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THE
CHARACTER
OF A
REBELLION,
And what
ENGLAND
May expect from one.

OR,
The Designs of Dissenters
Examined by REASON, EXPERIENCE,
And the
LAWS and STATUTES
OF THE
REALM.

LONDON,
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The CHARACTER of a REBELLION,

AND

What England may expect from one, &c.

HE does not deserve the name of an *Englishman*, who in a time of Common and Imminent Danger, dare not stand up for his King, his Religion, his Country, Laws, Liberty, and the most Excellent Constitution of Government in the whole World. And that all these are in the most apparent hazard even from those People who pretend to be the great Opposers of Popery and Arbitrary Government, I appeal not only to the Swarms of Insolent, Scandalous, Seditious and Malitious Pamphlets which of late have made the Press and the whole Nation groan, and are one of the greatest Grievances and Pests of the Commonwealth, but to that general fear which the Insolence of Factious Dissenters hath raised, and thereby given too just ground for apprehensions of their breaking out into Rebellion and Insurrections.

I am satisfied that they lay a great stress upon the Policy of this Invention, to encourage their Party and frighten their Opposers, by the frequent boasts of their Strength, Numbers, and what may follow if they be not gratified; how dangerous it is to disoblige them; and I believe they had much rather compass their Designs by these artifices, than run the Chance and Risque of a Decision by the Sword; and I know also, that many of the principal Engineers have more of the Fox than of the Lion, and are better at the Encounters of the Tongue and Pen, than of the glittering Steel; but yet I think no Enemy ought to be Esteemed contemptible, and the very first Essays towards Rebellion ought to be encountered; it being not impossible but Law and Reason may baffle and subdue them, before they take the Field; and it will be a very happy Combat where nothing is spilt but Ink.

It cannot discourage me, that of late some Mercenary Pens and Designing Persons have countenanced the notorious Enemies of the Established Government with the Character of the only true Protestants, and that Libelling has been esteemed a Virtue, if not a part of their Religion; Lying and Defamation the scandals of good Moral Heathens, have been adopted into Christianity; while, such as durst adventure to assert, or appear in defence of, the Government and known Laws, were loaded with all the invidious Reproaches of *Billingsgate* Invention; and most certainly with the name of *Papist*. I have a Veneration for men of Sense, but cannot but despise those little writing Things who are but one degree advanced above Apes and Monkeys that chatter and bite as they are set on. And certainly a more contemptible piece of Senseless Detraction was hardly ever invented on this side Bedlam, than to affirm

that the Papists are contriving to subvert the Government, and pretend to be Zealous against them, as all honest men are against whoever shall attempt that, and at the same time, to brand all such as vigorously appear for it against both Papists and Phanatiques, with the title of *Papists*.

But Politicians move great Wheels by little ones, and the King and Government must be disarmed, by this Popular Odium, of all their true Friends under the Notion of Papists, that so they may come under the Guardianship and Protection of these true Protestant Dissenters; and is it possible to Conjecture they would not then be in good hands? I may be mistaken, but I believe I am not single in my Opinion, that they would be in *Salva Custodia*, according to the English of Jaylors.

And after all the repeated Affronts both to his Sacred Majesty and Persons of the most Eminent Characters and Loyalty in the Nation, they must not be reproved or censured for fear of dis-uniting Protestants, or forcing them to Rebel. But truly if they proceed in these Methods, as they seem incorrigible, they must excuse us if we cannot contribute our assistance to such an Union as must terminate in our Ruin. The Laws have ever Esteemed them, as well as the Papists, Enemies to the Peace of the Nation, and we know their Principles are inconsistent with the Ancient Constitution of the Monarchy, and both their past and late Actions have proved them true to their dangerous Principles, and the Character which Learned *Grotius* gives of them, That they subvert *St. Paul's* Rule of Subjection, and therefore that no Crowned head can be longer secure from their practices than while they want Power; and if Sedition, Rebellion, Murder, Rapine, Sacrilege, Usurpation, Injustice, Oppression, Tyranny, Cruelty, Persecution exercised by Dissenters during their Empire, as is attested and avowed by their own Records, and justified in Print, be recommendatory Qualifications to trust them again with our Lives, Liberties, Laws, Estates and Religion, judge all ye People!

Nay, had they no other Crime besides Ingratitude, I think that such a Compendium of all that is ill, that they need not be painted more black than that has made them; and for that, let his Majesties Gracious and Generous Act of Oblivion witness both their former Guilt, and present Ingratitude: If they had not offended the Laws, and were not obnoxious to Justice, why did they stand trembling after his Majesties wondrous Restauration till they got the Security of that Act? for which yet, the King out of the Abundant Excellency of his Nature, and Un-exampled Clemency, seemed no less solicitous than the Criminals; and how they have requited his Royal Bounty, in all their late Actions, is an Ingratitude that not only *England*, but all *Europe* is with Astonishment a witness of.

The King like a Just and Excellent Prince, who like Heavens Monarch delights in Mercy, suspends the Rigors and Severities of the Penal Laws against them; this they construe to be Fear and not Favour, and improve it to a Confidence to demand their abolition, not without menacing insinuations upon refusal: he assures them he will Govern according to Laws, to obviate a notorious Calumny spread abroad by them among his People of a Design of introducing Arbitrary Rule, and that

that he will neither act Arbitrarily, nor permit others to do it; this is so far from giving satisfaction, that it is highly displeasing, the Laws themselves are Uneasie, and to Govern by them burthentom and unsupported; and indeed it is impossible to please those with any thing, who are resolute to receive no satisfaction unless they may have all.

Whither these Procedures must lead us, we need not to consult the Oracle. When the Quicksilver rises so high in the Weather-glass of State, it is not difficult to conjecture some blustering may follow. And indeed the methods which these People have made use of, are too well known to leave us in suspense, if Providence does not interpose, what will be the End: They have so far Exceeded the Limits of their Duty, and have so accustomed themselves to affront the Government by the repeated breach of Laws, that it can be no wonder if they endeavour, even beyond what is consistent with Loyalty, to be secured from the Penalties due to their disobedience: and if they are so violent and headstrong when the Curb of the Law is so strict upon them, can we rationally suppose they will be more tame and manageable, if they were secure of Impunity, or possessed of Power?

