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The Mischief of

# CABALS:

OR, THE

## Faction Expos'd.

WITH SOME

### CONSIDERATIONS

FOR A

## Lasting Settlement,

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In a LETTER to a MEMBER of  
PARLIAMENT.

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*I know no Resolutions more worthy a Christian King, than to prefer his  
Conscience before his Kingdoms. K. Charles 1. Eikon Basil. c. 6.*

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L O N D O N,

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# CHAPTER

Section 1

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S. I R,

**H**AD you known how averſe I have always been from ripping up old Sores, or hitting others on the *Teeth* with their paſt *Miſcarriages*, when they promiſe to grow wiſer and mend their *Manners*, you wou'd not, I am confident, have impos'd upon me ſo ungrateful a *Task*, as the giving you an *account* of the *extravagant Proceedings* of ſome of our late *pretended Patriots*, which promoted, if not occaſion'd, the *Tragical Scene* like to have follow'd, had not *Providence* miraculoſly interpoſ'd.

But when you aſſure me, 'tis not only convenient, but very neceſſary for the Publick Service, in the preſent poſture of Affairs, to expoſe to the World the *fatal Conſequences* of *Factions* and *Cabals*, and the *unwarrantable Reſolutions* of a prevailing part of the *Commons* in our two laſt *Parliaments*, that others may thereby take warning to avoid that unhappy *Rock*, whereon their Predeceſſors have ſo unluckily ſplit; this *powerful Charm*, which ſhall ever Influence all the *Actions* of my *Life*, together with the *weight* of your own *Commands*, have forc'd me at laſt to a *compliance*. And tho' for the moſt part, this Subject has been already handled by ſeveral *Pens*, and particularly by the *Author* of the *Lawyer Outlaw'd*, who made it his buſineſs to ſhew by ſeveral Reaſons and Arguments, beſides divers *Acts* of *Parliament*, and a great many *Preſidents* and *Records*, that as the *Fears* and *Jealouſies* of the *People* were *groundleſs* and *imaginary*, ſo the *Reſolutions* of the *Leading Members* at that time were *Arbitrary* and *Illegal*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the *fundamental Laws* of the *Nation*: Yet at your requeſt, ſince the *Gentlemen* were pleas'd to get their *Votes* Printed, by way of an *Appeal* to the *People*, I will amongſt others briefly offer you my Thoughts upon the matter, but after ſome few preliminaries, will begin mine where that *Gentleman* ended his *Diſcourſe*.

You remember, I ſuppoſe, what a *Noiſe*, what a *Buſtle* has

been made with contriv'd *Stories*, and continual *Alarums* of *Plots* and *Conspiracies* upon our *Religion* and *Liberty*, like the *Romans Hannibal ad portas*, when there was no danger of either; and what a stir they kept with their *tumultuous Petitions* and *Addresses* from all the *Fanaticks* and *Republicans* of the *Kingdom* in *Winter 79.* for the *Parliaments* sitting, which alone they thought was able to cure this *Maladie imaginaire*: And yet when the *Parliament* met, and sat long enough to have redress'd all the *reall Grievances* of the *Nation*, our *Worthy Patriots* ev'n left us in a worse condition than they found us. The late *King* of ever blessed *Memory*, whom *God* has taken from an *ungrateful Generation* that was not worthy of him, to *Reign* with himself in *Glory*, offer'd them a great deal more than *Subjects* ought in duty to expect from their *Sovereign*; yet nothing but the very *unhinging* of the *Government*, by that *Antimonarchical* project the *Bill of Exclusion*, wou'd in any measure satisfy their *Ambition*. The *Loyal Gentlemen* of the *Country*, who dutifully obey'd their *Princes Lawful Proclamation*, were to's'd from *Post* to *Pillar* by their *Catchpoles*, and their *Ban-Dogs*, as *Traitors* to the *People*, and kept several *Weeks* under a tedious and chargeable *confinement*, without the least *pretence* of *Law*, or *Colour* of *Justice*: And at the same time *Sidney* and *Ludlow*, and all the *Republican Gang* of 41. who were skulking abroad ever since his late *Majesties* most happy *Restauration*, flock'd home with all possible expedition, and were the great *Favourites* of our *Leading Members*. But it was certainly a very *Comical* passage how civilly they treated *Mr. William Stawell*, one of their *Abhorrrers*, who had the courage to disobey their *unwarrantable Summons*, and tell their *Messenger*, if he did any thing contrary to *Law*, he wou'd answer for't, as the *Law* directs, in the same *County*, where the *Fact* was committed. The *Leading Members* were so puzzled at this unexpected *Answer*, that they knew neither how to digest nor revenge so great an *affront*, while *Mr. Stawell* had so much *Law* of his side; yet thinking it absolutely necessary to find out some *Sham* or other to blind the *World*, lest this shou'd be made a *Leading Card* for others to slight their pretended *Authority*, they very obligingly Voted the *Gentleman* sick, and unable to appear before them; and therefore were pleas'd to allow him a *months* time for his *appearance*. Votes 4. *December 1680.*

But this, and (if you except the grand *project* of *Exclusion*) all the other tricks and devices they made use of for eleven Weeks together to *enflame* and *distract* the *People*, seem'd but a *Flea-bite*, if compar'd with the *unparallell'd Votes* they pass'd some days before they forc'd the *King* to a *Prorogation*: When *Sampson*-like, who by pulling down the *Pillars* of the *House*, destroy'd more *Philistines* on the day of his *Death*, than in his whole *Life* before, they did more mischief by shaking the *Foundation* of the *Government* the three last days of their sitting, than in all the rest of their turbulent *Reign*.

*Resolved*, (say they) *That His Majesty in His last Message, having assured this House of his readiness to concur in all other means, for the preservation of the Protestant Religion; This House doth declare, that until a Bill be likewise passed for Excluding the D. of York, this House cannot give any supply to His Majesty, without danger to His Majesties Person, extream hazard of the Protestant Religion, and unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is entrusted.* Votes 7th Jan. 1680.

