now past when Oates's credit with the public was so high that "'twas worse than plotting to suspect his plot." The king, profiting by the gradual revulsion of national feeling, deprived him of his guards, (for he had been allowed a body-guard,) his lodgings at Whitehall, and at length reduced his pension to £600 a year. The tory pamphleteers, headed by Sir Roger L'Estrange, the Coryphaeus of their party, now assailed the disgraced evidence with the utmost fury both of raillery and invective; but the monumental brass of Oates was altogether impenetrable. He stood upon his reputation, and demanded from the ministers of Charles the redress and protection due to his immaculate innocence and great public services. Charles II. was contented to treat his remonstrances with silent contempt; but his vindictive successor procured so severe a sentence against him, that he became an object of pity even to those who acknowledged his infamy, being branded and whipped in the most inhuman manner. Nor indeed did the revolution restore him to his original splendour. He had a pension allowed him of £400 a year; but, considering his faculties as an evidence, it was not thought fit to reverse the judgment against him for perjury; he was therefore obliged to be contented with a simple pardon, so that he never recovered his swearing capacity. Indeed the Duke of Leeds, who, while Lord Danby, had reason both to know and fear him, would only consent to reverse the sentence in the sense, that, having been whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, he should be whipped back again from Tyburn to Newgate.

The humble Petition and Complaint of Titus Oates sheweth,

THAT your petitioner, according to his duty and allegiance which he owes, and is always bound to pay to your majesty and the government established by law, did, in

the month of September, in the year 1678, discover a most horrid and hellish popish plot against your majesty and the protestant religion and government, to the amazement of your majesty and the privy-council, as appears by the several proclamations issued out by your majesty's order, with the advice of your most honourable privy-council, which your petitioner is, and will be ready to produce, when thereunto commanded by your majesty.

That your majesty was so highly sensible of the great danger your person was in and your government, by reason of that conspiracy, that you were graciously pleased to proclaim several solemn fasts and days of humiliation, and did will and require your loving subjects to join in hearty prayers and supplications with your majesty unto Almighty God for the blessings of the discovery, and for the farther discovery thereof; and in several of your majesty's most gracious speeches to your houses of parliament, hath been pleased to express, how unsafe your majesty was till the said plot was searched to the bottom.

That several Roman catholick priests and others were apprehended and committed, indicted and convicted, attainted and executed upon your petitioner's evidence, together with the evidence of others, the attainders of which persons remain (as your petitioner believes) upon record.

That (upon the evidence of your petitioner and others) four parliaments declared in their votes, That there was an horrid popish plot for the destruction of your royal person and your government, and the subversion of the protestant religion as by law established.

That Roger L'Estrange, whom your petitioner hears is now a justice of the peace, (though turned out for several misdemeanors in the year 1680,) hath defamed and arraigned the justice of the nation, in ridiculing the said popish plot, and the discovery and discoverers thereof, in certain scandalous and seditious pamphlets of his, called the *Observer*, and in several other pamphlets.

That the said Roger L'Estrange pretends, in some of those seditious and scandalous pamphlets, that he is authorized so to do by one or both of your secretaries.

That the said scandalous and seditious pamphlets appear to countenance popery in your protestant government; and the popish party have been much encouraged by the same to revile and threaten your petitioner, he the said L'Estrange pretending that he had authority for so doing.

That your petitioner hath borne the scandalous reflections and aspersions, upon the account of his discovery of the said plot, from the said L'Estrange, these four years with patience; and had the scandals only touched your petitioner, I would not have complained to your majesty and this honourable board: but since the said L'Estrange scandalously vilifies the said discovery, and calls in question the justice of your government, your petitioner therefore thought fit to apply himself to your majesty and this board, for redress.

The premises considered, your petitioner humbly prays your majesty, and this right honourable board, to relieve your petitioner and his evidence from the seditious calumnies of the said Roger L'Estrange, and not suffer your petitioner to be left to be daily oppressed and destroyed for those services which your majesty, and council, and parliament, and courts of justice are sensible of: And your petitioner shall (as in duty bound) pray for your majesty's health, and long life, and happy reign, &c.

