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The Jesuit Uncas'd,

IN A

DIALOGUE

Betwixt

RICHARD

AND

BAXTER,

With a

MODERATOR

Between Them,

For QUIETNESSE Sake.

By Roger L'Estrange.

The Second Edition.

LONDON,

Printed for H. Brome at the Signe of the Gun
in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1680.

THE JOURNAL OF THE

IN A

DICTIONARY

OF

THE

ARTS

AND

MANUFACTURES

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND

BY

JOHN

SMITH

LONDON

Printed and Sold by J. Smith, in Strand, near St. Dunstons Church, in the Year 1791.

1

THE
P R E F A C E.

Lest the Title of this Book should betray any man into the Reading of it, upon an Expectation of Farce, and Fooling; This is (in Limine) to give Notice, that it will be just so much Time and Money cast away, as shall be laid out upon it, in That Consideration. Not but that This Subject might do well enough in a Comical Dresse; but however, out of a Respect, partly to the Person, and partly to the Calling of Mr. Baxter, I have overcome the Temptation, of giving either the Reader, or my Self that sort of Diversion. And to say the Truth; It is not a Laughing matter, the spectacle of a man Labouring under Contradictions, and Inconsistencies with himself. But if Richard will be Quarrelling with Baxter, and Baxter stand pointing at Richard; and be still giving it out, like Gladiators, in their Printed Bills, that upon such a day, At the Three Cocks at the West End of St. Pauls, or at the Princes Arms in Ludgate-street, there will be plaid a Tryall of Skill betwixt Richard and Baxter, at such and such Questions, and Weapons; Who (I say) can help it? For there is no Enmity, so Mortall, as when a man falls out with himself.

But what? (You'le say) If a body happens to tread upon his own Toes, must every false step that he makes be presently exposed to the Publique? No, not in any wise, unlesse where the Vindication of the Publique sh^d make it Absolutely Necessary. As for Instance; I can hardly call to mind any one piece of Mr. Baxters, without some bitter passage or other in it, of derision upon the Government, or the Rites of the Church. What can be more Reasonable now, then to confront him with Himself: and to oppose Mr. Baxter the Divine, to Mr. Baxter the Polititian; the man of Love, Order, and Truth, to the man of Wrath, Confusion and Paradox? When I see him sporting himself in his Altitudes upon the Text of his OWN, and the Presbyterians Loyalty; with his wonted declamatory Reproaches

upon the Manners, as well as the Services of the Royal Party. What can I do better, then to face him with the Acts of the Assembly, and the Proceedings of the Two Houses, to the Contrary? And to produce his own Act and Deed in evidence against his Profession? On the One hand, you have Mr. Baxter valuing himself upon his Principles of Loyalty, and Obedience; And on the Other hand, you have the very same Mr. Baxter, (according to the Outward Man) not only pleading the Cause, but Celebrating the Justice, and Canonizing (as in his Saints Rest, Pa. 101. of the Old Edition) the Prime Directors and Instruments of The Late Rebellion: Asserting the very Doctrine of Those Positions, whereupon it was founded. When Mr. Baxter Sets up for a Toleration; what can be fairer then to shew him his own Arguments against it? Or to ask him, how HE, (a kinde of Heteroclite in his opinions,) that has Chalk'd out so singular a Plat-Form of Church-Regiment to himself, comes now to be a Common Advocate for all the Dissenting Parties? Take him in One Mood, (as in his Five Disputations, and elsewhere) and he tells ye, that a Diocesan Prelacy is plainly Antichristian, and Intolerable. And yet in his Non-Conformists Plea, and other parts of his Writings, he tells ye again, that the Nonconformists would have submitted to it. Now if the Constitution was so Abominable, why should they submit to it? And if it was not so, why does Mr. Baxter say that it was? And why does he still persist, in Debauching and Alienating the hearts of the People from their Rulers, in matters which he himself acknowledges to be Warrantable, and Established by Law? And so for our Liturgy and Ceremonies, he's at the same Variance with himself, about the Lawfulness, or Unlawfulness of Those Points also.

Now since Mr. Baxter has been pleased to take upon himself, the Patronage of the Non-Conformists Cause, and to put forth his Plea, and his Plea again for That Interest; what can be more Obliging then to take him at his word, and consider him under the Publick Character of Their Representative? At This Rate, Mr. Baxters Works will be as good as a Non-conformists Dictionary to us: and assist the World toward the Understanding of the Holy Dialect, in a Wonderful manner. For the Purity of the Gospell; the ways of Christ: the Ordinances of the Lord; the Power of Godlynesse; the Foundations of Faith; the Holy Discipline: A Blessed Reformation, &c. These are Words, and Expressions, that signify quite another thing to Them, then they do to Us. Faithful Pastors; Laborious Ministers; Heavenly Guides; Zealous Protestants;

The

The Upright in the Land : Humble Petitioners ; Just Priviledges ; Higher Powers ; Glorious Kings ; Holy Covenanting unto the Lord, &c. *This is not to be taken now, as the Language Cnrrant of the Nation, but only as a Privy Cypher of Intelligence betwixt Themselves, and the Cant, or Jargon of the Party. Nay, they fly from us in their Speech; their Manners, their Meaning, as well as in their Profession. The very Christ-Crosse in the Horn-Book is as much a Scandal to them, as the Crosse in Baptisme ; and they make it a point of Honour to maintain the Freedome of their Own Tongue, in token, that they are not as yet a Conquer'd Nation.*

But are the Non-conformists agreed upon it, or not ; that Mr. Baxter shall be their Speaker ; and that what he delivers in Their Name, shall be taken and deemed as the sense of the Party ? If it be so ; we have no more to do then to Consult Mr. Baxter himself, and from his own Writings, (which I have here Cited, and Apply'd, with exact Faith, and Justice) to take our Measures of the Dissenting Brethren.

No man presses Obedience to the HIGHER POWERS, more Imperiously then He does : But then he makes Those Higher Powers to be still the Usurpers, one after another, as they get into ACTUAL POSSESSION. [Prove (says he) in the Preface to his Holy Common-Wealth) that the KING was the HIGHEST POWER, in the time of Division,—and I will offer my Head to Justice, as a Rebell.] His meaning must Inevitably be This ; Either that the King had no Right to the Crown before the Divisions, or that he forfeited his Title, by the Rebellion ; which is an Admirable way of Transition, from rank Treason, to Lawfull Authority. But in all These Cases , he has still a Recourse for a Salvo to his Box of Distinctions : and tells ye, that they shot at CHARLES STUART in the Field, for the Honour and Safety of the KING in the Two Houses. And then , Good Lord! How he runs himself out of Breath with Detesting, and Renouncing, and Renouncing, and Detesting KING-KILLING! And yet upon Occasion when Oliver the King-killer falls in his Way ; How does he lay himself out in Euloyges, upon the PIOUS Defunct ! Praying, (as the highest Instance of the Veneration he had for That Usurper) that the Spirit of the Father might descend upon the Son. [We pray (says he to Richard) that you may INHERIT a tender care of the Cause of Christ] Key for Catholics, Ep. Ded. But then in another Fit, he shall advance ye into his

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his Politicks, with a Troop of Aphorismes; Lay Principalities and Powers Levell with the Ground, and tear up the very Ordinance it self of Government by the Roots. [If Providence (Says he) *STATEDLY*, disable him that was the Governour &c.] Ho. Com. Thef. 136.

[And yet he does not down-Right avow the Doctrine of King-Killing; He does indeed approve of giving Battle to the Kings WILL; but whether to aym at it, in his Maiestys HEAD, or in his HEART, is not, as yet, *STATEDLY* determin'd. Now to moderate the matter, The Presbyterians only cut off his Majestys Hands, and Feet, so that he could neither Help nor Shift for himself, and then gave him (Sold him I should say) to the Independents, Who cut off his Head. If Mr. Baxter speaks the Sence of the Non-Conformists, as he pretends to do, then must This serve for an Exposition of their Loyalty; But if not; Why does not the Party either disown or take away his Commission?

This is it, which the Restlesse, and Implacable Adversaries of our Common Repose, make such a noyse in the World with, as the work of the spirit of Persecution; the Enflaming of Differences; the Widening of Breaches; and the Violation of the Act of Oblivion. Whereas, in Truth, there's nothing in it of a Spiteful Invective, but on the other side, it is only a playn, and a necessary defence.

Mr. Baxter, in his Non-Conformists Pleas, delivers (in his way) a kind of Deduction of the War. Particularly, under the Head of [Matters of Fact to be fore-known, to the True Understanding of the Cause.] 2d Part. Pag. 120. In This Chapter, from the Question of the Constitution of Churches; the Powers of Princes, and Pastors in Ecclesiastical Matters, and Cases of Lawful Separation; he makes a Sally, without any manner of Connexion, or Provocation, into the State and Right of the War. Pa. 123. He charges it upon a Faction among the Bishops, and the falling in of the Majority of the Parliaments, to the Popular part of them; in That division: which is a Calumny, as remote from the Subject of his Discourse as it is from Truth. If it had been as he woud have it; how comes the whole Order of Bishops to be Assaulted? Their Persons Affronted; and their Votes in Parliament taken away; without distinction? Was the Feud so deadly, as to make them destroy Themselves; and Ruine the whole Hierarchy in Revenge? How came it to pass, that Bishop Hall, a Person Celebrated even by Mr. Baxter himself for his Piety and Moderation: How came This Reverend

reverend Prelate I say, to be so Courstly handled by the Corporation of the Smectymnuans, Marshall, Calamy, Young, Newcomen, and spurstow: and Treated by Five of the most Eminent men of the Party, with Scurrilitys siter for the Priests of Priapus, then the Ministers of the Gospell. Pa. 124. He goes on with his Remarks upon Bishop Laud, over and over. The Book of Sports, on the Lords day, the busines of [Altars, Rayls, and Bowing towards them. Afternoon-Sermons and Lectures put down; Imprisonments, Stigmatisings, Removals, &c.] And then Pa. 125. He proceeds to [the new Liturgy Imposed on the Scots, &c.] But says he, (a little below) we are Unwilling to be the Mentioners of any More then Concerneth our Present Cause, and the Things are Commonly known.] Which is such a way of Mentioning no more, as gives to understand without speaking, all the Ill Imaginable that was Left unsaid.

Methinks Mr. Baxter might have let This most Reverend, Pious, Loyal and ANTIPAPAL Arch-Bishop have slept quietly in his Grave, and out of pure Gratitude to our Present Sovereign, to whose Mercy this very Gentleman owes his Life, setting aside the Veneration that belongs to Majesty, and Truth; Methinks Mr. Baxter might have spared this Libell, under the Government of the Son, against the Administrations of the Father. But it is no new thing, for Criminals to Arraign Innocents; or for Those that are Pardon'd for Subverting the Government, to shoot their Arrows (even bitter Words) against Those that have been Persecuted and Murder'd for Endeavouring to defend it.

And now after all These Imputations upon the King, the Church, and the Loyall Party, even to the Degree of making them Answerable for all the Blood that has been spilt: We must not so much as presume to say that we are Innocent. But every Vindication of the King, the Church, and the Law from the Insults of the Common Enemy, is exclaimed against as an Inrode upon the Act of Indemnity. If Mr. Baxter will needs be laying the Rebellion at the wrong door, and Discharging the Presbyterians: Why may not any Honest man Reply upon him; and say, (in agreement with Mr. Baxter himself, Non-Conformists Plea, I. Part. Pa. 127. that it was the Solemn League and Covenant that did the work: Which Solemn League was not only an Expresse Oath of Allegiance to Presbytery, but to the most Tyrannical of all Presbyteries, That of the Scottish Kirk it self. But why do I call it an Oath of Allegiance to Presbytery? When it was in Truth, a direct Conjuraction against the Government, both Ecclesiastical, and Civil, for the Introducing of it?

It;

It would be Tedious, and Superfluous, to Crowd all the Particulars of This Pamphlet into a Preface ; so that I shall rather refer the Reader, to the Book, for the rest ; where he may compare Mr. Baxter with himself : for it is, Effectually, but an Abstract out of Mr. Baxter's Writings. By the Paradoxes, Disagreements, and Contradictions he will be able to Judge of the Authour ; and by the Authour, in a great Measure of the Party. He that would see them drawn more to the Life, may repair to the Original of our Saviours for the Pharisees, in the Gospel. Examin them Narrowly and you shall not find so much as the semblance of a Colourable Argument ; but they are still changing their Battery, and Pretense, according to the various Accidents, and dispositions of State : and it is but tracing the History of the Late times to find every Round of the Ladder, that advanc'd them from Petitioners to Rulers. They Plead the Cause of Thousands in the Land, they tell us, and yet there's not a Single man in all Those Thousands, that understands one bit of the Controversy. They cry aloud against Idolatry, Superstition, Abominations, Symbolical Ceremonies, Will-Worship, Humane Inventions, and Order their Disciples just as they do their Children : They dresse up a Terrible thing of Clouts, and call it a Bull-begger, which is no other then a Mormo of their own Creating. They have a certain Routin of Words, and Sayings, that have the tone of Magique in the very Sound of them, and serve only (without any other Meaning) like the Drum, and the Trumpet, to rouse up the Multitude to Battle. But the Lords Ordinance, and the Primitive Pattern stand them in Mighty stead. For though they have been Foyld as often as Encountred upon This Question ; yet the very Terms of the Controversy being as good as Syriack, to the Common people ; there is a Mist cast before their Eyes, and they are never in so good tune, to see Visions as when they are stark blind.

To Conclude, I have expos'd these Sheets to the Publick, rather as Mr. Baxters work, then my own. If it runs heavy, it was none of my Fault that my Authour would not mend his Pace. Nor have I any more to say upon the whole matter, but that I have been as fair to Mr. Baxter, as He hath been to Himself.

A DIALOGUE, &c.

Moderator. Richard and Baxter.

Moderator. **Y**Es, yes. I remember the Conference at the *savoy* perfectly well; by This Token, that *Dr. Gunning* and *Dr. Pearson* (the Bishops of *Ely* and *Chester*) deliver'd you this very Proposition.

That Command which Commandeth an Act in it self Lawfull, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoyed, nor any Circumstance whence directly, or per accidens, any Sin is Consequent which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the Lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act per accidens Unlawfull; nor of Commanding an Act under an Unjust Penalty. [B. of Worcesters Letter, in his Vindication against M. Baxter. P. 36.]

The Proposition at the *Savoy* about the command of lawful Superiours.

Ri. Very Good; and I gave them under my hand my Opinion to the Contrary. [Because (said I) the first Act commanded may be per accidens Unlawful, and be Commanded by an Unjust Penalty; tho' no other Act or Circumstance Commanded be such.] Ibid. Pa. 36.

Richards Resolution under his hand.

Ba. Nay hold you Brother, I'm of another Opinion. [If the thing Commanded be such as is simply Ill, and forbidden us by God in all Cases whatsoever, then no ones Commands can make it Lawfull: But if it be a thing that is only Inconvenient, or Unlawful by some Lesser accident; then the Command of Authority may pre-ponderate, as a more weighty Accident.]

Many Com-
mands unlaw-
ful which the
subject ought
yet to obey.

R. B's Church-Divisions, P. 194. Nay [Many a Ruler sinneth in his Commands, when it is no Sin, but a Duty of the Inferior to Obey them. As if a Magistrate Command Religious-Duties in meer Policy : or if he force a Lawful Command with Unlawful Penalties ; and Yet it will be the Subjects Duty to Obey.] *Ibid.* [Nor is any Ruler bound to suspect, and prevent such Unusual Dangers of mens Sin, or Ruine, as fall out beyond all Rational Foresight, or Expectation ; of whose Probable Event (or Possible at least), there was no just Evidence.] *R. B's Non-Conformists Judgment. P. 60.*

Magistracy
cut off at a
blow.

Mo. Your Argument (Mr. Richard) has cut off all Magistracy at a Blow : For there is not any Command Imaginable that falls not within the Reach of your Exception. And Mr. Baxter is in the Right on't. But what do ye think now (Gentlemen) of the Operation, or further Extent of such a Power ?

The Civil
Power must
not make
Laws about
Gods Worship.

Ri. If you mean as to matters concerning Religion [No man hath any Authority to make Laws about Gods Worship, but what Christ hath given him.] *Non-Conformists Plea 2d Part. P. 28.*

But Baxter
says, that
Circa Sacra
he may :

Ba. Pray'e hold me a little Excus'd There too ; for [we renounce the Opinion of them that hold that *Circa Sacra* the King hath no Power to Command the Circumstances of Worship.] *Non-Conformists Plea. Part 2d. P. 73.*

Richard and
Baxter still at
variance.

Mo. There is but a Right and a Wrong in the case (my Masters) and you have hit them both again, I make no doubt on't, but your *Circa Sacra* comprehends *Liturgies, Ceremonies,* and other Circumstances of Order, relating to the Church, pray'e tell me how your Consciences stand affected that way : Not as to the Merits of the Cause (for the world is allready clogg'd with That Controversy) but I would willingly know what thoughts, You, and the Party you plead for, entertain of our Ecclesiastical matters.

Ri.

Ri. [When the King call'd us to signify our desires in 1660. the Ministers of London were commonly invited to come to Sion College, that their Common Consent might be known: And There we agreed, to desire or offer nothing for Church-Government but A.B. Ushers Modell of the Primitive Episcopal Government. When his Majesty would not grant us That Modell, nor the Bishops once Treat about it, he was pleased in his Grations Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs to offer and prescribe the Episcopacy of England as it stood, with little alteration, &c. (A Government (says his Majesty) Fol. 10. Which is established by Law, and with which the Monarchy hath flourished through so many Ages, and which is in truth as ancient in this Island as the Christian Monarchy thereof.) [This Declaration we Joyfully and thankfully accepted, as a hopefull means of a Common Conformity and Concord.] Non-Con's Plea, 2d. Part Pref.

Richard, Account of the Savoy-Conference.

Ushers Primitive Episcopacy offer'd, but rejected.

The English Episcopacy submitted to by Richard, &c

Ba. [The English Prelacy (I tell you) is the product of proud Ambition and Arrogancy; and contrary to the expresse Command of Christ.] R. B's. Five Disputations P. 45. Bishops are Thorns and Thistles, and the Military Instruments of the Devil.] R. B's. Concord. P. 122. How could you Justify then a Submission to such a Prelacy?

But held Antichristian and Diabolical by Baxter;

Mo. If an Angel from Heaven I perceive were employ'd to bring you two to an Agreement, he should lose his Labour; For That which is highly acceptable to the One, and the hopefull Foundation of a Common Concord, is Antichristian, Diabolical, and Unsufferable to the Other.

Richard and Baxter never to be reconcil'd.

You are up (I find) at every Turn with the Primates Project, and in such a manner too, as if the most reasonable thing in the World had been offer'd on the One side: and refused on the Other: Whereat That Proposition was only accommodated to the hard Circumstances of the Kings Affairs, at the time of Framing it. Now tho' any man, in a case of Extremity, would submit to the losse of an Arm or a Leg, for the saving of his Life; it would yet be a very strange request

The Ground of A.B. Ushers Project of Episcopacy.

quest to ask a man in a state of Freedom, and Safety, to part with a Leg or an Arm from his Body: And as wild a thing, on the other side, to Grant it. But the very offer at it under a pretense of *Conscience*, was highly disingenuous, especially when upon the Issue the *Scruple* was remov'd by the *Refusal*; and This Satisfaction given to the world, by your own Acknowledgment, that *Conformity* and *Episcopacy* may stand well enough together, when you please.

Many would have yielded to *Prelacy*, &c

Ri. *I cannot deny but that* [*many proposed to have yielded to Prelacy, Liturgy, and Ceremonies.*] Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 136.

The *Diocesan Episcopacy* gratifies the Devil, says *Baxter*, and not to be re-admitted.

Ba. Why truly [a Certain Episcopacy may be yielded to, for the Peace (if not for the Right Order) of the Church;] [But the *Diocesan Episcopacy* which was lately in *England*, and is now laid by may not be lawfully reassumed, or readmitted, as a means for the Right Order or Peace of the Church.] *R.B's. Five Disputation*, P. 2. 1659. [A Government which gratifyeth the Devil, and wicked men.] *Ibid.* P. 36.

R, and B. still Clashing.

Mo. Still upon the *Contradiction*. But if they were so well dispos'd to come In, what was it I beseech you that put them off again?

The New Uniformity spoil'd all.

Ri. *When they saw the New Act for Uniformity, their Deliberations were at an End.* *Ibid.* P. 26.

Prelacy Unlawful in it self says *Baxter*.

Ba. [After proving Prelacy to be against the Will of Christ, and the Wellfare of the Churches, *Five Disp. Pref.* 16. and contrary to the word of God, and Apostolical Institution, *Ibid.* P. 51. what need was there then of any further Dissuasion?]

Why not Prelacy as lawful after the Act, as before?

Mo. Pray'e tell me Mr. *Richard*; Was Prelacy Lawfull Before the Act for Uniformity, and not After? You are Angry at the One, and therefore you Renounce the Other; for it was no longer *Prelacy, Liturgy, or Ceremonies*, it seems that you boggled at, but the

the *New Act*. Now since you your selves were convinc'd, that such a Conformity as aforesaid would have been *Warrantable*, and only transfer'd your Exceptions to the *New Act*; how comes it that you go on still decrying the *State, Rites, and Offices* of the *Church* to the *Multitude*; and make That a matter of *Conscience* in *One breath* which you left at *Liberty* in *Another*? The *Uniformity* does not alter the case one jot to the *Common People*; but the *Layety* may as lawfully submit to *Prelacy, Liturgy* and *Ceremonies, After* the *Act*, as they did *before*.

It is the same case still to the People.

Ri. [*The People who now adhere to the Non-Conformists, who were at age before the Wars, had very hard thoughts of the Bishops Persons; and some, of Episcopacy it self; because of the Silencing of Ministers, and ruining of Honest men about Sundays-sports, Reading That Book, and other such things, beside Nonconformity, &c.* Non-Con. Plea. Part I. P. 139.

Hard thoughts of Episcopacy and Bishops, and upon what ground.

Mo. the *Bishops* and *Episcopacy* it self you say were thought hardly of; partly for *Silencing* your *Ministers*. Which was yet a way of proceeding Conformable to the directions of the *Law*; and in part, (among Other Provocations) for the *Book of Sports* upon the *Lords day*. Be it spoken with Reverence to the Honour and Duty of that Holy Day; I should have thought that the *Rebells* assaulting of their *Sovereign* at *Edge hill* upon *That day*, might have given your *Scrupulists* as hard thoughts of the *Faction* that did it, and of those *Sanguinary Casuists* that sounded the *Trumpet* to *That Battle*. But how came they off I beseech you, from That forward Humour?

A Greater Scandall to travell upon the Lords day then to give the King battle

Ri. [*When the Ministers that guided them, began to seem more reconciled to the Episcopal Party, and upon the Reports and Promises which they had heard, that the next Bishops would prove more moderate, pious, and peaceable then the Former, and would by experi-*

Richard Confesses that the Ministers guided the people

and says that
the Non-con-
formists un-
dertook for
the next Bi-
shops good
behaviour.

ence avoid Divisions and Persecution; the said People began to be inclin'd to more Reverent and Favourable Thoughts of the Bishops, and were upon experience of the late Confusions in a far fairer way to Union and Submission to them then before. Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 139.

The Quarrel
not to the Of-
fice of Bishops
but to the
persons.

Mo. If it be True that the People were induced to have a more Charitable Opinion of the Prelates, by the Hopes which their Guides gave them of having better Bishops next bout; It appears, *first* that the Quarrel was not to the *Office*, but to the *Persons*. And *Secondly*, it shews that the Ministers manage the Multitude, *For* or *Against* their *Superiours*, as They please: which lays a stronger Obligation upon the Government, to secure a Well-affected Ministry, when the Publique Peace lyes at the Mercy of the Dissenting Clergy. But what becomes of us next?

Richard, Rea-
sons why the
People fell
from the
Church again

Ri. When they saw their Teachers taken from them, and some such set over them against their Wills who were better known to them then to the Obtruders: And when they heard of about 2000, Silenced at once, This so much Alienated them from the Bishops, that it was never since in Our Power to bring them to so much Esteem of them, and Reverence for them as might have been. Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 140

The Uniformity made E-
piscopacy and
Common-
prayer unlaw-
full.

Mo. So that upon the Upshot, there pass'd an Act for Uniformity, Ergo, Episcopacy and Common-Prayer are Unlawfull.

'Tis the Law
that Silences,
and not the
Bishops.

See now what it is that you call *Silencing* of so many Ministers. It is no more then a fair Revival of those necessary Provisions for the Safety of the Government, which had been violently overborn and discontinu'd in our late Troubles: Upon which violation, ensued our Deplorable Confusions. And to take the businesse aright, the Law does not silence *your* Ministers more then it does *Ours*; but holds forth one *Common Rule* indifferently to *All men*, with a respect to *Politically*, as well as *Ecclesiastical Concord*.

Every

Every man sees before him the Conditions of his Freedom; and he that either Cannot, or Will not comply with the Terms of a General Rule, *Silenceth himself*. And is not the Man neither that is *Silenced* by This Law, but this or that *Incongruous Practice* or *Opinion*. If *Richard* thinks fit to come In, there's no body *hinders* him; and if *John* will not come in, who can *help* it? In short, This way of *Silencing* amounts to no more then a very Gentle Expedient for the stopping of those Mouthes that would be blowing the Coal towards a Rebellion. Wherefore I beseech ye Gentlemen for the Act of *Oblivions* sake, which has done a great deal more for you then This comes to, have some pitty for the poor Act of *Uniformity*.

Non-Conformists silence themselves.

As to your account of about two thousand Silenc'd Ministers, a matter of 8. or 900. difference shall break no squares betwixt you and me. But what yet if they *Were* two thousand? must the divine Ordinance of Government be prophan'd, and the harmony of Order Dissolv'd, in favour of that Inconsiderable Party of *Irregulars*; and to the scandal of six times as many *Consciencious* and *Obedient Subjects* of the State both *Ecclesiastical*, and *Civill*?

Better particulars suffer then the Order of Government be dissolved.

Ri. For my own part [*I do not know that I differ in any point of Worship, Ceremonies, or Discipline, from the Learned Dr. John Reignolds*] R. B's Letter to Mr. Hinckley, P. 89. And my Judgement is, that [*a Peace with the Divines of the Episcopal Judgement is much to be desired, and earnestly endeavour'd.*] Five Disp. Pag. 1.

Richard agrees with Dr. Reignolds who conform'd.

Mo. If you agree in the Conclusion with that Reverend Dr. you are safe; and take This for a Rule; Out of the ways of *Love* and *Peace* there can be no *Comfort*.

Ri. *Alas*

Richard pleads altogether for Love. Ri. *Alas [It is a Sect, as a Sect, and a Faction, as a Faction, and not this or that Sect or Faction which I blame : It is Unity, Love, and Peace which I am pleading for ; and he that is angry with me for calling men to Love, is angry for calling them to Holynesse, to God, and Heaven. Holynesse which is against Love, is a Contradiction ; it is a deceitfull name which Satan putteth upon Unholynesse. Church Divisions. Pref.*

Baxters way of expressing.

Ba. Your Churches bear with Drunkards; Whoremongers, Railers, Open Scorners at Godlynesse, *Five Disp. P. 37.* [The most ungodly of the Land are the forwardest for your ways. You may have almost all the Drunkards, Blasphemers, and Ignorant Haters of Godlynesse in the Country to Vote for you.] *Five Disp. Pref. Pag. 17. To the Adherers to Prelacy.*

Richard against rash censuring of others.

Ri. [*He is as Mortal an Enemy to Love, who back-biteth, and saith he's Profane ; Or he is an Empty Formalist, or he is a luke-warm, Temporizing, Complying Man-Pleaser ; As he that saith he is a peevish, Factious Hypocrite.] To Preach without Love, and to hear without Love, and to pray without Love, and to communicate without Love to any that differ from your Sect, Oh what a loathsome Sacrifice is it to the God of Love !] Church-Divisions. Preface. *Love is the fulfilling of all the Law ; the End of the Gospel ; the Nature, and mark of Christs Disciples ; the Divine Nature ; the Sum of Holynesse to the Lord ; the Proper Note by which to know what is the man, and what his State ; and how far any of his Other Acts are acceptable unto God. Ibid.**

Baxter against Richard

Ba. How many years have we beg'd for Peace of those that should have been the Preachers and wisest Promoters of Peace ; and cannot yet obtain it ; nor quiet them that call for fire and sword, *not knowing what Spirit they are of ? Non-Com. Plea, Pref.* [The Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs telleth us, that the King would have given the People Peace, but with *Unpeaceable Clergy-men, No Petition could prevail.*] *Ibid.* [And all This is out of a bitter Enmity to Gods word and ways ; for they will be at more pains then This, in any way that is Evill ; or in any Worship of *Mans devising.* They are as zealous for *Crosses and Surplices, Processions, and Perambulations, reading a Gospell at a Crosse-way, the Observation of Holy days, therepeating of the Litany, or the like Forms in the Common Prayer, the bowing at*
the

Mr Baxters Charity to the Clergy and discipline of the Church

the name of the word *Jesus*, (while they reject his *Worship*) the receiving of the *Secrament* when they have no *Right* to it, and that upon their *Knees*, as if they were more Reverent and Devout then the *true Laborious servants of Christ*; with a Multitude of things which are only the *Traditions* of their Fathers; I say they are as zealous for These, as if Eternal Life consisted in them. Where God forbids them, there they are as forward as if they could never do enough, and where God Commands them, There they are as backward to it; yea as much against it as if they were the Commands of the Devil himself. And for the Discipline of Christ, tho all parts of the world have much opposed it, yet where hath it been so fiercely and powerfully resisted? The Lord grant that this harden'd, willful, malicious Nation fall not under that Heavy Doom, *Luke 19.27. But those mine Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and slay them before me.*

His brotherly
Love.

Church and
State ar-
raign'd.

R.B's. *Saints Rest*, Part. 3. p.91.

Mo. To see the difference now Gentlemen, betwixt your two *Spirits*! The *One*, so meek, and like a *Christian*, the *Other*, so clamorous, and so *Uncharitable*. What hopes of Unity and Peace; or what Pretence to't; so long as these dividing and defaming Liberties are kept afoot? Your Friend *Richard* tells you very well (*Mr. Baxter*) that *Such Holynesse is a deceitfull Name that Satan puts upon Unholynesse, and a loathsom Sacrifice to the God of Love.* You revile the Government, and those that Conform to it, and yet at the same time you tell the People that you are persecuted.

Richard and
Baxter of
two quite dif-
ferent spirits.

The persecu-
ted are the pers-
ecutors.

You would be thought kinder to his Majesty however, in devolving the severity from the *King* upon the *Clergy*; and yet his Majesty is pleas'd to minde you that [*Since the Printing this Declaration, severall Seditious Pamphlets and Quæres have been Published, and Scatter'd abroad, to infuse dislike and Fealousies into the hearts of the People, and of the Army, and some who ought rather to have repented the former mischief they have wrought, then to have endeavour'd to improve it, have had*

the hardynesse to publish that the Doctrine of the Church, (against which no man with whom we have conferred hath excepted) ought to be reformed as well as the Discipline.] So that all this yielding was too little, it seems to stop the Mouths of an Insatiable Faction. But what is it at last that you would be at ?

Be sure first of what spirit the Non-Conformists are.

Ri. I beg of the Clergy that before they any more render Odious These whom they never heard, and Urge Rulers to Execute the Laws against them; that is, to confine, Imprison, Excommunicate, Silence, and Undo them, they would be sure, what manner of spirit they are of. *Non-con. Plea, Part I. Epistle.*

The spirit of the Non-Conformists.

Mo. [Sure of what spirit you are] do ye say ! Why Certainly your own Conscience tells you that we are sure of that, as *Hearing, Seeing, Feeling, and Understanding* can make us. You are by your own Professions of the *Presbyterian Spirit*. The Spirit that made Perjury the Condition of Life, Liberty and Estate, to every man in the Case of your Covenant. The Spirit that Entred upon Sequestred Livings, and left not the Loyal Clergy the Freedome, so much as of Teaching a School, to supply themselves, and their Miserable Families with Bread. The Spirit that deny'd the King in his Distresses, the Comfort of so much as a Common-Prayer Book, or the Assistance of his own Chaplains.

His Late Majesties Judgement & Experience upon it.

[A greater Rigour and Barbarity then is ever used by Christians, to the meanest Prisoners, and Greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law, deprive of Worldly Comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the Benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their souls, EIK. BAS. 207. [They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are affraid I should save my Soul. *Ibid.*] Behold here in a few words the Spirit that you plead for.

The spirit that Richard pleads for.

Ri.

Ri. *Alls poor Creatures, [We would [only] have a Toleration of all that's Tolerable [he that will Tolerate All, is Bad ; and he that will Tolerate none that differ, is Madd.]* R.B's. answer to Dr. Stillingfleet. P. 84. Richards Toleration.

Mo. If the Church may be Judge, all that are Tolerable are Tolerated already ; If the People must be the Judges, the Intolerable must be Tolerated for Company. For so long as every Party Makes, or Pretends it self, to be in the Right, all the Dissenters have one Common Plea. But in case of any Indulgence to be allow'd, it is certainly due to these in preference, that are quietest without it. I cannot but have great Compassion for any Party that labours under a Religious and Invincible Disagreement, and Modesty applies to Authority for Relief : For so long as they only tell their *own Tale*, I cannot but in charity believe that they have no other design then to do their *own businessse*. But when a *Conscientious Pretense* comes to be carry'd on by *Scandall, Invective, Reproach*, and such Methods as are directly *Irreligious* ; the dispute is no longer matter of *Scruple, or Worship*, but *Superiority, and Power*. There may be *Religion* in telling the Government what you desire, but the exposing of your *Superiours* to the *People*, is *Down-right Sedition*. And, as you have handled the matter, you might e'en with as good a Grace tell the *Rabble* in plain *English*: *Lookye my Masters, here's a company of Anti-Christian Swearing, Drinking Fellows, that will not let us have Liberty of Conscience ; But I would fain hear you two debate the business of Toleration a little betwixt your selves.* Who are the Judges, the Government, or the People.
Modest Dissenters deserve pity.
The Dispute is not Scruple but Power.
Plain-dealing.

Ri. *What [if you shall smite or cast out a supposed Schismaticke, and Christ shall find an able, holy peaceable Minister, or other Christian Wounded, or Mourning out of doors. Pet. for Peace. P. 12. [Or see a Schismaticke wounded and a Saint found Bleeding, &c. Saints Rest. P. 150.]* Richard puts the Case of a Saint and a Schismaticke.

Easters Saints

Easter fully resolved to go to them that dy'd in Rebellion.

He joys to think what Company he shall have.

Easter says, that Professors will rail, and lye, &c.

But that neither Perjury, drunkennesse, Incest, Concubines, nor Idols, can make them dotoriously ungodly.

The Saints that are cast out for hereicks.

Ba. And now you talk of *Saints*, *Richard* [to think of such a Friend dyed at such a time, and such a one at another time, such a pretious Christian slain in such a Fight, and such a one at such a Fight, (O what a number of them could I name) and that all these are enter'd into *Rest*; and we shall surely go to Them, but They shall not return to Us. *Saints Rest*. P. 100. [In That State of *Rest*, *Angells* as well as *Saints* will be Our blessed Associates. *Ibid*. P. 101. [I think *Christians*, This will be a more Honourable Assembly then you ever here beheld, and a more happy Society then you were ever of before. Surely *Pym* and *White*, &c. are now members of a more *Knowing*, *Unerring*, *Well-order'd*, *Right-aiming*, *Self-denying*, *Unanimous*, *Honourable*, *Tryumphant Senate*, then This from whence they were taken, is or ever *Parliament* will be. It is better to be door-keeper to *That Assembly* whither *Twisse* &c. are Translated; then to have continu'd here the *Moderator* of *This*. *Saints Rest*. P. 101. [Nay how many Professors will rashly rail and lye in their Passions? How few will take well a Reproof, but rather defend their sin? how many in these times that we doubt not to be Godly have been guilty of Disobedience to their Guides, and of Schism, and doing much more to the hurt of the Church, a very great Sin. *Peter*, *Lot*, and 'tis like *David* did oft commit greater Sins. *R. B's Five Disputes of Right to Sacraments* P. 329. But a man must be guilty of more sins then *Peter* was in denying and forswearing *Christ*, that is notoriously ungodly; yea, then *Lot* was, who was drunk two nights together, and committed Incest twice with his own Daughters; and that after the miraculous destruction of *Sodom*, of his own wife, and his own miraculous Deliverance. Nay, a man that is notoriously ungodly (in the sense in hand) or Unsanctify'd, must be a greater sinner then *Solomon* was with his *Seven hundred Wives*, *three hundred Concubines*, and *grosse Idolatries*, P. 326. 327.

Mo. And are These the *Saints* (*Gentlemen*) that you are afraid should be cast out, for *Schismaticques*? They must be of your own *Canonizing* then, for I assure you I finde *no such Saints* in our *Kalendar*. But let me hear I beseech you whom we are to keep out, and whom to take in.

Ri. We must either Tolerate All men to do what they will, which they will make a matter of Conscience or Religion; and then some may offer their Children in sacrifice to the Devil; and some may think they do God service in killing his Servants, &c. [Or else you must Tolerate no Error or fault in Religion; and then you must advise what measure of Penalty you will Inflict. Church-Divif. P. 363, 364.

Either Tolerate All or None, but upon a Penalty.

Mo The two great Difficulties will be to say what Errours are Tolerable, and what not; and then to bring the Magistrate and the People to an Agreement upon the matter.

Ri, [If no Error were to be Tolerated, no men were to be Tolerated and the Wisest in the World must be numbred with the Intolerable, as well as the rest. Church Divif. P. 348.

No men must be Tolerated, if no Errour.

Ba. [But some People make those things to be Duties which are no Duties, and Sins which are no Sins, calling Evil Good, and Good Evil; and having made a Religion of their own, confidently think that it is of God, valuing all men that they have to do with according as they are nearer or further off from This, which they account the way of God; chusing a Church or Party to joyn with, by the Test of This Religion, which their Pride has Cbosent. Church Divif. P. 11. [Thus they divide the Kingdom and Family of Christ; destroying first the Love of Brethren and Neighbour in themselves, and then labouring to destroy it in all Others; by speaking against those that are not in their own way with Contempt, and Obloquy, to represent them as an Unlovely sort of Men; and if the Inrest of their Cause and Party requireit, perhaps they will next destroy their Persons: And yet all this is done in zeal of God, and as an Acceptable service to him. Ibid. P. 12. [And they think it a resisting of the Spirit to resist their Judgment. P. 13. [I have known too many very honest-hearted Christians, especially Melancholique Persons and Women who have been in great doubt about the Opinions of the Millenaries, the Separatists, the Anabaptists, the Seekers, and such like; and after earnest Prayer to God, they have been strongly resolved for the way of Errour, and Confident by the strong Impression that

Baxter shews the Inconveniences of Toleration,

Pride makes one mans Religion.

Faction another.

Which ends in blood.

And yet passes for doing God good service.

And the motion of the Spirit.

Enthusiastick zeal.

that.

that it was the Spirits Answer to their Prayers, and thereupon they have set themselves into a Course of Sin. *Ibid.* P. 162. And [In truth it is very Ordinary with poor phancyfull Women, and Melancholy Persons to take all their deep Apprehensions for Revelations. *Ibid.* P. 167.

Notage taken
or Revela-
tions.

Mo. Well; but these people all this while take themselves to be in the right.

Scripture the
Ru e.

Ba. But as for that which is Contrary to Scripture, I am fare it is contrary to the Will of God. *Church Divis.* P. 166.

But who must
expound it?

Mo. Out of all doubt; but what if They expound the Scripture One way, and You Another?

One mans
Faith misit
not Impose
upon ano-
thers.

Ba. [Why if they believe That themselves which they can give you no reason to believe, they must be content to keep their belief to themselves; and not for shame perswade any other to it without proof. If they say that God hath revealed it to them, tell them *that he hath not revealed it to You*, and therefore That's nothing to You, till they *prove their Divine Revelation*. If God reveal it to *them*, but for *themselves* they must keep it to themselves. *Ibid.* P. 166. [If they say that the spirit hath told Them the meaning of the Scripture, say as before that it is not *told to you* which is not *proved to you*. *Ibid.* 167. [But if we do through weaknesse or perversnesse take *lawfull* things to be *unlawfull*, That will not excuse Us in our disobedience. Our Error is our Sin, and one Sin will not excuse another *R. B's. Five Disput.* P. 483. [He that mistakingly thinks any thing is good or bad, Duty or Sin which is not so, will be zealous in persute of his Mistake if he be serious for God. *Cath. Theol. Pref.* [It is an Ill sign when your zeal is beyond the proportion of your Understanding: And your Prudence and Experience is much lesse then other mens, as your zeal is greater. *Church Divis.* P. 123. [Beside that the more weak and worthlesse, and Erroneous any ones Judgment is, usually the more furious are they in the prosecution of it, as if all were most certain Truth which they apprehend. These are the bold-est both in *Schisms*, and *persecutions*. *Ibid.* 357.

Mistake will
not justify
the Error,
nor excuse a
Disobedience.
Men will be
zealous even
in Error.
More zeal
then under-
standing is
not good.
None so fierce
and bold as
the Ignorant.

Ma. But

Mo. But you will say, that in cases where the common people may be imposed upon by *Credulity*, *Phancy*, or *Weaknesse*, they may repair to their Teachers to let them right.

Ba. Even the most of Teachers take abundance of things for true and good that are false and evill, and for false and bad, which are true and good : Much more are godly vulgar people ignorant, and consequently erre in many things, *Cath. Theol. Pref.* [And I my self was mistaken in my *Aphorisms of Justification* and the *Covenants*, as I have acknowledged in the same Preface.

Even Teachers themselves are false Guides.

Mr. Baxter himself has been mistaken

Mo. You have had very ill luck, Sir, with your *Aphorisms*.

Ill luck with his Aphorisms.

Ri. [I must confess that when God had first brought me from among the more Ignorant sort of people, and when I heard Religious Persons pray without Form, and Speak affectionately, and seriously of Spiritual and Heavenly things, I thought verily that they were all undoubted Saints, till e're long, of those whom I so much honoured, one fell of to Sensuality, and to Persecuting Formality; and another fell to the foulest Herefy, and another to disturb the Churches Peace, by Turbulent Animositys and Divisions. Church Div. P. 23. 24. &c.

How Richard was wheeled

i.e. he was reconcil'd to the Church.

Ri. [I thought once, that all the talk against Schism and Sects, did but vent their Malice against the best Christians, under these Names; But since Then, I have seen what Love-killing-Principles have done. I have long stood by while Churches have been divided, and Subdivided; one Congregation of the Division labouring to make the other Contemptible, and odious; and This called, the Teaching of Truth, and the purer Worshipping of God; Church-Divisions. Pref.

Richards best Christians found to be Schismatics.

Ba. [When so great a man as *Tertullian* was deceived by *Montanus*, and his *Propheteffe* : When such a one as *Hacker* could deceive not only *Coppinger*, and *Arkington*, but abundance more; when *David George* in *Holland*, *John of Leiden* in *Munster*, &c. could deceive so many persons as they did; when the

Great men misled, and why not Mr. Pauscr.

Believe not every Spirit.

The Dissenters Cause is still Gods cause.

Their false Prophets. The Kings death directed by a Revelation.

Sedgwicks day of Judgment. Vavasors Prophecy of no more Kings or Taxes.

Rather the Law of the Land then the Humour of the people.

A Fear of sinning ought to be cherished, even in a mistake.

Dangerous trusting to scruples.

the pretended *Revelations* of the *Ranters*, *First*, and the *Quakers* *After*, could so marvellously transport many Thousands of professors of Religion in this Land, I think we have fair warning to take the Counsell of St. *John*. *Believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirit whether they be of God.* Church Divis. P. 164.

[Alas? how common was this in the Army, to set up and Pull down, do an undo, own and disown, as by the Spirit of God! There was Mr. *Erbery*, Mr. *Saltmarsh*, Mr. *Deil*, Mr. *William Sedgwick*, who as from God wrote one week to the Army, against their putting the King to Death, and the next week wrote to them quite on the other side, and that set *London* by a Prophecy or Vision on looking for the day of Judgment, on a set day. *Second. Admon. to Bagshaw. P. 68.* *Vavasor Powell* at *Clifton* upon *Tame* in *Worcestershire*, quickly after *Worcester Fight*, said in his Sermon that *he would tell them these things as from God that they should have no more Kings, nor any more Taxes, nor pay any more Tithes. Ibid. P. 69.*

Mo. Pray'e do but consider now, if your particular Pastors disagree among themselves; if you your self, Mr. *Baxter*, have been mistaken in your Judgment as well of *Truth* in *Notion*, as of *Persons*; If those that you took for *Saints*, proved *Schismaticks*; and *Persecutors*, those that you took for *Conscientious Professors*, are we not much better in the hand of a known and Impartial Law that cannot deceive us, then at the Mercy of a wilde *Multitude*, *Unknown* and *Prepossess'd*, who in all probability will impose upon us?

Ri. *A Fear of sinning is necessary in all that will be Obedient to God, and will be saved: It is that Fear of God which is the beginning of Wisdom. It is therefore to be loved and cherished, even when Scrupulousness mistaketh the matter. Non-Con. Plea. 2d. Part. P. 163.*

Ba. There's no trusting to *Scruples*. [I have known some that have liv'd long in doubts and fears of Damnation who have turn'd *Anabaptists*, and sodainly had Comfort; and yet in a short

a short time they forsook that *Self*, and turn'd to another. I have known those also that have liv'd many years in timorous Complaints, and fears of Hell, and they have turned to the *Antinomians*, and sodainly been comforted; and others have turned *Arminians* (which is clear contrary) and been comforted; and others have but heard of that Doctrine of *Perfection in this Life*, and sodainly been past their fears, as if bearing of *Perfection* had made them *perfect*: And from thence they have turned *Familists*, and at last shew'd their *Perfection* by *Fornication*, and *Licentiousnesse* and mere *Apostacy*; who yet liv'd very conscientiously and blamelessly, as long as they liv'd in their Fears and Troubles, P. 1 70. *Church Divis.*

[Could I have believed him that would have told me five years ago (*This bearing date Jan. 15. 1649.*) that when the * Scorners of Godlinesse were subdu'd, and the bitter persecutors of the Church overthrown; that such should succeed them who suffered with us, who were our Intimate Friends, with whom we took sweet Counsel, and went up together to the House of God? Did I think it had been in the hearts of men professing such zeal to Religion, and the ways of Christ to draw their Swords against each other: and to seek each others Blood so fiercely? Alas! if the Judgment be once perverted, and Error hath perverted the Supreme Faculty, whether will men go, and what will they do? *O what a potent Instrument for Satan is a misguided Conscience!* It will make a man kill his dearest Friend, yea Father or Mother, yea, the Holyest Saint, and think he doth God good service by it: And to facilitate the work, it will first blot out the Reputation of their Holiness, and make them take a *Saint* for a *Devil*. *Saints Rest.* P. 133. [Whence can it be, but for want of self-denyall, that Magistrates professing a zeal for Holynesse regard no more the Interest of Christ; but that the *Name* (and but the *Name*) of *Liberty*, (a *Liberty* that hath neither Moral Good, or Evil in it) is set in the ballance against the things of everlasting Consequence, and thought sufficient to over weigh them; And that the meer pretense of this Indifferent Carnal *Liberty* is thought an Argument of sufficient weight for the introduction of a *wicked, Damning Liberty*, even a *Liberty to deceive*, and *destroy* as many as they can, and to hinder those that desire mens Salvation. *R.B's Self-denyall Epist. Monitory.* [Shall every man have leave to do evil, that can be Ignorant enough to

Who would have thought it?

The Episcopal Clergy.

Simons and *Levi*.

○ the force of a misguided Conscience!

The very Cause of the seduced multitude.

The Name of Liberty does more then.

the confidation of Heaven it self.

Baxter against Liberty.

24
And Tolera-
tion.

think (or say he thinks) that he doth well? And must Magistrates rule as men that are Uncertain whether there be a Christ, or a Church, or Heaven, or Hell; because some are found in their Dominions so foolish, or Impious as to be Uncertain of it? *Ibid.* [Will mercyfull Rulers set up a trade for butchering of Souls, and allow men to set up a shop of poyson, for all men to buy and take that will, yea to proclaim this poyson for Souls in *Streets*, and *Church Assemblies*? &c. *Ibid.* But the same Argument that tempts the sensuall to Hell; doth tempt such Magistrates to set up *Liberty* for drawing men to Hell. *Ibid.* Is Faith and Holynesse propagated by *Perswasion*, and not by *Force*? Surely then Infidelity, Popery and Ungodlynesse are Propagated by *Perswasion* too; Again I tell you, self-love doth make such Rulers wiser then to grant Commission at liberty to all that will, to rize the Souldiers to Mutinies and Rebellion, &c. *Ibid.* Liberty, in all matters of Worship, and of Faith, is the open and apparent way to set up Popery in the Land. *Non-Con. Plea. Pref.*

Liberty the
way to set up
Popery.

Mr. Richard
an Improper
Advocate for
Toleration.

Mr. Well. *Mr. Richard*: After *this* frank and sensible Declaration of your self upon this Chapter, do but teach me which way in the world to reconcile your *Practice* and your *Conscience*; for you are a Person certainly of all men Living, the most Improper Advocate for a *Toleration*; and the most unfit *Sollicitor* of a *Popular Petition*. *First*, as your *Judgement* lies directly against the thing you pleade for. *Secondly*, as you are conscious of the *danger*, as well as the *Injustice* of such a *License*. *Thirdly*, you have been a very *unhappy Instrument* already betwixt his *Majesty* and his *Subjects*. And *Lastly*, In demanding That over again from This King, by which his Father was destroy'd, you make your self suspected to have some Ill Designe: For to Triumph and Rejoyce (as you do) after the Thing is done, is lesse, a great deal, then to forethink the doing of it. And it is not only that you are sufficiently convinc'd of the mischiefs of a *Toleration*, but *your Conscience* (if I be not much mistaken)

staken) will make as good a shift as any mans without it.

Ri. We are against no Bishop or Church-Government of Gods Appointment. Prof. of Non-conformists P. 89. [We hold ^{Richard is a} it not unlawful to take Oathes, and make Covenants, Subscriptions, ^{Conformist.} or Declarations of things Lawfull, when Authority commandeth us. Ibid. P. 98. We readily Subscribe the doctrine of the 39. Articles. Ib. 98. We are far from condemning all Forms of Prayer, and Publick Liturgy, P. 100. We pick no Quarrells about Forms and Words, Church-Div. p. 176. [Tell me if you can, where God forbids you to use Good and Lawfull Words in Prayer, meerly because the Magistrate, or Pastor bids you use them. Is this the meaning of all the Precepts of Honouring, and Obeying your Superiours? [Do nothing which they bid you do, though otherwise Lawful] O Strange Exposition of the 4th Commandement? p. 178. [I take the Common Prayer to be Incomparably better then the Prayers or Sermons, of many that I hear; and to be the best that I expect in many places when I go to Church. R.Bs. Letter to Mr. Hinckly p. 78. [It's like, the Pharisees Long Liturgy, was in many things worse then Ours, though the Psalmes were a great part of it: and yet Christ, and his Apostles oft joyned with Them, and never Condemned them. Ch. Div. P. 176. [He is void of Common sense that thinketh that his Extemporary Prayer is not as truly a Form to all the People, as if it had been written in a Book. And every Publick Minister Imposeth a Form of Prayer upon all the Congregation. Ibid. 179. [We hold, not all the use of Images, even the Images of Holy Persons, to be Unlawfull. Profession of Nonconformists. P. 104. [We hold not a Gown, or other meer distinctive Garment for Ministers to be Unlawful. And some of us hold a Surplice rather to be used, then the Ministry forsaken. Ibid. [Many of us hold it Lawfull to communicate Kneeling Ibid. p. 105. [We all hold that God must be Orderly, and Decently Worshipped with the Body, as well as Spiritually, with the minde. And that Reverend Gestures, and Behaviours are fit, not only to expresse Mental-Reverence to God, but also to Excite it, in our selves and others. Ibid. 105. We are for the use of the Creed, Commandements, and Lords Prayer. p. 106.

Ba: [It is now about Twenty Years since I Preach'd at a Fast to the Parliament for Loyalty; the King the next morn-

Mr. Baxters
Sermon that
brought the
King in.

Presbytery for
the Lords sake

Oh the happy
times when
Presbyterians
rul'd.

Have a care of
scandalous
Inventions.
The Ignorant
Church-Ty-
rants.

Richard not
absolutely a-
gainst the
Crosse.

ing was voted home to his Crown, and Government, 2d part. of Non-
Con. Plea. Preface. In This Sermon, I have given the World a
Tast of my Affections to the Church. [Gentlemen, I have
nothing to ask of you for my self, nor any of my Brethren, as
for Themselves; but that you will be Friends to Serious Preaching,
and Holy Living, and will not ensnare our Consciences with any
Unscripturall Inventions of m.cn. This I would beg of you as on
my Knees. 1. As for the sake of Christ. 2. for the sake of Thou-
sands of poor Souls. 3. For the Sake of Thousands of the dear Friends
of the Lord. 4. For your own sakes. 5. For the sake of your Posterity.
6. For the Honour of the Nation and your Selves. 7. For the Ho-
nour of Sound doctrine, and Church-Government. &c. Pa. 45. and
46. For if you Frown on Godlynesse, under pretense of Uniformi-
ty in Unnecessary things; and make things worse then when Li-
bertinism, and Schisme to prevail'd: the people will look back
with Groans, and say; What happy times did we once See! And
so will honour Schisme, and Libertinisme, and Usurpation, through
Your Oppression. 8. I beg this of you for the Honour of Sovc-
reignty, and the Nations Peace. *Ibid.* And then for your [new-
made Religions, and needless Scandalous Inventions, and an a-
doring of your Titles and Robes of Honour, covering your Ig-
norance, Pride, and Sensuality, which Church Tyrants call the
Order of the Church. &c. [All the Images of Piety, Govern-
ment, Unity, Peace, and Order, which Hypocrites and Phari-
sees sat up, are despised Engines to destroy the Life and Seri-
ous Practice of the things Themselves, and are set up in Enmi-
ty against Spirituality, and Holyness, that there might be no
other Piety, Government, Unity, Peace, or Order in the
Church, but These Liveless Images. *Ch. Div. Pa. 105. &
106.*

Ri. [Though we are not satisfied of the lawfullness of using the
Transient Image of the Crosse, as a dedicating Sign, and Symbol
of Christianity, so much Sacramental (much lesse to refuse from
Baptisme, and Christendome, all Christian Infants, unlesse they will
havethem so Crossed, no more then if a Crucifix were so Imposed, and
used) yet do we not Condemn all use of either Crosse, or Crucifix.
Nor do we presume Conscientiously to Reproach, and dishonour the An-
tient Christians, who living among Pagans that derided Christ Cru-
cify'd, did shew them, by oft using this sign, that they were not asha-
med of the Crosse. And though we find, that they used more Rites,
and

and significations, devised Signs, and Ceremonies, then we think they should have done, yet we judge it our Duty to love and honour their Memorial; Nor do we take all Rites to be Sinfull that are significant. Non-conformists Profession Pa. 103. 104.

Ba. You are not satisfy'd of the Lawfulnessse, &c. you say. But are you convinc'd of the Unlawfulnessse? For [we must obey Magistrates though we know not that their Commands are Lawful, so long as they are so Indeed, and we have no sufficient reason to believe them Unlawfull. *Holy Com. Thesis.* 323. For [It is not our Erroneous Conceits, that a Lawfull Command is Unlawfull, that will excuse any man from the Guilt of Disobedience. *Ibid.* 357. [But if a thing seem to you very needfull to a Good End, and yet the word be against it, avoid it: &c. [And if you think that the Scripture commandeth you This or That Positive means, if Nature and True Reason assure you that it is against the End, and is like to do much more harm, then good, be assured that you mistake That Scripture. *Ch. Divis. pa.* 205.

Baxters a Loyallist.
Error is no excuse for disobedience.
The Preecede of Nature, and true Reason avoids all Law.

Mo. It is a strange thing Mr. Richard, that your Conscience should be so easy to yourself, and yet so Troublesome to the Government. But your Reserve of leaving every Private man to judge, First, of the Condition of the Law, by the Word; and Then, of his Judgment of That Scripture, whether it be Right or Wrong, by Nature and Right Reason: This Reserve Ifay undoes all again: For every man that does Ill, with a Good Intention, reckons that he has Nature and Right Reason on his side.

A Popular Ballacy.

Now for You Mr. Baxter; you tell us over and over so often of your Fast-Sermon to the House of Commons, and the Kings being called in the next day, as if That very Sermon had wrought his Majestiss Restauration, But I find upon Perusal of it that you are just as kind to the Church in this Piece of 1660. as you were a litle before to his Majesty in your *Holy Common Wealth* of 1659. That is to say; you are begging

The Presbyter-
ian way of
bringing in
the King.

ging, arguing, and Casing of it all that is in you, to keep them both out; and truly This particular piece of yours makes almost as bold with the *King himself*, as with the *Episcopal Clergy*: as you shall hear by and by. Was it not enough for you to *Adjure* the *Commons* into an Opposition of That *Order* in the *Church*, which (as he tells you) is as *Antient* as the *Monarchy* of This *Island*? An *Order*, that you and your *Confederates* most *Undutifully destroy'd*? But could you now have the Confidence to demand the spoils again, which you first ravish'd from the *Church*, and the *Independents* afterward took from you, as the Reward of your *Sedition*, and *Schism*? And could you yet have the greater Confidence, in case of a Disappointment, to break out into this most *Unchristian Exclamation*, on the behalf of the People? Oh: [*What happy times did we once see!* That is to say; when the *Kingdome* was Laid in *Blood*, and *Asbes*; all that was *Sacred*, trampled under *Foot*, And all this *Confusion*, only to heave the *Presbyter* into the *Saddle*.

Richards
challenge,

In justification
of the Non-
Conformists.

The Non-
Conformists
charge.

A Presbyterian
defin'd.

Ri. I have described the Judgment of such Non-conformists as I have conversed with, (not undertaking for every odd person whom I know not) I do desire those that seek our *Bloud*, and *Ruine*, by the *false Accusation of Rebellious Principles*, to tell me if they can, [what *Bodies*, or *Party* of men on Earth have more *sound and Loyall Principles of Government, and Obedience*. 2d. Part. Non-Con. Plea. Pref. [*Our Accusations are*. 1. *That we are Presbyterians, and Phanatiques*. 2. *That we began the War in 1641. and 1642*. 3. *That we destroy'd the King*. 4. *That our Principles are Disloyal*. 5. *That we are Plotting a Rebellion*. Ibid. But what is a *Presbyterian*?

Mo. A Presbyterian is a Member of a State Faction, under a Religious denomination. For by that *Name* we do not understand such as are really of That *Classical* and *Whymfical Profession*; but a sort of People that drive

drive on a *Political design*, under the Colour of an *Ecclesiastical Scruple* of persuasion. And in as extensive a Latitude do you take the Word, your selves. For all the *Sects* are *Presbyterians* (or *Dissenting Protestants*, as you call them) when you have need of them in Confederacy against the Government; though the *Presbyterians* spew all the rest up again, (as they did in 1647. when they had done their work;) But pray what say ye to the *Beginning* of the *War* ?

Presbyterians swallow up all other Sects at first, and then spew them up again.

Ri. [*In 1642. the Lamentable Civil War broke out; At Richard says which time as far as ever we could learn by Acquaintance with some of them, and Report of others, excepting an Inconsiderable number, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of Those that had still lived in Conformity to the Church of England, and the Episcopall Government, &c.* 1 Part. Non-Conform. Plea. p. 126. [*The Lord Lieutenants whom the Parliament chose, were almost all Episcopall Conformists, Ibid.* [*The far Greater Part of the Generall Officers, Colonells, Lieutenant-Colonells, and Majors of the Earl of Essex his Army; And of the Sea-Captains, and of the Major-Generals of Brigades, and Counties about the Land, Ibid.* [*The Assembly of Divines at Westminster also, were men that had lived in Conformity, except about 8. or 9. and the Scots, p. 127.*

that the Episcopall men began the war. The two Houses, Lord Lieutenants, Officers Civil and Military, Assembly of Divines, almost all Episcopall men,

Mo. You do well *Richard* to say that they *HAD* Lived in *Conformity*, for the *Complying* humour was now going off apace; Inasmuch that a profest opposition to the Orders of the Church became quickly a distinguishing mark of the disloyal Party: And all those *Parliament men*, *Officers*, and *Assembly-Divines*, Contributed Unanimously in their several Stations toward the Common Ruine. On [*Fryday Dec. 11. 1640.* A Petition was brought into the House by *Allderman Pennington* from the Citizens of *London*, in the name of 15000. Complaining of the *Church-Discipline*, in having *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, &c. Using the *Crosse* in *Baptisme*; *Kneeling* at the *Communion-Table*, as unlawfull

The Kings engag'd Enemies were all dissenters.

Episcopacy stood as before the War.

lawfull. in the *Protestant Church. Diurnal Occurrences.*
Pa. 12. Jan 13. Petition against the Government of
 Bishops from Several Counties. *P. 16. Jan. 13.* The
 Remonstrance with 700. hands against the Bishops
 and their *Prelacy* was read, *P. 33. March 7.* A Bill
 against Episcopacy read in the House of Commons,
 &c. *Pa. 47. Mar. 10. 1640.* Bishops Votes in Par-
 liament taken away, *Pa. 49. in Novem. 1641.* several
 Tumults against Bishops, and *Dec. 11, 12.* Bishops
 accused of High-Treason. The Bishops in the mean
 time Petitioning his Majesty, and entring a Protest of
 their Priviledges, and against Tumults. *Apr. 2. 1642.*
 A due and necessary Reformation of the Govern-
 ment and Liturgy of the Church pretended. *Ex.*
Col. P. 135.

It is to be hoped, that all These violences upon the
 Ecclesiastical State, and the Persons of the Bishops,
 were not acted by Conformists. And it will not be
 deny'd, I suppose that after the Posting and Proscrib-
 ing of the Greater part of the Clergies Friends, (as
 well as the Kings) The Schismatical Interest was
 carry'd on by the Major vote of the Remaining Frag-
 ment; and all This was before the Eruption of the
 War; the Earl of *Essex* not receiving his Commission,
 till *July 12. 1642.* Unless you'le say that *Episcopal* men
 themselves, were for the *Extirpation of Bishops.*

The Parlia-
 ment brought
 in the Scots.

Ri. [*When the Parliaments Armyes were worsted and weakned
 by the King, and they found themselves in danger of being Overcome,
 they intreated help from the Scots ('tis true) who taking advantage
 of their straits, brought in the Covenant, as the Condition of their
 help. Non-Conf. 1 part. p. 27. And for the Assembly [I think
 I have not read of many Assemblies of Worthier men since the A-
 postles days. Answ. to Dr. Stillingfleet. p 84. The Covenant
 and Vow, was taken by the Parliament, and by their Garisons, and
 Soldiers that would voluntarily take it as a Test whom they might
 Trust.*

Few worthier
 Assemblies
 since the Apo-
 stles days.

Trust Non-Conf. Plea. p. 128. [*The Assembly never endeavoured to turn the Independents out of the Parish-Churches, and Benefices, nor to Silence them; forbidding them Publick Preaching, as you do us, &c.* *Ans. to Dr. Stillingf.* p. 14. *They Imposed no Liturgy, no one Ceremony; no Practice on them, contrary to their Conscience,* p. 85. *The Presbytery being only a Tolerated, or Intended thing, without any Impolition that ever we knew of.*

Their good nature toward the Independents.

Mo. It is very well known what pains your Celebrated Assembly took to make the City bleed for That *Scottish* expedition, and we have the *Guild hall Harangues* on That Occasion, still upon Record. But I shall rather mind you of some Proceedings which you would be thought to have forgotten; to the Immortal Honour of your Confederates. Only half a dozen Words in the way to it-

The Guild-Hall harangues that brought in Scots.

It is no wonder for men that have so low an Esteem for *Generall Counsells*, as both *You Sir*, and *Mr. Baxter* professe to have, in several of your Writings, to entertain yet very Reverend Thoughts of the *Pybald Assembly*. His Late Majesty had quite another Opinion of them. See his *Proclamation, Inhibiting the Assembly of Divines, and others Summoned to Westminster, by an Ordinance of Both Houses of Parliament.* *Bibliotheca Regia.* P. 328. *Jun.* 22. 1643.

Whereas there hath been a long time, a desperate and seditious design amongst diverse Factionous persons, to alter the whole Frame, Constitution, and Government of this Church; so long and so happily Established within this Kingdom; in pursuance whereof they have discountenanced, and in a manner suppressed the Book of Common Prayer, settled by Law; driven away, Imprisoned, Removed, very many Learned, Orthodox, Godly Divines, and Ministers from their Cures, for discharging their duty and Conscience in Preaching: and in their places, without the least colour or shadow of Lawfull Authority, have Instituted,

His Majesties Proclamation against the Assembly of Divines. *Jun.* 22. 1643.

Painful, Able, Laborious Ministers.
The Loyall Presbyterians.
The Reformation begun
ted, or Deputed mean Factionous Persons Unqualify'd with Learning or Virtue; to corrupt and poyson the minds of our Good Subjects; with Principles of reason and Rebellion, and have seized the Rents and Revenues of our Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, for their own private Lucre, or Benefit, and for the Maintenance of the Army in Rebellion against us.

Pray Observe my Friends, that this was before the Scots were call'd in; and the work of men too in Opposition to the Church: I come now to your *Apostolical Assembly*.

Since These bloody distempers, and when so many Armies are on Foot in several parts of the Kingdom, a Bill hath been presented to us for the Calling of an Assembly, of such Divines, as are mentioned in the said Bill; the far greater part whereof are men of no Reputation or Learning; and eminently disaffected to the Government of the Church of England: and very many of them are persons who have openly preached Rebellion, and incited the People to take up Armes against us, and so are not like to be proper Instruments of Peace, in Church, or State; which Bill having many Clauses in it very derogatory to our Honour, and Just Rights, and very Scandalous to the Reformed Protestant Religion: not so much as any part being left to Us, either in the Choice of the Persons, or in Adjourning or Dissolving the Assembly. Bib. Regia. Pa. 329.

What do you think now of the *Worthy Assembly*? your [Men of sound, and Loyall Principles of Government, and Obedience. These are the Men that you declare your selves Resolved to stand or fall by; (and out of your own mouths a Man may warrant This Assertion; that you are no better Friends to *This King*, then that *Parliament* and that *Assembly* were to the *Last*. Methinks This Testimony of his Late Majesty against your designs, and Proceedings, should move your

Con:

Kings Proclamation.

A Dutiful Proposition.

The Worthy Assembly.

The Kings Authority excluded.

Consciences and stare you in the Faces, as if it were his Ghost.

You would have the world believe that the *Covenant* was never Imposed, but that people might take it, or let it alone, as they pleased; That the *Assembly* silenced no body; forced nothing; and that *Presbytery* was only as a *Tolerated*, or *Intended* thing, &c. Now how great an Abuse this is upon That part of the Nation that does not know the story, will appear out of the Memorials of These Times, under the Authority of the Faction it self.

An Abuse put upon the Nation.

The Lords and Commons took the Vow and Covenant *Jun. 6. 1643. Husbands Collections. Fol. 203.* and thought fit to have it taken by the Armies, and Kingdome. *Ibid. Arch-Bishop of Canterburies Temporal Livings, Dignities, and Ecclesiastical Promotions Sequestered, June 10. 1643. Fol. 207.* an Ordinance for calling an Assembly of Learned Divines (*Thirty of the Layety, in the Commission.*) *June 24. 208.* An Order for Ministers upon the Fast-day to pray for a blessing on this Assembly. *June 27. 43.* The Assembly Petitions Both Houses for a Fast, and the removing of Blind Guides, and Scandalous Ministers; destroying Monuments of Idolatry, &c. *July 10. 1943. Fol. 240.* [An Order for Divines that attend the Assembly, to go into the Country to stir up the people to rise for their Defense. *Aug. 10. 1643. Fol. 285.* [An Ordinance for taking away of Superstitious Monuments. *Aug. 28. 1643. Fol. 307.* An Ordinance to examine Witnesses against Scandalous Ministers, *Sep. 6. 1643. Fol. 311.* Souldiers to take the Covenant, *Octob. 10. Fol. 359.* An Order for the Assembly of Divines, to treat of a Discipline and Government, the present to be abolished, and to prepare a Directory. *Octo. 12. 1643. Fol. 362.* An Order for returning the

An Extra^d of Parliament Proceedings. 1643.

The Assembly stir up the people to rise.

Names of such as take not the Covenant to the House of Commons, *Nov. 30. 1643. Fol. 390.* An Order for diverse persons to take the Covenant at *Margarets Westminster. Dec. 12. 1643. Fol. 399.* An Ordinance disabling any person within the City of *London*, from any place of Trust, that shall not take the Covenant. *Dec. 20. 1643. Fol. 404.* An exhortation for taking the Covenant, &c. *Feb. 9. 1644. Fol. 422.* An Order for taking it throughout the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Scotland*, with *Instructions. Feb. 9. 1644. Fol. 420.* A Second Order for demolishing Superstitious Monuments. *May 9. 1644. Fol. 487.* An Order for none to Preach, but Ordained Ministers, except allowed by Both Houses of Parliament, *May 6. 1645. Fol. 646.* An Order for putting the Directory in Execution. *Aug. 11. 1645. Fol. 715.* Severall Votes for choice of Elders throughout all *England*, and *Wales. Feb. 20. 1646. Fol. 809.* An Order for taking the Negative Oath, and National Covenant. *Jun. 2. 1646. Fol. 889.* An Order for putting the Orders of Church-Government in execution. *Jun. 9. 1646. Fol. 889.* An Order for dividing the County of *Lancashire*, into 9. *Classes, Octob. 2. 1646, Fol. 919.* An Order for Abolishing Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, and settling their Lands upon Trustees for the use of the Common-Wealth. *Octob. 9. 1646. Fol. 992.* An Order for the speedy dividing and settling of several Counties of This Kingdom, into distinct *Classical Presbyteries*, and *Congregational Elderships. Jan. 19. 1647. Scobells Acts, 139.* The Form of Church-Government to be used in the Church of *England*, and *Ireland*, agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, after Advice had with the Assembly of Divines. *Aug. 29. 1648. Fol. 165.*

By this time I hope you are satisfy'd that it was a Prov'd to be a Presbyterian War. Presbyterian War according to the very Letter, Or if the Nonconformists did not begin the War, pray'e who bid?

Ri. *Our Calamities began in Differences about Religion, and still That's the wound that most needs Closing,* &c. R. B's. *Fast Sermon.* 1660. p. 41. Richard says, the War began about Religion.

Ba. Do not you know, that write about the Cause, that the War was not founded in *Theological differences*, but in *Law differences*? R. B's. *Letter to Mr. Hickly.* p. 25. Baxter says, it began about matter of Law.

Ri. *The first open beginning was the Militia, Non. Conf. Plea.* p. 126. Richard says, 'twas about the Militia.

Ba. I know how unsatisfy'd many are concerning the Lawfullness of the War; I cannot yet perceive by any thing which they object, but that we undertook our Defence upon warrantable Grounds. The extirpation of Piety was the then great Designe, which had so far succeeded, that very many of the most able Ministers were silenced; Lecturers, and Evening-Sermons on the Lords Day suppressed; Christians imprisoned, dismembred, and Banished; the Lords Day reproached, and devoted to Pastimes; that it was as much as a mans Estate (at least) was worth, to hear a Serimon abroad, when he had none, or worse at home; To meet for Prayer, or any Godly Exercise; and that it was a matter of Credit, and a way to Perferment to revile at, and be enemies against those that were most Conscientious; And every where safer to be a drunkard, or an Adulterer, then a painfull Christian: And that multitudes of Humane Ceremonies took place, when the worship of Christs Institution was cast out, besides the slavery that Invaded us in Civil Respects: So am I MOST CERTAIN that this was the work which *We took up Arms to resist*: And these were the Offenders whom we endeavoured to Offend. And many of those that scruple the Lawfulness of our War, did never Scruple the Lawfulness of destroying us; nor of that dolefull havock, and Subversion that was made in the Church of Christ amongst us.

The

A lewd scandal upon the late Kings Government.

The fault was, that we would not more willingly change the Gospel for Ignorance, and our Religion for a Fardel of Ceremonies. *R. B's. Saints Rest.* p. 257. 258.

Ri. [*But the Kings Subjects may not enter into Leagues, Covenants and Arms against him, without his consent, and Lawis, meerly to propagate Religion and Reformation in the Kingdom.* Non-conf. Plea, 2d. part, pa. 77. [*If Governours command us to sin against God, Subjects must not obey, but yet not Resist; Much less take up Arms to Reform Others, or even to bring in a True Religion by Unauthoris'd Violence.* *Ibid.* p. 56:

Richard will not allow of war for Religion.

Baxter is for a Religious War.

They are fools that think otherwise.

In case of persecution we fight for our own, and our posterities salvation.

Ba. It is but a delusory course of some in These Times that write many Volumns, to prove, that *Subjects* may not bear Arms against their *Princes* for Religion. *Ho. Common-wealth,* p. 441. [It is either Confusion and Ignorance of the State of the Question, or palpable error in them that maintain, that it is unlawfull to fight for Religion. It is one thing to fight to make others Religious, and another thing to fight to preserve our own Religion, and to preserve the means of Religion, to Us, and the Nation, and our Posterity, *Ibid.* Persecutors will take away our Lives or Liberties, if we worship God according to his Will, and use the necessary means of Salvation. In fighting against this Persecution, we fight principally, and ultimately, for our Own, and Posterities Salvation, and next, for the Necessary means thereto, and *Proximately* for our Lives and Liberties. *Ibid.*

Mo. The Rancour, and Inhumanity of This Scandal makes me take the Lesse notice of your shifts and contradictions; so that I shall wave the Course of your Reasoning, and speak a Word to your Conscience.

The late Kings sufferings forgotten among gveater grievances.

Pray'e cast a back Thought upon the Piety, the Moderation, the Unexampled sufferings and Constancy of That Incomparable Prince, whose Government, and Adminiftration is here so Diabolically Traduc'd. It is a wonderfull thing to me, that the Legal Justice that was executed upon two or three

Contu-

Contumacious Schismatiques, should be so fresh in your Memory, and yet the Tragedy of that Royal, and Protestant Martyr that fell a Sacrifice to the Idol of your Enthusiastical Reformation should be so utterly forgotten. How can you so call to mind the silencing of a Stubborn Cabal of Lawless Mutineers; And the Bloud of *Canterbury*, your Sacrilegious Robbing, and Taking Possession, not fly in the Faces of your Complices? Especially considering how much you yourselves have contributed to the common Fate.

Ri. [How far the Parliament was from being Presbyterians, may be seen in the Propositions sent from them by the Earl of Essex, to the King at Nottingham, and partly their defeating all the desires and endeavours of Those that would have Presbytery settled thorow the Land. We know of no places, but London and Lancashire, where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at Coventry, and some few such places, Non-Conf. Plea, 1st. part, 128.

Prsyn, Burton, and Bastwick lamented, but not a word of the Royal Martyr.

Presbytery not settled, says Rich. rd.

Ba. [It is not known that the Presbyterian Government hath been exercised in London, in Lancashire, and in many Counties these many years? 5. Disp. Pref. 28. 29. [Look into this County where I live, and you shall finde a faithful, humble, laborious Ministry, Associated, and walking in as great Unity as ever I read of since the Apostles Days: No Difference, no Quarrels, but sweet and amicable Correspondency, and Communion, that I hear of. Was there such a Ministry, or such Love and Concord, or such a Godly People under them in the Prelates Reign? There was not: Where we had Ten drunken Readers Then, we have not One now; and where we had One Able, Godly Preacher Then, we have many Now: and This is our Loss and misery in these times, which you so much lament. *Ibid.*

Baxter contradicts him, And comforts himself with comparing the days of Richard Protector with Charles I.

Ten schismatical Hypocrites Now for One formerly

Mo. This last passage I finde in a Preface Entitled [To those of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of This Land that adhere to Prelacy: Published in the year 1659. and usher'd in, by an Epistle Dedicatory, [To his Highness Richard Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England.

Baxters Complement to the Sons of the Church, 1659

Richard Crom-
wells faithfull
Subjects.

England, Scotland, and Ireland: with this expressi-
on in the last Page. [Your zeal for God will kindle
in your SUBJECTS a zeal for You: and for a Farewell,
[A Faithfull Subject to your Highness, as you are
an Officer of the Universal King.

Richard Baxter.

It is worthy of a Note Mr. *Baxter*, that your Pen
cuts more still in 1659. then it did in seven years be-
fore, and that your Humour runs much, (about
That season) upon Casuistical Points, and the Colla-
tion of Affairs, and Times. Now all the Reason I
can discern for your change of *Topique* still upon That
Crisis, is This. The Wheel was almost come round
again, and Rebellion upon the very point of finishing
its Course. For they had run the *Monorchy* down,
into an *Aristocracy*; That, into a *Democracy*; *Cromwell*
took up the Government next, in a *Single Person*. But
all these Successive Usurpations were so Grievous, and
Insupportable to the people, that necessarily the next
Remove must be the Restoring of the *King*, to perfect
the *Revolution*. Now so soon as ever you discover'd the
dawning but of the least hope for his Majesties Restau-
ration. what Mists did you presently cast before the
Peoples Eyes in your *Political Aphorismes*, upon the
Question of *Authority*, and *Obedience*? What pains
did you take to possesse the Nation with an Opinion
of the blessed differences betwixt the State of Matters
uoder *Richard* the *Usurper*, and *Charls* the *Martyr*?
and to hammer into the heads of the Multitude, the
danger of *Re-admitting* their *Lawfull Sovereign*? Pray'e
tell me Sir, was Mr. *Dance's Sequestred Living*, and
your Little *Worcestershire Association* so Inestimable a
Prize, that you could part with the *Bloud* of a most
Religious

Mr. *Baxters*,
Political A-
phorismes
composed ex-
pressly to keep
out the King.

Religious Prince; the Lives of at least Four score Thousand Christians; the Order of the Government, both in Church and State; your Lives, Liberties, and Estates; the Peace, Honour, and Well being of Three Kingdoms, and all This, in Exchange for Infamy, Beggery, and Bondage, and yet reckon your self a Gainer by the Bargain?

Ri. *The Common-wealths-men persecuted me and Others, so far as to make Orders to Sequester us, for not taking the Engagement; and for not keeping their Fasts and Thanksgivings for the Wars against Scotland.* R. B's. 2d. Admonition to Bagshaw. p. 90.

Poor Richard like to have sequestred for not fasting and praying against the Scots.

Ba. [It is a dreadful Observation to see so much of the Spirit of Malignity possessing those that once said they fought against Malignants; and that the Ministers and Servants of the Lord, are rayled at by many of Them, as formerly they were by the worst of Those that Their hands destroyed; and with this dreadful Aggravation, that Then it was but Some that were Reviled, and now, with many, it is All. Then, it was but under the Name of Puritans, and Round-heads; and Now it is openly, as Ministers, under the Name of Priests, and Black-Coats, and Presbyters and Pulpiteers. *Self-denyal, Ep. Monitory.*

The spirit of Malignity has taken possessi- of the Army.

The Presbyte- rians Persecu- ted.

Mo. This is to Intimate that the Presbyterians were under a Persecution, Who were the Persecutors, I beseech ye? Even Your own Journey men; who when they had wrought Sedition long enough under you, took the Trade into their Own hands, and set up for Themselves. And that you may not value your selves upon the Merits of your sufferings; Pray'e what was it that you suffer'd for? Presbytery is too Tyrannical for the spirit of an Independent to bear. The Stomack of That Party would not brook it, and so they cast it up again: For there is, though a Licentious, yet somewhat of a Practical, and Accomodable Generosity in that Party. But are not you aware, Gentlemen, that the

The Presbyte- rians Journey- men (the Army) set up for themselves.

Somewhat of an accomoda- Generosity in the Inde- pendents.

9
worſe you ſpeak of theſe people, the greater is your
Condemnation ; for making the *Episcopal Party* ſtill,
more *Inſupportable* then *Theſe*, at the very *Worſt* ?