In this Vote we may observe with some *Astonishment* the great *Condescensions* of a *Gracious Prince*, and the *ungrateful Returns* of a *stubborn People*, who got a *knack*, of late days, to stand upon such *trucking* and *bartering* with their *Sovereign*, as their *Predecessors* durst not have offer'd in former *Ages*. Once indeed they presum'd on the *Usurpation* of *H. 4.* who, because of his unjust *Title*, they thought wou'd deny them nothing: And therefore in the *Second Year* of his *Reign*, *The Commons desired they might have Answer of their Petitions before the gift of any Subsidy*; to which the *King* answer'd, *He would conferr with the Lords, and do what should be best, according to their Advice.* And the last day of the *Parliament* He gave this Answer, *That that manner of doing had not been seen nor used in no time of His Progenitors or Predecessors, that they should have any Answer of their Petitions, or knowledge of it, before they have shewed and finished all their other business of Parliament, be it of any Grant, Business, or otherwise: And therefore the King would not in any ways change the good Customs and Usages made and used of ancient times.* But now, it seems, the case is alter'd, and *No Cure, No Money*, is always the *Bargain*.

The *King* proffers to concur with them in all other *Expedients* for their security, without any Limitation or Restriction, against the groundless *Fears* and *Jealousies* they pretended; but the *Hoghben-Moghben* scorn'd to accept of any thing He cou'd safely consent to: And therefore when His Majesty pres'd them to think of a *supply* for the relief of *Tangier*, they, as became such *Loyal* and *Dutiful Subjects*, flatly refus'd it, because of the *apparent Danger* it threaten'd to His *Majesties Person*, and to the *Protestant Religion*, if the *Moors* were beaten upon their own *Dunghill*.

Thus all *Expedients* are quite out of doors, and Voted not only *insufficient*, but *dangerous*; and no care must be taken to rescue *Tangier* out of the hands of *Barbarians*, for fear of *hazarding His Majesties Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*, by weakning the *Mahometan Interest*: No regard to the *growing Greatness* of *France*, nor the least thought of securing a distracted *Nation* from the *Designs* of so potent an *Enemy*, and not a *Groat* to be given for the *Honour* and *Wellfare* of the *Kingdom*, without the forbidden fruit, the *Bill of Exclusion*. And so hot they were upon this *unlucky scent*, that like *Æsop's Dog* in the *Manger*, they wou'd neither give any *Money* themselves, to supply the *Kings urgent Necessities*, and to maintain his *Credit* (wherein was contain'd that of the whole *Nation*) either at home or abroad, nor as much as in them lay, suffer others to part with any; to which purpose, least the *Purse-strings* of the *Nation*, which they kept very close, shou'd chance to fail them, they bethought themselves of an *enchanted Padlock*, never before made use of, for their further *Security*; and to that end they pass'd the following *Vote*:

*Resolved*, That whosoever shall lend, or cause to be lent by way of advance, any *Money* upon the branches of the *Kings Revenue*, arising by *Customs*, *Excise*, or *Hearth-Money*, shall be adjudg'd to hinder the sitting of *Parliaments*, and shall be responsible for the same in *Parliament*. Votes *ibid*.

But why should *Subjects* be condemn'd of this *Bug-bear Crime*, for lending the *King* their own *Money* upon a *valuable Consideration*? Or why forejudg'd by the *House of Commons*, who never had the *Power of Judicature*? What, are we gone back again to *Forty One*, to be thus *bag-ridden* a second time? or can we be  
thought

thought altogether so *stupid*, as to have forgot the *Tyrannical Usage* we then receiv'd from a pack of *Villains*, that call'd themselves the House of *Commons*, and thought their *Nemine Contradicente* was enough to avoid both *Law* and *Gospel*? No Sir, *A burnt Child dreads the Fire*, and the *Nation* having by a *dear bought-Experience* open'd their *Eyes*, are of late more afraid of their *fellow-Subjects Usurpation*, than ever they have been of the *Princes Encroachment*: And therefore this *Unwarrantable Vote* signified no more, but to let the *People* know what they might expect from such *Patriots*, if they had kept any longer in the *Saddle*; since they had as much *Power* to get all the *Money of England* into their *Custody and Disposal*, as to make it *Penal* in any one to dispose of his own, as he pleas'd. But let us hear their *last Speech* and *Confession* on the happy day of their *Prorogation*, which restor'd many an *Honest Man* to his *Liberty*, and the *Nation* to some interval of *Tranquillity*.

*Resolv'd, that whosoever advised his Majesty to prorogue this Parliament, to any other purpose than in order to the passing of a Bill for the Exclusion of the Duke of York, is a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England; a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner to France. Votes*  
10. Jan. 1680.

This is but the old *Cant* in a new Dress, and the refin'd *Language* of *Billingsgate Oratours*, who always think it the best *Policy* to cry *Whore first*, the better to stop the mouths of their *Adversaries*. But I appeal to any *Man* of common *Sense*, if these very *Men*, even at that time, were not the *grand Promoters* of the *French Interest*, and consequently *Pensioners to France*. For had that *Politick Monarch* employ'd so many *Agents* into *England*, 'tis plain he cou'd not have pitch'd on a surer way to forward his *Designs*, than the dividing and distracting the *People* here; which these *Gentlemen* have notoriously done to the utmost of their *Power*. And to say, they were so *Generous* as to have serv'd him *gratis*, is so far from lessening, that it will much aggravate the *Crime*; since the *Man* that betrayes his *Country* for a *Reward*, is far more excusable, than he that does it out of meer *Malice* and *Ill-will*. I will easily allow them, which I think no