The truth is, they are under the misfortune of all those who having affronted Laws and Government, are perpetually haunted with their own Guilt, and the fear of Punishment; they can never think themselves secure so long as there is a Superior Power to call them to an account: nor is any thing capable of obliging or giving them satisfaction, besides an absolute and unaccountable sovereignty.

But how can this be Effected? God and Nature have vested his Majesty, and the Laws of the Land have declared the Sole Power of the Sword to be his inherent Right, and it is both unnatural and irrational to suppose the Contrary; for without this he can neither Protect Himself, nor Defend his Subjects: And though an *Essex* Address was so confident to make a Demand to have the Navy, Forts and Garrisons put into confiding hands, that is, into the Power of Dissenting Protestants or their professed Favourers; yet it is to be hoped that his Majesty is too well acquainted, from the 12 Years Experience of his Exile during their Usurpation, with their temper as to Loyalty, and too sensible who are his Enemies, from the many Disturbances they have given him since his Happy Return, to trust them with Power. A Scepter is a mere trifle without a Sword to guard it, and therefore there is little hope for them from that Quarter; nor can they have the least ground to think that the King will ungird himself of his Royal Seignory, to oblige those who will make no other use of it but to his disadvantage.

What? will they have a ruffle for it? truly, it has been confidently affirmed, That some of the Party who have wanted the gift of Taciturnity have intimated as much; and the insolence of their behaviour, the boasts of their Numbers, though it is well known they make very false Musters, and their Ten to One, is not One in Ten; together with the late Cavalcades of so many hundred Armed Men through the Streets of *London*, to attend some persons towards *Oxon*, so directly contrary to the *Statute of Northampton*, 7 *Edw.* 1. and to the 2 *Edw.* 3. c. 3. 20 *R.* 2. 1. absolutely prohibiting all Riding Armed through Parliaments, seemed to discerning men little less than a sucking Rebellion, or at least a Design

to awe their Sovereign into Compliance; and such Extraordinary Attendance contrary to Law, as it speaks a guilt in the Persons, so it betrays a fear on the one hand, and a confidence on the other never practised by any Subjects but such who wanting the Guard of Loyalty and Innocence, fly to unlawful Arts and Arms for Safety and Protection.

But Generous Countrymen, pray let us consider of the matter a little: Precipitation is the Daughter of Folly or Madness, and the Mother of Ruin and too late Repentance. I doubt not but all arts and insinuations are used that may gain, encourage, animate or buoy up a Party, tis most evident every one sees it, all persons know it. Discontents are raised, Fears and Jealousies suggested and blown up to the height, the People are debauched with false Representations, and Rebellious Principles, and now that they are under a disappointment, they are taught a certain Wild Enthusiastick Faith, and by their Zealous Rabbies made believe that God has a great Work to do, that is, to destroy the Popish Church of *England*, and work the thorough Reformation, and he will bring it to pass though they cannot tell how; and thus their party are kept up in Expectation of some Miracles of Rebellion. This certainly is done in order to something. And therefore it imports all *Englishmen* to consider what they do, who they are managed by, what they may get or lose; for certainly we of this Nation have something to lose beyond what all our Neighbours can boast of, but nothing to be got by altering our present Condition, and therefore by the most Early precaution we ought to be aware of and endeavour to prevent any tendencies to Rebellions or Insurrections. I think Consideration the Method of Sober and Judicious Men, and am assured no person ever lost by those moments spent in that Employ; but the want of it has ruined not only single persons and private Families, but Mighty States and Empires. I will therefore offer to your deliberating thoughts these following things.

1. Consider who they are that make all this noise, and give these disturbances to the Nation? Upon Examination you will find they are those very restless, murmuring Dissenters, who within less than Forty Years with the same Acts turned the Kingdom upside-down, turned the Monarchy, the Ancient Hereditary Imperial Monarchy of *England* into a Commonwealth or Republic, and who for that Reason and the many Disturbances they gave Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, are by many both New and Ancient *Statutes* of the Realm, deservedly Esteemed *The Dangerous Enemies of the Government*. These are the Persons that fill both the City and Country with Out-cries of the Fears and Dangers of Popery and Arbitrary Government; who yet when they were got into the Throne of Usurpation, acted by Popish Principle, and Popish Counsels, and the very worst of the very worst of Papiests the *Jesuits*, and of *Jesuits* the most infamous, such as *Mariana* and *Scioppius*, putting in Execution their Doctrines of Murdering and Deposing lawful Princes: who governed with the most Arbitrary Injustice imaginable; and notwithstanding their Repeated Oaths and Promises to observe the Fundamental Laws, yet without Faith, Honour or Conscience they Taxed, Assessed, Decimated, Fined, Imprisoned, Sequestred, Plundered, Banished, and by a pretended High Court of Justice having thrown down the
Supream

Supream Court of Judicature the House of Peers as Useles and Dangerous, at their uncontrolled will and pleasure, which was then theirs and our only Law, they Murdered whom they pleased, as the Reason of State to support their Usurpation made it appear Necessary or Expedient. Who to their Eternal Infamy put it three several times to the Vote, Whether they should not give One Blow for all, and massacre all those whose unshaken Loyalty, Honour and Religion made them suspect as Enemies; who kept up continual standing Armies at a vast Expence, to maintain their unlawful authority, till at last the Servants turn'd out their Masters, and made us all Slaves to the Law and Power of the Sword.

These are the Persons, or their Sons, for whom Dissenters joyn all their Interests. For these *Herod* and *Pilate* must be made Friends: nay some who were in the Black List of the late King's Judges, and strongly suspected to have worn the Frocks and Vizzards, Excepted out of the Act of Indempnity, and the late General Pardon, such who were in actual Arms against his present Majesty or his Father, or the Sons of such who having got Estates by the Rapines of the last Rebellion, and enjoy them by virtue of the Act of Oblivion; such as have raised their inconsiderable Fortune, and Families, under the warm Sunshine of Royal Bounty, and being waxen fat can kick against the Crown and spurn at the Mitre, and having gotten Thousands by selling Places at Court, can call it *the House of Rimmon*, and declaim against it, talk of Grievances, deny Money to Support *Tangier* or the Forreign Alliances, smile upon Dissenters, and yet go to Church and hear the Publique Prayers, Receive the Sacrament, take any Oaths or Tests to capacitate them for Places of Trust and Power; and when they are in it, Exercise it to discourage and Oppress the Loyal, and animate the Factious; These are the only persons that are cryed up and cry up their own Abilities, Loyalty and Integrity, and must be the only persons fit to represent the Country and serve the King.