The poor
Presbyterians
perſecuted by
the Army, for
not joyning
againſt the
Scots.

Ri. [*Was it not Perſecution, when many Anabaptiſts and Se-
paratiſts made ſuch work in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in
Cromwells time, and after, as they did? when ſo many were turn'd
out of the Univerſities for not Engaging, and ſo many out of the
Magiſtracy, and Corporation-Priviledges? And when an Ordi-
nance was made to caſt out all Miniſters who would not pray for the
ſucceſs of the Wars againſt Scotland, or that would not give God
thanks for their Victories. When I have heard them profeſs, that
there were many Thouſand Godly men, that were kill'd at Dunbar (to
inſtance in no other) and yet WE. were all by their Ordinance to be
caſt out, that would not give God thanks for This. Ch. Div. Pa.
256. 1668. What more harſh kinde of Perſecution could there be then
to force men to go Hypocritically to God againſt their Conſciences, and
take on them to beg for the Succeſs of a War which they Judge'd Un-
lawfull. and to return him a Publick Counterſeit Thanks for Blood-
ſhed ; yea, for the blond of Thouſands? &c. Ibid.*

Oh the perfe-
ction of for-
cing men a-
gainſt their
Conſciences.

But ſo long as
they do not
ſuffer as evil-
doers.

Ba. Only See to This Brethren, that none of you ſuffer as an
evill-doer ; as a busy-Body in other mens Matters ; as a Reſiſter
of the Commands of Lawfull Authority ; as Ungratefull to
Thoſe that have been Inſtruments of our Good ; as evill-Speak-
ers againſt Dignities ; as Oppoſers of the Diſcipline, and Or-
dinances of Chriſt ; as Scornfull Revilers of your Chriſtian Bre-
thren ; as Reproachers of a Laborious, Judicious, Conſcien-
tious Miniſtry, &c. *Saints Reſt. Pa. 131.*

No perfec-
tion to op-
preſſe the
Church and
all that love it.

Mo. You do not ſpeak I ſuppoſe of the *Seven* or
Eight and Twenty Cathedralls that were *Defaced* ; The
115. Miniſters forced out of their Livings within the
Bills of Mortality : nor of the *History of Querela Can-
tabrigienſis*. You accounted it no *Perſecution* the for-
cing of men to Pray for the Succeſſe of a *Rebellion*
againſt their *Sovereign* ; and to give God thanks for
the *Victories* over the King, and the *Loyal Aſſertors*
of his *Majeſties*, and the *Churches Rights* and *Go-
vernment*.

As.

As for you, Mr. *Baxter*, your Counsell is very good, if it were not that in the *Dignities*, and *Lawfull Powers* you have plac'd the *Crown* upon the *wrong head*: and directed an Obedience to the *Faction*, in stead of the *King*: after your usual Method of *Crushing* the *One*, to *Advance* the *Other*. But it will be a hard matter I believe to convince you that the *Presbyterians* destroy'd the *King*, and that they did it *as* Presbyterians too, though I reckon it to be very easily Probable both from their *Practises*, and *Positions*. And This I should not at This time have made the *Question*, but that your self Mr. *Baxter*, have been pleased to bring it upon the *Carpet*.

Mr. *Baxter* places the *Crown* upon the *wrong Head*.

The *King* destroy'd by *Presbyterians*, as *Presbyterians*.

Ba. [The Generality of the *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers*, and Godly people of This Nation, did never consent to *King-Killing*, and *Resisting Sovereign Power*, nor to the Change of the *Antient Government* of this Land. But they have been True to their Allegiance, and Detesters of Unfaithfulness and Ambition in Subjects; and Resisters of Heresy and Schisme in the Church, and of Anarchy, and Democraticall Confusions in the Common-wealth. *R.B. Sermon before the Commons, Anno. 30. 1660. Pa. 44.*

The Loyalty of *Baxters* *Orthodox* *Sober Ministers*.

Ri. It is most certain Brother, that we did never directly consent, (as you say) But Unhappily there hath been a difference among us which is the higher Power, when Those that have their Share in the *Sovereignty*, are divided: But whether we should be Subject to the higher Power, is no question with us. *ibid. 45.*

Richard subject to the Higher power, but not resolved which it is.

Mo. If by your *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers* you mean, the *Episcopal Divines*, your Assertion holds good, or in a *Litterall Construction* either; but if you intend the *Non-Conformists*, under these Two *Epithets* of *Orthodox*, and *Sober*; What do ye think of Mr. *Manton*, *Calamy*, *Cafe*, *Douglas*, *Burton*, *Herle*, *Goodwyn*, *Woodcock*, *Brooks*, *Bridges*, *Marshall*, *Cockayn*, *Faircloth*,

An Even score of *Orthodox* *Sober Divines*.

cloth, Saltmarsh, Sterry, Strickland, Newcomen? And for Brevity sake, *F. O. W. F.* and *R. B.* shall make them up an even score. I could shew ye how these Reverend Authors have traced the *King killing Cause*, from the very *Egg* to the *Apple*; (as they say) Preach'd the *Lawfullness* of the *War*; the *People* into a *Rebellion*; the *Kings Head* to the *Block*; and then Justify'd all when they had done. And yet who but these men of *Bloud*, to Quarrell with the *Government*, because they cannot get themselves *Priviledg'd* above the *Peaceable* and *Obedient Sons* of the *Church*?

The last Kings bloud not valu'd at a Ceremony.

What do ye think of the Author of *CELEUSMA*; that told the *Commons* in a *Sermon* *Sept. 25. 1656.* [That the Remove of *Prelatical Innovations* Countervail'd for the *Bloud* and *Treasure* shed and spent in the *Late Distractions*:] Is not this person now with his *Clamor ad Caelum*; a very *hopefull Solicitor* for a *second Reformation*? He that has Solemnly declared, that [**If the Re-Imposing of Ceremonies could have brought the Late King to Life again, he would never have yielded to it.**] At the *Rate of Computation*, why shall not a *Ceremony* at this day, out-weigh the *Life* of the *Son*, as Formerly it did That of the *Father*? But what needs more proof then the very *Order* of *Aug. 10. 1643.* For the *Assembly-Divines* to stir up the *People* to rise for their *Defence*?

There is another person also who is engaged in This present *Controversy*, to whom I would gladly Recommend a due *Consideration* of this following *Extract*.

[When

[When Kings Command Unrighteous things, and people suit them with willing Complyance, none doubts but the destruction of them both, is Just and Righteous] *A Fast Sermon to the House of Commons.* The Kings Murther justly'd the day after it was committed.
Fan. 31. 1648. Pa. 5.

He that is Entrusted with the Sword, and dares not do Justice, on every one that dares do Injustice, is afraid of the Creature, but makes very bold with the Creator. *Pa. 15.*

[The Kings of the Earth have given their Power to *Anti Christ*. How have they earn'd their Titles? *Eldest Son of the Chuach*; The *Catholick*, and *most Christian King*; *Defender of the Faith*; and the Like. Hath it not been by the Blood of Saints? is there not in every corner of These Kingdomes, the Slain and the Banish'd ones of Christ to Answer for? *A Fast Sermon of Apr. 19. 1649. Pa. 22.* Do not the Kings of all these Nations stand up in the Room of their Progenitors; with the same *Implacable Enmity* to the Power of the *Gospel*? *Pa. 22.* All Christian Kings Antichristianiz'd.

There are Great and Mighty Works in hand, in this Nation. Tyrants are punish'd; the Jaws of Oppressors are broken; bloody Revengefall people in Wars, disappointed, *A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Scots defeat at Worcester, Octo, 24. 1651. P. 2.* A Reflection upon his Majesty after his Defeat at Worcester.

[What is This Prelacy? A meer Antichristian Encroachment upon the Inheritance of Christ, *Pa. 5.* P. elacy Antichristian.

[A Monarchy of some hundred years continuance, always affecting, and at length wholly degenerated into Tyranny; destroy'd, pull'd down. Swallow'd up a great mighty Potentate that had caused terrour in the Land of the Living, and laid his Sword under his head, brought to Punishment for Blood, *P. 6.* A Pedant triumphing over Charles the II. and Monarchy it self.

[If

And calling
the King Ty-
rant.

[If any persons in the World had cause to sing the Song of *Moses*, and the *Lamb*, We have this day. The *Bondage* prepared for us was both in *Spirituals*, and *Temporalls*, about a *Tyrant* full of *Revenge*; and a *Discipline* full of *Persecution*, hath been our Contest: whether the Yoke of the One and the Other, should by the Sword and Violence, be put upon our Necks, and Consciences, is our Controversy, Pa. 7.

Are These Fit
Agents for
Unity and
Peace?

Is it not a Prodigious boldness for such Spirits as These, to obtrude themselves, either upon the Government, or the People, as men of *Scruple*, and the most competent Agents for the Promoting of *Unity*, and *Peace*? And you your self Mr. *Baxter*, have not been out neither at this great work of Reforming Confusion, as your own Confessions in some measure, but your Conversation and Writings do Abundantly bear Witness.

Richard True
to the King,
but he mistook
the King.

Mr. *Richard* here I must confess, furnishes you with a *Salvo* that *Ignatious Loyola* himself would have blush'd at. You were ever *True* to the *King*, you say, but you did not know *Who* was *King*. Some would have him to *be* where he was *NOT*, and Others would *not* allow him to be where he *WAS*. Sir, This doctrine might have done well enough in a Pulpit at *Coventry*, when you were *helping the Lord against the Mighty*; but from such a *Restoration-Sermon*, the Lord deliver us! There is *first* not one word of *Restoring* the *King* in't, though it was a *Faith* that had a *Particular Regard* to *That Debate*. 2. It Asserts the *Loyalty* of the *Presbyterians*, and yet at the same time, supposes the *Supreme Power* in the *Two Houses*, which, in few words makes the *Late King* both a *Subject*, and (with Reverence) a *Rebell*. 3. The Settling of the *Presbytery*, for that's allways the English of their **SOUND DOCTRINE**

Baxters Re.
stauracion
Sermon.
Asserts the
Presbyterian
Loyalty.
Makes the
King a Subject,
and worse.
Pleads for
Presbytery,
without a
word of resto-
ring the King.

CTRINE, and **CHURCH GOVERNMENT**, Pa. 46.) is violently prest as the first thing to be done. Give **FIRST** to God, the Things that are Gods. 43. with a Pharisaical Ostentation of the *Conscionable, Prudent, Godly*, People of the Land, Pa. 46. in opposition to the *Prophane*. You could not do any thing in the world more to obstruct his Majestys Return, and yet you are pleased to make this Sermon an Instance of your Zeal to advance it.

Ri. [The Parliament did not raise War against the Person or Authority of the King, nor did I ever serve them on any such Account: but to defend themselves against the Kings Mis-guided will. Holy Common-Wealth. Pa. 476. Their Commissions, (all that ever I saw) were for King and Parliament. We had Two Protestations, and a Solemn League and Covenant Impos'd upon the Nation, to be for King and Parliament. And if Declarations, Professions, Commissions, and National Oaths and Covenants will not tell us, what the cause of the War was, then there is no Discovery. Ibid. Pa. 477.]

The War rais'd for King and Parliament.
Their Oaths & Covenants were fast and loose at pleasure.

Mo. These Commissions, Oathes and Covenants tell you the *Pretext* of the War, but you must go to their *Proceedings*, and *Practices* to find the *Cause* of it. The Two Houses Seize the Kings Towns, Magazins, Forts, and Shipping. They violently take the *Militia* into their own hands; Vote an Ordinance of Both Houses as binding as an Act of Parliament. Declare his Majestys Commissions Voyd, Issue out Orders for Securing the Kingdome: Vote the Maintaining of a War, and the Seizing of his Majestys Magazins; Sequester the Church and Crown Revenues: and justify all these Injuries, as done in pursuance of their *Protestations*, and *Covenants*, and This is your way now of being *FOR* the King. Suppose that any man had beaten you, and Plundred ye, and Imprison'd ye, and abus'd your Friends for your sake, and a body should

The pretext of the War, Religion; the Cause, Ambition.
The Loyal Presbyterians usurp Sovereign Power.

te. 11

The Two Houses were the King in the Covenant.

tell you all this while that this man was FOR Mr. Baxter. If you were really for the King: why would not For the King according to the Oath of Allegiance do the business as well as For the King according to the Covenant? Or how came you to Alienate your self from his Majesties Jurisdiction, and to turn Subject, to the Two Houses? Who Absolv'd you from the One Oath, or who Authoris'd you in the Other? or when you found that the King in the Covenant clash'd with the King in the Oath of Allegiance, why did you not rather comply with the Law, then with the Usurpation? For it is Impossible to be True to both Interests, under so manifest an Opposition. You see the Colour of the War, and I shall not need to tell you that the Cause of it was Ambition, of Dominion, which was exercised to the highest degree of Tyranny.

No Reconciling of the Covenant King & the Legal.

Richard holds Oaths to Princes to be Dispensable

Ri. If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, shall sinfully dispossess him, and contrary to their Covenants, chuse and Covenant with Another; they may be obliged by their Latter Covenants, notwithstanding the Former. Holy-Common-Wealth. Pag. 188.

Baxter holds Oaths of Allegiance to be Indispensable.

Ba. That cannot be, my Friend; for we hold it [Impious and Papal to pretend to absolve Subjects from their Oaths to their Sovereign. Holy Com. Pa. 359. [It is not in Subjects Power, by Vows to with-draw themselves from Obedience to Authority. Non-Confor. Plea. P. 213.

Mo. But why can ye not now dispense with your Covenants, as well as you did formerly with the Oath of Allegiance?

Richard will hate the Covenant binding as it is a Vow.

Ri. Part of This Covenant is [against Popery, Superstition, and Profaneness; and all that is against Sound Doctrine and Godliness, &c. which the Non-Conformists take to be Lawful and Necessary things. Non-Conf. Plea. 1st. Part. P. 142. But the Controversy

zroversy is not This, and That, but whether as a Vow made to God, it binde to things Necessary. P. 143.

Ba. Soft a little. This that you speak of is the *League* and *Covenant*, not the *Vow*, and *Covenant*. The *Latter* was only a *Bond of Confederacy* to assist the *Parliaments Forces* against the *King*; and taken by the *Lords and Commons Jun. 6. 1673.* and then *Ordred Jun. 27.* to be taken all over the *Kingdome*. But the *Other* was *Composed* afterwards and upon closing with the *Scots* accomodated to the *Scottish Model*, and *Order'd, Feb. 2. 1643.* to be taken throughout *England and Wales*, and *Entitled, For Reformation, and Defence of Religion; the Honour and Happiness of the KING, &c.* [By this *Covenant*, you are bound, not only to an *Extirpation* of *Bishops*, but to endeavour the *Introducing* of a *Scottish Presbytery*: How can you then dispence with an *Admittance* of the *Primates Episcopacy*, as you propounded, in *Contradiction* to the *Terms* of that *Engagement* ?

The League
and Covenant
and Vow and
Covenant,

The League
and Covenant
Impos'd.

Baxter is his
own Confessor
and absolves
himself.

Mo. Favour me with a word I pray'e. Did ye not *Covenant* [to preserve and defend the *Kings Majestys Person, and Authority* ?]

Ri. Yes, [in the *Preservation* and *Defence* of the *True Religion*.

Ba. But in case of the *Kings Opposing* it, we are still *Obliged* [to continue therein, against all *Opposition*, and to promote the same, according to our *Power*, against all *Lets*, and *Impediments* whatsoever. See the *Covenant*.

The Cove-
nant for the
King, quali-
fy'd for Reli-
gion.

If the King be
against Reli-
gion the Co-
venant is a-
gainst him.

Mo. Let it suffice *Gentlemen* that your *Party* destroy'd the *King*; it is no great matter *How*.

Ri. [As to the *Death* of the *King*, I have in the times of *Usurpation*, proved that the *Presbyterians* detested it. That it was a *Proud Conquering Army*, by the *Contrivance* of *Ol. Cromwell*, and the *applause* of a Few *Phanatiques* that did it by the *consent* of a *Oliver*. small care of the *Old Parliament*, called the *Rump*, that durst not trust the *King in Power*. *Non-Conf. Plea. part. 2. Preface.*

Richard lays
the Death of
the King to

The *Baxters* attack'd the King.

Ba. Prethee *Dick* Speak truth and shame the Devil. What did we raise Armyes for? And Attaque the King himself in the Head of his Troops? Wee'l maintain *That*, by our *Principles*, and *Aphorisms*. [War is not an Act of *Government*, but *Hostility*. Men are not in Reason to be supposed to Intend their Enemies Good, if they *fight* we are to believe, they would *Kill*: and Nature believeth not *Killing* to be an Act of *Friendship*. *Holy Common-Wealth. Pa. 422.*

And they fought to kill.

Baxters Unfeigned Repentance.

I do Unfeignedly Repent that I did no more for Peace in my Place then I did; and that I did not pray more heartily against Contention, and War, before it came: and spake no more against it then I did; and that I spake so much to blow the Coals. For This I dayly beg forgivenessse of the Lord, through the Pretious blood of the Great Reconciler. The hatred of strife, and War, and Love of Peace, and Observation of the Lamentable Miscariages since, have call'd me often to search my heart, and try my ways by the word of God; whether I did Lawfully engage in That War, or not: (which I was confident then, was the Greatest outward service that ever I performed to God. And whether I Lawfully encouraged so many Thousands to it. *Holy Common-Wealth. Pa: 485. 486.*

Mr. Baxter consulted the Word of God about Opposing the King.

Mr Baxter would be the same man if another King were to be Depos'd and Murdered. *Mr. Baxter* very cautious of Treason against the two Houses. *Baxter* falls foul upon *Richard*.

[But yet I cannot see that I was mistaken in the main Cause; nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of Things. I should do all I could to prevent such a War, but if it could not be prevented, I must take the same side as then I did. And my Judgment tells me, that if I should do otherwise, I should be Guilty of Treason or disloyalty against the SOVEREIGN POWER of the Land; and of Perfidiousnesse to the Common-Wealth, and of preferring Offending Subjects, before the Laws, and Justice; and the Will of the King above the safety of the Common-wealth, and consequently above his own Wellfare. *Ibid*, And then for you so *Impudently* and *Impertinently*—

The-Moderator interposes

Mo. Nay, let's have none of this, Gentlemen I beseech ye, why You Two are Old Acquaintances; Fellow-Labourers, Fellow-Sufferers, and One Womans Children as we say.—

Baxter vindicates *Oliver*.

Ba. I shall not eat my words I assure ye; I may forget my self perhaps, but I am not a man for Recantations. I say again, that it was *Impudently* and *Impertinently* done to reflect upon

Oliver.

Oliver Cromwell, as if he had done an ill thing. My *Holy Commonwealth* [was written while the *Lord Protector* (Prudently, Piously, Faithfully, to his Immortal Honour, how ill soever you have used him) did Exercise the Government. *Holy Commonwealth, Preface to the Army.* [And I have forbore to change any One Word of it all, that you may see the worst of my Intendments. And that *True Principles will stand in all Times, and Changes*, though to the shame of those Changes that make bad Times. *Ibid.* These are my own words, and do you think that I would ever have bestowed upon a detestable wretch, the Epithetes of PRUDENT, PIOUS and FAITHFUL? And again; If *Oliver* had not been a Religious, and Gracious Prince, can you Imagine that I should ever have treated his Son *Richard* with this Complement? [We pray that you may INHERIT a Tender care of the Cause of Christ. *Key for Catholiques, Ep. Ded.* which shews both that *Oliver* had a *Tenderness* for *Christ's Cause*; and necessarily Implies that the *Cause* he *Managed* was the *Cause* of *Christ*.

A prudent, pious, Faithful Prince.

Baxter prays that *Richard Cromwell* may Inherit the Piety of his Father.

And then you shuffle it again upon the *Phanatiques*, and the *Rump*, that durst not trust the King with Power. Why prethee what Power did we allow him? We took away his Arms and his Men, and his Money, and his Credit, and his Towns, and his Ships, and his Laws, and his Liberty, and all the Ensignes of Royalty: and the Maxims whereupon we supported our Proceedings, did his business. The Two Houses and the Army were no more then the Gun and the Ball; The one gave fire and the other kill'd him.

The Presbyterians Disarm'd the King, and the Independents Kill'd him.

Mo. Mr. *Baxter*; I (as you say) you do *Unfeignedly Repent*, that you spake so much Formerly to blow the Coals. Why are ye blowing of them again? You carry'd Thousands you say, into the War, and Engaged in it your self, and would do the same thing over again upon the like Occasion: And your Judgment tells you that it were *Treason* against the *Sovereign Power* of the *Land* to do otherwise. According to This Doctrine, a Remnant of the Lords and Commons may do as much to This King as they did to his Father, and the Presbyterians Pulpits shall justify the Proceeding. You do Generously however to own your Positions. But yet methinks you should have some regard to the dismal Consequences that have ensu'd upon this Controversy.

Baxter repents, and then repents of his Repentance.

Baxter thanks
God for his
Blessings upon
this Nation in
consequence
of the Rebel-
lion.

Ba. [It were too great Folly, by *Following Accidents*, that were then unknown, for me to Judge of the *Former Cause*. That which Is Calamitous in the Event, is not allways sinfull in the Enterprize. Should the Change of Times make me forget the State that we were formerly in, and Change my Judgment, by losing the sence of what then conduced to it's Enformation, This *Folly* and *forgetfullnesse* would be the way to a *sinfull*, and not an *Obedient Repentance*. Nor can I be so Unthankful as to say, for all the sins and Miscarriages of Men since, that we have not received much mercy from the Lord : *Holy Commonwealth. Pa. 487.*

The Blessed
Difference be-
twixt the Go-
vernment of
the Late King,
& of *Cromwell*

When Godlynesse was the Common Scorn, the Prejudice, and shame most lamentably prevail'd to keep men from it, and so encouraged them in Wickednesse : But through the great mercy of God, many Thousands have been converted to a Holy, upright Life, proportionably more then were before, since the Reproach did cease, and the Prejudice was removed, and Faithfull Preachers took the Place of Scandalous ones, or Ignorant Readers. When I look upon the Place where I live, and see that the Families of the Ungodly are here one, and there one in a street, as the Families of the Godly were heretofore (though my own Endeavours have been too weak and cold) it forceth me to set up the stone of Remembrance, and to say [HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US. *Ibid.* [Oh the sad, and Heart-piercing Spectacles that mine Eyes have seen in four years space. [*This was Jan. 15. 1649.*] [In this Fight, a dear Friend falls down by me : From another, a Pretious Christian brought home wounded, or dead : Scarce a month, scarce a week, without the sight or Noise of Blood. *Saints Rest, P. 139.*

Baxters Com-
fortable Effects
of a Civill
War.
The Blessed
Times we had
kill the Army
got the better
of the Two
Houles

Mo. Here's first a most Evangelicall accompt of the blessed Effects of a Civill War : [*The Propagation of Holynesse.* And Then, a most Remarkable Calculation of the date of your Calamities, which commences precisely from the Armies getting the Ascendent of the Two Houses, without any respect to the Outrages both upon the Church and State, while the Presbyterians Govern'd.

Ri. Pray'e will ye [*patiently read over the Representation, or Letter of the London Ministers to the Lord Generall, Jan. 18. 1648.*

Mo. Very

Mo. Very well, and since you are pleas'd to cast the Cause, and the Integrity of your Party upon That Issue, wee'l see what they say.

[' It is allready sufficiently known (besides all former Miscarriages) what Attempts of late have been put in Practice against Lawfull Authority: Letter P. 3. [' This Lawfull Authority was a Faction of the Two Houses] Especially by the Late Remonstrance, and Declaration, published in Opposition to the Proceedings in Parliament. [Here's the Crimen lesa Majestatis.] [As also by seizing, and Imprisoning the Kings Person without the Knowledge, and Consent of Parliament. Ibid.

London-Ministers Letter to the Lord-General Jan 18. 1648.

The Armys Crime was the opposing of the Parliament, and Imprisoning the King without Leave.

[Here's only a plain Seizure of the Kings Person, without the Parliaments Privity or Leave ; No Condemnation of the Thing it self, further then as it was done without his Mesters Consent. Nor was the King more a Prisoner in the hands of the Army, then he had been at Newcastle, in the hands of the Presbyterians.]

Only a Seizure of the Kings Person! But an Unparallel'd Violence upon the Members of the House.

' But now they come to [That late Unparall'd violence offer'd to the Members of it ; forcibly hindring above one hundred of them (if we mistake not the Number) from sitting in Parliament : Imprisoning many of their Persons ; though many of them are known to us to be men of Eminent worth, and Integrity ; and who have given most Ample Testimony of their Real Affection to the good of the Kingdome. Ibid.

Being men of Eminent Worth and Integrity.

Pray'e take notice, that it was upon the Members, an Unparallel'd violence ; upon the King, no more then a Simple Seizure ; and methinks they might have bestowed some kind Epithete upon his Majesty, as well as upon the Eminent and Worthy Members. But 'tis only the bare King ; and That's All.

[' And besides All This, [There is an Intent of Framing and contriving a New Model, as well of the Laws, and Government of the Kingdom, as of the Constitution of a new kind of Representative. All which Practices we cannot but Judge, to be manifestly opposite to the Lawfull Authority of those Magistrates which God hath set over us ; and to the Duty and Obedience, which by the Laws of God and man, and by our manifold Oaths, and Covenants, we stand obliged to render to them. Ibid.

A Factions Remnant, the Magistrates which God hath set over us.

You

The London
Ministers Me-
diation little
lesse then
Treason.

You are not aware, Mr. *Richard*, that to Justify the Do-
ctrine of these Letters falls very little short of Justifying down-
right Treason; unless you can shew a Law that places the Su-
preme Power in the Two Houses.

Gods Ordi-
nance violated
when Magi-
stracy is op-
posed.

[' The Fear of God therefore, (whose Ordinance is violated,
when Magistracy is opposed) makes us affraid of meddling with
' Those who without any Colour of Legal Authority, meerly
' upon the Presumption of strength, shall attempt such Changes
' as these are. And we cannot but be deeply Affected with
' Grief and Astonishment, to see that an Army raised by Autho-
' rity of Parliament, for the Preservation of the Priviledges
' thereof, and of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, should con-
' trary to their Trust, and many engagements, do That which
' tends to the Manifest subversion of them All. P. 4.

The Divines
fear all of op-
posing God, in
an Ordinance
of the Two
Houses.

None of
these scruples
in the case of
the King.

Pray'e where was the Fear of God, when the King was op-
posed? what Legal Authority had the Two Houses over his
Majesty, more then the Army had over the Two Houses! Or
by what Law did That Parliament raise That Army?

The Presbyte-
rians True to
the Fiction
from the be-
ginning.

[We have not forgotten those Declared Grounds and Prin-
ciples, upon which the Parliament first took up Arms: and up-
on which we were induced to joyn with them: (from which we
have not *hitherto* declared, and we trust through Gods Grace,
we NEVER SHALL.) Pa. 5.

The Standard
of the Presby-
terian Loyalty
why not as
tender of a
breach of
Trust, accord-
ing to Law,
as against it?

We have here in few words, the Judgment, and the Resolu-
tion of the Presbyterian Divines, and the standard of their
Loyalty, from the Lips of the very Oracle of the Party. I
would fain know now which was the fouler breach of Trust,
That of the Two Houses toward his Majesty, to whom both by
Law and Conscience they were obliged, (besides so many Gra-
tious Concessions) or that of the Army, to the Two Houses!
The one being like the Robbing of an Honest man, and the o-
ther, the Pillaging of That Thief: Over and above that the
Army was Trayn'd up in the Trade of turning out their
Masters.

There was no
Intent to di-
vest the King
of his Legal
Rights.

[' And moreover; although the PARLIAMENT thus took
' up Arms for the defence of their Persons & Priviledges, and the
Preservation

Preservation of Religion, Laws, and Liberties ; yet was it not their Intention, thereby to do violence to the Person of the King, or divest him of his Regal Authority, and what of *Right* belongeth to him. *Pa.* 7.

Do but shew me now any one Essential of Sovereignty which those people left him, if they could take it away, and I will be answerable to forfeit my head for't. But still it is but what [*of Right*] belongeth to him ; and That's a *Salvo* for all the Violences Imaginable. But he had a Right to nothing then, for they took all away.

[We disclam, detest, and abhor the Wicked, and bloody Teuents, and Practices of *Jesuits* (the whrst of Papists) concerning the opposing of Magistrates, by Private persons, and the Murthering of Kings by any, though under the most specious, and Colourable Pretenses. *Pa.* 11. The Presbyterians call us they are no Jesuits.

This is All, which upon that desperate *Crisis* of *State* was said for that Pious and unfortunate Prince : the saving of the King, being (if any) incomparably the least part of the Ministers business. Beside that the dethroning of him was more Criminal then the beheading of him. And in such a case, it would have been no longer a Murther, when they should once have voted the Fact to be an Execution of Justice. Not one word for the King in the whole Letter.

[We desire (*Say they*) that you would not be too Confident on former successès. If God have made you prosper while you were in his way, this can be no Warrant for you to walk in ways of your Own. *P.* 12. [*So that the Old Cause is Gods still, to this very day.*] The Army in Gods way while they joyn'd with the Presbyterians?

And besides ; [you have engaged your selves by an Oath to preserve his Majestys Person, and the Priviledges of Parliament ; and This is most clear, that no Necessity can justify Perjury, or dispense with Lawfull Oaths. *Pa.* 15. Sworn to preserve his Majesties Person and Priviledges of Parliament.

I should be glad to know now, how you came to be absolv'd of the Oath of Allegiance, or how you can honestly pretend to Stand up for any Interest, that renders the King Accountable to his Subjects. Who absolv'd the Presbyterians of their former Oaths.

Ba. [Yet if I had taken up Arms against the Parliament If *Baxters* serv'd the King

54
 he had been a Traitor. in That War, my Conscience tells me I had been a Traytor, and Guilty of Resisting the *Highest Powers*. *Holy Com. Pa.* 433.

Mo. At This Rate, the King was a Traytor on the other side.

Baxters Holy Com. wealth, to be taken as Non-Scriptus. *Ba.* Why do you cite the *Holy Common Wealth*, so often? for I have desired that the Book be taken as *non Scriptus*. *Non-Con. Plea 2d part. Pref.*

A Shift, not a Recantation. *Mo.* And would not any Malefactor that were deprehended in the manner, say as much as this amounts to; and wish that the thing might be taken as *Non Factum*? This is rather a *Shift*, then a *Retractation*.

For the Aphorisms were Level'd directly against the King. And then again; it is a wonderfull thing that you should overshoot your self so much upon a Subject that was expressly [*Suited to the demands, and doubts of These Times,*] *Holy Com. Pa.* 102. That is to say; The Restoring of the King was the point then in Agitation, and out comes your Book of *Aphorisms* expressly to possesse the People against it.

Baxters Recantation. *Ba.* If you would have a Recantation more in Form, [I do here freely Profess that I repent of all that ever I thought, Sayd, Wrote, or did, since I was Born, against the Peace of Church or State, Against the King, his Person, or Authority, as Supreme in himself; or as Derivative in any of his Officers, Magistrates, or any Commissioned by him. *2d Admonition to Bagshaw. Pa.* 52.

A Repentance that will passe neither upon God, nor Man. *Mo.* This *Mock Repentance* is a Trick that will not pass either upon God or Man. The Kings Headsmen might have Sayd as much, and yet account that execrable Office a meritorious work. You are at your *Fast Sermon* again; Always *Obedient* to the *Highest Powers*, but divided somewhere about the *Receptacle* of the *Sovereignty*. You ask God forgiveness for all that ever you *Thought, Sayd, Wrote, or Did*, against the *King*, and the *Publick-Peace*. And what signifies This Repentance, so long as you persist in maintaining, that all the violences acted upon the Person, Crown and Dignity of his Sacred Majesty, in the Name of the King and Parliament, were not AGAINST the King, but FOR him, This is All, but the *Hypothesis* of a Transgression.

Transgression. *Lord forgive me all that ever I did amifs.* That is to say, *if ever I did any thing amifs.* But I charge my self with no Particulars. Why do ye not Touch the *Thesis* that you condemn; and say *This, That, and tother Aphorisme* I Renounce? Nay, why do ye not Reform and Correct your mistakes, and state the matter aright, toward the bringing of These people into their Wits again, that have been Intoxicated by your false Doctrine, and Poyson'd from your very Pulpit?

Ba. [If you Quarrell with my Repentance as not In-Particulars enow; I answer you, that as in the Revocation of the Book, I thought it best to *Revoke the whole*, (though not as *Retracting* all the Doctrine of it) because if I had named the Particular Passages, some would have said I had mentioned too Few, and some too many, and few would have been satisfi'd. *Admon. to Bagshaw. Pag. 53.*

Baxter Reasons why his Repentance is not Particular

Mo. You have Mark'd [*Revoke*,] and [*Retract*] with an Emphatical Character; to give to Understand, that you do not *Retract*, though you do *Revoke*, and you have put them in *Italique*, to shew that there lies a streffe upon Those two Words. You *Revoke the whole* [Book] you say, *not as Retracting all the Doctrine of it*: If by *Revoke* you mean *Call in*, or *Suppress*; you might as well call back your Breath again, as the venome that was diffused by those Aphorisms. And then to say that you do not [*Retract All the Doctrine of it*] does not necessarily Imply, that you *Retract* any part of it. Or if you do, your Repentance is yet Frivolous, for want of distinguishing the Right from the Wrong; that your Disciples may not take the One from the Other.

Mr. Baxter's Pia Fraus.
A Jesuitism.

Your Apprehension indeed of saying *too much*, or *too little* if you should come to *Particulars*, is very Reasonable: For to please the Lovers to their *Prince, Church, and Countrey*, you must not leave one Seditious, or Schismatical Principle behind ye. But then on the other side, if you come to pronounce the Levying of Arms, the making of a Great Seal, and Exercising other Acts of Sovereignty, without, and against the Kings Commission, to be High Treason by the Established Law, you are lost to all Intents and Purposes, with your own Party. So that for fear of disobliging the One side or the Other, by Con-

For fear of too Much or too Little, Mr. Baxter confesses just nothing at all.

H

fessing

feeling too much, or too little, you have resolved upon the middle way of confessing just nothing at all.

Mr. Baxter proceeds in his repentance

He ever opposeth what he sometimes encouraged.
A Baxterian.

Ba. [I do Repent (again) that I no more discouraged the spirit of peevish Quarrelling with Superiours, and Church-Orders ; and (though I ever disliked and opposed it, yet.) that I sometimes did too much Encourage such, as were of this Temper, by speaking too sharply against Those things which I thought to be Church-Corruptions : and was too loth to displease the Contentious, for fear of being Uncapable of doing them good, (knowing the Prophane to be much worse then They) and meeting with too few Religious persons, that were not too much pleased with such Invectives. *Ibid.*

B's very Repentances are Calumnies.

Mo. This Clause of Repentance, is every jot as much a Riddle to me as the former. You did not sufficiently discourage the spirit of Quarrelling with Superiours. [Which spirit you your self Raised.] You were a little too sharp upon what you thought to be Church-Corruptions, [So that here's a Bit, and a Knock, You were a little too sharp ; but it was against Corruptions in the Church ; Your very Repentances are Calumnies. But you were willing to oblige a Contentious Religious Party that was pleased with Invectives, you could have done them no good else. And what good I beseech ye did you do them by it, but mislead, and confirm them in Principles of Disobedience ? only you consider'd you say, that the Prophane were much worse then the Other.

He Repents and Relapses in the same breath.

What is the reason that Mr. Baxter will be perpetually thus Inconsistent with himself ; First you Repent for no more Discouraging, and then (by a side wind) for Encouraging ; and before the Repentance is out of your Mouth, you are at it again, with your CHURCH-CORRUPTIONS, and your opposition of the PROPHANE forsooth to the Godly, to Enflame the Division, and to Harden the Non-Conformists in their Dissent.

Prophaneness in Habit, and in Conspiracy

Now as to your Stigmatizing Character of Prophane, There is a Personal Prophaneness, and there is a Prophaneness of Association, and Confederacy. There are many men I know, that have gotten so diabolical a Habit of Swearing, Cursing and Blaspheming the holy name of God, that they can hardly speak Ten words without an Oath, or a Curse : This is without dispute a most abominable Sin ; But it is withall so Disagreeable,

able, and so offensive, that it gives a man a Horrour for the Imitation, and Practise, of so Unprofitable, and so Monstrous a Crime; and though it be a grievous *Wickedness*, it is not of so dangerous an Example. But what say you to Sacramental Leagues against Order, and Law? To the forcing of a whole Nation either to Swear or starve? to the calling God into a Conspiracy against Government and Religion? To the Robbing of Altars; demolishing of Temples; dethroning of Kings; degrading of Bishops? &c. And all This, *in the Name of the most High God*, and with *hands held up unto the Lord*. But go on with your Repentance.

A Coven-
ting Prophan-
ness worse
then a Perso-
nal.

Ba. [I do Repent (also) that I had not more Impartially and dilligently Consulted with the best Lawyers that were against the Parliaments Cause, (for I know of no Controversy in Divinity about it, but in Politiques and Law;) and that I did not use all possible means of full Acquaintance with the Case. *Ibid.*

He repents
that he did
not advise
with Lawyers.

[And that for a little while the Authority of such Writers as Mr. *Richard Hooker*, *Lib. I. Eccles. Polit.* and *Bishop Bilson*, and other *Episcopal Divines* did too much sway my Judgment toward the Principles of *Popular Power*.

An Invidious
Reflexion up-
on *Hooker*.

[And seeing the Parliament *Episcopal*, and *Erastian*; and not hearing when the War began, of Two Presbyterians amongst them all, nor among all their Lord Lieutenants, Generalls, Major Generalls, or Colonells, till long after; I was the easlyer drawn to think, that *Hookers Political Principles* had been commonly Received by all; which I discerned soon after upon stricter Enquiry, to be Unsound, and have my self written a Confutation of them. *Pa. 53.*

Mo. This way of Dodging, in one of the Prophane (as you stile us) would have been *Jesuitical*. Here's only a bare wish that you had made a stricter Enquiry into the Cause, but no Acknowledgment that you were in the Wrong. And again, If you knew of no Controversy in Divinity about it; why are all your Writings stuffed with such a Huddle of Texts for Obedience to the Two Houses? What did you search the Word of God for, in the Case? *Holy Com. Pa. 486.*

Jesuitical
Dodging.

If you were misled by Mr. *Hookers First Book of Ecclesiastical Polity* in Favour of *Popular Power*; why would ye not let him set

Why could
not *Hooker* see

him Right to
the Church, as
well as wrong
to the State.
Hookers popu-
lar power no-
thing to Co-
ordination.

Baxters Wri-
tings are a di-
rect Satyr up-
on Govern-
ment.

the Right in your *Ecclesiastical Politiques*, and in your Duty to the Authority, and Discipline of the Church, to make ye some amends? the Biasse which you will have him to take, in favour of Popular Power, being not one jot to your purpose, but regarding only the Specification of Government, and not the Fountain; and wholly Forrein to your Phansy of a *Co-ordination*: Whereas That Great mans discourse in vindication of the Rites and Injunctions of the Church comes directly to your Point: and stands as firm as a Rock against all the Insults of Calumny, and Opposition; without any pretense to a Reply. But you serve Mr. *Hooker* in *This*, and the *King himself*, and the *English Clergy* in *Other Cases*, as you do the Bishops in your *Church-History*: you turn over *Indexes* and *Common-Places* for matter of Reproach against them, and then obtrude upon the World, the Frailties of some, and your own most Uncharitable mistakes of Others, for the History of the Order; but not one word of Their Virtues. (It would make a black book, the Story of the *Presbytery* drawn up at the same Rate.) It is your way still, under a Pretext of advancing the *Mistical Church*, to depress the *Visible*, and to put the people out of Love with both *Civill* and *Ecclesiastical Constitutions*.

B's quarrel to
the Visible
Church.

Ba. [Pray'e do but observe and see of what manner of persons the Visible Church hath been Constituted, in all Ages of the World, till now. In the first Church, in *Adams Family*, a *Cain*, In a Church of Eight persons, the Father and Pastor overtaken with Grossé Drunkenness, and one of his Sons was a Cursed *Cham*. In a Church of six persons, Two of them perish'd (in *Sodom* (in the flames among the Unbelievers, and a Third turn'd into a Pillar of Salt: The Two remaining Daughters, committed Incest. In *Abrabams Family*, an *Ishmael*; in *Isaacks*, an *Esau*: even *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* guilty of deceitfull Equivocation; an *Abraham* and *Isaac* deny'd their Wives to save themselves in their Unbelief. In *Jacobs Family* a *Simeon* and *Levi*, that sold their brother *Joseph*. Of the Church of the *Isralites* in the Wilderness but Two permitted to enter into the Land of Promise, &c. [The Ten Tribes were drawn by *Jeroboam* to Sin, by setting up Calves at *Dan* in *Bethel*, and making *Priests of the Vilest of the People*; and forsaking the Temple, and the *True Worship of God* and the *Lawfull Priests*. And these *Lawfull Priests* at *Jerusalem* were *Ravening Wolves* and *Greedy Dogs*,

Dogs, and careles, and cruell Shepherds. The false Prophets who deceived the People were most Accepted.] *Ch Div. Pa. 35. S6. 37.* And if you run through the Churches of *Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Colosse, Ephesus, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Laodicea.* *Pa. 39. 40. 41.* you'le finde it to be the same case.

Mo. But what's your end in all This ?

Ba. [Not to make Sin less Odious, nor the Church or Godly less Esteemed: but to shew you the Frame of the *Visible Church*, in all Generations, and how it differeth from the *Jewish*; lest you should take on you to be wiser then God, and to build his house after a better Rule then his Gospel and the Primitive Pattern. *Ibid. Pa. 36.*

The Reasons of B's Unkindness to the Visible Church,

Mo. This is by Interpretation, The *Non-Conformists* are the *Invisible Church*; and the *Episcopall Clergy* are the *Raveng Wolves*, and the *Greedy Dogs*, and all the Sons of the Church of *England*, are the *Church Visible*, According to your most obliging way of Allusion. But there's one thing I forgot.

He makes Disfenters the Invisible Church and Conformists the Visible.

You say, the *Presbyterians* did not begin the War; which with your Favour is a great mistake, and yet not a pin matter to the case in Question; whether they did or not. Did not the *Kirk* lead the Dance, and the *Republican Faction* in *England* pay them their wages, and call them their *Dear Brethren* for their pains? And then the *Presbyterian* war was denounc'd in the *Pulpit*, and in the *Parliament-house* too, long before the *Republican* broke out openly in the *Field*. What if the first *Publick Sticklers*, were not at that time *Declar'd Presbyterians*? They were yet in the *Conspiracy* against *Bishops*, though under another Notion; and quickly after they Listed themselves under That very Profession, as the best cover in nature for their purpose; for That Schisme was never without a State-faction in the Belly on't. But nothing is more Notorious, then the Intelligence that was held, from the Beginning, betwixt the *Republican Caball*, and the *Presbyterian Divines*! The one drew the Bellows, and the Other Play'd the Tune. And take notice likewise, That *Presbyterian* was a mark of the *Faction* rather then a note of the *Religion*, and used in *Contradistinction* to *Royallist*. But Pray'e finish your Repentance.

Presbyterians began the War

A State Faction as well as a Schisme.

Ba. For

B's Implicite
Repentance.

Ba. For [All the rest of my Sins in this business, which I know not of Particularly, I do Implicitly and generally Repent of, and ask of God to give me a particular Conversion, &c.]
Ibid 53.

B's account
soon cast up.

Mo. If you have told all the Particulars you know of, your Account, Mr. *Baxter*, is soon cast up.

You begin with a *Generall Supposition*. All that ever I Thought, Said, &c. without any One Instance; or *Acknowledgement*. If you had sayd, *I have committed many Sins of This kindz, and of That*, it had been something.

A General
Particular
Repentance.

Your Second Branch of Repentance, is for *no more discouraging Peevishness* toward *Superiours*; and Then sometimes *too much Encouraging* it by being too *Sharp* your self against what you took to be *Church Corruptions*. Why Sorry for no MORE discouraging, when you were so far from discouraging at all, that on the Contrary, you Repent in the same Period, for *too much Encouraging*? This is, at the best; but a *Lame* and a *Generall*

Rebellion and
Peevishness.

Particular Repentance. That which you make no more of then the Spirit of *Peevish Quarrelling* (as if the people had only pist upon a *Nettle*) you should have spoken out, and call'd it the Spirit of *Contumacy*, and *Rebellion*. And what is it that you charge upon your self here, more then that you were a little too *Mealy-mouth'd*? But wher's your *Vindication* of the *Church-Orders* you mention? where's your *Determination* which are the *Right Superiours*. Why do ye not tell the People that you were mistaken in the Opinion of our *Church-Corruptions*; and Instruct them in their Duties of *Obedience* to *God*, and the *King*? Without so doing, That which you call Repentance, is only a *Snare* to the *Multitude*, and a *Scandal* to the *Government*.

B Repents of
being too mea-
ly-mouth'd.

Your next Pang of Repentance, is for not Consulting the best *Lawyers* that were against the *Parliament*, more *Impartially* and *diligently* then you did.

A Repentance
without a
Confession.

Is This the Repentance, Mr. *Baxter*, of a *Confessor*? A *Repentance*, without a *Confession*: an arrant peice of *Artifice*, and *Design*, to put on the *Disguise* of a *Recantation*, and without any charge or discharge of *Conscience*, to keep in with Both Parties. The Sin does not Ly in your not *Advising* with *Lawyers* concerning the State of the *Controversy*, but in *Plunging* your self and Others into *Bloud*, hand over head, contrary to the *Laws* of *God* and man, without so much as consulting the
grounds

grounds of the Quarrell. To the *Royallists* it looks like an excuse of your Disloyalty to the King; as who should say; *'Tis true, I was to blame: It was a Poynt of Law, and I should have taken better Advise upon't.* And if the Other Side accuse you as a desertor of the Cause, you can acquit your self There too, that you have not Repented of any one Poynt to their Prejudice. If it be not as I say, and that you mean Good Faith, do but publish your Loyalty to the World, in the manner, or to the effect Following, and I'll ask your Pardon.

And an abuse upon Both Parties.

I Do Declare, that the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, are still the Kings Subjects, and that it is not Lawfull for them to exercise any Act of Sovereign Power, Without or Against the Kings Command, or Consent. I do likewise declare that the War, Raised by the pretended Authority of the Lords and Commons in 1642. With all their Orders, Ordinances, and Impositions in pursuance thereof, Were also unlawfull: And that All Acts of hostility done by Them or their Order, against the King, or the Party Commissioned by him, during the Command of the Earl of Essex, Were Acts of disloyalty, and Rebellion.

Mr. Baxter's Test.

If you be really the man that you would be thought to be, you'll never Boggle at This Test: But if This will not down with ye, (let me tell you Sir, that to my knowledge worse then this, has) you will make me think of the Lady in the Proverbs, that *[Eateth, and wipeth her Mouth, and saith I have done no Wickednesse.*

Ba... You

Mr Baxter's
Challenge.

Ba. You Reflect in These Reproaches either upon my Particular Principles, or upon the Principles of the Party, or upon Both. As to my self; [If any man can prove, that I was Guilty of, hurt to the Person, or destruction of the Power of the King, or of Changing the Fundamental Constitution of the Commonwealth] &c. *Holy Com. Pa.* 489. 490. [I will never gain-say him if he call me a most perfidious Rebel; and tell me that I am Guilty of far greater Sin, then Murther, Whoredome, Drunkenesse, or such like. *Ibid.*

Or if they can solidly Confute my Grounds, I will thank them, and Confesse my Sin to all the World. *Ibid.*

Richard takes
him up and
proves him
guilty as to
the Kings
Person.

Ri. *Nay* Brother Baxter, you must give Me leave to put in a Word now; and first to your Practice, then to your Grounds. Did not you animate the Party that was in Arms against the King; as much as any man, and was That no hurt to his Person? [Remember (say you to the Army) how far I have gone with you in the Warr — And shall I be affraid of my Old most Intimate Friends? &c. *Holy Com. Pref.* Will you have it now that This Army, your Old, and intimate Friends, did no Hurt to his Majesties Person? And now bethink your self, of your Challenge in the Preface to your Holy Common wealth. [Prove that the King was the Highest Power, in the time of Divisions, and that he had Power to make that War, which he made, and I will offer my Head to Justice as a Rebel.] Is not This Destructive of the Kings Power? And is not This a Change of the Fundamental Constitution of the Commonwealth, to say that [the Members of Parliament considered disjunctly, may be Subjects, but that Conjunctly, as a House or Body, they have the Sovereignty.] *Holy Com. Pa.* 433. And again, pa. 462. [That the Parliament hath a part of the Legislative Power, (even of ENACTING, and not only of Proposing) is undoubted.

An Opposer
of the Kings
Power.

And the Fun-
damental
Constitution,

Ba. Nay if you go to That Richard, I shall call You to Account for your Practises and Propositions too. Do not you remember a certain *Dedicatory Epistle*, to Richard Protector, in your *Key for Catholiques*, where you have these words? [Give not leave to every seducer to do his worst to damn mens Souls. when you will not Tolerate every Traytor to draw your Armies or PEOPLE into Rebellion.] And again, [This is one that rejoyceth in the present happiness of England, and honoureth all the Providences of God, by which we have been brought to what we are.] Do not you here acknowledge Richard the Pro-
tectors

He acknow-
ledgeth the
Protectors
Sovereignty.
And blefseth
the Providen-
ces that
brought Ri-
chard to the
Government.

rectors Sovereignty? and blesse all the Providences that have brought matters so Comfortably about?

Ri. *Ay, Ay, Baxter; Thats a Doctrine you taught me in your Commowwealth. [I am bound to submit to the Present Government, as set over us by God, and to Obey for Conscience-sake, and to behave myself as a Loyal Subject towards Them. For a Full and Free Parliament hath own'd it, and so there is notoriously the Consent of the People, which is the Evidence that former Princes had to Justify their Best Titles. Pa. 484. Whereas in Truth neither was This a Free Parliament, nor any Parliament at all; neither was your submission to the present Power, an Act of Conscience, for the same Conscience would have oblig'd you as well to the King, upon the same Grounds.*

Richard had his Principles from Baxter.

Baxter makes the Protectors Title as good as the Kings.

Ba. In good time *Mr. Richard:* And who taught ye, I wonder your Compliments to *Prince Richard* in the *Five dissertations*? Where you Addressse your self [*To His Highnesse, Richard, Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*] *Ep. Ded.* And further [*Your Zeal for God will kindle in your SUBJECTS, a zeal for you. The more your Life & Government is Divine, the more Divine will you appear; and therefore, the more Amiable, and Honourable to the Good, and Reverend to the Evil. Parliaments will Love and honour you, and abhor the Motions that tend to a Division, or your Just Displeasure. Ministers will heartily pray for you, and prayse the Lord for his Mercies by you, and Teach all the People to Love, Honour and Obey you. The People will Rejoyce in you; and you will belov'd or Fear'd of All. Such Happinesse attendeth Serious Piety, when Impiety, selfishness, and Neglect of Christ, is the shame and Ruine of Prince and People. I crave your Highnesse Pardon for this Boldness, and your Favourable Acceptance of the Tender'd Service of,*

Baxters Addresses to Richard Protector.

A Faithfull Subject to your Highness, as you are an Officer of the Universal King,

Richard Baxter.

Ri.

Baxters Reso-
lution in three
Cases, expressly
to keep out
the King.

Ri. I keep still to my Old Master Doctour of the Aphorisms,
[If a Person enter into a military State against the People, and by
Them be Conquered, they are not obliged to Restore him, unless there
be some other Special Obligation upon them, beside their Allegiance.]
Thes. 145. And moreover [If the Person dispossess, though it were
Unjustly, do afterward become Uncapable of Government, It is not
the Subjects duty to seek his Restitution.] Thes. 146. And yet again
[Whosoever expells the Sovereign, though Injuri. usly, and resolves to
revive the Common-Wealth, rather then he shall be restored: and if the
Common-Wealth may prosper without his Restauration, It is the Duty
of such an Injur'd Prince, for the Common Good to resign his Govern-
ment; and if he will not, the People ought to Judge him as made In-
capable by Providence, and not to seek his Restitution to the Apparent
Ruine of the Common-Wealth.] Thes. 147.

Mo. Praye let me put in a Word betwixt ye. What do you
call Incapacitys?

Baxters Inca-
pacityes for
Government.

Dominion is
founded in
Grace.
Want of Pow-
er depose a
Prince.

Ba. [When Providence depriveth a man of his UN-
DER-
STANDING, He is *Materia Indisposita*, and Uncapable of Go-
vernment, though not of the Name.] Thes. 135. [If God per-
mits Princes to turn so WICKED, as to be Uncapable of Go-
verning, So as is consistent with the Ends of Government, he
permits them to depose Themselves.] Thes. 136. Again; [If
Providence Statedly disable him that was the Sovereign, from
the executing of Laws, Protecting the Just, and other Ends
of Government, it maketh him an Uncapable Subject of the
Power and so depose him.] For a Government so Impotent,
is None. A capacity for the Work and Ends is necessary in the
Person; and when That ceaseth, the Power ceaseth.] *Hol.*
Comm. Pag. 137. 138.

Ri. And then you say further, Thes. 153. That [Any thing that
is a sufficient Sign of the Will of God, that This is the Person, by whom
we should be Governed, is enough (as Joyned to Gods Laws) to ob-
lige us to Consent, and Obey him, as our Governour.) Upon which
Ground, you your self do Justify all that I have either said, or done,
in submission to Richard. And so you do likewise in your Thesis 149.

A Case against
his Majesties
Restauration.

[If the Rightfull Governour be so long dispossess, that the Common-
Wealth can be no longer be without Government, but to the apparent
hazzard of it's Ruine, we ought to Judge that Providence has dispos-
sess

sest the Former, and presently consent to another.] We must not say, that [because we cannot have such a man, wee'l have none, but be Ungoverned ; This is to break an Express Commandement, and to cast off the Order and Ordinance of God, for a Persons sake.] P. 162. And then there's another thing ; You put all the Cases that ever you could muster up, against the Kings Return. [If a King (you say) dissolves the Government he can be no Governour. If an Enemy, no King. A destroyer cannot be a Ruler, and Defender ; He proclaimeth Hostility, and is Therefore not to be Trusted.] Pa. 539.

Cases of Force
seizure.

Ba. Well; well? Richard. If you had pleased, you might have found out some other Aphorismes, where I have done as much Right I'm sure to Sovereign Power as any man living. Do not I say *Thef.* 326. That [It is the Subjects Duty to defend their Prince, with their Strength, and hazzard of their Lives, against all Forreign and Domestique Enemies, that seek his Life, or Ruine ?]

Baxter asserts
Obedience at
all hazzards.

Ri. If you speak This to the Cause in Question ; how will you come off where you say [If I had known that the Parliament had been the Beginners, and in most fault, yet the Ruine of our Trustees, and Representatives, and so of all the Security of the Nation, is a Punishment greater then any fault of theirs against a King, can from him deserve : and That Their faults cannot disoblige me from defending the Common-Wealth. I Owned not all that ever they did : but I took it to be my Duty to look to the mayn End. And I knew that the King had all his Power for the Common Good, and therefore had none against it ; and Therefore that no Cause can Warrant him, to make the Common-Wealth the Party, which he shall exercise Hostility against.] Ho. Com. Pa. 480. [All this seemed plain to me] And [When I found so many things Conjoint, as Two of the Three Estates against the Will of the King Alone, the Kingdoms Representatives and Trustees assaulted in the Guarding of our Liberties, and the Highest Court defending them against offending Subjects, and seeking to bring them to a Legal Tryal ; and the Kingdoms Safety, and the Common Good, involved in their Cause (which may be more fully manifested, but that I would not stir too much in the Evils of times past ;) All these, and many more concurring, perswaded me, that it was Sinfull to be Neutrals, and Treacherous to be against the Parliament in that Cause.]—[It were a wonder if so many humble, honest Christians, fearful of sinning, and Praying

Baxter against
the King
though the
Parliament
had been in
the wrong.

B. does not
love to rub
old sores,
Neutrality a
sin, and Treachery
to serve
the King.

The praying Rebels against the Loyal Damme's for Direction, should be all mistaken in so weighty a Case, and so many Damme's all in the Right.] pa. 481.

Ba. Very Learnedly apply'd. But do not I say Pa. 437.
 A just way of Deposing a King imply'd. That [if a Parliament would wrong a King, and depose him Unjustly, and change the Government, for which they have no Power, the Body of the Nation may refuse to serve them in it, yea, may forcibly restrayn them? If they *Notoriously* betray their Trust, not in some Tolerable matters, but in the Fundamentalls, or Points that the Common Good dependeth on, and engage in a Cause that would destroy the Happynesse of the Common-wealth; It is then the Peoples duty to forsake them, and cleave to the King against them, if they be Enemies to the Common-wealth.] Pag. 438.

Tho a Prince be injur'd, the people may joyne with his Enemies. **Ri.** Now I beseech ye Mr. Baxter be pleased to Compare pa. 437. with pa. 424. where you lay down This Thesis [Though some injury to the King be the Occasion of the War, it is the Duty of all the People to defend the Common-wealth against him; Yet so, as that they protest against That Injury.]

No Obedience due to an Usurper. **Ba.** But what say ye all this while to the Case of making Court to an Usurper? [When it is Notorious (say I) that where a man has no Right to Govern, People are not bound to Obey him, unlesse by Accident.] Thesis 339.

Usurpers must be oppos'd. **Ri.** [We detest their Ooinion, who think that a strong and prosperous Usurper, may be defended, against the King, or that the King is not to be defended against him, in the hazard of our Estates, and Lives.] Non-Conf. 2d. part. Pa. 77. [Meer Conquest without Consent, is no Just Title.] Ibid. P. 108. And again, [Usurpers have no True Power, nor do their Commands bind any one in Conscience to formal Obedience: nor may they be set up and defended against the Lawfull Governour.] Pa. 55. [And Those are Usurpers who by Force or Fraud depose the Lawfull Governour and take his place.] Ibid. [If Usurpers claim the Crown, the Subject must Judge which is their King and must defend his Right.] Non-Con. Plea. 70.

The people may mis-judge. **Ba.** But what if the People shall Mis-Judge? [All things are not destructive to the Common-wealth, that are Judg'd so by Dissenting Subjects.] Holy Com. Pref. [Nor are Subjects allow'd

allow'd to Resist, whenever they are confident that Rulers would destroy the Common-wealth.] *Ibid.* [Oh how happy would the best of Nations under Heaven be, If they had the Rulers that our Ingratitude hath cast off.] [Our old Constitution, was King, Lords, and Commons, which we were sworn and sworn, and sworn again to be faithfull to, and to Defend. The King with-drawing, the Lords and Commons Ruled alone, though they Attempted not the Change of the *Species* of Government. Next This, we had the *Major part* of the House of Commons in the Exercise of Sovereign Power, the *Corrupt Majority*, (as the Army call'd them) being cast out:] *Ibid.* &c. 'Tis no matter for the Following *Revolutions*; [To resist, or depose the *Best Governours* in all the world, that have the Supremacy, is forbidden to Subjects on point of Damnation. *Ibid.*

Baxt. laments
the losse of
the late Ru-
les.
Sworn, and
sworn, to King
Lords and
Commons.
The Lords &
Commons
rule alone, and
the Govern-
ment not
changed.

Ri. Pray'e hold your hand a little Mr. Baxter. If the Govern-ment was in King, Lords, and Commons, how came the Two Houses to Rule Alone, with an Usurpation? And without changing the Species of the Government? or how came we, that you say were sworn over and over to all Three, to depose the Head, and Submit to the other Two; and to let the Government sink from a Monarchy, into an Aristocracy? and why might not the Commons, cast out the Lords, and the Army the Commons, as well as the Two Houses cast off the King? Especially by your own Comment upon, [Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers.] *Ho. Com.* 309. Where you expound the Higher Power, to be Intended of the Governours in Actual Possession. What hindred this Argument from holding, when the King was in Actual Possession?

Baxter charg'd
with contra-
diction.

The Higher
Powers are
the Governours
in possession.

Ba. [A people may give an Honourary Title to the Prince, and not give the same to Others, that have part in the Sovereignty.] [So that Names are not the only Notes of Sovereignty. Wherefore one must not Judge of the Power of Princes by their Titles, or Names.] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 432. [The Law saith the King, shall have the Power of the *Militia*, supposing it to be against Enemies, and not against the Common-wealth, nor them that have part of the Sovereignty with him. To Resist him here is not to Resist Power, but Usurpation, and Private Will. In such a Case, the Parliament is no more to be Resisted then he, because they are also the Higher Power.] *Ho. Com.*

'Tis not the
Name that
makes the
King.

The people
Judges of the
King and of
the Law.

Seizethē
Kings Reve-
nue, and he is
no longer a
King.

Pa. 431. *And there's more in't yet.* [If a Prince be stately made a *Begger*, or forsaken, or Ejected by a Conqueror, and so Uncapable of Governing, if it be but *pro Tempore*, the Subjects for That time, (that have no opportunity to Restore him) are disoblighd from his Actual Government. [*Pa.* 139.

Inferiour Ma-
gistrates still
Subjects.

Richard ever
True to the
Crown.

Ri. *So that the Scizing of a Prince's Revenue, depose him from his Sovereignty, and discharges his Subjects of their Obedience. But I took [Inferior Magistrates to be Subjects of the King as well as the meanest men; and to have no more Power to Depose, or take up Arms against him, then other Subjects.] Non-Con. Plea, 2d. part p. 57. And [In all the times of Usurpation, and since, I said, and wrote, that the Kings Person is Inviolable, and to be Judg'd by none, either Peer, or Parliament, and that it is none but Subjects, that they may call to Account, Judge, and Punish.] Pref.*

The Law of
Nature is a-
bove the Law
of the Land.

Ba. I shall leave [Others to Judge, in what Cafes Subjects may Resist Kings by Arms; We shall only Conclude, that no Humane Power can Abrogate the Law of Nature, *Non-Con. Plea. 2d. Part Pa.* 57.

Modest Sub-
jects study
their own
Duty not
the Kings.

Ri. *And may not the Two Houses be Resisted by the Law of Nature as well as they opposed the King? [Modest Subjects should rather study what Laws God hath made for Themselves, then what Laws he hath made for Kings; and what is their Own duty then what is the Kings: [**Though of This they are not bound to be Ignorant.**] Non-Con. Plea, 2d. Part. Pa.* 48.

Sovereign
Power not to
be restrained
by the people.

Ba. Nay I am as little for Restraining of Sovereign Power as any flesh breathing. [It is not safe or Lawfull for the People to Limit, or Restrain the Sovereign Power, from disposing so far of the *Estates* of All, as is necessary to the safety of All, which is the End of Government.] *Thesis* 115. Nay [A Governour cannot Lawfully be Restrained by the People from preserving them.] *Thes.* 120. [For the Multitude are Covetous, Tenacious, Injudicious, and Incompetent Judges of the Necessities, or Commodity of the Common-wealth.] *Pa.* 115.

The Multi-
tude no Judges
of Govern-
ment.

Ri. *But what was it you were saying e'en now of the Best Governours in the World?*

Ba.

Ba. I was saying, that [the Best Governours in all the World that have the Supremacy have been Resisted or deposed in *England*. I mean 1. Them that the Army called the *Corrupt Majority* : or an Hundred Forty and Three Imprison'd, and Secluded Members of the Long Parliament, who, as the *Majority*, had, you know what power. 2. The Powers that were last layd by. I should with great Rejoycing give a Thousand Thanks to That man, that will acquaint me of One Nation upon all the Earth, that hath better Governours in Sovereign Power (as to Wisdome and Holyness Conjunct.) then those that have been Resisted, or deposed in *England*. *Ho. Com. Pref.*

The Secluded Members and the two *Cromwells* the best Governours.

Ri. You Speak of the Secluded Members, and the Two *Cromwells*. But they all came in by Violence ; And [I know none of the *Non-Conformists* that take it not for Rebellion, to pull down or set up forcibly by the Sword, any thing against the Supreme Ruler, or Without him] *R. Bs. Letter to Mr. Hinckly. Pa. 83.*

Rebellion to oppose the supreme Rulers.

Ba. [The Parliament did Remonstrate to the Kingdom, the danger of the Subversion of Religion, and Liberties, and of the Common Good and Interest of the People whose Trustees they were] *Ho. Com. Pa. 471.* And [If a Nation Regularly chuse a Representative Body, of the most Noble, Prudent, Interested Members, to discern their dangers and the Remedies, and preserve their Liberties and Safety, the People themselves are to discern These Dangers, and Remedies by *THEIR* eyes.] *Thef. 356.* And I think [it was time for us to believe a Parliament concerning our Danger, and Theirs, when we heard so many Impious persons rage against them] *Pa. 472.* [the Irish professing to raise Arms for the King, to defend his Prerogative and their own Religion against the Parliament. I say, in such a time as This, we had Reason to believe our entrusted Watchmen, that told us of the danger, and no Reason to suffer our Lives and Libertyes to be taken out of their Trust, and wholly put into the hands of the King. We had rather of the two, be put upon the Inconvenience of Justifying our Defence, then to have been Butcher'd by Thousands, and fall into such hands as *Ireland* did.] *Pa. 473.* But [all the Wars that have been since the Opposition to the Parliament, and Violence done to the Person of the King : were far from being own'd by the Com-

The Parliament told us our danger.

And we were bound to see wish Their Eyes.

The King himself opposed and *Baxter* re'ov'ed to justify it.

mon Sort of the *Now Non-Conformists, &c.*] *Non-Conf. Plca. Pa. 138.*

Ri. *You were saying a while agoe as I remember, that a Parliament that destroys Fundamentals, is an Enemy to the Commonwealth, and the People ought to oppose them. Pray'e Say: Is not the Freedome and Right of the Electors, as much a Fundamental, as the Priviledge, and Trust of the Elected? How comes it then that you proponnd the Reducing of Elections to the Faithfull, honest Upright men,] &c. Pref. to the Ho. Com.*

A Fundamental destroy'd.

Exter defends it. Parliaments may be corrupt.

Ba. Let me speak afterwards of the *Necessity*, and of the *Utility* of This Cause.

1. [It is known that Parliaments *quà Tales*, are not Divine, Religious, Protestant, or Just. The Six Articles by which the Martyrs were burnt, were made by a Parliament. All the Laws for the Papal Interests in the days of Popery. have been made by them. They have often Followed the Wills of Princes to and fro, and therefore they are not Indefectible, nor Immutable, as such. *Ho. Com. Pa. 243.*

Instances of Parliamentary Corruptions.

Mo. Very right ; and all the late Orders and Ordinances for Sequestring Crown and Church-Revenues, Commitments, Plunders, Decimations and the like, were made by that which you call a Parliament. But see now in what a Condition That people must be, that sees with the Parliaments Eyes, in case of such Parliaments, as you suppose : and the Remedy you prescribe, is worse then the disease ; for take away the Freedome of Choyce, and the Persons Chosen are a *Faction* rather then a *Parliament*.

Notes may be carried by Faction.

Ba. 2. [It is known that there are Members of Various minds in them all, and sometime, the miscarrying Party is so strong, that by a few more voices they might bring Misery on the Common-wealth.] *Ibid.*

As appears to our cost.

Mo. This we have found in severall cases upon Experiment ; to the Ruine of three Kingdomes.

The major part of Electors are ill men.

Ba. 3. [It is well known that in most parts, the Major Vote of the Vulgar that are Chusers are Ignorant, selfish, of Private

Private Spirits, ruled by mony, and therefore by their Landlords, and other Great and Powerful men, and withall, they are bitterly distasted against the Serious, diligent Practice of Religion, according to the Rules of Christ.] *Ibid.*

4. [It is therefore apparent, that if they had their Liberty, They would chuse such as are of their minds ; and it was by Providence, and Accident that heretofore they did not so.] *Ibid.* And will chuse others like themselves.

Mo. Here's a Compendious Model Mr. *Baxter* of your Project [for the due Regulation of the Electours, and Elections of Parliament] *Thef.* 211. First, you propound to take away from the People of *England*, their Ancient, and Undoubted Right of Chusing their own Representatives. 2. to Unqualify all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land that are Well Affected to the Government of Church and State. And 3ly. To Pack a Faction under the name of a Parliament of your own Leaven. Or if that will not doe, 'tis but employing the Rabble again to give the House a swinging Purge, and you are at your Journeys End. Proceed. *Baxter's* model for Regulation of Elections. The People's Right of Election taken away by partial qualifications. A Faction packt under the name of a Parliament.

Ba. 5. [It is certain, that the Wars, the Change of Church-Government, and Forms of Worship, the Differences of Religious men, and the many Sects that have lately risen up among us, and the strict Laws of Parliament about the Lords day, &c. and Specially their Taxes, have deeply discontented them, and exasperated them against such as they think have caused these, so that many would now purposely design Their Ruine.] *Ibid.* *In fine*, [Without Regulating Elections, what Probability is there, but the next that is chosen by a Majority of Votes, with absolute Freedom, will undoe all that hath been done ; and be revenged to the full on all that were so odious to them, and Settle our Calamity by a Law ? The People are disoblig'd, and not trusted with chusing their own Representative.

Mo. This is a more Candid Account Mr. *Baxter*, then you Intended it. For the People may well be allow'd to have Curfed the Authours of those bloody Broyles ; The Prophaning of our Temples ; The suppressing of our Church-Government, and Liturgy, the Propagating of so many Sects and Schisms ; and bringing the Nation to Grone under Their Taxes, like the Ass under the Burthen. But how is That the Peoples Representative, that Shuts the people out of the Election, and acts The people sick of their Representative.

K

both

both Without, and Against their Consent? The Tenth part of this encroachment upon the Common Liberty, from the King, would have been Cry'd out against, as Arbitrary And Tyrannicall. But what way would you direct for the Limiting of the Qualifications?

The Pastors to approve of the Electors.

Pa. [Let all Pastors in *England*, that are Approved, have an Instrument of Approbation, and all that are Tolerated, an Instrument of Toleration; and let no man be a chuser or a Ruler that holdeth not Communion with an Approved or Tolerated Church, and is not signify'd under the Pastors hand, to be a Member thereof.] *Thef.* 219.

The Empire of Presbytery,

Mo. A most excellent Invention to advance the Empire of Presbytery, and enslave all other degrees and Perswasions of men whatsoever.

The Petition and Advice concerning Elections.

Ba. [The Humble Petition and Advice determineth, that under the Penalty of a Thousand pounds, and Imprisonment till it be paid, no person be Elected and sit in Parliament but] [*Such as are persons of known Integrity, fear God, and of Good Conversation.* They are sworn also for *Fidelity to the Protector, &c.*] A more excellent Act hath not been made, for the happynesse of *England*, concerning Parliaments, at least, since the Reformation.] *Ho. Com.* 257. 258.

Baxters admirable Expedient.



His qualifications accepted.

Mo. But what is it that you mean by this *Known Integrity*? or who are to be the *Judges* of it? I take That man that Publicly Sacrifices his Life, his Fortune, his Family, and his Freedom to the service of his Prince and Countrey, according to the Law, to be a man of *Known Integrity*: and him that Acts in opposition to the Law, and to his duty, to be clearly the contrary. I take the *Publican*, that smites his breast, and crys, *Lord be merciful unto me a sinner*; to have more of the *Fear of God* in him, then the *Pharisee*, that *Prays* in the *Market Place*, and *thanks God* that *he is not as Other men are*: And I take him to be of as *Good a Conversation*, that submits quietly to the Rules of the Government; Reverences Authority, and contents himself with his Lawful Lot, As he is that values himself upon Outbraving Publique Order, Reviling his Betters; Living upon the spoil, and devouring the Bread of the Oppressed.

The Pharisee and the Publican.

[What

What would you say now to the turning of the Tables, and setting up of your *Qualifications* on the *other side*? and to the Kings excluding of the Non-Conformists by an Oath of Fidelity to himself, as your *Richard* [excluded delinquents in the late *Elections.*] *Ho. Com. P. 244.* [So that the People durst not go according to their *Inclinations.*] *Ibid.* But why do I argue from your *Præfises*, when your *Positions* do naturally leade to the same undutyfull *Ends*?

What if the King should take upon him so?

Ba. [My dull Brain could never find out any one point of difference in *Theology*, about the *Power of Kings*, and the *Duty of Obedience* in the *People*, between the Divines called *Presbyterians*, and *Episcopal.* If you know any, name them me, and tell me your *Proofs.* *R.B's. Letter to Mr. Hinckly,*] *Pa. 26.*

Baxter findes Presbyterian and Episcopal Loyalty the same.

Ri. 'Tis a *Confounding* of your *Metaphysicks* methinks with your *Politiques*, to talk of *Points of Theology*, in matters of *Civil Power and Obedience*; without distinguishing between our *Credenda and Agenda*, *Notion and Practice*; *Supernaturall Truths and Moral Duties.* And why [The Divines CALLED *Presbyterians*] and not rather the *Presbyterian Divines*? For they are not ALL, *Presbyterians*, that are so CALLED; and there's a great deal of difference betwixt the *Principles of Presbyterian Divines*; as *Presbyterian*, and the *Principles of those very Presbyterians*, as they are ranged under the *Banner of a Civil Interest.* But over and above all This, you have carry'd it a great deal too far, to say that the *Episcopal*, and the *Presbyterian Divines* hold the same *Principles in the Point of King and Subject.* You should rather have acknowledg'd the *disagreements*, and maintain'd the *Principle.*

Baxter confounds his Metaphysicks with his Politicks.

We hold, 1. [That the *Parliament* by the *Constitution*, have part of the *Sovereignty.*] *Ho. Com. Pa. 457.* [2. That the *Sovereignty* is jointly in *King, Lords and Commons*, as *Three Estates.*] 465. [3. The *Parliament* have a *Power of Enacting Laws* as well as of *Proposing them.*] *Pa. 462.* Whereas The *Episcopal Party* pronounce the *Sovereignty* to be only in the *King*; 2. They assert the *Kings sole Supremacy* in all *Causes*, and over all *Persons*, whatsoever as well *Ecclesiastical*, as *Civill*, and 3. That the two *Houses* have no share at all in the *Sanction.* We hold likewise that It was *Treason* to resist the *Parliament*, as the *Enemy* did, apparently in *Order* to their *Subversion.*] *Ho. Com. 478.* [That the *Parliament* was the highest *Interpreter*

Presbyterian Positions,

Episcopal Positions.

Presbyt. Posit.

terpreter of Laws that was then Existing, in the Division.] Ibid.
 And so we find that every step of the Parliamentary War was Justify'd
 by the Assembly, and the whole Current of the Presbyterian Di-
 vines: The Episcopal Clergy Unanimously declaring themselves to the
 contrary. Who but the Assembly July 19. 43. in the Names of
 Themselves and Others, to call for the Execution of Justice, on All
 delinquents? Husband 2d. Vol. of Collections, 241. And who a-
 gain, Aug. 10. 1643. but The Divines of the Assembly that are Re-
 sistant of the Associated Counties, and now Attending the Assembly,
 are desired to go down into their severall Counties, to stir up the people
 in Those severall Counties, to rise for their Defence.] Ibid. 285.
 So that in the Main, we differ upon the very Constitution of the Go-
 vernment; the Power of the Prince, the Duty of the Subject, and
 upon every point of the Parliamentary War: And we are no lesse
 divided upon the Scheme of Forms, and Ceremonies.

Episc. Posit.

The Assembly
 crys out for
 blood.
 And stir up
 the people.

Mr. Baxter ne-
 ver wrong'd
 any man.

Ba. [Prove that I or any of my Acquaintance ever practis'd
 Ejecting, Silencing, ruining men for things Unnecessary; yea
 or for Greater things. Whom did we ever forbid to Preach
 the Truth? Whom did we cast out of all Church-Mainte-
 nance? Whom did we Imprison!] R. B's. Answ. to Dr.
 Stillingsfleet. Pa. 97.

Richard re-
 freshes his
 memory.

Ri. You forget your self Brother: and I am for speaking the Truth,
 though I shame the Devill. Pray look into Mecurius Rusticus his Ac-
 counts of the London Clergy that were Ejected, Silenced, and
 Ruin'd by Order of Parliament: See his Querela Cantabrigienis,
 for the Heads, Fellows, and Students, of Colledges, that were
 There Ejected, Plunder'd, Imprison'd, or Banish'd for their Af-
 fections to the King, and the Establish'd Religion. Consider that
 You your self took the liberty to Graze upon another mans Pasture:
 And all these Violence were carry'd on by your Encouragement, In-
 fluenced by your Approbation; and the Principal directors of them,
 extold to the Skyes, as the [Best Governours for Wisdome and
 Holynesse,] Ho. Com. Pref. under the Cope of Heaven.

Mr. Baxters
 Governours.

A Plot upon
 the Presbyte-
 rians.

Ba. But however, [Either they must prove that we hold
 Rebellious Principles, or they shew that they do but in Plot
 accuse us.]

I know

I know very well that [*The Transproser Rehearsed, Pa. 48.* saith Mr. Baxter in his *Holy Commonwealth* mayntaineth that he (the King) may be called to Account by any Single Peer.] [Must we say nothing to such bloody slanders ? Never such a Thought was in my mind, nor word spoken or Written by me. But all is a meer False-Fiction : Nay in all the times of Usurpation, and Since, I said and Wrote, that the Kings Person is Inviolable, and to be Judg'd by none, either Peer, or Parliament, and that it is none but Subjects that they may call to accompt, and Judge, and Punish ; and that neither the King may destroy or hurt the Kingdome, nor the Kingdome the King, (much lesse a Peer) but their Union is the Kingdomes Life. And the very Book Accused, goeth on such Principles, and hath not a word meet to tempt a man in his Witts to This Accusation. Judge now by this one Instance, and by the Cry of the Plotters now against Us, [*Cavilina Cethegum,*] seeking our destruction, and the Parliaments, as supposed to favour us (which for ought I know never did any thing for our Relief, or Ease) whether it be meet, that I should dye in silence under such horrid Accusations : Against which I appeal to the Great and Righteous Judge, before whom I am shortly to appear, begging his Pardon and Reforming Conviction whereever I Erre.] Apr. 16. 1680. *Non-Con. Plea, 2d Part. Preface. last Page.*

A bloody
slander.

Alas ! the Ho-
Com. a most
Innocent
Book.

Mr. Baxter
lies under
horrid Accu-
sations.

Mo. Be not so Transported Mr Baxter at the bloody Slander, as you call it: for the very excusing of your self after This Manner, falls heavier upon you, then the Accusation it self. There was a Gentleman of a Good Family, that had Stol'n a Silver-Spoon ; and it was layd hometo him, as a mighty Aggravation of the Crime, that a man of his Quality could let himself so low, as to pilfer for such a Trifle. Ay Sir, Says he, you say very Right, if That had been All ; But in good Faith Sir, my Aym was at the Great Tankard, If it had been a Single Peer, it had been indeed a bloody Slander ; But your Ayme was the calling of the King to an Account, by the Authority of the Two Houses. And then you are pleased to .bless God for the next Change that call'd Them to Account too : for you give the Two Usurpers much better Words, then any you could afford to the Lords Annoynted. You call Them the Higher Powers, and enjoyn Obedience to Them upon the pain of Damnation ; which is a Favour you would never allow to his Late Majesty.

Mr. Baxter }
transported.

Any Govern-
ment but the
Right.

Any

Any Government but the Right will down with ye, and Still That which was a *Rebellion* in the *Enterprize*, proves to be a *Providence* in the *Execution*.

A King is a name of Respect not Power.

The Kings Authority made precarious.

And under several Incapacities.

Baxters Horrid Accusation.

His Character of our Churchmen.