Man in his *Wits* will deny, that the *French King* has been these many years past, and is like to continue, because 'tis his *Interest*, the great *Disturber* of our *Israels Peace*. He is *sensible*, we are the only *Nation* now able, if united amongst our selves, to give a *Check* to his unlimited *Ambition*, and defeat his long hatch'd *Designs* of an *Universal Monarchy*. 'Tis his *Business* therefore to foment our *Differences*, and set us together by the *Ears*, till he finds himself in a *Condition* to fall upon us, and destroy us. He has already found out our *Blind Side*, our frightful *Apprehensions* of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government* upon every *slight*, or rather no occasion, which the *Author* of the *Book* call'd the *Policy of France*, has long since chalk'd out as the most *infallible* way to break us all to pieces. But if we consider what sort of Men have of late years pursued this very *Method*, with more than *ordinary Zeal*, have studied all ways imaginable to enflame the *Nation*, and bring their *Sovereign* into an *odium* with his *People*, and by this *Means* have given the *French* an *opportunity* to add *Casal* and *Strasbourg*, *Courtray*, *Luxemburg*, and other *Places* of *Importance* to his new *Acquisitions*, and to cast several *Slurs* and *Affronts* upon this *Kingdom* both by *Sea* and *Land*: We shall easily find, that whoever receiv'd the *Pensions*, these very *Gentlemen* that cry so loud against it, were the *grand Promoters* of the *French Interest*. I am sorry this can be said of any, much less of so many of the *Representatives* of the *Commons* of *England*; or that any should be found among them so unmindful of the *Publick*, or so far infatuated with a *blind unseasonable Zeal* for *Religion*, as instead of opposing the *Common Enemy*, to serve and forward his *Designs*. Yet this much we have to say to our *Comfort*, that even in that *House* there was a *Remnant left* that bow'd not the knee to *Baal*, as *Loyal Subjects*, and as hearty *Lovers* of their *Country*, as ever sat within those *Walls*, tho' still out-voted by the *cunning* and *address* of the *Faction*, who with their plausible *Pretences* of *Religion* and *Liberty*, when they really meant *Slavery* and *Confusion*, by unhinging the best of *Governments*, carried all before them. For 'tis plain, there is nothing more *dangerous* to our *present Peace* and *future Happiness* than the creating such unlucky *divisions* and *misunderstandings* amongst us; nothing more necessary for our *Preservation*, than a *lasting union* and a *mutual confidence* between *Prince* and *People*: And therefore as

all good *Subjects* are now satisfied, these *Gentlemen* were led by another *Byass* than that of the *Publick good*; so I question not but every true *Englishman* will mark all those for the future, that will run upon the same *Scent*, and look upon them as *Betrayers* of their *Country*, hir'd by our *Enemies* to prepare us for *Destruction*. But how, I beseech you, cou'd the *Proroguing* of that *Parliament*, be a *promoting* of *French designs*? What have they done, all the while they sate, in opposition to *France*, or what have they omitted to please that *ambitious Prince*, and secure him in his *Conquests*; all their *Votes* and *Resolutions*, their *Addressses* and *Remonstrances* being all along subservient to his *Ends* and *Purposes*? The reason was, I suppose, that having set up for *Popular Patriots*, to please the unthinking *Multitude* in some measure, they thought it necessary to give them a few *Sugar Plums*, by seeming to huff against the *French*, tho' it was the least of their *Thoughts* to disoblige so good a *Friend*: As on the other side they pass'd in the following *vote* high *Complements* on their *zealous Sticklers* in *London*, who had bin all along very useful to the *Ringleaders* of the *Faction*, to engage them further in the *Cause*.

*Resolved*, that the thanks of this *House* be given to the *City* of *London*, for their manifest *Loyalty* to the *King*, their care, charge, and vigilancy for the preservation of his *Majesties Person*, and of the *Protestant Religion*. *Votes* ib.

I wish the *Gentlemen*, since their *Hand* was in, had so far oblig'd their *Friends* in *London*, as to have given us any one instance either of their *Loyalty* to the *King*, or of their *Care* for the establish'd *Religion*, in the whole course of their unhappy *Government*. I know very well, there were at that time many *Loyal* and *Conscientious Protestants* in *London*, whose prudent conduct and management of *Affairs*, has since very much contributed to the *Peace* and *Welfare* of the *Nation*. But at this time they were only *Cyphers*, out of all *Power* and *Command*, and daily run down under the *Notion* of *Tories* and *Papists* in *Masquerade*. As for those *Worthies* here care's'd and applauded for the *Watchmen* of *Israel*, who have since either fled for their *Villanies*, or got under the *Hatches* for several *Misdemeanors*, none but such *Patriots* wou'd have left them unpunish'd, much less have thank'd them for their black  
Exploits;

*Exploits*; who made *London* then the *Nursery* of the *Faction*, as formerly it was the *Seminary* of the late horrid *Rebellion*: where all the wicked *Measures*, all the *illegal Votes* and *unmannerly Addresses*, that have bin since made use of within *Doors* or without, were contriv'd and hammer'd by *Factionous Clubs* and *Cabals*, several Months before the *Parliament* sat, and divers *Copies* distributed among the *Leading men*; whereof the late *King* had a full account given him by a *Gentleman* that seem'd to be of the *Gang*, but was so honest as to let his *Majesty* know the whole *Mystery* of *Iniquity*: In fine, so *Insolent* they were, and so *Violent* against the *Monarchy*, that it was impossible for the *King* to be at ease, or the *Nation* at quiet, while such *Incendiaries* without, to back the *Affociators* within *Doors*, had the *management* of the *Capital City*, which in effect is the *Rudder* of the whole *Kingdom*; And therefore all his *Majesties* other endeavours to get the better of the *Faction*, as his now *Proroguing*, then *dissolving* his *Parliaments*, (whereby instead of *mending* they became still more *furiosus* at their next Meeting) signified no more than *Hercules* in the *Fable* now and then cutting off one of *Hydra's* Heads, which grew *double* as often as cut off. But when the *King*, having tryed in vain all other *Expedients*, seiz'd upon the *Charter* of *London*, which they had forfeited over and over; then, and not till then, he gain'd a compleat *Victory*, and with that *single blow* cut off all the heads of the *Monster*.

Now the *Affociators* finding the *Fanaticks* in *London* so active and so *zealous* in the *Cause*, 'twas no wonder if in *return* they made bold a little to stretch both the *Law* and the *Gospel*, to oblige such useful and necessary *Tools*; especially when they cou'd ease their *Friends*, and run down their *Enemies* with the same *Breath*: And therefore 'tis wisely

*Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this House, that the City of London was burnt in the year 1666 by the Papists, designing thereby to introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery into this Kingdom. Votes 10.*  
Jan. 1680.