The Statute of 13 Car. 2. 1. says Expressly, *That whosoever shall advisedly publish or affirm the King to be a Heretick or a Papiſt, or that he endeavours to introduce Popery, or shall maliciously by Writing, Printing, Preaching or other Speaking, Expressly declare, publish or utter any words, sentences or other things, to incite or stir up the People to hatred or dislike of the Person of his Majesty or the Established Government, every such person or persons being thereof legally convicted, shall be disabled to have or enjoy, and is thereby disabled and made incapable of having, holding or exercising any Place, Office or Promotion Ecclesiastical Civil or Military, or any other Employment in Church or State, other then that of his Peerage, and be liable to such other punishments as are inflicted by the Common Law. That such as shall affirm by Writing, Printing, Publishing, &c. That the Parliament of Nov. 3. 1640. is not dissolved, or that there lies any Obligation from the late Solemn League and Covenant or Engagement. or that both or either House of Parliament hath a Legislative Power without the King, shall incur a Praemunire as the Offenders against 16 R. 2. That a Peer or Commoner Convicted of Offences against this Act, shall be disabled during his life to sit in Parliament, unless his Majesty be graciously pleased to pardon them. And though by a Proviso there seems to be a reserve for freedom of debate in Parliament;*

liament; yet what can be said to those Speeches Printed and Published, which tell us that we want a King and a Government whom we may trust; That the Money given for Tangier may be made use of to raise an Army there. That discoursing of Tangier at this time, is like Nero's Fiddling whilst Rome was consuming by Fire. A very pretty comparison to answer the Kings Message; That a brand be set upon those that advised the King not to pass the Bill; That instead of looking into the Tower, they should have looked into Whitehall, there the Plot is hatched, cherished and brought up; That the Court is a Nursery of Vice, and none but such Men are employed; That some Lords have little Estates, some little Consciences, some less Religion; And all this printed by an Anabaptist, a very fit tool for a Reformation, if we would have one of the Munster cut. Out of the same Shop comes the *Vox Populi*, and the Famous Addresse at Elections, which must be recorded in *perpetuam Rei memoriam* with the Title of *Vox Patrie*. We have seen Votes printed and published, and pleaded in Bar against the standing unrepealed Laws in favour of Dissenters; and if repealing Laws without the Kings Consent, be not assuming a Legislative Power, what is it? We have seen the Non-conformists under the notion of answering Dr. Stillingfleet's Sermon of the *Mischiefs of Separation*, openly in Print avow the Obligation of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, pag. 13. *There hath passed, say they, a Solemn Oath over the Nation, engaging the main Body of it to Endeavour a Reformation, and we dread to think on it with what faces they shall be able to stand before God, who have lift up their hands to him for things quite contrary in the late Revolutions.* We have seen but t'other day a second Character-man assert the Superiority of Parliaments to the Monarchy. Pag. 10. *By which it is plain, saith he, That the Authority of the King being only Derivative, was inferior to the authority from whence it was derived, which was the Parliament.* Which is a step beyond the affirming a Legislative Power in the Two Houses, which incurs a *Premunire*, and is a plain vesting them with the Original of Imperial Sovereignty; and all this countenanced, promoted, and deliberately published to alienate the Affections of the People from his Majesty, and presented to them to stir up in them a dislike of His Majesties Person and the Established Government. Notwithstanding all which, these must be the Hopeful Patriots and Defenders of our Liberty and Property; and we must not be Esteemed true Protestants, unless we follow them in their Wild-goose Chase again, and with a pretended fear of Popery run into Anarchy, Confusion, and every Evil work.

2. Consider, What must be the Way, and what the End, of these Violent Methods if they proceed to Extremities. The Sword is a Dreadful Umpire of our Differences; and yet this is the Arbitrator to which Rebels must fly, and with which Dissenters seem to threaten us, if there be truth in their late Addresses, when they do with such Ostentation talk of assisting those that shall endeavour their satisfaction, with their Lives and Fortunes. And what must be the End of this? Know ye not that the Sword devoureth one as well as the other, and that it will be bitterness in the latter end? The Events of War are uncertain, but the Mischiefs and the Miseries certain. Let us therefore first sit down and state the account, compute our loss and gain, and see what encouragement we have for the Undertaking. And

And first for the Protestant Dissenters : Upon the first moment of an Insurrection or Rebellion, the Gracious Act of Oblivion is gone ; for though it pardons old Scores, it is not like one of the Popes Indulgences, which undertakes to pardon all the Crimes they shall do as long as they live ; and if that be once Forfeited, their Lives, Liberties and Estates must be at the discretion of the Law, and the Mercy of the King, and he will have but little encouragement to oblige those persons with a second *Amnestie*, who have so much abused the First ; and however the more inconsiderable offenders may fall under the verge of Mercy as to their Lives, yet the principal Actors, Contrivers, and Managers of Rebellion can expect no more favour than the Justice of the Law will afford them, which is to be Drawn, Hanged and Quartered, their Estates Confiscate, their Families Ruin'd, their Honour lost, their Names and Memories to be for ever Infamous, and their Posterity to curse them.

Secondly, All their Liberties, Franchises, Charters, Immunities, Priviledges, and even that great One of Chusing and sending Representatives to Parliaments will be forfeited and lost ; for their Freedoms and Freeholds upon which that Priviledg depends, are by Rebellion *ipso facto* lost and gone.