But do you say *Mt Baxter*, that you have always asserted the *Kings Person* to be *Inviolable*, &c. and that *the very Book accused goeth on such Principles*? Why then it is no hurt to the *King*, to be *Affaulted*, *despoyl'd* of his *Regalities*; *Deposed*, *Imprisoned*, *Try'd*, *Condemn'd* and *Executed*. For the *King* you say is but a *Title of Respect*, not a *Character of Power*: a *Nominal*, *Empty businesse*. A kinde of *Dignity*, *Party-perpale*, *Half-Prince*, *half-Subject*; and 'tis but taking him on the *Popular side*, and you may do what you will with him. This is the *Chimera* of a *Prince*, according to your *Aphorismes*: A kinde of *Mock-Majesty* set up, for every *Seditious Libertine* to throw a *Cudgell* at. You make his *Authority* to be so *Conditional*, and *Precarious*, that he is upon his good behaviour for his *Crown*. If his *Administration* be not answerable to the *Ends of Government*: If he wants either *Power*, or *Money*, or *Grace*, or *Understanding*; or (which is worst of All) If the *Licentious Rabble* will but say, that he wants This, or That, hee's gone, and *Deposed*, *Ipsofacto*, as an *Unqualifi'd Person*. For according to your *Thesis*, The *Multitude* are to be the *Judges of These Incapacities*. It is a hardy *Adventure*, *M. Baxter* (unless you can make *Almanacks*) to set up such *Positions* as These, at This time of day. 'Tis True, They were printed in *Fifty-nine*, But they are now *Resum'd*, and *Avow'd* in *Eighty*. But your *Patience* yet a little further *Sir*.

Is it such a *Horrid Accusation*, to say that *Mr Baxter Maintains the King*, may be call'd to *Account* by a *Single Peer*? Consider first, that it is a *Church-man* charges it upon you, and you are before-hand with him: for you have over and over, set forth Those of the *Church-way* (without exception either of *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*) to be a *Crew of Superstitious, Formal, Prophane Wretches* that out of a meer *Enmity to Godlynesse*, set themselves in *Opposition* to the ways of *Christ*. Take notice again, if you have not deliver'd the *Doctrine* aforesaid in expresse *Termes*, It is already made appear that you have said as much as That amounts to. And over and above the *Whymisies* of your *Aphorismes*; your *Thirteenth Chapter*, of the *Late Wars* is one of the *Rudest* and the *falsest* pieces of *Calumny* against the *Late King*, that I know anywhere *Extant*.

Your

Your Appeal upon *This One Instance* (as you call it) for *Equity of Judgement*, and *Liberty of Speech*, would move the very Stones in the Walls, to give you a Hearing. And yet if, I had been of your Counsell Mr. *Baxter*, you should have be- thought your self, before you *Exclaim'd*, whether the En- quiry into the Subject-matter of your Complaint, might not possibly lay open something that was worse, As un- doubtedly it has; for This *Holy Commonwealth* of yours, is a kind of (send me well deliver'd of the Word) a kind of *Theologi- co-Political Whole-Sale Shop*; and furnished with *Cases*, of all Sorts and Sizes. for the *Consciences* of the *Weak*, and the *Pre- tentions* of the *Malitious*. In One Case, the King is *Dispossess'd* by *Providence*; In another, he is *deposed* for *Incapacity*; In a Third, he must not so much as dare to *Return*, even if the *Door* wer set open to him: In Such or such a case, the *People* are bound *not* to Re-admit him; and in such another, they may if they *please*, but they are not oblig'd to't: and every one of These Cases, Calculated for this very Poynt, which was at That Time in Agitation. Insomuch, that the *Appli- cation* of your Arguments was yet more Criminal then the *Errour* of them.

Baxters dam- nable Cases of Conscience.

But what do ye mean, I beseech ye, by the *Cry of the Plot- ters against ye*? As if they knew their Friends no better then So. Their business is the *Subversion* of the *Government*, and of the *Protestant Religion*, that falls with it. What should they cry out for against the *Separatists*, that are all this while, doing the *Papists business* to their hands? The Kings Wittnesses Speak no such matter; but on the Contrary; that the Priests and Jesuits make use of the *Schismaticques* toward our Com- mon Ruine. So that by *Plotters* in This place *Mr. Baxter*, it is Intended (I presume,) according to your Wonted Be- nignity) not the *Papish Plotters*, but the *Episcopal Plotters* a- gainst ye; which (as you would gladly have the World to believe) *Seek your Destruction, and the Parliaments, as supposed to Favour ye &c.* Now to my thinking, *the Parliaments Destruction, and Ours*, would have run every jot as well, as *Our De- struction and the Parliaments*. Beside that it is not yet come to That Pass I hope, that *Parliaments, and Schismaticques, must Stand or fall together*. Neither can I imagine why This Par- liament should be suppos'd more Inclivable to favour ye, then former.

Bxt. dreams of a Plot up- on him.

The Cart be- fore the Horse

former Parliaments have been. The Reasons for *Uniformity* are the same now that ever they were; and the same, *Here*, as in *other Places*. And then the boldness, and Importunity of the Dividers encrease the necessity of the Injunction. If you have forgotten the *Commons Votes*, and *Adresse* of Feb 25. 1662. upon This Subject, Pray let me remember you of them.

Resolved, &c. Nemine Contradicente.

Votes for Uniformity.

That the humble Thanks of This House, be returned to his Majesty, for his Resolution to maintain, the Act of Uniformity.

Resolved, &c.

That it be presented to the Kings Majesty, as the humble Advice of the House, that no Indulgence be granted to the dissenters from the Act of Uniformity.

For these Reasons.

Reasons against Toleration.

1. It will establish Schisme, by a Law, and make the whole Government of the Church Precarious, and the Censures of it, of no moment or Consideration at all.
2. It will no way become the Gravity or Wisdom of a Parliament to passe a Law at One Session for Uniformity, and at the next Session, (the Reasons of Uniformity continuing still the Same,) to passe Another Law to frustrate, or Weaken the Execution of it.
3. It will expose your Majesty to the Restlesse Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of every single person also, who shall presume to Dissent from the Church of England.
4. It will be a cause of encreasing Sects, and Sectaries, whose Numbers will weaken the true Protestant Religion so far, that it will at least be difficult for it, to defend it self against them. And which is yet further Considerable, those Numbers which by being Troublesome to the Government, find they can arrive to an Indulgence, will as their Numbers encrease, be yet more Troublesome, that so at length they may arrive to a General Toleration; which your Majesty hath declar'd against; and in time, some prevalent Sect, will at last contend for an Establishment, which for ought can be fore-seen, may end in Popery.

5. It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and will take away all means of Convicting Recusants, and be inconsistent with the Method, and Proceedings of the Laws of England.

Lastly, It is humbly conceiv'd, that the Indulgence Proposed will be so far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdome, that it is rather likely to Occasion great Disturbance. And on the Contrary; that the Asserting of the Laws, and the Religion Established, according to the Act of Uniformity, is the most probable means to produce a settled Peace, and Obedience throughout your Kingdome: Because the Variety of Professions in Religion, when openly divulged, doth directly distinguish men into Parties, and withall gives them opportunity to count Their Numbers; which considering the Animosities that out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot, by the severall Factions, doth tend directly, and Inevitably to open disturbance.

Nor can your Majesty have any security, that the Doctrine or Worship of the severall Factions, which are all govern'd by a severall Rule, shall be Consistent with the Peace of your Kingdome.

And if any Persons shall presume to disturb the Peace of the Kingdome, We do in all Humility declare, that we will for ever and in all Occasions, be ready with our utmost Endeavours, and Assistance, to adhere to, and serve your Majesty, according to our bounden Duty, and Allegiance.

Only one Word more: and That must be to tax you with Infinite Ingratitude; in saying, that [Parliaments, for ought you know, never did any thing for your Relief or Ease] what do ye think of the Act of Indemnity, I beseech ye? Was it Nothing? to give you your Lives, Liberties, and Estates again, when all was Forfeited? Nay and it is come to that Point now too; that those very Instruments that were forgiven by the King, for the Ruin of the Church and Three Kingdoms, will not at this day forgive his Majesty, for Endeavouring according to the Advice of his Parliament, to Re-establish and Preserve them.

Mr Baxters' Ingratitude.

Ri. If you would understand us aright, you must repair to our [Declarations, Professions, Commissions, National Oaths and Covenants,] and the Like. Ho, Coni. Pag. 477. And pray Observe the Tenor of our Stile, Addressè. Protestations, and other Proceedings.

How to understand the Presbyterians.

- Words. [Your Majesties most Humble, and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons, Dec. 14. 1641. [Most Humble and Faithfull Subjects,] Dec. 15. [Most Humble and Obedient Subjects,] Exact Collections. [a. 2.
- Practises. Mo. And now put That Libellous Remonstrance of Dec. 15. in the Scale against Three or Four. Words of Course, of the same date.
- Words. Ri. *The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons, your Faithful and Loyall Subjects, &c.* Ibid. Pa. 44. Dec. 31. 1641.
- Practises. Mo. This was a Messlage to his Majesty for a Guard, which the King most graciously offer'd them, but One of his Chusing it seems would not do the Businesse.
- Words. Ri. [Your most faithful and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this Present Parliament.] &c. Ibid. Pa. 65. Jan. 29.
- Practises. Mo. They Petition'd to have the Tower of London, and all other Forts, and the whole Militia of the Kingdom to be FORTHWITH put into the hands of such Persons, as both Houses should Recommend, &c, Ex. Coll. Jan. 29. 1641. And what did his Majesty now get by the Complement ?
- Words. Ri. [Your Humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons,] &c. Ibid. Feb. 22. 1641. Pa. 80.
- Practises. Mo. His Majesties Humble and Loyal Subjects, are pleas'd to declare in this Petition; that if the King does not Instantly grant them their Petition about the Militia, they are bound by the Laws of God and man to take the Militia into their own hands.
- Words. Ri. Your Majesties most Loyal, and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons,] &c. lb. Mar. 1. 1641. Pa. 92.
- Practises. Mo. In this Petition they threaten to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of the Two Houses. They Order his Majesty where to dispose of his Person: and absolutely deny the Kings Power of the Militia, but by Authority and consent of Parliament.

Ri. *Your most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons,*] &c. Ib. 138. Apr. 1642. *Your Majesties most Loyal and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons, &c.*] Ib. Apr. 8. 1642. Pa. 141.

Mo. Very Good! And the Former of These was for Leave to remove the Magazin at *Hull*, to the Tower of *London*: And the Other was to divert the King from going into *Ireland* to suppress the *Irish Rebellion*: (which had certainly been done) and to tell him, that if he went contrary to the Advice of his Parliament, They were resolved, in his Absence, not to submit to any Commissioners he should appoint: but to preserve, and Govern the Kingdome by the Counsell and Advice of Parliament.] &c. Practises.

Ri. *Your Majesties Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in his Parliament.*] Ibid. 258. May 1642.

Mo. Here His Majesties Loyal Subjects presse the King to disband his Troops at *York*, or otherwise they'll take the Quiet of the Kingdome into their own Care. And passe These following Votes. Practises.

Resolved upon the Question.

1. That it appears that the King (seduced by wicked Counsells) intends to make War against the Parliament. &c. The War charg'd upon the King.
2. That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, (contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of This Government.
3. That whosoever shall serve, or Assist him in such Wars, are Traytors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdome, and have been so Adjudg'd by Two Acts of Parliaments, and ought to suffer as Traytors.] &c. Treason to serve the King.

Ri. *Your Majesties most humble and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament.*] &c. Ib. Jun. 2. 1642. Pa. 307.

Mo. This was the Petition that Accompanied the Nineteen Propositions: demanding from the King [the discharge of all his Ministers and Embassadors, and none to be taken into their Places but what the Parliament shall approve. That all matters of State may be transacted only in Parliament; the Privy Counsell to be by Them approved from time to time and supply'd. All Great Officers to be Chosen by The 19. Depositing Propositions.

their Approbation: They to have the Education of the Kings Children, and the Choyce of their Servants. No Ma ch to be treated of without them. A Reformation of Church-Government and Liturgy to be contrived by their Advice: The Militia to be settled in them till settled by a Bill; and all Troclamations against it to be recalled. New Oaths for Privy Councillors, and Judges. All Judges and Officers to hold their Places, Quamdiu se bene Gesserint: Parliament-Justice upon all Delinquents. An Amnesty with such exceptions as the Parliament shall advise. All Forts and Castles under Governours approved by Parliament. All Forces to be Disbanded; and a Prohibition of any Peers hercafter to be made, from Sitting or Voting in Parliament, without the Consent of Both Houses.] Are not these the Propositions think ye, of Most Humble and Faithful Subjects?

Words. Ri. Your Majesties Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, Ibid. Sept. 24. 1642. Pa. 617.

Practises. Mo. His Majesties Loyal Subjects had now sent the Earl of Essex to fall upon the Kings Army, and desired his Majesty to leave them and come to his Parliament: And they Petition'd his Majesty to the same Purpose again. Pa. 630. And so as the Humour took them, to the very Treaty at the Isle of Wight: But whether These were the Actions of Rebels, or Loyall Subjects, be you your self the Judge.

Words. Ri. Well, But what say ye to the Stile of [We your Humble and Loyal Subjects of both Kingdoms.] Appendix to Husbands Ex. Coll. 2d. Part. Fol. 22. Jan. 13. 1645.

Practises: Mo. These were the Humble, and Loyal Subjects, that, in the same Paper, Refused his Majestys Proffer of a Personal Treaty with Them at Westminster. [Your Majesty (say they) desires the Engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councill and Militia of the City of London; the Chief Commanders of Sir. Tho. Fairfaxes Army: and Those of the Scots Army; which is against the Privileges and Honour of the Parliament, those being Joyn'd with them, who are Subject and Subordinate to their Authority.

Their Professions. At the same rate they Proceeded in Their Professions; [They desire only to Lay a Foundation of Honour, Safety, and Happines to the Kings Person and Throne.] Ex. Coll. dcc. 14. 1641. [The Greatnesse

Greatnesse and Prosperity of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity.] lb. Dec. 15. Pa. 2. [*His Majestys greatnesse and Honour*] lb. Mar. 1. 41. Pa. 94. [*Honour and greatnesse*] Mar. 2. P. 102. [*Honour, Safety, and Prosperity of your Majesty*] Mar. 16. P. 118. [*We seek nothing but your Majesties Honour*] Mar. 15. P. 123. [*The Safety of his Majesties Person, and his Royal Posterity*] May 5. 42. Pa. 173. [*Our most Dutyfull care for the Safety of your Royal Person*] May 9. P. 180. [*For the Preserving and Mayntaining the Royal Honour, Greatness, and Safety of your Majesty, and Posterity*] Jan. 2. 42. P. 310. And then see their Remarkable Protestation of Octob. 22. 1642. [*We the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, do in the Presence of Almighty God, for the Satisfaction of our Conferences, and the Discharge of That Great Trust which lyes upon us, make this Protestation and Declaration to The Kingdome and Nation, and to the whole World; That no Private Passion or Respect, no Evill Intention to his Majestys Person, no design to the Prejudice of his Just Honour and Authority, Engaged us to raise Forces, and take up Arms against the Authours of This War, wherewith the Kingdome is now Enflamed*] Ibid. Pa. 663. [*Without any Intention or desire, (as we do here professe before the Ever-living God) to hurt, or Injure his Majesty, Either in his Person, or Just Power.*] b. P. 666.

In the presence of the Almighty

A Rebellion in the Name of the ever-living God.

I could give you Instances of this kind, without End, and as many, of the gross and Unquestionable violations of These Professions; For every Order they past, and every Pistol that they Fired, was a *point-blank Contradiction*, to their Pretensions. Beside that in the same Breath, they Usurped all the Regalities of the Crown, and yet Wrote Themselves, *His Majesties most Obedient SUBJECTS*. So that This Stile of Loyalty was at the same time a *Blind* to the *Well-meaning Multitude*, and a Note of *Confederacy* among Themselves: a *Loyal Subject*, according to the Covenant, Importing, in plain Terms, a *Traytor*, in the eye of the Law. And yet the Cause, and the Obligation of this Covenant, and the Proceedings upon it, are openly Asserted at This very day.

Covenant of Loyalty

Ba. Yes, yes; There's The *Counterminer*, the *Popish Dialogue*, and many others, that continue lowdly to Accuse us, and make men believe that we are *Plotting*, a new War, and that our Principles are *Rebellious &c.*] *Non-Conf. Plea. 2d Part. Pref.*

Slanders upon the haim of Presbyterians.

Mo. What do ye think of maintaining, that [*Whatsoever the Two Houses declare for Law, must pass for Law, without Controul,* both Presbytere ins. Pe sitions.

both upon King and People] *Ex. Coll.* 297. [That they may do what ever they please] *Ibid.* [That the Major Part of Both Houses are the absolute Masters of the Lives and Liberties of the Subject?] *Ibid.* [That no member of the House of Commons be medled with for Treason, Felony &c. Without Leave of the House.] *Ibid.* [That the Sovereignty resides in the two Houses, and that the King has no Negative Voice] *Ibid.* That there lyes no Treason against the Person of the King. *Ibid.* [That the Two Houses may Depose the King and not be blamed for so doing.] *Ibid.*

Mr. Baxter's
best Govern-
ors in the
world.

Now in calling Those people that did all This, [*The Best Governors in the World*] as in the Preface to your *Holy Commonwealth*: And in Vindicating That Book, from any Principles of Disloyalty toward the Person of the King, as you do, toward the close of your Preface as to the 2d. Part of the *Non-conformists Plea* *Apri.* 16. 1680. What is This, but the *Asserting of Rebellious Principles?* And the *Preaching of the old Doctrine* to the people over again, What Is it but the *Preface to another War?*

The Innocent
Non-Confor-
mists.

Ba. [What have we done these Twenty years against the King or State? Unless it be our Crime to live under Reproach, and Scorn, and Poverty. and sometime Imprisonments; and never once so much as Petition a Parliament, either to *Pitty* us, or to *Hear* us once *Speak* for our Selves &c.] *Ibid.* If any *Odd* persons, or whosoever have said or done any thing against the King or Kingdome, or their Neighbours Right or Peace, or have been Guilty of any Fraud, Drunkenesse, Perjury or Immorality besides their *Unavoidable Non-conformity*, let them be punished as the Law requires, but let not the *Innocent*, yea *Thousands* be *Slandered*, and *Designed to Destruction* for Them.] *Ibid.*

The princi-
ples of the
Late Rebelli-
on revived.

Mo. If you *Speak* of the *Nonconformists*, they have justifi'd, from *Sixty* to *Eighty*, all the Indignities that were put upon the Government, from *Forty*, to *Sixty*: and there is not any one *Seditious*, or *Schismatical Principle* of the *Old Stamp*, which they have not afresh, *Reviv'd*, and *Recommended* to the People. And for the *Moderation* you boast of, I dare be answerable to produce almost as many *Hundreds* of *Clamorous Libels* against *Authority* from the *Dissenting Party*, as you reckon *Years* of *Silence*, and *Forbearance*. But these are *ODD* Persons you say; and so is every *Dissenter* in the Kingdom: for *Ten Millions* of men, are but as so many *Individuals*, when *disincorporate*, and *Lopp'd off* from the *Body*. If I durst be so bold Sir, I should venture to say

Mr. Paxters
Odd persons

say that Mr. Baxter himself is one of the **ODDEST** persons that I know in the whole Party. You have *First*, a *Perwasion*, to your self; for you are neither a *Presbyterian*, nor an *Independent*, nor an *Anabaptist*, nor of any *Tribe* of the *Division* that ever yet had a *Name* to be known by; but a pure *Original*, and a *Christian* of your own making: You have *Secondly*, as Peculiar a *Conscience* too; that had rather leap a *Precipice*, then keep the *Kings high-way*. It rises and falls like a *Weather-Glasse*, upon *Change of Ayre*: and makes *St. Paul* blow *Hot* or *Cold* at pleasure: [*Let every soul be Subject to the Higher Powers*] requires *Obedience* to *Dick Cromwell*, upon pain of *Damnation*, and *Disobedience* to *Charles the First*, upon the same penalty, (as we have had it already.) And then you have this further Advantage, Sir, that you are your own *King*, and your own *Pope*; you *Pre-*scribe your own *Laws*. and *Grant* your own *Pardons*.

He Himself One.

Mr. Baxter his own King and Pope.

Ba. You may prate as long as you will. [*I am against the Im-*posing of *Mytical Ceremonies*, as *Crossing*, or *Surplice*] &c. *Five Disp. Pa.* 467. [*For to Impose new Symbolicall Rites upon the Church, which Christ hath not Imposed, doth seem to me an Usurpation of his Sovereign Power.*] *Ibid.* [*And to accuse Christ of Ignorance, or Negligence, in that he himself hath not Imposed them.*] And so doth it *Imply an Accusation* of his *Laws*, and of the *Holy Scriptures*, as if they were *Insufficient*,] *Ibid.* 468. [*And These Impositions seem to be plain Violations of These Prohibitions of God, in which we are forbidden to Add to his Worship, or diminish FROM IT.*] 469. And moreover; [*God hath already given us so perfect a Directory for his Worship, that there is nothing more that we can reasonably desire.*] *Ib.* 481.

Baxters Argument against Ceremonies.

Ri. Now for my part, I am for the *Amiable way*. [*Christians should not be Over-busy in Prying into the work of their Governours; nor too forward to suspect their determinations.*] [*The Duty of Obeying them being Certain, and the Sinfulnesse of the thing Comanded, being Uncertain, and Unknown, and only Suspected; we must go on the surer side.*] *Ibid.* 484. [*In disobeying the Lawfull Commands of our Superiours, we disobey Christ.*] *Ibid.* 485. Beside that [*Disobedience in matters of Circumstance, will exclude, and Overthrow the Substance of the Worship it self.*] *Pa.* 486.

The Case well Resolved.

POSTSCRIPT, To the Reader.

MR. Baxter has certainly given, in this *Extract*, the greatest blow to the *Non-conformists* that ever they Received: For there are no *Arguments* against *That Party* like their own *Arguments* against *Themselves*. To the clearest Evidences of *AuthORITY*, and *Reason*, they'll oppose *Clamour*, and *Passion*; and make a shift to wriggle themselves *Off* and *On*, with *Wire-drawn Texts* and *Riddling distinctions*. But when the very *Oracle* of *That Interest* comes to play *Fast* and *Loose*, and shift his *Conscience* with the *Season*, the *Masque* is then taken off; for as there can be no *Denyal* of the *Fact*, so there can be no *Excuse* for the *Hypocrisy*. How comes *Toleration* to be a *Sin*, under the *Presbyterians*, and a *Duty* under the *Bishops*? How comes it to be *Damnation*, in the case of the *Late King*, and *Richard Cromwell*, to *Obeys* the *Former*, and *destroy* the *Latter*? Even according to *Mr. Baxters* own *Exposition*, which is, that by *St. Pauls Higher Powers*, is Intended *Those* in *Actual Possession*? How come *Bishops* to be *Antichristian*, at *one time*, and *Warrantable* at *another*? Or the *Civil Magistrate* to have more power in *Ecclesiastical matters*, under an *Usurper*, then under a *Lawful Prince*? How comes an *Episcopal Uniformity* to be more a *Persecution* then a *Presbyterian*? Or a *Common Prayer-Book* more Intolerable then a *Directory*? What can more expose the *Credit* of the *Dissenters*, then this *double-dealing* in the *Foreman* of the *Party*? to see *Mr. Baxter* *Lye down* in *One Opinion*, and *Rise*, in *Another*; still Accomodating his *Scruples* to every *Crisis* of *State*? And to Consummate the *Iniquity* of the *Pretense*; He has no sooner inveigled the *People* into a *Schisme*, but he presently follows it with a *Plat-form* of *Sedition*: and having wrought a defection from the *Ecclesiastical*, he falls to work, in his *Cases* and *Aphorismes*, upon the *Foundations* of the *Civill Government*.

The End.

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OR, THE
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O R,

The True Protestant.



His Paper should have come into the World under the Form of a Letter (as most Pamphlets of quality do of late) if the Author had not made a Conscience of covering the Simplicity of his purpose under any sort of Disguise ; so that without so much as a single *How do ye,* to usher it in, he comes point blank to the Business in the very Title. It may be looked upon, I know, as a thing of *Ill Omen,* to begin with an *Alias :* But there is neither *Priest* nor *Highway-man* in our Case ; and yet there may be cause enough perhaps for a kind of *Hue and Cry* too ; for it is a matter of great moment that every man should both *go,* and be *known* by his right Name ; and (peradventure) never more necessary than in this juncture, and in this particular : And so to my Text.

A Reformed Catholique (properly so called) is an Apostolical Christian, or a Son of the Church of England : A true

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Protestant may be so too; nay, and many times he is so; and many a *Loyal, Orthodox, Reformed Catholique* calls himself so; and (according to the stile of the Age) he may be well enough said and accounted so to be. But all this is only by *Adoption*, and without any colour for it in the Original of his *Denomination*. Now a *Protestant*, in strictness of speaking, is a *Lutheran*, which this Church does not in all points pretend to be, and then the *Characteristical Note* of a *Christian* is *Catholique*; so that the *Appellation* is too narrow for the *Principle*, and draws on the very same Implication in a *Protestant Catholique*, which we make sport with in a *Roman-Catholique*, that is to say, the Solœcism of a *Particular Universality*.

Here is enough already (I suppose) to furnish an Extract of as much Popery out of it, as may recommend some hungry Informer to a Mornings-draught; for we have a sort of people now-a-days, that will read a mans Heart through his Ribs, though they can hardly see his Nose on his Face; and that give more Credit to their Ears than to their Eyes. Now to ease the Reader in two or three peevish points, if he should chance to be *Over-critical* and *Imperious*, I will tell him before-hand, in a few words, what he is to trust to.

To the *first Question* or *Objection* fairly supposed; the Author is no *Disguised* or *Concealed Papist*, but of the Communion of the Church of *England*, trained up in the strictest way of it, and standing firm to it against all sorts of Provocation, Discouragement, Temptation, and Argument; and without warping to the *Jesuites*, either on the *right hand* or on the *left*.

To the *Second*: He is not set on to write this Discourse, either directly or indirectly, by any Hint, Desire, or Appointment whatsoever; nor by any other Motive than the sense of what he owes to the *Publique*, and to his Conscience, and the Consideration of some small Present from
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the Book-seller. if there be any thing got by it. (A piece of *Good Husbandry* that he hath learnt of his *Superiors*.) He hath no design upon any *Place at Court* in it, nor upon any *Church Lease*; no not so much as a *Reversion*: And all this is True, by the Faith of a poor Gentleman, that hath worn his *Doublet* out at the *Elbows* in his *Majesties Service*. It might be added, that he is grown *Old* and *Careless*, and that even *Malice* it self were lost upon him. Now under these *Circumstances*, I hope he may securely advance to tell you a little more of his mind.

So faras *Catholique* and *Protestant* serve only as two *several Names*, intending the *self-same thing*, (though the one by *Propriety*, and the other but by *Translation*) it is all one to me whether of the two any man calls me; all the danger is, the countenancing of an *Ill Thing* under a *Good Name*.

The word *Protestancy* falls under a *double acceptation*; the *one*, as it denotes the *Reformed Religion*; the *other*, as it is taken for the *Genus Generalissimum* of all *Dissenters from the Church of Rome*. The *former* I do heartily embrace, as transmitted to us from our *Fore-fathers*, and Signed by the *Blood of Martyrs*; Authorized by the *Holy Gospel*, and by the *Law of the Land*; the common *Bond* of our *Civil Peace*, and (by *Gods Blessing*) the *Hopes* and *Means* of our *Eternal Salvation*.

Now to the *latter Acceptation*, I am not at all satisfied with it, and I have both *Reason* and *Experience* to warrant me in that dislike. As to my *Reason*; First, It is an *Agreement* upon an *Opposition*; and next, it is an *Agreement of several Parties disagreeing among themselves*, which carries the Face rather of a *Confederacy*, than a *Religion*: For it is not the *Opposing of Error*, but the asserting of a *Truth*, that must do the work. *One Error* may be *opposed* by *another*, even in a *Single Person*; as one man *Robs* his *Neighbour*, and a third *Robs him*. Here is *one Injustice* *opposed* by *another*: So

that as it is an *Agreement in Opposition*, it is a hundred to one there will be *Error* in it : But the *Opposers* themselves being *subdivided*, 'tis impossible it should be *Right* ; for the very *Essence* and *Soul* of *Religion* are here wanting ; that is to say, *Charity* and *Unity*. And for the proof of this, Beyond all *Contradiction* ; let but any man look back into the late *Troubles*, and see, when the *Factions* had destroyed the *King* and the *Church*, (which they called the *Common Enemy*) how they fell presently to the *Worrying* of one another ; when the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Seekers*, *Ranters*, *Antinomians*, and twenty other wild sorts of *Sectaries*, under the title of *Protestants*, and under the pretence of opposing *Popery*, destroyed the very *Cause* the *Covenanted* to assert ; a *Protestant-Church*, a *Protestant-Prince*, and a *Protestant-People*, filled the *Land* with *Confusion*, *Sacrilege*, and *Heresie* ; made the *English Nation* a *Reproach* and a *Scandal* to the *Christian World* : And so soon as they had possessed themselves of the *Power* and *Revenue* of the *Kingdom*, every mans hand was against his *Brother* for the *Booty*.

To proceed now to the matter of *Experience* : I would fain see any one *Instance* from the very *Reformation it self*, to *this day*, when ever there was a *Clamour* advanced upon this point, of a *Conjunct Opposition* of *Popery*, that the *Church of England* was not struck at in the *Confederacy* ; and that too, not by blind *Inferences* and tacit *Presumption*, but by *Ouvert acts*, and a *Notoriety of Practice* : That is to say, the *Men* that stickled under this *Notion*, did positively declare the *Government by Bishops* to be *Antichristian* ; and the *Discipline* and *Common Prayers* of the *Church*, to be *Popery* and *Superstition* ; yes, and the *Civil Administration it self* also to be down-right *Tyranny*. They did just like the *Fellows in Hatton-Garden*, that *Stole Money* and *Plate*, under the pretence of *Searching for Priests* ; and for the *Credit* of the *Exploit*, they *Robbed in Red Coats*

Coats too, that they might the better pass for some of his *Majesties Guards*. The Similitude runs upon all Four, for it was the very case of our *pretended Protestants*; under colour of hunting for *Priests*, they seized *Money and Plate*, and committed *Robberies* in the very *Livery* of the *Government*.

This they did in *Scotland*, under the *Queen Regent*, and King *James*; and in *England*, under Queen *Elizabeth*; and twice in *Scotland* again, under the late *King*; and after that, in *England*: Two actual *Rebellions* more in *Scotland*, under this *present King*, and now God bless us from another *at Home*; and all this from that sort of people that stiled themselves *Protestants*. The *Principles*, the *Methods*, and the *Pretences* the very same, from one end to the other.

The Story of these *Phanatical Conspiracies* is almost as *Nauseous* as the thing it self is *Detestable*; only this last in *Scotland* methinks seems to *Crown* the *Infamy* of all the rest: For a *Party* that calls it self *Protestant*; a *Party in full Cry* upon the *scent of Popery*; a *Popish Plot* upon *Oath* too, at the same time upon the *Life of the King*, upon our *Religion and Government*; and that *Plot*, at that instant, under a strict *Examination*; the same *Party* at the same time also pressing for *Justice* upon the *Conspirators*, nay, and complaining of the *remissness* of the *Prosecution*, notwithstanding the most *exemplary Rigor* in the *Case* that ever was known in this *Nation*: For *this Party*, (I say) under these *Circumstances*, to flie in the *Face* of the *Government*, let the *World* judge if ever there was a more *Consummated* piece of *Wickedness*. They raise a *Rebellion*, and make *Religion* the *Ground* of it; they declare a *War* against the *King*, and the *Church*, and yet write themselves *Loyal Subjects* and *Protestants*. They cry out of the *Danger of Popery*, and yet in the same breath, draw their *Swords* upon their *Prince*, in the very attempt of *Crushing* it; and all these

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Aggravations complicated into one Act. Is it not high time then, after an Imposture that hath cost this Nation so dear, to learn at last to distinguish betwixt a *Religion* and a *Faction*? Betwixt what men *are*, and what they *call* themselves? Is a *Renegado* ever the less a *Turk* for putting out *English Colours*? Are the *Blessed Spirits* ever the less *Pure*, for the *Devils* transforming himself into an *Angel of Light*? Is the *Kings Broad Seal* one jot the less *Valuable* for being *Counterfeited*? So neither is our *Profession*. And he that dishonours *Religion*, or invades *Authority* under the Name of a *Protestant*, is no more to any sober man, than a *Goth* or a *Vandal*. *Judas* his *Betraying* of his Master was a most ungrateful and abominable Sin, but the doing of it with a *Kiss*, made it by many degrees more execrable: And it was the height of the Prophet *Davids* Affliction, the Circumstance of a *Familiar Friend*. Where is the harm now of saying, *Have a care of False Protestants*? The *Author and the Finisher* of our *Faith*, is (I hope) of Authority sufficient to justify that Caution. Doth not our *Saviour* himself tell us that *there shall arise False Christs and False Prophets*? and why not *False Protestants*? And doth he not bid us *take heed that no man deceive us*; for *many* (says he) *shall come in my Name, saying I am Christ, and shall deceive many*? Doth he not bid us *beware of Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing*? And in his description of the *Scribes and Pharisees*, he gives us the very Picture of our *Impostors*.

We have it upon the credit of *Dr. Tong*, and *Dr. Oats*, that the *Sedition of 1641*. was totally contrived and carried on by *Popish Counsels*; and that not onely the *Conventicles* in that *Bloody Revolution*, but all our *Separate Meetings* to this day, and particularly the *Scottish Commotions* were and are Influenced by *Priests* and *Jesuites*, under the *Masque* of Professors of those several Persuasions. Have we not reason then to use all possible *Circumspection*, that we may not be imposed upon by such as these for *Protestants*? No
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man hath a greater Veneration for the memory of those Protestants that suffered Martyrdom for their *Faith*; no man a greater *Horror* for the *Irish*, the *Parisian*, and several other *Massacres*; no man a higher Esteem, or a more Ardent affection for *Protestancy* it self, (so far as the Profession of the Church of *England* is intended by it) than I have. But for those Turbulent Spirits that lay about them as if Heaven were to be taken by *actual Violence*, whose Zeal outstrips Christianity it self, imposing upon the World their own corrupt and impetuous passions, in stead of the Healing and Pacifique Motions of the Holy Ghost. These are a dangerous sort of people, and their ways are not onely a Contradiction to the undeniable Principles of our *Institution*, but to the common Interest of *Mankind*, as well *Individuals* as *Communities*.— For if it be true, that *Charity* is the great Lesson of the Gospel: If it be true, that *Unity* in *Faith*, and *Unanimity* in the things of *Civil Government*, would make up the most perfected Blessing that reasonable Nature is capable of in this Tabernacle of Flesh; then must it necessarily follow, that the nearer we approach to *that Agreement*, the *better Christians* we are, and the *happier Men*; and the further we depart *from it*, the more *Wicked* and the more *Miserable* we are. This is either true or false: If the former, there is no Treason in it; if the latter, we may burn our Bibles.

Before I wade any farther into this Controversie, it may do well, I think, to give some Reason, why upon *this Subject*; and at *this Time*; that the World may not take that for the Leaven of an Unquiet Humour, which in great Truth, is onely an act of Conscience in the discharge of a sober and a seasonable duty to my Prince and Country.

To the undertaking of this Office, I have been induced, by the Audacious Liberties of the Press, in the

the matter of Religion and Government, endeavouring to possess the Multitude with False and Pernicious Principles and Opinions, and by Artificial Hints and Scandals to dispose them (now toward the meeting of this next Parliament) to a Partial and a Factious Choice: So that my Business is only to encounter and lay open the Vanity and Weakness of those Libels, and without confining my self to any one in particular, to sum up the Malice of them all, for so much as concerns our present purpose, and to submit my self to the Reader in a fair and short Reply.

It is a Note worthy of Consideration, that all the Papers here in question, (even to a single Sheet) are the Work of Men exceedingly Byassed against the *Established Government*, as *Republicans*, *Anabaptists*, and other sorts of *Dissenters* from the *Church*; for the Publishers of these Papers are known every one of them, and most of the Authors. Now what advice toward the *Honour* and *Safety* of the Government, these People are likely to give, who are United in common *Principles* of *Defaming*, *Discomposing*, and even of *Dissolving* it, let Heaven and Earth be the Judges: And what work such a House of Commons would make, as these forward Undertakers would have, if they were to direct and influence the Election.

Now if *these* be the *Counsellors*, let us see next if the *Matter* of their *Writings* be not answerable to the *Character* of the *Men*; and if it be not most evident that it is their very scope and design (so far from endeavouring the Peace and Settlement of the Nation) to poison the People with *Seditious Maxims*; to create *Jealousies* betwixt the *King* and his *Subjects*, and to Undermine the very Foundation of the Government.

They support themselves with the Multitude, upon two *General* and *Popular Pretensions*, *Religion*, and *Liberty*: *What Religion*, or *what Liberty*, they do not say; but only fill the Peoples heads with a confused Notion of things,
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and wild apprehensions of *Popery* and *Tyranny*: And then their next work is under colour of stating the *Privileges of King and People*; to Erect *Seditious Positions*; and after all, to prescribe Remedies infinitely worse then the Disease. We shall now make it appear that the *Religion* they talk of, leads to all sorts of *Impiety*; and that their pretended *Liberty* is the ready way to *Slavery*. *First*, of *Religion*.

As to what concerns *Religion*, they do all of them sing the same Song in their *Queries* and *Proposals* to the *Freeholders* and *Electors of England*, and unanimously agree in the same method of Advice to the People, how they are to govern themselves in their next Choice.

Their first Caution is, *To pursue the Discovery and Punishment of the Plot*, (*the Trojan Horse with an Army in the Belly of it.*) *To secure us from Popery*; and that no *Papist* may be allowed to dwell in the Land; Nor any man chosen into the House, that shall dare to open his mouth for a *Popish* Successor: And all this attended with a *Dreadful Enumeration* of the *Massacres*, *Fires*, *Treasons*, and *Devastations* that have been wrought by the *Popish Party*.

To this first Point, the *Replicant* most willingly subscribes, so far as stands with *Christian Charity*, and the *Law of the Land*: But then he cannot forget on the other hand, that the *Counterfeit Protestant Horse of 1641*. had an *Army in the Belly of him*, as well as the *Trojan*; and he that would be safe, must look both ways at once.

Another Caution is, not to choose any man that is *Popishly affected*; or (as another hath it) *Ill affected*. But a third proceeds a little more warily, and recommends the chusing onely of *Sincere Protestants*, and not *Disguised Papists*, who are ready to pull off their *Masque*, when time serves, and may be known by their *Laughing at the Plot*, *Disgracing the Evidence*, *Admiring the Traitors Constancy*, &c.

This same *Popishly* and *Ill-affected*, lies open to several Exceptions; for one Man is made Judge of the Thoughts of another, which is onely the Prerogative of Almighty God. I have heard of a man that was Indicted for *Whistling*; but never till now, of any Man that was Incapacitated to serve in the House of Commons; for *Thinking*. Beside the unreasonable Latitude, and the Horrible Iniquity of the Judgment; for if this be admitted, no man living can be secure: It involves the Innocent with the Guilty, and puts a man out of all possibility to acquit himself. And then forward; It is but turning the *Tables*, and the *Blot* is hit on *the other side*: For why should not I be as well allowed to pronounce *another man a Disguised Protestant*, as he to judge *me a Disguised Papist*, and the same Liberty of Marking him too? You shall know him by his *Shiboleth*; for the *Old Covenant* sticks in his Teeth still, and the whole mystery of his Profession is wrapt up in that *Oracle* of the *Privileges of Parliament*; the *Kings Just Power and Greatness*; the *Protestant Religion against Popery*, and *Popish Innovations*; the first point being wholly *Incomprehensible*, and the other two, like *Jugglers Knots*, fast or loose at pleasure.

This equal Freedom being granted on all sides, takes away all Faith, Confidence, and Correspondence in Humane Society. I know no difference in the World betwixt *one mans Infallibility* and *another*s; nor any (but in *Terms*) betwixt a *Private mans Infallible Light*, and the *Popes Infallible Sentence*: Nor is there any one *Usurpation in Popery*, that is either *Grievous* to the *Conscience*, or *Dangerous* to the *Government*; but a man may shew very near an *Equivalent* of it in *Schism*.

As to the Marks of distinction betwixt a *Sincere Protestant* and a *Disguised Papist*; the *Immorality of Laughing at the Plot*, favours more in my opinion, of an *Unmannerly Fool*, than of a *Disguised Papist*; though for my own part, I
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am so far from *Laughing at it*, that it wounds my soul, the very thought on't. *Disgracing of the Evidence* were something indeed; but to make a man a *Papist* for *admiring the Traitors Constancy*, that, methinks is very hard, and not answerable to what one would expect from an Advocate for Liberty of Conscience. It is much easier to relinquish an *Opinion*, then for a man to devert himself of *Natural Affections*; and more unreasonable to *claim* a freedom in the *one*, then to *refuse* it in the other. I must confess, *I do admire that Constancy*, and if I were to die for so doing, I could not but *admire* it still: And these Impressions are Humané, and not to be resisted.

We fall now into the Old Track of the whole Party: They call for *Toleration*; complain of *Persecution*; cast all their Sufferings upon their *Worshipping according to their Consciences*; and then this Lamentable Condition of theirs must be *Remonstrated to the whole Nation*. Of these Four Points in order.

In the handling of their *Plea for Protestant Dissenters*, there are many things to be taken into Consideration. *First*, Is it in matters of *Conscience*, or onely of *Phanise*, wherein they desire to be *Indulged*? If the *Latter*, the upholding of a *Law* is certainly of much greater concern, than the gratifying of a *Caprice*. Now on the *other side*, if they demand it upon an *Exigent of Conscience*: *First*, Why *Plurally*, for *Dissenters*? When *one* man cannot honestly undertake for *another mans Conscience*: Besides that (*Secondly*) They ask an *Indulgence* for *several Parties*, of *divided Consciences* and *Opinions*: And in short, *they* would have the Magistrate favour *all the Consciences*, that will not endure *one anothers*. *Again*; They should do well to explain what they mean by *Protestant Dissenters*, upon points of *Conscience*; whether *all in general*, or only *such and such Parties*: If *all in general*, *Heathens* must be Tolerated as well as *Christians*, for *they* have *Consciences* as well as *we*:

Or if it be restrained to *Christianity*, it opens a door to *Heresies*, more detestable than *Paganism it self*. So that an *Universal Toleration* is utterly *Unlawful*; and a *Partial Toleration* on the other hand, is as *Ineffectual*; for upon a *Plea of Conscience* they may all *claim alike*: So that it is an *Act of Uniformity* still, to those that are *Excluded*; and it is not fair, in the *Government*, to *favour one half*, and *exasperate another*, where all may as well be taken in, as any. Beside, upon the supposal of a *Limited Toleration*, who shall judge which are fit to be admitted, and which not? If the *People*, every man justifies himself, and then we are upon an *Universal Toleration* again. They tell us stories of *sound Faith, good Life*, and of distinguishing betwixt *Fundamentals* and *not Fundamentals*; which is onely treading of the same Ring still; for it may be *every bodies Plea* as well as *any mans*: That which the *Magistrate* judges *one way*, the *People* shall determine *another*: and *one mans Fundamental Truth* shall be *another's Fundamental Error*, which will introduce as many *Religions as Phansies*; bring *Factions* into *Families* as well as into *Governments*, and make the *People* both *Parties* and *Judges*: And it is not to say that the *Word of God* shall be the *Judge*, for that is only a *Rule* by which we are to judge; and by *Erroneous judgments* it is made the *Foundation* of all *Heresies*; For when every man may make his own *Creed*, there is nothing so *Impious*, but he will shew you a *Text* for it. Moreover, the very pretence of *Liberty of Conscience* is *frivolous*; for *Conscience* is out of the reach of *Humane Power*; and the *freedom of Thought*, no *Law* can either *punish* or *take away*.

But it is the *Liberty of Acting*, as well as of *Thinking*, that they insist upon, which upon the whole matter, is neither more nor less than a *License to do what they please*. The *League* in *Flanders*, under *Maximilian*; the *Holy League* under *Henry the 3d. of France*; *Muncers Outrages* in *Germany*; the *Murderers* of *Henry the 4th.* and the *P. of Orange*; and all

all the Villanies of the late Times here at home, were acted under the *Masque of Religion*. It is not for the restraining of *Opinions* that *Laws* are provided; but for the preventing of *Ouvert Deeds of Violence*, and they are punished for *Action*, not for *Conscience*. Neither have we any means of distinguishing betwixt *Faction* and *Religion*, if every mans word shall be taken for *his own Conscience*; and then it is a dangerous way of dividing a Kingdom against it self.

Take notice all this while, that they urge a *Toleratiō*, no body knows for *whom*, or for *what*. Where are their *Articles*? where is the *Model* of their *Accommodation*? or how is it possible to contrive any *common Expedient* to gratifie them? For nothing less than a *total Liberty of doing what they list*, will please them, which must inevitably produce the *Dissolution* of the *Government*. If they would have the *wilder* and more *extravagant Sects* excluded, why do they plead for *All* in general, and not rather *particularize* the *Opinions* and *Parties* that they would have *Indulged*? But they dare not do *this*, for fear of disobliging the *rest*, their business being to *Unite all Factions* in the *Quarrel*; when yet you may as soon bring *Heaven* and *Hell together*, as reconcile them in *Religion*; so that either they ask an *Impious* thing, in the allowance of *all*, or an *Impracticable* thing in propounding any *Limitation*, upon a *Plea of Conscience*. But the truth is no more than this: They ask a thing which can neither be *granted*, nor so much as *understood*; and the People are transported with the sound of *Loyalty* and *Religion*, to the desire of things wholly *Inconsistent* with either *Piety* or *Government*.

We should do well to take notice, that against *this Plea for Liberty*, there is on the *one side*, the *Authority of a Law*, and the solemn *judgment of the Church* for the *Equity* of it; and on the *other*, the *Kings Personal* and *Political Conscience* for the *Execution* of it. There is also the *Duty* of a *Subject* for the *Obeying* of it; and the *same reason* that *Au-*
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thorizes an *Invasion* of *this Law*, may as well *Invalidate* all the rest. Now the *Counterpoize* to all this weight, is (at best) onely the *naked Conscience* of some *private Persons*. The *Peoples Consciences* call for *Liberty*; and the *Governors Conscience* requires *Order*: *Their Consciences* will not down with *this Law*, nor *this Law* with *such Consciences*: Which of the *two* now shall *yield* to the *other*?

But what *benefit* might we now expect from this *Indulgence* here, if it were granted? Or rather, in the *first* place, what colour of *Conscience*, or of *Reason* is there in the very demand it self (all the aforesaid exceptions over and above?) Is it, first, *Reasonable* for them to *ask* what they themselves think *unreasonable* to grant? Or to claim such an *allowance* to themselves, as a point of *Conscience*, which they themselves, upon a point of *Conscience*, refuse to others? For there is not any *one Party* in the whole mass of *Dissenters*, that does not deny the *same freedom* to others which they do jointly challenge to themselves: Nay, in their very *Propositions* to his Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, Mar. 1647. they *Excepted* the Use of the *Common-Prayer*, when they gave *Liberty* to all other sorts of *Worship*. (To which *Concession* they were then *Compelled* by the *Circumstances* of that *Juncture*.) Their *Refusal* must proceed either upon the *Right* of the thing, or upon *Reason of State*. If they did not like *our way*, neither do we approve of *theirs*: Or if they excluded us out of a respect to the *Publique Peace*, the Government hath still the *same reason* against them.

But we shall better understand the *Party*, from their *own words*, wherein we shall *First*, take a short view of their *Opinions* in matter of *Faith*, and *Religion*. *Secondly*, How they stand affected, *one Party* to *another*: And *Thirdly*, Their *Positions* and *Practices*, with Relation to the *Civil Government*.

As to their *Opinions*, first see some Extravagances of the *Seſtaries*, Cited by a *Presbyterian*, out of *their own Writings*, in *Edwards's Gangræna*, from P. 18, to 27.

They say that *the Scriptures are Insufficient and Uncertain*. God *the Author of Sin*, even of *the Sinfulness it self*. That *the Magistrate ought not to punish any man for denying of a God, if his Conscience be so persuaded*. That every Creature is God, an Efflux only from God, and shall return to him: That there is but One Person in the Divine Nature. That *the least Truth is of more worth than Jesus Christ himself*. That *the Doctrine of Repentance is a Soul-destroying Doctrine*. That 'tis as possible for Christ himself to Sin, as for a Child of God to Sin. That *the Moral Law is of no use at all to Believers*. That *Peters Trouble, after the denial of his Master, issued only from the weakness of his Faith*. That *Infants rise not again*. Nay, he speaks of a *Seſtary pleading for a Toleration of Witches*, with several abominable Instances. And he charges *the Nursery and Increase of them upon the Presbyterians*; and that it was their Indulgence, not Episcopal Connivence that wrought our Mischiefs in that kind. They agree (says he) with Julian the Apostate, Libertines, Atheists, Unclean, Incestuous, Drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, Liers, Jugglers, Slanderers, Proud and Boasting, Insolent, Outragious, Hypocritical, False.

The *Seſtaries* on the other hand, call *the Assembly, Antichristian, Romish, Bloody, Plagues, and Pests of the Kingdom, Baals Priests, South-sayers*: *The Presbyterian Government a Limb of Antichrist, Tyrannical, Lordly, an Egyptian Bondage*. An Anabaptist said, *He hoped to see Heaven and Earth on fire, before Presbytery should be settled; and to see it troden under foot, as the Bishops*. Sterry himself says, *The Seed of God hath two Capital Enemies, Romish Papacy and the Scotch Presbytery*. See what the *Presbyterians say now to a Toleration*.

It is much (says the London Ministers Letter to the Assembly,) Jan. 1. 45. that our Brethren should separate from the Church, but that they should endeavour to get a Warrant to Authorize their Separation from it; and to have Liberty (by drawing Members out of it) to weaken and diminish it, till (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to nothing: This we think to be plainly Unlawful.

And then the Harmony of the Lancashire Ministers, p. 12. Toleration would be the putting the Sword in a Mad Mans hand; a Preclaiming Liberty to the Wolves, to come into Christs Flock to prey upon his Lambs.

Toleration makes the Scripture a Note of Wax; a Rule of Faith to all Religions. And this is the great Rabbie of the Party. Rutherfords Free Disp. p. 360.

Liber-

Liberty of Conscience, and Toleration of all, or any Religion, is so Prodigious an Impiety, that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very naming of it. Bailies Disswative Epist. Ded. 1645.

It is unreasonable says the Defender of the London Ministers Letter to the Assembly, Anti-Toleration, p. 16.) that Independents should desire that Toleration of Presbyters, which they would not give to Presbyters.

Let it be observed from hence, that these people do first demand of the Government that Liberty which they deny to one another. And Secondly: That they pretend to do it upon Conscience, and yet hold the thing it self to be absolutely Unlawful; so that they justify the Conscience of our denying it to them, by the Conscience of their refusing it to others. And the onely way to evade this, is to discover all; by confessing, that though they now beg a Toleration from the Government, yet if they get power in their hands, they will make a Conscience again (as they did before) of allowing any freedom to the Government.

It is a clear case, that their demands are Unwarrantable, Impracticable, Unreasonable, and not grounded upon Conscience, but directly in Opposition to it; as we have it under their own hands.

Let us try now if we can discover what the design is, since it appears manifestly what it is not; and that, not onely from the Reason of the thing, but from their own deeds and writings; and those matters also, and Positions, expounded by Practice.

One thing remarkable is this; That they have been still Fishing in Troubled Waters, and taking advantage of all Distresses, and necessities of the Government. Did not Cartwright, Coppinger, Arthington, and Hacket, take their time for that Execrable Conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth, when she was just upon the very point of securing the Reformed Religion against the Power and Church of Rome? Did not the Sectaries in 1641. take the same advantage against the late King, when his thoughts were wholly taken

ken up about suppressing the *Irish Rebellion*? And did not the latter *Scotch Tumults* take the same advantage of his Majesties being under many troublesome Circumstances about the *Plot*; and when the Peoples minds were prepared to take ill Impressions in the matter of Government? So that the very *Timing* of this Revived *Clamour* for *Liberty of Conscience*, looks suspiciously; and the more, because their Meetings here have of late been very little interrupted.

To run thorough those pestilent *Principles*, which the Heads of the *Seſtaries* have published in their own Names, were endless. Wherefore I shall content my self with some of their *General Positions*, and refer the Reader to *Husbands Collections*, or the *Authors themselves* for the rest; as *Milton*, *Goodwin*, *Rutherford*, and a hundred more.

They make the *Lords and Commons* the *Supream Power*; nay, the *People themselves*, in some Cases; *Princes* they say may be *deposed* and put to *death*: They distinguish betwixt the *Kings Person* and his *Authority*, the *Letter of the Law*, and the *Equity* of it; and appeal from the *Written Law* to the *Law of Nature*; and according to *these Maxims* they govern their *Proceedings*.

But will you see now the price of all our *Bloud and Confusion*?

Upon their Petition to his Majesty for a *Reformation* of the *Liturgy*, the King most graciously issued out a *Commission* for a *Review* of the *Book of Common Prayer*: An equal number of *Learned Divines*, both *Episcopal* and *Presbyterian* were appointed to meet about it, and to agree upon such *Alterations* as should be thought most *Necessary*. His Majesty earnestly desiring that the *Ministers* would not *totally lay aside* the *Book of Common Prayer*, but read those parts against which there could be no *Exception*. Now instead of most *necessary Alterations*, and those to be agreed upon by *Both Parties*, they published a *New Liturgy* of their own, under the Title of *The Reformation*

of the *Liturgie*, (which was indeed the *Abolition* of it.) I will give you onely a Taste of some of their *Important scruples* that are cast into the *Ballance*, against the *Unity* of the *Church*, and the *Peace* of the *Kingdom* : They turn *Wedded Wife* into *Married* : Dost thou *Believe* into do you *Believe*; and *all this I Steadfastly Believe*, into *this I do Unfeignedly Believe*.

Let us now suppose these People had their *Askings* : Let any man but shew me from the *Minority* of King *James*, to this hour, where they were not the more violent and importune upon yielding (even to the hazard of a downright *Rebellion*) and the Author shall give any man his Head, for the *President* : Did not the *Assembly* in 1578. impose upon the *Parliament* in *Scotland*, fall foul upon the *Archbishop* of *Glasgow*, and the *whole Order* ? pass a *Decree* against their *Votes in Parliament*; command them to renounce their *Temporal Titles*, and *Civil Jurisdiction*, and set their *Quarriers* at work for the demolishing of *Glasgow Cathedral*? (which had been done too, if the *Tradesmen* had not by force prevented it.) And did they not grow bolder and bolder upon the *Kings Lenity*; and Command the *Bishops*, upon pain of *Excommunication*, not to *Officiate* as *Pastors*, without *Licence* from the *General Assembly*; and likewise order the *Patrimony* of the *Church* to be disposed of as they should see meet? And did they not after that, make a *Violent and Treasonous Seizure* of the *King* at *Ruthven*, and justify it when they had done? And so on by degrees, till his Majesty was forced, by a *Tumult* at *Edenburgh*, in 1596. and the *Ministers Bond of Confederacy* immediately upon it, to a *Resolution* of *Rigour* and *Severity*; which (as *Spotswood* observes) gave him more quiet and security for the future.

His Majesty was no sooner entered upon the *Government* of *England*, but he was *Affaulted* in 1604. with the same sort of people; and at a *Conference* at *Hampton Court*,
this

this Question was put, *How far an Ordinance of the Church was Binding, without offence to Christian Liberty?* Whereupon the King gave this short Answer, *Let us have no more of these Questions, but Conform at your peril.* So that they gave him no further trouble upon that subject. And this was Queen *Elizabeths* Case too, to the hazard both of her Life and Government; till by that severe *Act* against them, of the 35 of her Reign, she gave her self ease for the remainder of her Life.

What did the *Late King* gain by his *Indulgence* to the *Scots* in 1637. but farther *Indignities* and *Contempt*? *First*, the *Service-Book* and *Canons* were their Grievance; then the *Five Articles of Perth*, though established both by the *General Assembly* and *Parliament*; The *High-Commission* next, and then the *Bishops Session* in *Civil Judicatories*. His Majesty gratifies them in every point: Inſomuch, that they had nothing further to complain of, but that the King would not *Aboliſh Episcopacy*, and admit the Authority of their *Lay-Elders*; upon which point they brake out into an *Open Rebellion*. After this, upon the Interview of the two Armies at *Berwick* (when the King had them absolutely at his Mercy) upon their Supplication for a Treaty, he Trusted them again, and concluded upon a *Pacification*; of which the *Covenanters* did not keep ſo much as one *Article*.

Upon his Majesties Return to *London*, he passes the *Triennial Bill*; Aboliſhes the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission Court*; Passes an *Act* for the *Continuance* of the *Parliament*; and in fine, denies them nothing but his *Crown* and his *Blood*; and then by Virtue of what he had given them already, they took away the rest, and stript him of his *Friends*, his *Authority*, his *Revenue*, and his *Life*.

They minister great cause of suspicion in their very *stile* and *scruples*: Why do they run ſo much upon *Ambiguities*?

As the setting of Religion in its due *Latitude*; a due and necessary Reformation; sound Belief; Principles *Congruous* to a Rational Settlement; the Kings Just Rights; *Importance of Interests*; Stated Order in the Church, &c. What is all this, but a jumbling together of so many Amusements, to pass a Colourable Pretence upon the People? And it signifies just nothing, but what Construction they shall think fit to allow it. If they would offer any *Pertinent, Intelligible, and Practicable Proposition*; and say, what *Injuries* they would have abated; what *Parties* they would recommend for these qualifications; *where* to find them, and *who* shall judge of them. If they would *State* their Demands, and say, *This is all we ask*; and then rest there: If, as they plead for all *Dissenters*, they would produce some *Common Instrument, or Commission*, to shew that they are *Authorized* by all to Solicite in *their Names*, and to treat upon *such or such Points*; and to *go no further*, the business might be brought yet to some rational Issue.

As their *Stile* is exceeding *Dark* and *Mysterious*, so are their *Scruples* of an *Extraordinary Quality* too? They cannot *kneel* at the *Sacrament*, but they can *hold up their hands* at the *Covenant*; they can *dispense* with the Oath of *Allegiance*, and yet make a *scruple* of disclaiming the *Solemn League*: They can *swallow* a *Schism* (or worse) and yet a *Ceremony* choaks them. Add to all this, many of those very persons that promoted our *former Troubles, this very way*, are now at work again upon the *same Pretension*; and may, without breach of *Charity*, be suspected to have the *same design*, and to remain in a state of *Impenitency*, if they have not manifested their *Repentance* by some *Open Recantation*: For (according to the *Casuits*) *Publique Sins require Publique Confessions*.

It is an ill sign too, for a man to leap upon the sudder, from matter of *Conscience* to *Reason of State*; and in the
same

same breath of a *Petitioner* to become a *Reformer*. It would seem a strange thing, for a man to request a special favour from the Master of a Family, and at the same time to put affronts upon his *Domesticks*, and to tell him that his *Servants* were all of them a pack of *Rascals*; which is not much from the point now in hand.

We have had abundance of *Advice* to the *Free-holders* of *England*, toward the choice of this next Parliament; as *Sober and Seasonable Quæries*, *Englands Great Interest*; the *Free-holders Choice*, and *twenty more*; and all of them agreeing in the *general Heads* one with another: They tell us who are *fit* to be chosen, and who *not*.

The former, *such as will remove and bring to Justice Evil Counsellors*; *Corrupt and Arbitrary Ministers of State*; *Detect and Punish the Pensioners of the former Parliament in the face of the Kingdom*, and they must chuse *such as will secure us from Slavery*.

The People are directed on the *other side*, not to chuse a man that hath been reputed a *Pensioner*, no *Court-Officer*, or whose *Employment is durante bene-placito*; no *Ambitious men*, or *Non-residents*, that live here in *Town*, and seek *Honours and Preferments* above.

This is the *Counsel of Englands Grand Interest*: And methinks, in these *Qualifications*, there is both too *much*, and too *little*. As to the point of *Evil Counsellors*, *Corrupt Ministers* and *Pensioners*, he should have done well to have advised them all manner of *Caution* and *Circumspection*, for fear of mistaking their Men. This was the way that brought the *Earl of Strafford*, and the *Archbishop of Canterbury* to their *Ends*, under the *Notion of Evil Counsellors* too, though perhaps, *the most necessary Instruments that ever this Nation enjoyed*, for the *Common good both of King and People*. So that as it a great *Service* to bring *Corrupt Ministers to Publique Justice*, it is yet a *lewd Method* to make the *Rabble the Executioners*, and to punish *Male-Administration*

ministration by Sedition : For in this Case the Good and the Bad fall indifferently without distinction; and instead of drawing here and there a piece of *Rotten Timber* toward a *Reparation*, they fall foul upon the main *Pillars* and *Supporters* of the House; so that all falls into Ruins. And then the mark of a **Reputed Pensioner** goes a little too far; for it lies in the power of two or three Malevolent Tongues to make any man so. They that made the *last King* a *Reputed Papist*, shall much more easily make any of his Majesties Subjects pass for *Reputed Pensioners*.

The total Exclusion of all *Court Officers*, or *Bene-placito men*, is yet *worse* : For this sets up a direct Opposition betwixt the King and his People; as who should say, *Trust nobody that wears any token of the Kings favour*. And the same reason disables him as well to any other *Trust whatsoever* : So that the Kings *Countenance* is a kind of *Incapacity*. And it is the same thing with those he calls *Ambitidus Men*; as if any Application to his Majesty made a Man unfit for the Service of his Country. He should have done well to have warned them against the *Known Enemies* of the *Government*, rather than the *Suspected Servants* of the *King*.

The Free-holders Choice is a very *Martin Mar-Prelate*. His Language against the Clergy is too coarse for an Honest man to repeat after him, but he has ranged them in good Company; for he says that *they lay out themselves, to accommodate their Masters, with the veriest Villains that can be pick'd up in all the Country; that so we may fall into the hands again of as Treacherous and Lewd a Parliament as the Wisdom of God, and Folly of Man hath most miraculously freed us from*. Methinks some of the Members of that Parliament should concern themselves to call for Justice upon so foul a Scandal.

The Author of the *Seasonable Queries*, does not onely commend the same *Cautions* with the rest, but calls his

Majesty himself to Shrift, and puts the *Question*, whether Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliaments, at such a time as this, does not fill the hearts of Protestant Subjects with evident fears of destruction?

And Secondly (says he) Whether it be not high time for all the Protestants in England, to Resolve as one man, that they will stand by, and maintain the Power and Privileges of Parliament, together with the Power and Just Rights of the King, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, so as the One may not intrench upon the Other.

The former *Expostulation* upon the Reason of the Kings Proceedings, would have been more taken notice of perhaps, if it had not been followed with one of the most Audacious Challenges that this Licentious season hath produced; for the meaning of it is, to encourage a direct *Rising*, as if the King and the Parliament were going together by the Ears, (forgive the Expression) and the People to interpose, to see *Fair Play*.

This is the very Trace of the Old Covenant: They must resolve to maintain *no body knows what* on the one side; (for the Privileges of Parliament are past finding out:) But then they are to stand by the King, on the other side, with a *Limitation*; only in his Just Rights, and of those Bounds, they themselves are to be the Judges. This *Epithete* was applied to the late Kings Case, by those very men that cut off his Head.

The Author of *Englands Great Interest*, having directed the Good People what persons to choose for the ensuing Parliament, and what not, His next work is to instruct them in the Knowledge of their Powers, which he divides into three Rights or Fundamentals. The First is *Property*, that is, a Right and Title to their own Lives, Liberties, and Estates. For the Law (he says) is *Umpire* between King, Lords, and Commons; and the Right and Property is one in kind, through all Degrees and Qualities in the Kingdom.

Mark that. Why

Why does he not say that the *King* is *Umpire* betwixt *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, as well as that the *Law* is so? For the *Law* is only the *Kings Pleasure* made known; and the whole Force and Authority of it, is but an Emanation from *Sovereign Power*. And then for his *Three Fundamentals*: As I am a *Commoner* of *England* my self, I should be loth to lose any Right of an *English man*; and yet as I am a *Loyal Subject* also, I should be as unwilling to encroach upon the *Privileges* of the *Crown*. I do not know what he means by his *one in kind*; with the *Emphasis* of **Mark that** upon it. If it be, that the *People* have as much *Right* to their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*, as the *King* himself hath; though it be true in some sense, it will not hold yet, as he would have it understood. For the *People* may forfeit their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*, but the *King* cannot forfeit his: Wherefore **Mark that too**.

His Second Fundamental is *Legislation*: Or, the Power of making *Laws*; for no *Law* can be made or *Abrogated* (he says) in *England* **without them**.

It is not Candidly done, to call that the very act of *Legislation*, which is only *Consultive* and *Preparative* towards it. The making of *Laws*, is a *Peculiar* and *Incommunicable* *Privilege* of *Sovereignty*; so that to place the *Legislative Power* in the *Commons*, is to make them **Supream**; and to set a *King* of *England* once more at the *Commons Bar*. Beside that, his *Inference* is as *Inconsequent*, as his *Affertion* is *Dangerous*. As if a *Law* must necessarily be made **By** them, because it cannot be *Made* or *Abrogated* **Without** them. Does he that furnishes the *Ingredients*, therefore make the *Medicine*, because the *Medicine* cannot be made *without* the *Ingredients*? What signifies the *Form* of an *Instrument* to the passing of an *Authority* or *Obligation*, without *Signing* and *Sealing*? Yet the one cannot be done without the other. Does the *Council* that draws the *Con-*
veyance

veyance, pass away the *Estate*; because the Act could not have been good *without* him? And again, the *Law* in this Case, is no other then a *Promise* under the *Kings Hand*, past to the *People*, and partakes of the Nature of other Promises. It was *made* by the *Promiser*, and cannot be *discharged* without the Consent of those to whom it was *promised*.

His Third Fundamental is Executive, and holds Proportion with the other two, in order to compleat both their Freedom and Security; and that is their share (as he says) in the Judicatory Power; in the Execution and Application of those Laws that they Agree to be made.

A *Judicatory Power* without Authority to minister an *Oath*, is to me, I must confess, a new thing: And now for the word *Agree*; though it may be pertinent enough to his purpose (for there needs no more to the Undoing of the most Regular Government upon the Face of the Earth, then *First* to turn the Peoples hearts against it, and then to possess them that they have a *Legal Remedy* in their *Own hands*.) Yet *that word* (I say) in this place, is very improper; for it is but a *Request* presented to his Majesty for his *Approbation*. The *Request* or *Bill*, is no doubt *agreed* upon; but it were an Uncouth kind of Expression for a *Petitioner* to say that he does *Agree* that his *Petition* shall be *Granted*.

The *Business* is fairly push'd already: But the *Publisher* of a *Pretended Speech* lately printed, carries it a step further.

If a Prince (says he) be Born to a Kingdom, who is either Lunatique, or otherwise disabled to do the Kingdom any good, shall not the Subjects, in this Case, proceed to chuse another, who may preserve the Kingdom, when otherwise it must of necessity perish? As lately in the Case of Portugal, they chose another to Succeed, because of the Disability of the former.

This is, in plain terms, a *Deposing Principle*: For if a *King* may be *Removed*, in such Case of *Disability*, the *People* being made *Judges* of the Case, *it is but their saying that he is not fit to Govern, and the work is done.*

There is a Sheet printed under the Title of *A Plea, &c.* that hath more Brains and Art in it then ordinary. *He says that a King is not for his Own, but his Subjects sake onely; and that we have, in truth, rather Title, &c. to Him, then He to Us. Adding, That when Kings themselves be Ill Ones, God not onely approves of their Removal, but even himself does It: This he supports upon Texts extreamly misapplied.*

Let it be agreed now that a *Prince* is rather *Constituted* for the good of the *People*, then the *People* for the advantage of the *Prince*. But let it be granted also on the other side, that *Providence* hath made *Order* so *necessary* to the well-being of *Mankind*, that *Tyranny* it self is yet more *Tolerable* then either *Anarchy* or *Sedition*: So that in the matter of *Obedience* to *Superiours*, we find our *Convenience*, even in our *Duty*. He plainly infers, that because *God himself* does many times *remove Ill Kings*, that therefore he approves of *our doing* so too. But *First*, we are not to draw *Gods Extraordinary ways* into *Precedent*. By the same Rule, *Plunder* was formerly justified upon a *Scriptural Commission* for the *spoiling* of the *Ægyptians*. *Secondly*: The very admittance, that an *Ill King* may be *Removed*, makes way to the *destruction* of a *Good one*; for 'tis but *saying he is so*, to *make him so*, and it leaves him barely at the mercy of the *People*: And this is not all neither, for it turns up the very *Root* of *Government*, and casts *Humane Affairs* into a *Circulation* of *Confusion*. The *Two Houses* *Deposed* the *King*; the *Commons* the *Lords*; the *Multitude* they *Deposed* the *Commons*; and *all upon the same Charge of Misdemeanor*. So that the *Trustee* being still accomptable to those that *Entrusted* him, the *Order of Government* is *Inverted*, and the *last Appeal* lodged in the *Rabble*. It

It is a strange thing that our *Protestant Dissenters* should so Unanimously agree in their Methods of *Opposing Authority*, and yet keep at so great a *distance* in *all things else*; for how scrupulous soever they may seem be in *Set Forms of Devotion*, they are the strictest people of the World, in the observance of a *Set Form of Wrangling* with the *Government*: For an *Out-cry of Persecution* does as naturally follow a *Plea for Liberty*, as one Foot follows another.

Doth not such a day as this (says our Quærist) loudly call for Repentance, that Protestants have been Persecuting each other; and for Unity in affection among all Protestant Subjects, whether Conforming or Dissenting in some lesser Points; and that as Brethren, they Unite in such a Combination of Conjunction, as was in Q. Elizabeths time, with good Success to defend the Crown, Religion, and Kingdom, against the Common Enemy of Mankind?

Since the *Persecution of this Age* lies so heavy upon him, and that nothing will serve his turn, but the *Uniting of Protestants* in such a *Combination* as was in the days of *Q. Elizabeth*, it will not be amiss to look a little into the Behaviour of the *Protestant Dissenters* in those days, and the *Indulgence* which they received from that *Gracious Prince*s.

The *Non-Conformists* that Fled, in *Queen Maries* time to *Franckfort*, and went off from the *English Reformed Catholics* there, to the *Protestant Dissenters* at *Geneva*, these *Non-Conformists* (*Isay*) returned for *England* upon *Q. Elizabeths* coming to the *Crown*; and for the *first ten years* of her *Reign*, plied her so hard with *Libels, Clamours, and Seditious Consultations*, that betwixt the *Papists* on the *one hand*, and the *Protestant Dissenters* on the *other*, she had much ado to secure the *Peace* of her *Government*: And not being in *Condition* to venture upon any course of *Rigor* or *Severity*, the *Protestant Dissenters* in the *fourteenth year* of her *Reign*, Erected a *Model* of their own; called it

the Church, Libell'd the Queen, Parliament, and Lords, and afterward entered into a Formal Conspiracy against her Majesty and Council; which being detected, some were Executed, and others Imprisoned: So that at last, by one severe Law of the 35th. of her Reign, she put an end to that Confederacy.

Here was the *Unity* of the *Combination* our Pamphleter speaks of; and we'll give you now the Provision it self that did the business, with the *Prescribed form* of their *Submission*.

The Penalties were Imprisonment, without Bail or Main-prize, for being present at Unlawful Conventicles. The Offender to be discharged, if within three months he made his Open Submission and Acknowledgment, in the Form by the said Statute appointed. But in case of Recusancy, to Conform within that time, he was requir'd to Abjure the Realm; and in case of refusing to Abjure, or of not departing within a Limited time, or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded against as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.

Here follows the Form of Submission.

I A. B. do humbly confets and acknowledge that I have grievously offended God, in Contemning her Majesties Lawful Government and Authority, by absenting my self from Church, and from hearing Divine Service, contrary to the Godly Laws and Statutes of this Realm; and in using and frequenting disorder'd and unlawful Conventicles and Assemblies, under the pretence and colour of Exercise of Religion: And I am heartily sorry for the same, &c.

You see here what Quarter was both given and taken under Q. Elizabeth, which shews that the *Querist* was little read in History, to appeal to the Practices of those Times, either for the *Innocence* of the *Party*, or the *forbearance* of them. But hear what *Englands Interest* says to this matter.

Oh! Lay to heart (says she) the *Grievous Spoils and Ruines* that have been laid upon your harmless Neighbours for near these twenty years. Sixty pounds *distrained* for Twelve.

Two.

Two Hundred for Sixty : *The Flocks taken out of the Fold ; the Herd from the Stall : Not a Cow left to give Milk to the Orphans, nor a Bed for the Widow to lie on : Whole Barns of Corn swept away, and not a Penny returned. And all this, for Worshipping of God according to their Conscience. If you (says he to the Free-holders) will either Compel or Persecute your selves, or choose such as do, you hate the Papists, but not Popery.*

This is so Errant a *Cant* of Begging, as if the *Protestant-Dissenters* had served their Trade in *Moor-fields*; and it runs too in the very *Tone* and *Stile* of their *Petitions* and *Admonitions* to *Q. Elizabeth*, and so down by a clear *Succession* to this Instant. There were *Citations*, *Degradings*, and *Deprivations*; some in the *Marshalseas*, some in the *White Lion*, some in the *Gatehouse* at *Westminster*, others in the *Counter*, or in the *Clink*, or in *Bridewel*, or in *Newgate*. How many good *Mens* deaths have the *Bishops* been the Cause of? How many have they driven to leave their *Ministry*, and live by *Physick*? Men have been miserably handled with *Revilings*, *Imprisonments*, *Banishments*, &c. If this *Persecution* be not provided for, a great trouble will come of it.

Under *K. James*, no man (they said) could be assured of his *Lands* or *Life*. And under the *Late King*, how were these poor people Oppressed by *Fines*, *Imprisonments*, *Stigmatizings*, *Deprivations*, *Suspensions*, *Excommunicated*, *Out-law'd*, *Beggered*, Proceeded against with punishments *Pecuniary* and *Corporal*; nay, *Death* it self: And now they are at the same lock again.

But what are these People (for the Love of God) that are thus miserably used all this while? Why truly (if we may take their own words for it) under *Q. Elizabeth* they were *Loyal Subjects*, and *Gods faithful Servants*; most *Worthy*, *Faithful*, and *Painful Ministers*; *Learned* and *Godly*, *Unreproveable* before all men; the *Strength* of the *Land*,
and

and the *Sinew* of her Majesties Government. Under King *James*, they were men of *Conscience*, Preservers of the *Churches Right*, and Asserters of the *Holy Discipline*. Under the *Late King*, they took up the Titles of Men of *Tender Consciences*, *Well-affected*; Men that had the *Power of Godliness*, *Painful*, *Laborious Preachers of the Word*; *Faithful* in their Generation, and men *Zealous* in the defence of the *Protestant Religion*, the *Privileges of Parliament*, and of his Majesty in his *Just Rights*. And in our days, they call themselves *Lovers of Gods Ordinances*, and *Enemies* of all *Humane Inventions*; a People *Zealous* of *Religion*; *sound* in the *Faith*, *Intelligent*, *Sober*, *Numerous*, *Peaceable*, *Orthodox*: The *Ceremonies* they look upon as an *Excess*; they dissent from the *outward Order* of *Worship*, (for the *Conscience* will interpose in the *Dictates* and *Injunctions* of men, in *Divine Worship*.) All these People agreeing in this common Complaint, that they are *Persecuted* for *Worshipping according to Conscience*. Whether they do *well* or *ill*; whether they speak *true* or *false*; whether they have *Reason* on their side, or *not*, in these *Remonstrances* let the Reader judge.

Let it be first observed, that the Author dates this Persecution from his Majesties *Return*; *near these twenty years* (he says) as if there had never been any such thing before; whereas from the time of *Q. Elizabeths* Act above-mentioned, to the very Act for *Uniformity*, (the late Times excepted) the Church was never without a *Legal Provision* for the preventing and suppressing of *Conventicles*; and the *Law* much more Rigorously put in Execution. Beside that, as they were more or less Indulged, the Nation was still more or less at quiet.

Observe again, that there is no notice taken of the *Liberty* of the *Late Times*, or the deplorable *Effects* of that *Licence*, though the *Presbyterians little Finger* was heavier than the *Loins* of the *Bishops*, in the point of Restraint,

as we have shewed already, from the mouths of the other *Seĉtaries*. But they are too prudent to fall foul *one upon another*, when their business is to join in a *Confederate Party* against the *Government*: So that they are now *One and All*, and every separate Opinion stickles for all the rest: And then comes on the Cry of the *Orphans* and *Widows* against the Cruelty of the *Oppressor*: *Sixty Pounds Distrained for Twelve; Two hundred for Sixty, &c.* Methinks the Plaintiff should have been so ingenuous, as to have reflected upon the Persecutions that other men suffered even from these people that now complain of a Persecution; and that *they suffered for Worshipping according to their Consciences too*, and they had not only *Religion* on their side, but *Law* also; whereas the *other* founded a *Rebellion* upon a pretended scruple of *Religion*, and opposed the Rules of *Christianity* and *Civil Authority*, both in one: But it is a *Persecution* to them, to be kept from *Persecuting*.

Neither does this Clamour keep it self within the bounds of *Spiritual* matters, but breaks in upon the *Civil Administration*, and alarms the Multitude with the terrible apprehensions likewise of *Tyranny* and *Slavery*. Wherefore we are enforced to oppose the *sensible Experiment* of an *actual Tyranny* and *Slavery* to the *artificial* and *imaginary fears* of it; to leave all Mortals without excuse, that shall read these plain and well-meaning Papers, if ever they should fall into the same mistakes again.

The taking away of mens *Goods* and *Liberties*, the forcing of their *Consciences*, and tying them up to an *Implicit Obedience* to the Decrees of *Government*, are terrible things, I must confess: But yet much worse sure, where they run directly *against* the Stream of a *Received Authority* and *Usage*, then where the *so doing* is Warranted by *known Laws* and *uninterrupted Practice*.

The Reformed Catholique : Or,

There are several sorts of *Persecution* : A *Persecution* in matter of *Conscience*, *Good Name*, *Propriety of Goods* and *Estate* ; *Freedom of Person*, and that is the most odious Aggravation of *Persecution*, when it is set up in defiance of a *Publique Law*, and Introduced under a colour of *kindness* to all *these Interests*. We will be as short in these Particulars as we can, and leave the Reader to say where the *Oidium* of the *Persecution* lies.

First, to the point of *Conscience*. It was the judgment of the *Late Royalists*, that they were obliged in *Conscience* and *Duty*, to pay Obedience to the *Laws*, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* ; and with the hazard of their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, to endeavour the preservation both of the *Church* and *State*. The *Protestant Dissenters* pretended the same respect for the *King* and *Church*, with the *Royal Party* : And when by popular Pretexts they had ingratiated themselves with the Multitude, they plaid their Game the contrary way, and took up *Arms against* the *Government*, which they Swore to *Defend*. Now see at what a rate they treated, not onely the *Friends* of the *Government*, but the *Government* it self.

There were a *hundred and fifteen Ministers* Ejected, with- in the *Bills of Mortality*, beside *Pauls* and *Westminster* ; and in proportion, all the Nation over, for refusing to comply with the *Schism* ; and they were not so much as suffered to take the Employment of either a *Schoolmaster*, or a *Chaplain*, but under heavy penalties. Several of our Divines were choaked up and poisoned in *Peter-House*, and other Goals, either for *Worshipping according to their Consciences*, or *Refusing to act against them*. No Man admitted to Compound, or so much as Live in the Parliaments Quarters, without *Swearing*. Men were *Sequestered* for not joining in the *Rebellion* ; for assisting the *King* according to the *Law*, and for *not Covenanting*, though in express Contradiction to the Oath of *Allegeance*. Upon
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the Abolition of the *Common Prayer*, severe Penalties imposed upon any man that should use it; and their own *Directory* imposed upon a Forfeiture too; nay, they would not allow the King himself, in his Distresses, the Comfort of any of his own *Chaplains*, nor so much as the benefit of a *Common-Prayer-Book*: And at *Fife* in *Scotland*, there was an Oath given at the *Communion*, not to take the *Kings Oath*, nor any other then their *Own*. — Was all this an Invasion of the *Liberty of Conscience*, or not?

Touching a *Persecution* now, upon the point of *Good Name*: Though the whole course of the History is full of Virulent and Unchristian Reflections, I will only refer my self to that *Diabolical Libel of Whites Centuries of Scandalous Ministers*: wherein without any regard to *Truth* or *Modesty*, they have exposed so many *Reverend Names* to *Infamy* and *Disshonour*. In one word; After they had represented the *King himself* for a *Tyrant*, and an *Idolater*, it was but Consonant that they should cast *Reproaches* upon his Party.