For it was well known, the *Fanaticks* were shrewdly suspected of this horrid *Crime*, six of them having confess'd the *Design* at the

the place of *Execution*, and nam'd the time within a day, near upon five Months before it happen'd; as may be seen in the *Gazette* 26. of *April* 66. *Nero's Policy* therefore must be us'd, to turn it another way, and the *Wicked* suffer for the Sins of the *Godly*; tho' not out of any hatred either to the worst *Principles* or *Practices*, that ever the *Papists* were accus'd of, but merely to make them a *Stalking-Horse*, the better to come at their own *Game*. The *Gentlemen* certainly were true *Friends* indeed; who to hide the *Knavery* of their *Party*, generously ventur'd to expose their own *Folly* to the *World*. What *rational connection*, I pray, can we find between the *burning* of *London* and the *introducing* of *Pope-ry*, or between that and *Arbitrary Power*? As if the *Papists* made *Slavery* a piece of their *Religion*, to whose *Care* and *Prudence*, as *Freeborn Englishmen*, we owe all our *Fundamental Rights* and *Priviledges*, and even the most excellent *Constitution* of *Parliaments*. Yet suppose, the *Papists* were such *Fools*, (as certainly they must be the meekest *Ideots* upon *Earth*, or they are safely believ'd) as to prefer *Slavery* to *Liberty*, and think that horrid *Conflagration* serviceable to their *purpose*; how came they to miss of the *End*, at least not to push for't, since they sped so well, even beyond all *Expectation*, in the *Means* they propos'd? Where lay their *Money* in *Bank*, or their *Men* in readiness? Who oppos'd this formidable *Army*, or how came they to vanish without doing some *Execution*? But enough of this *ridiculous*, *Nonsensical Stuff*, contriv'd by *Knaves*, and believ'd by *Fools*, and most unluckily *Canoniz'd* at last in *St. Stephens Chappel*, to the everlasting *Shame* of the *Authors*.

As for their intended *kindness* to the *D. of M.* which really turn'd to his *Disadvantage*, to have such *Mediators* as wanted *Mediators* and *Pardons* for themselves, to get him restor'd to his former *Places* and *Employments*, it was grounded upon the same *Foundation* with the former. They wheedled the *Poor Man*, to serve their own *Ends*, from his *Duty* and all worldly *Happiness*, with the *Chimerical Hopes* of a *Crown*, which he had neither *Right* to *Enjoy*, nor *Brains* to *Support*; and being in *Law* but *Filius Populi*, they made him *Don Populario* to his *Ruine*. For'tis alwaies observ'd, that the *Devil* owes the *Fool* a *spite*, when he makes him a *Politician*.

Thus our *Associators*, like the *Old Dragon* in the *Revolution*,  
 C having

having great Wrath, because they knew they had but a short time, labour'd to make the best of it they cou'd for their Purpose; and therefore ceas'd not to spit their Venom on all sides to oblige their Friends, and revenge themselves on their Enemies: For tho' they expected every moment the pale Messenger of Death; yet like true Cargilites they continued to the very last minute blaspheming against the Government. But the Fatal Hour is come at length, and the Hoggen Moggen, who acted as if they had the same Commission with the Prophet Jeremiah, whom God had set over Nations, and over Kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to spoil and to destroy, and to build, and to plant; nevertheless with the least Blast of their Princes breath, they presently gave up the Ghost, and moulder'd away into nothing.

But the King, whom no Irregularities in Parliament cou'd put out of Love with so good and wholesome a Constitution, and the necessities of the Kingdom then requiring it, to quiet, if possible, the Minds of the distracted People, upon the Dissolution of the former, issued out new Summons for calling another: Yet considering that for some years before, the Faction in the House of Commons, and their Agents in London, went hand in hand, supporting and encouraging each other, to the great prejudice of the Publick, he resolv'd for once to try their Humor at Oxford; where notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Fanaticks, while they rul'd the Roast in that Ancient and Famous Nursery of Learning, during the late Usurpation, to corrupt the young Collegians with the old Leaven, Religion and Loyalty were still triumphant.

The Faction quickly apprehending the Disadvantages they shou'd lie under, near so Learned, and so Loyal an Universty, where their Shams wou'd not take, nor their Practices bear Water; where they shou'd want their Cabals to prepare Schemes, and the unruly Rabble to make a Noise, immediately put their Heads together to divert this, as to them, most Fatal Resolution. And having drawn up an Unmannerly sort of a Petition, not so much Praying as Threatning the King with the ill Consequences of removing his Parliament from London; which they got sign'd by as many Lords as they cou'd get of their Gang, to the number of Sixteen, they pitch'd upon the unhappy Earl of Essex to present it to his Majesty; who chearfully undertook the Province, that

that he might seem the *Ringleader* of the *Party*, and usher'd it in with a most *Impertinent Harangue* \*which they had prepar'd for him upon that *Occasion*. But the *King* was too *Wise* to be impos'd upon by such Men; whom he knew so well, that their *Petition*, in stead of working any *Change*, confirm'd him in his former *Purpose*; and therefore the *Petitioners* were dismiss'd without any further *Satisfaction*.

\*25. Jan. 168c.

This unexpected *Repulse* put the *Faction* to some *Stand*; yet having no other *Remedy*, they got the *Speech* and *Petition* immediatly printed, by way of *Appeal*, as their *Custom* was, to the *Multitude*; but in few days after, the chief *Heads* of both were briefly confuted by an honest *Gentleman*, whose *Answer*, you tell me, never came to your hands; and therefore because *Loyal* and *Short*, and withal somewhat *Prophetical*, as to that unfortunate *Earl*, I will here insert for your *Perusal*.

*My Lord.*

“**T**Ho’ the great *Esteem* I have always had as well for your *Lordships Parts* and *Prudence*, as your *Fathers Loyalty*, inclines me to make a favourable *Construction* of your *Words* and *Actions*; yet the late *Speech*, and *Petition* publish’d under your *Name*, are of so strange a nature, and of so ill an aspect in our present *Circumstances*, that I cannot but acquaint you with my *Thoughts* upon that unseasonable *Subject*; wherein did I not see my *Sovereign* so nearly concern’d, that many do construe, this was not so much *Petitioning*, as *Threatning* his *Sacred Majesty*, I wou’d have silently pass’d it over, and buried my *Resentments* in *Oblivion*.

“ I am sorry, *my Lord*, you begin with so weak an *Observation* from *Histories* and *Records*, as that many *Parliaments* have been unfortunate when call’d at *Places* remote from the *Capital City*. Did you ever observe how unfortunate many have been, when call’d in this *Capital City*; or how many have been unfortunate, when elsewhere conven’d? Do not all *Writers* of the late *Rebellion* observe it a great *oversight* in our *Royal Martyr*, not to have call’d his long *Parliament* to *Tork*, or some other *Place*, remote from *London*; where so many *Factionous Cabals* were constantly held, and so many *Pernicious Con-  
trivances* daily hammer’d, besides the *Rabbles tumultuous* run-

ning to *Westminster-Hall*, and the *Common Councils* petitioning, or rather advising his *Majesty*, (*Mechanicks* turning *Politicians*, and leaving their *Shops* and *Trade*, to sit at the *Helm* of *Government*) that all wise men conclude, thence came the *Plague* of *War* and *Desolation* upon the whole *Kingdom*?