Nay, Thirdly, Should they prevail against the Government, which morally speaking is impossible, their Circumstances being so different from those of the late Rebels, who had first disarm'd the Government before they attempted to overthrow it ; Yet what could they rationally hope for even after a Conquest ? Is it possible for Men in their Senses to imagine, that an Usurping Power which is advanced by all the steps of Wickedness and the Violation of the Laws of God and Man, will value any Laws, Contracts, Oaths, Promises or Stipulations, or that they will not maintain a Standing Force to protect their ill acquired Sovereignty ? And if a Military Government be so Formidable in a Lawful King bounded by his own Laws, must it not be much more Dreadful in Lawless and Usurping Tyrants ? Was the Scepter of any Usurpers ever made of any other metal than of Iron, or in reality any thing besides a Sword ? You know the Fable, The Horse had a quarrel with the Stag, and to satisfy his Ambition and Revenge, he takes the man upon his Back ; 'Tis true he won the Field, but for ever lost his Liberty, being unable to dismount his Rider : Such Brutes are they, who being weary of their present Condition, set up a Power which reduces them to a worse.

Sovereignty and Supreme Power must be in some hand, there can be no Society, no Commerce, no living without it ; and certainly it is most advantageously lodged there where God and Nature have placed it, and our Laws declared it to be ; and the Reason is plain, We have not power to choose for our selves, for all Power is from God ; and if we had, sure 'tis an Atheistical presumption to think we are able to make a better choice than the only Wise God : And besides, what security can we possibly have from Usurpers ? Is it rational to think that they who can upon any considerations be tempted to violate their Faith and Allegiance to their Natural Liege Lord, should esteem it a Crime to break their word with their Equals or Inferiors ? it is just as likely as

that he who thinks it no sin to kill a man, should scruple to tread upon a Worm. Remember how you were treated for Twelve Years after the Execrable Murther of the late King, and you will find I tell you the Truth and what is to be expected from these *Protestant Dissenters*, should they get into Power, and become a Government by Rebellion.

And because there is a lamentable out-cry against *Jus Divinum*, and affirming Kings to Rule by Divine Right, and that therefore all Attempts or Rebellions against them are unlawful under what pretence soever, give me leave with a Digression not wholly impertinent, to stop the mouths of these Ignorant or Designing Clamorers; They have often ridiculed Scripture Arguments upon that subject, and therefore I will offer them some Parliament Authorities, which seem to them far more convincing and Canonical. 1 *Eliz. c. 3.* It is declared, That the Queen is, and ought to be by the Laws of God and by the Statutes of the Realm, our most Rightful and Lawful Sovereign Liege Lady and Queen; So that you see by Act of Parliament and a Protestant Parliament she held her Crown, by this double Tenure *Jure Divino & humano.*

1 *Jacob. 1.* The King is Recognized to be Lawful Heir to the Imperial Crown of these Realms both by the Laws of God and Man; and this Act is Ordained to be a Memorial of Record by his Majesties Assent to all Posterity among the Records of the High Court of Parliament; without which Assent it could neither be compleat nor perfect, nor remain to all Posterity. These are the very words of the Statute; so that you see after all the noise which hath been made against *Jus Divinum*, the Title of our Kings is declared to be so by Two Acts of Parliament, unless those words [*The Law of God*] have some other meaning which hitherto the great Masters of Revelation have not discovered to us.

But that I may come close up to the Point, There is not that person in *England*, or any other of his Majesties Dominions, of what Rank, Degree, Age, Sex or Condition soever, who has not besides the General Concern a particular Interest which does oblige him or them to endeavour to maintain, defend, support, and preserve the present Establishment of the Government and Monarchy, and by clear consequence, to detest, abhor, and by all Lawful wayes and means to labour to suppress, detect, oppose and prevent all such Designs, whether of Papists or Commonwealth Protestants, who under Colour of Religion, Reformation, Liberty, Property, or any other of their specious pretences shall go about to alter or subvert the present most Excellent Establishment. And to make this good, I will give a true but short account of the Principal Advantages which we do at present enjoy under his most Excellent Majesty and the Monarchy; all which will be lost or forfeited, if the Old Foundation be destroyed by Rebellion.

I will begin with that which is in every mans mouth, and is every mans concern, the *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter of *England*, the greatest and most glorious Franchise and Immunity which is possessed by any Subjects on this side Heaven; This *Charter*, since the first Grant, has been confirmed above 30 several Times with all the dreadful solemnities and imprecations upon whoever should violate or infringe it; and if there were nothing in these formalities of its Ratification, yet the consideration of such an irreparable loss, ought to make us jealous and

and watchful against whatever may indanger it. Now though this Charter may be forfeited by Rebellion, and yet the Monarchy survive, yet can it not possibly survive the Monarchy, should that be subverted or changed into a Common-wealth, as is evident both by the beginning and conclusion; for we hold it of the Kings of *England* and their Heirs; for so it runs, *Henricus Dei gratia*, &c. *Know ye, That we have given and granted these Liberties following to be held in Our Kingdom of England for ever.* By which it appears they are granted so long as it continues a Kingdom; and when ever it ceases to be a Kingdom of *England*, or comes to be a Common-wealth of *England*, the Grant and Charter becomes null and void. And suitable to the Beginning is the Conclusion, which after the Enumeration of all the General and Particular Liberties and Priviledges, too long to be here inserted, and too great to be lost for want of due caution or consideration, is in these words, *Nos autem Donationes & Concessionnes predictas ratas habentes*, &c. *Which Grants and Concessions aforesaid We having ratified, and being willing to ratifie for Us and Our Heirs, do grant, confirm, and renew by the Tenor of these Presents, willing and granting for Us and Our Heirs, that this Our foresaid Charter shall for ever be firmly and inviolably observed in all and singular its Articles or Branches.* By which it is evident, that it is the Kings Charter, that it depends upon the King and His Heirs; and being a Stipulation between the King and his Heirs on the one part, and the Subjects on the other, if one of the Parties shall cease to be, the Grant, Charter, Concession, and all its Dependencies cease and fall of course, and are to all intents and purposes void and lost for ever. And all the good Laws and Priviledges of King *Egbert* and King *Alfred*, the great Monarchs of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, the Excellent Laws of *Edward* the Confessor compiled out of the *British*, *Saxon* and *Danish* Laws, granted and confirmed by *William* the Conqueror, which compose the Body of our Common and Statute Law, together with the Charter of the Forests, and indeed all our Laws, which are the Grants and Concessions of our Kings, and are therefore called the *Kings Laws*, must run the same Fate: And to what a deplorable condition must that Nation be reduced, where the very Foundation and Essence of Society, which is Government and Laws, are torn up, lost, and ruined? Where the miserable People must be left to the discretion and mercy of the Sword of Usurpers to be governed arbitrarily, and be at their choice whether they shall enjoy any benefit or advantage by their old Laws, and at the utmost uncertainty, whether they shall obtain new ones that will compensate their loss. A Wood which hath been many hundred years growing, may be cut down and reduced to Ashes in a few days; but it is the work of Ages to re-plant it and make it flourish: and we have as little reason to believe, that what the Wisdom and Industry of our Ancestors hath been so many Ages cultivating, should it be destroyed, can in a moment, or indeed for ever be repaired, as that Mushrooms should advance to be Cedars, or Brambles grow up to be stately Oaks: Liberty is such a Jewel, as being once lost, rarely admits of the possibility of a Recovery, and therefore should be kept with all the Caution imaginable. Our Laws are the true *Argus*, whose hundred Eyes are the Guards and Centinels
which