Touching the *Freedom* of our *Persons* and *Estates*, the whole course of the late War, was but one continued Usurpation upon our Rights to both: Noble mens Houses turned to Prisons, and People Committed, without knowing either their *Accusers*, or their *Offence*: Some clapped on *Shipboard* to be Transported, no body knew whither; and others sold into Plantations for *Slaves*. To say nothing of those that fell by the *Sword*, in the Defence of their *Country*; or otherwise past the hand of the Executioner, in Justification of their Religion and Allegiance. There was *no taking* of *Threescore* pounds for *Twelve*, in those days; nor of *Two hundred* for *Sixty*. But they took *All* for *nothing*; and there was no Living amongst them for any *Honest man*, that would not prostitute his *Conscience*. And who are they now, but

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either the very persons, or men however of these very principles, that acted these Outrages upon Us, and yet now complain of being persecuted *themselves*? When they startle the Common People with the Notions of Cruelty and Slavery, as a matter now in prospect; methinks they should blush at the Memory, and upon the Guilt of those Real Calamities which we have both seen and felt, wherein our blessed Sovereign had yet a greater share than any of his Subjects.

They Abolished Kingly Government; Sold the Crown-Lands; Imprisoned and Murthered the King; made it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the Commons; turned our Churches into Stables; Burnt our Communion Tables, and profaned the very Ashes of the Dead. Let but any man read *Scobels Acts*, and say, if the *English* were not in those Times, and under these *Protestant Dissenters*, the most Despicable *Slaves* in Nature. See their *Tax* upon the *Fifth* and *Twentieth* part, their *Excises* upon *Excise*; their *Assessments* for the Maintenance of the *Army*, and their *Monthly Taxes* for the same end. *Ninety thousand pounds; Sixscore thousand pounds, Sixty thousand pounds, Sequestrations*, Seizing of peoples *Rents* and *Debts*, Appropriating to themselves the profits of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and Compositions for *Wards*. Authorizing the *breaking open of Locks*, and *Examining upon Oath* for discovery of *Delinquents Money* and *Estates*. All this is as well known, as the very fact of the War it self; and if we have a mind to lie down under the same Bondage again, let us believe the Stories of *Arbitrary Government* and *Superstition*, that these people tell us of, and they shall just so help us out of them again, as they did before.

There should be something further said to their pretence of being *Persecuted* for *Religion*; but I find little to be added to what is already delivered. *The Law stands still*: They press upon the *Law*, and yet cry out, that the *Law* perse-

persecutes them. We may lay down this, I think, for a Maxim; That *whosoever tells us that he makes a Conscience of Complying with the Discipline of the Church, and yet manifestly makes none at all, of undermining, nay and of blowing up the whole frame of the Government, that man is most undoubtedly an Hypocrite.*

To Conclude: What's the meaning of this *Remonstrating* to the People? They are no *Judges* of the *Controversie*: But they do well however, in a Cause, where *Force* does a great deal more than *Argument*, to make their Application to the Multitude, with whom *Clamour* and *Pretence* are of more Value than *Modesty* and *Reason*. It is a most Ridiculous Contradiction to Common Sense, to believe these men to be in earnest; for if they were, they would never *Defame* the Government, at the same time that they beg a *Dispensation* from it.

Their *Demand* is unreasonable, the thing it self only *Notional* and *Impracticable*. By *Liberty of Conscience*, they mean a *Freedom of doing what they please*, which necessarily implies a *total Dissolution of the Laws*. They offer it only as a *Decoy* to the People; and when they have gained *Compassion* to themselves (like Beggars that move pity by shewing Ulcers of their own making) their next business is to draw *Contempts* upon the Government, and after that, to enter without more ado, upon the Great Work of *Reformation*. Let me do this Right however to the Independents: I do not find that Party to have given the Government any trouble since his Majesty's Return; but that they have kept themselves clear of all these late Broils: And if Authority had the same sense of them, with the Author of this Pamphlet, they would be found both in their Principles and in their Manners, to have the most reasonable Claim of all sorts of Dissenters, to a favourable allowance from the Government. God in his Mercy open our Eyes, that we may know our Friends from our Enemies.

T H E E N D.

1561

A

Further Discovery
OF THE
PLOT:

Dedicated to

Dr. TITUS OATES,

BY

ROGER L'ESTRANGE,

THE THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Brome* at the *Gun* in *S. Pauls*
Church-yard. 1680.

STANDARD
OF

PLOT

Dedicated to

THE CITY OF

BY

WILLIAM H. HARRIS

THE THIRD EDITION

1880

Printed for the City of New York at the Office of the City Clerk, No. 100 Broadway, New York.

A Further Discovery, &c.

SIR,

YOU have been told (you say) that *L' Estrange* is a *Papist*, and reports You for a *Fanatique*: And these two Calumnies have been lately improved into a Couple of *Nonsensical* and *Seditious Libels*. They do really so much partake of Both, that Ignorance, and nothing else excuses the *Authors* from a *Pillory*. The *One* is entituled, *The Answer to the Appeal, Expounded*; where (under the *Rose*) he makes a *Jesuite*, a *Papist*, a *Plotter*, a *Clod-Pate*, a *Fidler* of me; and almost as many *Rascals* as ever *Pryn* and his *Disciples* called our *Protestant-Martyr*, **LAUD**, the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, of *Glorious Memory*. The *Other* bears the *Title* of *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot*; where he takes *L' Estrange* to task in the *Preface*, and the *King* and *Council*; the *Duke of York*, the *Court of Kings-Bench*, and the *Government* it self, in the *Book*. The *Writer* (they say) is a *Small Thred-bare Solicitor* in the *Old-Baily*; one that values himself upon his *Faculty* in *Drawing up Articles*, *Impeachments*, *Narratives*; and upon his *Interest* in *Clubs* and *Coffee-houses*, &c. I tell you this,

the rather, Doctor, because this man hath *your name* often in his mouth ; and (in truth) makes bolder with it then stands with the *Dignity of your Figure* in the *Government*.

This is the very truth of the Case, Sir, and it is not for any man to hear himself Reviled at this rate, and stand with his Finger in his Mouth. A *Papist!* A *Lessener of the Plot!* A *Disparager of the Kings Evidence!* A body had better be half-hang'd then barely to be reputed so. Wherefore I must either frankly *acquit* myself, or *sink* under the *Accusation*.

Now to discharge my Soul to you, Doctor, as in *Confession* : I am (by my hopes of Heaven) a *True Son of the Church of England* ; but not without Bowels of *Humanity* yet to men of *other Persuasions*. And to tell you as a Friend, I have more *Charity* for one *Moral Pagan*, then for twenty *Hypocritical Christians*. I have naturally a *Veneration* for the *Government*, and all that *love* it : For the Kings *Loyal Witnesses*, and the *Preservers* of his *Sacred Life*, in the first place ; with an equal *Horror* and *Detestation* for all his *Enemies*, under what *Masque* or *Form* soever. I believe the *Plot* ; and as much of it as every good *Subject* ought to *believe*, or as any man in his *right Wits* can *believe* : Nay, I do so *absolutely believe* it, that, in my *Conscience*, *you your self*, Doctor, do not *believe* more of it then *I do*. But yet the whole *Earth* can never bring me to *Believe*

lieve, or to say that I *Believe*, that which I nei-
 ther do, nor can *Believe*: as the business of
Bedingsfields being alive again; or, in a word,
 that *Imyself* am in the *Conspiracy*. And in some
 Cases, I would wait a little for *Confirmation*,
 without swallowing every thing *whole* as it comes.
 Suppose my Boy should come in and tell me that
 it rains *Butter'd Turnips*, I should go near to open
 the Window to see whether it be so or no: and
 you would not blame me for *Doubting* neither.
 For *That* is the *firmest Faith* that is introduced by
Reason, and established by *Experience*. It is the
business of some People to impose upon Others; and
 the *misfortune* of Other People to be imposed upon;
 which is unhappy and dangerous both ways:
 But *Truth* (as in *Mythology*) is the *Daughter* of *Time*.
 I will not deny, but a man that believes *Lightly*,
 may be in the *Right* too; but 'tis by chance then.
 One man is both *Honest* and *Wise*; Another may be
Honest too, and yet perhaps but *Simple*: and so
 we have our *Crafty Knaves* and our *Foolish*. Some
 have the *Will* without the *Faculty*, and Others are in-
 dued with *Both*. Now in this *Mixture* of *Hu-*
mane Abilities and *Inclinations*, a man can hardly be
 too *Cautious*: Be it always understood, that where
Authority hath passed a *Sentence*, there is no longer
 any place for *Hesitation* or *Demurre*.

Before I enter any further into my *Vindication*,
 it would become me to say something that may
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be civil to your self: But it was never my Humour, (as a *French Droll* has it) to commend an *Orator* for an *Excellent Head of Hair*; or a man of *State* and *Business*, for the Government of his *Beard*; or to spend three or four Pages upon such an Occasion as this, in *Flattery*, and *Panegyrick*. I have (in few words) as great a Value for your *Function*, your *Employment*, and your *Character*, as I ought to have: I am a Friend to *Down-right*, *Open Dealing*, to *Liberty of Speech*, and to the *Freedom*s of an *Easie Glass*, and *Companion*, as much as any man. I never took *Religion* to consist in a *Set Form* of *Caps*, *Broad Bangling Hats*, or a *Sowre Look*, enough to turn the very *Stream of Humane Comforts* into *Vinegar*. And yet, I know, after all, this, that you have called me *Twenty Rogues*, for which I heartily *thank* you, and *forgive* you. Nay, you had been little less than *One* your self, if you had spared me under such a *Notion* as you might possibly understand me. But *Time*, I hope, may bring us to be better acquainted.

In the mean while, let me assure you, Sir, that there is no *Design* in *This Paper* to bespeak your *Favour* in case of any *Imputation* upon me, either for my *Words*, *Actions*, or *Writings*: For I defie *Malice* it self to charge me with any sort of *Malevolence* toward *The Church* or *State*, which even a *Packt Jury* would dare to give *Credit* to. *This Defiance* would be extremely *impertinent*, if I were

not privy to the Train of a Pack of little Curs that are hunting for some such advantage. The pitiful *Cause-Jobber* that I told you of in the *Old-Baily*, did not stick a little while ago, to *Declare* as much, onely he was resolved to have a *Touch* at his *Royal Highness's first*, and then to file his *Articles* against my Lord Chief Justice, and after that, *L' EStrange* was to go to Pot, upon the Meeting of the Parliament at furthest. And rather then fail, he would be the man himself should bring in the *Articles*. In pursuance of this Doughty Resolution, he published the *Libel* above-mentioned, where he hath a sting at the *King* and *Council* (about Sir Robert Peiton, P. 381.) over and above. And this came out Piping Hot upon the precise 26 of *January*, when the Parliament was to have met; under a *Dedication* to the *Lords* and *Commons* too; which *Presumption* made it a worse *Libel* upon *That August Assembly*, then any of the rest, by entituling *Them* to the *Protection* of such a *Hotch-Potch* of *Calumny* and *Sedition*. If you will see my *Crime* at length, you will find it in his *Preface*. But the short of it is this :

He charges my *History of the Plot* with terrible *Shuffles* and *Omissions*; as in *Mr. Bedloes Evidence* against *Sir G. Wakeman* (P. 46. of the *Trial*) and in *Pag. 77.* and elsewhere: whereas in my *Abstract*, pag. 79, 80. there's every *Particular* of that *Evidence*, and not the *One Half* of it in his *Damnable*
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ble History, pag. 295. And then for his Cavil against pag. 77. the very words of my *Abridgment* are these; pag. 88. [The Lord Chief Justice, after some short Remarques upon the Romish Principles, summed up the Evidence, and gave directions to the Jury.] And this was, effectually, the whole business of that Page. He spends the Remainder of his Displeasure upon my *Epistle*, for *Drowning the Popish Plot*, with suggestions of an *Imaginary* one of the Protestants; saying that the *amusing People with such Stories is Notoriously a part of the Grand Popish Design*; and then he reflects upon me for saying, that there were many *Gross Incoherences*, and very *Material Mistakes* in the *printed Trials*; enough to *discredit the Plot to Posterity*. I shall leave the *Epistle* to justify it self, and onely inform you as to the rest, that the *Judicial Proceedings* are fully and particularly Reported and Justified all along; and onely SEVERAL Errours of the Press pointed at; not MANY as he hath falsified it: nor any Diminution to the Proofs, as he would seem to *Imply*. Now I conceive this to be a *Material Mistake*, to Expose a Protestant Gentleman for a Papist, nine times in two pages. And there is another yet more *Material*, pag. 45. of *Ireland's Trial*, which I have marked in Mine, pag. 18. to say nothing of the rest. You may find this matter somewhat more particularly handled in a late *Dialogue*, Entituled, *Citt and Bumpkin*; from pag. 30. to 34. with the *Preface*

to my *Historical Abstract* at length; which I shall rather give you in this place *over again*, then send you out of your way to look it.

To the READER.

THere has not been any Point, perhaps, in the whole Tract of English Story, either so dangerous to be mistaken, or so difficult, and yet so necessary to be understood, as the *Mystery* of this detestable Plot now in Agitation. (*A Judgment for our Sins, augmented by our Follies!*) But the World is so miserably divided betwixt some that will believe every thing, and others nothing, that not onely Truth, but Chistianity it self is almost lost between them; and no place left for Sobriety and Moderation. We are come to govern our selves by Dreams and Imaginations; We make every Coffee-house Tale an Article of our Faith; and from Incredible Fables we raise Invincible Arguments. A man must be fierce and violent, to get the Reputation of being Well-Affected; as if the calling of one another Damned Heretique, and Popish Dog, were the whole Sum of the Controversie. And what is all this; but the effect of a Popular License and Appeal? When every Mercenary Scribler shall take upon him to handle matters of Faith, and State, give Laws to Princes; and every Mechanique sit Judge upon the Government. Were not these the very Circumstances of the late Times? When the Religious Jugglers from all Quarters fell in with the

Rabble, and manag'd them, as it were, by a certain sleight of hand: The Rods were turned into Serpents on both sides, and the multitude not able to say, which was Aaron, and which the Enchanter. Let us have a Care of the same Incantation over again. Are we not under the protection of a Lawful Authority? Nor was there ever any thing more narrowly Sifted, or more vigorously Discouraged, than this Conspiracy. Reformation is the proper business of Government and Council; but when it comes to work once at the wrong End, there is nothing to be expected from it, but Tumult and Convulsion. A Legal and Effectual provision against the Danger of Romish Practises and Errours; will never serve their turn, whose Quarrel is barely to the Name of Popery, without understanding the Thing it self. And if there were not a Roman Catholick left in the three Kingdoms, they would be never the better satisfied, for where they cannot find Popery, they will make it: nay, and be troubled too that they could not find it. It is no new thing for a Popular Out-cry, in the matter of Religion, to have a State-Faction in the belly of it. The first late Clamour was against Downright Popery; and then came on Popishly Affected: (That sweeps all) The Order of Bishops, and the Discipline of the Church took their Turns next; and the next blow was at the Crown it self: when every man was made a Papist that would not play the Knave and the Fool, for Company, with the Common People.

These things duly weighed, and considering the Ground
of

of our present Distempers; the Compiler of this Abridgment reckoned that he could not do his Countrymen a better Office, then (by laying before them the naked state of things) to give them at one view, a Prospect, both of the subject matter of their Apprehensions, and of the Vigilance, Zeal, and needful severity of the Government on their behalf. To which end, he hath here drawn up an Historical Abstract of the whole matter of Fact concerning those Persons who have been hitherto Tried for their Lives, either upon the Plot it self, or in Relation to it: opposing Authentick Records to wandring Rumours; and delivering the Truth in all Simplicity. He hath not omitted any one material Point: There is not so much as one Partial Stroke in it; not a flourish, nor any thing but a bare and plain Collection, without any Tincture either of Credulity, or Passion. And it is brought into so narrow a compass too, that it will ease the Readers head, as well as his purse; by clearing him of the puzzle of Formis; and Interlocutories, that serve onely to amuse and mislead a man, by breaking the Order, and confounding the Relative parts of the Proceeding.

Having this in Contemplation, and being at the same time possess'd of a most exact Summary of all passages here in Question: This Reporter was onely to cast an Extract of these Notes into a Method: especially finding, that upon comparing the substance of his own Papers, with the most warrantable Prints that have been published; his own Abstract proved to be not onely every jot as Cor-

rect, but much more Intelligible, which being short and full, he thought might be useful, and find Credit in the World upon its own account, without need of a Voucher.

Having engaged your Patience thus far, toward a Right understanding in the Case; I must take a little more pains yet to expound my self in another Point, that I may stand fair in your Opinion. You may imagine, perhaps, that my restless Course of *Writing still on and on*, proceeds purely out of an Implacable Gall, and Itch of Scribbling. But let me assure you, Doctor, that I am as sick of it my self, as any body else can be; onely where-soever my *Genius* tells me that my Pen may be any way useful to the *Publique*, I can no longer forbear: (and in This You will the rather excuse and credit me, from the Effects, and as it were, the Incontinence of a *Publique Spirit*, which you find in your self.) Beside that I have not, as yet, set Pen to Paper, but upon the *Defensive*; and without receiving any other Reply, then the General Reproach of *Popishly Affected*, or a Vilifier of the *Kings Evidence*. Nay, it was averred the other day (as I am very well assured) in a *publique Coffee-house*, that upon *L'Esrange* his declaring himself to be no *Papist*, a Lady told him point blank, that *she could prove him one*. These malicious Rumors put me upon bethinking my self which way I might

might kill two Birds with one Stone, by proving Dr. Oates and L'Esrange to be neither *Fanatical* nor *Popish*: but both of them perfectly *well-affected* to the Religion of the Church of *England*, as it is established by Law.

With these Considerations about me, I took all your *Works* to pieces, Examining, and Comparing them *One by One*: Your *Narrative* and *Depositions*, your *Exact Discovery*; your *Popes Ware-house*; your *Witch of Endor*; your *Exact and Faithful Narrative*: and furnished my self out of your own Writings with Materials for your Defence. And now, thought I, if I can but signalize my Zeal toward the Suppressing of *Popery*, by the opening of some Extraordinary way for the gaining of That End, my Work is done.

Upon the Putting of these Thoughts together, by the assistance of your *Clue*, I entered into the almost inextricable *Labyrinth* of the *Plot*; and traced the Mystery of it thorough all its Turnings and Windings, till at last I came to Discover the *Priests* you pointed at, lurking like *Foxes* in their *Holes*. And this I presently made known to the Nation, in a Pamphlet, under the Title of *A Further Discovery of the Plot*. In this Pamphlet, I set forth the matter as I found it: with the Safe and Certain way of *Retrieving* and *Unkennelling* these Creatures: and in all this I supported my self upon Dr. Oates his Credit, as will appear in the *Second*.

cond Impression of that *Further Discovery*, here at the end of this tedious Letter.

But what *Innocence* can warrant any man against *Envy*, or what *Authority* protect him? when *L'Estrange* comes to be arraigned as a *Papist*, for shewing the most likely way in the World for the Extirpation of *Popery*: and when the *Name* of *Dr. Oates* is not sufficient to protect him, in so profitable and necessary a *Design*? Nay, and it is well, Doctor, if you can uphold your self either, if this goes on: For no man can fall foul upon *That Discovery*, without wounding your *Evidence*.

The *Fanatical Party*, in short, will have it to be a *Jesuitical Pamphlet*; so that of a *Fanatique* on the *One* hand, you are now become a *Papist* on the *Other*. For there is not *One Syllable* in the *Foundation* of that *Discourse*, but I have your *Word* and *Oath* for it. You swear *positively* that the *Priests* and *Jesuites* *Herd* themselves among the *Non-Conformists*; and *They*, on the *Other* side, as *positively* *Deny* it. But yet they *prove* it too, with the very *Breath* that *denies* it; and betray themselves also to be in the *Plot*, over and above. For it is the *Known Marque* and *Design* of the *Jesuited Party*, to *discredit* the *Kings Evidence*, which these *People* endeavour totally to *overthrow*. If the *Papists* do not shelter themselves in the *Conventicles*, and *Field-Meetings*, to stir up *Broils* in the *Government*, what becomes of your *Testimony*? And admitting

ting them to be there, none but a *Papist* sure will oppose the *Ferretting* them out. Let them be once allowed *this Sanctuary*, and a *Priest* has no more to do, then to put on the Cloak of a *Dissenting Protestant*: and under *that Disguise* to execute his Design upon our *Prince*, our *Government*, and our *Religion*.

What can be clearer then, according to the *first Article* of your *Depositions*, that *Matthew Wright*, *William Morgan*, and *Mr. Ireland*, were *Ordered* to go and preach under the *Notion* of *Presbyterians*, and give the *disaffected Scots* a *True Understanding* of their *State and Condition*, in which they were, by reason of the *Episcopal Tyranny*, exercised over them; and withall, to tell them they had now a *fair opportunity* to *Vindicate* their *Liberty*, and *Religion*, and that it could be done no other way, but by the *Sword*. And so, *Article 22.* how they endeavoured by *Themselves*, their *Agents*, and their *Purses*, to provoke the *Scots* against the *English*. In your *34. Article*, we find them tampering with the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*. And yet all this will not serve to convince some People of the *Priests* mingling with the *Fanatiques*, till the *Pilgrims* and the *Forty Thousand Black Bills* shall come to open their *Eyes* in the *Conclusion*. If these *Infidels* have any *Privilege* for the *Defaming* of *Publique Justice*, and *blasting* the *Kings Witnesses*, above other People, they should do well to produce it.

And

And I am not so *Sanguin* neither, as to take up my *Creed* upon the *High-way*, and venture an *Affidavit* upon every *Phantôme* in the *Domestique*. But, Sir, I have *Read* you, I have *Consider'd* you, and made you no little part of my *Study*. You have *Lighted* me into the *Vault*, where all our *Mischief* is a *Brewing*. You have shewed me not onely the *Train*, but *Faux* himself also, (the *Master-Engineer*) *Creeping* with his *Dark Lanthorn* to give *Fire* to it. and to *my Eyes*, things are as *plain*, as the *Sun* at *Noon-day*. To say nothing of the *Offices* you have already rendered to the *Publique*, with the *Exposure* of your self, *almost* all manner of ways: I do look upon you at this *Instant*, with a respect to the *Future*, to be a *Person* at least as *Capable* of *Contributing* to the *Peace* and *Happinels* of this *distracted Nation*, as any *Subject* of the three *Kingdoms*. I am not *insensible* of the *Roundness* of your *Periods*, the *Luxuriancy* of your *Invention*, (where there is any *Scope* for it) the *Frankness* of your *Stile*, and the *Harmony* of all your *Conceptions*. But these are *Stories* for those *People* onely that have nothing else to do, but to *Claw* one another.

This *Over-grown Epistle* would have been *Monstrous* in any other *Age*; and the *Quality* of it no less *Extraordinary*: but *Custom* authorizes all things, whether *Good* or *Evil*. There are certain *Modes* of *Stile*, *Figure*, *Address*, *Motion*, *Garments*, nay, and of *Morals*,

Morals too, that have their *proper* and *peculiar Seasons*. *Impudence* prevails in *One Age*, *Modesty* in *Another*; *Publique Justice* and *Oppression* take their turns; *Knavery* and *Hypocrisie* were in fashion *Thirty* or *Forty year ago*; and we are *Now*, for *Honesty*, and *Plain-dealing*. The present *Humour* of *France* runs much upon *Poysoning*; the *Romans*, for *One* bout, made a great *Trade* of *Suborning* and *Trepanning*; and the *Enemies* of *this Government*, are at this day altogether upon the *Vein* of *Plotting*. But I was about to speak to the *License* of *Epistolizing*, which is now in *Vogue*, in excuse of the *Freedom* I am to make use of in *this Letter*. That is to say, It was the *Old, dull way*, to tell a *Friend* his *Faults* in his *Ear*, and give him *Good Counsel* in a *Corner*: But it has been found out in *Our Times*, to be more for the *Dignity* of the *Adviser*, to do it in a *Printed Letter*, that the whole *World* may bear witness to the *Frank Discharge* of a mans *Duty*.

After the acquittal of my self to be no *Papist*, give me leave to say something, *Sir*, to the *Point* charged upon me, both by your *Self*, and your *Father*, of *Reporting You* for a *Fanatique*. I never said that you were a *Fanatique*, in my *Life*; nor did I ever presume so much as to *Guess* at your *Religion*, any otherwise, then *Negatively*, that you are no *Presbyterian*: which I *inferred* from the *Solemnity* of your frequent *Protestations* that you could not in *Conscience* *Communicate* with men of

that Profession. But to treat you with the Liberty of an *Epistolizer*, I must confess, that the words, which you reminded me of upon that Occasion, and told me, I should see sodainly in Print, did, me thought, seem to incline a little that way. And then your *Natural Meekness*, and *Affability* toward all men, and as well *Fanaticks* as *Others*, (to deal plainly with you) opened the Mouths of some Ignorant People to that Effect: Together with that *Exhortation* of yours, in the *Post-script* to your *Popes Ware-house*, pag. 67. [To the Encouragement of all sorts of Protestants whatsoever, that Fear God; Honour the King; and are willing to be Subject to the Civil Magistrate, though Dissenting from the rest of Christians, in some small matters, and Indifferent Things.] Now though I am too much a Servant to Unity, to encourage Separations, and Divisions I cannot yet but highly esteem the Humane *Tenderness* of Easing particular Persons, in the matter of *Involuntary*, and *Invincible Dissent*: (that is to say, so far as stands with *Publique Order*.) And yet you must excuse me, Doctor, if I tell you, that your softness of Disposition may endanger the carrying of you too far too. For though a *Discreet* and *Practicable Indulgence* may do well; there may be such a *Remissness* yet, as by Loosening the *Sinews* of the Government, may bring the *Body* of the Community into a *Habit* of *Weakness*, and *Trepidation*. But there is a *Persecuting Spirit*, on the other hand, that cannot
 certainly

certainly but be *Odious* both to *God* and *Man* : A *Spirit*, that wreaks its *Fury* upon *Widows* and *Orphans*, without either *Distinction*, or *Remorse* ; that hunts *Bloud* meerly for the *Bloud* sake, and makes men worse then *Wolves* : for *They* pursue, and seize their *Prey*, only to satisfy their *Hunger*.

By this time, Sir, you see what a *Church-of-England-man* is to *Trust* to ; when the *One* side makes him a *Fanatique*, and the *Other* a *Papist*. But with what face shall any man dare to *Charge Him* for a *Papist*, that has done so much for the *Protestant Religion* : or for a *Fanatique*, that has done so much, *That way* again, for the *Church of England* ?

The *Plot*, by the *Unanimous Vogue* of all the *Kings* *Witnesses*, is a *Tripartite Plot*. First, upon the *Life* of his *Sacred Majesty*. 2. The *Subversion* of the *Government*. 3. The *Extirpation* of the *Protestant Religion*. So that the *Rooting out* of the *Protestant Religion*, is *One Capital Point* of the *Conspiracy*. But what it is that is intended by the *Protestant Religion*, comes now to be *Expounded* ; and the *Clearing* of *That Difficulty* sets *All Right*.

Under the *Word Government* is *Comprehended* the *Regiment* both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* : and *Inclusively*, the *Order* of *Bishops*, with the *Establish'd Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the *Church*. So that *This*, and no *Other*, is the *Protestant Religion* *Design'd* upon in the *Plot*. *Secondly*, It would not have

been **Religion**, but **Religions**, (for their Name is *Legion*) if the Blow had been *Levell'd* at the *Fanatiques*. *Thirdly*, there is no *finding*, no *fixing* of them: 'Tis almost as hard to say *Where* they are, as *What*: for they are a kind of *Christian Arab's*, and *Wanderers* in their *Stations*, as well as in their *Opinions*. *Fourthly*, It does not stand with *Common Sense*, for the *Papists* to *Plot* the *Ruine* of their *Own Auxiliaries*; nor with the *Reason* of your *own Depositions* that they should contrive the *Destruction* of the *Fanatiques*, at *That very Time* when they are making use of *Them* to *destroy Us*. And it is all one to me, whether you call them *Fanatiques*, or *Separatists*, or *Non-Conformists*, or *Dissenters*; for you may as well bring *Heaven* and *Hell* together, as reconcile those *People* to any terms of *Piety*, or *Civil Order*, that corruptly stile themselves *Protestants*, under any of these *General Denominations*. This *Schism* is the very *Lake of Locusts*; *Adamites Familists*, *Socinians*, *Arrians*, with *Swarms of Impious*, *Beastly Heresies*, not so much as to be *Thought of* without *Shame*, nor *Mentioned* but with *Trembling* and *Horror*.

Now if the *Established Religion* aim'd at in the *Plot*, be the *Establish'd Religion* of the *Church of England*; you cannot be a *Friend* to the *State*, without being one to the *Church* too: For *They* are in such a manner *Incorporate*, that they must either *stand or fall together*, by a necessary *Consent*.

So

So that whosoever Phanſies you, Doctor, to be other then *Canonical* and *Orthodox*, implies a Lewd and a Dangerous Suppoſition; which is, that what you *Build* with *One* hand, you *pluck Down* with the *Other*.

Or put the Case that the Design strikes at *All* that call themselves *Protestants*, in *General*, as well *Non-Conformists* as *Church-men*: The *Dissenters* must yet range themselves under the *Government* to *Oppose* it; and without intermeddling any *Other* way too, then by their *Prayers*, and *Good Wishes*, upon pain of *Sedition*: For they do not act in this Instance, as men of *such* or *such* a *Religion*; but as *Subjects*, under the Bond of *Civil Obedience*. So that we are still but where we were before, and as sure of *You This way*, as the *Other*: For they are no longer *Dissenters*, when they *Comply* with *Authority*, and we do onely *Close* with them in their *Agreements*, not in their *Dissents*.

But pray'e Sir, Let me Consult you as a *Casuiſt*: *Whether or no, and how far may Protestants Unite, and join together, to keep out and defend themselves against Popery?* As in the Case of the present *Plot*. This Question is the very Hinge of the Controversie. The Solution seems to me, as follows: and I beseech you set me Right, if I mistake it. I am of Opinion for the *Affirmative*, and that *Protestants may join* (*ut supra*:) that is to say, in their *Hearts* and *Affections*, but no farther, without the
War-

Warrant of *Authority*. And it must be the *Supreme Authority* too: For in respect of the *Supreme*, all *Subordinate Magistrates* are but as *Private Persons*. In this Point, the *Law* is a sure *Guide*, which expressly forbids such and such *Meetings* and *Assemblies*, under the Name of *Riots*, and *Rebellions*, without any *Exceptions* whatsoever. Now if all *Leagues* and *Associations* whatsoever, of *Publique Intendment*, and without *Authority*, be no other then *Unlawful Confederacies*; Such a *Conjunction* in the matter of *Religion*, were a great *Folly* added to the *Iniquity*. For *Religion* is a *Spiritual Notion*, out of the Reach of *Violence*, and neither to be *Invaded*, nor to be *kept out by force*. It may be *Brought in*, 'tis true, by *Consequences*; and we are allowed the use of all *Lawful means* to *Prevent it*, by *Consequences* too; as if the *Pope* himself should *Invade* us; though we cannot but apprehend what may follow upon't, we do not encounter his *Religion* yet, but his *Arms*. Nor is it so properly a *War of Conscience*, as of *Civil Defence* and *Dominion*: Our *Profession* was never *Founded in Blood*. In one word, Sir, It is the *Government* that is at *Stake*, and he that is not *With* it, is *Against* it. The *SUBVERSION* of the *Government* is the *Business*; as I find it in the *Harmony* of all the *Evidences*: By which word *SUBVERSION*, is intended (I suppose) not the *Extinction* of the *Form*, either of *Monarchy*, or *Episcopacy*; but rather the *Tran-*
flation

flation of the *Power Ecclesiastical and Civil*, into Other Hands.

They are *Wonderful Things*, Doctor, which you have done *already*; and I am persuaded that you are yet reserved for *more wonderful Things to come*: which must be the Work of Time to Disclose; when *Truth* shall deliver her self from the Rubbish of *Oppression* and *Slunder*; and in despite of *Envy* and *Imposture* render your *Name* as Famous to *Posterity*, as your *Virtue* has made it to the *present Generation*. And This I write with little less than the *Genius* of a *Prophet*. Bless me! That any man in his Wits should take you (upon *Second Thoughts*) to be no Friend to the Church of *England*; after so many *Oaths*, and *Proofs* to the *Contrary*: So many *Proofs* (I say) not onely of *Deposition*, and *Argument*; but of *Adventure* also, even to the hazard of your *Life*; for ought I know, as much from the *Fanatiques*, as the *Papists*! Who was it but *You*, that so effectually laid open the *Intrigues* of the *Priests*, and *Jesuites*, with the *Schismatiques*, in the *Late Rebellion*? That shewed his Majesty so plainly, who they were that *Dethron'd* and *Murther'd* his *Father*: and painted the whole *Conspiracy* so to the *Life*, that a Body might *wink* and see *thorough* it? Who but *You*, Sir, to Trace them down to this very Instant, through all their *Disguises*, and *Cabals*; fomenting a *Rebellion* in *Scotland* with the *Presbyterians*; *Incendiaries* in *London*, with the *Millenaries*; and up and down tampering with the whole Crew of *Sec'taries*: In which Discoveries you have given the greatest Blow to the *Schism*, that ever it received since the *Reformation*: For you have left them nothing to say for themselves, why they should not be sisted, and purg'd with all exactness imaginable? Who was it but *You*, that first found out the *Conspiracy it self*, and then the *Conspirators*? Who but *You*, the Eminent Instrument in the Opening of the *Combination*? To pass over your *Indefatigable Industry* in the *finding* and *making* of all out,

to the extreme hazards both of your *Health*, and *Person*. And now at last, after the Gleaning up of a matter of *Five and Thirty Priests*, in the *whole*, out of a great many *Hundreds* up and down; Who was it but *You*, that inform'd the *Government*, where (in stead of pickng up *one or two Priests* in a *Month*) they might find them in *Shoals*? Alas! We proceed as if a *Jesuite* had not the Wit of a *Hunted Hare*, that, to puzzle the *Hounds*, and confound the *Sent*, will thrust it self into a *Flock* of *Sheep*; or of an *Emboss'd Deer*, that strikes into the *Herd*. Is it not *true*, Sir, that they have their *Haunts* among the *Schismatiques*? Is it not *true*, that the *Plot goes on still*? Is it not *true* that we are all *Undone*, if it be not *Disappointed*. And is it not then a matter of *Absolute Necessity* to fetch these *Plotters* out of their *Holds*? And, in fine, Is it not as *true*, that whoever *doubts*, either of the *Truth* of this matter of *Fact*, or of the *Necessity* of This way of *Proceeding*, is undeniably a *Blaster* of the *Kings Evidence*, and a *Favourer* of the *Conspiracy*? Lay all this to Heart, I beseech you, and cast your Eye upon what follows. May *Heaven* and *Earth* reward you, for the Care you have taken of the *Poor Protestants*, and be as happy as I wish you.

Sir,

I am

Your Humble Servant,

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

A Further Discovery of the PLOT,
 Drawn from the NARRATIVE
 and DEPOSITIONS of
 Dr. TITUS OATES, &c.

AS it cannot be deny'd, but that the Kings Witnes-
 ses have ventur'd as far, and done as much as men
 could do, (under their Circumstances) to make
 out the Truth of a *Damnable*, and *Hellish Popish Plot* upon
 the *Life* of his *Sacred Majesty*, our *Religion* and *Civil Go-*
vernment : So neither must it be deny'd, on the other
 hand, but that the Justice and Wisdom of this Nation
 have improv'd all Discoveries, by the strictest Inquisiti-
 on, and scrutiny imaginable ; and done all that was pos-
 sible also toward the suppressing of the Conspiracy, by
 the highest Instances of Political zeal and Rigour. In-
 somuch, that after so many Priests and Jesuits, and o-
 ther Leading men of that Party removed by the stroke of
Publique Justice ; so many of them under *Confinement* ; so
 many more reduced to shift for themselves *beyond the*
seas, beside the severe Penalties of the *Law* upon the rest,
 with all sorts of Encouragement, both for their *detection*
 and *punishment* : After all this care taken (I say) to tear
 up the accursed Plot by the *Root*, We are yet assured, that
 (all this notwithstanding) the Plot is still carried on
 with *Confidence*, and *Vigour*. And this we have, even from
 those very Persons themselves that formerly wrought
 in the same Mine with the Conspirators ; till through
 the Grace of a better Light they came to govern them-
 selves by other Measures. *This* is a truth no more to be

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doubted,

doubted, then that of the *Plot it self*; which has stood the Tryall of so many *Solemn* and *publique Tests*: Beside that we have the same Authority for the One as for the Other; only the Circumstances not being brought into Proof, the matter of Fact lies a little more in the Dark.

Whether or no the Plot goes on still, after all this Havock made of the *Papists*, is the Common subject of every *Coffee-house Discourse*. They that must be presum'd to know best, are of opinion that it does; and those that are upon the *Negative*, reason the point after this manner. *What?* (say they) *Is it a Plot that will work without hands? Where are the Papists, the Instruments that should drive it on? Are they in the Aire or under Ground; or are they Invisible? For as they are now dispers'd, and broken, (beside the Terrour that overawes them) there are at least three Thousand Protestants, in sight, to one Papist.* But do they ask where they are, because we cannot see them? Why do they not rather ask where they are *Not*? because they may be any where, and we not know them: For, as I have been told by persons of Great Quality, they'l indure all *shapes*, and Exercise all *Professions*. They speak of *one Jesuit* that cry'd *work for a Cooper*; another that wrought upon the Trade of a *Shoo maker*; *Priests in Red coats* Innumerable: And it is observ'd that upon the bringing of the Late Plot to Light, all the little *Frenchmen* with their *Marionets* or *Puppet-shows* vanish'd in a trice: which gave a suspition that they were only a kind of *Itinerant Agents* for the *Faction*: To say nothing of their skill and Industry, in the managing of all our Divisions, and discontents, to the advantage of their own Party. These are stories (I know) that are much more easily *Contradicted*, then *Prov'd*: and therefore without laying any streffe at all upon *Common Fame*, or *Hearsay*, I shall now apply my self to *that farther Discovery of the Plot*, which I have promis'd in my Title; and support

support my undertaking, upon the Authority of Dr. Oates himself ; with a respect both to the Validity of his *Testimony*, and to the weight of his *Observations* ; being a Person that hath dived deeper into the *Mystery* of this Iniquity (with favour of the rest) then any other man.

As to the Hellish Design upon the Life of our Gracious Sovereign, by *Pistol*, *Sword*, or *Poyson*, we hope that the Neck of that *Particular Plot* is broken, to all Intents and purposes : But we are beholden also to Dr. Oates for the Discovery of *Other* and of *Farther Plots* that are still carry'd on by the same restless Party ; tending to the *defaming* of his *Majesties Person*, and *Government* ; the *Subversion* of our *Establish'd Religion*, and the *Disturbance* of the *Publick Peace*. So that unless the remaining, and the still growing *Difficulties*, and *Hazzards* be encounter'd with *Timely* and *Effectual Remedies*, the work of our Deliverance is but half done, and we shall yet run a risque of being ruin'd at last even in the very Port.

Dr. Oates tells us in his *Narrative*, Printed by Authority of Parliament, that the Pope, Society of Jesus, and their Confederates in this Plot, have a Design to reduce *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the *Romish Religion* and *Obedience*, by the *Sword* : Pag. 63. which they hope to accomplish, among Other means, by *disaffecting* the *Kings best Friends* at home and abroad, and *Subjects*, against his *Person* and *Government* ; charging him with *Tyranny*, and *Designs of Oppressing*, *Governing by the Sword*, and without *Parliaments*, Pa. 67.

By *Aspersing*, *Deriding*, *Exposing*, and *declaiming* against his *Person*, *Councils*, and *Actions* in *Parliaments*, and elsewhere, by *Mis-reporting*, and raising *False News* of his *Affairs* ; by *disaffecting* his *Majesties Allies*, *Holland*, *Spain*, the *German Emperor*, and *Princes* by *False Intelligence*. By *Seditious Preachers*, and *Catechists*, set up, sent out,

Maintained, and directed what to Preach in their Own, or other Private, or Publick Conventicles, and Field Meetings. By setting up false pretended Titles to the Succession of the Crown; and Animating Different Parties, one against another, on this or such like False pretences, to Arm and put the People in blood, upon the Kings Death.

We have found Dr. Oates's *Observations* (as to these particulars,) so punctually true, that every syllable of what he has here deliver'd, is from point to point, the very matter now in Agitation. For there's not a day pass'es without a Libell upon his Majesties *Authority, Administration, Designes, and solemn Resolutions of State, and Council*; belying the Condition of his Affairs, and endeavouring to create *Distrusts, and Felousies* among Forreign Princes, and States, by *False Intelligence*; animating, and *Exciting of Turbulent Factions, and anticipating of Confederacies*, to involve us all in Blood; upon a *Remote and Undutifull SUPPOSITION* of the KINGS DEATH. And finally, we have *sedition Preach'd* as well as *written*, and our *Conventicles* both instructed themselves, and instructing Others, in the Methods and Principles of Rebellion, this may suffice for the Doctors Judgment upon the present State of things, which in truth looks liker a *Revelation*, then a *Conjecture*.

As to his Reflexions upon the Interest which the *Popists* had in our Past troubles; these are his words in his Preface to the aforesaid *Narrative*.

Who beside these were the First Authours and Contrivers of the late Unnatural War, by their Known Diabolical Art of enflaming Parties, and Passions against each other? And (addressing to the King) of your Royal Fathers Unspeakable sufferings, and Barbarous Usage? It was these that brought him to his End, and flourish'd swords, and Trumpets over his dead Body, whom they durst not approach when Living: The Putney Projectours (says he.) were in most, if not all

the Councils, that contriv'd his Ruine. What broke the Uxbridge Treaty, but the Romish Interest, and Policy? Who continu'd to baffle all designs of Peace, and Settlement to this Nation, and Prosperity to his Majesties Family, but those Incendiaries, Milton was a known frequenter of a Popish Club; who more forward to set up Cromwell, and to put the Crown of our Kings upon his Head, then Papists? And his new fangled Government was contriv'd by a Popish Priest; and Lambert a Papist, for above these Thirty years.

I have insert'd these Passages as a Curiosity in the History of those times; which may perhaps have escap'd other men as well as my self. For though I never made any Question, but that the Church of *England*, as it stands Established by Law, in the *Purity of Doctrine*, and the *Venerable Sobriety of Discipline*, was ever an *Eye sore* to the Church of *Rome*; yet I was of Opinion too, that a Licentious Vein of *Ambition* and *Schism* among our selves, had carry'd a great stroke also in that *Fatal Revolution*. But however, this is a point wherein a man may without loss of Honour, or Credit, admit the possibility of his being in a Mistake. Wherefore we shall now (with the *Doctors Leave*) advance to plain matter of *Fact*, whereupon we have his *Deposition*; the only Case wherein a man may, without Vanity pronounce himself within a degree of *Infalible*.

We finde Pag. 8. that Richard Nicholas Blundell had every day in the Week his several places in the City of London, where he taught the Youth *Treasonable, and Malicious Doctrine*, against the Interest, and Person of his Sacred Majesty.

Also (Pag. 25.) that Richard Ashby had a Conference for the sending of *New Messengers* into Scotland, to promote the *Commutations* there; and to inform the People, of the great *Tyranny* they did ly under, by reason of their being deny'd the *Liberty of their Conscience*; and that not being

to be procured but by the sword, they must take that Course to purchase their Liberty: By which means (sayd the Fathers thus Assembled) we shall weaken both the Presbyterian, and the Episcopal Faction. At which Conference, the DEPOSITION was PRESENT, and heard the Words.

And again, Two Messengers were sent into Scotland, One by the Name of Father Moore, and the Other by the Name of Father Saunders alias Brown, with Instructions to carry themselves like NONCONFORMIST MINISTERS; and to Preach to the Disaffected Scots, the Necessity of taking up the sword for the Defence of Liberty of Conscience. These the DEPOSITION saw Dispatch'd, &c.

Take notice, in the First place, that here's a Designe carry'd on for the Destruction of the King, and the Embroyling of the Government. Secondly, the pretence of the Quarrel is to be matter of Liberty and Conscience. Thirdly, it is to be promoted by Popish Emissaries, in the Councils, and Conventicles of the Non-Conformists. Fourthly, the means by which the Papists propound to compass their Ends, are by making Interests with the Separatists, under the Disguise of Ministers, and Teachers, respectively of the several Parties they have to do withall. And Fifthly, Let me recommend this Particular to your special Remark, that Dr. Oates, throughout the whole Course of his Depositions, charges no part of the Popish Design upon any Intelligence, or Communication with the Church of England; but makes it only to be a practice upon the Dissenters from the English Communion, to transport them into Tumults, and Distempers against both Church and State.

We have here in few words, a Scheme of the whole business; Here's the Designe, the Pretext, the Instruments and the Methods: and upon the whole matter, here is the Church of England acquitted, as to any point of unwarrantable affinity with the Principles or Practises of
the

the Church of Rome ; however that *Testy Frenchman* is pleas'd to speculate in his *Fanatical Reve'ryes* upon our *approaches* to That *Communion* : Wherein it may be a Question, whether he is more out in his *History*, or in his *Morals*. We are, in short, very much obliged to the Doctor, for clearing our Church to all Gainfayers, from those obloquies which by both the Extremes are indifferently cast upon us.

It must not be any longer a supposition, that which Dr. Oates has given us his *Oath* for ; so that taking it for granted, that there is such a Project on foot, that the *Papists* are in the *bottom* of it ; and that it is promoted by the Sectaries, only as *Passive Agents* that are blindly bringing about the others ends : the Question is now how the Government may fairly discriminate the *Protestants* from the *Papists* ; being so blended in their *Interest*, as well as in their Councils ; and mask'd under such *Resemblances*, the *One*, of the *Other*, that they are not easily to be distinguished. It cannot be expected that a pretending *Protestant* shall own himself to be a *Papist* ; so that there's no believing any man in the Case. And then the *Epithete* of a *Reputed so or so*, is so slender an Evidence, that many a *Reputed Papist* is found to be a *True Protestant*, and many a *Reputed Protestant* as true a *Papist*. The known and Legall Expedient which has been hitherto found Competent enough to answer the Reason and Intent of State, is the *Test* of the *Two Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* : and yet this very provision will not reach all cases : For there are many *Papists* that will Take them without any difficulty ; and there are severall that call themselves *Protestants*, that will as obstinately refuse them. Now though the *Latter* (*Primo Eliz.*) was a *Provision for the abolishing of Foreign Power*, and the *Former* (*Tertio Fac.*) an Act for the discovering and repressing of *Popish Recusants* ; the Scope and Equity yet of Both these Provisions. has a regard to the securing of the Government.

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 vernment against any sort of people, and against any Pretensions whatsoever: So that whoever Refuses, upon a *Lawfull Tender*, to take these *Oaths*, he's a *Papist* in the eye of the *Law*, let his Perswasion be what it will: For it is the only Priviledge of Omniscience to reade the Heart: or if (for discourse sake) we should suppose him to be no *Papist*, he is yet in the prospect of *Common Reason*, liable to that Imposition, because it is exacted as a Proof of his *Allegiance*, not of his Faith; and men of *Different Judgements in Religion* may yet agree in *Common Principles of Disloyalty*.

And then again, there's no appealing in this *Case* from the *Prudence* and *Caution* of the *Law* (which is always presum'd to intend the *Common Good*) to the Testimony of a *Friend* or *Neighbour* in favour of a *Recusation*. For the *Law* is a *General Rule*, that takes no notice of any *Exceptions* to it. The *Law* requires me to *Take These Oaths* in proof of my *Allegiance* to the Government; and my answer is, *that I am a very Honest man, but I cannot take them*. What is this to the *Law*, that takes no Cognizance of my *Honesty*, but of my *Obedience*? And this *Rule* holds in Common, as well to the *Papist* as to the *Protestant-Recusant*; They both vouch for their own *Loyalty*, and at the same time they do both of them Refuse to comply with the *Law*. The Common way of Reply in this *Case*, is to cast it in a mans Teeth; *But what? will you make no difference betwixt a Papist that refuses and a Protestant?* Yes, I would, if you would but shew me how I may certainly know the One from the Other. Who knows not that *Interest governs the World*? and that for Reasons best known to themselves, he that is a *Protestant* in his heart may be induced rather to appear a *Papist*; and the Other, though a *Papist* in his heart, may find it his Interest yet to seem a *Protestant*? But we'll yield that *Point* too; and put the *Case*, that the *Law* should be relax'd, on the behalf of any man living, Does not

This open a Gap (let him be never so Honest) to the admittance of ten Thousand men that may plead *Honesty* too, and yet betray their Duties? And is it not better then, that some few particulars should suffer by keeping *firm* to the *Law*, then that the whole should be endanger'd by Remitting it? so that there is neither *Reason* nor *Safety*, nor *Equity*, in such a *Relaxation*, nor any regard of *Common Justice* and *Duty* in demanding it.

But what if it be said, that it is not the *Thing Sworn*, but the *Oath it self*, that is *Scrupled*? and that there are several sorts of Perswasions that will not bear any swearing at all? This I must confess, is a Case somewhat nice, and unhappy, to those people that are so straight-lac'd in that *Particular*: But then, on the Other side, it is to the *Government* the most *dangerous* of all *Pretensions* and lets in all the *Priests* and *Jesuits* in Nature, unde, That Colour. So that now take it both ways; If the *Law* be *partially* Executed, the *Jesuits* and *Priests* will shelter themselves under *That Indulgence*: Or, if the *Law* should be suspended, out of a respect to those that would be thought to make a *Conscience* of an *Oath*, the *Priests* would all flow into *Those Parties* that should be *exempted* from *this Test*, and carry on their *Designes* without either *Triall* or *danger*.

Now to wind up this Discourse, in a plain and clear *Dilemma*. It must be granted, either that the *Papists* have a Design upon the *King*, *Religion*, and *Government*, and that they advance it by acting the Parts of *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, *Presbyterians*, and *Other Settaries*, or *not*. No man, I presume will dare to Question the Truth of the Doctors Deposition; for in so doing he would imply a strange abuse impos'd upon the Nation. But on the other side, admitting it to be true; there can be no security to this Government, without either *dissolving* all *separate Meetings*, or bringing all *Dissenters* to this *Legal Test*; for otherwise, the *Papists* have all sorts of *Liberty*,
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and

and *Security* in herding themselves among the *Conventicles*; where upon the beating of a Bush, it will be an even wager whether you start a *Fesuit*, or a *Fanatick*. And in effect, in this case, there is not much difference betwixt them, where the *Fesuit* plays the *Fanatick*, and the *Fanatick* the *Fesuit*.

If the main assertion be true, there's no way of finding out the *Papists*, but by *this Test*: and the *Dissenters themselves*, if they would have *Popery* ferretted out in good Earnest, cannot chuse but encourage the Proposition. Either they *have Priests* among them or they have *not*: If they *have*, why do they not do the best they can to find them out? if they have *not*, why do they say they *have*? And again, either the *Non-Conformists* are influenc'd by the *Fesuits* or they are *not*: If they *be*, why do they not do all that is possible toward the *Purging* of their *Congregations*? If they be *not* so Influenc'd, why do they pretend that they *are*, and so *set the Saddle upon the wrong Horse*? And yet again; either it is possible to clear their *Conventicles* of this dangerous Mixture, or it is *not*: If it be *Possible*, why do they still *complain* of it, and *do nothing in't*? If it be *Impossible*, there is no way of *Extirpating Popery*, but by rooting out *Fanaticism*.

Let the World judge now, with what injustice, the *Order*, and the *Ritualls* of the Church of *England* are charg'd with a Tincture of *Superstition*, and *Popery*, when upon Manifest proof, the *Calumniators themselves* of our *Ecclesiastical State* are, throughout the *whole Body* of them, tainted with this *Leaven*. We are now come to the *Bottom* of the *Popish Plot*. *This Liberty* of wandering from the *Rule*, is the *Trojan Horse*, which under a Religious colour, we have entertain'd within our Walls; with *Discord*, and *Destruction* in the *Belly* of him.

An ADVERTISEMENT.

WHereas the Subjects Right of Petitioning has been of Late in such manner Asserted, as if his Majesty had no Right of Refusing, this is to Advertise, that from the 3d of Ed. 3. to Hen. 8. (as appears upon the Parliament Rolls) it was constantly the First thing done, upon the opening of all Parliaments, after the Cause of Summons declar'd, to appoint out of the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, certain Receivers, and Tryers of Petitions; and still as they found any Petition not fit to be admitted, it was Rejected with a Non est Petitiio Parliamenti, (as we find it endorsed upon the Rolls) and there was an end on't. Note, that all Petitions were Dedicated to his Majesty, and that in many Cases, when the Parliament had not time to go thorough with them all, the King referr'd. diverse of them to the Chancery.

Now why the King may not, as well Reject a Petition Out of Parliament, as In Parliament, and why he may not as well Reject it by Anticipation and Prevention in a Previous and Expres Prohibition and Exception to the Matter of it, as afterward, is a point worthy of a Resolution: and when his Majesty ever lost the One Right, or the Subject gain'd the Other: This Postscript is wholly Forreign to the Subject of this Pamphlet, but more accommodate to the Season.

The End.

VHereas there are several Discourses and Pamphlets abroad in the World, that passe for the Writings of Mr. Roger L'Estrange; wherein he never had any hand at all; This is to Advertise the Reader, that he hath lately Publish'd these following Pieces, and no other.

The Reformed Catholique.

The History of the Plot.

The Free-born Subject.

The Case Put for the Duke of York.

An Answer to the Appeal.

Twenty Select Colloquies of Erasmus, in English.

The Parallel, or, The Growth of Knavery.

A Dialogue betwixt a Citizen and Bumpkin.

A Seasonable Memoriall.

A Further Discovery of the Plot, with a Letter to Dr. Titus Oates.

Tully's Offices in English.

Tyranny and Popery Lording it over the Consciences, and Lives of the King and People.

Toleration Discuss'd, in a Dialogue betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist, and betwixt a Presbyterian and an Independent.

Seneca's Morals Abstracted.

The Guide to Eternity.

THE

Free-born Subject :

OR, THE

Englishmans Birthright :

Afferted against all

TYRANNICAL USURPATIONS

EITHER IN

CHURCH

OR

S T A T E.

By ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

The Second Edition.

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun in St. Pauls
Church-yard, at the West-end, 1680.

[Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is mostly obscured by stains and fading.]

THE
FREE-BORN SUBJECT;
OR,

The Englishmans Birthright :

Asserted against all *Tyrannical Usurpations*, either in
RELIGION or STATE.

Now to take my Text to pieces; By a **Free-born Subject**, is meant a person that is born under the Protection of the *Law*; and thereby entitled to certain known *Immunities* and *Priviledges*, as his *Birthright*. But then he is likewise tied up, by the same *Law*, to certain *Rules* and *Measures* of *Obedience* to *Government*. So that he seems to be *Free* in one respect; and *Subject* in another. Now how far he is *Enfranchised* by this *Liberty*, and how far *Limited* by that *Subjection*, will be the *Question*.

You shall seldom or never find this expression used, but as a kind of *Popular Challenge*; and still in favour of the **Free-born**, without any regard at all to the **Subject**. Whereas we should as well consider the *Authority* of an *Imperial Prince* on the one hand; as the *Priviledges* of a *Free-born People* on the other. And not so far mistake, either the *Force* or the *Intent* of *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*; (by which we claim to these *Liberties*) as if by being discharged of our *Vassalage*, we were also discharged of our *Allegiance*.

The **Englishmans Birthright** sounds much to the same purpose too, with the **Free-born Subject**; Only there lies a stronger *Emphasis* (in *Common Speech*) upon the word *Englishman*. As when we speak of a *Brave Man*, that stands up for

The Free-born Subject; or,

the Honour and Defence of his Country; such a one, we cry is a *Right Englishman*, a *True Englishman*.

Now to the end that we may not be misled by the Sound and Jingle of Words; into a false, and dangerous Notion of Things; let us repair to the *Law*, which is the *Known*, and *Common Standard* of our *Civil Actions*: that we may not either give up our Own just Rights on the One hand, or encroach upon his Majesties, on the Other. For it is the Law that marks out the *Mates* and *Bounds* both of *King* and *People*: that shews how far we are to *Go*, and where to *Stop*; and teaches us to distinguish betwixt *Liberty* and *Sedition*; Betwixt a *True*, *Right Old Englishman*, and *stuffing*, *double-hearted Modern Impostor*.

As we have our *Legal Rights*, so we lie under *Legal Restrictions* too: And the King likewise hath his *Legal Privileges*, which are also accompanied with certain *Legal Limitations*. From whence it appears, that the Law serves as a *Common Rule* and lies as a *Common Obligation* both upon *Prince* and *Subject*.

And yet though there be a *Duty* Incumbent on *both sides*, there is a great difference even in point of *Law it self*, betwixt the *Kings violation* of the *Law*, and the *Peoples*. The *King* breaks his *Word*, the *People* forfeit their *Bond*. They are *Both* of them *Bound* alike in *Conscience*; but the *People* are over and above engaged upon a *Penalty*. It makes a Huge noise in the World, that *Kings are bound by the Laws as well as the People*. And so they are, in *Honour* and *Conscience*, but no further: And this arises from the very Nature of Government it self: For wheresoever the *Last Appeal* lies, there rests the *Government*. And there can be *no Government at all*, without the Establishment of a *Final Result*, for otherwise the *King* shall *Judge* the *People* and the *People* *Rejudge* the *King*; and so the Controversie shall run round world without end. Take notice now that *all Appeals* move from a *Lower Court*, or *Sentence*, to a *Superiour*; and consider then how ridiculous it were to *Appeal Downward*; or from *Sovereign Princes*, to any other Power, then to the *King of Kings*, who alone is above them.

But let us put the Case now, that a Prince mis-governs: *How*
shall

shall he be tryed? It must be either *By the Law* or *Without* it. If the *Former*, where is the *Law* that says, *The People may call their Sovereign to accompt, in case he does not Govern according to Law?* Or if they cannot produce such a *Law*, the *Affertion* is *Treasonous*. If the *Latter*, we are ~~not~~^{not} our *Old Salus Populi* again: Which, in one word, is no other then a direct *Dissolution* of the *Law*, and a *Prostitution* of *Authority* to the *Will* of the *Multitude*.

Having already stated the *Conditions*, and *Advantages* of a *Free-born Subject*, and of our *English Birthrights*: we shall now proceed to the asserting of these our *Priviledges*, against all **Cyranical Usurpations**, either in matter of *Religion* or *State*. And first a word of **Cyranical Usurpations**.

Under this Head may be comprised all sorts of *Violence* and *Oppression*; (by what means, or *Instruments* soever exercised) contrary to *Law* and *Justice*. By *Tyranny*, we do understand *An Unjust Domination*; or *an Abuse of a Lawful Power, to the injury of the People*: as if a *Prince* should turn a *Legal Governement* into an *Arbitrary*. Now we commonly reckon *That* for an *Usurpation*, when *One man takes upon him the Right of another, without any Title to it at all*: As our late *Oliver* was called *Usurper*. And there are also *Mixt Cases*; (as was *That* before mentioned) where *Tyranny* and *Usurpation* meet *Both* in *One*.

According to This *Division* we maybe *oppressed three severall ways*; either *Immediately* by the *Prince* himself; or *Mediately* by his *Ministers*, as by *special Direction* and *Command*; Or otherwise we may be simply *oppressed, one Subject by another*. But still these *Oppressions* are *Illegal* every way; and the *Question* is Now, what *Legal Relief* in the *Case*? For as the *Law* entitles us to the *Priviledges* we claim, and to the enjoyment of them: so does the *Law* likewise appoint, and chalk us out the *Methods* of *Afferting* and *Maintaining* our *Rights*, in case they be invaded. So that we must onely *Oppose Legal Remedies* to *Illegal Wrongs*; and not think to deliver our selves from one *Violence* by another. For *Popular Commotions* are the most *Criminal* and *Dangerous* of all sorts of *Oppressions*. Other *Oppressions*

pressions may lie Heavy upon particular *Persons* ; but *This* is an *Oppression* of *Law* and *Government* it self. And it is as *Foolish* as it is *Impious* ; For while we Phansie all things to be *Lawful* for us, because we suffer many things *against Law*, we incur a *Legal Forfeiture* of all our *Priviledges*, by the *unlawful manner* of endeavouring to preserve them.

It is a *Maxime* in *Law*, but not in *Morals*, that the *King* can do no wrong ; for he may shed Innocent Blood with his own hand, which is the *Greatest of Wrongs* ; but it is not looked upon however as a *Wrong* in *Law*, because there is no *Law* to question him for it. The Ordinary shift upon this Point is, *That the King may be sued, and that consequently he stands answerable to the Law*. To which I say, with a Distinction, that the *King* hath a *Twofold Right*, a *Right of Dominion*, and a *Right of Propriety*. In the *Former* (which is the point in *Question*) there lies no *Action* of *Law* : In the other there may, for otherwise he might take away any mans *Free-hold* at pleasure. And were it not a wild thing to imagine otherwise, when according to the very *Stile* of the *Law*, all *Writs*, *Tryals*, and *Forms of Justice* run in the *Kings Name* ? So that admitting their *Suppolution*, the *King sits Judge upon himself*.

When the late Underminers of the *Government* found that they could not shake the *Royal Authority* *This way*, (for it was attempted) they had recourse afterward to the Phansie of a *Coordinate Government* ; making the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*, to be the *Three Estates* ; in stead of the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal* ; and the *Commons* represented in *Parliament*. Which mistake being swallowed by the *Undiscerning Multitude*, proved the *Foundation* of our *Common Ruine*. This *Whimsie* being now set on foot again, I shall bestow a *Word* or two upon the *Unmasking* of that pernicious and senseless *Pretence*, and make it appear, that the *Position* is *Destructive*, not onely of the *Three Estates*, (as some account them) but of the very *Being* of *Parliaments*.

Supposing the *Government* to be *Coordinate*, (as these *People* will have it) any *Two Parts* of the *Three* may *Out* the *Third*. The *King* lies at the *Mercy* of the *Lords* and *Commons* ; the

Common sat the Mercy of the King and the Lords; and the Lords as much at the Mercy of the King and Commons. So that at this rate nobody knows to day, what Government we shall have to morrow. This is the Just Ratio of a Coordinate State; and then to colour the Invention, they tell us that the King is *Singulis Major, Universis Minor*; Greater then the *Diffusive Body of the People*, but *Inferiour* to the *Collective*. Which strikes at the very Root of *Parliaments*; for if it be True, that a *Prince* by calling of a *Parliament* *dethrones himself*; what Prince would ever call a *Parliament*?

As it is clear that *Sovereign Power* is *Sacred*, and not to be Touched; it is no less Clear on the other side, that all the *Executors of Illegal Powers and Violences* may be questioned; for that the *Law* puts no difference betwixt *one Subject* and *another*, but provides for *Common Justice* betwixt man and man, without any difference of regard to *Dignities* or *Persons*. And as it appoints us such a *Relief* in such and such Cases; so does it likewise ordain and direct such and such *Punishments* in other Cases, according as the wisdom of the *Law-makers* hath found convenient. So that he is upon his *Good behaviour*, either for *Redress*, or *Punishment*.

But I hear many people say, that 'tis True, *the Law provides well enough for us; but what if Justice be overaw'd and obstructed?* My answer is, that we are to help our selves by *Law*, if we can; but if the *Law* will *not* relieve us, we must be *Patient*; especially in a Case, where 'tis impossible to find a *Remedy* that is not worse then the *Disease*. Let us but look a little into the Consequences of passing That Line, and taking upon us to be our Own Carvers, *First*; by Transgressing the *Bounds* of the *Law*, we cast our selves out of the *Protection* of it. *Secondly*, by declining the *Common Equity* of it, we run into *Partialities* and *Factions*, and every man makes himself both *Judge* and *Party*. *Thirdly*, from a *Certain* and *Infalible* Provision for the *Stating* and *Determining* of all *Controversies*; we transport our selves into an *Absolute Impossibility* of ever *Reconciling* them, I might have said, of *Understanding* them: For *Fourthly*; from matter of *Fact*, we betake our selves to *Questions* and *Pro-*

positions of *Notion*; as the *Law of Nature, Self-preservation, &c.* which signifie nothing more, then to puzzle the *Multitude*, and confound the *Order of Civil Administration*. For there can be no *Proof* made of a *Thought*; but under Countenance of These *Blnds*, the *Ambitious*, the *Revengeful*, the *Necessitous*, the *Factious*, the *Covetous*, the *Malicious*, and the like, *Stalk* to their *Unrighteous* and *Self Ends*. And what's the *Issue* of all This, but that, when by *Coveting more* then did belong to us, we have *lost* what we *had*: when by forsaking the *Known*, and the *Safe* ways of *Peace* and *Justice*, we have *wandered* out our *Lives* in *Pathless, Dangerous, and Uncomfortable Errors*; without either *Light* or *Guide* to set us right again. When we have been led by a *False Shew of Liberty*, as by an *Ignis Fatuus*, through *Boggs* and *Ditches*, and all in pursuit of a *Sluttish Vapour*: When by breaking the *Bond of Humane Society*, we have turned a *Community* into a *Desert*; and like *Wild Beasts*, torn one another to pieces. What is the *fruit* at last of all our *Wild Adventures*? but *Bondage, Beggery, Shame, and Late Repentance*? So that our *Best* and *Surest Way* will be, for every man to look to his *Own Province*, without intermeddling in the *Jurisdiction* of *Another*.

Having sufficiently discoursed upon the *Quality* of **Cyranical Usurpatious**, we come now to **Religion** and **State**, as the *Subject Matter* they are to *work* upon: Wherein we shall Distinguish betwixt **Cyranny**, as an *Act* of the **Government**; and **Usurpation**, as a claim of the **People**.

Touching the *Power* of *Kings*, and the *Possibility* of *Tyranny*, in the matter of *Religion*; the *Question* falls into a very narrow *Compas*: for *Conscience* lies out of the *Reach* of *Law*; And the *Powers* of *Government* are onely exercised upon *Ouvert*, and *Sensible Acts*. But the point in hand however is This: First, *What is intended* by the **Cyranny** here spoken of? Secondly, *How are we to behave* our selves, in *Case* of such **Cyranny**?

There may be *Tyranny*, either in *forcing* a man, (upon a *Penalty*) to *Renounce* the *Right Religion*, or to *Embrace* a *False One*: Or in *Prohibiting* to any man, the *Freedome* of *Worship* after his *Own way*. And all these *Cases* vary according to the

Constitution of the Government, and the Conscience of the Governour. For the same thing may be Lawful in One place, and not in Another; and to One Person too, and not to Another: And it may be more or less Excusable also, according to These Circumstances. In short; It is a Tyranny, to press a man to a False Worship; A Tyranny to punish him for adhering to a True one; A Tyranny to hinder any man from Worshipping God as he Ought: And the Tyranny it self, is yet farther agravated, if it be done in Opposition to the Law of the Land; And to the Conscience of the Ruler, as well as to Common Equity. But still when I have lost Liberty, Estate, nay and Life it self, by reason of Religion; my Religion it self is preserved Inviolate, even when my Body lies in Ashes. The Prince that Acts all these Tyrannies, hath undoubtedly a great deal to answer for to Almighty God: But what Remedy is there for the Subject that Suffers them? And let That be the next Point.

In Case of such Persecutions as aforesaid, I know no more then these Four ways of Application, for Relief; Either by Prayer to Almighty God; By Recourse to the Law, for Protection; By Petition to the Government, for Indulgence, and Compassion; Or else, to trie if we can deliver our selves by Direct Force.

The First, is a sure Expedient in all Cases: for where we are not Delivered from our Afflictions, Our Afflictions are yet, by Gods Providence, turned into Comforts. In the Second place, we may make the best of the Law, provided that we do not make the Law Felo de se, and raise Inferences of Equitable Supposition, in Contradiction to the Naked and Express Letter of it. As for Example; By the Law, we have a Lawful Right to such and such Liberties; and herein we have the Law to Friend. But if we make any attempt to compass these Lawful Ends by Unlawful Means, the Law is point blank against us.

Our Next Resort is, by Petition to the Government; which is a Course, Laudable and Fair; provided we keep clear of Rancour and Clamour; and address to the Magistrate not to the Multitude: For it is not the End of those Popular Papers to Sollecite Relief, but to Provoke Tumults; and under the Coun-

tenance of begging *Compassion* toward the *People*, to stir up *Sedition* against the *Government*. For *Lewd* Characters of Men breed *Ill Thoughts* of them; and *Evil Thoughts* break out into *Wicked Actions*; and the readiest way in the *World* to a *Rebellion* is, to startle the *Vulgar* with an *Apprehension* of *Tyranny*. If all this will not do, there remains nothing more, but either *Patience* or *Force*. The *Former* was of the *Primitive*, and the *Latter* hath been the practice of our *Modern Christians*; but whether they do *Well* or *Ill* in it, shall be now examined.

It hath done a great deal of *Mischief* in the *World*, the *Misconstruction* of That *Text* that bids us *Obey GOD rather than Man*. For the *People* are not well aware, that, *First*, in *Obeying* of *Magistrates* in all *Warrantable Cases*, they *Obey God* also, in *That Civil Obedience*. *Secondly*, Supposing the *Command* of the *Supreme Magistrate* to be directly *Opposite* to the *Express Will* of *God*: I will not *Obey* him in *That Case*, but I am not yet discharged of my *Duty* to him in *Other Cases*: for he is never the less a *Lawful Magistrate*; (even for not being a *Christian*) and I will not *Resist* him in *Any*: *Thirdly*, the *Law* of *This Nation* makes all *Motions* and *Insurrections* whatsoever, without *Legal Authority*, to be *Riotous*, *Seditious*, or *Treasonous Assemblies*. *Fourthly*, Allowing this *Latitude* to the *People*, that they may *Confederate*, and *Rise*, for the *Defence* of *Religion*; they may as well rise for the *Subversion* of it: for we have but their *bare Words*, either for the *One*, or for the *Other*. *Fifthly*, It *Authorizes* every man to set up a *Church* by himself, in his *Own Phansie*; and in *stead* of carrying his *Body* to the *Doctor* for a *Fit* of the *Spleen*, he brings his *Conscience*, forsooth, to the *Government*, to be cured of a *Revelation*. And this *License*, in one word, sets up the *Crotchet* of every *Sickly Brain*, in *Competition* with *Christianity* it self, and the *Politique peace*.

What If I should say now, that there was never any *War* in the *World* undertaken purely upon the *Accompt* of *Religion*, that was not utterly *Unlawful*; unless in *Cases* of *Gods Extraordinary* and *Peculiar Dispensations*. For, *First*, What are the *Certain* and *Necessary Effects* of *War*, but *Blood*, *Rapine*, *Oppression*; the *Multipling* of so many *Widows* and *Orphans*;

The Englishmans Birthright, &c.

9

Depopulating of Countries, and Kingdoms; and the Violation of all Rights, Sacred and prophane; Are These now the Works of the Gospel? And what is Religion the better for all this? These are Sacrifices for Moloch; and This is a Religion, and an Oblation, fitter for an Insensible and Implacable Idol, then for the God of Love and peace.

Let us but consider now, what a Deluge of Impiety flows in upon Humane Nature with This Opinion. The Papist falls foul upon the Protestant; the Protestant upon the Papist; the Christian upon the Mahumetan, the Mahumetan upon the Christian: It sets all people, and all parties together by the Ears, onely for Diversity of Thoughts. It makes Authority Rediculous, it frustrates the very Laws of Nations, and lays the World again in Common. Now if This be so Pestilent a Doctrine, taken onely at Large; How much more Diabolical is it, for Subjects, upon This Ungodly Pretext, to go about to Embroyl a Well Regulated State; and to charge their Souls with Perjury, Schism, and Rebellion, over and above the Common Crimes that accompany Hostile Invasions.

As the Law hath been hitherto, so it must be henceforward the Rule and Measure of all our Proceedings. In the Section of Tyranny, the Question was; How the Subject should demean himself toward the Prince, in the Case of such and such Oppressions in matter of Religion. But now, in Case of an Usurpation, the Question is, How far the Government should comply with a Popular Importunity; or how far the People should gratifie one another. Of which we have spoken so much at large elsewhere, that the less will serve in this place.

The Word Usurpation, implies the Affecting or Invading of Another's Right; which, in the point of Religion, must needs be very Dangerous; because the People are so easily disposed to swallow That Deadly Pill. I do not reckon a bare and simple Dissent from the Established Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, to be an Usurpation: For possibly there may be a Real Scruple, or want of due Information in the Case. But when That Dissent comes to be Practical; when it comes to make Parties to Divide into Sects, to Plead and to Challenge

the *Law*; it is no longer a *Plea of Conscience*, but a direct *Conspiracy* against the *Government*. It is a *Nursery of Heresies*, over and above; And a *Liberty*, utterly Inconsistent with the Measures of *political Justice* and *prudence*. For *First*; They Agree among themselves in the single point onely of *Departing* from *Us*; And they are not, in *Conjunction*, more dissatisfied with our *Ecclesiastical Laws* and *Decrees*, then they are *severally*, among themselves, *one Sect* with *another*, So that it is, in this respect, impossible to please them. And *Secondly*, It is no less *dangerous* to offer at it, in *other Considerations*. For *First*, upon the Current of *Long* and *Constant Experience*, they have been always found *Insatiable*: Never esteeming what they *had*, to be *Enough*, till they had gotten *All*. The late King gave them still more and more; and the more he *Gave*, the more they *Craved*; and turned his *Bounty*, at last, to his *Destruction*. He did effectually, in favour of their *Importunities*, Strip himself, to his *Revenue*, his *Crown*, and his *Life*; and all *That*, They *took*. Another danger is; that *the very men that ask a Toleration, are Principled against it*. And I see not the least *shadow of a Reason, why they that will not Tolerate Others, should be Tolerated Themselves*. And truly as little Ground for the *Asking* of it, as for the *Granting* of it. For *First*, Why should the *Unity* of the *Church* be *broken*, and the *peace* of it *disturbed*, in favour of the *Enemies* of it; and to the *Discouragement* of the *Churches Friends*? *Secondly*, As the Act of *Uniformity* hath the Full and Solemn Complement of a *Binding Law*; why may they not as well demand a *Dispensation* for *Rebellion*, as for *Schism*? And quarrel *any other Law*, nay, one after another, the *whole Body of the Law*, as well as *That*? The *Law* is the *Established Rule* of our *Actions*; and they will have every *wandering phansie* to be a *Rule* to the *Law*. They themselves *fly* from the *Law*, and their *Complaint* is, that the *Law* doth not *follow* them. This Method frustrates the very *Order of Providence*, and makes all *Provisions of Government* to be *Vain* and *Useless*. They cannot pretend to Charge this *Law* with any *Defect*, in regard either of the *Civil*, or the *Ecclesiastical Authority* of it. Here is, *First, The Judgment of the Church duly Conven'd,*

The Englishmans Birth-right, &c.

Conven'd, Touching the Meetness and Convenienc of the Rites and Forms therein Contained. Secondly, There is the Royal Sanction, Approving, and Authorizing those Rites and Forms; and requiring our Exact Obedience to them. Thirdly, The Matter of the Law here in question, is our own Act; for that we our selves are Concluded in the Vote of our Representatives. Against These Usurpations we have Law enough: And so we have likewise against those that follow in Matter of State: which may be reduced to Usurpations upon us, in Matter of Life, Liberty, or Estate.

There is an Usurpation upon the Magistrate; and there is an Usurpation upon the Subject: Upon the Former in respect either of Title, or of power; both which Cases are Determinable, and Relievable by the Law: And so also is any Oppression upon the Subject: That is to say, where One Subject oppresses Another. When I say Determinable and Relievable by Law, my meaning is, that the Law hath competently provided for the Freedom and Security both of King and People: And the Remedy seldom fails, where it is Seasonably applyed, and Vigorously pursued.

But when the Dignity of Government may be vilified Gratis, the Kings Ministers and Friends bespattered with Billingsgate Libels, and his professed Enemies supported and encouraged: when his Majesties Title as well as his Prerogative and Reputation, shall come to be the subject of every Bawling Pamphlet; and the Bounds of Sovereign power to be debated by Porters and Carmen, over Pots of Ale: when not onely the Reverend and Lawfull Ministers, and the Apostolical Order of the Church, shall be Derided and Despised; but Religion it self pass onely for a Sham, a piece of Priest Craft, and be published in Print, for no more in effect then a politieal Art of getting a Hank upon the people: When such Outrages, I say, as These come to be daily committed over and over, in the very face of the Sun, and the Laws suffered to Sleep, that should repress, and punish them: what can be the Event of This Inhumane License, but Confusion, and Ruine? And if it comes to That once, it was our Own fault, for not putting a Timely and a Legal Stop to These Audacious Usurpations.

The

The Free-boru Subject; or,

The *positions* and the *Methods* that brought on our late Troubles, are now Revived and Practised every day afresh: We have our *Queries*, our *Remonstrances*, and all things, to the Old Tune of *Curse ye Meroz*, and *To your Tents, O Israel*: most manifestly tending to the Unhinging of the *Government*; and as certainly designing the *Subversion* of the *Church* and of the *State*. The *Boldness* and the *Impunity* of these Libels, would be an Equal Wonder to me, if I were not satisfied, that the *One* is clearly the *Effect* of the *Other*: For their escaping punishment, looks as if the *Government* were *afraid* of the *Rabble*; and then their passing without *Answer*, gives a kind of Credit to their *Doctrine*.

It is not a Work for a *Gentleman* to Rake a *Dunghil*, and to gather up the *Peoples Vomit*: But yet out of a Foolish Zeal and *Tenderness* for a *Duty* that hath onely given me *Misery* in *This World*, and the *hope of Comfort* in a *Better*; I cannot but endeavour to possess others with the same sense of these Indignities which I have my self; and to lay open this Spirit of *Calumny* and *Slander*: These *Uncoverers of their Fathers Nakedness*, and *Defilers of the Honour of our Common Mother*.

My Onely Encouragement to This Undertaking, is the Title I have to be believed in it, For I am so far from being *Bribed* into this Office, either by the *Tie of past Obligations*, or by the *prospect of Benefits to come*, That (with Infinite Acknowledgments of his Majesties Grace and Goodness to me) I desire any man to produce another *Gentleman* in the Kings Dominions, under my Circumstances, that hath suffered so many *Illegal*, *Arbitrary*, and *Mean Injustices*, from any of the *Abusers of the Kings Bounty*, as I have done. Insomuch that after a Sentence of *Death*, for his Majesty; betwixt *Three* and *Four years* in *Newgate*; and a matter of *Seven and Thirty Years faithful Service to the Crown*; the Bread hath been taken out of my Mouth, and in a large proportion, shared amongst some of those very People that pursued the late King to the Block: Nor do I look for any more Advantage for the Future. This *Reflection* (by the way) *doth not concern any man that is now in Office at Court*; and I hope there is enough said already, to acquit

acquit me of any likelihood to be Partial in This matter, I must not slip This Occasion of bringing in a Case of late date ; a Case ; wherein all men of *Letters* are concerned, and not impertinent in This place, and That being done I will proceed.

Being desirous to inform my self very particularly concerning this late Devilish Plot, I got the best Intelligence I could, as well by Short Notes upon the Trials in Court, as by Word of Mouth from Credible persons that were there present. After this upon perusal of the Printed Trials, I found several Gross Incoherences ; (especially in the Latter of them) and very Material Mistakes. As in that of Mr. Langhorn, Fol. 39. and 40. Mr. Lydcats name is used no less then Nine times, as one of the St. Omers Witnesses, instead of Mr. Hall, to his very great prejudice.