“But your *Observation* is not so weak, as your *Presidents* are *Emphatical* and *Mysterious*. You instance three unhappy *Kings*, and without the least *ground* in *History*, you seem to suppose the *Places* of calling their *Parliaments*, the *Cause* of their *Mis-carriages*. I am sure, *my Lord*, you know the contrary is manifest by our most *Authentick Monuments* and *Records*. To *Popular Fears* and *Jealousies*, fomented by *Ambitious* and *Discontented Grandees* and *pretended Patriots*, these, as most *Princes* in general, ow'd all their troubles and calamities; as now we do in a great *Proportion*.

“To these *Henry II.* by you mention'd, ow'd the *unnatural Broils* and *Distractions* of his *Kingdom*, when they and *Lewis* the *VII. King* of *France*, to make the *Case* the more *Parallel*, incited the *Son* to rebell against the *Father*; in which nevertheless they were thus far more *excusable* than *others*, that the *Son* was no *Bastard*, but the undoubted *Heir* of the *Crown*, and a *titular King*.

“These were in like manner the chief *Cause* of all the *Mischiefs* and *Miseries* of *Henry* the *Third's* *Reign*, when under the *Colour* of redressing the *Peoples Grievances*, they brought upon the *Nation* the greatest *Grievance* of all, an *Intestine Civil War* for many years together: And tho' they loudly pretended to fight for the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, yet themselves were no better than so many *Tyrants*; as ancient and modern *Authors* have observ'd. *Baker* p. 86.

“As for *Henry VI.* his *Fate* was the *Consequence* of his *Grandfathers Usurpation*; for *De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius Hæres*. The *People* at last weary of their *Change*, began to open their *Eyes*, and think it better to submit to their *Lawful Prince*, than to a *violent Usurper*. Nevertheless this *Revolution* could not have been effected but with a great deal of difficulty, had not a gap been open'd by the *Ambition* of wicked *Statesmen*, who to have the sole *Management* of *Affairs* to themselves, contriv'd the death of the *Kings Uncle*, and only Sup-

“*part*, the *Good Duke of Gloucester*; as now some conspire against *His Royal Highness*, the better to enable themselves to dispose of the *King* as they please.

“These are the chief *Heads* of your unseasonable *Speech*, but your *Petition* runs a little further. In the first place you aggravate the *Dangers* of *Popery*, of which all true *Protestants* are sufficiently *Apprehensive*; yet withal, *my Lord*, we are too sensible the *Papists* are not our only *Enemies*. We have whole *Swarms* of *ungovernable Sectaries*, and *Republicans* in great numbers, that seem to hate the *Name*, but in themselves love the *Practice* of *Arbitrary Power*; that pretend to stand for the *Church of England*, but really advance *Presbytery*; In fine, that would vain persuade us they are great *Lovers* of the *King*, tho’ by their *Actions* we may easily see, they care but little for his *Government*.

“You are troubl’d it seems, that the next *Parliament* is to meet at *Oxford*, where (you say) *neither Lords nor Commons* can be in *safety*, but will be daily expos’d to the *Swords* of the *Papists*, and their *Adherents*; of whom too many have crept into his *Majesties Guards*. Do you know, *my Lord*, of any such *Papists* now in the *Guards*? If you do, ’tis your *Duty* to your *King* and *Country* to have them secur’d: If not, ’tis a groundless *Surmise*, and a very frivolous *Pretence*, unfit to be mention’d by Persons of *Honour*. Certain it is, we have more reason to believe such unseasonable *Petitioners* are addicted to *Presbytery*, than his *Majesties Guards* inclin’d to *Popery*: For the later do openly protest against the *Papists*, have often taken *Tests* and *Oaths* against that *Religion*; but the former are zealous *Solicitors* for the *Fanaticks*, and endeavour to unite them to the *Church of England*, not by their coming to us, but ours to them; we losing our own *Ground*, and they still keeping theirs. But to waive this, if his *Majesty* thinks himself safe at *Oxford*, and doubts not to commit his *Sacred Person* to his *Guards*, what Reason have you to apprehend any *Danger*? Sure, ’tis his *Majesties death*, not yours, the *Papists* have hitherto design’d: How then can you be so *Apprehensive*, while he is *secure*?

“As for the *King’s Evidence*, I doubt not but they will cheerfully endure a little *Inconvenience*, to make an end of this

“*Execrable*

“ *Execrable Plot.* ’Tis an advantage most of them have, that  
 “ they have bin brought up and us’d to *want and hardship*; which  
 “ now, I am confident, they will *not* decline, to consummate  
 “ the great *Work* they have so well begun.

“ My Lord, I wish as heartily as any man in *England*, the fre-  
 “ quent Meetings of *Parliaments*, and the good *Correspondence* of  
 “ *Prince* and *People*. I am perhaps as much concern’d as ano-  
 “ ther, to have the *Liberty* of the *Subject* preserv’d inviolable.  
 “ Yet when I see those, that shou’d be the Preservers of this *Liberty*,  
 “ first invade it, and endeavour to *Monopolize Arbitrary Power*  
 “ to *themselves*, I think *self-preservation* allows me to oppose  
 “ them. ’Tis a true saying, *Corruptio optimi pessima*, and experi-  
 “ ence tells us, that *Parliaments may err as well as Kings*.