which watch against this Dragon of Rebellion which would devour it; and the Monarchy is the good Genius or Guardian-Angel of *Great Britains* Liberty; and should we trust it to the Devil of Rebellion, as once before, though clothed like an Angel of Light, we may flatter our selves with the Imaginations of a happy Change; but we shall find by woful experience, that our golden Liberty will be turned into Iron Fetters: and indeed when this great Bulwork of Liberty, our *Magna Charta*, and the Foundations of our Laws, are either forfeited or usurped by Rebellion, we must of necessity sink into the utmost misery and misfortune of servitude and slavery.

I know this black and dismal Reverse of *Englands* Fate is industriously concealed from the People by the Common-wealth Protestants; and it would be unreasonable to expect they should shew us any thing that must of necessity pull off their Vizor, and by consequence ruine the very hopes of succeeding in their Enterprize, which intirely depends upon their deceiving the People with Hopes and Promises of Reformation of Religion, Redress of Grievances, &c. No, they treat us with these as Men do crafty Horses, who being at ease and liberty in a full Pasture, are shie of being taken up and ridden; they shew us the temptring Provender, but conceal the Bridle which they have ready in the other Hand to slip over our Heads: They know when once they have put the Curb of Power into our Mouths, then the Arbitrary Saddle is soon clapt on, then the Riders may mount us at pleasure, and what Loads they please may be laid upon our backs. We have seen and felt all this before, and therefore may with confidence aver it to be true: our Backs were galled and almost broken with the intolerable burdens they laid upon us; our Sides still remember the bleeding Marks and Lashes of those Hot-spur-protestants of the late Commonwealth of *England*, and the Keepers of our Liberties. We should be very weak to expect it; but they must be worse than Ideots, should they tell us they design to Rebel or over-turn the Government. Did ever a Highway-man tell a Traveller that he intends to take his Purse? No; he entertains him with the danger of the Roads, the great Robberies that are done, and talks tragically against the Trade, pretends to be his Guard and his Conductor, tells him he will lead him such by-ways, that he shall be sure to escape them; and when he has once got him out of the Kings High-way, brought him into narrow Lanes among Woods, then he sets upon him, robs, dismounts, and it may be binds him, wounds or kills him. This is our Case, and when we see these Religious Padders, so busie tickling the People in the Heads with dangers, fears and jealousies, and drawing them out of the Kings High-way of Loyalty and Obedience into the Wood again, we must be insensible if we do not see what will be the End on't; especially when we consider that both the Prologue and the Actors are the very same Persons, or at least of the same Principles, we must conclude they will act the very same Tragedy if they be not prevented.

But Secondly, The King is the Fountain of Honour. Honour is both the Reward and Encouragement of Vertue; if the Fountain be dried up, the Streams must fail. The Duke, the Marquess, the Viscount, Earl,

Earl, Baron, Baronet, all hold by Patent, and flow from the source of Royal Bounty; and what becomes of all those high Characters? If the Sun of Monarchy set, the Stars will fall and lose their Lustre, the Garter will be untied, and the Knights bright Spurs will rust; what will the Priviledge of Peerage, the *Scandalum Magnatum* signifie, when *Jack Straw*, and *Wat Tyler*, a Dray-man, a Cobler, or a Carrier, shall be of more Authority than a Lord, nay than the whole Honourable House, when it shall be voted useles and dangerous? The Peers are *Pares Regni*, Peers of the Realm; and if the Kingdom sink or degenerate into a Democracy, or Oligarchy, the Honour of Peerage is gone, and the High and Mighty Princes may indeed have the empty Titles and Ensigns of Honour; but for any Authority, they must be reduced to the Common Level, and every little up-start Favourite of the Usurpers, shall not only venture at a Competition, but carry any Place of Power before them. This is no Fiction or Chymæra, but such a Truth as Experience has within our Memory attested.

And here with all due respects and difference I must address my Discourse to these Noble Persons of the Delicate Sex; 'tis an ingratel Complement to accost them with, to tell them their Honours will be lost; but credit me, Illustrious Ladies, neither your Beauties, nor other most Attractive Charms, will be able to secure you from the Insolence of Common-wealth Ravishers: *England* can be no longer the Paradice of Women than it continues a Monarchy: My Lord cannot suffer, but my Lady will have a share; the Widows of Barons, by the Curiality or Curtesie of *England*, enjoy the Titles and Priviledges of Peerage, and the Daughters of Dukes, Earls, and Barons, do by the Favour of the same Custome enjoy the Honour and Title of Ladies; these too must fall with the Monarchy; and in a Common-wealth *Joan* is as good as my Lady even by day-light. I remember *Harry Martin*, who was said not to be the greatest Enemy of the soft Sex, yet in the late times stretched a Commission he had to seize Horses for the Service of the Common-wealth, even to the taking the Coach-Horses of some Noble Ladies sitting the Parliament, which was an Insolence and Breach of Priviledge; that, had Monarchy been in Power, he must have made a severe account for, but all the redress they could obtain, was to sit down with the affront; for the Commons House justified him in it; and he justified himself for taking not only theirs but the Kings Horses from the *Muse*, by pleading this; We have, said he, seized the Kings Castles, Forts, Navy and Magazines, for the good of the Common-wealth, and sure we may seize the Horses of any Person for the same purpose: and the poor Ladies were obliged with patience to pocket up the Injury, and either stay at home, or learn to walk in Pattins, to make their Visits, or take the Air, notwithstanding their Quality, and the Priviledges of their Peerage.