*Reflecting upon These Errors, together with the almost Inextricable Difficulty of Retriving the Truth, out of such a Confusion of Tautologies, and Forms ; the Collection being so Bulky too, and the Particulars lying so scattered, that it was next to the Work of a Resurrection to set every part in its right place. I betook my self to my Friends, my Thoughts, and my Papers, and digested the whole Transaction into an Historical Narrative. And not in Dialogue neither, nor in the words, either of the Bench, the Witnesses, or the Prisoners ; but in my Own Stile and Way, and just in the same fashion as I would tell the Story. This Book I entitled, The History of the Plot, &c. made a Legal Assignment of my Right to a Bookseller. I Authorised him to Print it, and he Imprinted it by the Authority of the Author : Some of the Pretenders to the Formal Trials, Arrest my Bookseller, as an Invader of their Propriety, and Threaten him most wonderfully into the Bargain. He puts in Bail to the Action. and there the Squabble rests. They do not complain of any Imitation of their Copy, but take upon them, as if no man else were to write upon That Subject. At this rate, we shall have all Sermons forfeited to the Kings Printers, for Descanting upon Their Bibles ; and all Books whatsoever, to the Company of Stationers, because they are made out of the Four and Twenty Letters ; and the A B C is Their Copy. What a Scandal is this to the Commonwealth of Letters ? What a Cramp to Learning and Industry ? That if I have a mind to Compile a History, I must go to Forty little Fellows for leave, forsooth, to write the Narrative of the Proceedings upon our Blessed King and Martyr, the brave Earl of *Strafford*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* ; with a hundred more Instances of the like nature, because some or other of them has lurch'd perhaps, a Copy of Their Trials.*

What if a man should write the Battel of *Worcester*, and the Kings miraculous Escape, after the Defeat ; must he not mention the *7 hundred pound* that

that was set upon his Majesties Head, without leave of the Printer that had the Propriety of the Proclamation that offered it? Or if a body would draw up a System of Treason and Sedition; must he go to the Publisher of Bacon's Government, for a Licence?

I am the larger, because it is a Publick Case. And take notice, First, that the whole Story is drawn into less than a Sixth part of Their Volume. Secondly, That there is not so much as One Material Clause omitted in it. Thirdly, that it is incomparably Plainer, and more Intelligible than the other; beside the many Corrections in it. Fourthly, that it is Eleven Shillings saved; theirs being rated at Thirteen and Six pence, at the lowest Penny, and This only at Half a Crown. And so much for this.

I come now to an Examination of *Two Libels*; the most *Audacious* and *Virulent* that have yet past the Press. The One of them entituled *Omnia Comesta à Bello*; Or, *Bel hath devoured all*. The Other is called, *My Lord Lucas's Speech*. But take notice, that my Exception lies to the *Supplement* or *Appendix*; not concerning my self at all with the *Speech*.

The *Former* of these Papers is an Allusion to the Story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*; where the *Priests* and their *Wives* came in at a *back-door*, and consume what was offered to the *Idol*. It is Printed *BELLO* instead of *BELO*; and the *Mistake* is a great deal righter than the *Meaning*: For it was, in Truth, the *WAR* that *Devoured all*: and the *Good Old Cause* (which was the Foundation of *That War*) was, in effect, no better than a *CHRISTIAN IDOL*. It comes forth, as an Answer to the *First* of *Five Pretended Questions*; which he sets down at Length: and we will speak of them in Order, as far as shall be needful.

Query 1. *Whether the great cause of Impoverishing the Nation, Ruin of Trade, and General Consumption of Comfort, Settlement and Content, which hath brought the Land to a meer Anatomy, be not the Pomp, Pride, Luxury, Exaction and Oppression of the Prelates?* Pag. 3. He Concludes in the *Affirmative*. And Pag. 4. *The Trading Stock of the Nation* (he says) *is devoured in this Prelatical Gulph*.

But are we so *Miserable* then? And is the *Hierarchy* the Cause of all our *Miseries*? Let us compare the *Times* a little, when

when we had *Bishops*, and when we had *None*: For there is no *Trial* of the *Truth* and *Reason* of Things, like *Experience*. From 1558. (when *Queen Elizabeth* came to the *Crown*) to 1641. we had a *Continued Succession* of a *Protestant* (or rather, a *Reformed*) *Prelacy*. And so from 1660. to this present 1679. which is upward of a *hundred Years*. And all this while the *Government* stood firm upon its *Ancient Basis*. The *Gospel* flourished, and the *Subject* enjoyed their *Legal Liberties*, under a *Legal Administration*, both in *Church* and *State*. From 1641, to 1660. *Episcopacy* was *Out of Doors*. Do but observe, now, what *Havock* was made in the *State*, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*; in matter of our *Religion*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, in That *Interval*, of only *Nineteen Years*: When an *Ordinance* was of more force than an *Act of Parliament*: And our *Lives*, *Freedoms*, and *Estates*, lay at the *Mercy* of the *Tyrants of Athens*, in a *Derby-house Committee*. But let us yet come closer to the *Business*.

I would fain know what these men would be at, that are so desperately unsatisfied with the *Condition* they are in. Would they be in the days of *Queen Elizabeth* again; or of *King James*; or of the *Late King*? If nothing of This will content them; there is no other *Choice* left, but That of *Rebellion*. For whosoever *Traces* the *History* of these *Male-contents*, will find *Deadness* of *Trade* and *Persecution* to have been their *Constant Complaint*, from the *Reformation* it self, to this *Day*.

After the *Passing* of a *General Sentence* upon the *Bishops*, as the *Authors* of all our *Calamities*, he takes the *whole* to pieces. Treating *First*, of the *Revenues*, *Pomp*, and *State* of *Prelates*. And there he tells us of *Two Provincial Archbishops*, with their *Princely Retinue*, *Domestique Chaplains*, *Officers* of *Temporal Tithes*; *Spiritual Officers*, *Vicar General*, *Guardian* of the *Spiritualities*, *Dean* of the *Arches*, with all their *Under-Officers* and *Attendants*.

To be brief as possible: *First*, Where is the *Crime*, or the *Iniquity* of all This *Pomp* and *State*? Or why should not an *Ecclesiastical Body* have its *Dignities* and *Dependences*, as well as a *Civil Community*? There is no body envies my *Lord Mayor*

his *Sword-bearer*, his *Mace-bearer*, or any other *Servant*, or *Ensign* of his *Preeminence* and *Office*. For beside that the very *Splendor* and *Magnificence*, creates and preserves a *Reverence* for *Authority*. This *Multiplicity* and *Subordination* of *Officers*, is of *absolute Necessity* also; as *subservient* to *Order*, and to the very *Discharge* of his *Function*. The *Second Question* is, *Are these Officers established by Law, or not?* If by *Law*; This *clamour* is an *Arraignment* of *King, Lords, and Commons*. *Thirdly*, It is not only a *Legal Establishment*, but an *Establishment* of *many Ages*, and *continued* without *Interruption*, till both *Church* and *Kingdom* fell together. And then, in *Lieu* of *Bishops*, we had a *Motly Synod* of *State-Pensioners*; *Hirelings*, to *poison* the *Pulpits* and the *People*; and to *decoy* the *filly Multitude* out of their *Lives, Fortunes, Liberties, Duties, and Religions*: Men kept in *Pay*, to *preach Thanksgiving Sermons*, and to *help out* at a *Dead Lift*, towards the *bringing* of their *Sovereign* to the *Scaffold*. When they had *preached* and *prayed* the *Kingdom* into *Bloud* and *Disobedience*; and held the *Rabble* several *Years* *agog*, and *gaping* after the *Blessed Reformation* so *graciouly* promised them: Out comes at last the *False Conception* of their *Directory*. (A kind of *Spiritual Moon-Calf*.) But by this time, the *King* was as good as *Lost*; and so they fell presently to *sharing* of the *Publique Revenues* of *Church* and *State*. They *Dispatch* their *Prince*, *enslave* the *People*, and there is an end of *That Reformation*: And it is the very *Fellow* of it, that they would have again. Was it not a *Blessed Exchange* now, to be freed from the *Prelatical Tyranny*, and their *Retinue*, and to have such *Gospel-Ministers*; *Generals, Majors, and Lieutenant Generals, Plunderers, Sequestrators, Decimators, Regicides, and Sacrilegious Usurpers* set up in their *stead*? This *Cuckoo-Song* of *Forty One, Forty One, Forty One*, over and over; were *Ill-natured* and *Ridiculous*, if the other *Cuckoo-Song* of *Popery* and *Tyranny, Popery* and *Tyranny*, and accompanied with the *Former Principles*, over and over, had not made it *absolutely Necessary*.

His next *Grievance* is, *The Ecclesiastical Courts*: *Court of Faculties, Court of Audience, Prerogative Court, Delegates, 24 Bishops Diocesan, with their Trains, Domestick Servants, Chaplains, Officers,*

Officers, and Courts ; Chancellors, Registers, Apparators, Proctors, Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officials, Surrogates ; Their Lordly Palaces, Ecclesiastical Dignities, Baronies, &c. viis & modis amounting to at least Four Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year : Enriching themselves (also) by Ordinations, Institution, and Induction ; by making Rural Deans, Licenses to Curates, School-masters, Parish-Clerks, Physicians, Midwives, Marriages, by Absolutions, by Commutation of Penance, Probats of Wills, Letters of Administration, Presentments, &c. Pag. 4, 5.

There is enough said already to their Dignities and Officers ; and so for their Courts, Fees, and Privileges : They are all of them of Ancient Right and Custom. If they envy the Bishops their Revenue, the Common People may as well set up a Leveling Trade again ; and fall upon All Estates and Conditions of men that are better to live than themselves. Why should such a Lord, Gentleman, Merchant, &c. have so many Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year amongst them ; and the Poor ready to starve ? Is not Money drawn into a few hands here, as well as there ; and Their abundance, consequently, the Cause of Our Want ? Nay, the same Reason reaches the King, as well as the Church. So that Gods Providence to Some, must be rendred an Injustice to Others. One would think by the Out-Cry that all This went immediately out of the Peoples Pockets : Whereas the Patrimony of the Church is Settled and Confirmed by the Great Charter, of the English Liberties ; as firmly as any Freehold we have. There hath been always This Clamour against their Courts : But how was it with us, when they were put down ? We had our Triers (in good time) Our Committees for Sequestration, Decimation ; Money upon the Propositions, the Sale of Irish Lands ; Our Loans for our Brethren the Scots ; Our Committees for Crown and Church Lands : And a hundred other Inventions for the Beggering and Enslaving of us, contrary to Law ; by way of Commuting for the Jurisdiction of these Courts, according to Law. Instead of Licenses to Preach, or Teach School, we had Sequestrations and Imprisonments for Preaching or Teaching ; unless upon the Conditions of Renouncing both the King, and the Church. In stead of Demanding Lawful Oaths, we were up-

on pain of *Plunder, Confiscation, and Imprisonment*, pressed to *Unlawfulones*; as *Covenants, Negative Oaths, Oaths of Abjuration*; and not only so, but in direct *Contradiction* to the *Oaths of Allegiance and Canonical Obedience*; to Double-hatch the *Perjury*, in *Defiance* of both our *Implicit and Explicit Obligations*. Here is the short of that Exchange.

Upon his Computation of the *Value and Dependences* of the *Ecclesiastical State*, he reckons some *Ten Thousand Persons*, one way or other, belonging to the *Church*: And at least *450000 l. per ann.* First, In place of the *Ten Thousand Persons* he speaks of, (who in another place (he says) bring nothing to the Stock) what do ye think of an *Army* of *40000 men*, wholly exempt from the *Civil Jurisdiction*; and only Triable by *Martial Law*? *Hist. Indep. Pag. 68. Part. 1.* Or in stead of the *Churches* spending *four or five hundred Thousand Pounds a Year*, of their *Own*; what do ye think of the *Usurpers* spending *above Forty Millions, in less than seven Years*, of the *Kingdoms Money*, *Hist. Independ. Pag. 8.* But of this hereafter. We had Then no longer the *Eye-sore* before us, of the *Prelates Lordly Palaces*; The *Kings Palaces* were likewise seized by the *same hands*; Our *Churches* turned into *Stables*; Our very *Altars* Robbed and *Profaned*. And, to go through stitch, He whips up the *Clergy* for their *Visitations*, their *Paschal Rents* and *Procurations*; Nay, their *Canons, Vicars, Petty-Canons, Singing-men* and *Boys, Choristers, Organists, Gospellers, Epistlers, and Vergers* too: And all this, asidly, as if he talked in his sleep.

Here he takes Breath, and at the Bottom of *Pag. 5.* promises a *Catalogue of more Families Ruined, more Persons Imprisoned*, and an accompt of *more Money spent*, by the *Cruelty* of the *Prelates*, than by *all the Law-suits of England*, all *Payments* and *Taxes* beside: Except upon the late *Extraordinary Occasion*, This Libel was Printed, as I remember, before the *Great Plague*, and now of late Reprinted over and over, and dated 1679. So that *His late Extraordinary Occasion*, is only a Civiller way of Expressing *Our late Extraordinary Rebellion*. Something shall be said to This By and By.

His 6. Page, and a good part of the 7. are a *Rhapsody of Grievances*. Upon the *Kings Restauration*, the *Purchasers of Church Lands* were forced to *Restore* them, without any *Compensation*. He makes it to be a *hard Case*, the *Restoring* of them to the *Right Owner*, but says nothing of the *Tyranny of Taking them from him*. He tells us, that *the Rusty Ecclesiastiques, that neither serve our Lord Jesus Christ, nor their Country, but their Own Bellies*, (this is the *Complement* he bestows upon them) *hord up the Money that they have extorted from the Subjects by Fines, and have brought the Nation to a Consumption*. I wonder how *Church Leases*, that are commonly the *best Penniworths*, should be a *Greater Grievance* to the *Nation*, than *Others* that are set at *higher Rates*, which we hear no *Complaint* of at all. And I do not see how it consists with his charge of *Luxury* upon the *Prelates*, that upon so great *Expence*, there should be no *Circulation* of the *Treasure*. I could tell him of the *Turkish Slaves Redeemed*; Their *Bounties to Ministers Widows*; Their *Publique Works*, as *The Oxford Theatre*, the *Reparation of Litchfield Cathedral*, and the *Re-edifying* of such of their *Palaces*. as the *Iniquity* of the late *Times* had *demolished*, &c. To say nothing of the *Common Right* they have to *dispose* of their *Own*: Or to the *Secret Charities* of many of our *Eminent Churchmen*, who have too much *Honour* and *Piety*, to make *Proclamation* of it in the *Market Place*. But now comes a *Lamentable Story*.

We have all our Able, Godly, Orthodox Ministers turned out, Ruined, and Beggered, and no manner of supply provided for the Maintenance of them and their Families: And in their Rooms (in many places) a Company of debauched, Illiterate, Superstitious, Profane Priests; which Blind Guides must needs lead them that follow them to Hell. Pag. 6.

Let the Reader observe the *Pharisaical* and *Unmannerly Opposition* betwixt his *Ejected Ministers*, and those that were *Introduced*; and then let him consider the *Right*, and the *Condition* both of the *One* and of the *Other*. This was the very *Character* the *Schismatiques* gave our *Learned, Pious, and Canonical Divines* when they turned them out of their *Living*s by *Hundreds*,

dreds, contrary to Law, Honesty, and Humanity it self; and the same Character with the Other, did They take upon Themselves, that turned them out: The Incumbent Legally Invested in the Benefice; and the Other, an Oppressing and Injurious Usurper. And what came of it? The Shepherds were destroyed, and Wolves set to look to the Flock: The Unity and Simplicity of Evangelical Truth was lost and confounded in a Compound of Carnal Policy and Schism. We had as many Religions as Pulpits; and the Doctrine of Rebellion Delivered in them, instead of the Doctrine of Salvation.

He goes on, *Damning all the Churchwardens for Persecutors of the Gospel, if they Present according to their Oaths; and for Perjury, if they do not. If a Minister Preach without his Canonical Garment: If any one goes from his Own Parish Church to hear a Sermon, &c. or work upon a Romish Holyday; If he does not stand up at the Creed; nor Bow at the Name of Jesus; Or does not keep off his Hat all the while, he is Presentable.*

Well, and what of all this? There is neither *Life* nor *Limb*, in the Case, if a man be *Presented*. Here is for *Decency* sake, an *Order*; and *That Order* is supported by *Authority*; and *Obedience* in *Lawful Matters*, deriving from a *Lawful Authority*, is an *Essential Duty* both of a *Subject*, and a *Christian*. He seems only to have *Talked Idle* all this while; but now he grows directly *Outragious*.

We have gotten (saith he) most of the sober Trading part of the Nation discouraged by Citations, Excommunications, Writs to take them Excommunicated; Imprisonments upon Ecclesiastical Accompts; By this means Thousands of Families are already ruined, and many Hundreds are ready to leave the Land, and remove into some other Country, where they may have Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom from these devouring Harpies. And then he tells us of our Surplices, Copes, Tippetts, Cringings, out of the Romish Rituals, and a Service collected out of the Romish Books, the Mass Breviary, &c.

Was not This the very *Stile* of the *Petitions* and *Admonitions* to *Queen Elizabeth*? And so down to this Instant. *Pray what did we get by it; when to be eased of This insupportable Tyranny,*

Tyranny, the Nation was at the charge of 114000 l. a Month to an Army? Hist. Indep. 66. Above One half of the Revenue of the Kingdom under Sequestration: 300000 l. a Year openly divided by the Faction among themselves; beside Private Jobs, and above 20 Millions that they never accounted for. 110000 l. a Year in Wages to themselves; 100000 l. a Year more in Gratuities. Beside Free Quarter at pleasure: Taxes Innumerable; and all Under-hand Corruptions. Above a Million and a half levied by Compositions; and then so cheap and despicable Slaves, in our Persons, that Welsh Prisoners were sold into Plantations at 2 pence a head. For the Truth of all This, I refer my self to Mr. Walker in his History of Independency; a Knowing and a Well-read Person in the whole Transaction, and a man of Credit.

As to the Pamphletters *Liberty of Conscience*: He would have the World believe this *Uniformity and Rule of Discipline* to be *New, and Singular*, and the Work onely of the *Present Age, and Bishops*. Whereas, whosoever will consult the History of our Government, will find *This Law* to be a *Moderation*, which they call a *Persecution*: Especially at a time when the *strictness* is not executed. Under *Edward the VI.* the very *Depraving of the Common Prayer, or Procuring the Use of any other in Open Prayer*, was 10l. to his Majesty for the *First Offence*; 20l. for the *Second*: And a *Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels*, with *Imprisonment during Life* for the *Third*. And in the *Fifth* of the *same King*, there was Authorized an *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* in these Cases. *Q. Mary* repealed this Act: and in the *First* of *Q. Elizabeth*, *Q. Maries Act* was Repealed, and the *Former Act Confirmed*; which was afterwards in the *Five and Thirtieth* of *That Queens Reign*, Enforced with more Rigour; to which She was necessitated, by the Turbulence of that Spirit of **Schism** which still to This day is a working. *King James* handed it down to the *late King*, and he continued it, till by a *Torrent of Popular Violence*, the *king himself*, and the *Government* were both *Over-born*.

We have gotten (saith he) a *Swarm of Ecclesiastical Officers* which the *Scriptures never knew*, nor *Reformed Churches ever owned*; *A sort of proud Prelates*—And all manner of *Miscry to Soul*

The Free-born Subject; or, Soul and Body. Plague, Fire, Sword, Universal Beggery; and without Seasonable Mercy, the Total Ruine of the whole Kingdom. I am sorry to hear that we have any *Officers* which the *Reformed Churches* never owned: For these which we have in This Government at present, we have had for *several Ages*: and when we had these *Officers* no longer, we had no longer any Government: And *Then* it was that all his *Plagues* befel us. We have made but *One Trial of another way of Government*, and it cost us *Dear*.

Upon a supposed Question over again, concerning the *Rise* of our *Miseries*; the *Libellers Answer* is, that *the manifold Provoking Sins of the Land; as Adultery, Blasphemy, Swearing, Idolatry, perjury, and contempt of God and Godliness do pull hard with Heaven to bring down desolating Judgments: But the nearest Cause of our Impoverishments, ariseth from the particulars afore mentioned.*] He should have done well to have put in *Rebellion* too; which hath all other Sins in the Belly of it. But That is a Thing these People do not love to touch upon. To the rest I have spoken more then enough already. and that which follows, is onely an *Impertinent Citation of Reflections upon Ill Bishops*, whence he would draw an *Inference* that we are to have *None at all*.

The *Second of the Five Quæries* before mentioned is This, [*Whether since all other Reformed Churches in Europe did upon the First Reformation and Departure from popery cast out all Diocesan Bishops, Name and Thing, Root and Branch, as an Office altogether popish; together with all their Hierarchical Appurtenances; And do this day esteem them no otherwise; why did not, or doth not England also do the like.*] So that by Hook or by Crook, it seems, the *Bishops* must down, either for *Oppression*, or for *Popery*; after the *Example of all other Reformed Churches*. We may see by This, what kind of *Reformation* we are to expect from Those People that account the Church of *England* to be *Popish*. We should be presently a tearing down *Altars* again, demolishing of *Churches*, Riffing of *Colleges*, and Murthering of *Jesus Christ* over again in *Effigie*; which is no way to be effected but by *another Rebellion*. The Model of the
best

best Reformed Churches, was the Juggle of the Covenant; and the very Condition of the Scots coming in the second time, was our Owning of their Kirk for the best Reformed; and declaring for a Reformation of the English Church, according to the Scottish Model. The Reformation doubtless was a Glorious Work; but there have been very Ill Things done under that Pretext, and in the way to it: And it is no New Thing for God to be in the End, and the Devil in the Means. Beside that, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England is so pure, and Apostolical already, that there is no need of Double Refining it.

His Third Query is a Frank Proposal, without any more ado, of taking all the Church Lands into the Crown; and very Courteously he offers the Poor Cavaliers a Snip in the Booty. Does he consider, that after This Violence, an Englishman hath nothing left him that is sure and sacred? And that as much as in him lies, he destroys us in our Liberties, Consciences, and Estates, all at a Blow. The Patrimony of the Church is First, a Gift to God, and appropriated to his Service; and therefore not to be touched: (They have Robbed me, saith God, in the Prophet Malachy.) Or if it may, no man is sure of the Estate he possesses, by the same Reason: For there is no better Title in Nature, then a Deed of Gift. Secondly, it is settled and Confirmed by Magna Charta; which says, that the Church of England shall be free; and shall have all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable, (for ever.) Thirdly, the King binds himself by his Coronation Oath, to preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice; and to protect and defend them, as every good King ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Bishops and Churches under his Government. So that here is Sacriledge, Common Right, and Perjury in the Case.

His Fourth Query is, [Whether in those Kingdoms and States where Prelacy is extirpated, and a Presbytery onely retained, there be not as Godly, Able, Orthodox Preachers, &c. and as good Subjects, as where Bishops are retained.]—His Last Query is onely a Political Prospect upon the Power of France, and nothing to the point in Question.] To which I answer First, That I

know no such Kingdoms as he speaks of. *Secondly*, What if under a *Presbyterial Government*, any Subject of That State should move *vice versâ*, for an *Episcopal* There as he does Here for a *Presbyterial*? How would it be taken? If there may be as good *Preachers* and *Subjects* on the *One* side, as on the *Other*; why should we change the Government, to be onely where we were? *Fourthly*, If *Two Arch-bishops*, and *24 Bishops Diocesan* be so great an *Oppression*; what would become of us in a *Presbytery*, when we should have *9852 Popes*, in stead of them? (*One in Every parish.*) *Fifthly*, The *Presbyterial principles* are purely *Jesuitical*; and that would be but the settling of *Popery* under another Name. *Sixthly*, we have it upon Experiment, that the People will never indure them, nor *They* the Government.

To come now to that Libel, which bears the Title of my *Lord Lucas's Speech*: The Name of that Noble Lord is onely made use of for a Cover to those Scandals upon the King; which, to have saved the last drop of blood in his Veins, he would not have been guilty of. It is true, that Offence was taken to the Liberty of the Speech it self, and a Censure passed upon it; but it is not presently for every *Mutinous Incendiary* to Arraign a Proceeding of Parliament, and to call it *Barbarous Usage*, with other rude, and very unmannerly Expressions, in the Preface to the Reader. He says that *God hath taken him from an Ungrateful Generation*. And he says right in that; for undoubtedly there never was the fellow of it upon the face of the Earth. The *Kings Friends* (who are the onely People *Oppressed*) they sit still, in *Hope* and *Patience*; while his *Enemies* enjoy both the *Advantage* of the others *Losses*, and the *Reward* of their *Services*; Those are the People that *Complain*. This *Faction* to whom the King hath forgiven his *Fathers Blood* and his *Own*. (*His Own*, I say) for they that *shot* at him and *miss*, are as *Guilty*, as if they had struck him to the *Heart*; and they that *advised* it, as those that did the *Execution*;) These are the People, that in requital for their *forfeited Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes*, which his Majesty frankly

frankly gave then, are now laying the same Train for *This King*, by which They ruined the *Last*. The Bold Indignities of this *Pamphlet* are such, as a Loyal Subject cannot Honestly so much as recite: It is neither better nor worse than a *Formal Charge* upon the King in *Five and Twenty Articles*, dispersed with all the Malice, and Industry imaginable. The Scope of it is to possess the People with an Opinion, that the King designs the bringing in of *Popery*, and an *Arbitrary Power*; with an Application of several particulars, to those Ends. Now if these *Affronts* pass, without either *Punishment*, or *Reply*, who can blame the simple Multitude, that know nothing more than what they read in a Pamphlet, for giving credit to them? And when they are once tainted with that deadly *Jealousie*, who can blame them again, for doing *Ill Things*, that know no better? The Time is almost come, when honest men shall be put to death, and the very *Murderers think that they do God good Service*. This was the mistaken Zeal of the late Times; and we are even ready for it once again. The *Two Calumnies* whereupon these People lay the greatest stress, are *First*, a *Pretended Apprehension* of an *Arbitrary Power*; and *Secondly*, of an *Inclination* to favour *Popery*.

The Imputation of any Disposition, or Design in his Majesty that now is, in favour of either *Tyranny* or *Popery*, is so groundless and incredible to any man that hath but his Eyes in his head, that it would not be worth a Page of Paper, to shew the Error of it, were it not that we are delivered up to the *Delusion* of believing things impossible, and discerning things *Invisible*; and yet as *Blind* as *Moles*, to matters of clear and evident *Demonstration*.

With what Face can any man pretend an *Apprehension* of *Tyranny* from *This Prince*, whose very *Mercy* and *Bounty*, by the Extreme abuse of it, hath created his *Misfortune*. Nay, the most spiteful of his Enemies cannot but acknowledge that there doth not live any man that hath less of Gall and Rancour, in his Nature: Besides the *Experiment* his greatest *Adversaries* have had of his *Goodness* in Common with the rest of his Subjects upon the *Crisis* of his *Restauration*. For when

he might have made himself as *absolute* as he would; when he had his *Foes* under his *Feet*; and some reasons of *State*, perhaps, to lay a *firmer Foundation* of his *Future Security*; his *Tenderness of nature* did yet so far prevail upon him, above all other Considerations, that he quitted all those *Advantages*; he *Gave*, and *Forgave* all that was possible; to shew how much he prized a *Dominion* over the *Hearts* of his People, above That of their *Bodies* and *Estates*.

Touching his *affection* to the *Religion* of the Church of *England*; since it hath pleased God in his Infinite Wisdom to permit, that his Majesty should be *Calumniated* upon that point; it is a singular Providence, that this should happen in a *Juncture*, when the plain matter of *Fact*, and the *Naked History* of his *Royal Proceedings*, may suffice to the most prejudicate, and the most obstinate of his *Enemies*, as an *Unanswerable Confutation*. It is every day more and more artificially *Insinuated* and *Improved*; especially since the Discovery of the *late horrid Design*, and particularly in the *Libel last mentioned*, as if his Majesty were not so *careful* and *zealous* for the *Suppressing* and *Preventing of Popery*, and for the *Punishing of Delinquents*, as is needful for the security of his *Government*. Nay, there are some so daring, as to take them in *Hint*, and *Mystery*. to intimate the very *Countenancing* of the *Plot it self*. If the Proceeding be not altogether so *quick* and *sanguinary* as some would have it, we shall only say This; that Those of all men, have the least Colour to complain of his Majesties *want of Rigour*, that stand indebted already for their *Heads*. and for their *Fortunes*, unto his *Grace* and *Mercy*.

As to his Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, his Majesty hath given the World so many and so ample Evidences of his dislike of That Communion; that every mans *Conscience* as well as *Reason*, cannot but discharge him upon That point. It cannot be imagined, that in his *late Troubles* and *Exile*, he wanted either *Arguments*, or *Solicitations*, either in point of *State* or of *Religion*; and the most plausible too, that could be found out, to work upon either his *Conscience*, or his *Necessities*: And yet no *Temptations*, either on the *One hand*, or on the *Other*, had any

any farther Operation upon his Majesties Judgment, than by causing a stricter Enquiry into the Subject in debate, to confirm him still more and more in the Truth of his Profession. In so much, that in the lowest and most hopeless State of his Distresses, he chose rather to abide all Extremities, than to depart, in any Tittle, from the Faith of the Reformed Communion.

Now his Majesty having given this Earnest of his stedfastness to the Religion of the Church of England during his Banishment; and shewing that neither Fear nor Despair could shake him in his Resolutions; it were a strange thing for him now to relinquish That Cause in Opposition to his Interest; which when it might have turned to his Temporal Advantage, no Persecution or Flattery could ever prevail upon him to do. I might add to all This, that he hath steered the same Course in all his Devotions both Publique and Private, and that the Maintenance of This Church hath been Undeniably the Scope of all his Deliberations, and Councils, in all our Religious Concernments, since his Blessed Return.

But it is not enough, in all Cases, for a Prince to be Tender and Innocent, in the matter of Religion; Witness the late Pious, and yet Unfortunate Prince. For wheresoever this Incantation takes place, the Sinews of Government are Loosened, the Sacredness of Order Dissolved, and all Obligations Cancelled, as well Moral as Divine. And not only so; but the very Shadow and Imagination of it, frights people into Lakes and Precipices, and transports them with Panique Terrors, into the Execution of the very Mischiefs they fear. So that his Majesty hath two main Difficulties to encounter at once: The One, to Master the Plot it self; the Other, to Temper and Sweeten the Passions of men, zealous in the contrary Extreme: That no Inconvenience may arise from Their Misapprehension of Things another way.

According to these Measures, his Majesty hath governed his Course throughout the whole Tract of This Affair; leaving no means unattempted, that might probably give light to the Bottom of This Tragical Design: He hath given all sorts of Encouragement to Informations, by Countenance, Protection, and Reward:

Reward: The *Depositions* have been formally taken before his Majesty, and his *Privy Council*; and the *Evidences* strictly weighed and examined; and from thence afterwards heartily recommended, and faithfully Transmitted to the *Two Houses of Parliament*; as the most *Rational Method*, for the *Common Satisfaction* both of *King* and *People*.

Neither hath his Majesty been wanting on his *Own part* in a *Vigorous Concurrence* with the *Two Houses*, to do all that in him lay, toward the *Suppressing of Popery*, the *seizing and securing of Popish Recusants*; and providing more effectually, by the best means that could be devised, for the *Maintenance and Establishment of our Religion*: Having issued out divers *Proclamations*, and done several other *Publique Acts*, upon the *Motion and Advice* of his *Two Houses of Parliament*, to the *Ends* aforesaid; even to the taking away from the *Popish Lords* their *Ancient Right of Session* in the *House of Peers*; and disabling all *Papists* whatsoever, to all purposes whatsoever, from any *Advantages* in the *Government*.

And if it be not yet enough, that in this *Dangerous Juncture*, his Majesty hath walked *hand in hand*, and kept pace with his *Two Houses of Parliament*; it may be justly affirmed, that he hath in some degree even *supererogated* in This matter; and added an *Excess of Affection* to the *Conscientious Discharge* of his *Princely Care and Function*. Of This, we might give several Instances; but one shall serve for all, in his *Majesties Speech to both Houses of Parliament*, on *Saturday, Nov. 8. 1678.* where he quickens the *Two Houses* themselves, in these words; *I do desire you (saith his Majesty) to think on some ready means for Conviction of Popish Recusants, and to expedite your Counsels, that the World may see our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity to let you see how ready I am to do any thing that may give satisfaction.*

After this *Demonstrative Clearness* on his *Majesties side*, let us cast an *Impartial eye* the *Other way*, and so conclude. Was not This the very *Charge* upon the *late King*? And was there ever any *Prince* that lived more *faultless*? Was not the *Care* of the

Pro-

Protestant Religion, pretended; and was not all Religion, in a manner, subverted? Was not the Kings Honour and Safety, the Pretext of a Solemn Covenant? And was he not delivered up by the Same Covenant, to his very Executioners? What a Clamour there was about Magna Charta, the English Liberties; and a Reformation, only of some Excrescences (as they called them) in the Church and State? And did not this specious Flourish conclude in a Total Extinction of Law, Freedom, and Government? Were not the same Arguments used Then as Now? Are not the same Artifices of Libelling Authority practised Now, which were Then? And are not the People poisoned the same way this Year that they were the Last? In short; Is not Highgate the way to St. Albans still? So certainly are we now running the same Stage over again. Was there not a Time when St. Pauls was turned into a Garrison? When Apprentices Cancelled their own Indentures, and had them renewed again by an Ordinance? When for fear of Redcoats in the Clouds, the Credulous Multitude brought them, like Ægyptian Plagues, into their very Pots and Dishes. Oh! but do you think (they cry) that These Godly People will ever touch the King? How many well-meaning People thought the same thing before, and yet contributed to the destroying of their Sovereign; not knowing what they did. Be not deluded.

Immediately after the sending of what is above-written, to the Press, comes out a Pamphlet, entitled, *Englands Safety, Or the Two Unanimous Votes of the last Good Parliament, concerning the D. of York being a Papist- &c.*

I have so great a Reverence, as well for the Honour of the Constitution of Parliaments, as for the Personal Loyalty of the Members of our late Great Representative, that I cannot but take notice of the Abuse, which is First, put upon That Illustrious Convention it self; and afterward, upon the People, in This Libel. It makes the House of Commons to be the Parliament: But neither did those worthy Gentlemen claim to themselves a Full Parliamentary Power, to the Exclusion of any other Legal and Essential Concurrence: Nor will they take it well

well to be so much *Mis-represented*. And then, it is as great an *Abuse*, on the *Other* hand, to the whole *Nation*: For if This Opinion be swallowed once, the People will be apt to take *Ordinances* again, for *Laws*. So that the Title is in a great *Mistake* upon *That Point*: And now that the *Reader* may not incur almost as *Great* a one, on the *other* hand, in *another*; Let it be observed, that the *Woman* in whose Name this Pamphlet is published, is so far from being a *Well-Willer* to the *Kings Person* or *Government*, that from the time of his Majesties *Restoration*, it hath been her *Constant Business* to promote all *Spiteful* and *Scandalous Books*, and *Papers*, against both *Church* and *State*.

To these *Pretended Votes*, I can say nothing, whether *True*, or *False*; but This I am sure of, that *Debates* of that *Solemnity*, and *Importance*, ought not to be made *Publique*; that nothing can be more *Derogatory* to the *Dignity* of that *Great Body*; then (as the *Fashion* hath been of late) for every *Pedant*, and *Mechanick*, to set up the *Trade* of *Teaching Parliament-men* their *Lessons*.

The Subject of his Royal Highness's *Succession* to the *Crown*, is made the *Common Theme* of the *Press*: And I do not presume to *Reason* the matter, either *Pro* or *Con*; as it is a *Case* out of my *Province*: But still I am at *Liberty* to assert the *Duty* of a *Free-born*, and of a *Faithful Subject*; and to *affirm*, that I have not found any one *Argument* in any of these *Libels*, which in a *Natural Consequence* does not likewise reach the *King*: Whom *God preserve*, and in *Mercy* keep all *his Subjects* in *Due Obedience*.

T H E E N D.

The Case Put,

Concerning the

S U C C E S S I O N

OF HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

D U K E of Y O R K.

WITH

Some Observations upon the *Political Catechism*, The *Appeal*, &c. And Three or Four other Seditious Libels.

By Roger L'Estrange.

The Third Edition Enlarged.

LONDON,

Printed for H. Brome at the Signe of the Gun
in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1680.

The Half Year

Containing the

SUCCESSION

OF THE

ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

DUKE OF YORK &c.

WITH

Some Observations upon the Political
Character, The Royal, &c. And
Three or Four other Opinions, &c.

By ROBERT LEWIS.

The Rights of the Crown &c.

LONDON,

Printed for W. B. at the Sign of the Gun
in St. Pauls Church, 1724.

The Case Put,

Concerning the

S U C C E S S I O N

OF HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

The DUKE of YORK.



THE Case of His Royal Highnesses Succession The Dukes Succession the Common Subject of the Pres.
 (in regard of the present circumstances of Plots and Popery) has been of late, sufficiently agitated, *Pro*, and *Con*; while the *Advocates* of Both sides pretend equally to support themselves upon Arguments drawn from *Nature, Scripture, Law, History, Custom, and Political Expedience.* [*Et Pila minantia Pilis*] Now as it is utterly impossible for a *Contradiction*, to be *Both ways* in the *Right* ; so the Difficulty will not be much less, for a Common man, in a Proposition of this Nicety, to distinguish betwixt the *Truth*, and the *Paradox* ; and to determine, upon which side the *Reason* lies. Or what if the Contentents themselves should yet in some degree, have left the very Pinch of

Texts, and
Presidents
may be
misapply-
ed.

Heresie,
and Sediti-
on, pre-
sented Text,
and Presi-
den's.

Texts and
Presidents
to all Pur-
poses.

Have a
Care of
perverted
Authori-
ties.

the Point betwixt them? For it is not the bare Citing of a piece of *Scripture*, or a *Record*, that does the business; but the fair *Expounding*, and *Applying* of it, with a due Regard, to the Context of *Times*, *Persons*, *Interests*, *Occasions*, and other Circumstances. There is a great difference betwixt the *Counsels* of *Factionous Times*, and of *Peaceable*; of *Usurpers*, and of *Lawful Princes*; the *Concessions* of *Kings* in a Moral State of *Liberty*, and of *Kings* under a kind of *Dureffe*. We should, in fine, distinguish betwixt the *Sacred*, and *Inviolable Resolutions*, that are founded upon *Equity*, and the *Common Good*, and those *Temporary shifts*, which are only Invented to serve a *present Turn* of *State*. Was there ever any *Sedition* that did not recommend, and support it self upon some pretext of *Law* and *President*? Was there ever any *Heresie*, or *Schism*, that did not advance it self under the Countenance of some *Text*? And yet Heaveu forbid, that we should think ever the worse, either of *the word of God*, or of *the Law of the Land*, for being made use of as a Cloak to so much wickedness. He that has a mind to destroy the *Discipline*, the *Order*, or the very *Doctrin* of the *Church of England*, shall Quote ye *twenty Texts* for't; and as many *Presidents*, (if there shall be occasion) for *Diverting*, or *Cutting off* the *Succession*; nay for *Deposing* the *King Himself*, and *Changing* the very *Form* of the *Government*. This is no more then what has been actually done in the Memory of Man. 'Tis a hard matter to imagine a *New Case*: So that let the Instance be what it will, it is but looking baek into Former Ages, to match it with *Presidents*, ready made to your hand (like *Cloaths* in a *wholesale Shop*) of all *Sizes*, and *Colours*.

Wherefore we should have a care, methinks, of dealing in *perverted Texts*, and *Presidents*. The Devil himself fishes with these Baits; and (as some body says) the Rabble swallow them whole, without either examining, or dreaming of the Danger, till they feel the Hook in their Guts. Or, if I may change my *Metaphor*; the
Common

Common people are caught just as we catch *Larks*; 'Tis but setting up a *fine Thing* for a *Wonderment*, they'll flock to't as far as they can see it, and never leave *Flickering* about it, till the *Fowler* has them in the *Net*. A *Pomp of words*, and *Colours*, to the *Multitude*; is but the *Casting of the Sun* in their *Eyes* from a *Looking-Glass*; the more they *look* at it, the less able they are to *discern* what the matter is: & the great mischief is this; they never take themselves to be so *Clear sighted*, as in those cases wherein they are *Stark-blind*. They are akin to what d'ye call him's *Monsters*; their *Eyes* are in their *Breasts*, and their *Brains* in their *Bellies*: And therefore whosoever would make an *Interest* with the *Vulgar*, applies himself not to their *Understandings*, but to their *Passions*, and *Appetites*. He comes with *Absolons Exclamation* in his mouth, *Oh! that I were made a Judge in the Land!* which seldom fails of being the *Prolouge* to some approaching *Tragedy*. But let me try now, If I can find my way back again.

There is an *Affertion* laid down, *That all the Humane Acts, and Powers in the world, cannot hinder the Descent of the Crown upon the Next Heir of the Blood.* This *Position*, the *Affertor* undertakes to make *Good* by *Scripture, Law, History, and Reason*. And his *Opponents*, on the other side, undertake, upon the very same *Authorities*, to *Overthrow* it; and I find a very *Extraordinary Pen* engaged in the *Controversie*: We shall enquire, first, *How this Question came at this time, to be set a Foot*; and then, *into the Quality of the Question it self.*

There was a *Bill* brought into the *House of Commons*, in *May last*; (which was *Twice read*) for *disabling His Royal Highness to Inherit this Imperial Crown*, because of his *Departure from Us to the Romish Communion*. The matter going no further, and That *Parliament* being so soon after *Dissolv'd*; there came forth, in *Print*, a *Pretended Copy* of that *Bill*; which was publish'd by a *Person* (if a mans *Affertions* may be judg'd by his *Practices*) that has

The Dispute, Pro, and Con.

How the Question came to be set a Foot.

The King
Removed
by Conse-
quence.

Who were
the Ag-
gressours.

The Case
Put.

A prepo-
sterous
Question!

Reasons
why the
Question
ought not
to have
been Put.

has as little kindness for his Majesty, as for his *Royal Brother*; and not one jot more for the Church of *England*, then for That of *Rome*: Of both which Aversions, there are Instances more than enough: Beside that in the very *same Pamphlet*, he carries an *Inference*, from the Case of *Foreclosing the Duke*, to the *same Right of Removing the King himself*; in case of *disability* (as he says) *to do the Kingdom any Good*. So that instead of pursuing the *seeming ends* of the said Bill; that is to say, the *Preservation of His Majesty*, and the *Protestant Religion*, by *This Act of Exclusion*; he very fairly, and for brevity sake, *Sweeps all together*. By the *Character of the First Publisher*, we may Imagine the *Intent of That Publication*: And it is further to be noted, that the *Anti-Ducal Party* were the *Aggressors*; and it would have lookt like a yielding of the Cause, to have let the Subject fall without a Reply. So that the *Blame* (if any shall arise from this Matter) must be laid at his door that mov'd the Question, which Question is briefly This.

Whether the Parliament of England, may by the Laws of England, Exclude the next Heir of the Bloud from Succession to the Crown. Some are of opinion for it, others against it; But the *Legality*, or *Illegality* of such an *Act*, is a Point that I am not willing to meddle with, either one way, or other. For whether the thing may *Lawfully* be done, or *not*, there may be *Danger yet*, and *Inconvenience*, in the putting of the *Question*, So that, in the Order of Reasoning, it should be first agreed, that this is a *fit Question* to be put, before we joyn Issue upon the *Merits* of the *Main Cause*. For my own part, I think it had been much better let alone; and that out of divers respects, in their due places to be consider'd.

First, as to the *Question it self*; it is a *Ticklish Point*, to say, what a *King of Great Britain*, with his *Two Houses of Parliament*, either *Can*, or *Cannot Lawfully do*; when perhaps it would puzzle the *Three Inns of Court*; to *State*, and *Determine* the very *Priviledges* of the *single*

House of Commons. *Secondly*, I do not know how far *Private men* may be allow'd to pronounce upon the *Power of that Government*, to which they are Born *Subjects*. *Thirdly*, *This Particular Case* renders the Undertaking more *Invidious*, and *Dangerous*: The King, 'tis true, calls the House of Commons to Consult, and Advise *de Arduis Regni*; (Of which *Ardua* That now in hand is undoubtedly the *Chief*) but I cannot yet learn that the *Soluta Multitudo* were ever joyn'd with their *Representatives* in the *Commission*. *Fourthly*, what can be more *Hazardous*, then the Probable *Effects* of this *Dispute*? It Splits the People directly into *Two Parties*; *One* of which is certainly in the *wrong*: and the *Publick Peace* endanger'd upon the *Division*. Beside that the People being made *Judges* of a *Case*, that they do not one jot *Understand*; it looks as if they were not call'd upon so much for their *Opinion*, as for their *Help*. The Publishing *Manifesto's* of this kind is not so much the *Stating* of a *Case*, as the *Preingaging* of an *Interest*; for it is not a *Ruth* matter, to the *Multitude*, whether the thing be *Lawfull*, or *Not*, according to the *Law* of the *Land*: Let but Them be once possess'd, that it is *Reasonable*, and for the *Common Good*, (tho' in *Truth*, never so *Inconvenient*, and *Unreasonable*) the *Old Story* of *Self-preservation*, and *Kings* being *Constituted* for the *Good* of the *People*, (in their mistaken sense) will make it *Lawful*. And when it comes to That once, the *Government* is *Lost*. A *Popular Error*, upon the *Matter* here in *Debate*, must necessarily draw after it a train of dismal *Consequences*: as *distraktion of Thought*, in the bus'ness of *Conscience*, and *Duty*; an *Aversion* to their *Superiors*; *Irreverence* to the *Laws*, and a *Spirit* of *Opposition* to all *Publick Acts* of *Civil Administration*; if not an *Usurpation* of the *Power it self*. And all this is no more, then for them to pass a *Sentence* in a *Case* where we our selves have given 'em the *Chair*. The very *Exposing* of the *Question*, is a kind of *Reference*; as who should say,

The People Incompetent Judges of the Case.

An Error of dangerous Consequence.

Great mischief, and

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, can the Parliament disinberit the Duke or not? And This They take for an Authority, to proceed upon, to an Arbitration. Now, on the Other side, I cannot find so much as one Colourable Pretence of Advantage, by the broaching of This Dispute, to Countervail all these Mischiefs.

No benefit by the Question.

The Dispute Justified.

It is a great matter, you'll say, the Clearing of a Truth? especially of a Truth so necessary to be known? that the safety and well-being of every Particular man; the Preservation of our King, Ringdome, and Religion, depends upon the People's understanding this matter aright.

The Question is a Moot-Point.

First, as to the clearing of the Truth;—*Magno Jurdice se quisque tuetur.* The very Question is a Moot-point. One Probable is set up against Another; and the Learned Themselves are Divided upon't. There are Presidents produced on Both sides; and Objections also on Both sides to Those Presidents. And in short; it must be the work of a Casuist, as well as of a Common Lawyer, to decide this Controversie. How shall the Common People come to distinguish between the Right, and the Wrong; where the Doctors themselves Differ? Or how is it possible, to make any thing Clear, to Those that want Capacities to Understand it? How shall They come to separate matter of Fact, from Right? To know what Presidents are Warrantable, or what Cases Parallel, and what not; without any sort of acquaintance, either with Law, or History; with the Intrigues of Parties and Factions; or the secret Resorts of State? If it be said that These Books are written only for such as are Competent Judges of the Subject they Treat of; my Answer is, that it were well if they could be kept from falling into Other hands. But lying open, indifferently, to All, it is to be fear'd that the Argument does more hurt where it is not thoroughly understood; then Good, where it is. And there is This further to be said; that in all Cases of Appeal to the People, whether they Understand them, or not, they never fail of siding with those Propositions, that Promise Liberty, to the Subject,

Subject, and *Fetter* the *Government*. So that their *Partiality*, in *One Case*, is as bad as their *Ignorance*, in *Another*.

If it be agreed, that a man cannot be the *better* for any thing that he does *not Understand*; (or at least, so far as he does not Understand it) and that not *one man* of a *thousand* understands the *Stress* of the *Point* here in *Issue*; the pretence of *clearing* the *Truth* falls to the ground: Or however, there is not *one man* of a *Thousand* the *Better* for't.

Not one of a Thousand understands the Point.

But now on the *Other side*; let us suppose the people so wise, that every man that reads the *Case* sees through it. This might serve to set *some* people *Right*, and to *Confirm Others*. But *Right*? In *What*? In the *Critical Explication* of a *Riddle* of *State*: which would serve us just to as much purpose, as the *Knack* of *Solving* other *Common Riddles*. It would make us (as many other *Curiosities* do) only a little *more Learnedly*, and *Unprofitably Troublesom*. It is not the *Common* peoples *Province*, to dive into the *Arcana Imperii*; and it is as little, either their *Duty* or their *Interest*, to intermeddle in the *Mysteries* of *Government*. As the *Universe* it self is compacted into *one Body*, by the *Orderly Disposition*, and *Contiguity* of *Parts*: So is every *Political Society* also bound up in *One Community*, by a *Regular Distribution*, and *Subordination* of *Degrees*, *Offices*, and *Functions*. And is not all This, the *Work* and *Dictate* of the same *Almighty Providence*? He that *made* the *World*, appointed the *Order* of it; and assigned to every *Part*, its proper *Place*, and *Station*.

Or what if the People did understand it.

But to proceed now, upon the admittance of a *Supposition*, that the *Subject* matter of this *Dispute* is competently *Understood*. 'Tis as *Broad* as 'tis *Long*, take it which way ye please; And the very *same thing*, to the *People*, whether it goes *For* the *Duke*, or *Against* him. If they find that a *Parliament* *Cannot* *Disinherit* him,

An Unprofitable Question.

they are but where they were before; unless they should Impose it upon the Government by *Force*. And what, on the *Other side*, if the Parliament may *Legally Do* it; May they not as *Legally* yet *Refuse* it; So that the *People* are ty'd up *This way*, as well as the *Other*; without any manner of Benefit, beyond the *bare knowledge* whether the thing *may* be done, or *not*. If the Parliament *will*, they *May*; and if they will *not*, they may let it *alone*. But it many times falls out, that Overtures of this Nature serve rather as a *Temptation* to the doing of some thing at a *Venture*, then a simple, and candid *Deliberation*, whether a thing may *Lawfully* be done, or *no*. Or what if *This thing* may *Lawfully* be done? we are never the nearer yet: if His Majesty has not as well the *Will* to do it, as the *Power*: and it seems more reasonable to believe that he has *not*, then *Otherwise*; having so expressly declared his mind to the *Two Houses of Parliament* against it, in His most Gracious speech of *May* last, in the words following.

His Majesty's
Speech.

I am as ready to join with you in all the ways, and means, that may Establish as Firm a security of the Protestant Religion, as your own hearts can wish; and This not only during My time, (of which I am sure you have no fear) but in all future Ages even to the end of the world: And therefore am come to assure you, that what Reasonable Bills you shall present, to be pass'd into Laws, to make you safe in the Reign of any Successor (so as they tend not to Impair the Right of Succession, nor the Descent of the Crown in the True Line; and so as they Restrain not the Just Right of any Protestant Successour:) shall find from Me a ready Concurrence. And I desire you to think of some more effectual means for the Conviction of Popish Recusants, and to expedite your Counsels as fast as you can, that the world may see Our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity of shewing you how ready I am to do any thing, that may give Content and Satisfaction to such Loyal, and Dutyfull Subjects.

Now

Now if so it be that the very Question it self, (tho handled with all the *simplicity* of Thought Imaginable) carries along with it so many *Difficulties*, and *Inconveniences*; and without any *Benefit* at all to the *Publick*; as is already set forth: what shall we say, if upon a Fair, & Temperate Examination of the Arguments employ'd for the support of this Disinheriting Proposition, it shall appear, upon Evident *Reason*, and a Natural Deduction of *Consequences*, that, whether the Duke *Stands*, or *Falls*, the meer Ventilation of the *Question* opens a Gap to let in all those Calamities upon us, by unavoidable *Inferences*, which we propound to avert by a *Preventional Exclusion*? To say nothing either of the *Boldness* of the *Argument*, from a *Private Pen*, or of the *Opposition* of a *Subject* to the *Solemn*, and *Declared Will* of his *sovereign*: And that Declaration too, recommended to Us by a Previous Grant of the Thing in the whole World which we would be thought to set the highest value upon, the Security of the *Protestant Religion* by all ways Imaginable, to This, and to Future Ages. Certainly the Trumping up of this Question, has an Ill Visage any way; but the doing of it directly against His Majesties Will, made known with his own Lips to the Contrary; This makes it look a great deal more Suspicious. For to what End is it to put our selves in a Sweat, upon a Question, whether or no the King may *Lawfully* do such a Particular thing; when he had told us before-hand, that he *Will not do it*; and the thing *cannot* be done, *Without* him? And the *Other* way, it looks Worse; and carries such an *Innuendo* along with it, as who should say: *Look ye, my Masters; Here's a thing the Government May do if they please; and it is absolutely necessary to be done: But if They Will not*; — and so forth.

It is a Question of dangerous Consequences.

There's no managiug of this Discourse, without making frequent mention of his *Royal Highnesses Quality*, and

The King
wounded
through
the Duke.

Title; and yet (saving my Duty to him in all his Capacities) I shall keep my self in these Papers, upon a Punctual *Neutrality*, as to *His Pretensions*: My business being only to Acquit my self, in what I ow to my Religion, my Prince, and my Country, where I find any of these Sacred Interests Concern'd. As for Instance; where any *Contemptuous Reflections* are cast upon the *Person* of the Duke, His Majesty himself becomes a sufferer, through the Indignities that are cast upon his Brother. Or where the *Same Argument*, that is levell'd at the *Duke*, strikes the *King too* and the *Government*. In These Cases I reckon my self to be at Liberty.

The Motives to the Bill of Exclusion.

The *Motives*, or *Inducements* to This Project of *Exclusion*, together with the very *Form itself*; are set forth in the Pamphlet abovementioned, under the Title of *A Copy of the Bill Concerning the Duke of York*. viz.

The Excluding Clause of the pretended Bill.

That James Duke of York, Albany, and Ulster, having departed Openly from the Church of England, and having publickly profest, and own'd the Popish Religion, which hath notoriously given Birth, and Life to the most Damnable, and Hellish Plot, (by the most Gracious Providence of God lately brought to Light) shall be excluded, and disabled, and is hereby excluded, and disabled, for ever, from Possessing, Having, Holding, Inheriting, or Enjoying the Imperial Crowns and Governments of this Realm, and These Kingdoms; and of all Territories, Countries, and Dominions, now, or which shall hereafter be, under His Majestys Subjection: and of, and from all Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues with the said Crowns, now, or hereafter, to be enjoy'd: And that upon the Demise, or Death of His Majesty, without Heirs of his Body (whom God long preserve) the Crowns, and Governments of these Kingdoms, and all Territories, Countries, and Dominions Now, or which shall Hereafter be, under His Majesties Subjection, with all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues, therewith
of

of Right enjoy'd, and to be enjoy'd, shall devolve, and come upon such person who shall be next Lawfull Heir of the same; and who shall have always been truly, and professedly, of the Protestant Religion now Established by Law within this Kingdome; as if the said Duke of York were actually dead, &c.

Here is *First*, to be consider'd, the Ground of This Exclusion; and *Then*, the Extent of it. The Ground of it is said to be the Dukes Departure from the Church of England, to the Romish Religion; as that which notoriously gave BIRTH, and LIFE to the PLOT.

Now Dr. *Tong*, that knows better, tells us, that *this is No New Plot; but an Old one, Continu'd*: and Dr. *Oates*, most Expressly, in the *Twenty third Paragraph* of his *Narrative*, informs us, That the English Fathers of *St. Omers*, writing to *Thomas Whitebread*, and *Other Fathers Here*; pray'd them to prosecute their Design of taking away the King; and if his Royal Highness should not comply with them, to dispatch Him too: For they did fear, that not any of the Stuarts were men for Effecting Their Purposes. And in this Letter Instructions were given to the Fathers, to feel how his Royal Highness stood Affected. In the Paragraph following, the said Fathers render This Account to the aforesaid Letter, That they had found that altho the Duke was a Good Catholick, yet he had a tender Affection to the King; and would scarcely be engaged in That Concern; and if they should once intimate their Designs, and Purposes unto Him, they might not only be frustrated of their Design, but also might lose his Favour. Which Letter the Deponent Saw, and Read in the Month of February. And Dr. *Oates* moreover, gives This Evidence against the Conspirators, upon the Tryals of *Ireland*, *Pickering*, and *Grove*; Fol. 22. of the said Tryal: that They did intend to dispose of the Duke too, in Case he did not appear Vigorous in promoting of the Catholick Religion. And this is not All neither: For the

The Ground and Extent of This Exclusion.

The Duke gave neither Birth nor Life to the Plot. Proved by Dr. Oates.

They durst not Trust the Duke with the knowledge of any design.

The Duke to be dispatched too.

Doctor

Doctor aforesaid, in the *Appendix* to this *Narrative*, under the Head of *The Generall design of the P O P E, Society of JESUS, and their Confederates in This Plot*, Subjoyns this further Testimony, *Fol. 64.*

Dr. Oates
his Narrative
Fol.
64

That in case the Duke of York will not accept these Crowns, as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope; as of His Gift; and settle such Prelates, and Dignitaries in the Church, and such Officers in Commands, and Places, Civil, Naval, Military, as He hath Commissioned; (as Above) Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and in order thereunto, ex post facto, consent to the Assassination of the King his Brother, Massacre of his Protestant Subjects; Firing of his Towns, &c. by Pardoning the Assassins, Murderers, and Incendiaries; That then, He be also Poy-

The Duke
to be poy-
son'd, or
Destroy'd.

son'd, or Destroy'd, after they have for some time abused his Name and Title to strengthen the Plot, &c. Proceeding in the same Page more Particularly, that the Royal Family of the Stuarts, are condemn'd to be cut off, Root and Branch; and namely the King, Duke of York, and Prince of Aurange; because that Family hath not answer'd their Expectations; nor have they any hopes that any of them will comply with this their bloody Design, when fully discover'd to them. And Fol. 65. As to the Duke of York; notwithstanding they acknowledg his Sincerity, and Affection to Their Religion, and to the Society; and his Demonstration thereof, by his taking Bedingfield (a Jesuit) for his Confessour; they Design to dispose of Him as is above-said.

No hopes
of the
Dukes
Comply-
ance.

The Duke
clear'd by
Dr. Oates.

How could the Dukes Change of Religion now give Birth to a Plot that was in Agitation before That Charge? And so for his giving Life to't; we have Proofs here of the Clear Contrary, uuder the Hand and Oath of the Prime, and Eminent Discoverer of the Plot it self. Here are First, Instructions from St. Omers Hither, for the feeling of the Dukes Pulse; and Secondly, it appears by the

Return

Return to Those Instructions, that they durst not give his Royal Highness the least hint of the Design. Beside, that in despair of the Dukes Compliance, they had mark'd out his R. H. for Slaughter, as well as his Majesty. A new and unheard of way, certainly, of giving Life to a Plot, for a Prince to run the risque of being Assassinate himself, for fear he should disappoint it. This Calumny of State being removed, That of Religion, I suppose, will not bear so much weight, as bordering too near upon a Doctrine, which all true Protestants do, with One voice Condemn.

Save only to his Religion.

As to the Extent of this Imaginary Exclusion, we may take a Computation of it, partly from the Frame of This pretended Bill, and partly from a view of the Consequences that Attend it: For upon the Naked sight of the Bill, one would think that the Dukes Case were the single point in Question. But whosoever looks a little further, will find a Snake in the Grass; and that more Inconveniencies may be grafted upon This President; then the very Conrivers of the Project themselves were aware of, of which, by and by.

The Extent of This Exclusion.

For admitting the disinherison contended for, to be Lawful; it must be either simply so, upon a kind of Omnipotent, and Unaccountable Prerogative in Government; or Conditionally so; which needs no further Explanation; Then to refer, to its known, Legal, Visible, and Intelligible Limitations. But if it be Lawfull the former way; it is Lawful, without any respect to Crimes of State; Opinions in Religion; Personal Defects, or Inabilities; Minorities; Families, or the Like. And then the Power may be as well transfer'd from One, to More, as from One Another; for I do not know of any Law, that permits the One, and prohibits the Other. So that at this rate; this Hereditary Government may be turn'd into an Elective, into an Aristocrasie, a Democrasie, or into a Medley of all these, at pleasure. And it is not to say, what? Do

Suppose the Disinherison Lawfull.

The danger of Absolute, and Unknown Power.

ye think that Kings, or Parliaments will be mad? We have heard of *Parliamentum Insanum*, and read of Princes that have been next door to it: and though we are safe enough at Present, it is not Impossible, but Posterity may come to have More of them. Wherefore it should be in *State*, as it is in *Play*; there should be some *Common Rules* Agreed upon, to keep *shufflers*, in *Order*, as well as *fair Gamesters*. No *Government* can stand, without a *Foundation*; and *That Foundation* must be known too, and *Stable*; without Running to the *Cabalistical Notions* of *Salus Populi*, and *Instinct*. This is it, that preserves a Nation in a due Temperament of *Dominion*, and *Subjection*; where every man knows his Post in the Government, and stands Firm upon his Own bottom. The Foundations of *Government* should be like Those of the *Earth*; not to be moved: For Otherwise, our *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates*, are but *Precarious*, and at *Mercy*. In a *Popular Parliament*, the *Crown* goes to wrack, in a *Prerogative Parliament*, the *People*. We have seen, and felt the *One*; and there are those yet in Being, that have Heard of the *Other*. And from the Periods of these Distempers we furnish our selves with *Presidents*, (as we have Occasion) either for *Tyranny*, or *Sedition*: as if the doing of an Ill thing *Once*, were an Authority for the *Repeating* of it. And from what Root is it that all these Disorders Spring; but the Spinning of the Thrid too Fine; and Resolving the *Plain* and *Practical* Duties of *Government*, and *Obedience*, into *Mystery*, and *Notion*; without shewing any State, or degree of men, what they are to Trust to? I do not speak in this place to the *Legality* of things, but to the *Utility* of them; and to Evince, that it is possible for a Thing to be *Lawful*, and yet Extremely *Inconvenient*. Suppose an *Act* of *Parliament*, to *Prohibit* the *Making* or *Importing* of any sort of *Arms*, or *Ammunition*; the *Authority* would not at all Excuse the *Consequence*. And the *Consequence*, in This matter, is the Main Import of the *Question*, what *Good*

A Necessity of Some known Fundamentals.

A thing may be Lawful and yet Inconvenient.

The Case Put.

or what *Ill*, will probably ensue upon it, either the *One* way, or the *Other*.

But in our way to That Disquisition, We should take Notice that there are *Four Points* to be all clear'd, before we can reasonably expect His Majesty should come to a Resolution: That is to say; 1. The *Lawfulness* of the Thing. 2. *Natural Affection*. 3. *Matter of Conscience*. And 4. *Reason of State*. In the *First Case* of the *Four* the Learned in the *Law* may be Consulted; but in the *Other Three* the *King himself* is the only Competent *Judg*.

Four Ob-
stacles to
be remo-
ved, be-
fore the
King pass
the Bill.

What if we should, for Quiet-sake now, let the *First point* pass for *Granted*, and suppose his Majesty convinc'd of the *Legality* of the *Act*? There is yet a *Brother*; a *Prince*: and a *Friend* in the *Case*: A Person that has as frankly ventur'd his *Bloud*, for his *King*, and his *Country*, as the meanest Subject in his Majesties Dominions. And there may be certain Stimulations of *Honour*, as well as Impulses of *Natural Affection*. Let but any *Generous Subject* make it his *Own Case*, and ask his *Own heart*, what he himself would do under these *Circumstances*; And who knows further, but a *Scruple of Conscience* may fall in too with this *Tenderness of Nature*, upon the thought of depriving a *Legal Heir*, by so extraordinary a way of his *Undoubted Birth-Right*? If This should be the *Rub*, ther's no getting Over it. Or if the way were *Clear* thus far; yet if His Majesty should see any thing in the *Tendency* of the *Proposition*, either *Inconsistent* with the *Dignity* of His *Office*, or with the *Peace*, and *Security* of His *Government*, and *People*; such *Reason of State* would undoubtedly put a *Stop* to any such *Bill*. How far These *Reasons*, or any of them, may prevail toward the *Preventing*, or *Obstructing* of This *Project*, we shall not presume to enquire. But as to the *Manner* of *Promoting* it, on the *Other side*; the *Quality*, the *Force*, and the *Consequences* of their *Arguments*; there are many things to be noted in them that seem worthy of *Consideration*.

No Notice taken of Libels against His Majesty, and His Government.

It is a strange thing, in the Menage of This Cause, where the *Honour* and *Safety* of the *King* appears to be the *Main Point* in *Question*: *First*, that men should be so *Quick-sighted*, as to see things in their *Consequences* So *Remote*; and yet, at the same time, So *Blind*, as not to discern the *Affronts*, and *Indignities* that are dayly offer'd to His Majesties *Authority*, *nearer hand*; and the *hazzards* that more directly strike at His Sacred *Person*. My Charity perswades me, that if some of them had taken notice of these *dangerous Practices*, their *Loyalty* would have render'd them as *Zealous*, and *Officious* the other way: For if a Prince be destroy'd; 'tis the same Case to every good Subject, whether it be done by a *Phanatick* or a *Jesuit*. And then the *Honour* they have for the *King*, in His *Family*, as well as in *Himself*, would have Interpos'd, in the *Vindication* of our *Sovereigns Brother* from the *Malice*, and *Contempt* that has been past by *Several Pamphleteers* upon the very *Person* of his *Royal Highnesse*. 'Tis like they would have had the *Prudence* too, not to have markt out unto the *Rabble*, all the *Dissenters* to this *Bill*, as *Conspirators*, and the *Betrayers* of their *Country* till they should have seen the *Result* of the next *Parliament*; for fear they should find *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* under *That Character*. This is not *Reasoning* of the *Case*, but down-right *Setting the Dogs at a man*.

A well meaning Mistake as dangerous as a Malicious one.

There is no doubt in the world but many an *Honest man*, and a well-wisher to his *Prince* and *Country* stands well enough *Affected* to this *Bill*; (as many did in 1641. to the *Pretensions* then a *Foot*) But when they found that Other people made *Ill Use* of Their *Good meaning*, and improv'd the *Countenance* of *Reforming* the *Government* to a *Violent Dissolution* of it; How many thousand *Instances* might a body produce of an *unprofitable*, and *late Repentance*, among those *Credulous* and *well-minded Gentlemen*? And it is to be consider'd also that Their *Mistakes* contributed no less to the *Ruin* of the *Church*, and *state*, then the *Malice* of the most potent

Conspirators: Nay, More perhaps; for the Error of an Honest man misleads other Honest men by Example, and gives a kind of Authority to the wickedness. Now tho this Parallel does not run upon all four; yet the Cases jump exactly in This; *the same Anti-Monarchical Principles* which were the Ground-work of *That sedition*, are now set a foot again in Concurrence with the *present Proposition*; and supported also by some of the Active Promoters of it. So that let the Design be never so Innocent, or Lawful in it self; if it be yet made use of to Introduce the Old Disloyal, and Republican *Leaven*; it is much the Case as if a man should set Fire to his House, for fear of Thieves. Now whether the Liberties of the Press be so *great*, so *foul*, and so *dangerous*, or not, as I have represented them, it shall be seen in a few words, and left to the Reader to judg of the Intention of such desperate Positions, and what may be the end of such Bold Beginnings, if not seasonably Prevented. Upon the Publication of these Papers I should be glad to find some of the Fierce Sticklers for the *Kings safety* by the *Exclusion of the Duke*, as Nimble, on the Other side, for the *Honour*, and *Safety* of His Majesty, in Punishing the *Authors*, and *Promoters* of these *Libels*.

The Old Cause Reviv'd.

There are some Irreverences toward the person of His Royal Highness which are not with Decency to be recited, and which for other Reasons I am willing to pass over; contenting my self only with the modestest of a great many in the Author of *the Plea to the Dukes Answers*: Consider His Humours, (says he) So Fierce, Revengeful, and Resolute: But I'll say no more: who knows not how Improper it is to make a *Wolf* a Shepherd? Nay he goes further yet: *If the Duke be a Papist*. (as none deny him Now) *he's an Heretick, as To, or From Us*: And what shall we do? *Not do by the Papists, as They would by Us*? But what's That He tells us Three or four lines before; That it is a Maxim among *Papists*, not only that the *Pope may at his Pleasure Depose Kings, and dispose of*

Scandalous Reflections upon His Royal Highness.

Seditious
Positions.

Crowns : but further, *That the People may ever chuse a King, when he should else be an Heretick, So that after the Popes Example of Deposing Protestant Kings, We may Depose Popish.* This is a Nail Home driven; and yet for fear it should not hold, he has bestow'd a *Rivet* upon it. I hope he will allow a *Popish* King to be an *Ill* one; and for *That* he tells ye that *when Kings themselves be Ill ones, God not only approves of their Removal, but even Himself does it.* Which is a most Emphatical way of Expounding his Meaning: For not only *ILL DUKES* but *KINGS* (I perceive *THEMSELVES* are as well to be remov'd, if they be *ILL* ons. There's Another Libel that takes the very same Byas too; he begins with the *Duke*, and *Ends* with the *King*: Laying it down for a *Maxim*, that *the King May be remov'd for Inhability to Govern*: And then for an *Use of Application*, he gives us the Late Instance of *Portugal* for a *President*. Nay I have not found any man yet, so Cautious upon This Subject, but he has let fall something *Tantamount*; And in truth the Question does Naturally lean That way. Some tell us that the *People* are the Source of *Government*; and that the *Last Resort* in All Cases of Principal Import must be to *Them*. Whereas, *First*, there was a *Providential Power*, before any Subject *Actually in Being*, for That Power to exercise it self Upon: *Secondly*; there is nothing more Common, then for a People to convey away what Right they have, beyond a Power of *Revocation*. And if a man desires to see the *Covenants*; the Answer is, that the *Conditions* are either *Express*, or *Imply'd*: Which word *IMPLY'D* serves to all Turns and Purposes Imaginable. By a Power *IMPLY'D*, a *Protestant*, as well as a *Popish Successour* may be *Disinherited*: A *King in Possession, Deposed*, whether *Good*, or *Bad*. For who can set forth the Terms and Condition of an Unknown, and an Unbounded Power. A Government, we are told, cannot be suppos'd Destitute of a Power to preserve it self, in Cases of Manifest, and Publick Dangers. If we enquire where That Power of preserving

erving the Government is plac'd; the Reply is This: That *Governours are set set up for the Good of the People; and when They fail of doing their Duty, the People may provide for themselves: That is to say, the People, by their Representatives in Parliament.* But what if *That Representative*, should prove *False* too? The *King* was not pleas'd with the *Parliament* of 1641. nor the *People* with the *Late Long Parliament*: what's to be done Next; but only to go together by the Ears about it, and when they have their Bellies full. only *shuffle the Cards and deal a-gain*? From these dark Reserves of Government, the point Rises by Degrees into Cases of Instance, and Illustration. As in the Case of *Lunacy*, or *Unfitnesse to Govern*; or if a *Prince* be really bent to *Alienate his Kingdome*. In These Cases it is taken up for granted, that the people may *Depose* and *Substitute* Another Sovereign. But who shall judge now when such a Case arrives? If the *People*; they judge for *Themselves*; and only take the Government out of *Other* hands, to put into their *Own*: what if they should say that This *is* the Case where it is *not*; Or that it is *not*, where it *is*? If the *King* do but keep a *Guard* to preserve his *Person* from an *Assassin*; or make a *Foreign Alliance*, upon the Common Terms of Priviledge that all other *Crowned Heads* proceed upon; he lies at the Mercy of the *People*, if they shall think fit to Interpret. This to be a Design upon an *Arbitrary Power*, or the *Alienation* of His *Dominions*; and that he is consequently *Deposable*.

It carries a very Ill face with it, that the *Two Cases* of *Disinheriting the Duke*, and *Deposing the King* should be so *Unluckily Coupled*, that you shall very rarely find the *One* without the *Other*: And little more than This Difference betwixt *them*: that the *One* IS to be done *Forthwith*, and the *Other* MAY be done (when the people please) at *Leisure*. If ever this Question should come to be taken up again, I do verily believe that the House of Commons will not thank the Refiners upon the *Former Bill*,

The Kings
Case, and
the Dukes
are un-
luckily
Coupled.

Bill, for charging the Proposition with so many *Suspicious Aggravations*; as for ought any body knows, may endanger the whole Bus'ness. For These Venerable Patriots did only, out of an Excess of *Zeal*, Intend the bare *Exclusion* of the *Duke*, without Clogging the Bill with any subsequent *Incumbrances* upon the *Crown*. There are some Qualifications, I know, that look as if they would be thought to stick to the single Matter of the *Bill*; and distinguish betwixt an *Heir Presumptive*, and *Apparent*, a *King in Possesse*, and in *Esse*; and so they fortifie themselves with *Authorities* to warrant the *Proceeding*. The *Duke* is a *Subject*, they say: and not properly an *Heir* of the *Crown*; but only in *Possibility* so to be. The Unwary Reader will Imagine now, that the *Duke* being a *SUBJECT*, may be *put By*; but that if the *KING* were of the *Romish Communion*, they could not *meddle* with *Him*. And yet according to the Propositions above mentioned, His *Majesties* Case would be found no better than His *Brothers*.

The King
no safer,
then the
Duke.

And not only so neither, but the very saying that *he is so*, in Construction, *makes* him so, even tho he should give up His Life, as His Father did, for the Reformed Profession.

The Dan-
gerous
Conse-
quences of
placing
the Pow-
er in the
People.

It is not to say that This is either *Impossible* or *Unlikely*: For, *First*, the Thing has been done already. That is to say, This *Popular Power* has been already laid down as a *Fundamental Right* in the *People*. *Secondly*, That pretended Power has been exerted in a *Formal Charge*, of *Popish*, and *Tyrannical Designs*, upon a Prince, the most Innocent peradventure, in those Two Particulars, that ever Liv'd. And *Thirdly*, A sentence of *Death*, *past*, and *Executed*, upon That Innocent Person, in the *Name*, and by the Assumed *Authority* of the *Commons of England*. So that This Imagination is not a *Chimera*, but a *True*, and *Tragical History* of a *Prince murther'd*, even in Our days, upon This Foundation. And then for the *Probability* of the same Thing over again, now in Agitation; we have the Writings of the very Persons Concern'd, in
Evi-

The Case Put.

Evidence against them, for notwithstanding their Formalizing upon the *Lawfulness* of the Thing, in regard That his *Royal Highness* is but a *Subject*; they are Now come up roundly to the Point of *Opposing*, and *Rejecting* him, even supposing that he were their *Sovereign*: and without the Ceremony of an *Act of Parliament* in the Case.

The House of Commons passed a *Vote* upon *May 11.* last past, that if His Majesty should come by any *Violent Death* (which God forbid) they would *Revenge* it to the *Utmost*, on the *Papists*: Which *Vote* they Explain'd in their *Address* of the 14. by saying that they would be ready to *Revenge* upon the *Papists*, any *Violence* offer'd by THEM to His *Sacred Majesty*: By THEM'tis said, because it might be Understood Otherwise, that an *Anabaptist* might commit the *Crime*, and a *Papist* suffer for't. This *Vote*, and *Address*, are Printed Both together in the same Pamphlet; and with a most Dangerous prospect upon His Majesty's Person: if Malice on either hand should take place. For the Edge of the Reasoning is turned against it self; while the One faction is Provoked, and the Other Encouraged to the most Execrable Villanies Imaginable.

The Com-
mons
Vote.

The Libel Here Reflected upon, is called *Englands Safety*: and said in the Title Page to be Published for Information of all True Protestants, that they may not be afraid, nor ashamed openly in Parliament to Act, and oppose any *Popish* SUCCESSOUR and his Adherents from Inheriting the Crown of England, in Case His Majesties Life (which God forbid) be taken from him.

This Preface was worded by somebody that knew well enough what he said; and without Dispute intended to be as good as his word. We shall not need to look any further for his Meaning than *Grammar*, and *Common Construction*. The Question was put, in Case of the *Presumptive HEIR*, And He has streyn'd the Point already, and remov'd it to the *SUCCESSOR* and his *Adherents*; From the *Expectant* to the *Occupant*, from the *Duke*, to the *King*; and so premeditates, and Encourages a *Rebelli-*

The Que-
stion
Changed,
from Heir
to Succes-
sour.

The Case Put.

A de-
rate Con-
sequence.

on, in the very Body of his Proposition : For His Majesty that now is, must be Dead, before the Libellers Device against the Successour can take Effect ; and *King*, and *Successour*, in This Case are *all one*. Now upon This Principle, there needs no more than to say, that *any King is a Papist*, to *Depose* him. Nay, admitting This Power to be in the People ; *Acts of Parliament* are but Matter of *Course* ; and they may do the thing even as well without giving any Reason for't ; Upon the Ground of their *Unaccountable Prerogative*. It would be known too, what his meaning is by the *Parliament* he speaks of, that is *Openly to oppose the Successour*. It cannot be understood of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* ; for the *King* is the *Party Opposed*, and *Excluded*. And then I would as willingly learn what kind of *Opposition* it is, that he intends. It must be an *Opposition*, either of *Force*, and *Violence*, or an *Opposition* in the way of *Argument*, *Counsel*, and *Debate*. It cannot be the *Latter* sure ; for what could be more ridiculous then to expect that a *Prince* should pass a *Bill* for the *Deposal* of *Himself*. And if it be the *Other*, we are e'en *Half-Seas-Over* already, into a New Rebellion. There is not such a Monster in Nature as a *Headless Parliament* : We have had the Experience of it ; and without Rubbing the Old Sore, or Repeating the Calamities it brought upon This Nation ; I shall only say This ; I cannot bethink my self of any sort of Oppression, either in *Religion*, *Property*, or *Freedom* ; or of any One *Crying sin*, in that Impious, and Seditious Interval, that scap'd us. And yet I must not wholly Quit This Subject without giving further Evidence of a *Confederacy* against the *King* and *Government* ; like those that Rob the House, under colour of Helping to Quench the Fire ; and in the very Instant of Pretending to save the Kingdom, they are laying their Heads together how to Destroy it : Witness the most Audacious Libel (perhaps) that ever flew in the Face of any Government.

The Case Put.

23

It bears the Title of a *POLITICAL CATECHISM*, concerning the *Power & Priviledges of Parliament*, taken The Political Catechism. (as pretended) *out of His Majesties Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of June 2. 1642.* with a Construction and Application much at the rate of the Devils Gloss upon the Text to our Saviour upon the Pinnacle of the Temple. The Compiler of This Libel makes His Majesties *Answer* to be, Effectually, an *Admittance* of the *Right and Reason* of the *Propositions*: And the Publisher of it recommends the *Doctrine of Forty Two*, to the *Practice of Seventy Nine*. Wee'l *First* present you with the *Propositions Themselves*; *Secondly*, the *Kings Sense* upon them. And *after That*, you shall see our *Catechists New Model of Government*.

The Propositions.

1. That the Lords and others of Your Majesties Privy Council, and such great Officers, and Ministers of State, either at home, or beyond the Seas, may be put from Your Privy Council, and from those Offices and employments, excepting such as shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that the Persons put into the places and employment of those that are removed, may be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that Privy Councillors shall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom, may not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown, or unsworn Councillors, but that such matters as concern the publick, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament, which is Your Majesties great and Supreme Council, may be debated, resolved and transacted only in Parliament, and not elsewhere; and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgment of Parliament, and such other matters of State, as are proper for Your Majesties Privy Council, shall be debated and concluded by such of the Nobility, and others, as shall from time to time be chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament. And that no publick Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for Your

Privy Council, may be esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major part of Your Council, attested under their hands. And that Your Council may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen; And if any Counsellors place happen to be void in the interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the Assent of the Major part of the Council, which choice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of Parliament, or else to be void.

3. That the Lord High Steward of *England*, Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marshal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chief Governour of *Ireland*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Justices, and Chief Baron, may always be chosen with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliaments by Assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Councillors.

4. That he, or they, unto whom the Government, and Education of the Kings Children, shall be committed, shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliaments, by the Assent of the Major part of the Council in such manner, as is before exprest in the choice of Councillors; And that all such Servants, as are now about them, against whom both Houses shall have any just exceptions, shall be removed.

5. That no Marriage shall be concluded or treated for any of the Kings Children, with any Foreign Prince, or other person whatsoever, abroad or at home, without the consent of Parliament, under the penalty of a *Premunire* unto such as shall be concluded, or treat any Marriage, as aforesaid; And that the said penalty shall not be pardoned, or dispenced with, but by the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

6. That the Laws in force against Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants be strictly put in execution, without any Toleration, or Dispensation to the contrary; And that some more effectual course may be enacted by Authority of Parliament, to disable them from making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by trusts or otherwise.