“ I will Conclude with a short *Reflection* on some *Transactions*  
 “ preceding the *long Parliament* in the late *King’s Reign*; where ’tis  
 “ observable, that his *Majesty* finding his *Parliaments* still *Retrograde*,  
 “ and bent rather to foment than compose the *Differences* of the  
 “ *Kingdom*, in *September 40*. He summon’d the *Great Council* of his  
 “ *Peers*, to consult about the weighty *Affairs* of the *Nation*: But this  
 “ (saith a late *Historian*) was not very well lik’d of by those who favour’d  
 “ the *Scots*, whose chief *Design* aim’d at the calling of a *Parliament*, which  
 “ they fear’d the meeting of the *Peers* might prevent. Wherefore the  
 “ *Earls* of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Mouldgrave*, *Bul-*  
 “ *lingbrook* and *Bristol*, and the *Lords* *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mande-*  
 “ *vile*, and the *Lord* *Edward Howard*, presented a *Petition* to the  
 “ *King*, representing many great *Distempers* and *Dangers*, threatening  
 “ the *Church* and *State*, and his *Royal Person*; as *Sundry Innovations*  
 “ in *Matters* of *Religion*; increase of *Popery*, by employing *Papists* in  
 “ places of *Trust*; the great *Mischief* that might ensue, if the *Forces*  
 “ rais’d in *Ireland* shou’d be brought into *England*, &c. For *Remedy*  
 “ whereof, they pray, that a *Parliament* might be *Summoned*, to redress these  
 “ *Grievances*, and punish the *Authors*; and likewise to compose the *War*  
 “ with *Scotland* without *Blood*, and unite both *Kingdoms* against the  
 “ *Common Enemy* of the *Reformed Religion*. And this was seconded by  
 “ another *Petition* to the same Effect, from their *Common Hackney*,  
 “ the *Common Council* of *London*. See *Baker* p. 470.

“ These, my Lord, were as fair *pretences*, and as plausible *In-*  
 “ *ducements* to have a *Parliament* then call’d, as any you can offer  
 “ at present for the Meeting of the next in *London*; and yet the

“ *World*,

" *World* knows what pernicious *Designs* were then a *hatching*  
 " against the *King* and *Government* by those very *Persons* who  
 " promoted that *Petition*: and happy had his Majesty and the  
 " whole *Nation* bin, had he rejected their *Importunity*. To every  
 " thing there is a *Season*, saith the *Wise Man*; and without doubt  
 " there is a *Season* for *Petitioning*. 'Tis certainly our *Duty*, with  
 " all *Humility* to beg of our *Sovereign* what we think *necessary*.  
 " for the *Publick*; but to press him to it, when he declares against  
 " it, for good *Reasons* as we ought in good manners to suppose, is a  
 " very great *Presumption*, not to be endur'd in a *Subject*. If the *Laws*  
 " have settled in the *King* the absolute *Power* of *Calling*, *Adjourning*,  
 " *Proroguing* and *Dissolving* his *Parliaments*, when and where he  
 " pleases, shall we be *Wiser* than the \* *Laws*, \* *Neminem oportet*  
 " and *Limit* our *Princes* Will, or question his *Prerogative*? *Sapientiores esse*  
 " *Legibus*. Cook.

" In *Fine*, when *Discontented Statesmen* are found the *Promoters*  
 " of such *Petitions*, 'tis *Natural* to suspect they do it for some  
 " *Sinister Design*; *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*. If the great *Politi-*  
 " *cian Achitophel* hang'd himself through discontent, because his  
 " *Counsel* was not follow'd, we cannot in *Prudence* but think others  
 " will leave no *Stone* unturn'd to gratify their *Passion*. There are  
 " some *Weathercocks* in the *World*, who had a hand in all the *Revo-*  
 " *lutions* of their time, *modo harum, modo illarum partium*, but  
 " never *Faithful* to any; if *Your Lordship* be so far overseen, as  
 " to joyn with *Those*, they will certainly leave you in the *Lurch*,  
 " when 'tis too *Late* to Repent. Therefore in time consider the  
 " *Wise Man's* Advice: *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King,*  
 " *and Meddle not with them that are given to Change; for their Ca-*  
 " *lamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both.*  
 " *Prov. 24. 21.*

28 Jan. 1688.

I am Yours &c.

Now if we compare the last *Paragraph* of this *Letter* with the  
*Fatal End* of that *unhappy Earl*, we shall find the *Prediction* veri-  
 fied to a *Hair*, and the *Gentleman's Conjectures* turn'd in a manner  
 into a *Prophecy*. The *Poor Man* found at last to his *Sorrow*, he was  
 left in the *Lurch* by *Crooked Achitophel*, when it was indeed *too*  
*late to Repent*; and therefore out of *Remorse* of *Conscience*, and deep  
*Despair*, for the *baseness* of his *Crimes* against his *Sovereign*, rendred  
 yet

yet more odious with the blackest of Ingratitudes, in conspiring the Death of his Prince that heap'd so many favours upon him, and in a great measure rais'd him from Nothing; notwithstanding all his Pretended Zeal for Religion, he was yet so Irreligious and Wicked, as to lay violent hands upon himself.

But enough of this ungrateful Subject; and now let us observe a little the Motions of that Aboritive Parliament at Oxford, whither the Leading Members are conducted, as it were in Triumph, by Formidable Bodies of the Faction, to strike Terror into all their Opposers. The many Foils and disappointments they receiv'd in the Preceding Parliaments, were so far from bringing them to any Calmness or Moderation, that now they are resolv'd with greater Heat and Violence than ever, to pursue their former Designs. In the Westminster Parliament, tho' they made bold to insert in one of their Bills a Clause for repealing the Statutes \* de Scandalis

\* Votes 16 Dec.  
1680.

\* 7 Jan. 1680.

Magnatum, thereby to bring the Lords upon an even Level with themselves; and to Vote several Peers, without any Tryal or Conviction, \* Enemies to the King and Kingdom, for advising his Majesty against the Bill of Exclusion: Yet they were so modest, as not to declare against the whole House, notwithstanding that his Majesty had told them in his Message some daies before, \* He was confirm'd in his Opinion against the Bill of Exclusion by the Judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. But here we find them of a Braver Spirit, fit to bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Fetters of Iron: And therefore when the Lords, according to the known Laws of the Land; rejected their contrivance of impeaching Fitzharris, and referr'd him to be Tryed at Common Law, they like bold Brittons, charg'd the whole House of Peers with the highest Violation of Justice imaginable: And

Resolved, That it is the undoubted Right of the Commons in Parliament assembled, to impeach before the Lords any Peer or Commoner for Treason, or any other Crime or Misdeanour. And that the refusal of the Lords to proceed in Parliament upon such Impeachment, is a denial of Justice, and a violation of the Constitution of Parliaments.  
Votes 26 March 1681.