Thirdly, The great Priviledge, the very Being and Essence of Parliaments falls with the Monarchy; for it is by vertue of the Kings Writ that Parliaments are called, chosen, meet, sit, debate, and do every thing that a Parliament can do; without this there may be Assemblies or Conventions, but they are no more Parliaments than the

Consults of Jesuits at *Wild-houfe*, or the White Horse Tavern, were Parliaments, and are in reality no better than Riots and unlawful Assemblies, who have no Right, no Power, no Authority; and whatever they act or do, is a perfect Usurpation and Arbitrary Invasion of Sovereignty over their fellow Subjects: And what Justice, Equity, Law or Right are the People to expect from those who can have no Power, all the People being their Equals? And when this shall once be understood, who will submit to them or obey them who have no Authority to command, and then what Confusions, Distractions, Insurrections, and Mutinies must follow, to the utter ruine and subversion of Peace, Trade, Justice, and the Prosperity of the Nation, till we come either to be a Prey to some Forreign Invader, or ambitious Domestick Tyrant and Usurper.

Fourthly, the Charter of *London*, the Imperial City, and those large Liberties, Franchises, Immunities, Lands and Revenues, Freedom from Tolls in all places of *England*, nay their very Incorporation of Major, Aldermen, Common-Council, Sheriffs, Courts, Companies, &c. which are all the Favours of His Majesty, and His Royal Progenitors, as at large appears by the Charter of *London* lately printed in *Englisb*, must all stand and fall with the Monarchy from which they derive their Original, their Power, Authority and Jurisdiction, and without which they cannot subsist; and if Gratitude were not able (as I hope it will) to oblige this great Metropolis to a firm adherence to the Crown, yet their Interest and Dependancy upon it does: For let us but consider what a wild Desert of unmanageable Brutes must this City of necessity be without Laws and Government, when even with the best and strongest, which it enjoys under the Monarchy, together with the assistance of the Militia, all is little enough to prevent disorders, and hinder the licentious from ruining the Honest and Industrious: and should the Indigent Multitude, the Licentious Rabble, and the Head-strong and unconsidering Youth, come to know there was no Law to punish them, no Constables, Beedles, Justices, Compters or Officers, and Courts to restrain them, the Freemen disfranchised, the Courts dissolved, the Indentures of the Apprentices cancelled, what could be expected but Riots, Tumults, Disorders, and that the Rich and Wealthy should become a Booty to the Poor, lawless and unruly Multitude, and this now Well-governed, Rich, Populous, and Flourishing City become a Ruinous Heap, and have stretched out upon it the Line of Confusion, and the Stones of Emptiness, and this great Mart or Emporium, famous throughout the Habitable World, lose all her Trade, Riches, and Glory, and become the astonishment of the whole Earth.

Nor would the Lesser Cities, Corporations and Burroughs be in a better Condition; all their Charters, Freedoms, Priviledges, Fairs, Markets, Tolls, &c. being derived from the same Fountain of Monarchy, must have the same Date and Period with it, to their utter Undoing, Impoverishment and Ruine.

Fifthly, All Priviledges granted to Merchants-Strangers, as the *Hans Towns*, the *Lombard*, *Eastland*, *Norway*, *Spain*, *Venice*, *Burgundy*, the *Dutch*, &c. and all our ancient and present Leagues of Peace,
War,

War, Offensive and Defensive, Commerce and Traffick made with several Princes and States are built upon the Foundation of the Monarchy, and expire with it; and what a Damp must such a Blow give to the Trade of *England*, when all the Forreign Merchants shall withdraw their Effects for want of the Security of these Alliances, and how insecure must our Merchants be without them, I leave to the Thoughts and Consideration of those Industrious and Worthy Merchants who frequent the *Change*, which Place would have few Inhabitants besides the Statues of the Kings, who have encouraged, promoted and advanced Commerce and Trade, if those were permitted to stand, which I much question, being they must reproach Usurpers with Ingratitude and Disloyalty. Forreign Trade is the great support of *England*, and does so universally Influence all Mens Estates, that we see they rise and fall in Proportion with the Actions of the Merchants; and what will become of the *East India, Guinea, African, Turkey, Hamburg* Companies, and of all the Fraternities, Guilds and Companies of Trade in *London*, and all the Cities and Burroughs of *England* and *Wales*, whose very Essence and Being depends upon the Monarchy, and their Protection, Encouragement and Well-being upon those advantageous Priviledges, Stipulations and Leagues of Commerce, which have been and are made with Forreign Princes and States, it is easie to determine: and should any of our Potent Neighbours, upon our unhappy Circumstances, ingross the Trade, and turn the Current of it, let *Antwerp* teach *London*, and *Flanders* *England*, that Staples and Factories, once removed, are difficultly, if ever, regained.

Besides that, the setting up a Common-wealth, as it Cancels our Leagues and Alliances, so it must put us into a state of War with all our Neighbours; for all Crowned Heads must of necessity, in regard of the dangerous Precedent and Example such a Revolution gives their Subjects, be declared Enemies; and for Republicks, the Emulation that is between them can never permit them to be Friends.

Sixthly. Nor will the Dismal Effects of changing the present Established Government only affect the Nobility and the Merchant, the Gentleman must have his share too; for whereas there are about 1000 Mannors in *England* and *Wales*, whereof the Lords are as it were little Kings among their Tenants, and have the Liberties of *Sake, Soke, &c.* and many Jurisdiftions, as Court-Barons, Court-Leets, to order and do Justice to their Tenants, from whence arise Fines, Amerciaments, Estreats, Forfeitures, Deodands, Waifs, Strayes, Fines certain and uncertain, Quit-rents, Heriots, Freewarren, Swanning, &c. all these being Grants of several Kings, have their dependancy upon, and must run the same Fate with Monarchy. if that stands, they stand, if that falls, they must fall also, to the no small loss and detriment of all those Noblemen, Gentlemen, Bodies-Corporate, and others, who are at the present possessed of them.