7. That the Votes of Popish Lords in the House of Peers may be taken away, so long as they continue Papists; And that Your Majesty will consent to such a Bill as shall be drawn, for the Education

cation of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

8. That Your Majesty will be pleased to consent that such a Reformation be made of the Church Government and Liturgy as both Houses of Parliament shall advise; wherein they intend to have Consultations with Divines, as is expressed in their Declaration to that purpose: And that Your Majesty will contribute Your best assistance to them, for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for Preaching Ministers through the Kingdom; and that Your Majesty will be pleased to give Your Consent to Laws for the taking away of Innovations and Superstition, and of Pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.

9. That Your Majesty will be pleased to rest satisfied with that Course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the *Militia* until the same shall be further settled by a Bill: And that Your Majesty will recal Your Declarations and Proclamations against the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That such Members of either House of Parliament as have during this present Parliament been put out of any Place and Office, may either be restored to that Place and Office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon the Petition of that House whereof he or they are Members.

11. That all Privy Councillors and Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed on, and settled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament which shall be mentioned by both Houses of Parliament; and that an inquiry of all the breaches and violations of those Laws may be given in charge by the Justices of the Kings Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of the Peace at the Sessions, to be presented and punished according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers placed by approbation of both Houses of Parliament may hold their places, *quam diu bene se gesserint*.

13. That the Justice of Parliament may pass upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it; And that all persons cited by either House of Parliament, may appear, and abide the censure of Parliament.

14. That the general Pardon offered by your Majesty may be granted with such exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

15. That the Forts and Castles of this Kingdom may be put under the command and custody of such persons as Your Majesty shall appoint, with the approbation of Your Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of Councillors.

16. That the extraordinary Guards and Military Forces, now attending Your Majesty, may be removed and discharged, and that for the future You will raise no such Guards, or extraordinary Forces, but according to the Law, in case of actual Rebellion or Invasion.

17. That Your Majesty will be pleased to enter into a more strict Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Protestant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof against all Designs and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to subvert and suppress it, whereby Your Majesty will obtain a great access of strength and reputation, and Your Subjects be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary way for Your ayd and assistance in restoring Your Royal Sister and her Princely Issue to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other distressed Protestant Princes who have suffered in the same Cause.

18. That Your Majesty will be pleased by Act of Parliament to clear the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the House of Commons in such manner, that future Parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that evil president.

19. That Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to pass a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

We have delivered these *Propositions at length*, to shew the world what a *Skeleton* of a Prince these People would have made the King of *Great Britain*, if he had Consented to them: Usurping to *Themselves* the *Royal Authority*, and leaving the King only the bare *Name* of an *Imperial Crown*. Out of these *Propositions*, our Chymical *Catechist* hath extracted his *Principles*; which are now Imposed upon the People, as the Concessions of his Late Majesty, and Fundamentals of State: And these *Positions* are become the Common Arguments of our Clubs, and Cabals. But the

the Propositions are so Gross, that there will need no other Descant, than only to Cite some Passages out of his Late Majesties Answer, in Reflection upon them.

These demands (says the Late King) are of that Nature, that to Grant them were in Effect, at Once, to Depose both Our self and Our Posterity. These things being past; we may be waited upon bare-headed; We may have Our hand kist; the Stile of Majesty Continu'd to Us; and the Kings Authority declared by Both Houses of Parliament, may be still the Stile of your Commands; We may have Swords and Maces carry'd before Us; and please Our self with the sight of a Crown, and Scepter. (And yet even these Twigs would not Long flourish when the Stock upon which they grew are Dead) But as to True, and Real Power; We should remain but the Outside; but the Picture; but the Signe of a King, &c.

And again, Tho' we shall always weigh the Advices both of Our Great, and Privy-Council, with the Proportionable Consideration due to them: yet we shall also look upon their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands, or Impositions; Upon Them, as Our Councillors, not as Our Tutors, and Guardians; and upon Our self as their King, not as their Pupil, or Ward. Pag. 318. And Further Pag. 320. We call God to Witnesse, that as for Our Subjects sake these Rights are vested in Us; So for Their sakes as well as for Our Own we are resolv'd not to quit them; nor to subvert (tho' in a Parliamentary way) the Antient, Equal, Happy, Well-poised, and never enough Commended Constitution of This Kingdome; Nor to make Our self of a King of England, a Duke of Venice, and This of a Kingdom a Republick. Moreover Pag. 322. The Common people, when they find that all was done By them, but not For them, will at last grow weary of Journey-work, and set up for themselves; call Parity, and Independence, Liberty; devouring the Estate which had devoured the Rest; Destroy all Rights, and Proprieties, all Distinctions of Families, and Merit; And by This means the splendid, and Excellently-distinguish'd Form of Government, End in a Dark, Equal Chaos of Confusion, and the Long Line of Our many Noble Ancestors, in a Jack Cade, or a Wat Tiler.

After the Mockery of the Above-mention'd Propositions, and the Kings Just and Propheticall Judgment made upon them; we shall only Add that the Ruine of the Late King, was as Certainly the Intent of Those Unduttyful Demands, as it was the Effect of them.

The Kings
Ruine
and is de-
sign'd.

them in the *Execution* of the *Powers* claim'd *Thereby* : and we may as reasonably conclude, that the same Pretensions, now over again, are publish't with the same Ends ; and that the Sufferance of This Licence will Naturally run into the same Consequences. For the whole work of moving a Rebellion is but, *First*, to possess the People with Ill Thoughts of the present Administration ; (which is done Abundantly already in Swarms of Defamatory Libels, which we meet with every day in the street.) *Secondly*, to possess the People with False Opinions, in the Matter of Government and Duty ; which is the business of our *Political Catechism* : *Thirdly*, to Put those Principles and Thoughts in Execution ; which is Express'd by the Drift of Another Pamphlet newly come out of the Press ; Entitled, *An Appeal from the Countrey, to the City*, of which we shall say something in another place, and proceed to our *Catechistical Positions*.

If the King be Regulated by the Law (say they) then is the King Accountable to the Law, and not to God Only. Pag. 1. The Immediate Original of the Kings Power was from the People : and if so ; then in questioned Cases, the King is to produce his Grant, (for he hath no more then what was Granted) and not the People to shew a Reservation ; For All is presumed to be Reserv'd, which cannot be prov'd to be Granted away.

Upon the Late Kings saying in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, Pag. 321. That the Power Legally placed in Both Houses is more then sufficient to prevent, and restrain the Power of Tyranny ; our Politick Catechizer Infers, the Two Houses to be the Legal Judges, when there is danger of Tyranny : And to have Legal Power to Command their Judgment to be Obey'd, for Prevention, as well as Restraint of Tyranny. And not only when Arms are Actually rais'd against them ; but when they discern, and accordingly declare a Preparation made Towards it. And that they have Legal Power in such times of Danger, to put into safe hands, such Forts, Ports, Magazines, Ships, and Power of the Militia, as are intended, to Introduce a Tyranny. And a Legal Power also to Levy Money, Arms, Horse, and Ammunition upon the Subjects, in such Cases of Danger even without, or against the Kings Consent.

These are his *Positions* in the very Terms ; and the passing over of such Indignities upon *His Majesties Royal Office*, and the Honour of the *Monarchy it self*, without either *Punishment*, or
Reproof ;

Reproof; looks like a *Tacite Legitimation* of the Utmost *Violences* upon his Sacred *Person*. And now Consider the matchless *Malice*, and *Absurdity* of his *Inference*. The King having thus expounded himself in the *same Page*; *The House of Commons* (an *Excellent Conserver of Liberty*, but never intended for any share in *Government*, or for the *Chusing* of them that should Govern) is *solely intrusted* with the *First Propositions* of raising *Monies*, &c. And again the *Lords* being trusted with a *Judicatory Power*, are an *Excellent Skryen*, and *Bank* between the *Prince* and *People*.

A malicious Inference.

After This open and *Audacious* way of *Authorizing* a *Commo- tion*, under a *Countenance* of the *Peoples Right*; the least breath of *Air* to the *Coal*, sets all in a *Flame*: The *Pulpit* still seconding, with a *Text*, the *Interest*, or *Design* of a *Perverted President*, or *Statute*. And there is no *Resisting* of those *Outrages* that are carried on by the *Impulse* of *mistaken Law*, and *Gospel*. *Calumny* and *Imposture* have ever been the two main *Pillars* of their *Cause*; and if they can but *wheelde* the *Vulgar*, on the one hand, and *defame* the *Friends* of the *Government*, on the other, their *business* is done. There scarce passes a day without a *Libel* against both *Church* and *State*; without either *Provocation*, or *Punishment*: which both shews their *Malice*, and confirms them in their *Insolence*. There is nothing so *Odious*, and so *Ridiculous* together, as betwixt *Droll* and *Sophism*, these *People* represent the *Publick* Management of *Affair*. And who can blame the *Multitude* now, under these *Circumstances* of *License* and *Delusion*, if they either *Forget*, or *Depart* from their *Duties*? is there not *Law*, & *Power* sufficient for the *Preventing*, or *Suppressing* these *Indignities*? Or is it a thing not worth the taking *Notice* of? For his *Majesty* to be told every day, in a *Pamphlet* at his *Palace Gate*, that *His Ministers* are *Traytors* & *Conspirators*; *His Courtiers* a *Pack of Knaves*; & *He himself* but upon his *Good Behaviour* to his own *Subjects*? WILL it end Here? DID it end Here? But whence is it that all this *Venom* and *Confidence* proceeds? The *Former* is only a *Fermentation* of the *Old Leaven* (for we have our *Jesuits* too.) The *Papal Jesuite* is an *Enemy* to *Heretical Kings*, and the *Protestant Jesuite* will have *no Kings at all*, and then for their *Confidence*, they have both *Impunity*, and *Encouragement*: the former proves it self; and I shall now conclude with a word or two concerning the other.

The bringing of this *Devillish Plot* upon the *Stage*, has struck all men of *Piety*, *Loyalty*, and *Love* to their *Country*, with *A- mazement* and *Horror*. The *Murder* of a *Prince*, the *Subversion* of
our.

our *Government*, and *Religion*; What can be more Execrable? The thought of so Diabolical a Practice has justly transported the People to the highest degree of Rage against it, imaginable: And it is a *Meritorious*, and a *Laudable Zeal* too, so long as it contains it self within the Bounds of *Law*, and *Duty*: While the King, Council, and Parliament are, in the mean time, sitting, and Examining the Design, and doing Justice upon the Offenders.

Now there are a sort of men, that under the Countenance of *This Plot* advance *another* of their *own*, and it is but the Rubbing of a Libel with a little Anti-Popery, to give it the Popular smack; and anything else against the Government goes down Current. If a man Writes, or Speaks, or Reasons against them, he is presently a *favourer of the Papiſts*, a *Lessener of the Plot*, and run down with *Nonsense*, and *Clamour*. A Person of Untainted Honour and Integrity, puts in for a *Parliament-man*; it is but any Little Fellows taking advantage of the Humour of the People, and *Billing* of him for having some *Papiſt* to his *Kinsman*, perhaps, or Visiting some *Lord* in the *Tower*; or under the common Scandal of a *Courtier*, or a *Pentioner*, and he is gone to all Intents and Purposes. This is the Character they give to every man that loves the *King*, the *Church*, or the *Law*. They serve them as *Nero* did the *Christians*; they put them into *Bears-skins*; that is to say, they call them *Papiſts*, *Pentioners*, *Conspirators*, and then deliver them up to be worried by the *Rabble*. Shall we never distinguish between *Indubitable Truths*, and *Transparent Falshoods*? Betwixt *Words* and *Deeds*, that stand in a direct *Opposition*, the *One* to the *Other*? What *Pri- viledge* has a *Phanatick* to blow up a Government, more than a *Jesuite*? It must be confest, however, that he is the *Braver Enemy* of the two, for he scorns to sneak to the Execution of his Exploit with a *Dark Lanthorn*; and to take advantage of *Authority* by *Surprize*; but *Arraigns Princes*, and puts them to death in the face of the *Sun*, and at this *Instant*, charges the *Church* openly with *Idolatri*, *Superstition*, and *Oppression*; the *State* with *Tyranny*; and the *Law* it self, with *Error* and *Insufficiency*. His first work is to Accuse his *Superiours* of *Misgovernment*: And then he tells the *People*, next, that in Case of *Mis-government* they may resume their *Power*. And what's all this to the *PLOT*?

THE END.

C I T T
 AND
 B U M P K I N ,
 I N A
 D I A L O G U E
 Over a P O T of A L E ,
 Concerning Matters of
 R E L I G I O N
 AND
 G O V E R N M E N T .

The Fourth Edition.

By R. L. Roger L'Estrange.

L O N D O N ,

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VHereas there are several Discourses
and Pamphlets abroad in the World,
that pass for the Writings of Mr. Roger L'E-
strange, wherein he never had any hand at all ;
This is to Advertise the Reader, that since Sept.
1678. he hath Publish'd these following Pieces,
and no other.

The Reformed Catholique.

The History of the Plot.

The Free-born Subject.

The Case Put.

An Answer to the Appeal.

*Twenty Select Colloquies of Erasmus, in Eng-
lish.*

The Parallel, or, The Growth of Knavery.

A Seasonable Memorial.

A Dialogue.

*A Further Discovery of the Plot, with a Letter
to Dr. Titus Oats.*

Tully's Offices in English.

H. B.

CITT and BUMKIN,

In a DIALOGUE, &c.

Citt. **S**O that you would know, *First*, how we manag'd the *Petition*; and *Secondly*, how it came to miscarry.

Bum. *Those are the two Points, Citt; but first take off your Pot, and then tell your Story: you shall have mine afterward.*

Citt. There was no way, you must know, to carry the business clear, without getting a *Vote of Common-Council* for the *Petition*; and so making it an *Act of the City*: And in order to this End, we planted our *Committees* every where up and down, from *Algate to Temple-Bar*, at convenient distances; some few of them in *Taverns*, but most at *Coffee-houses*; as less liable to suspicion. Now we did not call these *Meeting-Committees*, but *Clubs*; and there we had all Freedom both for *Privacy* and *Debate*: while the *Borough of Southwark*, *Westminster* and the *Suburbs*, proceeded according to our Method.

Committees to promote the Petitions, Their Powers and Instructions.

Bum. *And what are these Committees now to do?*

Citt. Their *Commission* was to procure *Subscriptions* to justify the Right of *Petitioning*, and to gain *Intelligence*: And then every *Committee* had one man at least in it that wrote *Short-hand*.

Bum. *Well, and what was he to do?*

Citt. It was his part to go smoaking up and down from one Company to another, to see who was *for* us, and who *against* us; and to take Notes of what People said of the *Plot*, or of the *King's Witnesses*, or against this way of *Petitioning*.

Bum. *But how came those Committees (as ye call 'em) by their Commissions?*

Citt. For that, let me tell you, we had *two Grand Committees*, Two *Grand Committees* that adjourn'd from place to place, as they saw occasion: But they met most commonly at *Two Coffee-Houses*; the *One* near *Guild-Hall*, the other in the *Strand*; for you must take notice that we went on, hand in hand with our *Neighbours* in the *Main Design*.

Bum. *But you do not tell me yet who set up the Other Committees.*

The Office of the Grand Committees.

Citt. These two *Grand Committees*, I tell you, nominated and appointed the *Sub-Committees*, gave them their *Orders*, and received their *Reports*: It was their Office moreover to digest *Discoveries* and *Informations*; to instruct *Articles*, improve *Accusations*, manage *Controversies*, defray the charge of *Intelligencers*, and *Gatherers of hands*, to dispose of *Collections*, to influence the *Anglicus's* and *Domesticks*, and fortifie those that were weak in the Faith; to furnish matter sometimes for *Narratives*. —

Bum. *What dost thou mean by Narratives, Citt?*

Citt. They are only *strange Stories*; as that of the *Dragon in Essex*; *Earth-quakes*, *Sights in the Air*, *Prodigies*, and the like.

Bum. *One would think it should not be worth their while, to busie their Heads about such Fooleries as these.*

Stories of Prodigies startle the Common People.

Citt. Now this is thy simplicity *Bumpkin*, for there is not any thing that moves the hearts of the People so effectually toward *the Work of the Lord*, especially when the *Narrative* carries some *Historical Remarque* in the Tail of it: As for the purpose, *this or that happen'd in such a Kings Reign, and soon after such and such troubles befell the Church and State*; such a *Civil War*, such or such a *Persecution*, or *Invasion* follow'd upon it. When the people perceive once that the Lord hath declared himself against the Nation, in these Tokens of his *Displeasure*, the Multitude seldom fail of helping the Judgment forward.

Bum. *I don't know what ye call your Committees, but our Gentry had their Meetings too; and there was a great Lord or two among 'um that shall be Nameless.*

Citt. We could shew you *obsergues's Lords* among *Us*, I'll assure you, than any you have; but let that pass.

Bum. *You told me that your Committees were to procure Subscriptions: we were hard put to't, I'm sure, in the Country to get Hands.*

The way of getting hands in and about London.

Citt. And so were we in the *City, Bumpkin*; and if it had not been to advance the *Protestant Interest*, I'de have been torn to pieces by wild Horses, before I'de have done what I did. But *extraordinary Cases* must have *extraordinary allowances*. There was hardly a *Register* about the Town that scap'd us for *Names*: *Bedlam*, *Bridewell*, all the *Parish-books*; nay the very *Gaols* and *Hospitals*;

Hospitals; we had our Agents at all Publick Meetings, Court, Church, Change. all the Schools up and down; Masters under-writ for their Children and Children, Women for their Husbands in the West-Indies; nay we prevail'd upon some Parsons, to engage for their whole Congregations; we took in Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, and the whole Legend of Poor Robin's Saints into our List of Petitioners; and the same Names serv'd us in four or five severall Places. And where's the hurt of all this now? So long as the Cause it self is righteous.

Bum. Nay, the thing was well enough Citty, if we could but have gone through with it: And you shall see now that we were put to our shifts in the Country, as well as you in the City; I was employ'd, you must know, to get Names at four shillings a Hundred, and I had all my Real Subscriptions written at such a distance, one from another, that I could easily clap in a Name or two betwixt 'em; and then I got as many School-boys as I could, to under-write after the same manner, and after this, I fill'd up all those spaces with Names that I either Remember'd or Invented myself, or could get out of two or three Christning-books. There are a World (ye know) of Smiths, Browns, Clarks, Walkers, Woods, so that I furnish'd my Catalogue with a matter of Fifty apiece of these Six-Names, which I Christen'd my self. And besides, we had all the Non-conformist Ministers in the Country for us, and they brought in a power of hands.

Several ways of getting Hands in the Country.

Citty. What do you talk of your Non-conformists? They do but work Journey-Work to Ours. We have the Heads of all the Protestant Dissenters in the Nation, here in this Town; why, we have more Religions Bumkin, in this City, than you have People in your whole Country.

The Protestant Dissenters great Promoters of the Petition.

Bum. Ay, and 'tis a great Blessing too, that when Professors are at so mighty Variance among themselves, there should be so wonderful an Agreement in the Common Cause.

Citty. And that's notably observ'd, Bumkin; for so we found it here. The Presbyterian got Hands of His Party; the Independent of His, the Baptist of His, the Fifth-Monarchy-man of His; and so throughout all our Divisions: and we had still the most zealous man in His way, to gather the Subscriptions: And when they had compleated their Roll, they discharg'd themselves as Naturally into the Grand Committee, as Rivers into the Sea; and then we were sure of all the Republicans.

Bum. But after all this Care and Industry, how was it possible for the Business to Miscarry?

Citty.

Citt. Why I know 'tis laid in our Dish, that when we had set the whole Kingdom agogg upon *Petitioning*, our hearts would not serve us to go through stitch, and so we drew our own necks out of the Collar, and left the Countreys in the Lurch.

Bum. *Nay that's the Truth on't, Citt; We stood all gaping for London to lead the way.*

Citt. The great work that we look'd upon was the gaining of a *well affected Common Council*; which we secur'd upon the *Election*, with all the skill and watchfulness imaginable.

Bum. *And that was a huge Point, Citt; but how were ye able to compass it?*

Tricks to defeat Elections.

Citt. Why we had no more to do, than to mark those that we knew were not for our turns, either as *Courtiers*, or *Looselivers*, or *half-Protestants*, and their business was done.

Bum. *We went the same way to work, too in the Country, at all our Elections; for it is a lawful Policy, you know, to lessen the Reputation of an Enemy.*

Citt. *Nay we went further still, and set a Report afoot upon the Exchange, and all the Coffee-houses and Publique Houses thereabouts, which held from Change-time, till the very Rising of the Common-Council, when the Petition was laid aside; that past so currant, that no Mortal doubted the Truth on't.*

Bum. *But you ha' not told me what that Report was yet.*

Citt. It was this; That the King had sent a Message to the City to let them understand that he took notice how much they stood affected to the Petition; that he expected they would proceed upon it; and that His Majesty was ready to give them a Gracious Answer.

Bum. *But was this fair dealing Brother?*

Citt. Did not Abraham say of Sarah, *She's my Sister?*

Bum. *Well, thou'rt a heavenly man Citt! but come to the Mis-carriage it self.*

The Petition laid aside in the Common-Council.

Citt. After as Hopeful a Choice as ever was made, we procur'd a *Common-Council*: where the *Petition* was put to the *Vote*, and it was carry'd in the *Commons* by *two Voices*, for the presenting; it and by *Fourteen, or Fifteen Votes* in the *Court of Aldermen*, on the *Negative*.

Bum. *So that your Damn'd Aldermen, and our Damn'd Justices, have ruin'd us both in City and Country.*

Citt. Hang 'um, they are most of them *Church-Papists*; but we should have dealt well enough with them, if it had not been for that

that confounded *Act* for *Regulating Corporations*.

Bum. *Præthee* let me understand that, for I know nothing on't.

Citt. Take notice then, that the Devilish Statute has provided, That no man shall serve as a Common-Council-man, but upon condition of taking three Oaths, and Subscribing one Declaration therein mentioned; and having taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites of the Church of England, within one year next before his Election. Now it so fell out, that what with this *Act*, and a Court-Letter for putting is in Execution, a matter of thirty of our Friends were put by, as not duly qualifi'd; and upon this Pinch we lost it. Nay, let me tell ye as a Friend, there were at least twenty or thirty of the rest too, that would hardly have past Muster.

The *Act* for Corporations brake the neck on't.

Bum. But is this certain?

Citt. Why I am now in my Element, *Bumkin*; for thou know'st my Education has been toward the Law.

Bum. This was a *Plague* Jobb, *Citt*; but we must look better to our *Hits* next bout.

Citt. Nay my Life for thine we'll have another touch for't yet. But tell me in short, how came you off with your *Petition* in the *Countrey*?

Bum. It went on for a good while prettily well, at the *Quarter-Sessions*; till at last one cross-grain'd *Curr* there upon the *Bench* claw'd us all away to the Devil, and got an *Order of Court* against it, while you would say what's this?

Citt. But what did he say?

Bum. Oh there was a great deal of stuff on't; the King and the Judges (he said) had declared it to be *Seditious*, and so they were to take it, That they sate there to keep the King's Peace, not to countenance the Breaking of it; and then (says he) these fellows don't know what they would have. One *Petitions* for *Chalk*, and Another for *Cheese*; the *Petition* was at first for the Meeting of the *Parliament*; and then they came to *Twit* the King with his *Coronation-Oath*, & then *Delinquents* must be brought to *Punishment*, and then the *Parliam.* was to *Sit* as long as they pleas'd; and at last, every man must be markt for a *Common Enemy* that would not *Subscribe* it. So that first they would have the *Parliament* *Sit*; and then they'd cut'um out their work; and in *fine*, it was little other than a *Petition* against those that would not *Petition*. He said there were ill practices in the getting of hands; and so they threw out the

The *Petition* baffled in the *Countrey*.

the Petition, and order'd an Enquiry into the Abuses.

Citt. Well, there's no Remedy but Patience.

Bum. I had need of Patience I'm sure; for they're Examining the Hands already, as hard as they can drive; You'l see me in the Gazette next Thursday, as sure as a Gun.

Citt. Why then we must play the Domestique against him, next Fryday.

Bum. Nay, I'm sure to be trounc'd for't to some tunc, if I be taken.

Citt. Prethee what art afraid of? There's no Treason in getting hands to a Petition man.

Bum. No, that's true, but I have put in such a Lurry of Dog-Rogues; they cry they're defam'd, with a Pox, they'le have their remedy; and they make such a Bawling.

Citt. Come, come, let thy heart at rest; and know that in this City th'art in the very Sanctuary of the Well-affected. But 'tis good however to prepare for the worst, and the best (as they say) will help its self. But art thou really afraid of being taken?

Bum. And so would you be too, if you were in my condition, without a penny, or a friend in the world to help ye.

Citt. Thou art two great Owls, Bumkin, in a very few words. First, thou hast great friends, and do'st not know on't; and Secondly, thou do'st not understand the Blessing, of having neither Friends, nor Money. In one word, I'll see thee provided for; and in the mean time, give me thy answer to a few questions.

I make no doubt but they that put thee into this Trust, and Employment of helping on the Petition, are men of Estates, and men well-inclin'd to the Publique Cause.

Bum. O, their Landlords and Masters are men of huge Estates: but 'tis the Tenants, and the Stewards that I have to do withal. But then (do you mark me?) those people are all in all with their Masters.

Citt. I suppose you may be known to the Landlords and Masters themselves too. Do they ever take any notice of you?

Bum. Yes, yes; I go often to their Houses man, and they speak mighty kindly to me; and there's nothing but Honest Obadiah, and Good Obadiah at every turn; and then the Men take me into the Kitchen, or into the Cellar, or so. And let me tell you Citt, if it had not been for them once, I had been plaguily paid off in the Spiritual Court upon a certain Occasion.

Citt. That's a very good sign of Affection to the Cause, as I told thee: and it would be never the worse if they were under a cloud

The blessing
of having nei-
ther friends
nor money.

Methods of
Popularity.

Cloud at Court ; for an *Honest Revenge*, ye know, goes a great way with a tender Conscience.

Bum. I have heard some *Inkling* that way, but we'll scatter no Words.

Cit. They never speak any thing to you in Private, do they ? As of *Grievances*, (I mean) *Religion*, the *Liberty of the Subject*, and such like ?

Bum. No, no ; but they talk as other People do, of the *Plot*, and the *Jesuits*, and *Popery*, and the *French King*, and so.

Cit. And what is the Reason now, do ye think, that you are not receiv'd into their *Bed-Chambers*, their *Closets*, into their *Arms*, and into their very *Hearts*, as well as some other People as we know ?

Bum. *Alas ! what should they do with me ? I'm not a man fit to keep them Company.*

Cit. Why then *Honest Bumpkin*, here's a *Golden Sentence* for thee ; *Be Taken*, *Sifted*, *Imprison'd*, *Pillory'd*, and stand true to thy *Principles*, and th'art company for the best *Lord in Christendom*. They'll never dare to trust thee till th'art *Jayl* and *Pillory-proof* ; and the bringing thee into a *Jayl*, would be a greater kindness, than the fetching of another man Out.

Bum. *Prethee Citty, tell me one thing by the way ; hast thou ever made Trial of this Experiment thy self ?*

Cit. To tell thee as a Friend, I have try'd it, and I'm the best part of a Thousand Pound the better for't. 'Tis certainly the High-way to Preferment.

A Jayl is the high-way to Preferment.

Bum. *And yet for all this Citty, I have no mind in the World to be Taken.*

Cit. And that's because th'art an arrant *Buzzard* ; the Lord deliver me from a Man that has neither *Money* nor *Friends*, and yet's afraid to be *Taken*. Why 'tis the very making of many a man's Fortune to be *Taken*. How many men are there that give *Money* to be *Taken*, and make a *Trade* on't ? Nay happy is the man that can but get any body to *Take* him ? Why I tell ye, there are people that will *quarrel* for't, and make *Friends* to be *Taken*. 'Tis a common thing in *Paris*, for a man in *One six Months*, to start out of a *Friendless* and *Moneyless* condition, into an *Equipage* of *Lacquays* and *Coaches*; and all this by nicking the blessed Opportunities of being *discreetly Taken*.

Bum. *I have heard indeed of a man that set fire to one old House,*

and got as much Money by a Brief for't as built him two New ones.

Citt. Have not I my self heard it cast in a fellows Teeth, I was the making of you Sirrah, though y'are so high now a body must not speak to you: You had never been Taken and Clapt up, Sirrah, but for me.

Bum. Father, What Simpletons we Country-folks are to you Citizens!

Citt. Now put the Case, *Bumpkin*, that you were Taken, Examined and Committed, provided you stand to your Tackle, y'are a Made man already; but if you shrink in the wetting, y'are lost.

Bum. Pray'e what do ye mean by standing to my Tackle?

Citt. You must be sure to keep your self upon a Guard, when y'are before the Justice; and not to be either wheedled, or frighten'd into any Discovery; for they'l be trying a thousand Tricks with you.

Bum. But may I deny anything that's charg'd upon me, point-blank, if I be guilty of it?

A Salvo for a Lie.

Citt. Yes in the Case of Self-preservation, you may; but you must be sure then that no body can disprove you; for if it be known, it is a Scandal, and no longer Lawful: Your best way will be not to answer any Questions against your self.

Bum. But now you have brought me into a Goal, you would do well to tell me how I shall get out again.

The Benefits of a Prison.

Citt. Why before you turn your self thrice in your Kennel, (if Baylable) Y'are out again upon a Habeas Corpus; But in the mean time, the Town rings of your Commitment, the cause of it, and how bravely you carry'd it upon your Examination; all which shall be Reported to your Advantage; and by this time, y'are Celebrated for the Peoples Martyr. And now come in the Bottles, the Cold Pies, and the Guymis's: But you must lay your Finger upon your Mouth, and keep all as close as if the Fairies had brought it.

Bum. Pre'thee *Citt.*, wert thou ever bound Prentice to a Statesman?

Citt. No, not altogether so neither; but I serv'd a convenient time in two of his Majesties Houses; and there I learnt my Politiques; that is to say, in *Newgate*, and the *Gate-house*; Two Schools (says one) that send more wise men into the World, than the four Inns of Court. Now let your suffering be what it will, the Merit of it will be rated according to the Difficulty and haz-

ard

ward of the *Encounter* : For there's a great difference betwixt the Venture of a *Pillory*, and of a *Gibbet*. But in what case soever ; if you stand fast, and keep your Tongue in your head, you shall want neither *Money*, nor *Law* ; nor *Countenance*, nor *Friends* in the *Court*, nor *Friends* in the *Jury*.

Bum. *Hold, hold, Citt ; what if all my great Friends should deceive me at last ?*

Citt. They'le never dare to do that, for fear you should deceive them. I have found the experiment of it my self, and every Term yields us fresh Instances of people that make their Fortunes in a trice, by a generous contempt of *Principalities* and *Powers*.

Bum. *Thou'rt a brave fellow, Citt ; but prethee what may thy Employment be at present, if a body may ask thee ?*

Citt. I am at this present, *Bumpkin*, under the *Rose*, a *Secretary-Extraordinary* to one of the *Grand Committees* I told thee of, and my business is to draw up *Impeachments*, *Informations*, *Articles* ; to lick over now and then a *Narrative* ; and to deal with the *Mercuries* to publish nothing against the Interest of that Party : and in fine, there's hardly any thing stirs, but I have a finger in't. Mine is a business, I can tell you, that brings in *Money*.

Bum. *I make no doubt on't, Citt ; But could ye put me in a way to get a little money too ?*

Citt. We'll talk of that presently. You may think perhaps now the *City-Petition's* blown off, that our *Committee* will have nothing to do. But I do assure you, business comes in so fast upon us, that I shall never be able to go through it without an *Assistant* ; and if I find you fit for't, you shall be the man. — Nay hold, let me speak first ; do you continue the use of your *Short-hand* ?

Bum. *Yes, I do : and I have mended my Bastard-Secretary very much since you saw it.*

Citt. Will you be *Just*, *Diligent*, and *Secret* ?

Bum. *Ple give you what Security you'l ask, for my Truth and Diligence ; and for my Secrefie, I could almost forget to speak.*

Citt. That *Figure* pleases me ; but I must strift you further. How stands your appetite to *Wine* and *Women* ?

Bum. *Why truly as the rate of other flesh and blood.*

Citt. 'Tis not to bar ye neither ; but what *Liberties* ye take, let them be *Private*, and either to advance the *Common Cause*, or at *spare hours*.

The Secre.
to a Grand
Committee.

Bum. You cannot ask nor wish more than I'll do.

Citt. Only a word or two more, and then I'll let you into my affairs. What course did you propound to your self, in case your Petition had succeeded? I ask this, because you seem so much troubl'd at the Disappointment.

Other Petitions upon the Anvil.

Bum. Why, if this Petition had gone on, and the Parliament had met, I was promised four or five Petitions more; one against Danby, and the Lords in the Tower, another for the Sitting of this Parliament, till they had gone through all they had to do; a Third, for taking away the Bishops Votes, a Fourth, for the Remove of Evil Counsellours, and a Fifth, for putting the Militia into Safe hands.

Citt. These points, you must know, have been a long time upon the Anvil; and our Friends have Instructions all over the Kingdom, to proceed upon them to shew the Miraculous Union of the Nation. But do you think, because the First Petition has receiv'd a check, and the Parliament is Prorogw'd, that therefore the other Petitions must fall to the ground?

Bum. I cannot well see how it should be otherwise.

Citt. Why then let me tell you, Bumpkin, We'll bring the whole business about again, and carry it on, in spite of Fate, for we have better Heads at work perhaps than you are aware of.

Bum. Ay, but what Hands have we Citt? for it will come to that at last.

Citt. Those Heads will find Hands, never trouble your self, if there should be occasion; but 'tis too early days for that sport yet. 'Twas an unlucky thing however to be so surpriz'd; for our Friends did no more dream of the Sacrament, than of their dying day.

Bum. Well, there's no recalling of what's past: But the Question is, how we shall avoid it for the time to come.

Citt. Nay, Bumpkin, there's a Trick worth two of avoiding it, we'll take it next bout, and then we're safe; we'll carry it I'll undertake by fifty Voices.

Bum. But cannot the Aldermen hinder you from putting it to the Vote?

A Design upon the Common Council.

Citt. 'Tis the Custom of the City, I must confess, for the Lord Mayor to Summon and dissolve Common Councils, and to put all points to the Question; but we'll find a cure for that too. 'Tis a thing we've been a good while about already; the bringing down

down the *Authority* of the *City* into the *Major* part of the *Commons*.

Bum. *Now if the Mayor and Aldermen should be aware of this, they'l never endure it; but we must leave that to time. But hark ye Citty, I thought our Friends refusing of the Sacrament had been matter of Conscience.*

Citt. *Why so it is, man; but take notice then, that you are to distinguish of Consciences: There is first, a plain simple Conscience, and that's a Conscience that will serve well enough to keep a man Right, if he meet with nothing else to put him out of the way. And then there's a Conscience of State, or Profit; and that Conscience yields, as a less Weight does to a greater; an Ounce turns the Scale, but a Pound carries the Ounce, and no body blames the weaker for being over-power'd by the stronger. There is a Conscience of Profession too; which is a Conscience that does not so much regard the Reason of the thing, as the being True to a Party, when a man has past his Word: and this is the Conscience of a man of Honour, that fights for his Whore. There is likewise a Conscience of Religion, and that's a quiet peaceable Conscience, that rests in the Affection of the Heart, in submission to Lawful Institutions; and in serving God, and doing good to our Neighbour, without Noise or Ostentation.*

Distinctions
of Conscien
ces.

Bum. *Well, but I see a great many very Conscientious men that love to pray and sing Psalms next the Street, that their Neighbours may hear 'um; and go up and down shaking of their Heads, and wringing of their Hands, crying out of the Calves of Bethel, and the High places, Popery, Prelacy, and the Common Prayer, in such a manner, that 't would grieve a bodies heart to see 'um.*

Consciences
of State or
Interest.

Citt. *These are Conscientious men, Bumpkin; and this is the Conscience of State or Profit, that I told ye of.*

Bum. *Ay, but I have seen some men in Fits of the Spirit, jump, and sing about a Pulpit so desperately, that they set the children a crying to have 'um let out. One while they'd raise themselves upon their Tip-toes, and roar out upon a sudden, you'd have thought they had been pinch'd with Hot Irons; and then all in an Instant they'd Dop down again, that ye could hardly see 'um; and so fall into a faint lamenting Voice, like the Groan of a poor woman three-quarters spent in Labour. Nay, there was one of 'um that Gap'd and held his mouth open so long, that the People cry'd out, The man has a Bone in his Throat. These must needs be very Conscientious Men, Citty.*

Citt.

Citt. They are so *Bumpkin*, but 'tis the same *Conscience* still; for it works all manner of ways. We took up this Mode, I suppose, from the *Transports* and *Grimaces* of the *Pagan Priests*, in the Ceremony of their *Sacrifices*, which had a very effectual operation upon the People.

Bum. Nay *Citt*, these Men have a Holy way of Language too, as well as of Behaviour, for all their Talk is of Heaven, and Heavenly things, the Saints, and the New Jeru'alem; they deal mightily in Expositions upon the Viols, and the Little Horn: and then they are bitterly severe against Wicked Magistrates, and those that Lord it over Gods Heritage. They are, in fine, a very Conscientious sort of People.

Citt. Oh beyond question so they are: But this is still a Branch of the same *Conscience*. I have known indeed some people so Transported with this same *Talkative Holiness*, that it has been a kind of *Spiritual Salivation* to 'um; they continue spitting when they have not one drop of *Moisture* left 'um in their *Bodies*.

Bum. Prethee *Citt*, tell me in honest English, where shall a body find the simple, and the Religious *Consciences* thou told'st me of?

Not many
Religious
Consciences.

Citt. Why every man living has the former of 'um, but takes no notice on't: But for the latter sort, 'tis very scarce; and you shall find more of it perhaps in one *Fayl*, or in one *Hospital*, then in all the *Courts* of *Christendom*. It is commonly the *Blessing* of men in years, in sickness, or in adversity.

Bum. Ah *Citt*, that I were but as capable of Learning as thou art of Teaching! Prethee explain thyself a little upon the *Conscience* of *Profession* too.

A Conscience
of Profession.

Citt. Observe me what I say then, *Bumpkin*: There is a *Profession*, *Particular*, and *General*; *Particular*, as when One *Cavalier* serves another in a *Duel*, he's obliged to it by the *Profession* of a *Sword-man*, without Formalizing upon the *Cause*. There's a *Conscience* of *Profession* even among the *Banditi* themselves. What is it but the *Profession* of *Presbytery*, that makes the whole Party oppose *Episcopacy*; as the *Independents* do *Presbytery*, the *Republicans* *Monarchy*, and the like.

Bum. Now I thought that there might have been *Conscience* of *State*, as well as of *Profession* in these Cases.

Citt. Thou sayst very well, *Bumpkin*, and so there is, and of *Profit* too; and it was much the same Case too, throughout the

the Circle of our Late *Revolutions*, when we *Swore* and *Vow'd* from the *Oaths* of *Allegiance*, and *Canonical Obedience*, to the *Protestant*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the *Engagement*, the *Negative Oath*, the *Oath of Abjuration*, and so till we swore round, into the *Oath of Allegiance* again.

Bum. *What do you mean now by your General Profession?*

Citt. I mean the *Subordination* of a *Partial* to a *General*, of a *Private Profession* to a *Publick*; as thou seest in the *Late Times*, *Bumpkin*, how strictly the *Divided Reformers* kept themselves to this *Rule*, so long as the *Common Enemy* was upon his *Legs*.

Bum. *But what do you mean by the Common Enemy?*

Citt. I mean the *Court*, and the *Church-Party*. So long (I say) all our Brethren of the *Separation* joyn'd as one man, against that *Inordinate Power*; and herein we were *Conscientiously True* to our *General Profession*; but so soon as ever we had subdu'd that *Popish* and *Tyrannical Interest*, through the *Conscience* of our *General Profession*, we then consulted our *Particular*; and every man did *Conscientiously* labour for the *Establishment* of *his own way*. But now we come to the great *Nicety* of all; that is to say, the *Conscience* of making a *Conscience* of using *any Conscience at all*: There's a *Riddle* for ye *Bumpkin*.

Bum. *I must confess I do not understand one Bit on't.*

Citt. That's for want of a *Discerning Spirit*, *Bumpkin*. What does *Conscience* signify to the *Saints*, that are deliver'd from the *Fetters* of *Moral Obligations*, by so many *Extraordinary* and *Over-ruling Privileges*, which are granted in a *peculiar manner* to the *People of the Lord*? What's he the *better* or the *worse* for *keeping* or for *breaking* the *Ten Commandments*, that lies under the *Predestinarian Fate* of an *Uncangeable Necessity* and *Decree*? What needs he care for any *other Guide*, that carries within himself an *Infalible Light*? Or He for any *Rule at all* that cannot *sin*? For the *same thing* may be a *sin* in *another Man*, which in *Him* is *None*.

A Conscience of using no Conscience at all.

Bum. *Really this is admirable: So that we that are the Elect, are bound up by no Laws at all, either of God or of Man.*

Citt. *Why look you now for that; we Are, and we are Not. If it so happens that the Inward and Invisible Spirit move us to do the same thing, which the Outward and Visible Law requires of us, in That Case we are bound; but so, as to the Spirit, not to the Law: and therefore we are bid to stand fast in our Christian Liberty.*

Bum:

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Of Christian
Liberty.

Bum. *That's extremely well said; for if We Christians should be Shackled with Human Laws, which can only reach the Outward Man, that are the Heritage of the Lord, in no better Condition then the Wicked, and the Heathen.*

The Extent
of it.

Citt. *Oh! th'art infinitely in the Right; for were it not for this Christian Liberty, we could never have justify'd our Selves in our Late Transactions: the Design of Overturning the Government had been Treason; taking up Arms against the King, Rebellion; Dividing from the Communion of the Church, had been Schism; appropriating the Church-Plate and Revenues to private Uses, had been Sacrilege; entring upon Sequester'd Livings had been Oppression; taking away mens Estates had been Robbery; imprisoning of their Persons had been Tyranny; using the Name of God to all This, would have been Hypocrisie; forcing of contradictory Oaths, had been Impiety; & Sheddin the Blood both of the King and his People, had been Murther: And all This would have appear'd so to be, if the Cause had come to be Try'd by the known Laws either of God or Man.*

Bum. *Make us thankful now! What a blessed state are we in; that Walk up to our Calling, in Simplicity and Truth, whose Yea is Yea, and whose Nay is Nay. 'Tis a strange way thou hast Citt, of making things out to a man. Thou wert saying but now, that the same thing may be a Sin in One man, and not in Another. I'm thinking now of the Jesuits.*

Citt. *Oh That's a fugling, Equivocating, Hellish sort of People; jtis a thousand pities that they're suffer'd to live upon the Earth; they value an Oath, no more than they do a Rush. Those are the Heads of the Plot now upon the Life of the King, the Protestant Religion, and the Subversion of the Government.*

Jesuits and
Phanatique;
compar'd.

Bum. *Ay, Ay, Citt, they're a damn'd Generation of Hell-hounds. But as I was thinking just now, we have so many things among Us, like some things among Them, that I have been run down sometimes almost, as if we our selves were Jesuites; though I know there's as much difference as betwixt Light and Darknes; and for my part, I despise them as I do the Devil.*

A vast difference
betwixt
them.

But Citt, *thou hast so wonderful a way of making Matters plain, I'de give any thing in the World thoud'st but teach me what to say in some Cases, when I'me put to't. One told me t'other day, You are rather worse than the Jesuites (says he) for when They break an Oath, they have some Mental Reservation or other for a Come-off:*

But

But You Swallow your Perjuries, just as Cormorants do Eels ; an Oath's no sooner in at one End, then out at r^other,

Citt. Let your Answer be This, Bumpkin, That the Law-maker is Master of his own Laws ; and that the Spirits dictating of a New Law is, the Superceding of an old one.

Bum. These are hard words, Citt ; but he told me further, don't You justify King-killing (says he) as well as the Jesuits ? Only They do't with Pistol, Dagger and Poyson ; and You come with Your Horse, Foot, and Cannon : They proceed by Excommunicating, and Deposing ; by dissolving the Character first, and then destroying the Person ; and just so did You. First, ye Depos'd the King, and Then ye Beheaded Charles Stewart. And then you need never go to Rome for a Pardon, when every man among you is his own Pope. Their Practi- ces compar'd.

Citt. Now your Answer must be This ; That we had, First, The Fanaticks the Warrant for what we did, of an Extraordinary Dispensation. Clear'd. (as appear'd in the providence of our Success) Secondly, we had the Laws of Necessity, and Self-Preservation to Support us. And Thirdly, the Government being Coordinate, and the King only One of the Three Estates ; any Two of the Three might deal with the Third as they thought Fit : Beside the Ultimate Sovereignty of the People, over and above. And now take notice, that the same Argument holds in the Subversion of the Govern- ment.

Bum. Now you have Arm'd me thus far, pray'e help me on, one Step farther ; for I was hard put to't not long since about the business of the Protestant Religion. What is that I pray'e, that ye call the Protestant Religion ?

Citt. You are to understand, that by the Protestant Religion is meant the Religion of the Dissenters in England, from the Church of England ; As the First Protestants in Germany 1529. (from whom we denominate our Selves) were Dissenters from the Church of Rome : and so Call'd from the famous Protestation they enter'd against the Decree of the Assembly at Spires, against Anabaptists. Of Dissenting Protestants.

Bum. So that I perceive We Set up the Protestant Religion, we did not destroy it : But they prest it then, that the Church of England was a Protestant Church, and that the Jesuits had only design'd the Destruction of it, whereas we did actually Execute it.

Citt. Your Answer must be, that the Church of England, though it be a little *Protestantish*, it is not yet directly *Protestant*: As on the other side, it is not altogether the *Whore of Babylon*, though a good deal *Whorish*; and therefore the Reply to that must be, that we did not *destroy*, but only *Reform* it.

Bum. *Why I have answer'd People out of my own Mother-Wit, that we did but Reform it. And they told me again, the cutting of it off Root and Branch, was a very extraordinary way of Reforming.*

The meaning
of Root and
Branch.

Citt. The Answer to that is obvious, that the *Cutting off Root and Branch*, is only a *Thorow*, or a *Higher Degree* of *Reforming*. But upon the whole matter, it was with *Us* and the *Jesuits*, as it was with *Aaron* and the *Magicians*; we did both of us make *Frogs*, but we alone had the power to quicken the *Dust of the Land*, and turn it into *Lice*.

Thou art by this time, I presume, sufficiently instructed in the *Methods* and *Fundamentals* of the *Holy Cause*. I shall now give you some necessary *Hints*, to fit, and qualifie you for the Province that I intend you. But be sure you mind your *Lesson*.

Bum. *As I would do my Prayers, Citt, or I were ungrateful, for you have made me for ever.*

Citt. *Come we'll take t'other Sup first, and then to work. Who waits there without? Two Pots more, and shut the door after Ye.*

A great part of your business, *Bumpkin*, will lie among *Parliament-Rolls*, and *Records*; for it must be our *Post* to furnish *Materials* to a *Cabal* only of *Three Persons*, that be ready upon occasion, to be made use of by the *Grand Committee*.

Rolls and Records
hunted
for Presidents.

Bum. *My old Master would say, that I had as good a guess at a Musty Record, as any man; and 'twas my whole Employment almost to hunt for Presidents. Nay the People would Trust me with Great Bags home to my Lodging; and leave me alone sometimes in the Offices for four and twenty hours together.*

Citt. But what kind of *Presidents* were they that Ye lookt for?

Bum. *Concerning the Kings Prerogative, Bishops Votes, the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and the like: and such as They wanted I writ out.*

Citt. But did you Recite them whole? or what did you *Take*, and what did you *Leave*?

Bum.

Bum. *We took what serv'd our Turn, and left out the Rest ; and sometimes we were taken Tripping , and sometimes we Scap'd : But we never falsify'd any Thing. There were some dogged Passages, indeed we durst not meddle with at all ; but I can turn ye to any thing you have occasion for, with a wet finger.*

Citt. So that here's one great point quickly over ; in thy being Train'd to my hand : a man might lay thee down instructions, now, for thy very *Words, Looks, Motions, Gestures* ; nay thy very *Garments* ; but we'l leave those matters to Time, and Study. It is a strange thing how Nature puts her self forth, in these *External Circumstances*. Ye shall know a *Sanctifi'd Sister*, or a *Gifted Brother* more by the *Meen, Countenance and Tone*, than by the Tenour of their *Lives and Manners*. It is a comely thing for Persons of the same Perswasion, to agree in these *outward Circumstances*, even to the *drawing of the same Tone, and making of the same Face* : alwaies provided, that there may be read in our *Appearances*, a *Singularity of Zeal*, a *Contempt of the World*, a *forbidding of Evils to come* ; a *dissatisfaction at the present Times* ; and a *Despair of better*.

Lessons of Behaviour for the well-affected.

Bum. *Why this is the very part, that I was made for ; these Humors are to be put On and Off, as a man would shift his Gloves ; and you shall see me do't as easily too ; but the Language must be got, I Fancy ; by conversing with Modern Authors, and frequenting Religious Exercises.*

Citt. Yes, yes, and for a help to your memory, I would advise you to dispose of your Observations into these *Three Heads, Words, Phrases and Metaphors* : Do you conceive me ?

Bum. *There's not a word you say falls to the Ground ; And I am the more sensible of the force of Words, Looks, Tones, and Metaphors (as ye call 'um) from what I find in my self. Ours certainly may be well term'd a Powerful Ministry, that makes a man cry like a Child, at the very Noyse of a Torrent of Words that he does not understand one Syllable of. Nay, when I have been out of reach of hearing the words, the very Tone and Look has melted me.*

The Force of Looks and Tones.

Citt. Thou canst not but have heard of that *moving Metaphor of the late Reverend Mr. Fowler* : *Lord Dowse us ; (says he) Lord Dowse us in the Powdering-Tubb of Affliction ; that we may come forth Tripes worthy of thy Holy Table.* Who can resist the *Inundation of this Rhetorick* ? but let us now pass from the *General Ornaments of our Profession*, to the *particular business of our present Case*.

A Moving Metaphor.

I need not tell you, *Bumpkin* of the *Plot*, or that we are all running into *Poper*y; and that the best Service an *Englishman* can do his *Countrey*, would be the ripping up of this Design to the *Bottom*.

Bum. I am so much of your Opinion, that you have spoken my very Thoughts.

Citt. Bethink your self, *Bumpkin*; what *Papists* do you know?

Bum. Oh hang 'um all, I never come near any of 'um.

Citt. But yet you may have heard, perhaps, of some People that are *Popishly* affected.

Bum. Yes, yes; there are abundance of them.

Citt. Can you prove that ever they said or did any thing, in favour of the *Papists*?

Bum. Nay there's enough of that I believe; but then there are such huge great men among 'um.

Citt. Pluck up a good heart *Bumpkin*; the *Greater*, the *Better*; We fear 'um not. Rub up your memory, and call to mind what you can say upon your own *Knowledge*, and what you have heard; either about *Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, *The Plot*, *The Traytors* that suffer'd, or the *Kings Evidence*.

Bum. I have seen People shrug sometimes, and lift up their Hands and Eyes, and shake their Heads, and then they would cluch their Fists, look four, make Mouths, and bite their Nails, and so: and I dare swear I know what they thought.

Citt. Ah *Bumpkin*, if they had but so much as mutter'd, they'd been our own.

Bum. Well, but hark ye *Citt.* I hear People swear, or in WORDS to this effect, why may not a man as well swear, in SIGNS to this Effect? and that they lifted up their Eyes and hands, bent their Fists, knit their Brows, and made Mouths, to this or that Effect?

Citt. No, that will never do *Bumpkin*, but if thou couldst but phansie that thou heardst them speak.

Bum. Why truly I never thought on't, but I saw a Parson once the Tears stood in his Eyes, as one of 'um went by to Execution. But your Surcingle-men, (as our Doctor told us last Lords day) are all of 'um *Papists* in their Hearts.

Citt. Why what's the *Common-Prayer Book Bumpkin*, but a Mess of *Parboyl'd Popery*?

Bum. I'm a dog, if our Minister does not pray for the Queen still.

Citt.

Signs in Evi-
dence.

Citt. Nay, we are e'en at a fine pass, when the *Pulpit* prays Sad Times.
 for the *Queen*, and the *Bench* Drinks the *Duke of York's Health*.
 But to the point, bethink your self well ; a man may forget a
 thing to day, and recollect it to morrow. Take notice however,
 that it is another main point of your Instructions to procure In-
 formations of this quality.

Bum. Ple fit you to a hair for that matter : but then I must be
 running up and down ye know into Taverns and Coffee-houfes, and
 thrusting my self into Meetings and Clubs. That licks money.

Citt. Never trouble your self for that, you shall be well
 paid and your expences born : Beside so much a head from the
 State, for every Priest that you discover.

Bum. Well ! these Priests and Jesuits are damn'd fellows.

Citt. And yet let me tell you *Bumpkin*, a bare fac'd *Papist* is
 not half so bad as a *Papist* in *Masquerade*.

Bum. Why what are those I prethee ?

Citt. They are your *Will-worship-men*, your *Prelates Brats* :
 Take the whole Litter of 'um, and you'l find never a *Barrel bet-
 ter Herring*. Let me tell thee in Love *Bumpkin*, these Currs are
 forty times worse to Us than the *Jesuits themselves* ; for the one
 is an open Enemy, the other lies gnawing like a Canker in our
 bowels. And then being train'd up to *Latin and Greek*, there's no
 opposing of the Power of *Godliness* to the *Sophistry* of *Humane
 Reason* : Beside that, the Law is for us in the one Case, and
 against us in the other.

Church-men
 worse to Dis-
 senters than
 Jesuits.

Bum. Which way shall we go to work then, to deal with this Ge-
 neration of Men ?

Cit. We must joyn the *Wisdom* of the *Serpent* to the *Innocence*
 of the *Dove* ; and endeavour to compass that by *stratagem*
 which we cannot gain by *Argument*. But now am I going to o-
 pen a *Mystery* to thee that's worth---

Bum. Prethee the *Worth* on't *Citt* : For talk is but talk, the
Worth is the main point.

Citt. Why then let me tell thee *Bumpkin*, the *Mystery* that I
 am about to disclose to thee, was worth to our Predecessors not
 long since no less than *Three Kingdoms*, and a better penny. But
 Ple seal your Lips up, before I stir one step further.

Bum. Why look ye *Citt*, may this Drink never go thorough
 me, if I ever blab one Syllable of any thing thou tell'st me as a
 Secret.

Citt.

Citt. Hold, hold, *Bumpkin*, and may it never come up again if thou do'st; for we'll have no shifting.

Bum. And may it never come up again neither if I do.

The Unagree-
ment of
Dissenters.

Citt. Well, I'm satisfy'd, and now give attention; thou see'st how unanimously fierce all the several Parties of the *Protestant Dissenters* are against the *Papists*. Whence comes this *Conjunction*, I pre'chee, of so many *separate Congregations*, that are many of them worse than *Papists* one to another? There must be in it, either *Conscience* or *Interest*; If it were *Conscience*, we should fall foul one upon another, and for matter of *Interest*; when the *Papists* are *destroy'd*, we are but still where we were.

Bum. *This is a Crochet, Citt, that did not fall under my Night-Cap.*

The scope of
that Agree-
ment.

Citt. Be enlightned then. It is not the Destruction of those that are *Really Papists*, that will do our work; for there's nothing to be got by't. But it must be our business to make *those People* pass for *Papists*, that are not so, but only have *Places* to Lose: such as we our selves, by the removal of them, may be the better for; and *This, Bumpkin* must be our *Master-piece*.

Bum. *I had this very Fancy my self, Citt; but it stuck betwixt my Teeth, and would not out.*

Citt. You haer now in General what is to be done; You must be next instructed in the Acts of *Raising, Cherishing, and Fomenting* such *Opinions*; in what Cases to *Improve* them, and where to apply them.

Who are Pop-
ishly affected
in the first
place.

Bum. *I'm perswaded my Masters Brother had this very thing in his Head, though he never made words on't to me, He had got a List of all the considerable Offices and Employments in the Kingdom: And I remember he was us'd to say, that most of the respective Officers were either Corrupt, or Popishly affected. If they were Publick Ministers; either the Kings Councils were betray'd, or they put him upon Governing in an Arbitrary way, and without Parliaments: As for the Judges there was either Bribery, Absolute Power, or Oppression laid to their Charge; and so all the rest were branded for Frauds, Imbezlements, and the like, according to the Quality of their business: All the Governours of Towns, Castles and Forts, were Popishly Inclind; and not to be Trusted. And then all Ecclesiastical Officers, whatsoever, within four or five, were half way at Rome already.*

Citt.

Citt. This is well remembred, *Bumpkin*. Now 'tis worth a bodies while to make *these Blades* pass for *Papists*, and *Tray-tors*, that leave *good Offices* behind 'um. Nay, we must not suffer so much as any man, either of *Brains*, or *Fortune* (that does not joyn with *Us*) to pass untainted.

Bum. *Thou say'st right, Citt; for whosoever is not With us, is Against us.*

Citt. Thou hast spoken pat to this point, *Bumpkin*; but yet thou beginn'st at the wrong End; For you must first get the skill of *Raising*, and *Improving a Report*, before ye come to the *Fixing* of it: For that's a Nicety not to be medled with, till we come to the taking out of the very Pins, and the Unhinging of the Government; so that the *first Clamour* must be Levell'd point-blank at some *Known*, and *Eminent Papists*.

Bum. *Well, but what shall we Charge 'um with?*

Citt. Why, if we were once at the bottom of *this Plot* (which, upon my Soul, *Bumpkin*, is a most hideous one) and wanted *matter for another*, I would charge them with a Design of betraying us to a *Forreign Enemy*.

Bum. *As how a Forreign Enemy, prethee?*

Citt. As thus: I would charge 'um with holding an Intelligence wirth the Emperor of *Morocco*, for the Landing of *five and thirty thousand Light-horse men* upon *Salisbury Plain*. A Heavy Charge.

Bum. *Prethee, Citt, don't Romance.*

Citt. Prethee do not *Balderno*, ye should say; speak *Statutable English*, ye Fool you. Thou think'st perhaps that the people will not believe it: Observe but what I say to thee; let it but be put into the *Protestant Domestique*, that his *Imperial Majesty* is to hold up his Hand at the *Kings Bench-bar* for't, and let me be *Dogs-meat* if they do not swallow that too. Why prethee, *Bumpkin*, we must make 'um believe stranger things than this, or we shall never do our business. They must be made to believe, that the *King* intends to play the *Tyrant*; that all his *Counsellors* are *Pensioners* to the *French King*; that all his *Enemies* are turn'd his *Friends* o'th' sudden, and all his *Friends* his *Enemies*; that *Prelacy* is *Anti-Christian*, all our *Clergy-men Papists*, the *Liturgy* the *Mass-Book*, and that the *Ten Commandments* are to be read *backward*. Nothing Incredible.

Bum. *Bless me, Citt; what do I hear?*

Citt. Come, come, *Sirrah*, y'are under an Oath; and this

Popish Mini-
sters may have
Orthodox Of-
fices.

is the plain Truth on't. What is it to Thee and Me, I pre'thee, whether the *Great Ministers* be True or False; Or what Religion the Clergy are of, so long as their *Living's* ye Rogue, are Orthodox, and their *Offices* well-affected.

Bum, *This does qualifie, I must confess. But you were saying, that the first Clamour should be levell'd at some known and eminent Papists: Now what comes after that, I beseech you?*

Citt. You may safely Mark all their Friends then for Popishly-affected; and so consequently on to all that love them, and all that they love. When this Opinion is once started, 'tis an easie matter by the help of Invention and Story to improve it; and by this means we shall come, in a short time to secure all the Councils of the Nation to our Party, that are chosen by Suffrage. If you were read in History you would find, that still as the Papists set the House on fire, the Non-Conformists took the Opportunity of roasting their own Eggs.

Who are Pop-
ishly affect-
ed.

Bum, *Yes, yes, I understand ye. As for example now, One goes to the Lords in the Tower; Another (as you were saying) drinks the Dukes Health; a Third prays for the Queen: a Fourth Fancies Two Plots; a Fifth refuses the Petition, a Sixth speaks well of my Lord Chief Justice, or calls the Protestant Domestick a Libel. All these now are Popishly-Affected.*

Citt. Save your breath *Bumpkin*, and take all in one word: whosoever will not do as we would have him, shall be made so.

But now to the matter of *Invention*, and *Story*; I hate the over-hearing of Discourses in blind Allyes, and such ordinary *Shams*: I'm rather for coming downright to the *Man*, and to the *Point*; after the way of the Protestant Domestick.

Matters of Mo-
ment.

Bum. *Ay, ay: There's your free Speaker. Well Citt, the King wants such men about him. But pre'thee hear me; Is it certain his Majesty has Lent the King of France Three Millions?*

Citt. No, no; some Two and a half or thereabouts.

Bum. *Why, if the King would but make a League now with the Swifs, to keep the Turk off That way; and another with the Protestants in Hungary, to keep off the French, the whole world could never hurt us.*

Citt. Nay that's true enough, but then the *Pole* lies so dam-
nably betwixt Us and the *Baltick*.

Bum. *I'de not value that a half-penny, so long as we have the Waldenses to Friend.*

Citt.

Citt. And then *New England* lies so conveniently for *Provisions*. But what do you think of drawing *Nova Scotia*, and *Geneva* into the *Alliance*?

Bum. *Ay, but there's no hope of that: so long as the King follows these Counsels.*

Citt. Thou art a great Read man I perceive in the *Interests of States*.

Bum. *I have always had a phansy to Stows Survey of London, and those kind of Books.*

Citt. But good *Bumpkin*, what's thy Opinion of the *Bishops Votes*, in Case of *Life and Death*?

Bum. *Ay, or in Cases of Heaven and Hell either. Why as true as thou art a man Citt, we have but Three Protestant Bishops in the Nation; and I am told they are warping too.*

Citt. Prethee why should we look for any *Protestant Bishops* in the *Kingdom*, when there's no *Protestant Episcopacy* in the *World*? but for all this, we may yet live to see the *Rustling* of their *Lawn sleeves*.

Bum. *Oh, now I think on't; didst thou ever read the Story of Moses and the Ten Tables?*

Citt. The *Two Tables* in the *Mount* thou mean'st.

Bum. *Gad I think 'tis the Two Tables. I read it in Print t'other day, in a very good Book, that as sure as thou art alive now, the Bishops in Harry the 8th. made the Ten Commandments.*

Citt. Why that was the reason, *Bumpkin*, when the *Lords and Commons* put down *Bishops*, they put down the *Ten Commandments* too; and made *New ones* of their *Own*. And dost not thou take notice that they put down the *Lords Prayer* too, because 'twas akinn to the *Popish Pater-Noster*? and then for the *Creed*, they cast it quite out of the *Directory*.

Bum. *Now as thou lay'st it down to me, the Case is as clear as Christal. And yet when I'm by my self sometime, I'm so afraid me-thinks of being Damn'd.*

Citt. What's for, ye Fop you?

Bum. *Why for Swearing, Lying, Dissembling, Cheating, Betraying, Defaming, and the like.*

Citt. Put it at worst, do not you know that every man must have his *Dos of Iniquity*? And that what you take out in *One way* you abate for in *another*, as in *Profaning, Whoring, Drinking*, and so forth. Suppose you should see *POYSON* set in *Capit-*

The Brethren
are only for
Profitable
Sins.

tal Letters, upon *seven Vials* in a *Laboratory*; 'twere a madness I know, for any man to venture his Life upon 'um, without a *Taster*. But having before your eyes so many Instances, of men, that by drinking of these *Poysonous Liquors*, out of a *Consumptive*, *half-starv'd*, and *Heart-brcken* Condition, grow *Merry*, *Fat*, and *Lusty*, would not you venture too? Imagine These *Seven Waters* to be the *Seven Dead'y Sins*, and then make your *Application*.

Bum. *Nay the Case is plain enough, and I cannot see why that should be a Poyson to me, that's a Preservative to Another: Only our Adversaries twit us with Objections of Law for sooth, & Religion.*

Citt. Wherefore the Discipline of the Late Times sav'd a great deal of puzzle. Mr. *Prynn* sent *His Clients* to Mr. *Cafe* for *Religion*; and Mr. *Cafe* in requital, sent *His* to Mr. *Prynn* for *Law*; which kept up a concord among the *Will-affected*. But your *Lesson* in both these Cafes, falls into a very *Narrow* compals.

Bum. *Pray'e let it be Plain that I may understand it; and short that I may Remember it.*

Citt. Keep close only to these *Three Positions*: *First*, that the *King* is *One* of the *Three Estates*; *Secondly*, that the *Sovereign Power* is in the *People*; and *Thirdly*, that it is better to obey *God*, than *Man*. These *Fundamentals* will serve to guide ye in almost any dispute upon this *Matter*, that can occur to you.

Bum. *But what becomes of me, if my Adversaries should turn the question another way?*

Citt. I'll fortifie you there too. And let me tell you that he'll have much ado to keep himself Clear of one of these *Two Rocks*: Either of *Dashing* upon the *Plott*, or upon the *Liberty of the Subject*. As for Example,

There's *L'Estrange*, as wary a *Dog* perhaps as ever pist; and yet ye shall see how we have hamper'd Him. I writ the thing my self, ye must know, though it comes out in the Name of the *Authours of the Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*. 'Tis Dedicated to *Both Houses of Parliament*; and Design'd just for the 26th. of *January*: So that if the *Parliament* had Ser, there would have been means us'd to have had him *Question'd* for't.

Bum. *God, I know where y'are now. 'Tis in the Preface to the History of the Damnable Popish Plott.*

Citt. Ay, that's it. I'll give ye *First*, the *Words* in't that concern

Three Posi-
tions.

L'Estrange
Confuted.

cern *L'Esrange*, and you shall *Then* see the *Writings* of *His* that I have reflected upon.

Bum. *Oh, 'Tis a devillish witty Thing, Citt; I have seen it. Methinks the Roguè, should hang himself out of the way; I'le go to Mans Coffe-houfe and see how he looks on'r.*

Citt. No, no, Pox on him; he's an Impudent Curr; nothing less than a Pillory will ever put Him out of Countenance. This Toad was in *Newgate*, I know not how long; and yet he'l take no warning:

Bum. *You must consider, Citt, that he writes for Money; O my Soul, they say; the Bishops have given him five hundred Guynnes. But pre'thee Citt; hast not thou seen the Answer to the Appeal, Expounded.*

Citt. Yes, but I ha' not read it.

Bum. *Why then take it from me, Citt, 'tis one of the shreudest Pieces that ever came in Print. L'Esrange, you must know, wrote an Answer to the Appeal.*

Citt. We've a sweet Government the while, that any man should dare to fall foul upon *That Appeal*.

Bum. *Well, but so it is; and Another has written Notes upon Him: You can't imagine Citt, how he windes him about's Finger; And calls him Fiddler, Impudent, Clod-pate; and proves him to be a Jesuite, and a Papist, as plain as the Nose of a mans face: he shews ye how he accuses the Kings Evidence; and that he is in Both Plots, in I know not how many places.*

Citt. I have known the man a great while; and let me tell ye in Private, I am to draw up *Articles* against him. But I have been so busy about my *Lord Chief Justices Articles*, and *Other Articles* against a *Great Woman*, that lay upon my hand, that I could not get leisure; and yet I should have met with him long e're This too, for all that, but that the *Committee* Sits so cursedly Late: And then they have cut me out such a deal of work about the *Succession*. Well I heard a great Lord say, that *That History of his deserv'd to be burnt by the hand of the Common Hangman*.

Bum. *Bravely said, Citt, I faith: who knows but we two may come to be Pillars of the Nation? Thou shalt stand up for the City, and I for the Countrey.*

Enter Trueman out of a Closet.

*Enter
Trueman.*

Citt. Trepan'd, by the Lord, in our own way.

Trueman. Nay hold, my Masters; we'l have no flinching. Sit down, ye had best, without putting me to the Trouble of a Constable.

Citt. Why we have said nothing, Sir, that we care who hears; but because you seem to be a Civil-Gentleman, my Service to you, Sir.

Bum. Ay, Sir; and if you'l be pleas'd to sit down and Chirp a-
ver a Pot of Ale as we do, y're wellcome.

True, Very-good; And *You* are the *Representative* (forsooth) of the *City*, and *You* of the *Country*. Two of the *Pillars* of the *Nation*, with a *Horse-Pox*; a man would not let down his *Breeches* in a *House of Office* that had but *Two such Supporters*. Do not I know you, *Citt*, to be a little *Grubstreet-Insect*, that but t'other day scribled *Handy-dandy* for some *Eighteen-pence a Job*, *Pro* and *Con*, and glad on't too? And now, as it pleases the stars, you are advanc'd from the *Obort*, the *Miscarriage*, I mean, of a *Cause-splitter*, to a *Drawer-up* of *Articles*: and for your skill in *Counterfeiting hands*, preferr'd to be a *Solicitor* for *Fobb'd Petitions*: You'l do the *Bishops bus'ness*, and You'l do the *Dukes bus'ness*; And who but *You*, to tell the *King* when he shall make *War*, or *Peace*; call *Parliaments*, and *whom* to *Commit*, and *whom* to *let go*: And then in your *Fuddle*, up comes all; what such a *Lord* told you, and what you told him; and all this *Pudder* against your *Conscience* too, even by your own *Confession*.

Citt. Y'are very much *Mis-inform'd* of Me, Sir.

True. Come, I know ye too well to be mistaken in you; and for your part, *Bumpkin*, I look upon you only as a simple Fellow drawn in.

*Bumpkins
account of
himself.*

Bum. Not so simple neither, it may be, as you take me for. I was a *Justices Clerk* in the *Countrey*, till the *bus'ness* of the *Petitions*; and my *Master* was an *Honest Gentleman* too, though he's now put out of *Commission*: and to shew ye that I am none of your simple Fellows (do ye mark) if ye have a mind to dispute upon *Three Points*, I'm for you. First, the *King* is *One of the Three Estates*; Secondly,

tha

the Sovereign Power is in the People. And Thirdly, 'Tis better to Obey God than Man.

Citt. Always provided, *Bumpkin*, that the Gentleman take no advantage of what's spoken in Discourse.

True. No, there's my hand I will not; and now let's fall to work. If the King of England be One of the Three Estates, then the Lords and Commons are two Thirds of the King of England.

Bum. Oh pox, you've a mind to put a sham upon the Plot, I perceive.

Bumpkin's
way of Argu-
ment.

True. Nay, if y'are thereabouts:—; If the Sovereignty be in the People, why does not the Law run In the Name of our Sovereign Lords the People?

Bum. This is a meer Jesuitical Trick, to disparage the Kings Witneses; for They are part of the People. Now do you take up the Cudgels, *Citt.*

True. Do so, and we'll make it a short business, and let's have no shifting.

Now to shew ye that I gave good heed to your Discourse, I'll run over the Heads of it as you deliver'd them. First, for Committees, and Grand Committees, what are they compounded of, but Republicans, and Separatists, a Medly of People disaffected both to Church and State? This you cannot deny; and that they would not suffer any man otherwise affected, to mingle with them. Now beside the scandal, and Ill Example of such Irregular Conventions, whoever considers their Principles, may reasonably conclude upon their Designs: For they are wiser, I hope, then to lay their Heads together to destroy themselves.

The Compo-
sition of the
Committees.

Citt. But it is hard, if Protestants may not meet as well as Other People.

True. Yes, Protestants may meet, but not in the quality of Conspirators, no more than Cunspirators, may meet under the Cloak, and colour of Protestants. The intent of the Meeting is matter of State, and you turn it off, to a point of Religion.

Citt. But it is not matter of Religion to joyn in a Petition for the meeting of a Parliament, to bring Malefactors to a Tryal, and to extirpate Popery?

True. Such a Petition as you Instance in, is in the appearance of it, not only Lawful, but Commendable; But then it must be promoted by Lawful means, and under Decent Circumstances.

What Petiti-
ons warranta-
ble and what
not.

'Tis

'Tis a good thing to *Preach*, or *Catechize*, but it is not for a *Layman* presently to pluck the *Parson* out of the *Desk*, or *Pulpit*; that he himself may do the Office. It is a Good thing to execute *Justice*, but yet a *private man* must not invade the *Judgment-Seat*, though it were to passe even the most *Righteous Sentence*.

Citt. The King may chuse whether he'll *Grant* or no; So that without invading *His Right* we only claim the *Liberty of Presenting the Request*.

No Petition
to be pres'd
after Prohi-
bition.

True. That may be well enough at *First*; but still, after *One Refusal*, and That with a *Publick Interdict* on the Neck on't. forbidding the pursuance of it; such a *Petition* is not by any means to be *Repeated*. *First*, out of *Respect to Regal Authority*: *Secondly*, as the *King* is the *Sole Judge* of the matter: *Thirdly*, upon the *Importunity*, it is not to properly *Desiring* of a thing, as *Tugging* for it. *Fourthly*, It tends many ways to the *Diminution* of his Majesties *Honour*, in case it be *Obtain'd*: For it implies, either *Levity*, or *Fear*; or (to make the best on't) the *King* confers the *Obligation*, and the *Heads of the Petition* receive the *Thanks*. Now add to all this, the *suborning* of *Subscriptions*, and the *Instaming* of *Parties*, what can be more *Undutiful* or *Dangerous*?

Citt. But do not you find many *Honest* and *Considerable men* concern'd in these *Petitions*?

The Nation
poyson'd with
False Prin-
ciples.

True. Yes, in several of them I do; and the main reason is *This*. There's no man under *Five and Fifty*, at Least, that is able to give any Account, of the *Design*, and *Effects* of this way of *Petitioning* in *Forty* and *Forty One*, but by *Hear-say*: so that *This Nation* proceeds mostly upon the *Maxims*, and *Politiques*, which *That Republican Humour* deliver'd over to us: But yet let the *Thing*, or the *Manner* of it be as it will, Those that *disarm'd*, and *turn'd back* the *Kentish Petitioners* at *London-bridge*: Those that *Wounded*, and *Murther'd* the *Surry-Petitioners* in the *Palace Yard*, only for desiring a *Peace*, and in order to the *Preservation* of his *late Majesty*: Those *People* methinks, that were so *Outrageous Against those Petitions* (and several others of the same kind) should not have the *Face* now to be so *Violent*, for *This*. And whoever examines the *present Roll*, will find the *Old Republicans* to be the *Ring-Leaders*.

The Injustice
of our Com-
mon-wealths-
men.

Bum. Really, *Citt*, the man speaks Reason.

Tru. Consider then the *Mean ways* ye have of advancing your
Preten-

Pretensions, by *Falshoods*, and *Scandals*, to disappoint Honest men of *Elections*; The use ye make of the most *Servile Instruments*, to promote your Ends; your *fawning Methods* of *Popularity* toward the *Rabble*; your ways of undermining the *Government* of the *City*, as well as of the *Nation*; your worse than *Jesuitical Evasions* in matter of *Conscience*; your *Nor-sensical Salvos*, and *Expositions* of *Christian Liberty*; your putting out the *Church of Englands Colours*, and calling your selves *Protestants*, when you are effectually no better than *Algerines*, and *Pyrrating* even upon *Christianity it self*; your *Beating of the wood*, in the *History* of our most *Seditious Times*, to start *Presidents* and *Records* in favour of your own disloyal Purposes. The *Pharisaical* Distinguishing of your selves from the *Profane* (as you are pleas'd to stile all others, even in your *Dresse*, *Tone*, *Language*, &c. Your uncharitable *Bitternesse of Spirit*; your *lying in wait for Blood*; and laying of *Snares* for the *Unwary* and the *Innocent*; and still vouching an *Inspiration* for all your *Wickedness*; your gathering of *all Winds* toward the railing of a *Storm*; Your *Unity* in *Opposition*, and in *nothing Else*: your *Clamours*, and *Invectives* against *Priests*, and *Jesuits*, when it is the *Church of England* yet, that feels the *Last effect* of your *Sacrilegious Rage*. 'Tis not so much the *Officers* of the *Church*, and *State*, that are *Popishly affected*, but the *Offices* Themselves; and Those in the first place (as you chuse your *Sins* too) that are most *Beneficial*. To say nothing of your wild *Impostures* upon the multitude. —

The mean ways of promoting their Designs.

Cit. Now you talk of *Impostures*, what do you think of *L'Estrange's History of the PLOT*, and his *Answer to the APPEAL*? Whether are Those Pamphlets, *Impostures* upon the *Multitude*, or *Not*?

Tru. You were saying e'en now, That *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot* was of your Writing; Answer me That Question First; Was it so, or not?

Cit. No, it was not of my Writing; it was done by a *Protestant Club*.

Tru. Why then let me tell ye, if a man may believe the *Preface* to That *Club-History*, or the *Notes* upon the *Answer to the Appeal* (for I have read them all:) *L'Estrange's Pamphlets* are great abuses upon the *People*: but if you had the Books about ye, the matter were easily cleared, by comparing them.

Cit.

Citt. By good luck we have 'um all about us, that can any way concern this Question. And look ye here now.

Reflexions upon L'Estrange.

First, *He calls his Abridgement of the Tryals, The History of the Plot, without mentioning one word of the Original Contrivance, the Preparatives, manner of Discovery, and other Remarkables essential to a History.*

2. *He omits Staley's and Reading's Tryals, which yet sure had Relation to the Plot.*

3. *In his Epistle he seems to drown the Popish Plot with suggestions of an Imaginary One of the Protestants.*

4. *The amusing People with such Stories, is notoriously a Part of the Grant Popish Design.*

5. *Whereas he tells us, that not one Material Point is omitted, most Readers cannot find the substantial part of Mr. Bedloes Evidence against Wakeman, (P. 46 of the Tryal) So much as hinted at : Nor to mention the gross shuffles, and Omissions in Pag. 77. and elsewhere.*

6 *He charges the Printed Tryals (in his FREEBORN SUBJECT p. 15.) with many Gross Incoherences, and very Material mistakes ; yet Instances but One, and corrected too, as an Erratum.*

7. *When Our Posterity shall urge these Tryals for proof against Papists, how easily may the subtle Villains stop their Mouths, by alledging from this Authour that no heed is to be given to the said Tryals ; (being so publickly own'd by a Person of his Note, and late Qualification) to be guilty of so many, and such very Material Mistakes.*

The Foregoing Reflecti-
ons Answer'd.

True. Observe here, *First L'Estrange expounds his History in the Title Page, by restraining it to the Charge and Defence of the Persons there mentinned : Beside that he calls it an Historical Abstract, and a Summary, in his Epistle.*

2. *Staleys Trial had no Relation at all to the Plot, and Reading was not try'd for's Life : and so not within the Compass of his Intention express in the Preface.*

3. *The Epistle acknowledges a Detestable Plot, and a Conspiracy : but advises Moderation, and that the Rabble may not dictate Laws to Authority ; for that Licence was the Cause of the Late Rebellion.*

4. *It was more then a Story, the Murder of the Late King, and the Subversion of the Government, and the suppressing of these*
Necessary

Necessary Hints, and Cautions is notoriously a part of the *Grand Fanatical-Design*.

5. In *L'Estranges History*, here *Pag*, 79 and 80. ther's every particular of Mr. *Bedloes Evidence* in *Sir George Wakemans Tryal*, *Pag*. 46. with many other passages over and above: whereas your *Damnable History* here *Pag*, 295, falls short at least by one half. And then for the *Shuffles and Omissions* reflected upon, *Pag*, 77. see *L'Estranges Words*, *Pag*. 88 *The Lord Chief Justice* (saies he) *after some Remarks upon the Romish Principles, summ'd up the Evidence, and gave Directions to the Jury*: which is the substance of the *Page* cited in the *Preface*. Touching your *Elsewhere*, it is in plain *English no where*.

6. Look ye, here's more Jugling. He saies SEVERAL *Gross Incobrences*, and have you made them MANY: and then you have left out the *Parenthesis*, (*especially in the Latter of them*.) which varies the Case too. and I remember again, that the *Erratum* was supply'd after *L'Estrange* had corrected it: And sure it was a *Gross* one too, to expose a *Protestant-Gentleman* for a *Papist*, *Nine times in two Pages*. I could shew ye several other *Material Mistakes*, but one shall serve for all. *Pag*. 45. (as I take it) of *Irelands Tryal*; which you will find charg'd upon the *Press*, in *L'Estranges History*, *Pag*. 18.