TITUS OATES.

*Oates's Letter : For the Right Honourable Sir Leoline Jenkins, Knight, his Majesty's
Principal Secretary of State, at Whitehall.*

I GAVE your honour last Friday the trouble of a few lines, in which I told you, that I had business of importance with the king and council ; your answer was, That I must apply myself to a justice of peace, or courts of justice : The business I had with the council is a complaint against Roger L'Estrange, Esq. who, in several libels of his called the *Observer*, and other seditious pamphlets, hath (as I humbly conceive) vilified and ridiculed the evidence of the popish plot, and arraigned the proceedings of the government upon the said plot ; and, to give himself a reputation in this his illegal course, he pretends, in one or more of those his said *Observers*, that he hath authority or leave from some of his majesty's ministers for so doing, which I dare not believe. Your honour knows, that his majesty was so sensible of the danger he was in, by reason of that horrid conspiracy, that he did not only recommend the strict examination thereof to his houses of parliament, but also was pleased to acquaint them, how unsafe he was till it was searched to the bottom. Besides this, three fasts were proclaimed, appointed, and kept, which the king himself strictly kept, and commanded all his loving subjects so to do ; several persons have been executed, and several parliaments have voted, That there was an horrid and hellish popish plot : Now, all these things considered, I could never have imagined that any private person could have been so bold with the government, as to use such reflections upon their proceedings, and call in question the veracity of the testimony of that evidence, which was justified by his majesty's council, and the parliament, and the courts of justice. I thought I should never have lived to have seen the day that the plot should be called in question, which the king had owned in his several proclamations ; but since it is so, I must pray your pardon, if I cannot apply myself for redress in that way and method your honour was pleased to order : For I humbly conceive, that it is the government that is abused, and therefore in conscience and honour it is bound to vindicate its proceedings from such aspersions as are cast upon them by the said L'Estrange and his confederates. I would not use any method or way to injure the worst of my enemies, but hope the council will take my hard usage from the said L'Estrange into serious consideration, and cause the said L'Estrange to be silenced, and reparation to be made me. To that end, I have in this sent a petition to the king and council, which I would have presented, if I might have had the liberty to appear at court, in which I pray for redress. I hope God will put it into your hearts to do me right. In the mean time,

Sir, I am

Your honour's humble servant,

Feb. 28, 1683.

TITUS OATES.

My humble request is, that this petition inclosed may be presented to the king in council, so that I may be in some probable way of having redress.

The Coat of Arms of Sir John Presbyter. Printed in the Year 1658, and reprinted 1683.

This squib appeared during the civil war, but, with other tory jests, was reprinted in the latter end of Charles' reign.

HE bears party per pale indented, God's glory, and his own interest; over all honour, profit, pleasure counterchanged; ensigned with a helmet of ignorance, opened with confidence befitting his degree, mantled with gules and tyranny, doubled with hypocrisy over a wreath of pride and covetousness; for his crest a sinister hand, holding up a solemn league and covenant, reversed and torn; in a scroll, underneath the shield, these words for his motto, *Aut hoc aut nihil*.

This coat armour is dupalled with another of four pieces, signifying thereby his four matches.

The first is of the family of Amsterdam; she bears, for her arms, in a field of toleration, three Jews heads proper, with as many blue caps on them.

The second is of the house of Geneva; she bears, for her arms, in a field of separation, marginal notes on the Bible false quoted.

The third is of the country of New-England; she bears, for her arms, a prick-eared preachman, preached upon a pulpit proper, holding forth to the people a schismatical directory.

The fourth and last is Scotland; she bears in escutcheon the field of rebellion, charged with a stool of repentance.

The Nation's Address to the Committee of Grievances in Parliament, for the taking off the Corporation Oath, in Behalf of all the Cities, Towns Corporate, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burghesses; as also of Sheriffs, Lord-lieutenants, and Deputy-lieutenants of Counties, Ministers, and all others concerned for the Repealing those Acts, which impose the Oath following.

THE OATH.

I, A. B. do swear, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king. And that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking up arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions. And that I will not, at any time, endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state.