Seventhly, And lest there should be any Persons to whom the mischiefs of Rebellion will not extend, its Consequences will affect the Body of the Commons, the Free-holders, Copy-holders, and Common People, there being none who have any thing to lose, but must hazard

hazard and lose all, and many Thousands their Lives in to the Bargain: it will strip the Copy-holders, which are above a fourth part of the Lands of *England* and *Wales*, of all their Ancient and Beneficial Customs, the Common People of their Rights, Apportionments and Admeasurement of Common of Pasture, Common of Estover, Agistments in Forests and Purlieus, which in many Places of *England* are the greatest part of the Livelihood of the Inhabitants, all which they possess by vertue of the Grants and Charters of several Kings; and for the Free-holders, when their Interest in *Magna Charta*, and Election of Representatives are gone, they will have little left to boast of.

Eighthly; Nor will it only wrong the Living, but the Dead; for not to mention the Impropriations and Advowsons to Rectories, which depend upon Grants from the Crown, what will become of the Foundations of Colledges in the Universities, Free-schools, Hospitals, Almshouses, all which possess their Revenues by Charters and Grants from the Kings of *England*, and depend upon the Monarchy; and should that fall (which God forbid) their Titles are gone, and they must be at the Will of the New Lords, who according to the Proverb, will be for new Laws. And how near the Brink of Ruine, and being swallowed by the devouring Avarice of Pretended Religion, all these Foundations and Supports of Learning were in the late Rebellion, need not be remembred, since it is impossible it should be forgotten; and since among our Protestant Dissenters, the Compter, the Cart and the Plough can afford such plenty of Learned Apostles, Evangelists, Elders, and Teachers, there will not want a *Judas* to cry out against Universities and Tithes, *Quorsum perditis hæc?* Why all this loss? let them be sold to maintain the Charges of the Common-wealth. Thus it was, and thus it would be again, if they had Power, which I confess gives me some admiration to see Persons who pretend to be learned and favourers of Learning herd with such illiterate and ignorant Impositors. How were the poor People cajoled with taking away the burden of Tithes, as they called them in the late times; whereas had they been taken from the Clergy, whom they would render poor and mercenary; that they may not have courage to oppose Rebellion; yet the poor Laicks would have had no more benefit than the Ass, whose wife Master, to ease him, took off the Load which before he rid upon, and laid it upon his own shoulders; which though it loaded him, did not at all lighten his Brother Animal.

Ninthly, Neither will it stop here, but pass the Seas, and discharter all the Forreign Plantations of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, &c. which are holden by the Proprietors by vertue of Royal Grants.

Tenthly, To conclude, I will render the whole Nation Slaves: for I pray once divest us of the before recited Charters, Freedoms, Immunities and Liberties, either by the prevailing of Usurping Rebels, or by the forfeiture of Rebellion; and what are we but the most despicable and abject Slaves? and of all slavery that is certainly the most insupportable, where we must submit to the Yoak of our Equals and Inferiors.

Thus

Thus have I given you, Generous Countrymen, a short but true Character of that Monster Rebellion; which though she puts on the Face and Voice of an Angel, always hath the Hands of a Devil. If you have any remainders of true *English* Courage and Gallantry, for which your Ancestors have been so renowned; if you think Liberty and Property worth the preserving, either to your selves, or to be transmitted to your Posterity, it imports you to use your utmost endeavours to crush the Cockatrice of a Common-wealth in the Egge; and by all lawful ways and means to support, maintain, and defend the Monarchy with the last drop of your Blood, and the last Penny of your Estate: It is your indispenable Duty, the Laws of God, and the Statutes of the Realm require it, your own safety, preservation, and indeed your whole Interest challenges it from you; it is a Justice to your Posterity, to whom you were better leave no Name, than the infamous Intail of slavery to their Fellow-Subjects, Manacles and Chains instead of Charters and Royal Franchises; which as they have descended to you, you ought to take care to transmit them to Posterity whole and entire.

I know the greatest Criminals will make the first and loudest Profections of Innocence and Loyalty: Who so brisk as *Hazael* to reparaire to the weeping Prophet, who charged him with the Barbarous Mischiefs he would do when he should get into Power; what am I a Dog that I should do this? Who so quick as *Judas* to put the Question, Is it I? But we have learnt to read Men by their Actions, not their Words; and that I may not criminate without Proof, which is Calumny and Detraction, I refer you to the Testimony of two Evidences that will not deceive, and can neither be accused of dettracting Malice or biased Partiality; the one is Law, the other is Old Experience: By these you shall know who are the Enemies of the Monarchy and established Government.

Now the Law expressly charges Papists and Sectaries, or Dissenting Protestants, with the Accusation of being dangerous Enemies to the Government. That the Papists are so is allowed of all hands; and that the other are no more innocent in the Eye of the Law, is evident, in that there is not one Tittle of Law, the least shreds of Records, which can give them a favourable word; but on the contrary, 35 *Eliz. c. 1.* charges them with the danger of great inconveniences and perils which may happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous Practises of Seditious Sectaries; and the Reign of King *Charles* the first turned this into a Prophecie, which they fulfilled; 13 *Car. 2. c. 1.* charges the Growth and Encrease of the late Troubles upon their score; and we know it was they that preached us into Rebellion, and fought us into slavery; and the 13 *Car. 2. c. 1.* tells us, All His Majesties Endeavours and unparallel'd Indulgence in pardoning all that is past has not been able to oblige them, but that nevertheless many evil Spirits are still working; and therefore for prevention of mischief for the time to come, and for Preservation of the publick Peace both in Church and State, be it Enacted, &c. This we have found true ever since. 16 *Car. 2. c. 4.* tells us of growing and dangerous Practises of Seditious Sectaries, and other disloyal Persons, who under pretence of tender