7. Pray'e mark me now: *L'Estrange* finds *Errors* of the *Press* in the other *Tryals*, and *Rectifies them* in his own: Now if *Posterity* shall find in the *Right*, that the *Other* are *wrong*, they are in no danger of being *misled* by the *One*, in what is *corrected* by the *other*: and if they do not read the *Right Copy* at all, there's no harm done to the *Other*, but they must take it as they find it. So that this *Remarque* is so far from *Disparaging the Proceedings*; that a greater *Right* can hardly be done to *Publick Justice* by a *Pamphlet*. But now let the *Epistle* speak for it self.

To the READER.

THere has not been any point, perhaps, in the whole Tract of *English Story*, either so dangerous to be mistaken in, or so difficult, and yet so necessary to be understood, as the Mystery of this detestable *Plot* now in Agitation. (A Judgment for our Sins, augmented by our Follies,) But the world is so miserably divided betwixt some that will believe every thing, and others nothing that not only *Truth*, but *Christianity* it self is almost lost between them; and no place left for Sobriety and Moderation. We are come to govern our selves by Dreams and Imaginations; We make every *Coffee-house-Tale* an Article of our Faith; and from Incredible Fables we raise Invincible Arguments. A man must be fierce and violent to get the Reputation of being *Well affected*; as if the calling of one another *Damned Heretick*, and *Popish Dog*, were the whole Sum of the Controversie. And what's all this, but the effect of a Popular License and Appeal? when every Mercenary Scribler shall take upon him to handle matters of Faith, and State; give Laws to Princes, and every Mechanick sit Judge upon the Government? Were not these the very Circumstances of the late *Times*? When the Religious Juglers from all Quarters fell in with the Rabble, and managed them as it were by a certain sleight of hand: The *Rods* were turned into *Serpents* on both sides; and the Multitude not able to say which was *Aaron*, and which the *Enchanter*. Let us have a Care of the same Incantation over again. Are we not under the protection of a Lawful Authority? Nor was there ever any thing more narrowly Sifted, or more vigorously discouraged, than this *Conspiracy*. *Reformation* is the proper business of *Government* and *Council*; but when it comes to work once at the wrong End, there is nothing to be expected from it, but *Tumult* and *Convulsion*. A Legal and Effectual Provision against the Danger of *Romish Practices* and *Errors*, will never serve their Turn, whose Quarrel is barely to the *Name* of *Poperie*, without understanding the thing it self. And if there were not a *Roman Catholick* left in the Three Kingdoms, they would be never the better satisfied; for where they cannot find *Poperie*, they will make it; nay, and be troubled too that they

they could not find it. It is no new thing for a Popular Outcry, in the matter of Religion, to have a *State-Faction* in the Belly of it. The first late Clamour was against *Downright Popery*; and then came on *Popishly affected*; (that sweeps all.) The *Order of Bishops, and the Discipline of the Church* took their Turns next; and the next Blow was at the *Crown* it self; when every man was made a *Papist* that would not play the Knave and the Fool, for Company, with the Common People.

These things duly weighed, and considering the Ground of our present Distempers; the Compiler of this Abridgment reckoned that he could not do his Countreymen a better Office, than (by laying before them the naked State of things) to give them at one view, a Prospect, both of the subject matter of their Apprehensions, and of the Vigilance, Zeal, and needful severity of the Government on their behalf. To which end he hath here drawn up an *Historical Abstract* of the whole matter of Fact concerning those Persons who have hitherto been Tried for their Lives, either upon the *Plot* it self, or in Relation to it: opposing Authentick Records to wandring Rumours; and delivering the *Truth* in all Simplicity. He hath not omitted any one material Point: There is not so much as one *Partial Stroke* in it; not a flourish, nor any thing but a bare and plain *Collection*, without any Tincture, either of Credulity or Passion. And it is brought into so narrow a Compass too, that it will ease the Readers head, as well as his purse; by clearing him of the puzzle of *Forms* and *Interlocutories*, that serve only to amuse and mislead a man, by breaking the Order and confounding the Relative parts of the *Proceeding*.

Having this in Contemplation; and being at the same time posselt of a most exact *Summary* of all persons here in Question; This Reporter was only to cast an Extract of these Notes into a Method: especially finding, that upon comparing the substance of his own papers, with the most warrantable Prints that have been published; his own *Abstract* proved to be not only every jot as Correct, but much more Intelligible, which being *short* and *full*, he thought might be useful, and find Credit in the world upon its own account, without need of a *Voucher*.

77
 L'Estranges
 Narrative ju-
 stify'd.

His Adverfa-
 ry detected.

A bold aud
 fenceless Li-
 bel.

True. You have now the whole matter before you; the *Epi-
 stle*, ye see, justifies it self: And then for the *Narrative*, I dare
 undertake he shall yield up the Cause, if you can but produce
 any *One Material Point*, which he hath either *falsify'd, palliated,*
 or *omitted*, in the whole *Proceeding*. But to be plain with you, *Citt*,
 One of the *Authors* of your *Preface* is a *Common Setter, a Forger of*
hands, a little Spy upon the Swan in Fish-street; a Hackney-Sollici-
tor against both *Church & State*: You know this to be true, *Citt*;
 and that I do not speak upon guess: so that *Calumny* and *False*
witnessing is the best part of that *Author's trade*. And then the
pretended History is a direct *Arraignment* of the *Government*. He
 takes up the *King and Council*, p. 38 1. reflects upon the *Judges*
 in the very *Contents*, and elsewhere, he descants upon the *Duke*
 of *York*, in opposition to the exprefs sense & declaration of the
Bench, p. 145. and has the confidence yet to *Dedicate* this *Gally-*
maufry of audacious *Slanders* to the *Two Houses of Parliament*.
 There is little more in the whole, than what has been eaten
 and spew'd up again *Thirty times over*: and the entire work
 is only a *Medly of Rags and Solæcisms*, pick'd up out of *Rub-*
bish, and most sutably put together.

L'Estrange
 charg'd as a
 Papist, by a
 certain Le-
 cturer.

Citt. You may take his part as you please, but there's a Fa-
 mous *Lecturer* charg'd him publickly for *Popery*, in his Answer
 to the *Appeal*; and for falling upon *Dr. Lloyd*.

True. He did so; but at the same time that *Lecturer* found no
 fault with the *Appeal* it self; and the best on't is, his *Tongue's*
 no more a slander than his *Pen*: and whoever reads what he has
 written concerning the *Late King*, and the *Episcopal Church*,
 will think never the worse of *L'Estrange* for what he says. Now
 for the *Reverend Dean of Bangor*, I dare say he never *spake*, or
thought of him, but with *Veneration*. Let me see the *Book*.

The Ground
 of his Accusa-
 tion.

Look ye here, 'tis p. 18. in *L'Estrange's Impression*, and 'tis
 p. 15. in *this*; and here's the *Point* [*their Loyalty and good Ser-*
vice paid to the King (says the *Appealer*, speaking of the *Papists*)
was meerly in their own defence.] Now see *L'Estrange's Reply* up-
 on it; *If it lies* (says he) *as a Reproach upon them that they did*
not serve the King out of Loyalty, that which they did, was yet better
than not serving him at all; and better in a higher degree still, than
Fighting against him. And a little after; *It is worth the Observa-*
tion, That not a man drew his Sword in the opposite Cause, who was

not a Known Separatist ; and that on the other side, not one Schismatick ever struck stroke in the Kings Quarrel.

And now for your Notes upon his Answer, they are so silly, that it were Ridiculous to Reply upon 'um [who knows (saies he) but the Regicides were Papists in disguise, p. 19.] And a deal of such senseless stuff ; enough to turn a Bodies Stomach, And if you'd inform your self of his Malice ; look ye here pag. 4. p. 9, and p. 33. how he Palliates, if not justifies, the late Rebellion, the Murther of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, and the drawing of the Sword against the King.

Briefly, 'tis an Inspid Bawling piece of Foolery, from one end to the other. And it is not but that I highly approve of your Zeal for the Discovery of the Plot, and suppressing of Poperie; but we are not yet to Trample upon Laws, and Publick Orders, for the attaining even of those Glorious ends.

But now I think on't ; deal freely with me ; did you really go to the Registers ye spake of, to furnish Names for your Subscriptions ?

Citt. No ; That was but a Flourish ; but all the Rest we Literally did.

True. Are not you Conscious to your selves of your Iniquities ? Who made You a Commissioner for the Town, or You for the Countrey ? But we are like to have a fine Business of it, when the Dregs of the People set up for the Representatives of the Nation, to the Dishonour of the most Considerable, and Sobert part of the Kingdom. Pre'thee Bumpkin, with thy Poles and Balticks, how shouldst thou come to understand the Ballance of Empires ? who are Delinquents, and who not ? the Right of Bishops Votes ? And You (forsooth) are to Teach the King when to call a Parliament, and when to let it alone. And are not you a fine Fool i'the mean time, to drudg for the Faction that Sets ye on, to be afterwards made a slave for your pains ?

Agross Cheat upon the Nation.

And then for you Citt, with your Mouldy Records, your Co-ordinate Estates, and your Sovereign Power of the People. Do not I know all your Fallacies, your Shifts, and Hiding Holes ? There's not one step you set, but I can trace you in't : You have your Spies upon all Libraries, as well as Conversations ; your Agents for the procuring of old Manuscripts, and Records, and for the Falsifying of New Ones, to make them look like Old Ones. Nay, the Papers of State themselves had much ado to scape ye.

Lewd Practices of the Faction.

Those

Those that assert the just *Rights* of the *Crown*, you either *Bury* or *Conceal*; only Publishing the *Precedents* of *Seditious Times*, in Vindication of such Principles.

Against Co-ordination.

Citt. I must confess I take the *Government* to be *Co-ordinate*, and the *King One* of the *Three Estates*, with submission to be better inform'd.

True. If it be so, how comes it that the *House of Commons* even in their most Popular seasons, have still own'd the *Crown* of *England* to be *Imperial*? How comes it that all our *Laws* are call'd the *Kings Laws*: all our *Courts of Justice* his *Majesties Courts*, and all *Publick Causes* try'd in the *Kings Name*, and by the *Authority* of his *Majesty*?

Citt. But have not the *two Houses* their share in the *Legislative Power*?

It is the sanction makes the Law, not the Consent.

True. You must distinguish betwixt the *Consent* and the *Sanction*; the *Preparatory Part* is *theirs*, the *Stamp* is the *King's*: The *Two Houses* consent to a *Bill*, It is only a *Bill*, when it is *presented*, and it remains yet a *Bill*, even when the *King* has *consented* to it; and in this *common Consent*, in Order to a *Law*, the *Two Houses* may be said to share with his *Majesty*: but then the *Fiat*, that superinduces an *Authority*, and is only and properly the *Act of Legislation*, is singly in the *King*. So that though they *share* in the *Consent*, they have no pretence at all to the *Sanction*: which is an *Act of Authority*, the other but of *Agreement*.

The Inconveniences of a Co-ordination supposed.

And yet again, admitting your *Coordination*; First, every *King* runs the hazard of his *Crown* upon every *Parliament* he calls: For that *third Estate* lies at the mercy of the *other two*: And further, 'tis a kind of Ringing the Changes with the *Government*, the *King* and *Lords* shall be uppermost *One day*, the *King* and *Commons* *Another*, and the *Lords* and *Commons* the *Third*: For in this Scale of *Constitution*, whatsoever the *One* will *not*, the *other two* may.

Citt. Well; but Ours is a *MIXT Government*, and we are a *Free People*.

Of a mixt Government and a Qualifi'd.

True. If ours be a *Mixt Government*, so as to any *Popular Participation* of *Power* with the *King*; then it is not a *Monarchy*: (which is the *Government only of one*) but if you'd call it a *Qualifi'd Government*, so as to distinguish it from an *Absolute* and *Unlimited Government*, I'll agree with you. But let the *Government* be what it will, and where it will, let it do *Right or Wrong*, it is *Equally Unaccount-*

Unaccountable; for there lies no *Appeal* but to a *Superiour*, and the *Supream* has none but *God himself*.

Citt. But if we be a *Free People*, have not *We* as much *Right to Our Liberties*, as the *King* has to his *Crown*?

True. Yes, we have, but the *King* has this advantage of us, that *we* may forfeit our *Liberties*, but he cannot forfeit his *Crown*.

Citt. What if a *king* will Transgress all the *Laws of God and Man*? may not the *People* resume their *Trust*?

True. No, not unless you can produce an express *stipulation to that very purpose*. But let me shew you, First the *Errour of taking that to be a Trust* from the *People*, which in truth, is an *Ordinance of Providence*, For *All Power is from God*: And Secondly, the *Absurdity of the very Supposition*, even in the Case of a *Trust* conferr'd by the *People*: If the *King breaks his Trust*, the *People* Resume it: but who are these *People*? If a *Representative*, they are but *Trustees Themselves*, and may incur a *Forfeiture* too, by the same *Argument*. Where are we next then? For if it devolves to the *Loose Multitude of Individuals*, (which you will have to be the *Fountain of Power*) you are then in an *Anarchy*, without any *Government* at all; and there you must either continue in a *Dissociated State*, or else agree upon *Uniting* into some Form of *Regiment* or other; and whether it be *Monarchy, Aristocracy or Democracy*; It comes all to a *Point*. If you make the *Government accountable* upon every *Humour* of the *People*, It lapses again into a *Confusion*. To say nothing of the ridiculous *Phancy of a Sovereignty in the People* upon this Account, that they can never be so brought together, either to *Establish*, or to *Dissolve* a *Government*, as to authorize it to be the *Peoples Act*. For there must be, *First an agreement to Meet and Consult*. Secondly, an *Agreement upon the Result* of that *Debate*; and any one *Dissenter* spoils all, where every *Individual* has an *Equal Right*: So that unless the *People* be all of the same mind, this *Supposition* will be found wholly *Impracticable and Idle*.

Power is from God, nor from the People.

Sovereignty of the People most ridiculous.

Citt. But is there no *Fence* then against *Tyranny*?

True. Only *Patience*, unless you run into *Anarchy*, and then into that which you call *Tyranny* again; and so tread *Eternally* that *Circle of Rigour and Confusion*. In fine, the *Question* is this, whether *People* had better run *certainly* into *Confusion* to avoid a *possible Tyranny*, or venture a *possible Tyranny* to avoid a *certain Confusion*?

Citt.

Citt. But where we find *Positive Laws* and *Provisions* to fail us, may we not in those Cases betake our selves to the *Laws of Nature* and *Self-Preservation*?

Self-preservation is no Plea for the People.

True. No, ye may not; for many Reasons. First, It makes you *Judges*; not only when those *Laws* take place, but also *what they are*. Secondly, the *Government* is *dissolv'd*, if Subjects may go off or on at pleasure. Thirdly, *Self-Preservation* is the Plea only of *Individuals*; and there can be no colour for the exposing of the *Publick* in favour of *Particulars*. What would ye think of a *Common Seaman* that in a *Storm* should throw the *Steersman* overboard, and set himself at the *Helm*? Or of a *Souldier* that should refuse a *Dangerous Post* for fear of being knock'd on the Head, when the *whole Army* depends upon the Maintaining of *That Pass*.

Citt. Pray'tell me what it is that you call *Government*, and how far it extends; for you were saying even now, that the *Reason* of all *Governments* is alike.

What Government is.

True. *Government* is the *Will* and *Power* of a *Multitude*, united in *some One Person*, or *More*, for the *Good* and *Safety* of the *Whole*. You must not take it that all *Governments* are alike; but the *Ratio* of all *Governments* is the *same* in some Cases. As in the Instance of *Self-Preservation*; which is only Pleadable by the *Supream Magistrate*, in Bar to all *General Exceptions*; for he is First, presumed in Reason, to be vested with all *Powers necessary* for the *Defence* and *Protection* of the *Community*: without which, his Authority is vain. He is, Secondly, Obliged in *Duty* to exert those *Powers* for the *Common Good*: And he is, Thirdly, entrusted with the Judgment of all *Exigences* of *State*, be they *greater*, or *less*, wherein the *Publick Good* may be concern'd. Now put the Case that the *Magistrate* should make a wrong *Judgment* of *Matters*, and misemploy those *Powers*, it were an infelicity in the *Administration*; but the *Sacredness* of *Authority* is still the same: And he is a *Mad man* that plucks down his *House* because it rains in at the *Window*. And in case of the *Magistrate*, it is not so much *He* as *They*; for the *King* is (as I said before) the *United Power* and *Will* of the *People*. And so fare ye well.

Certain Privileges essential to Government.

The End.

C I T T
AND
B U M P K I N ,

T H E S E C O N D P A R T .

O R ,
A Learned Discourse upon
S W E A R I N G
AND
L Y I N G ,
And other Laudable Qualities tending
T O A
T h o r o w R e f o r m a t i o n .

The Third Edition. by Roger L'Estrange

L O N D O N ,

Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun in St. Paul's
Church-yard, 1680.

CIT
AND
LUMPKIN
THE SECOND PART

OR
A Learned Discourse upon
SWEARING
AND
LYING

And other Abridged & revised ending
FOR
THE
SCHOOL OF DIVINITY

By
JOHN
DODD

To the READER.

I *It is a great deal of Time, Pains and Good-Will, that I have employ'd upon my Duty, in the Vindication of the Church and State, from the Malice of Bold and Petulant Libels: And not one word of Reply, save only from the pitiful Expounder of my Answer to the Appeal (mentioned elsewhere) which was, (in truth) so clamorously silly, that instead of an Abuse, it proved a Complement. But to see the Luck on't: First as I was about to take out my Quietus; the Cause sold i'th' mouth; and to every Bodies thinking, without either Breath or Pulse; Behold Two unanswerable Confutations; the One in Manuscript, by way of a Familiar Epistle; and the Other in Print. The Letter was a Prologue to the Book, as the Book may (in good time) be a Prologue to the Pillory; if making the King One of the Three Estates, may recommend the Author of it to that Preferment. This Epistle of his crept in the dark one Night into my Booksellers Shop; as Naturally as if his Mother had been a Bulker, and yet the Man's no Bastard neither, at least by the Mothers side; as you will find by his Stile and Logick: which speaks him as True a Son of the Kirk, as if the Pamphlet had been written with the very Milk of his Dam. It is drawn out into Two Large Folio's; and truly too much, and too beastly, to recite at length; so that I shall only present ye with here and there a T ast, of his Vein and Humour, and some short Notes upon it, by the By. He begins, Monsieur CRACK. Now there may arise some Controversie perhaps, among the Criticks, about the Word Crack, and so I shall Expound it to ye: But you'll find the Rest to be exceeding plain,*

The Preface.

One Griffith wrote a smart Paper of Verses upon Dr. Wild, wherein he call'd him the Presbyterians Jack-Pudding, This was an Allusion proper enough; for why should not Mountebanks in Religion have their Jack-Puddings as well as Mountebanks in Phylick? But however, the Dr. took me to be the Author of the Copy, and in Revenge, (the News-book being at that time in my hand) was pleas'd to Christen me the Crack-fart of the Nation, (as it may be many an honest mans Fortune to have a Wag to his God-father. This Secret I have told the Reader in Confidence; and I hope it shall go no further: and upon that assurance I'll proceed.

['Tis no new thing (saies the Letter-Man) for Pimping to raise a Villain to preferment; and that has been of late your daily Bread: For what is all your Impudent Scribbling, but the Act of Procuring for Popery and Tyranny?] So that writing for the King and the Church it seems, is writing for Popery and Tyranny.

And again, Dr. Oates is as much above your Malicious Raillery, as you are below common Honesty; and even CARE, I am confident can bestow time better, than in minding the Yelps of such a Cerberus, such a Prostituted Rascal, a Sycophant to Cromwel, Betrayer then of Cavaliers.]

Now if it be Malicious Raillery, to magnifie Dr. Oate's services; to improve his Discoveries; to elevate his Abilities; to set forth his Hazards (on both Sides) as well from the Fanaticks, as the Jesuits; to maintain him for a Canonical Asserter of the Church of England, against all Gainsayers; to Enumerate the Good Offices he has render'd to the poor Protestants, and to pray that he may be reward'd according to his Deserts, for all the good he has done us: If this, I say, be Malicious Raillery, then am I
guilty

The Preface.

guilty of it : But if all this be good, where's the Malice ? Or if it be True, where's the Raillery ? And this is not all neither ; the purging of my Self : But whosoever calls this Deference and Justice to the Doctor, by the Name of Raillery, does manifestly imply the Ground of it to be False ; to the wounding of the Dr's. Testimony, and to the blasting of him in the Reputation of his Literature, Probity and Manners.

There's the same hand again in Tom and Dick ; (for I'll publish his Pamphlet for him) pag. 28. L'Estrange (he says) has Serenaded D. Oates of late most notably ; and caress'd him, just as Foab did Abner. In which Case I shall Appeal to Authority for Justice upon the Defamer of the Kings Evidence, and a Loyal Subject both in One. In the same Page he makes a Proffer at an Argument. He that is not against us, (he says) is with us : But L'Estrange never wrote against Papists, and therefore he's a Papist : by which Rule, if the Author never wrote against Lame Giles in Holbourn, or a Little Lowfie Monkey in the Old-Bayly ; then the Author is a Lame Giles in Holbourn, or a Little Lowfie Monkey in the Old-Bayly. The man Swears ye see, on the behalf of the Dr. but when he comes to his Friend C A R E, he's stark mad, (the Lord bless us) and falls into Fits ; Cerberus, Rascal, Sycophant, Traytor ; for there's a wonderful Sympathy, you must know, betwixt the Author and this same C A R E.) But these are the Ornaments, and Idioms of his Profession ; I must not call them Lies, but Presbyterianisms.

It again, [Really Roger, Thy Fiddle is as Damnable out of Tune, and Thy Credit as much out at Elbows, as when thou didst prostitute Body and Soul to Noll's High Nose ; and thou wilt look shortly worse by half than Harris in the Pillory, &c.] And yet once more, Prethce get S—— (that Quintessence of Knavery) or any of the St, Omer-Rogues, thy Common
Compa-

The Preface.

Companions; I see thee, and some *Irish Cut-Throats* every Night with thee, at *Man's* &c.

Here's Another Flower of his Rhetorick, and the *Blaspheming* of a Protestant Martyr, over and above, with two or three Presbyterianisms more into the Bargain.

Here's Wit at will ye see, in the Dialect, directly of a Western Barge: *But the Man's* in a Course of Physick, and there's no more contending with him, than with the Governour of a Night-Cart, that carries his Arguments in his Tubs. It is said to be the work of one Harry Langly-Samuel: *But whoever it is, by my Troth, I do e'en pity the Wretch, for he's set on, and only Barks for a Crust. But upon the whole matter there went more Heads than One, I'll assure ye, to this Learned Piece; and (as Lacies Wench (in Monsieur Ragou) said of her Bastard, 'tis the Troops Child; and a very Unmannerly Brat it is; I'll be judge by the Third Merchant else.*

Now to conclude in a grave Word or two, this way of Fooling is neither my Talent, nor my Inclination; but I have great Authorities yet, for the taking up of This Humour, in regard not only of the Subject, but of the Age we Live in, which runs so much upon the Droll, that hardly any thing else will down with it. Give me leave to say further, that in this Dress of Levity, I have not only avoid'd the Scurri- lity of a Buffon, and the Hyperbole of an Extravagant, and Unnatural Satyr; but I have endeavour'd to paint Truth it self to the Life, without any Prepossessions of Malevolence against either Parties, or Persons. The King and the Church have been already destroy'd (even within Our Memories) under the Disguises of Loyalty, and Holiness. And these Dialogues are only presented to the Publick, as a kind of Historical Map of our Late Miseries; that by laying open the Rocks and Sands that we perisht upon before, the People may be Caution'd against the Danger, and Design of a Second Miscarriage.

CITT and BUMPKIN.

The Second Part.

Citt. **L**Et's e'en jogg on to *Hampstead* then; and talk it out, where we may look about us.

Bum. Trueman's a *meddling-Coxcomb*, and there's an end on't. *An Eves-dropping-Cur*, to bolt in upon us out of a *Closet* so.

Citt. 'Tis as I told ye, *Bumpkin*, and ye may lay it down for Swearing and a *Maxim*; that SWEARING and LYING *Governs the World*. Lying Governs the World.

Bum. Why *what do ye think of Canting, Coufening, Plotting, Poysoning, Supplanting, Suborning.*

Citt. 'Tis all from the *same Root*, and the *Conning of this Lesson* makes ye *Master of your Trade*.

Bum. *Of what Trade, as thou lov'st me?*

Citt. *The Trade of Mankind, Bumpkin; the Trade of Knavery: The Trade of turning Dirt into Gold: The Trade of Advancing Rascals, and Overturning Governments; The Trade of taking the Covenant with One hand, and Cutting a Throat with the Other; the Trade of the Temple-walks; The honest Affidavit-Trade.*

Bum. *But dost thou call this an Honest Trade, Citt?*

Citt. Yes, yes, *Bumpkin*, it is a very *Honest Trade* that a man's the better for; and he's a very *Honest Man* too that lives by his *Calling*. Why it brings *Power and Reputation* along with it; nay, and it brings *Money* too, that brings every thing.

Bum. *Reputation sa'st thou? why they're two of the Damn'dest Qualities in Nature.*

Citt. And yet *these two Damn'd Qualities*, as thou cal'st them, got the better of the *Late King*; and afterwards of the *Commons*; and after that of the *Protector*; and to be plain with ye, *Bumpkin*, 'tis all that we our selves have to trust to.

Bum. *I cannot imagine what kind of Swearing and Lying it is that ye speak of.*

Citt.

Swear seldom
but to Pur-
pose.

Citt. I do not speak of the way of the *Bulley's*; the *Dam-me-boys*, or the *Irish Cut-Throats*: I hate that *Confounding*, *Damning*, *Sinking*, *Rotting* humour of *Swearing*. I am for the *Swearing Seldome*, and to *purpose*: That is to say, for the *Engaging* of a *Party*: or for the *making out* of a *Stabbing Evidence*; or so.

Bum. Oh ho, I understand ye now; and the *Scrupling* of a *Small Oath*, gives a man *Credit* in a *Great One*.

Religious
Swearing, and
Profane.

Citt. There's a great difference betwixt *Swearing* in a *Religious*-way and in a *Profane*; though the substance of the *Thing Sworn* come all to the same *Pass*: for there's *Heaven* and *Hell* in the case, on both sides. As in the instance now of the *Late Protestations*, *Vows*, *Oaths* and *Covenants* that were *Sworn* in the *Presence* of the *Almighty* and *Everliving God*; and as the *Lords* and *Commons* should *Answer* for't at the *last day*: In assertion of their *Zeal*, and *Affection* for His *Majesties Honour* and *Authority*; and the *Establishment* of our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*. What a *Dignity*, what a *Majesty* is here in the very *Stile* and *Number*! Though in the *Conclusion* let me tell ye, the *Project* went quite to another *Tune*.

Bum. Ay, ay; the *Dam-me of the Covenant in the Church* strikes a man with such a *Reverence* methinks, over the *Hectors* Scandalous *Dam-me* in a *Tavern*.

Citt. Most acutely observ'd: for the *Scandal* lies in the *Condition* of the *Place*, and in the *Sound* of the *Words*, not in the *Meaning* of them.

Consciences
harden by de-
grees.

Bum. I had terrible *Qualms* at first, *Citt*, about the *Swallowing* of *Oaths*, and other *Puntillos* of *Scruple*; but they are nothing so *Frequent* of *Late*, nor so *Troublesome* as they were wont to be.

Citt. That will All over *Bumpkin* in time. Where's the *Good Fellow* that did not *Puke* upon his *First Debauch*! And a *Baud* is never the less *Reverend*, because she *whimper'd* perhaps some five and fifty years ago, for the *Loss* of her *Maidenhead*. Nay, it was a good while before our *Hero's Themselves* could bring their *Oaths* of *Allegiance*, and their *Covenants* to *Conjoggle* together.

Bum. Why for that matter, *All's but Use* *Citt*; *All's but Use*.

Citt. Nothing in the *World* else: And when a man has got the *Trick* on't, if he has taken *Twenty Oaths*, he'll fetch ye up any *One* of them again, that you'll call for, with as much ease, as the *Water-drinker* at *Bartholomew-Fair* does his *Several Liquors*.

Bum

Bum. It is certain, that an Oath, or the calling of God to Witness, is the most Solemn, and Universall Tye in Nature, and so an Oath. Accompted, among People of all Nations, and Opinions.

Citt. And there's no doubt, but the Influence that it has upon mens minds, is the most Powerfull of all Impressions; and of the greatest effect, in the Manage of our most Important affairs. So that it is no wonder to see all matters of the Highest moment, as well Private, as Publique, as well Warrantable, as Not, committed to this way of Caution, and Test.

Bum. 'Tis very true, as in the Case of Testimony, Civil Duty, and Canonical Obedience.

Citt. Now as the Wit of Man could never invent a more Competent Expedient, then These Oaths, well apply'd, for the Maintainance of the Government, and the Support of Publick Justice: So whosoever would Dissolve this Frame, must finde a way to introduce OTHER OATHS in Opposition to These; and to turn the Edg of the Law, and of the Gospel, against it self, by drawing the most Popular Lawyers, and Divines into the Party. This is the Naked Truth of the business; and to deal plainly with ye, unless you give me your Solemn Oath, that you'l be True to me, and Firm to the Cause in hand, I must not move one Inch further.

The Use and danger of Oaths.

Bum. Why then by all that was ever sworn by before, I will be Both.

Citt. The League is now struck, and the sooner we Unmasque, the better; for it begets Freedom, and Confidence in each Other.

Bum. Here are two difficulties in the way, which I would fain have remov'd; the One is, how to get the People to take such an Oath of Opposition as is here Imagin'd; and the Other is how to Countenance, and Palliate the keeping of That Oath, when they have Taken it.

Citt. It was the Masterpiece of our Late Reformers, to Contrive such an Oath, as in the Sense, and Grammer of it carry'd the face of a Provision for the Common benefit, and Security, both of King and People, upon pretence that the Government Civil, and Ecclesiastical, and the Protestant Religion it self were all in danger. This plausible Imposture went down with the Common People, without much Examination; especially under the Colour of a Parliamentary Authority to back it: And it was so far from appearing at first Blush, to thwart the Regular Oaths of the Government, that it seem'd to the Multitude, rather to Second

The Proiest, and Mistery of the Covenant.

and Enforce them. But when they came to finde, that they had sworn to they knew not what, and that *This Covenant*, being Originally design'd for an Engine to Unbinge the Government, the Takers of it were ty'd up to the sense of the Imposers: They had but this Choice before 'um; either to comply with the Ends of the Caball that set it a foot, or to deliver up their Lives, and Fortunes at Mercy.

Bum. So that the Letter of the Oath, was For the Government, and the Intent Against it. But what Arguments did they use for the supporting of it, after the Discovery of the Fraud?

Citt. Only the Common Arguments of Exorbitant Power; Fajls, Plunders, Confiscations, Axes, Gibbets, &c. for breach of Covenant.

Bum. Well, but there was a Train of Contradictory Oaths afterward, One upon the heel of another, thorough I know not how many Changes of State; what became of the Covenant in those Revolutions?

The Covenant had all the following Oaths in the Belly of it.

Citt. The Single Covenant had all those Oaths in the Belly of it; and as many more, as it is possible to find Cases within the Compasse of human Apprehension: For it imported an *Absolute* and *Implicit Resignation* to the Will and Pleasure, of whoever was *Uppermost*; so that the Submissions of those times were only look't upon as *Passive*, and *Temporary Yieldings* to the Present Power, still as *One Interest* juffled out another.

Bum. And there were some too, it may be, that when they were once Fool'd out of the way, made it a matter of Conscience not to be see Right again.

Citt. Oh, there were a great many that thought themselves bound by the Latter Oath, and Discharg'd of the Former; Especially, when they had got the better end of the Staff, and *All Power is from God*, in Their Favour. But to be short, what out of Fear, Shame, Weakness, Obstinacy, and the like; they stuck to the Combination, and made themselves Masters of the Government.

Bum. You have here set forth in this famous Instance of the Covenant, how Easily and by what Means the Multitude may be inveigled into Engagements; and you have laid open the Consequences of such Leagues, and the Difficulty of Retriving them: But how shall we apply This Modell now to our Purpose?

Citt. Why just as They apply'd the Holy League of France, to Theirs: for the Common people have the very same Passions, the same

same Weaknesses, Now, that they had then : and if some of our Cock-brayn'd Zelots had not out-run the Constable, we might have been half way to our Journeys end by this time.

Bum. Nay the truth of it is Citt; the Nation is nothing near so hot upon the businesse now, as they were some Ten or Twelve months agoe : and they grow still cooler and cooler methinks, every day more then other. The Good Old Cause cools of late.

Citt. And what's the Reason of all This, now? we play our Game too open, and the Plot's Discover'd.

Bum. Well well Citt, some body will sinoak for this One day.

Citt. If we could have contented our selves with an Orderly Improvement of the Popish Conspiracy, and gone thorough the work of Religion, before we meddled with Matter of State; we had done the Jobb, but the Republicans hurry'd us on so fast : (Ay and Great ones too) I should be loth (as thou sayst) to be in some of their Jackets for't.

Bum. Nay really I was sensible of it my self, that they did things hand over head; and ran on many times without either Fear or Wit. But however, I should be glad to be particularly Instructed how far they did Well or Ill, What they should have done instead on't, where they did amifs; and what we our selves are to do, as the Case stands with Us at present.

Citt. This is a Contemplation well digested, and I'le speak by and by to thy four Questions in course as they lye.

We have been hammering (thou knowest) at Popery, Ceremonies, Subscriptions, Oaths, and Tests, Liberty of Conscience, and now and then a snap at Arbitrary Power, ever since the King came in, without gaining any ground upon the Government more then what we bought with our hard mony; that is to say, so many flowers of the Crown, for so many Taxes, and Supplies. (The Nation being divided upon these Points, and the Crown and Church-Party standing in Opposition to the Other). At length broke out this accursed Design upon the Life of our Sovereign, and our Establish'd Religion. Which Providence united Both Interests in One Common Cause, though with differing Ends. The Fanatics gain'd little ground till of late.

Bum. This you'l say, was a fair Foundation laid, as to the Total destruction of the Papists, but when That's done, Citt, where are we to be Next?

Citt. Why that will never be done man; while there's a Surplice or a Blew Garter in the Three Kingdoms. For there's your

No End of Papists.

Church-Papist, your *Pentioner-Papist*, your *Papist in Masquerade*, your *Concealed Papist*, these are all of 'um forty times worse then your *Known, Jesuited, and Barefac'd Papist*. And in One word, 'tis as easy a thing to give any man the *mark of the Beast*, that stands in *Our way*, as for a *Horse-courser* to make a *Star* in a *Jades Forehead*.

Bum. *Without all doubt Citt, and whosoever does not Petition, Protest, Associate, Covenant, Act, and Believe as We do, is a Rank Papist.*

How to know
a Papist.

Citt. *Nay, Ple go further with ye Bumkin; Ple tell ye by a mans Evidence, his Furniture, his Trunk, his Brains, or his Estate, without ever examining his Faith, whether he be a Protestant or a Papist. I have led ye a little out of your way, to shew ye this secret, and assure your self, whenever this Cloak fails ye, y'are left Naked. But now to the Question of menaging This Occasion.*

How far the
Faction
Acted Pru-
dently,

So far as the *Court, the Church, and the Bench* went along with us, in the *Opening, the Exposing, the Discourtenancing, and passing Sentence* upon this *Hellish Plot*, we could not do amiss. And then it was well follow'd, in getting the *Papish Lords* out of the *House*; In dividing the Order of *Bishops*, into *Three Protestants, and the Rest, Papists*; as it has been since, in feeding the Peoples *Jealousies* all over the Kingdom, with daily *Intelligences of New Fires, New Plots, New Discoveries*, to keep their *Fears Waking*, though in most Cases without any Ground whatsoever.

Bum. *'Twas a plain thing there, in some of the Penmen of the Narrative to bring the King into the Plot against himself, was't not?*

Citt. *Well, and was it not a notable Push, to charge it so home upon the Council, that they would clap Up no body for't?*

Bum. *And really, to give the Intelligences their due, they ha'n't spar'd telling his Majesty, the Judges, and the Bishops, their Own neither.*

Citt. *It has been well enough done too, to brand those for Publick Enemies, that would not go along with us; and for Popishly-Affected, that but so much as open their Mouths for Moderation; to ply his Majesty with Petitions, the City and Country, with Speeches, Remonstrances, and Appeals. The Starting the Case of the Succession was not amiss, neither, nor the President of Queen Elizabeths Association.*

Bum. *But I have heard my Old Master speak of that Association, as a Trick of State, with a special regard to the Queen of Scots, and that*

that though Cambden makes the Queen say that she had no knowledge of it before it was presented, he does not say so yet himself.

Citt. There have been several Deliberations also upon Entering into *Publick* Protestations of *Joyning as One man* against Popery, that have been very Favourable to our Purpose: And it was no *Ill* Contrivance, the Burning of the Pope, with that Solemnity in *Fleet-str.* et.

Bum. And what do ye think of the List of the Unanimous Club of Voters? (That about the Court Pensioners I mean;) That was a *Notable* device, let me tell ye: for hardly any of them got into the House after. But still if all this has been so much to our Advantage, how comes it that we lose Ground, and that any thing else should take place Against us.

Citt. We may e'en thank a Company of *Hot-headed Fools* in our own Party. For taking off the *Masque* too soon; and for *Writing* and *Printing* so unseasonably against the *Civil Government* whatever came uppermost: which they have done to that degree of *Inconsiderate Rashness*, that the *Long Parliament* had an *Army* in the *Field*, before they ventur'd half so far. They have already set the *Lords and Commons* above the *King*, plac'd the *Government* in the *People*, nay, they have been *Nibbling* already at the *Militia*, the *Power of Life and Death*, and of *Calling*, and *Dissolving Parliaments*: They have *Reviv'd* the *19 Old Propositions*; tearing his *Majesties Servants*, and *Ministers* out of the very *Arms* of their *Master*; and they have as good as told the *King* in plain terms before-hand, what he is to *Trust* to, I do not speak here of any of our *Parliamentary Proceedings*; but of the *Licence of Private Libertines* that write and talk at random.

Bum. *Nay'tis but too True*, Citt; For't has been cast in my *Teeth Twenty times*: Matters are come to a fine *Passe*; they cry, when the *Kings Life* is to be preserv'd by those that would take the *Crown* off on's head; and the *Protestant Religion* by the *Profest Enemies* of the *Church of England*. But now ye have told me wherein they did *Well and Ill*, let me hear in the *Next* place what they should have done if You had been their *Adviser*.

Citt. They should have *Perpetuated* the *Apprehensions* of *Popery*, by *Good Husbandry* and *Manage*; without running the whole Party down at a *Heat*, till there was hardly a *Papist* left in a *Country* for a man to throw his *Cap* at.

Bum. *Why That's the thing, man; They have destroy'd the Game*

to that degree that we are e'en ready to Eat up one another.

Poachers
have de-
stroy'd the
Game.

Citt. Ay, ay ; So many *Poachers*, they have spoyl'd all : We should have kept a stock of Priests and Jesuits in *Reserve*, and play'd 'um off now and then, one after another at Leisure. This would have entertain'd the *Multitude* well enough ; and kept the *Humour* in a *Ferment*, and *Disposition* for greater matters.

Bum. *Very Right*, *Citt* ; We should have Hang'd to day as we may Hang to morrow ; for an Execution is an Execution ; if it be but of One, as well as of Twenty.

Much Blood
turns Rage
into Pity.

Citt. Yes, and we see besides, that much *Bloud*, and *Numerous Executions* turn the *Holy Rage* of a People many times into a *Foolish*, and *Degenerate Pity*: over and above, that at the Other *Thrifty* rate, we could never have wanted matter to work upon.

Rash Enfor-
mers scanda-
lize better
Evidence.

Bum. *There's hardly anything*, *Citt* ; that has done us more *Mischief*, then the *Accusing* of *This Lord*, *That Commoner* ; *This Bishop*, *That Alderman* ; *This Citizen*, *That Country-Gentleman* ; for *Popishly-Affected* ; when the whole world knows 'um to be *Church-of-England-Protestants*. One crys 'tis *Spite* to the Person, *Another* will have it to be *Malice* to the Government ; a *Third* calls the *Enformers* a *Company* of *Rogues*, that *Care not* what they say, and brings a *Scandall* upon better Evidence, *Nay* and who knows at last, but these *pittyfull Fellows* may be set on by the *Papists*, to *disparage* the *Plot* ?

Citt. Not unlikely *Bumpkin* ; For there's nothing makes men more *Secure*, and *Carelesse*, in the Case of *Reall Dangers*, then the *Frequent Trifling* of them with *False Alarms*. But yet let me tell ye, as to the Other point ; that it is not *Simply* the *Charging* of men, (according to your *Instances*) for *Popishly-affected*, but the *Charging* of them *Unreasonably*, that does Us the great *Mischief*. For our work will never go on without *Popery* ; and rather *Want Papists*, we must *Create* them. But This is not a *Project* to be perfected at a *Heat*.

Bum. *And we are not in Condition*, *Citt* ; to wait the doing of it by *Degrees*. *What becomes of us Now Then* ?

Citt. Oh, set your heart at ease for That, *Bumpkin*. we have *Twenty Irons* in the *Fire* ; and if those fail, we'll have *twenty Fires* more, and *Twenty times* as many *Irons* again in every *Fire*. We should have gone on, fair and softly, in the very *steps* of our *Predecessors* : But if men will leave the plain *Road*,
and

and be trying Experiments, upon their Own Heads, over *Hedge* More haste and *Ditch*, to finde out a nearer way to their Journeys End; then then sped. who can help it, if they break a Leg or an Arm by the way, and so fall short at last?

Bum. *Why then 'tis but so much time lost, and going back into the Road again.*

Citt. Just as if when a man has shewed himself and Frighted up the *Fowl*, you should send him back again to his *Stalking-horse* to make his *Shoot*. But as it is, however, we must make the best of a Bad Game, and take our measures as we see Oc-
casion.

Bum. *Ashew, take our Measures, I prethee?*

Citt. As thus *Bumkin*. We must shape our Course, according Rules of Po- to the Circumstances before us, with a respect to the *Power*, licy vary with and *Interest of Parties*, *Change of Counsels*, and to the *State*, the the matters *Humour*, and the *Instruments of Government*: So that what's they are to *Beneficial to day*, may be *Dangerous to morrow*, and perhaps work upon. *Profitable* again the *Next*.

Bum. *But how shall the Common People judge of these Niceties?*

Citt. Why they are not to *Judge* at all ye Fool; but to be menag'd, with *Invisible Wires* like *Puppets*; and not to know either the *Why*, or the *What*, of things, but to do as they are *bid*.

Bum. *I have been expecting a goodwhile that ye should say something concerning Swearing.*

Citt. Why so I *Have*, and so I *Will*. But I'll first give ye the whole Scheme of the business in short. The *Government* can never be *Undermin'd*, but by a *Confederacy*; there can be no *Confederacy* without an *Oath*: Nor any thought of a *Popular Oath*, without a *Colour* of some *Authority* to *Countenance* it; Nor any *Colourable Authority*, but in a *Well-Affected House of Commons*; and that *Qualification* depends wholly upon a *Right Choice* of the *Members*, as *that Choice* again depends upon the *good Inclination* of those that *Chuse* them.

Bum. *So that the Good-Will of the People is the Key of the Work; and we have gain'd that point already.*

Citt. We HAD gain'd it *Bumkin*, but they fall off most con- Practises in foundedly. The next step, is a *Well-principled House of Commons*; Elections. (and the *Rest* follows in *Course*,) How this will prove I know not; but the Nation has been warn'd sufficiently against your

Ecclesi-

Ecclesiastical Officers, Prelatical Men, Courtiers, Pensioners, Debauchees, and the like.

Bum. Nay, we made the veriest Rogues of 'um, in the Countrys too: As Papiſts, Atheiſts, and the Devil and all. And yet, let me tell ye, the Court, and Country-Party carry'd it in many places in ſpite of the Hearts of us; but that's no fault of Ours, you'l ſay. Hold a little, Did not you tell me t'other day that we ſhould bring our Petitions about again?

Citt. Yes, I did, but the Committee has taken up Other Reſolutions ſince; for it made ſuch a Noiſe ye ſee, that people were taken Notice of, and undone by't. This phanſy of Proroguing, and Diſſolving, has daſht all.

Bum. So that Petitioning is quite out of Doors then.

Citt. No, not ſo neither, Bumpkin; but we muſt look here-after to the Timing and to the Matter of our Petitions. Our Cock-brain'd Linnen-Draper there made a Filthy ſtir; I would his Tongue had been in a Cleft-ftick.

Bum. Well; but there are Swinging Petitions afoot yet, for all This.

Citt. Nay we may live to ſee ſome of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall upon their Mary-bones yet, before we have done with 'um. But not a word of This, till we ſee how the Parliament's in Tune for't.

Bum. And That's but Reason, Citt; for fear We ſhould be for One thing, and They for Another.

The Wiſdom
of the Long
Parliament.

Citt. Wherefore 'twas wiſely done of the Long Parliament, to have a Private Cabal of their Own: For ſo long as they drew the Petitions Themſelves, the Houſe, and the Petitioners would be ſure to agree upon the Matter.

Bum. So much for the Timing, and the Matter of Petitions. But when ſhall we come to the point of Swearing, Citt?

Citt. I'll lead ye to't in a Trice; Firſt we Petition, for one thing after another, till we come at laſt to be Deny'd; The next advance is to Associate, and Then, to Swear.

*Bum. Well! but This muſt be under the Banner of the Peoples Re-
preſentative.*

Citt. No doubt on't; and That's the Eaſieſt thing in the World to compaſſe, if we can but, Firſt, get a Right Houſe of Commons; and then, Liberty for them to Sit till all Grievances be Redreſt: which was the very end of putting in a Clause for't, in the Late Petition?

Bum.

Bum. *If we could bring it to That once, we should be just in the Old Track again. But what kind of Oath must it be at last ?*

Citt. *It must be an Oath made up of Ambiguities, and Holy Words ; not a half-penny matter for the Sense on't ; for you must know, that though it looks like an Oath of Religion, on the One side, 'tis an Oath of Allegiance, on the Other ; and a Disclaimer of the King's, in Submission to the Sovereignty of the Commons.*

The Composition of a Popular Oath.

Bum. *There's no great Question to be made of the Effect of such an Oath, and such a Conjunction, as is here suppos'd ; but how shall we come at it I pre'thee ?*

Citt. *Time, and Patience overcome all things, Bumpkin. We have Friends, Brains, Mony, and the grace of making the best of our Opportunities. One man is wrought upon by Ambition, Another by Avarice ; a Third by Revenge ; and we have our ways of Access to all Humours, and Persons. How many Favourites do we read of, that for fear of Impeachments, have Sacrific'd their Masters, to save their own skins. For Princes themselves are not without their Tractable, and Easie Seasons, of being Prevail'd upon.*

Bum. *From what you have here deliver'd, I draw this General Conclusion ; that Change of Accidents must of Necessity produce Change of Methods, and Resolutions : (Provided always, That there be still maintain'd a Tendency, though by Several ways, to the Same End) and that, in all Cases, the Oath is the Sanction of the Confederacy.*

Change of accidents produce change of Resolutions.

Citt. *You have it Right thus farr Bumpkin ; and you see what Power an Oath has as well upon the Bodies, as the Minds of men ; even to the blowing up of the Soundest Foundations, and to the drawing Order afterward out of That Confusion. You see, in short, the Effects of it in a Political way ; and the Ordinary Means of gaining it. You would not think now, what an Advantage He has above Other People, in the Common Affairs and Bus'ness of the World (even betwixt Man and Man (that has been train'd up in This School of Popular Confederacies, and Contracts.*

Bum. *Nay, Practice, and Experience are Mighty Helps, beyond all peradventure : But yet I have seen some People go a great way in Swearing, by the meer strength of Nature.*

Natural Faculties in Swearing.

Citt. *Yes, yes ; for a Down-right Dunstable, Through-pac'd way of Swearing ; a Ready Tongue, with a good Memory ; and a*

Competent stock of Assurance will do very Pretty things.

Bum. *Why I had a Friend t'other day that was at a loss for a Release, he made no more ado, but away into Alsatia, where he told his Story in the Hearing of two Competent Witnesſes; and whilſt Sir Jethro, they had him in a Twinkling, and ſo brought him off with Honour.*

Citt. *This Old Faſhion'd way did well enough in Strafford's days and Land's: But we are now infinitely Refin'd. And yet I cannot but allow that a Happy Genius may do a great deal that way; but when you come to Caſuiſtical Points that require Reading, Conference, and Invention; what will become of your Thorough-pac'd Alsatia-man, do ye think, with his Natural Talent?*

Why thou art in the Altitudes, Citt; a Caſuiſtical Oath ſays? What is the knack of That ſame Caſuiſtical Oath, I pre'thee?

A Caſuiſtical
Oath.

Citt. *A Caſuiſtical Oath, Bumpkin; is an Oath with a Nicety in it: which Nicety may be ſolv'd Two ways: either by bringing the Oath to the Conſcience, or the Conſcience to the Oath. As for Example; The Covenant was a Caſuiſtical Oath, wherein the Words were Firſt brought to the Conſcience, and then the Conſcience to the Intent.*

Caſes of Con-
ſcience.

Bum. *Let me put ſome Caſes to ye; ſuppoſe a Man ſworn out of his Right by One Faſe Oath: Whether or no may a Body ſwear him into't again by Another?*

Citt. *Without diſpute you may: (See the Holy Commonwealth) For it becomes an Oath of Providence, when it is apply'd to the maintenance, and ſupport of Truth and Juſtice. And this holds too in ſwearing againſt the Enemies of the Goſpel; when the Excellency of the End atones for the Iniquity of the Means. Or at worſt, 'tis but venturing to become a Caſt-away (after a Scripture Example) for a General Good.*

The Saints
ſhew a Text
for all they
do.

Bum. *Ay, that's a ſure way Citt, for a man to ſhew a Text for all he does. As how ſhould the Saints have warranted their Violence againſt the Late King, and his Loyal Nobility; if it had not been for that Text in their favour, they ſhall bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Links of Iron.*

Citt. *Or let us imagine that a Man has a Wife and Children, and not a bit of bread to put into their Heads: what do you think of a Faſe Oath, in ſuch a Caſe for a Livelyhood?*

Bum. *Nothing Plainer, for he's worſe than an Infidel that does not provide for his Family.*

Citt.

Citt. But then here's *Another* subtlety for ye: One man swears what he *thinks*, and it proves *False*: *Another* swears what he does *Not think*, and it proves *True*. As thus, I see a person walking in his Formalities, and swear, *there goes such a Doctor*; and it proves to be a *Baboon*; I see somebody in the *Chair*, and take him for a man of *Quality*, and he proves to be a *Knight of the Post*. A Nice Point.

Bum. *This is only swearing* to the best of a mans knowledge.

Citt. But what if I should swear that Gentleman in the *Gown*, to be a *Baboon*, and the other resemblance of a man of *Quality*, to be a *Knight of the Post*: And yet, without my believing either the One or the Other, they prove to be *such*, How goes That point.

Bum. *Such an averment (I conceive) is to be taken rather for an Inspiration, then an Oath.*

Citt. Now there's *Another* way of *swearing* too: And that is, with a *Salvo*, or *Reserve*; which the *Doctors* of the *Separation* have in great *Perfection* (the *Jesuits* call it a *Mental Reservation*) as the *King's JUST Priviledges*: — According to the *BEST-REFORMED Churches*: — *As far as LAWFULLY I may* — and the like. Swearing with a Salvo.

Bum. *What do ye think of Him that parting from a good Fellow with a Pot at's Head, made Affidavit in Court (to excuse his Non-appearing) that he left him in such a Condition that he believ'd he could not live a Quarter of an hour in't?* Vulgar shifts.

Citt. Ay ay, and the guiding of a *Dead mans hand* to the signing of a *Deed*, and then swearing to the *Hand*, these are *Vulgar shifts*.

Bum. *But pray'e what's the meaning of that Text that says, swear not at all? For we must live up to our Rule.*

Citt. If we had *Other Texts* to *justify* swearing, we must have understood it according to the *Letter*. This is only meant of *Profane, Customary, Vain, and Inconsiderate Swearing*, without either *Provocation, or Profit*. And it is better certainly, for a man to *make* his *Fortune* by *One Pertinent Oath*, securing his *Future State*, by a matter of twenty pound a year, to a *Lecture*, when he dyes; then to go to the *Devil*, out at the *Elbows*, for a *Million of Idle ones*. Against swearing without Profit.

Bum. *But what did ye mean, e'en now by Conference, and Invention about swearing?*

Of Conference and Invention in Swearing.

Citt. Conference is nothing in the World but putting of your Fiddle in Tune: And Invention helps every man in the Gracing of his Part. But then there's the Invention *WHAT*, and the Invention *HOW*; the Invention of the Matter, and the Invention of the Manner? 'Tis enough, as to the Matter, that it be fitted to the stress of the Question: But the Regulating of the Manner requires great Skill, Care, and Judgement. There's nothing that more recommends an Evidence, either to the Bench, or Jury, than Modesty of Behaviour, (even to the degree of Bashfulness) Mildness of Speech; a seeming *Scruple* of being *Positive*, where the point is nothing to the Purpose: But a Discovery of *Passion*, *Fierceness*, and *Prepossession* in a Cause, spoils all, and makes the Testimony look like *Malice*, or *Revenge*.

Bum. I'm Instructed thus far. But where's the Advantage all this while, that an Old Covenanter has of a Novice, as you were saying e'en now?

The advantage an old Covenanter has of a Novice.

Citt. Oh, they are *Many*, and *Great*. First, he has gotten the Command of his Conscience, and brought it to Stop, and Turn, at pleasure. Secondly, He's true to his Mark, spring him what Game ye will, he flies it Home, Thirdly, He has the Digestion of an *Estrich*; for after the Swallowing of the Crown, and the *Mitre*, there's nothing rises in his Stomach. Fourthly, there's no fear of him, for *sniv'ling*, or *repenting*, and telling of Tales; for he's above the Common Fooleries of Counsel, Argument, or Remorse.

Bum. Nay, 'tis with our Consciences as with our Jades; a Phancy, or a Wind-mill, put them out of their Wits, till they're us'd to it. And there's no fear of his Flinching neither, I'll grant ye: For a Conscience that has stood firm under the Ruine of Three Kingdoms, will never Boggle sure in the Case of Single Persons. And yet I find many of our Old Stagers come about too. How shall I distinguish now which of them are Sound, and which Rotten at Heart?

Citt. There were Some, ye must know, that swore either in Simplicity, or to save a Stake: And Others, in Design. Now those that were Noos'd Before, may be hamper'd Again, and those that comply'd for Advantage, Then, will do so Still. And for the Designers, they may be known by the favour they shew to their Old Principles, and Friends; which is an Infallible sign of the Old Leaven in them still.

Bum.

Bum. *I'm of thy Opinion. Citty; and that they'd do us the Service still, of Honourable spies in an Enemies Quarter.*

Citt. But what do we talk of *True*, and *False*; which, in this Fallible world, is little more than Matter of *Opinion*? A *True Oath Out-Sworn*, passes for a *False* one; and a *False Oath*, not detected, passes for a *True* one: So that the *Scandal* of the *One*, and the *Reputation* of the *Other* is a thing of *Meer Chance*. Nay, in the practice of the World, tis rather the *Folly*, than the *Crime* of the *Falshood* that marks a man for a *Rascal*; For why should *Perjury* be more *Venial* in *One* Case, than 'tis in *Another*? *Damme, Sirrah* (says a *Huff* to his *Lacquay*) if I don't beat your brains out; and yet he does not so much as Touch him. A young Fellow says a thousand times more to his *Mistress*, or to his *Creditour*, and makes not one word of it good. A *Bully* will do as much to an *Unbelieving Taylor* for a Suit of *Clothes*, though he never intends to pay him. And yet here's no Talk of *Inditements*, *Pillories*, or *Lofs of Luggs* in the Case.

True and false, only matter of opinion.

Bum. *The Reason holds, I must confess; though the Instances do not perfectly Agree: For the One is an Oath Originally False in the Matter of it; and the Other is an Oath, made False by a Subsequent breach of it.*

Citt. Well, but all is *For-swearing* still. And why a *Perjury* in *Choler*, in *Love*, for a *Paultry Sum of Money*, or a pair of pitiful *Trowzes*, should pass only as words of *Course*, and yet so much Load he laid upon a *stretch* for the *Relief* of a *Necessitous Family*, the gaining of an *Estate*, the *Preserving* of *Religion*; and perhaps the *Conversion* of a *Kingdom*: This is a thing, I say, that I do not Comprehend.

Bum. *This is the Law, the Law, Citty; the damn'd Law! that's the Ruine of us all. And what is this Law at last?*

Citt. It is just throwing up of *Cross* or *Pile* in a *Vote*. We took *Cross*, and it happen'd to be *Pile*; and so we lost it. In short, and in earnest, we are guilty of *Breach of Faith* in the most solemn duties of our *Christian Profession*.

Bum. *Thou hast spoken more for the Power, the Mystery, and the Benefits of Swearing, then the whole Assembly of Divines, the blessed Synod themselves. I prethee try thy skill now upon the Faculty of LYING: which as it Naturally goes before the Other; so I think it should have preceded too in the Order of place.*

Citt. So it does, and it should have so preceded; but that swearing

Swearing and Lying comes better off the Tongue, methinks, than Lying and Swearing.

Bum. *This Lying is but a Course word; the precise folk, in the Country call it Fibbing; but That will not do so Well neither: For Fibbing and Lying, differ just as Tripping, and Stumbling, or in some sense, as Jest and Earnest. So that I find it must be Lying at last.*

The Laudable Faculty of LYING.

Lyes Tacit
and Express.

Citt. To handle the point Methodically, *Bumpkin*, there are *Lyes, Tacit, and Express.* *Tacit*, as by *Looks, Signs, Actions, Gestures, Inarticulate Tones*: *Express*, as *Words at Length*; and those are *Lyes* either of *Creation, Composition, Substraction, Amplification, or Addition*: I might carry it farther to *Lyes Ecclesiastical, and Civil*; but I'm loth to spin the Thred too Fine.

Bum. *These are high points, Citt; how shall a man tell a Lye I pre'thee, without Opening his Mouth?*

Citt. *Why? didst thou never hear of the Language of the Fingers? But the Question is here upon Hinting One thing, and Meaning Another; and especially in Politicks, and Religion, in order to a Thorough Reformation.*

A Thorough
Reformation.

Bum. *I have heard a world of Talk of that same Thorough Reformation; all our Meetings ring on't; and there's such a deal of Clutter about the Babylonish Garment; the not leaving of a Hoof behind; Root and Branch, and the Like: But I could never reach the bottom on't yet.*

A Partial and
a Thorough
Reformation.

Citt. *Take notice then that there is a Simple, or Partial Reformation, and there is a Thorough Reformation; the First, in the Language of the Reformers, is only Pruning of some Exorbitancies in Church and State; As the Regulating of the Kings Court, paring the Nails of the Prerogative; the Lopping off here and there a Rotten Lord, or a Popish Bishop; the Removal of an Evil Councillor, the purging of a Dissaffected House of Commons, or so: The Other leaves no King, no Lord, no Bishop, no House of Commons at all; and briefly, it signifies the turning of a Monarchy into a Commonwealth, an Episcopacy into a Presbytery, and our Great Charter into our Will and Pleasure. In One word; it is Dismounting of our Superiors, and getting our selves into the Saddle.*

The End of
this Reforma-
tion.

Bum.

Bum. Well, but *This must be done by degrees.*

Citt. Ay marry must it, *Bumpkin*; and many a good morrow too, before we come to the point. There must be *Petition upon Petition, Remonstrances, Grievances, Popery, Tender Consciences, Fastings, Seeking of the Lord, Religion, Liberty, and Protestations* without End.

Bum. Yes, yes, ye told me somewhat of this before, but it lies in a little compass; We must Get what we can by Begging, and then Take the Rest.

Citt. But now let me shew ye in *General*, how this is to be done. Whatsoever lessens the Government, and Exalts the *Disfenters* in the Eyes of the People, we are to consider as a proper *Medium* toward a *Thorough-Reformation*; and this must be done by Hook or by Crook; but provided the thing be *done*, no matter how.

The Reformers Two Topiques.

Bum. But however Citt; we had better do't upon the Square, as far as the Matter will bear it, and make out the Rest by Fibbing.

Citt. That's a thing of course *Bumpkin*, to uncover the *Nakedness* of the Government, and rip up the *Errours*, and *Distempers* of Church and State. Why we have a *Committee* for the *Registring* of *Male-Administrations*; we have our *Spyes* up and down from the *Bed-Chamber* to the *Meal-tub*: There's not a *Tennis Court*, not a *Dawdy-House*, not an *Eating*, or *Drinking-House* about the Town that scapes us; not a *Glass*, not a *Word*, not a *Frolick*, in any *Considerable Family*; but we have it upon *Record*; and we have those that will make it all good too upon *Oath*.

Their Act and diligence.

Bum. And this goes a great way, let me tell ye, Citt; for the People never consider that Rulers are *Flesh and Blood*, as well as Other men: and if any thing goes amiss, they think there's no setting it Right again, without taking the whole *Frame* to Pieces.

Citt. True *Bumpkin*, and that's the thing that must do our Work; but then if *Truth*, and matter of *Fact* will not hold out, we must have Recourse to *Invention*. And now I come to my Text. You remember the two *Topiques* I gave ye, of lessening the Government, and *Advancing* our selves.

Bum. Yes, yes, but a Government may be Lessen'd several ways; *Lessen'd in Authority, Lessen'd in Power, Lessen'd in Reputation,* that is to say, in the *Esteem*, and *Affections* of the People, either by *Haerred*, or *Contempt*.

Several ways of lessening Authority.

Citt. Very well, and so have we our several ways of making our

our selves *Popular* : All which must be done by *Emproving* Opportunities before us, toward these two Ends.

The Language of Nature above that of Compact.

Bum. *But prethee tell me what advantage can we make of Signs, or how shall a man tell a Fib, without a word speaking.*

A Lye without a word speaking.

Citt. *Why dost not thou know (Bumpkin) that the Language of Nature is infinitely more Powerful, and Significant, than that of Compact ? 'Tis impossible to put the force of Looks, Groans, Actions, and Gestures into Words : Is it not a Lye to look as if we pray'd, and yet Curse in our Hearts ; Or under Colour of a Charity, to put a skilling into the Basin, and take half a Crown out ? Lord turn the Kings Heart: (says the man above) which draws so sorrowful a Countenance after it, from one end of the Tabernacle to the Other, that you'd swear we were either falling into the Seventh Persecution, or that the Pope were already on this side High-gate.*

Bum. *'Tis a strange thing Citt, the Agreement that we find in many things, betwixt Reasonable Creatures, and brute Animals, One Grone runs quite thorough the Meeting, just as One Note, sets a whole pack of Beagles a yelling.*

Citt. *This way of juggling, and Dissembling by Signs is certainly very Artificial, and of Incredible Effect ; but a man may better understand, than express it : And Our People are the most dextrous of all men living at that way of Address.*

Of Fibbing in words at length.

Bum. *But what say you now to the business of Lying, or Fibbing, in words at length ? Pray'e take your Heads in Order, and read upon them : And let me see some Instances how to apply them to the purposes of drawing the Affections of the People from the Government, to our selves.*

Citt. *There is, First, a Lye or (let it be rather) a Figment of Creation, which Imports the raising of Something out of Nothing, and is a Figure not to be employ'd, but with Infinite Caution.*

Bum. *Prethee go on Citt (for my Brain Clarifies strangely upon't) and make me understand where I may make use of it; and where not.*

A Lye, or Figment of Creation.

Citt. *It may be useful, where the present Belief of a thing may be of greater Benefit, and Service, than the Future Discovery of it, can be a Detriment : As the Figment of the Late Kings being Confederate with the Irish Rebels, the Cavaliers cruelty at Branford, &c. Now though these Impositions had no Foundation at all, they serv'd the present turn yet, for the moving of*
the

the City, and the drawing of men together upon that Occasion; and when the Truth came afterwards to Light, the Forgery was only taken notice of as a Cheat, and that was all.

Bum *Ay*, and I have hear'd of the Fobb'd Letters, and the Plague-plasters, and the Tricks they had in those days, still as One Plot cool'd, for the bolting of Another. These Devices stood 'um in great stead; and we have seen something on't of Late, in the Rumours of the Kings raising an Army to aw the City, and the Parliament; and the Forty Thousand French upon the Isle of Purbeck. These Stories let me assure you Citt, keep the Humour stirring.

Citt. But what do you think of the Invention of the Protestant Martyrs Domestick? Where he tells ye of one of his Royal Highnesses Servants at Edinburgh, that was worse than Malcus'd. for he had both his Ears cut off; and then of the throwing Stones at the Windows of his Oratory?

Bum. Why Citt, was this a Lye (as thou calst it) of Creation then?

Citt. Without the least Colour for't in the World. Now The Protestant Domesticks Mistake. tis not the Fiction, but the Imprudence of it, that Vexes me: For as to the Former, it is certain that the Duke was treated both in Himself, and in his Train, with the Highest Instances of Welcome and Respect imaginable: And then for the Other, the Scots were so far from discountenancing the Office of the Church, that a great many of the Nobility, and Persons of Quality have taken up the Use of it in their Own Families. Now for him to impose this Fiction upon the World, without any pressing Necessity, and to no purpose at all, when he might be sure of a Contradiction by the next Post; This I say was a great Slip of a wise man.

Bum. Come, come, Citt, The good man is not so much to be blam'd neither; for his Intention was to render the Duke Low in the Opinion of the People, and to discredit the Common-Prayer. Pray'e call to mind the account he gave of the famous Motion in the City, for the doubling of their Guards, and then set the One against the Other.

Citt. No, no, Bumpkin; This is not to reflect upon Him; but only to shew thee how to apply this Figure. There is another, and a more Profitable Fiction, in regard that it is hard to be detected, as being grounded upon Thought and Intention; as Intentions not liable to proof. the Late Kings Delign of setting up Arbitrary Power and Pope-

ry; his purpose of coming into London one night with his *Pa-
pists*, and *Cavaliers*, to *burn, kill, and ravish* all before him. Now
This was an Invention of *great Force*; For though in my *Con-
science* his Majesty never *intended* it, yet the story past for cur-
rent with the Multitude; only by the *Vigilance* of some active
and zealous Patriots it was prevented. These *Figments* you
may apply to the Head of *Lessening the Credit* of the Govern-
ment.

Bum. *And in some degree, I hope, of advancing our selves for
such a deliverance works Both ways.*

Citt. Oh, greatly, *Bumpkin*; For as the People were posselt
One way *against the King*, for *Designing* upon their *Liberties*,
Properties, and *Religion*, so were they as much perswaded on the
Other hand, in favour of those that put themselves in the *gap*, to
to withstand That *Oppression*: whereas by the sequel it appear'd,
that the *Kings Design* was only to *defend the Government*, and the
Others, to *Invade* it.

Bum. *We have run much of late upon This Vein of Intention,*
*and it has done notably well with us too; for we have shook the very
Foundation of the Government with it.*

The Force of
the word Af-
fected.

Citt. O, *Bumpkin*, thou dost not know the Charm of those
Four Syllables, *Intention*; the irresistible power and virtue of
that little word *AFFECTED*: *Popishly-Affected*, *Tyrantically-
Affected*; This was it that blew up Three Kingdoms but the
Other day; *Faux's Powder* under the *Parliament-House* was
nothing to't. We have no *Windows* into our *Breasts*, and there's
no *proving* or *disproving* of a *Thought*; only to those *Goblins, Fears,*
and *Jealousies*, every thing they look upon appears *Double*, even to
the *discovery* of things that have no *Being*.

Bum. *Stay a little: May not a Man suppose a Third Contrivance
now, as Groundless as any of the rest? 'Tis but laying it remote e-
nough, and the thing's Forgotten before ever the Truth can come to
be Known.*

Citt. This is very well hinted, *Bumpkin*, and we have found
it a very *Commodious Expedient*, even in This very Juncture.
How many *Bruits* have been rais'd concerning *Leagues*, and
Intelligences Abroad, *Designs*, and *Intrigues at Home*; that for a
Month or *Six weeks* it may be, have set the People a mad-
ding from one end o'th *Town* to the *Other*; and at last not
one syllable *True*, but all past over as if no such thing had
ever

ever been. Take me aright, *Bumpkin*; I do not speak This as condemning the *Practice*, but to set forth the Effect of this way of *Fibbing*.

Bum. That's understood Citty; for 'tis not our part to Examine the Means, whether they be Good, or Bad; but to pursue the End, and bring That about, by any means whatever. But what do ye say now to the Lye of Composition, as you call it? No matter by what means, so, we gain the End.

Citt. It is a *Figment*, Citty, that's made up of *Truth*, and *Falshood*: but so enterwoven with *Colours*, and *Disguises*, that 'tis hard to say which is which. Composition.

Bum. As if ye should put Rats-bane into a Mess of Porridge: 'tis Porridge still, though it be Poyson.

Citt. Very well Alluded *Bumpkin*, and the *Truth*, or the *Porridge*, is only (as the Doctors call it) the *Vehicle* to convey the *Poyson*. The *Art*, and *Mystery* of this *Fib* lies in gaining credit on the *Fiction*, by acknowledging those *Notorious Truths* that cannot be *Conceal'd*.

Bum. Ay, ay man; for that's but telling what every body knows. As for the purpose. The *Presbyterians* took up Arms 'tis true, but alas! They never meant any hurt to his Majesty: and yet they took his Royal Authority to themselves, and seiz'd his Shipping, his Forts, and his Revenue.

Citt. Ay but for that *Bumpkin*, they say learnedly that the King was in the Two Houses, when *Charles Stuart* was in the Head of an Army.

Bum. But they say again, that they never meant any hurt to his Person neither; and yet they Revil'd him, and Shot at him.

Citt. The *Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews* was Kill'd, but then he was an *Ill, Harsh Man*, they say: 'twas done in *Revenge*, and no Act of the *Kirk-Party*: We were mightily divided about the *Scotch Rising*. At first, there was no more in't, than a *Tumultuary Rabble* that were got together to deliver themselves from an *Illegal Oppression*: And this pass'd for current, till it was found to be a *form'd Rebellion*, and that the *Covenant* was the *Foundation* of it.

Bum. The *Doctrine's* this; Not to own anything more than needs must, and to palliate what's amiss the best we can. And so proceed I praye to the point of *Substraction*.

Citt. The *Rule of Swearing*, *Bumpkin*, that is to say, the *Truth*, A Lye of Sub-
the whole *Truth*, and nothing but the *Truth*, does not hold in *Ly-* straction,
ing,

ing; so that in this Case of *Substraction*, we tell the *Truth*, but not the whole *Truth*.

Bum. *Our Common Intelligences are singularly good at this Figure: for they tell ye just as much of the Story as serves their turn, and no more.*

The Artificial
Improvement
of Substra-
ction.

Citt. They do so. Oh they are very well instructed: As in the Story of the *Officer* that broke a fellows head, as they were going to *Bramford* to chuse *Parliament Men*: He tells ye of the *Head-broken*, but not a word of the *Provocation*; as the disordering of his men in the *March*, and their bauling out, no *Courtiers*, no *Pen-sioners*, no *Whitehall-men*.

Bum. *That's a Plaguy way though Citt; and so for Satterthwait, about firing De-la-Noys House! He had the clearest proofs in the World of his Innocence; the Acquittal of the Court, and the Wench put to death that accused him. But Honest Benjamin waxes that Point, and tells ye only that ever since the Maids Condemnation she continues firm in what she first asserted, as to her being hir'd to Commit that horrid Fact.*

Citt. These things are of infinite use *Bumpkin*, and if ye mark it, there passes not a *Week* without scandalous *Reflections* upon some of the *Guards*, to make the *People* sick of 'um. And 'tis very good *Policy* this, for if they were out of the way, our *busi-ness* were done.

Papers the
true Fireballs.

Bum. *These Papers are the true Fireballs, Forty times beyond the Compositions of Powder, and Aquavitæ.*

Citt. They are so *Bumpkin*. There's no need of *Poking* them into *Hay-Lofts* with *Long Poles*; *Untiling of Houses*, *Breaking of Windows*, *Creeping into Cellars*, &c. 'Tis but one *Tugg* at the *Press*, here in *London*, and in *Eight and Forty hours* ye shall see the whole *Kingdom* in a *Flame*. And let me tell ye, this *Fibb* of *Substraction* does a great deal towards it.

Bum. *And so it does in the Report these Pamphlets give ye upon all Tryals, where a Popish Cur has the good luck to come off. Don't ye see how they whip the Bench, and the Jury about the Pig-Marker? Sir Thomas Gascoin was return'd Not Guilty: but it was by a Jury of his Countrymen. And so ye are told the Charge, with a very slender, or no Account at all of the Defence.*

Citt. Why this is by the *Virtue of Substraction*: it is a kind of a *Negative Lye*, the *Concealing* any *Substantial* part of the *Truth*. They talk as if there were a *Delign* afoot for the *Suppressing*

of these *Intelligences*: and by my Soul, I believe it would be the *Undoing* of the *Cause*.

Bum. *Why they Govern the Land, man; Do they not make and Dissolve what Alliances they please, Arraign Judges, Condemn Innocents, Put out, and put in, what Privy Counsellors they think fit, Place, and Displace Secretaries of State, Publish the Privacies of the Cabinet; And in all Cases, tell the People what they are to trust to?* Pamphlets govern the Land.

Citt. Right, and all this passes for *Gospel* in the *Country*, though the Devil a word on't that's known at *White-Hall*. But then they have the cruellest way of *Nicking* a man when they have a mind to't. Such a one has got such or such a *Place* at *Court*, though so and so: and to'ther must be *Committed Close Prisoner*, though the *Lords in the Tower* may have *People* come to them, and play at *Nine-Pins*.

Bum. *Ay, And then let the Bravest things Imaginable be done by One man, either ye have the bare Abstract in General, of such a thing done, or nothing at all: But if Another man does but let a Fart upon a Fit of Belly-ake, there's a Thanksgiving presently all over England and Wales, proclaim'd for his Recovery.* Killing goes by favour.

Citt. These are *Great helps Bumpkin*, that we can *Raise* and *Depress* whom we please. Beside that the *Multitude* from these *Liberties* draw this *Conclusion*, either they would *Contradict* these things, if they could, Or *Hinder* them if they *Durst*. We'll go now to the *Figment of Addition*.

Bum. *A Substraction is the Truth, but not the Whole Truth; so Addition, I presume, is somewhat more than the Truth: But pray'e let me distinguish betwixt Composition and Addition.*

Citt. The *Former*, is the *Blending* and *Confounding* of the *Truth* with *Fictitious Matter*: The other is the *piecing out* of a *Truth* with a *Falshood*, when the *bare Truth* would not do the *Work*: As thus, It is true, that the *Army* rais'd for some *Attempt* upon the *Netherlands*, in 1673. was drawn up on *Black Heath*; But all the rest of the *Story*, for the *Advance* of the *French Government*, the *Promoting* of the *Irish Religion*, and the *threatning* of a *Storm* to fall upon *London*, is an *Additional Figment*. It is *True*, that there were *Fire-works* found in the *Savoy*, but the *Addition* is *false* of being *design'd* according to the *Story*. The Figment of Addition.

Bum. *What's the difference now betwixt Addition, and Amplification.*

Citt.

Amplification. *Citt.* Addition is a Supplement of new Fact: Amplification is only an Aggravation of the Matter in Question: Or in a short, the setting a flourish or a glaz upon the business. And it holds as well in the making of our Adversaries Odious, as our selves Considerable.

Bum. I have many times observed that Gods Judgments & Blessings have been still either Imputed to the Wickedness of the Episcopal Party, or ascribed to the Sanctity of the Non-Conformists.

Citt. But if you will see a Master-piece, Read the Preamble to the Relation of the Kings Army at Bramford. And take this with you beforehand, that there was no cruelty exercised at all, beyond the common effects of Hot blood upon so Obstinate a dispute.

**A wonderful
aggravation.**

Unnatural, Inhumane, and strange Cruelties, send forth a Voice, and the Voice which they send forth is soloud, that it awakes even secure and sleepy Mankind, and stirs up their Bowels to an enflamed and united Indignation. The divided pieces of a Woman abused to death, needed not the Elquence or Voice of an Orator; they spake themselves, and they spake soloud, that they were heard by a whole Nation, and drew forth this Answer, there was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the Children of Israel came out of Egypt. Neither did they fetch only an Answer of Word, but of Deeds: All the Men of Israel gather'd together as One Man, against the Authours and Abettors of that abominable wickedness.

It is a Lamentation, and to be taken up for a Lamentation, that in England such horrid Acts should be done, that yield forth this high crying & affrighting Voice — No such thing hath been done since England came out of the Egypt of Rome, &c. Exact Collections, Pag. 758.

**Better at
Oaths and
Fibbs than
Arguments.**

Bum. Why this Exclamation was as much as the whole Cause was worth. Ah, *Citt.* if we were no better at Oaths and Fibbs, than we are at Arguments, we should e'en bring our Hogs to a fair Market.

**Swearing and
Lying the
best Argu-
ments.**

Citt. Alack for thee Bumpkin, thou dost not know an Argument when thou see'st it. Why this knack of Swearing and Lying is our way of Arguing; and whoever carries the Cause (let him carry it right or wrong) is the best Disputant. Prethee tell me; what would'st thou think of any man that should go to convert the Chineses in Welch, or talk Hebrew to a Laplander? 'Tis the same thing man, to talk Reason to the Rabble. 'Tis little less than Popery ye Fool; 'tis speaking in an unknown Tongue; what were all your Cavalier-Doctors, and Statesmen the better for

for their *Sylogisms*, their *Politicks*, and their *Cases of Conscience*; when the very noise of *TYRANT*, and *IOPERY* beat 'um all out of the *Field* ?

Bum. *Nay, I must confess, Citt; that Our Case is to be decided by the Multitude; and That way must needs succeed best, that is most accommodate to the Humour and Capacity of the Umpires of the Controversie. But yet I could wish that thou had'st born up a little t'other day, to Trueman, upon the Points of Religion and Government.*

Citt. Why you must know, *Bumpkin*, that there are Two ways of Reply upon Disputes of That Quality, the One is by Reason, Two ways of Reply, Reason, and Clamour. (which sounds the same thing with the Apostles *Vain Philosophy*, and the Other is by Clamour: The former is for your *Speculators*, or *Pedants*; and the other is for men of Zeal, and *Business*. But there's One has mawl'd him since, to some purpose i'faith, I believe he'l have little Joy of his *Disputations*.

Bum. *Oh, I have heard of two or three that have had a Fling at him. There's One of 'um they say that's a Devillish Witty Little Fellow, but I can't for my Blood call his Name to mind; but I think 'twas Pugg; or thereabouts.* Little Pugg's witty fellow

Citt. By my Troth like enough, for one was telling me to'other day, that the *Drill in Barle-mew Fair*, with a *Leaguer Pipe* in's mouth, was the very *Piçture* of him. But didst not thou see *Romes Hunting-match* ?

Bum. *Yes, yes; 'tis a Broad side with a Wooden Cutt; They have put him in the Head there of the Popes Beagles, with a Pen in One Paw, and a Fire-ball in the Other. They call the whole Pack the Antichristian Crew: The Fellow has a woundy Head-piece that Contriv'd it.* Another threwd Head-piece.

Citt. *Ay, but the t'other girds him Confoundedly; and then there's a Letter worse than That too. But this is all by way of Answer: If thou could'st but Recite his Positions now, you and I might bang it out, hand to fist, in Mood, and Figure (as they say.)*

Bum. *Nay, let me alone for a Reciter, if That will do't. The Crown of England is allow'd on all hands to be Imperial; and That I lay down for my First Position.*

Citt. Why then y'are a *Crack fart*, and a *Pensioner*. Now go on, without any Demur. Pugg's Lo-gick.

Bum. The King is *Unaccountable*, and not One of the *Three Estates*, as *Lame Giles* would have him.

Citt. Y'are a *Sawce-box*, and a *Yorkist*.

Bum.

Bum. I will maintain that *England* is not a *Mixt*, but only a *Qualifi'd Monarchy*.