But I wish the Gentlemen had bin so just to themselves, as to have

have told us, What *Grounds* they proceeded upon in this particular, in Case they had any, besides their *unaccountable Nemine Contradicente*. I am sure, if we understand the *great Charter* of our *Liberties*, and the *Fundamental Birthright* of every *Commoner*, to be Tryed by *Juries* in all *Capital Crimes*, where the *Criminal* is allow'd to make divers *Peremptory Challenges*, and as many more as he can shew *Cause*, 'tis most undoubted, nothing cou'd have been more *Illegal* than the *Impeachment* of *Fitzbarris*, nothing more *unwarrantable* than this very *Resolve*. Besides 'tis well known, that in the 4th Year of *Ed. 3.* after the *Lords* had been prevail'd upon to give *Judgment* on *Sir Simon de Bereford* and several other *Commoners*, for the *Murder* of *Ed. 2.* and his *Brother* the *Earl of Kent*, there is an express *Proviso* still extant upon *Record*, that the *Lords* shou'd not for the future be oblig'd to judge any but their *Peers*.

*And it is assented and accorded by our Lord the King, and all the Grandees in full Parliament; that albeit the Peers, as Judges of the Parliament, have taken upon them, and rendred Judgment, &c. That yet the said Peers, who now are, or shall be in time to come, be not bound or charged to render Judgments upon others than their Peers. Nor that the Peers of the Land have POWER to do this, but thereof ever to be discharged and acquitted: And that the aforesaid Judgment rendred be not drawn to Example or Consequence in time to come, whereby the said Peers shall do contrary to the Laws of the Land, if the like case happen, which God forbid. 4 Ed. 3. N. 6. And pursuant to this Proviso, when Sir William Cogan was accus'd in Parliament by Sir Richard Clevedon, 5 R. 2. N. 43 and 44. the Lords having heard the Cause, remitted both Parties to the Common-Law.*

Where then is the *undoubted Right* of the *Commons* to impeach, or what *Law* or *Statute* can warrant their imposing upon the *Lords* to judge whom they please, contrary to such express *Acts* of *Parliament*? Or what cou'd be their *Reason* to be so much concern'd for *Fitzbarris*, a *profess'd Papist*, but to delay his *Trial*, when after *Impeachment* he cou'd not be brought to *Justice* but at their *Suit*, that by assuring him his *Life*, they might force him to pretend some new *Discoveries*, to breed more *Confusion*? They knew very well the *Man* had nothing to dis-

cover but his own *Villanous Inventions*, which he purposely contriv'd to save his Neck from the Gallows, charging himself with new *Crimes*, to avoid the punishment of the old. And Sir R. C. one of his Godfathers in *Newgate* made it plain enough, when he told the *House* at *Oxford*, *Fitzharris* ask'd *Debates. p. 6.* him, *whether he had not said enough to save his Life?* But still it was the same thing to them, *Plots true or false* wou'd equally serve their turn; or rather false ones wou'd be more *Useful*, because they cou'd turn them which way they pleas'd: And therefore to the very last they us'd all their *Arts* and *Endeavours* to bring him off, *Right or Wrong*, and to frighten the *Judges* from their *Duty*, they pass'd the following *Vote*;

*Resolved, that for any Inferiour Court to proceed against Edward Fitzharris, or any other Person lying under an Impeachment in Parliament, for the same crimes for which he or they stand Impeached, is an high breach of the priviledge of Parliament. Votes 26. March 81.*

Sure these *Gentlemen* dreamt they were gone back to 41. and made *perpetual Dictators*, that they offer'd at this Rate to impose their wild *Ordinances* upon the *Nation*, in opposition to the *fundamental Laws* of the *Land*. 'Tis pity his *Majesty* did not suffer them to sit a little longer, that we might have more of such *edifying Resolutions*. And I wonder how cou'd *Prince* or *People* be weary of so *obliging* a *House of Commons*, who labour'd with a great deal of *Pains* and *Industry*, to imitate *Christ's* saying in the *Revelation*, *Behold I make all things new*, *Rev. 21. 5.* *New Laws*, *new Religions*, and many *new frames of Government*, might we be assur'd of by this time, had not the *Almighty* seen their *Predecessors*, the *Rebellious Long-Parliament*, had given us too much of those *Blessings*. If *Caligula* suck'd blood when a *Child*, what cou'd *People* hope from him when a *Man*? And if the *Faction* at *Oxford* arriv'd in *six days* time to that *height of Insolence*, as the *Commons* in 41. did not come near in *six months*, what a happy *Reformation* might we expect, had they also been made *perpetual*. But they liv'd too fast to live long, and notwithstanding this *extravagant Vote*, with the terrible *Bugbear* in the *Belly* on't; the *priviledge of Parliament*; which had former-

ly sunk both *Law* and *Gospel*, *Fitzharris* was brought to *Justice*, and discover'd at the place of *Execution* both his *Own* and his *Patrons* villany.

'Tis observable that in *K. James I.* his time the *bloody Traytors* concern'd in the *Gun-powder Treason*, were all tryed and convicted by the course of the *Common Law*; and tho' the *Parliament* was then sitting, and the *Design* level'd as much against them, as against the *King* and *Royal Family*, yet not one of them did the *Commons* offer to impeach; neither is it to be imagin'd, that so wise a *Prince*, and so great a *Master of Kings-craft*, wou'd have suffer'd them to meddle with any of his *Prisoners*, since he did not allow them to take the least *cognizance* of the whole matter, where the *Inferiour Courts* had power to proceed. No *voting* of *Plots* was then in fashion, no *examining* of *Witnesses* by *Secret Committees* of the *House of Commons*, no suing of *Pardons* or *Rewards* for mercenary needy *Informers*, as we have had of late days, to carry on the most uncouth ill-shap'd *Monster*, that ever appear'd in *Nature*. All was calmly examin'd, and judicially determin'd in the ordinary *Courts of Justice* without any further *Appeal*.