Consciences, do at their Meetings contrive Insurrections, as late Experience hath shewed. 17 *Car. 2. c. 2.* informs, that they distil the poisonous Principles of Schism and Rebellion into the Hearts of His Majesties Subjects, to the great danger of the Church and Kingdom; so that the Testimony of the Laws and Statutes of the Realm are clear against them, and declare them dangerous Enemies: and if there were nothing else, their strict Confederacy in the Common Cause, and the sudden Reconciliation that is among so many differing Sects who are mortal Enemies in persuasion, and damn one another as deep as Hell, only to get the Penal Laws against them repealed, is a sufficient acknowledgement from themselves, both what our Laws esteem them, and what they esteem our Government; and truly one of them speaks plain, *Plotters Doom* Pag. 10. where he tells you, *That if Martin Luther were alive, he would call those, who put the Penal Laws in Execution against Protestant Dissenters, the Devils Magistrates, and the Devils Ministers, and not Gods; and a little after, Of these therefore beware as of the Devil, whose first begotten Children they are.*

And lest the single Testimony of the Laws should not be sufficient; Experience makes good the Charge; have they not been infamous for Sedition, Conspiracies, Rebellion? Have they not actually once before overthrown the Monarchy, set up Arbitrary Power, trampled under foot our *Magna Charta*, Liberty, Property, Lives and Religion, Murdered their Lawful Prince, Banished his Son? and had not Providence miraculously interposed, nothing could have secured us from utter Ruin and Destruction.

Nor will it at all avail them now to pretend that they abhor and detest all such Designs or Intentions; the saving their Necks and Estates oblige them to that Declaration, and the Design they have to impose upon the People, keeps that concealed from them; but yet they are not so cautious at all times, nor so full of abhorring, all the Art of Man cannot persuade them to abhor their *Dagon* of the Solemn League and Covenant, or to abhor the Traiterous Position of taking up Arms by His Majesties Authority against His Person; which if they did not think Rebellion Lawful, or did not intend to Rebel upon a fair occasion, they would voluntarily and *ex animo* declare to be their Sense and Judgment.

But that you may see through these thin Pretences to Loyalty, Duty, and Affection to His Majesty, pray observe, first that the Late Rebels did the very same; who so Dutiful and Loyal, such faithful Subjects as the Dissenting Protestants, till they had grasped the Power, and when Victory, which they argued was a Declaration of Gods Favour, had Elevated their Arms, then the Note was changed, and he who before was treated with the Stile of Sovereign and Majesty, could get no better Language from them than plain *Charles Stuart*, Tyrant and Usurper, and after the loss of His Crown and Life, to have His Reputation murdered with an Epitaph in Capital Letters, written under the Pedestal, from whence they had pulled His Statue in the Old Exchange, *Exit Tyrannus Regum Ultimus*, that there might be as many Nations Witnesses of their Infamous Villany, as Curiosity or Commerce draws to that Publick Place; which for my Particular, I cannot but look upon as

an infatuation in them, that forced them to proclaim their own Infamy and Guilt to the whole World, and that there should scarcely be a Nation under Heaven that is not able to produce a Testimony against them.

Secondly, Observe, That the Survivors of that Black Tragedy have not given one single Symptom of Repentance for their former Guilt; but as a most Infallible Demonstration, that they are given up to the utmost Impenitence, and a seared Conscience; notwithstanding all their Pretences to Tenderness, they do not only continue obstinately in their Errors, but compass Sea and Land to proselyte others to their Opinions; and it is evident it is not Religion, but Design, that is the chief Motive that gives fire to their Zeal, that they are for the Drag-Net of a Toleration, and all are Fish that come to the Net, if they do but center in the main Point which unites all these true Protestants, which is to oppose the Government. How do they upon all occasions either extenuate or endeavour to evade the Horrid Crimes of which they were the Actors; do they not, as before was instanced, notwithstanding the Premunire they incur, still adhere to the Covenant? Are not all the Conventicles shut up on the 30th of Jan. lest they should shew any remorse for their having shed the Blood of the Just, and call themselves Villains by deploring the Tragedy wherein they were principal Actors, Abettors, and open Justifiers? Have they not constantly opposed the Government both in Church and State, broken the Laws, disturbed the Peace, and do they not avow and justify their doing it with pretence of Conscience? and if they be the same Persons as they shew plainly they are, if ever they were dangerous, they are so still, and their pleading Not Guilty is no more Justification against the Testimony of the Laws and Experience, than it is in any other Criminals and Malefactors.

Thirdly, Observe, They do exactly trace the same Method and Footsteps of the late Rebellion; they begin with Popery, but they presently change the Scent, and fall upon Prelacy, the Church of *England*, and the Loyal Party. These must be hunted down for Papists, Tories, Tantivies, Pensioners, Evil Counsellors, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom, and those must have the Title of the only true Protestants, who are the most fierce and violent Schismatics, and such as favour them, must be reputed the only fit Persons to represent the Nation; whilst such Loyal Gentlemen or their Sons, who hazarded their Lives and Fortunes in defence of the King and Government, are contemned, affronted, punished, and treated with all the ignominious and reproachful Terms and Marks of Infamy that spite and artful Malice can invent to render them odious or suspicious to the People: They traduce the Government, and endeavour to make it contemptible, revile the Bishops, malign the Loyal Peers, vilifie the King, and have much to do to keep from down-right Treason; and if these be not sufficient Arguments to prove that they are Enemies still, dangerous Enemies to the Monarchy, our Ancient Laws, Government, Established Religion, and to the true Interest and Happiness of *England*, I think if an Angel came from Heaven he would not find credit; for sure I am he might manage it with greater skill, but he could not produce more demonstrative Truth.

This

This, my Generous Countrymen, is the true state of your Interest, and our present Affairs: This is what you must expect, should these Zealots come to give you Laws: If therefore you have any value for your selves, your Posterity, your Liberties, Property, Laws, the true Protestant Religion, the Trade, Peace, or Honour of the *English* Nation, it is both your Interest, and your Duty, to assert and stand up for the Monarchy, to support the Laws and Government to the uttermost of your power, and by all Lawful Ways and Means to convince, persuade and reclaim the Credulous and Mistaken, to suppress, oppose, and defeat the Designs of these Factious dangerous Sectaries and Schismatics, for so our Laws call them, who with fair Speeches, and flattering Pretences, steal the Hearts of the People like *Absalom*, only to exalt themselves into Sovereign Power, and reduce you to the desperate Condition of slavery, which is always the Reward and Issue of Rebellion.

F I N I S.