Citt. Y're an idle *Fellow*, *Sirrah*; and I have seen ye at *Masse* at the *Protestant Coffee-house*.

Of Subjection
& Dominion.

Bum. *I say again, that there is but the Governing, and the Governed; and that They are no longer the Governed, that Govern, nor the Governing that are Governed. And in Little, That Subjection and Dominion are Inconsistent, in One and the same time, and Subject.*

Citt. Y're an *Idle. Impudent Fellow*, and I'll be hang'd if I don't catch ye in the *Sham-Plot*. What do ye think of *This* now? And tell me without *Complement*, if I have not run this *Puppy* up to the *Wall*.

Bum. *I cannot for my Life* *Citt*, *understand this way of Answering* yet.

Citt. Why prethee *Bumpkin*, *calling of Names*, is *speaking* to the *People* in a *Language* that they do both *Understand*, and *Believe*.

Bum. *Oh, there's no Question to be made on't, a man had better be suspected for a Spirit, than for a Papist: Nay, if it were but Popishly Affected, it would go hard with him. But what will ye say* *Citt*; *if I tell ye of a man that saw the devillish Letter that ye spoke of?*

A Secret.

Citt. I have heard somewhat on't my self. But prethee let's confer *Notes* upon't. Is there not something in't, that he would have been *Fribling* with a *Printers Wife* once; and that he promis'd to bring off her *Husband* if she'd have done him the good *Office*? I had it from *Barefoot*, and yon same *Bacon-of-Government-man*, what a *Devil* do ye call him? the *Cafe-Porter* at the *Swan* in *Fish-street*; he that swell'd so at the *Name* of the *Duke of York*: *Pox* on't, that I should forget him now; *Did ye never hear of the Thumb?* as *Aristippus* says.)

Some body
help me out.

Bum. *Why Faith* *Citt*, *I have heard as much: But I have been told too by one of the Journey men, that she was always a good Game-some Wench, and that the Gentleman (being well bred) might perhaps offer her the Civility to Oblige her.*

The Lady no
blabb.

Citt. I can say nothing to her *Gamesomeness*; but she was no *Blab*, I can assure ye; For though she was in *Court*, when her *Husband* was *Fin'd* and *Sentenc'd* upon that *Gentlemans Prosecution*, she made no words on't.

Bum. *That's well observ'd*, *Citt*; *For she should have told the Bench me-thinks; that if she would have done so and so, 'thad never come to This.*

Citt.

Citt. Ay but Yonder's a *Broken Thread-merchant, Bumpkin*, (and he had it from *his own Brother*) told a Friend of mine, that *Trueman* (when *Licensing* was in fashion) would never *License* any thing against the *Papists*; and that he took *money* for *Licensing*; and layd a *Tax* upon *his Majesties Liege-People*, (as *Pugg the Notarius* has it) without the consent of their *Representatives* in *Parliament*.

Have a care of
the Thread-
Merchant.

Bum. *These are bloody things*, *Citt*, and they resolve to *scour him as bright as silver*, before they have done with him.

Citt. Nay, if we don't make him either a *Papist*, or *Popishly Affected* I'le dye for't: Yes, or any man living, that has either a *good Estate*, *good Furniture* in's house, *Money* in his *Pocket*, or *Brains* in his *Head*.

Bum. *Well, but to my knowledge*, *Citt*, *Trueman* does not value himself upon any of these *Qualifications*. But *prethee let's leave this Noddy a little*, and talk of something else; what dost think was the reason that our *Parliaments* have been put off so of Late?

Citt. The very *Question* that I put t'other day my self; and 'twas answer'd Thus. That the *Nation* could not be *Happy*, but in the *Preservation* of the *Government*, as it is establisht by *Law*: for the *tearing* of the *Law* to pieces, must needs distract the *People*, when they have no *Rule* to walk by: That a great many worthy *Persons* were disappointed in the *Elections*, by being *misrepresented* to the *People*: That by these *Practises*, diverse persons were obtruded upon the *Nation*, of *remarkable Disaffections* both to *Church*, and *State*: And that therefore, I suppose, they might be put off, to the end that some *Other Distempers* might be *composed*, before their *Meeting*.

Matters of
State.

Bum. *Well! and what Return* did'st thou make him?

Citt. I told him, he *Smelt* of the *Court*; and that he had a *Pope* in's belly: and so I would have no more to do with him.

The old To-
pique.

Bum. *These People* are grown *Strangely bold* of Late. But *Perseverance* is a *Grace*, *Citt*; that will carry us on, thorough *Thick* and *Thin*.

Citt. Now thou talk'st of a *Grace*, *Bumpkin*; there is not any *Attion*, or *Profession*, in *Humane Life*, without its *peculiar Graces*. There are the *Graces* of the *Tubb*, and of the *Pulpit*; the *Quack*, and the *Doctor*; Nay, the *Academy*, and the *Padd*, as the *Scotch-man* said of *Du-Vall*, that was *Trufs'd up* for the *High-way*. By my *Saule Sir*,

Several sorts
of graces.

(Says he) *It would have done your Heart good to have seen That Gentleman upon Action. One man becomes the Bench; Another the Stage: And ye shall see One man Robb a Church with a better Grace than Another Erects an Hospital.*

Bum. *And then we call a Well-affected Brother, a Babe of Grace.*

Citt. *That's somewhat near the matter, Bumpkin; for the Grace that we have to do withal, is only a certain Gift of Impulse, that disposes a man to the Exercise of his Trade, and Calling. As for Example; What's a Pick-pocket the better for his Skill in Diving, if he has not the Grace to keep his hands in Ure? But now for thy Perseverance thorow Thick and Thin, there's more in That, perhaps, than thou art aware of; for there's a difference betwixt Staring, and Stark mad.*

Bum. *I prethee be clear, Citt; that we may understand one another.*

Of Perseverance.

Citt. *The Dutch have a very good Proverb, Heaven helps the strongest; (they say) So long as Providence is on Our side Bumpkin, all's Well; but I'm not for Running my head against Stone-Walls.*

Bum. *But how far must we go then, Citt; and whither Next?*

Citt. *Take me for thy Guide, Bumpkin, and my life for thine thou shalt never Miscarry. The Game we have to play is a kind of Trick-Track: (but what do I talk of Trick-Track to a Bumpkin) the great Nicety is to know when to go Off.*

Bum. *So that in some Cases I find we may go off: But why must I swear so damnably against Flinching then?*

Citt. *Because we are bound in Honour, Bumpkin, not to Flinch. But if the Cause it self Flinches, who can help it?*

Bum. *What do you think then of the Five Scottish Martyrs, who maintain'd it to the Death that the Killing of the Arch-Bishop was no Murder; and the Rising, no Rebellion. And yet (as I take it) Their Cause had Flinch'd to some tune, when the whole Party was either Cut off, Routed, or taken Prisoners.*

Citt. *As a friend, Bumpkin, the world is made up of Fools, and Knaves; Some are to Act, and Others to Contrive; the Fools are to keep up the Claim, and the Knaves, when time serves, are to take Possession.*

Bum. *Well, but what must become of Us in the Interim then?*

Citt. The *Interim*, (as thou call'st it) 'is a kind of *Inter-regnum*; *Abfolution* wherein we are *Abfolv'd* (as it were) by a certain *Extraordinary* from Oaths and Promises. *Dispensation*, from all *Bonds*, *Civil*, and *Moral*, till we can get Up-
permost again.

Bum. So that here are Two Providences, *One upon the heel of the Other*: The One in turning all our Oaths, and Promises, in the Interval, into Nullities; And the Other is an allowance of us to make the best of the First Opportunity.

Citt. That's well Collected: For all Oaths, and Promises are *Void*, when the thing promised ceases to be in our *Own Power*: And an Oath that was made in the *Flesh*, may be broken in the *Spirit*.

Bum. Deliver me! Here's *Trueman* just upon us. If he talks again, stand to him, *Citt.*

Citt. The *Rogue* has us in's Eye; and there's no slipping into the *Wood*; but let me alone with him.

Enter *Trueman*.

True. Well met Gentlemen. What? you're for a Mornings Draught at *Hamstead* (I suppose,) I'le e'en back again and keep ye Company.

Citt. If you please, Sir, 'tis a fine Walk.

True. So; and how go Squares since the crash we had yonder at

----- *What do ye call the Place?*

Citt. Oh, very well; there's a Book come out that proves a man *Tom and Dick*, may talk of *Religion*, and *Government* as learnedly over a Dish of *Coffee*, as over a Pot of *Ale*.----- There's a *Bobb*, *Bumpkin*, by the way of *Tom and Dick*.----- (aside.)

True. Look ye, Here's the Book. I ha' just read it over.

Bum. Pray let me see't a little.----- *Ay, here 'tis*: I wonder in my *A High-flight* heart what the man means by putting *Strange*, and *Strangely*; of Wit. and *Strange* and *Stranger* again, in the 5th and 6th Pages here, in the great Black English Letter, so different from the rest of the Book.

True. Nothing in the world but a high-flight of Wit; as if a man that is in *Trouble*, should cry, *O this villanous, Rascally Care!* Or tell a *Glavering Cur* that *Fawrs* upon ye to your *Face*, and *Bawls* at ye behind your *Back*, *Oh! y'are Curtis, Sir.*

Bum. *Well, but I'm with you once again, What do you think of your University-Dul-man there, Pag. 12. with his, O Lord, make these Young Willows to grow up to be Old Oaks, that they may become Timber, fit to Wanscote thy New Jerusalem.*

True. Upon my Credit, this *Dulman* was a *Presbyterian* (For your *Divines* have, here and there, an *University-man* among them! And it was another of the *Same stamp*, that told God Almighty in his Prayer; *Lord; if thou didst but know what our Friends Suffer now in Ireland, &c.*

Citt. Pray'e let me have a word now; How will ye justify the calling to mind, relating, and Printing, (notwithstanding the Acts of Oblivion) all the Evils of our Late Rebellion? as we find it charg'd, pag. 22.

True. Nay, rather, *Citt*, how will you acquit your selves, either to God, or Man, for doing the same things over again; if it be so heinous for Other people to Remember them? As if a Pardon for One Rebellion, were an Authority for Another.

A Learned Piece.

Citt. Pray'e let me read This Passage to ye Here, Pag. 28. *He that is not against us, is with us. And I never heard he (speaking of L'Estrange) ever wrote against Catholiques; except it were a Protestant Catholique; (and that (he says) is a Solcecism.) But he has pepper'd the Presbyterians. A Protestant (he says) is a Lutheran; and a Catholique the Characteristical Note of a Christian; And it seems, he would have the Church of England stick up her bristles, and disown all Fellowship with Protestants abroad, and knock out all Non-conformists brains at Home; as the only way to prevent Popery: What do ye think on't?*

True. Why I'll tell ye *Citt*; you never writ against *Incest*; are ye for it therefore? *L'Estrange* never writ against the *Alcoran*; is he therefore a *Mahumetan*? Neither do I find any thing you have Cited of him, but what is *True*, and *Warrantable*. You say he has pepper'd the *Presbyterians*; and the world knows they have need of *Seasoning*. But why the *Bristles* of the Church of England? For the *Beasts*, ye know, are all in the *Purlews*. Nor does he speak One word of dividing from *Protestants abroad*: Only upon *Dr. Oates's Testimony*, that the

the Priests lye lurking among the *Non-conformists*, he very Honestly advises the Ferretting of the *Conventicles*: And this your Author calls forsooth, *The beating out the brains of the Non-conformists*.

Bless me Gentlemen! is This the *Pillar* of your *Profession*? the *Mouth*, and *Advocate* of your *Cause*? Why there's not one grain of *Common Sense*, *Honesty*, or *Good Manners* in't; Not a *Ragg* that would not bring a *Scandal* upon a *Dust-Cart*. Pugg the mouth of the Cause.

Citt. You may value't as you please; but he has done as much in his *Narratives* for the *Protestant Religion*, it may be, as any man, and with as good applause too, though they pass in other peoples Names. Puggs Narratives.

Bum. 'Tis an admirable Piece, That of his about the *Fires*, and several Other things too, really that would make a mans heart ake.

True. If thou mean'st by way of *Compunctien*, *Bumpkin*, I can't imagine how *One* man can *repent* of *Another* mans *Sins*. But I suppose thou Speak'st of *Earth-quakes*, and *Signs* in the *Ayr*; which are enough to make a mans heart Ake indeed.

Citt. And then for his *Stile*, *Trueman*, He has a *Copia Verborum*, for all *Sorts* and *Sizes*, of *Matters*, and *Men*; as *Rogue*, *Rascal*, *Knave*, *Villain*, *Traytor*, *Trash*, *Trumpery*, *Trinkets*, and so forth, till this time *Twelve-month*. Ple undertake he shall Pelt ye a *Cathedral-man* *Four* and *Twenty Hours* by *Shrewsbury Clock*, and not call him *Twice* by the same Name. And then on the Other side, If he has the hap (in the heat of his *Carrier*) to stumble upon a poor *Dissenting Brother*, he licks his lips upon't, and pours forth nothing but *Milk* and *Honey*: Oh the *Precious Ones*, *The Chosen of the Lord*, and more Heavenly *Epihetes* then would lie betwixt *This* and *High-gate*. Puggs Faculties.

True. But has he any *Languages* too?

Citt. If you had him but one half-hour upon the *Talking-Pin*, you'd swear that he had swallow'd *Calepines Dictionary* whole, and spew'd it up again; And such a *Memory* —

True. These are wonderful *Faculties* Gentlemen, to qualifie a man to be the *Advocate* of a *Party*.

Citt. But what if the Gentleman were as despicable as you make him? what's that to our *Profession*?

True. Oh very much; for if he be *Your Representative*, You Speak in *Him*; and he does but *Blunder*, *Rail*, *Falsifie*, and *Cobble*, in your *Name*, and by *Your Commission*: If it be otherwise, disown him. But what is your *Profession* First?

Citt.

Citt. We do *professe* our selves to be *Loyal Subjects* to his Majesty, in his *Just Authority*; and *True Protestants*, according to the *Pattern* and *Practice* of the *best Reformed Churches*.

True. That is to say, in *Plain English*, you are *Covenanters*.

Citt. Well, but I hope a man may be both a *Good Subject*, and a *Good Christian*; and yet a *Covenanter*.

The Cove-
nanting Chri-
tian and Sub-
ject.

True. Can he be a *Good Christian* that reviles the *Mother* of our *Blessed Saviour*, that *Stabs* the *Babe* in her *Arms*, in *Effgy*: that *Decryes* the *Lords Prayer*, as *Apocryphal*, that *Robs Caesar* of his *Due*, and *Consecrates* his *Profession*, with *Violence*, and *Blood*? Or can *He* be a *Good Subject*, that gives *Laws* to his *Sovereign*; *Nay*, that takes away his *Crown*, and his *Life*, and *Tramples* upon his *Fellows* as his *Slaves*?

Citt. Why what's all this to the *Covenant*?

True. Yes, by *That Covenant*, all this was done: And by *That Covenant*, *Unrenounced*: All this must be done again, whenever in your it, or that *Power*. *Nay* you are *Covenant-Breakers* in the *Not* doing of it, if you were *Covenant-keepers* in the doing on't.

Citt. Well; but the *business* of the *Covenant* was only to deliver the *King* out of the *Hands* of the *Papists*, to demolish all *Monuments* of *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, and to settle a *Thorow Reformation*. All the mischief fell in by the *By*.

True. Very good; and you took him out of the hands of *Papists*, to deliver him into the hands of the *Executioner*; Did ye not? Truly a high *Obligation*! And then for your zeal against *Idolatry*, a *Rich Crucifix*, that was an *Idol* in a *Papists* hand, became a *Movable* in yours; for commonly what ye *Took*, ye *Sold*: and your *Thorow-Reformation* ended in a *Sacrilegious Rapine* and *Confusion*. And so you're welcome to your *Journeys End*.

THE END.

51
WHereas there are several Discourses and Pamphlets abroad in the World, that pass for the Writing of Mr. Roger L'Esrange; wherein he never had any hand at all; This is to Advertise the Reader, that he hath lately Published these following Pieces, and no other.

Toleration Discuss'd, in a Dialogue betwixt a Conformist and a Non-conformist, and betwixt a Presbyterian and an Independent.

Seneca's Morals Abstracted.

The Guide to Eternity.

Tully's Offices, in English.

Twenty Select Colloquies of Erasmus in English.

Tyranny and Popery Lording it over the Consciences, and Lives of the King and People.

The Reformed Catholique.

The History of the Plot in Folio:

The Free-born Subject.

The Case Put for the Duke of York.

An Answer to the Appeal.

Seasonable Memorials.

The Parallel, or, The Growth of Knavery.

A Dialogue betwixt a Citizen and Bumpkin.

A Dialogue betwixt a Citizen and Bumpkin, Part the 2d.

A Further Discovery of the Plot, with a Letter to Dr. Titus Oates.

The Gentleman Apothecary.

Five Love-Letters Translated.

Discovery on Discovery, in a second Letter to Dr. Titus Oates.

The Committee, or, Popery in Masquerade, curiously done in a Copper Plate.

An Answer to a Litter of Libellers.

W Horses there are several Breeds and the
 finest found in the World, they are for the
 most part bred in the West; where they were
 first bred; and it is to be observed that
 the best bred Horses are those that are bred
 in the West.

The most famous of these is the Arabian
 and the other is the English.

The Arabian is the most famous of all
 the Breeds, and is the most valuable
 for the purpose of the War.

The English is the most famous of all
 the Breeds, and is the most valuable
 for the purpose of the War.

The Arabian is the most famous of all
 the Breeds, and is the most valuable
 for the purpose of the War.

The English is the most famous of all
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The Arabian is the most famous of all
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 for the purpose of the War.

The English is the most famous of all
 the Breeds, and is the most valuable
 for the purpose of the War.

AN
ACCOUNT
Of the GROWTH of
KNAVERY,
UNDER THE
PRETENDED FEARS
OF
Arbitrary Government,
AND
POPERY.

WITH
A PARALLEL betwixt the
Reformers of 1677. and those of 1641. in
their *Methods, and Designs.*

The Second Edition.

By ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

In a Letter to a Friend.

London, Printed by T. B. for Henry Brome, at
the Gun in S. Paul's Church-Yard. 1681.

A. C. C. O. U. N. T.

of the

R. I. A. V. E. R. Y.

of the

P. R. E. T. E. M. D. E. D. E. R. A. Z.

of

H. I. S. T. O. R. Y.

and

P. O. P. E. R. Y.

of

W. A. R. M. I. N. G. T. O. N.

By W. A. R. M. I. N. G. T. O. N.

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A N
 A C C O U N T
 Of the *GROWTH* of
 K N A V E R Y,
 U N D E R T H E
 P R E T E N D E D F E A R S
 O F
 A R B I T R A R Y G O V E R N M E N T
 A N D
 P O P E R Y.

S I R,

TO give you my Opinion freely of the two Libels that you sent me, me-thinks the Design of them lies too open to do much Mischief; for I never saw so bare-fac'd an Arraignment of the Government, and all the Parts of it: *King, Lords, Commons, Judges, Ministers of State*; they are all of them made *Conspirators*; against the Sovereign Multitude, forsooth; and when the *Li-*

beller has done with the *Body* of the *Commons*, he gives you a Defamatory List of betwixt two and three hundred of their *Members*, provoking and abusing all Sober Interests; Inſomuch, that he has left himself nothing to trust to, but the contemplation of a *General Tumult*, which is the very Point he drives at in his *Appeal to the Rabble*.

The Man, I confess, is a great Master of Words; but then his Talent is that which the Lord St. *Albans* calls *Matter of Wonder without Worthiness*; being rather the Suppleness and Address of a Tumbler, than the Force and Vigor of a Man of Business. And you cannot but observe too, that his Excursions, many of them, are unmannerly and Vulgar, and fitter for the Stage of a *Merry-Andrew*, or a *Jack-Pudding*, than for a Paper of *State*.

You would have me guess at the Author; and you might as well bid me tell you the right Father of a Child by a Common Strumpet: But I think I may call him *Legion*, for they are *MAN*T; and there's a *Club* to his *Pen*, as well as to his *Pocket*. This I dare assure you, that the *Author* of *A Letter from a Parliament-man to his Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the House of Commons, in 75.* is very particularly acquainted with the Author of *An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government, &c.* and the *Seasonable Argument, &c.* that follow'd it, in 77.

The Pretence of the former Pamphlet is exhibited in the Title of it, *viz. An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in England: and more particularly from November 1675, to July 1677.* Upon these *Nineteen Months* the *Composer* has bestow'd precisely *Nineteen Sheets of Paper*, and laid himself out most wonderfully in his Politicks and Conceits, for the better Grace and Relish of the Discourse: But the Malignity of it is so rank, that there is scarce a Page where the Poyson has not eaten quite thorough the Vernish, and discover'd the Spring and Malice of the Design. View it narrowly, and you shall find the Pique to be as well Personal as Seditious, and the Work only of some Mercenary Pen to serve his Principall's Animosity, as well as his Ambition. For a Man may see with half an Eye, how he *aggravates*, or *extenuates*; *disparages*, or *commends*; *reflects* upon, or *passes* over, as well *Actions*, as *Men*, according to the various Aspects

Aspects of *Affections* or *Parries*; and without any regard to the Pulse or Truth of publick proceedings. By his Vein of improving the Invective Humour, it looks in some places as if he were *Transposing* the *First Painter*; only he has chang'd his Battery, which is a Property peculiar to his Party, constantly to hate those that are uppermost.

I was once a thinking to write a Just Reply upon the whole Relation, and to lay open the fallshood of many passages in it in matter of Fact; the Partiality of it in others; how perverted, and misapply'd it is throughout; and to shew what Gaps and Maims the Compiler of it has left in the Story, purposely to divert the *Reader* from minding the Coherence of Actions; and the reasonable Congruity of Counsels, and Affairs: What uncharitable and illogical Inferences he has drawn from matters as remote as *Tenterden Steeple* from being the cause of *Goodwin Sands*. This was the Method I had propounded to my self; but upon second thoughts I quitted it, for these Reasons. First, It would have been too tedious; for I must in honesty have printed the Libel as well as the Reply, which in proportion would have amounted to near forty sheets of Paper. Secondly, It would have been superfluous; for part of my business being the Vindication of Truth from Calumny; I find the thing already done to my hand, in the common Sentence is that pass'd upon it for a lewd and shameless Imposture. And Thirdly, The Author himself, you see, has upon better consideration reduc'd his Pamphlet of nineteen Sheets, into another of *three*, as a more Compendious Exposition of his meaning: I speak of that Libel which you sent me, under the Name of *A Seasonable Argument to persuade all the Grand Juries in England to Petition for a New Parliament; or a List of the Principal Labourers in the great Design of Popery, ana Arbitrary Power, &c.* So that my Task is only to make good in my Discourse the Parallel that I promis'd you in my Title, and then to pass some Remarks upon the Scope and Venom of the Pamphlets themselves.

Now to the end that you may not take the Libels here in question for *Originals*, let me assure you that these Notable Pieces are neither better, nor worse, than the Old *Declarations* of 40. and 41. only *turn'd*, and *new trimm'd*; The *Contrivance*, the *Positions*, and the *Drift* the very same; and upon the

the whole matter, there is so near a resemblance between them, that one Egg is not liker another. If you would have a full History of the Faction, you may read it at large in *Bancroft's Dangerous Pessions*, or *Heylin's AERIUS REDIVIVUS*. But my purpose is principally to compare the Project of 77. with that of 40. and 41. and by tracing the Footsteps of that Rebellion, from the undeniable fact of things pass'd, to gather some probable conjecture at things to come.

To begin my *Parallel* with the Alarm of *Poper*y, and *Arbitrary Government* in 1677. take notice that it was likewise the Pretext and the very Foundation of the Rebellion in 41. *A Malignant and Pernicious Design* (says the *Remonstrance* of December 15. 1641.) of *subverting the Fundamental Laws, and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of this Kingdom is firmly establish'd*. Husband's *Collections*, p. 4. and in the same Page he tells us of *such Counsellors and Courtiers, as for Private Ends have engag'd themselves to further the Interest of some Forreign Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty and the State at home*. Which *Counsellors, and Courtiers* of those days, are now translated into *French Pensioners and Conspirators* in 1677. But if you would see the Reformers in their Colours, read the *Declaration, and Protestation of the Lords and Commons in Parliament* (as they stile it) *to the Kingdom, and to the whole World*: where, beside the horrid Invocation of Almighty God to countenance the Juggle, the whole stress of the Quarrel is laid upon the Kings being *Popishly inclin'd*; and the War founded upon that Execrable Cheat. *The Kings Counsels and Resolutions* (say they) *are so engag'd to the Popish Party, for the suppression and extirpation of the true Religion, that all hopes of Peace and Protection are excluded; and that it is fully intended to give satisfaction to the Papists, by alteration of Religion, &c.* And a little further they say, that the King endeavour'd to keep off all *Jealousies and Suspicions, by many fearful Oaths and Imprecations of maintaining the Protestant Religion*. But what were all their *Stories of Popish Plots, Intercepted Letters, Dark Conspiracies*, but only *Artifices to gull the Credulous and silly Vulgar*? For the King was so far from being *Popishly affected*, that never any Prince purg'd himself of an Imputation, by Two more Credible and Dreadful Solemnities: The first, Publickly upon the *Sacrament* in *Christ-Church Oxon*.

1643. and afterward, at his *Death* upon the *Scaffold*. Now see the *Harmony* betwixt those *Remonstrants*, and our *Libeller* in his *Growth of Popery*. There has now for divers years, says he, a *Design* been carri'd on to change the *Lawful Government* of *England* into an *absolute Tyranny*, and to convert the *establish'd Protestant Religion* into *down-right Popery*. P. 3. He begins in the *Method of the Remonstrants* with a *General Charge* upon *Ill Ministers*, and he shall *Advance* with them too, next step, to an *Attack* upon the *King Himself*. And not a *Pin* matter what is said on either side to the contrary.

It is true, (says the *Growth of Popery*, p. 155.) that by his *Majesty* and the *Churches care*, under *God's special Providence*, the *Conspiracy* has receiv'd frequent *disappointments*, &c. And do not the *Remonstrants* on the other side say as much for the late *King*? That his *Majesty* indeed had past more *Bills* to the advantage of the *Subject*, than had been in many *Ages*, pag. 16. But how comes our *Libeller* to be so kind to the *Church* all on a sudden? From whose *Pen* there never fell any thing yet but *Poyson* upon that *Subject*. Can any thing be kinder than the *Remonstrants* were to this late *King* (pag. 2.) where they promised to *support his Royal Estate* with *Honour*, and plenty at home; with *Power and Reputation* abroad; and by their *Loyal Affections, Obedience, and Service*, to lay a *sure and lasting Foundation* of the *Greatness and Prosperity* of his *Majesty* and his *Royal Posterity* after him. But what do you think rather of the pretended *Loyalty* of these *People* afterwards, even in the state of an *Actual Rebellion*? p. 663. *We the Lords and Commons* in this present *Parliament* assembled, do in the presence of *Almighty God*, for the *satisfaction* of our own *Consciences*, and the discharge of that great *Trust* which lies upon us, make this *Protestation* and *Declaration* to this *Kingdom* and *Nation*, and to the whole *World*, that no *private passion*, or *respect*, no *evil intention* to his *Majesties Person*, no *design* to the *prejudice* of his just *Honour*, and *Authority*, engag'd us to raise *Forces*, and take up *Arms* against the *Authors* of this *War*, wherewith the *Kingdom* is now *inflam'd*. And does not our *Libeller* follow the *Remonstrants* in their *Hypocrisie* too? This *Book*, (says he, p. 156.) though of an *extraordinary Nature*, as the *Case* requir'd, and however it may be *calumniated* by *interested persons*, was written with no other intent, than of *meer Fidelity and Service* to his *Majesty*; and
God

God forbid that it should have any other effect than that the mouth of all Iniquity, and Flatterers may be stopt; and that his Majesty having discerned the Disease, may with his healing Touch apply the Remedy: For so far is the Relator himself from any sinister surmize against his Majesty, or from suggesting it to others, &c. The Pamphlet, I confess is, as he calls it, a *Book of an extraordinary Nature*; But why does he say, *As the Case requir'd?* Where's the Importance of it? unless he means, that it was the very Nick of Time for him to imbroil the Nation: And for the *interested persons*, who (he says) may calumniate it, they are only the King and his *Ministers*, who are all of them the subject of his *Scoptical* and *Malevolent Satyre*. Of his *intent*, we shall speak hereafter.

This is not the first time that we have heard of *words smother than Oyl*, which yet are very *Swords*. It is the very *Stile* that brought the late *King* to the *Block*; and the *Saviour* of the *World* was betray'd by a *Hail Master*, and a *Kiss*. It is the very *Crown* of the *Parallel* betwixt 77. and 41. Now to proceed: What was the *Old Remonstrance*, but a spiteful and Invidious Misrepresentation of the State of the Kingdom, under the Notion of declaring Common Grievances? (*For his Majesties Healing Touch* too no doubt) and is not that also the very aim and profession of these two *Libels*? What is the Publication of this same Scandalous List, but the *Old Trick* over again, of *Posting* those Members for *Straffordians*, that would not consent to the Death of the *Earl of Strafford*? And is not their tampering of the *Grand Juries* to Petition for a *New Parliament*, the *Old Practice* reviv'd of drawing and soliciting Petitions against Grievances of their own framing; and managing Affairs of State by *Tumults*? Would not our *Remonstrator* of 77. rather than his Life, be at the *Old Sport* again, with a *Kennel* of *Brutes* at his Heels, in full *Cry*, with *No Bishops*, *No Popish Lords*, *No Evil Counsellours*, *No Rotten Members*, *No Porters Lodge*; and at last, *No King* too, which was the very *Fact* in Consequence upon this *Method*.

So soon as the *Remonstrants* (those *Sons of Cham*) had laid open their *Fathers nakedness*, with a malicious aggravation of all *Errours* and *Misfortunes*, (beside *fallhoods* innumerable) to irritate the *Multitude* against their *Superiours*; their next *Art* was to draw that *Party* to themselves, which they had
now

now detached from the Government; with an *Oh!* that we were made Judges in Israel! Boasting what wonderful things they had then upon the Anvil for the Publick Good; and not forgetting to arrogate all those Acts to themselves, which his Majesty had pass'd of his proper Grace and Bounty. Other things (say they, p. 15.) of main Importance for the good of this Kingdom, are in Proposition; as the Establishing and Ordering the Kings Revenues, that so the Abuse of Officers, and Superfluity of Expences may be cut off, and the necessary Disbursements for his Majesties Honour, the Defence and Government of the Kingdom, may be more certainly provided for: the Regulating of Courts of Justice, and Abridging both the Delays and Charges of Law-Suits, &c. See now if our Reformer of 77. does not Fish with the very same Bait. The House of Commons (says he, p. 63.) took up again such Publick Bills as they had on foot in their former sitting, and others that might either remedy present, or prevent future mischief: As the Bill for Habeas Corpus; that against sending Men Prisoners beyond Seas; that against raising of Money without the consent of Parliament; that against Papists sitting in either House, &c. The Libels in fine of 77. are so exact a Counterpart of the others of 41. that two Tallies do not strike truer: And undoubtedly such a Correspondence in Method, cannot be without some Conformity also of Design.

There needs no other Argument to prove the late Rebellion to have been originally a Conspiracy against the Government, than the Proportion that appears betwixt the Means, and the End; and the orderly Connexion of proper Causes and Regular Effects. For it was a perfect Train of Artifice, Hypocrisy and Imposture, from one end of it to the other. The Confederacy was form'd in a Cabal of Scotch and English Presbyterians; as appears not only from their Correspondent practices in both Nations; but from his late Majesties Charge against the Five Members; and likewise from the Care that was taken upon his Majesties Restoration to date the English Act of Indemnity from the beginning of the Scotch Tumults (Jan. 1. 1637.) which was three Years before the Meeting of the Long Parliament in November 1640. The two Ministers that stood in the Gap betwixt the Conspiracy, and the Government, (and who were only cut off, as appear'd by the Sequel,

The Growth of Knavery.

to clear the passage to the King himself) were the Earl of *Strafford*, and *Archbishop Laud*: So that their *First Attack* was upon the *Earl*, and their *next* upon the *Archbishop*, under the *Notion* of *Evil Counsellors*; and upon the *common charge* of *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Proceeding*, their *Impeachments* were carri'd on by *Tumults*, and these *Brave Men* were rather baited to *Death* by *Beasts*, than *sentenc'd* with any *Colour* of *Law* or *Justice*: And as they liv'd, so they dy'd, the *Resolute Assertors* of the *English Monarchy* and *Religion*: The *Earl of Strafford* in *May* 41. but the *Archbishop* was kept languishing in the *Tower*, till *Jan.* 44. And their *Crime* was not in *Truth*, their being men of *Arbitrary Principles* themselves, but for being the *Opposers* of those *Principles* in *others*.

As the *Remonstrants* in 41. for want of *Papists*, in *Practice* and *Profession*, directed their spleen against the *Kings Ministers*, only as persons *Popishly affected*, (which in time came to be most injuriously apply'd to his Majesty, and his whole Party) Just so does our *Libeller* in 1677. *Were these Conspirators* (says he) *but avow'd Papists*, they were the more *Honest*, the *less Dangerous*, and their *Religion* were answerable for the *Errors* they might commit in order to promote it: *But these are men* (says he, in the next pag.) *obliged by all the most Sacred Tyes of Malice and Ambition*, to advance the *ruine* of the *King and Kingdom*; and *qualifi'd much better than others*, under the *Name* of *Good Protestants*, to effect it. As who should say; *Popery* is to be brought in by *some that pass for Good Protestants*. (As *Rebellion* and *Tyranny* were brought in by the *Remonstrants*, under the *Profession* of *Loyalty* and *Duty* to their *Country*.) A very *Compendious* way of making every man, that will not be a *Traitor*, a *Papist*. For who can say what any man is, or what he is not, in his *Heart*?

From his Majesties yielding in the *Business* of the *Earl of Strafford*, the *Faction* took their *Measures* how to deal with him in *other Cases*; and never left, till by *gradual Encroachments*, and *Approaches*, they first stript him of his *Friends*; Secondly, of his *Royal Authority*; Thirdly, of his *Revenue*; and Lastly, of his *Life*. Whereas, had but this *Pious* and *Unfortunate King* follow'd the *Advice* of his *Royal Father* to *Prince Henry*, he might upon cheaper *Terms* have preserv'd himself, and his *Three Kingdoms*. *Take heed*, (says *King James*)

to such Puritans; very Pests in the Church, and Common-weal, whom no Deserts can oblige; neither Oaths, or Promises bind. Breathing nothing but Sedition, and Calumnies, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the Word) the square of their Conscience. I protest before the Great God, (and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lye in) that ye shall never find with any Highlands or Border-Thieves, greater Ingratitude, and more Lyes, and vile Perjuries, than with these Phanatick Spirits. *K. James his Works*, p. 305. and 160.

Upon the ripping up of *Publick Grievances*, it was but matter of Course to follow their Complaints with Petitions for Redress; and the Good King, on the other hand, to heap Coals of Fire upon their Heads, deny'd them nothing: But the two first Bills that his Majesty pass'd, were fatal to him: That for the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the other for the continuance of the *Parliament*. They complain'd of the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commission-Court*, *Ship-Moneys*, *Forrest-Laws*, *Stamary-Courts*, *Tonnage*, and *Poundage*, &c. and had every Point for the Asking: Nay, and as an instance of his good Faith and Meaning, his Majesty took some of their Principals even into his very Councel. But so soon as he had parted with so much, as almost put it into their power to take the rest, they began then to think of setting up for themselves (see his Majesties *Declaration* of *August 12. 1642.*) and nothing but a thorough Reformation they said would ever do the Work. Now see the *Gradation*. First, The people must be alarm'd with the noise of *Tyranny*, and *Poperie*; and the *Evil Counsellors* must be remov'd, that are said, not prov'd, to stand that way inclin'd. His Majesty must be humbly *Petition'd* by both Houses to employ such *Counsellors*, *Ambassadors*, and other *Ministers*, in managing his business at home, and abroad, as the *Parliament* may have cause to confide in, &c. Nay, It may often fall out, they say, that the *Commons* may have just cause to take *Exceptions* at some men for being *Counsellors*, and yet not charge those men with *Crimes*; for there be grounds of *Diffidence* which lye not in proof; there are others which though they may be prov'd, yet are not legally *Criminal*; to be a known favourer of *Papists*, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders questioned in *Parliament*, &c. So that at first *Dash* all the *Kings Officers* are but *Tenants* at the *Will* of the *Faction*.

The next step is, to fill the places of those whom they cast out, with *Ministers* and Officers of their own choosing; as well *Privy Counsellors*, as *Judges*. As in the nineteen Propositions of Jan. 2. 42. wherein they demand, *The Translation of the Power of choosing Great Officers, and Ministers of State, from the King to the Two Houses*. Secondly, *All matters of State in the Interval of Parliaments to be debated, and concluded by a Council so chosen, and in number not above 25. nor under 15. and no publick Act esteem'd of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the advice and consent of the major part of that Council, attested under their Hands, and these also sworn to the Sense of both Houses*. Thirdly, *The Lords and Commons must be intrusted with the Militia*. Fourthly, *His Majesty may approve, but the two Houses, or the Council (in such manner as aforesaid) must approve of all Governours of Forts and Castles*. Lastly, *No Peers hereafter made, must sit, or vote in Parliament, unless admitted therunto by the consent of both Houses*.

By this time the Plot is ripe for a *Rebellion*; they *Levy War*, *Impose Oaths*, *Seize the Revenues of the Church and Crown*; *kill, plunder, and imprison their Fellow-Subjects*; *depose and murder their Sovereign*, under a Form of *Publick Justice*; by these means advancing themselves into that *Arbitrary Power* which they pretended to fear; *over-turning the Government*, under the Colour of a Zeal to support it; and instead of setting us *Right in our Religious and Civil Liberties*, they left us neither *Church*, nor *Law*, nor *King*, nor *Parliament*, nor *Properties*, nor *Freedoms*. Behold the blessed *Reformation*; and remember that the *Outcryes* against *Tyranny*, *Popery*, and *Evil Counsellors*, were the *Foundation* of it. What was their *Covenant*, but a *Blind* to their *Designs*? *A Popular Sacrament of Religious Disobedience*; and only a *Mark of Discrimination* who were against the *King*, and who for him? Nay, in the very *Contemplation* of their purpose, they knew before-hand, that there was no *gaining* of their point, but by *Rapine*, *Sacrilege*, *Perjury*, *Treason*, and *Bloud*.

After these *Notorious Violations of Faith, Honour, Humanity, and Religion*; to the common destruction of *Prince, Government, and People*, and all upon the same *Bottom* with our late *Libels*; what can this *Underminer of Parliaments*, what can our *Geneva-Faux* find to say for himself? Is not *Mercury*

as good Poyson in 77. as it was in 41? Do we not strike Fire the same way now, that we did then? And may not a Spark, in the Gun-Room do as much mischief this year, as it did thirty or forty years ago? Are not the People as much Tinder now, as they were formerly? and as apt to take ill Impressions? What if the same Method should work the same Confusion over again? or in truth, what is there else to be expected? For the same Cause, acting at Liberty, must eternally produce the same Effect. There's no Chance-medley or Misadventure in the Case; but the thing is manifestly done with Prepense malice, and on set purpose, to embroil the State: As upon Examination of the matter will undeniably appear.

You cannot but take notice, that the Author of *the Growth of Popery*, does upon the Main, principally labour these two things. First, To insinuate that the King is in some Cases *Accountable to his People*, (of which hereafter.) And Secondly, To provoke the People, by suggesting that their Souls, and their Liberties are at stake, to make use of that Power. From the former Proposition he passes into a Florid and Elaborate Declamation against *Popery*; and when he has wrought up the Figure to a height, to make it Terrible and Odious, his next business is to tell the People, that this Gobling is coming in among them, and to possess the Multitude with the Apprehension of a Form'd Conspiracy against our Religion and Government: And this too, under the Countenance of an *Historical Deduction of Affairs*; but with the Faith of a Jesuitical Legend; wherein all the Kings Ministers are in general terms branded for *Conspirators*.

His hand being now in, he is resolv'd to go thorough-stitch, and nothing scapes him that falls in his way: He makes the *House of Lords* (p. 72.) to be *Felon of it self*; and (p. 82.) *Non Compos*; Arraigning their Proceedings in several Cases with Boldness and Contempt. But he makes a great deal bolder yet with the *House of Commons*; he divides them into three Parts. It is too notorious to be conceal'd (says he, p. 73.) that near a third part of the House, have Beneficial Offices under his Majesty in the Privy Council, the Army, the Navy, the Law, the Household, the Revenue both in England, and Ireland, or in attendance upon his Majesty's Person. Upon this Exception, he expounds

expounds himself, that *'tis to be fear'd, their Gratitude to their Master, with their own Interest, may tempt them beyond their Obligation to the Publick.* What can be more Audacious than this Charge upon King, Lords, and Commons, in the Face of a *Sitting Parliament*? He says, that *it is too notorious to be conceal'd, &c.* And where's the Crime, or the Shame, I beseech you, for an Officer of the Kings, to be a Member of the House of Commons? As if he that has an Office, and he that has none, had not both of them the same Master; or that a man might not as well be a Knave without an Office, as with it. This was the Complaint also of 41. against Officers, till the Complainants had gotten those Offices themselves, and then all was quiet. This is only a sly way of declaring the Kings Servants Enemies to the Kingdom, and Erecting an Opposition betwixt the Common, and inseparable Interests of his Majesty, and his Subjects. Beside that, the same Reason would reach to the Excluding of the Kings Servants from any other Trust in the Government, as well as from that of a Member in the House of Commons; and his Majesties Favour should at that rate incapacitate any man for Publick business. If the Libeller had open'd his mouth a little wider, he would have told us in plain *English*, that there are three or four of *Oliver's* Old Servants out of Office, and that the King is strangely over-seen to bestow his Boons upon a Company of Fellows that never had any hand in the bringing of him to the Crown, by the Murther of his Father, as they did. But yet he is content upon some terms, that they may be admitted, *provided that they do not crowd into the House in numbers beyond Modesty,* (pag. 74.) which may seem to be some amends for the Rascals he made of them the very Page before. Suppose (says he) that the *Question concerning this Prorogation, were by the Custom of Parliaments to be justify'd,* (which hath not been done hitherto) yet who that desires to maintain the Reputation of an Honest Man, would not have laid hold upon so plausible an occasion, to break Company, when it was grown so scandalous? And then he assigns the matter of Scandal. For it is too notorious (says he) to be conceal'd, that near a third part of the House have Beneficial Offices under his Majesty, &c. Here's a great deal of business done in one Period. First, He pronounces this *Parliament* void, and consequently all their Proceedings to be Nullities. Secondly, He will

will not allow any man to be honest, that right or wrong would not improve the opportunity of breaking this Parliament. Thirdly, He makes the House of Commons to be scandalous Company, and scandalous for having Beneficial Offices under his Majesty. The first time that ever I heard the Kings Bounty was a Scandal to any man. But to my Point.

And yet (says he, p. 77.) These Gentlemen being full, and already in Employment, are more good natur'd, and less dangerous to the Publick, than those that are hungry, and out of office, who may by probable Computation make another third part of this House of Commons. And a while after, They are all of them, he says, to be bought, and sold. And when he goes on; (p. 78.) there is a third part still remaining, but as contrary in themselves, as Light and Darkness. These are either the worst, or the best of men; The first are most profligate persons, &c. Concluding (p. 79.) That it is less difficult to conceive how Fire was first brought to Light in the World, than how any thing good could ever be produc'd out of a House of Commons so Constituted. And (p. 149.) he calls them this House, or BARN of Commons; treating the Members accordingly. They list themselves (says he) into some Court-Faction, and it is as well known among them to what Lord each of them retain, as when formerly they wore Coats and Badges.

And he has not done with them yet neither; for nothing will do his Job, but a Final Dissolution; Considering, (says he, pag. 81.) how doubtful a Foot this long Parliament now stood upon by this long Prorogation, there could not have been a more Legal, or however, no more Wise and Honest a thing done, than for both the Lords and Commons to have separated themselves, &c. I could wish that he had not appeal'd from the Legality of the thing, to the Wisdom and Honesty of it: But however Legal, or not Legal, the thing is to be done: for he knows very well, that so long as this House of Commons continues in being, Rebellion can never turn up Trump again. But it was otherwise order'd, he says, and so he betakes himself to an Experiment of Tampering all the Grand Juries in England, to Petition for a New Parliament, upon the Credit of his Story concerning the Corruptions of this. Wherein by the foul Reflections he has past upon many Persons of Known and Eminent Example, for Piety, Integrity, and Moderation, he has utter-
ly

ly disappointed the Malice of his Scandal upon the rest. It was well enough said, methought, by a Worthy Member of the House of Commons; *Do not you see, says he, how they have Libell'd me in that damn'd List of the Parliament-men?* One told him that he was mistaken, for his Name was not in't. *Why, that's the business, says he, for 'tis only a Libel upon those that are left out.* Nay, rather than fail, he does as good as advise a down-right Insurrection, (in these words, p. 155.) *It is now come to the fourth Act (says he) and the next Scene that opens, may be Rome, or Paris, (by the Plot, it should be rather Geneva, or Edinburgh) yet men sit by, like idle Spectators, and still give Money toward their own Tragedy.* And why does he blame them for *Sitting by?* And like *Idle SPECTATORS?* unless he would have them enter into *Tumult, and Action.* A very fair Encouragement to make men bestir themselves, and without more Ceremony, lay violent hands upon the Publick. Good God! That ever such a Creature as this should propound to himself by the dash of a Pen, to move the Foundations of the *English Government.*

From the *Parliament*, he descends to the *Judges.* *Alas!* (says he) *the Wisdom and Probity of the Law went off, for the most part, with Good Sir Matthew Hales, and Justice is made a meer Property.* And then he raves upon the *constant Irregularities, and Injustice from Term to Term, of those that administer the Judicature betwixt his Majesty, and his People* (p. 154.) *This Poysonous Arrow* (meaning the Choice of the Judges) *strikes to the very Heart of Government, and could come from no Quiver, but that of the Conspirators. What French Counsel, what Standing Forces, what Parliamentary Bribes, what National Oaths, and all the other Machinations of wicked men have not yet been able to effect, may be more compendiously acted by Twelve Judges in Scarlet* (p. 66.) And is not this directly again? When no *Judges* would serve the turn, but those that betray'd the People to *Slavery*, and his *Sacred Majesty* to the *Scaffold*; He has another *Fling* at the *Sheriffs.* *If any Worthy Person* (says he, p. 80.) *chance to carry the Election, some Mercenary or Corrupt Sheriff makes a double Return;* and so the Cause is handed to the *Committee of Elections, &c.* And truly he does not give either the *King, or the Monarchy of England,* much better

ter Quarter than he allows the rest; as you shall see by and by: So that nothing less than the *thorough* Reformation of 41. will do the work of 77. And the whole Frame of the Government must be unhing'd, to gratifie the Caprice of a Pragmatical *Male-content*.

The *Passion* and *Malice* of the Libeller is so evident, that he does half confess it himself, by an *Anticipation* of the Charge. The Relator (says he, pag. 155.) foresees that he shall on both hands be blam'd for pursuing this Method. Some on the one side will expect that the very Persons should have been nam'd: whereas he only gives Evidence to the Fact, and leaves the Malefactors to those that have the Power of Enquiry. If he can but acquit himself on the other hand for writing the Libel, as well as on this for not naming the Persons, he will do well enough. For first; It is not his business to prove, but to defame. Secondly, The naming of Particulars would have restrain'd the Calumny: whereas his work is to wound all the Kings Ministers that faithfully adhere to their Master in the generality of the scandal. Thirdly; He judges it safer, and more expedient to amuse the multitude with jealousies that cannot be disprov'd, than point-blank to fasten upon Particulars an Accusation that cannot be prov'd. What does he mean by saying that he gives Evidence to the Fact? It is the first Libel certainly that ever was given in Evidence. But where's the Relator himself all this while, upon whose bare word Parliaments are to be Dissolv'd; Ministers of State Arraign'd, Judges displac'd, and the whole Government new Modell'd? What if he should appear, and be found at last to have been one of Oliver's Cabal? Would any man desire a more competent Witness for Charles the Second, than the Murderer of Charles the First? But he has been so us'd to call the King himself Traytor, that he may be allow'd to call his Friends Conspirators.

On the other hand (says he, pag. 155.) some will represent this Discourse (as they do all Books that tend to detect their Conspiracy against his Majesty, and Kingdom) as if it were written against the Government. For now of late, as soon as any Man is gotten into Publick Employment by ill Acts, and by worse continues it; he, if it please the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and

by being Criminal, pretends to be Sacred. This is only crying Whore first, to call those people *Conspirators*, who are likely to censure him for a *Libeller*; which with his Learned leave, is but a Course Figure neither; and runs much better in the *Common Billingsgate* of *You are a Knave your self to say that I'm one*. Which in few words is all that's in't. For he does not offer so much as one syllable in his Justification, but with another Lash or two at the Kings Ministers, winds up his Pericd. *Now of late*, says he, (he means, I suppose, since *Oliver* went out of Play) *as soon as any Man is gotten into Publick Employment by ill Acts, &c.* He should do well to consider who Governs, before he says that Villany is the ready way to Preferment; *He, if it please the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and by being Criminal, pretends to be Sacred.* I answer, That in the Case of a Publick and Legal Accusation, the Minister is not the Government; for the Charge terminates in, and operates no further than his person; but in the Affront of a nameless, and Indefinite Libel, the King himself is wounded in a General Reflection upon his Ministers; for it is his Choice, and Commission, not the Officers Misdemeanour, that is there in Question: Nor does he pretend to be Sacred because he is *Criminal*; but the *Libeller* (who still writes after the *Remonstrance*) makes every thing *Criminal* that is *Sacred*, and gives the Construction of *Rebellion* to *Loyalty*, and of *Loyalty* to *Rebellion*.

But if there be not Mischief in the very Project of this Libel, there's nothing at all in't; for I cannot frame to my self the least colour, or possibility of any other End. He says, *It was his Design indeed to give Information, but not to turn Informer.* That is to say, he would set the people together by the Ears, and no body should know who did it. Now see the End he propounds. *That those (says the Relator) to whom he has only a Publick Enmity, no private Animosity, might have the Priviledge of States-men to repent at the last hour, and by one single Action to expiate all their former misdemeanours.* Which is e'en as Civil a way as a body would wish, of recommending a Publick Minister to his last Prayer. It remains now to speak a word to the *Timing* of his Enterprize, which, in a wicked sense, is in truth the Glory of it.

I shall not need to speculate upon the Power, and Designs of *France*, the deplorable State of *Flanders*, or the Consequences that must inevitably reflect upon *England* in the loss of the *Spanish Netherlands*: the matter being agreed upon at all hands, that an Union of Affections, Counsels, and Interests, was never more necessary to this Nation than at this instant it is; and that *delay is Death* to us. This being given for granted, it is likewise as certain, that nothing under Heaven, but the Credit of this Sitting Parliament, and the Blessing of a Fair Understanding betwixt his Majesty, and his Two Houses, can preserve this Kingdom, (Morally speaking) from Irreparable Ruine. And yet this is the Critical Juncture that the Libeller has made choice of, for the blasting both of the Government, and the Administration of it; for the violent Dissolution even of this most necessary Parliament; for the sowing of Jealousies, and alienating the Peoples Hearts from their Duty to their Sovereign. Let the World now judge betwixt the Libeller, and the pretended Conspirators; who are more probably the *Pensioners of France*; those that are only Calumniated in the Dark, and without any proof, or the least colour of it, or the Calumniators themselves, (I mean, the Libeller, and his Adherents) who are doing all that is possible toward the Facilitating of the Work of *France*, and the putting of *England* out of Condition to defend it self. What is it, I beseech you, that can now support us in this Exigent, but the Wisdom and Reputation of a Parliament? which they are at this very instant, labouring to defame and dissolve: distracting and dividing the Nation, at a time when our best Union is little enough to preserve us; and obstructing those Parliamentary supplies, without which we must unavoidably perish: For it is to this Session, that the Libeller directs the *Mock of Still giving Money toward their own Tragedy*. But sure we are not so mad yet, as to take the Subverters of our Church and State, for the Advocates of our Religion and Freedom. I would know, in the next place, What any man can say to excuse his *Growth of Popery*, from being a *daring*, and a *spiteful Libel* against the King, and his Government. And I shall begin with the Liberties he takes with his Majesty, sometime in direct Terms, and otherwhile under the Blind of the *Conspirators*.

Speaking of the Shutting up of the *Exchequer* (pag. 31.) *The Crown* (says he) *made Prize of the Subject, and broke all Faith, and Contract at Home, in order to the breaking of them abroad with more advantage.* The Copy has in this Point out-done the *Original*; for the *Remonstrants* were in *Arms*, before they presum'd to Word it at this audacious height. Take it in the Inolent Representation of the Fact; The malicious Construction and Pre-
 sumption of the Intent; and to both these, add the sordid manner of Reflecting upon an extraordinary thing done upon an extraordinary occasion; and wherein the Subject has since received so ample and generous satisfaction; The Clamour is so foul, as if an *Egyptian Plague* were broken in upon us, and the *Frogs of Geneva* crept into the *King's Chambers*. And 'tis much at the same Rate, that, he Treats the King about his *Declaration of Indulgence*, (pag. 33.) *Hereby* (says he,) *all the Penal Laws against Papists, for which former Parliaments had given so many Supplies, and against Non-conformists, for which this Parliament had play'd more largely, were at one instant Suspended in order to defraud the Nation of all that Religion, which they had so dearly purchased, &c.* Observe here how ungratefully he charges the *Design* of this *Declaration* to be *the defrauding the Nation of their Religion*; which on the contrary was a manifest Concession, only to gratifie the restless Importunities of his own Gang. And see what sport he makes, but five or six Lines further, with the very Reason of that Law which he takes here so hainously to be suspended. *It appears* (says he) *at the first sight, that Men ought to enjoy the same Propriety and Protection in their Consciences, which they have in their Lives, Liberties, and Estates; But that to take away these in Penalty for the other, is meerly a more Legal and Gentile Way of Padding upon the Road of Heaven; and that it is only for want of Money, and for want of Religion, that men take these desperate Courses.* Now, by his Favour, there is a great Disparity betwixt a Pretence to *Propriety, and Protection in Consciences*, and a Pretence to them, in *Lives, Liberties, and Estates*; for the Latter are relyable to *Violence*, and may be taken away, but the other cannot. And now he talks of *Padding upon this Road*; *The Remonstrants* (as I remember) were very good at it, *That drove away from their Churches, 85 Ministers, of 97, within the Walls of London.* We'll agree in the matter with him, that *want of Money, and want of Religion, will put Men upon desperate Courses*; for

my charity perswades me, *He would never have written these Libels else.* He is a little positive, methinks, in *Averring* that a Great Lord lost his Place for defending the *Protestant Religion*, (pag. 44.) But he has forgotten the Statute of his own *Citing*, (pag. 15.) that makes it *Incapacity*, for saying that the *the King is a Papist, or an Introducer of Popery*; and that it was the King himself that remov'd his Lordship. And what do you think of his *Irony* (pag. 43) where he says, That the Parliament by the *Conspirators good Leave, was admitted to sit again at the day appointed.* He tells us of another *Affair* too, pag. 51; *which being transmitted to his Majesty, was easily chang'd into a Court Intrigue*; and (pag. 63.) *That the Conspirators might so represent things to his Majesty, as to incense against the Parliament, and distrusting all Parliamentary Advice, to take Council from Themselves, from France, and from Necessity.*

In this *Disloyal* and irreverent *Licence*, he drops you a word or two now and then, before he is aware, against the *King himself*; and other whiles, discharges his *Malice* to the *Government*, upon the *Heads of Publick Ministers.* The *Subject Matter* of his *Complaint* is a *Tendency of Counsels and Actions towards Tyranny, and Popery.* But *the King* (says he, pag. 4.) *can do no wrong*; and so goes on, *nor can he receive wrong.* What is this, but a *Justification* of all the *Violences* that were acted upon the late *King*; even to the very *Murder* of him; under that *Mortal, and Treasonous Distinction* betwixt his *Authority* and his *Person*? And an *Allowance*, that the same *Course* may be taken with his *Royal Successours*? *The King can receive no wrong*; (he says) What does he mean by this? Is not his *Majesties Breath* in his *Nostrils*? Is he not *Flesh and Blood*? Is not his *Body* lyable to *Wounds, Distempers, Imprisonment, and Death*? He'll tell you, *Yes*; But this is not the *KING*, but the *MAN*, the *PERSON*: But the *KING*, all this while, that is to say, the *Authority*, is *Sacred* and *Invulnerable.*

Now for *Peace*, and *Brevity* sake, Let us suppose that this *Charge* of a *Popish, and Arbitrary Design*, does neither intend nor reflect any *imputation* upon his *Majesty*; (his *Religion*, and his *Tenderness* of *Nature* being *unquestionable*) It is yet a *worse Libel* another way. *Worse* (I say) both as to the *Drift*, and to the

the *Scandal* of it, by how much *Contempt* is more dangerous to a Prince, than *Hatred*: For he employes his utmost Skill to Represent his Majesty only *Passive* in all his *Administrations*, and so lessens the indubitable Fame of his Royal Prudence, and Courage among his People.

You see, *Sir*, the Freedom he takes with the *King* and his *Ministers*; The next Point, will be to enquire, how he stands affected to the *Government* it self. *The Subjects* (says he, pag. 3.) *retain their Proportion in the Legislature*. In which saying, he makes them *Partners of the Sovereignty*; and turns the *Monarchy of England* into a *Tripartite and Coordinate Government*; which is as well destructive of *Parliaments*, on the One Hand, as of *Royalty* on the Other. Upon the Admittance of this *Coordination*, any *Two* of the *Three* may destroy the *Third*: the *Two Houses* may destroy the *King*, and the *King*, with *Either* of the *Houses*, may destroy the *Other*. Which if it be so, what Prince that is Imperial in the *Intervals*, would ever hazard the Dethroning of himself by a *Session*? *The making of Laws* is a peculiar and incommunicable *Privilege of the Supreme Power*, and the Office of the *Two Houses* in this Case is only *Consultive, or Preparatory*; but the Character of *Power* rests in the Final *Sanction*, which is in the *King*: And Effectually the *Passing of a Bill*, is but the granting of a *Request*: *The Two Houses* make the *Bill*; 'tis true, but the *King* makes the *Law*; and 'tis the *Stamp*, not the *Matter*, that makes it *Current*: Nor does the *Subject* any otherwise make *Laws*, then the *Petitioner* makes *Orders of Council*.

It is a Suspicious, and Ill-looking Passage that he has, pag. 14. *As to Matter of Government*, says he; *If to murder the King, be (certainly it is) a Fact so horrid, (he does not say how horrid) how much more heinous is it to Assassinate the Kingdom?* Here is first invol'd in this Clause, the *Deposing Position* of 41, that the *King* is *Singulis major, Universis minor*: For it is clear that the *Comparison* was only made to draw on the *Preference*, and to possess the People that they have a greater Prize at Stake in the hazard of their *Religion*, than in the *Tye* of their *Civil Obedience*. (the very *Translation* still of 41) And for their further Encouragement, he tells them (pag. 4.) that *we have the same Right (modestly understood) in our Propriety, that the Prince hath in his Regality;*

Regality: which carries with it an *Immuendo*, that the *King* may as well Forfeit his *Crown*, as the *Subject* his *Free-hold*. It cannot be imagin'd that all these lading and Desperate Hints should fall from a Man of Brains and Sense by Chance; and you see the whole Tract takes the same Byass.

No *King* of England (says he, pag. 58.) had ever so great a *Treasure* of his Peoples affections, except what those ill men have (as they have done all the rest) consum'd; whom, but out of an *Excess* of Love to his person, the *Kingdom* would never (for it never did formerly) so long have suffer'd. Here's still the Crocodile of 41. nothing but Love and Reverence to his late Majesty too, till his Head was off. But let us reason the matter in a word. *These ill men* have no *Names*, it seems; so that any Man that's near the *King*, is by this Libeller set up for a Mark to the Outrage of the people. And then he says, *The Kingdom* would never have suffer'd them. Who are they, I pray, that he calls the *Kingdom*, but the *Rabble* still of 41. the *Execrable Instruments* of that *Rebellion*, and the *Hopes* of another? But if the *Kingdom* would not suffer it, what would he have them do to help themselves? The Law is open, in Case of any Legal Impeachment, and 'tis too early days yet for a Tumult.

In his Descant upon the Test, he is wonderfully free of his Figures. Never (says he, pag. 59.) was so much sense contain'd in so few words; no *Conveyancer* could ever in more *Compendious*, or *binding Terms*, have drawn a *Dissettlement* of the whole *Birth-right* of England. This Test has made a great noise, and it will be worth the while to examine what is said against it. The Form of it is as follows.

I A. B. do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commission'd by him in Pursuance of such Commission. And I do swear that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.

The Growth of Knavery.

He says, pag. 57. That it was thrown out of the House in the Plague-year at Oxford, for fear of a general Infection of the Vitals of this Kingdom; whereas in truth, it was brought into the House as an Antidote against that Poyson which had seiz'd the Vitals of this Kingdom already; and amounts to no more than the Unswearing of that on the behalf of the Government, which had been formerly sworn for the destruction of it. The Author of *A Letter from a Person of Quality, &c.* calls it, p. 1. *STATE-MASTER-PIECE*, and design'd to these Ends. First, To make a distinct Party, from the rest of the Nation, of the High Episcopal Man, and the Old Cavalier. Now I took it rather to be a Design of Uniting all Parties, under one Common Bond of Duty, and Obedience to the Government: And where that could not be obtain'd, to distinguish who were for the Government, and who against it; for the late King was murder'd upon this very Distinction betwixt his Authority and his Person. Nor is there any Government upon the Face of the Earth, without some Obligation upon the Subject, Equivalent to this Test.

Next, says he, they design to have the Government of the Church sworn to as Unalterable, and so Tacitly own'd to be of Divine Right. This, under favour, is a Fallacy. The Test does not concern it self, whether the Government be Changeable, or not, but only provides that the State may be serv'd with Magistrates and Officers, that stand well Affected to the Establishment. Those that do so, will never scruple the Oath; and for those that do not, it is the very intent of it to discriminate, and to exclude them: And to encounter the Covenant, by Virtue of which they dissolv'd the late Government, with an Oath never to endeavour any further Alteration in this. And certainly, a man may better swear the Maintaining of a Government according to the Law, than the alteration of it against Law.

Thirdly, says the Author of the Letter, In Requital to the Crown, they declare the Government Absolute, and Arbitrary, and allow Monarchy, as well as Episcopacy, to be Jure Divino, and not to be bounded, or limited by Humane Laws.

How this Test does either declare, or pretend the Government to be absolute, and arbitrary, I cannot imagine: But on the contrary, every man is ty'd by it from endeavouring to make it so, if it be not so already, in Swearing that he will not any time endeavour the Alteration of it. And then in his Explication of the meaning of Church, and State in the Test, by Monarchy and Episcopacy in his Reflection upon it; he has done us a greater kindness than he was aware of; for he has wholly disappointed the Spight, and the Intent of his next Clause. And (as he goes on) to secure all this, They resolve to take away the Power and Opportunity of Parliaments; to alter anything in Church or State, only leave them as an Instrument to raise Money, and to pass such Laws, as the Court, and Church shall have a mind to: The Attempt of any other, how necessary soever, must be no less a Crime than Perjury.

See now whether or no this be fair dealing. It is, by his own Confession, the Form of Monarchy, and the Order of Episcopacy; The Government it self, and not the Administration of it, that is here in Question. He would have it believ'd, That by this Test, Parliaments are barr'd upon pain of Perjury from attempting any Alteration IN Church OR State: Whereas they are left at Liberty to debate what Alterations they please in the Parts of the Government, provided they do not strike at the Root of the Government it self. And the Deliberation and Result of the whole matter, is no more than this. Many of the People (and all the Principles) are yet living, that destroy'd the King, and the Bishops in the last Rebellion: Let us have a Care of the same Hands again, and trust none of them in the Government but under an Oath; not to endeavour the Alteration of it: That is to say, of the Monarchy into a Republick; or of Episcopacy into Presbytery, as they did before. And this was the clear Scope of the Test.

The Author of the Growth of Popery, discoursing upon this Subject; There is nothing (says he, pag. 57) more Portentous, and of worse Omen, than when such an Oath hangs over a Nation like a New Comet, foreboding the Alteration of Religion or Government.

A Word first to the *Oath*, which, for want of an *Epithete* to express the heinousness of it; The *Libeller* so Emphatically calls *SUCH* an *Oath*. It is an *Oath* founded upon the same consideration with the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and directed to the same End; and every jot as necessary under this King, as that was under his Grand-father. The *Jesuited Papists* had invited the *Spaniard* to Invade *England*: The *Jesuited Protestants* in the late Rebellion did in like manner apply themselves to the *French*. The *Former* laid a Plot for the Blowing up of the *Parliament*; The *Other* executed the Plot of destroying *Parliaments*, changing the *Government*, and murdering the *King*. The People were misled in the *One* Case, upon the *Jesuitical* Principle, that a Prince being Excommunicate by the *Pope*, the Subject is discharg'd of his Duty to him; and they were seduced in the *other*, by a Persuasion that the Sacred Character of a *King* Rests in the *Authority*, and is separable from the Person: which *Authority* they lodg'd in the *Two Houses*, and so did their Business. This Practice of the *Jesuites* occasion'd the *Oath* of *Allegiance* in the Statute 30 *Jacobi*, Entitled an *Act* for the discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants. In which *Oath* you have this Clause. *And I do further swear that I do from my heart detest and abjure, as impious and Heretical, this damnable Doctrine, and Position, That Princes which be Excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or Murder'd by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.* Here was an *Act* for the Discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants, with an *Oath*, under a *Penalty*, and a *Declaration* against, and an *Abhorrence* of that impious Position, whereupon the Treasons of those Times were founded: And why not a Provision as well against those People that with premeditated Malice, as well as Ambition, overturn'd the late Government; and against that Principle of dividing his Majesties *Authority* from his *Person*, which was the Countenance and Support of the late Rebellion: Take it in short, and the *Test* is but a Supplement to the *Oath* of *Allegiance*. The *Scottish Faction* impos'd upon the People that they might be true to the *King*, though they Levy'd Arms against his *Person*: and the end of this *Oath* is only to expound *That Position* to be *Treasonous*, and to secure the Government for the future against men of such Principles; according to equity and conscience, and to the common practice; and according to the prudence of all well-order'd States.

Is this the Oath now that he calls *SUCH* an Oath? The Oath, than which there is nothing more Portentous, and of worse Omen to a Nation? He has forgotten the *Fore-boding*, and *Portentous Omens* of *Forty One*, and the *Dire Events* of those *Pre-fages*. What do you think of a deliberate Design, to spoil the *Crown*, the *Church*, and the *Subject*: And all this in the Name of *God*, for the Honour of the *King*, and the Good of the *People*? And then the Entitling of Providence to all the Advantages that the Faction got by the Ruine of *Three Kingdoms*? Here's the unrepented Guilt of *Sacriledge*, *Treason*, and *Bloud*, to the Highest Degree, and so Transcendent an *Ingratitude*, that some of the very men that were pardon'd for one Rebellion, are now the Advocates for another. If these Practices should be suffer'd, there would be no need to consult the Stars for a Prognostick of Change of Government.

The *Oaths* (says he, pag. 58.) in our late Kings time taught the *Phanaticks*, because they could not swear, yet to *Covenant*. His memory fails him, I perceive, for the *Covenant* was a-foot in *Scotland* before any *Oaths* complain'd of here; by the Token that the Assembly at *Glasgow*, in 1638. came to this Resolution upon the point. *It is lawful for Subjects to Covenant and Combine, without the King, and enter into a Bond of mutual Defence against him.* Take notice next, that the *Oath* complain'd of, was the *Oath ex Officio*, which *Oath* was abolish'd, before any *Covenanting* in *England*: And he is so much out again, in saying that the *Phanaticks* *Covenanted*, &c. because they could not swear, that in truth they *Covenanted*, because they car'd not what they swore. Witness their *Covenants*, *Negative Oaths*, and *Oath of Abjuration*, in Opposition to their *Oaths of Allegiance*, and *Canonical Obedience*: There was no *Compounding*, no living in their *Quarters*, without *Swearing*. There was an *Oath*, given at a *Communion* at *Fife*, obliging people not to take the *Kings Covenant*; And it was one *Condition* upon the *Treaty* at the *Isle of Wight*, that his Majesty himself should give assurance by *Solemn Oath* under his *Hand*, and *Seal*, for settling *Religion* according to the *Covenant*: So that they made no *Conscience* (you see) either of *Swearing*, or *Forswearing*; either of taking *Oaths themselves*, or of forcing them upon others for the advancement of their Design.

He takes Exception (pag. 59.) to the two *Declaratory Points* of the *Test*. First, That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King. And he reasons the matter in these words: *It were difficult to instance a Law, either in this, or other Country, but that a private man, if any King in Christendom assault him, may, having Retreated to the Wall, stand upon his Guard.* That is to say, a private man may kill his Prince in his own Defence. For he puts this Case in opposition to the Declaration; only translating the *taking up of Arms against the King*, into a *Man's Standing upon his Guard*. All that's honest in't is this, that he refuses to declare that to be unlawful, which he holds to be lawful.

His second Scruple is, *The Abhorrence of that Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him, in pursuance of such Commission.* Here (says he) is neither Tenour, or Rule of any such Commission specif'd, nor the *Qualification* of those which shall be Armed with such Commissions, expressed, or limited.

The Author of this Frivolous Shift, knows very well, that the *Rules* and *Measures* of *Commissions* vary according to the Circumstances of *Time, Place, Fact, Person*; that the *Qualification* of the *Commissioner* does not at all operate upon the *Authority* of the *Commission*; and that if the *Bill* were drawn out to the length of the *Book of Martyrs*, there would not yet be room enough to obviate all Cavils, and Objections. But in the next Page, he speaks his mind a little plainer.

As to the Commission, (says he) if it be to take away a Man's Estate, or his Life by force, yet it is the Kings Commission: or if the Person Commissionate be under never so many Disabilities by Acts of Parliament; yet his taking this Oath, removes all those Incapacities, or his Commission makes it not disputable.

This Seditious Hint (for I cannot call it an Argument) lies open so many ways, that I am only at a loss where to begin with it. First, Let the *Commission*, and *Commissioner* be what they will, *no Man is to be a Judge in his own Cause*; but the *Law* must be the *Judge* both of the *Legality* of the one, and the

the Capacity of the other. Secondly, If upon this ground an *injur'd Person* may take Arms, in *one Case*; so may a *Criminal*, upon the bare pretence of it in any other: For 'tis but laying that the *Commission is unwarrantable*, or that *the Officer is a Rascal*, and there's his Justification. Thirdly, Suppose a *double abuse* in Manner, as is here suggested; that *abuse* does not yet void the *Authority*, to which the Law on the *one side* requires *obedience*, or at least *submission*; and there is no Law, on the *other side*, that allows *resistance*. Fourthly, The End and Prospect of all Laws is Publick Convenience, and there was never any Law invented, so profitable to a *Community*, but it was in some respect or other, to the detriment of some *particulars*: So that the very admittance of his suppositions, does not at all affect the Reason of the *Test*, if the *benefit* be *general* on the *one hand*, and the *Mischief* only *particular* on the *other*. How many men are sworn out of their Lives and Fortunes by *false Witnesses*? Shall we therefore quarrel the Method of proceeding *Secundum Allegata, & Probata*? A man is arrested upon a Fobb'd Action, for a sum of Money, knowing first, that he owes not a Penny: Secondly, that the Consequence of it will be his Ruine: Thirdly, that the Action is meerly Malicious: And fourthly, (to make it strong enough) that the Officer that serves the Writ is Confederate with his Adversary, and that they have both complotted his destruction: All this will not yet Authorize a resistance; but if an Officer that has the *Kings Writ*, or any other lawful Warrant, though *Erroneous*, shall be slain in the Execution of it, this is *MURDER*. A word now as to the occasion of it.

The People of 41. when they had forced his Majesty from his Palace, by Affronts and Arm'd Tumults, publish'd this Doctrine to the Nation, that though his *Person* was gone, his *Authority* resided in the *two Houses*: under which colour they imposed *Ordinances* upon the people, for *Laws*, and by Degrees proceeded to an Exercise of all the Acts of *Sovereignty*; making War against the *Person* of the King, and those that were *Commission'd* by him, under the pretence aforesaid: as *Rebellious, Traytors, and Conspirators*. Now to prevent the *same Mischief* again, from the *same Principles*, it was thought fit to propose this *Declaration of Abhorrence*. The Objections against

gainst it are, that the King may grant a Commission to take away a Man's Life, or Estate, and imploy any man at a venture to execute it? which is First, The supposal of an unjust, and Tyrannical Commission: Secondly, A Case so rare, that it would be a hard matter to produce a Precedent for it, without a Reference to a Tryal at Law: And Thirdly, What would be the Fruit of such a Resistance, but the tuning of an Oppression on the one side, into a Rebellion on the other; and the forfeiting of that Life, and Estate to the Law, which was otherwise invaded contrary to the Law? For 'tis a thousand to one that the power that issu'd the Commission, will find Assistants to Execute it. So that the Resistance pleaded for in this Case, is First, of a very remote Supposition: Secondly, of dangerous Consequence to the Resistent: And Thirdly, of no Avail to him at all.

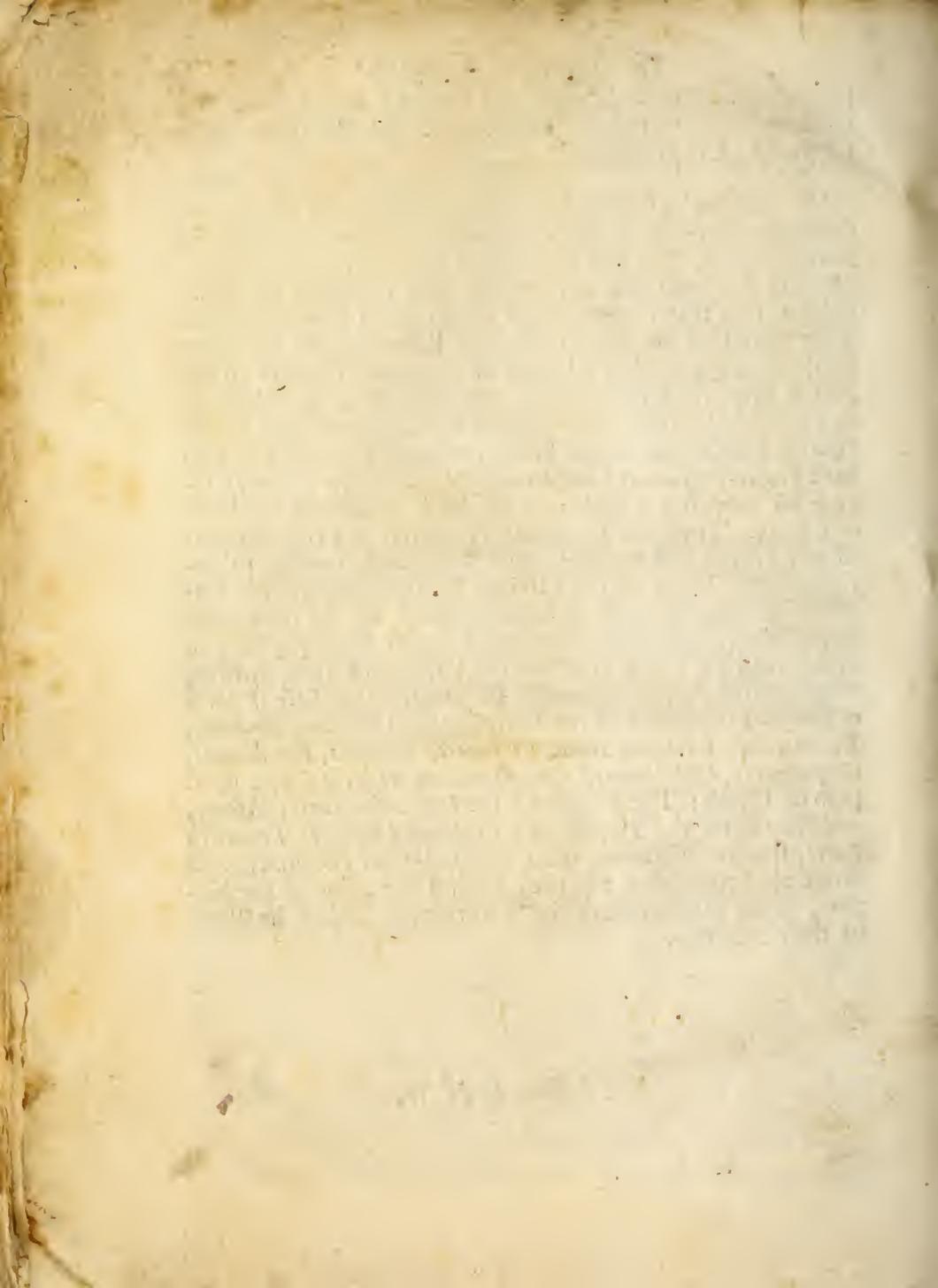
If we may not resist (says the Faction) under these Circumstances, our Lives, Liberties, and Estates are at the Kings Mercy; for that which may be one Mans case, may be any mans: And so because of this possibility of wrong to particulars, we judge it reasonable, that every particular man should be allow'd to defend himself. See now the Inconvenience, which upon the allowance of this Liberty in favour of Particulars, will redound to the Publick.

An honest man is charg'd with Treason in the Kings Name, and by his Majesties Order to be taken into Custody, and by an Officer too, under what *disabilities* you please. Here's the whole Case. An Innocent Person; Life, Liberty, and Estate at stake, and an Unqualifi'd Commissioner. If one man may resist, because he is Innocent, another upon the same pretence may resist too, although he be Guilty. For no man under a Charge, is either Guilty, or Innocent in the Eye of the Law, till he be Legally, either Convicted, or Acquitted. So that the Innocent, and the Guilty, are to be try'd indifferently by the same Law, and so are the pretended Errours either in the Commission, or Commissioner. Take matters once out of the Channel of Tryal by our Peers, there's an end of *Magna Charta*; and the Government it self is become Passive, and Precarious. Will you have the true Reason now, why this Abhorrence goes

so much against the hair with some People? The *Position* is to be *Cherish'd*, and kept in Countenance, till the time comes for putting it in *Practice*.

No man can be so blind, as not to discern by the correspondent Motions of the *Consistorians* in *Scotland*, and the *Scottish English*, that they act already by *Concert*; and it is as plain by this bold and adventurous way of *Libels* all on the sudden, that they depend upon *France* for a *Second*: Which is no more than was done in the late Rebellion, by the same Faction, as appear'd by a Letter of the Lord *Lowdens* to the *French King*, for his Protection and Assistance, for which he was committed to the *Tower*; and it was also confirm'd by the Fourth Article against the Five Members, accusing them to have *Trayterously invited and encourag'd a Forreign Power to invade his Majesties Kingdom of England*. Husband's *Collecti- ons*, p. 35. These are the *French Pensioners*, and the *Betrayers of our Religion and Freedom*, under *Oaths*, and *Covenants to preserve* them. Were not our Divines Pillag'd, Sequestred, Imprison'd, either for praying for his Majesty, or for refusing to *Abjure* him? How many Reverend Divines were poyson'd in *Peter-House*? I could give you the History of their *Spiriting* away several *Persons of Honour* for *Slaves*; their *Sale of three or fourscore Gentlemen to the Barbadoes*: Their *Sequestrations*, *Decimations*, *Exclusion from all Offices*, *Plunders*, *Banishments*, *Confinements*, *Prohibition of Correspondence with the King*, upon pain of *Death*: The *Juggles of the Irish Adventures*; *Money*, and *Plate* upon the *Propositions*; *Confiscated Estates*; *Twentieth Parts*, *Weekly Assessments*, and a hundred other *Pecuniary*, and *Arbitrary Stratagems*, till they finish'd the ruine of the Nation, in the *Dissolution of the Government*, and in the *Bloud* of their *Sovereign*.

T H E E N D.





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