And many are of *Opinion*, it wou'd have been very much for the *Honour* and *Wellfare* of the *Nation*, had the late *King* taken the like *method* in the *prosecution* of *Oates* his *Popish Plot*, which wou'd have prevented the *distractions* of his *People*, and wholly defeated the *designs* of his *Enemies*; who no sooner got the *management* of that *ridiculous Stuff* into their hands, but they improv'd it every day more and more to his *Majesties* disadvantage, still grafting *new Plots* on the *old Stock*, to keep the *People* in a *continual ferment*, till the *grand Plot* appear'd at last, which had not *Providence* miraculoosly prevented, wou'd have certainly prov'd the *Ruine* both of *King* and *Kingdom*. And who, I pray, were the *Ringleaders* of this horrid *Conspiracy*, but the great *Dictators* of the *Faction*, and the noisy *Assertors* of our *Religion* and *Liberty* in those two *Parliaments*? where, as we are since convinc'd, our true *Protestant Patriots* made all this bustle about the *Popish Plot* for no other end, but that they might under the *Umbrage* of that, carry on their *own undiscover'd*. Well might they cry his *Majesties Life* was still in *Danger*, who best knew what *Hellish Machinations* they had on foot against his

*Sacred Person*, which yet they labour'd with a great deal of Art and Cunning to throw upon the *Papists*, on whom they had already voted \* *in case the King should come by any violent Death, they would revenge it to the utmost*, tho' none more likely to act it than some of themselves, as soon afterwards appear'd. For, when they perceiv'd that neither their *illegal Votes*, nor *insolent Addresses*, nor all their other *Arts and Contrivances* could prevail with the *King* to lay his *Crown* at their feet; and found moreover, that the main *body* of the *Faction*, their *Friends* in *London*, whose *Purses* and *Consciences* they always had at their *Devotion*, were upon declining, and like to loose the *Charter* they had so vigorously made use of against the *Giver*: then they thought it *high time* to bestir themselves, and try since nothing else was like to succeed, what could *Sword* and *Blunderbush* do.

This was the *Plot* indeed, and the well-contriv'd *Design*, where no *Art* was wanting to secure the success, no *Power* but *Providence* able to defeat it. The *Common People* were already mannag'd to some purpose, the *Knives* prepar'd for executing any *Villany*, and the *well-meaning Fools* kept still gaping after the *ridiculous Contrivances* of the *Papists*, which if compar'd to this, will seem but a meer *Phantome* or *Shadow*: For their forty Thousand *Black Bills*, their *Screw'd Guns* and *Silver Bullets*, their *Spanish Pilgrims* and *Irish Auxiliaries*, their *White-Horse Consult* and *D'Oliva's Commissions*, and *in fine*, the whole frame of that *Bears Cub*, is no more than a *Childish piece* of *Pageantry*, in comparison of the late *Conspirators* methodical *Attacques* upon the *Government*; as their *seditionous Petitions* and *factions Addresses*, their *riotous Elections* and *perjur'd Ignoramus's* their *Anti-Monarchical Bill of Exclusion* and *treasonable Project of Association*, and to crown the *Work*, their *Council of Six* and *Rye-house undertaking*.

The *Train* is so *Obvious* and *Visible* in the *Later*, and the *Chain* so easie to be trac'd *link by link*, while there is but little or no *Coherence* in the *Former*, that the most any man in his right *Wits* can do, is to believe any *part* of the *one*, or *disbelieve* the least *tittle* of the *other*.

But why shou'd I seek *knots* in *Bulrushes*, or dwell any longer

er on a thing so plain? the whole *Mystery of Iniquity* is sufficiently reveal'd, and not only sworn to by many of the *living*, but own'd and confess'd by the *dying Conspirators*; Whereas we have little or nothing to support the Credit of the *other*, but the bare *oaths* of a *pack of Jayl-birds* and the most notorious of *Villains*, who for their *Bread and Liberty* were ready to swear any thing, while they had a *head-strong Faction* to back them, and pawn upon the *People* their *Romantick Dreams* for *new Revelations*.

Now, if at last we sum up our *Accounts*, and compute our *Loss* and *Gain* upon the whole matter, as every *prudent Man* will do even in his private *Concerns*, what is the *Nation* the better for this way of proceeding? The *Monarchy* was thereby not only brought low, but upon the very brink of *Destruction*; the *establish'd Religion* defam'd, and the *Orthodox Clergy* made a *Grievance*; divers of his *Majesties* good *Subjects* daily harras'd, and toss'd from *Post* to *Pillar*; our *Credit* and *Reputation* lost abroad; and our *Trade* and *Commerce* in a manner ruin'd: And all this while not one to be nam'd, that was a *Gainer* by the matter, but *scandalous Libellers*, *factionous Newsmongers*, and *perjur'd Informers*.

This is not all, our *Parliaments*, which in former Ages were deservedly look'd upon as the great *Physicians* of the *Body Politick*, (because of late years the *Leading Members* in the *House of Commons* prov'd such *Quacks* and *Mountebanks*, as seem'd to have only the *Art of Killing*, but not of *Curing* any) suffer'd so much in their *Credit*, especially with such as are apt to throw the *Faults* of the *Professors* upon the *Profession*, and the *Miscarriages* of some *Members* upon the whole *Constitution*, that many are of *Opinion*, it will be no small *difficulty* for the next to *Retrieve* their *Reputation*. It grieves me to find what some *Ingenious* Gentlemen have observ'd, that of the eight, which have been summon'd these 60 years past, we have had but *One* that we cou'd truly call a *Loyal* or good *Parliament*. The rest, through the *unhappy Choice* of ill *Members*, who aim'd more at their own *Ends* and *Designs* than the *Publick good*, some endeavouring by *Caballing* and *Bawling* against the *Government*, to get themselves bought off with *Honours* and *Employments*, others labouring to promote *Fanaticism* and turn the *Monarchy* into a *Common-Wealth*, have occasion'd such *distractions*,  
such

such wild *Notions* and *Chimæra's* among the *People*, that many an honest man thinks he has *Reason* to wish, as the *least of the two Evils*, rather to have no *Parliaments*, than to be plagued with the like for the future.

But the *Distemper*, I hope, is now pretty well over, and the *Nation* having had sufficient *Experience* of the *Fatal* consequences of *Faction* and *Sedition*, will (I doubt not) take such *Measures* at this time, as will make the next a *healing, restoring Parliament*; such as will not increase, but rather redress our *Grievances*, bring all the *Enemies* of the *Government* to *Condign Punishment*, procure and fix a good understanding between *Prince* and *People*, and thereby (the only *Means* to do it) *Retrieve* the *Reputation* their *Predecessors* have so unluckily lost, to the great *Prejudice* of the *Publick*.

This is the *sure and short way* to our *present Settlement* and future *Happiness*, so earnestly wish'd for by all *Loyal Subjects*, and no less dreaded by the *Disturbers* of our *Israels Peace*; who have therefore now all their *Engines* at work, to render this as fruitless as they have former *Parliaments*. The *Fanaticks* and the *Republicans*, of late turn'd *Trimmers*, as the more *Mischievous* sort of *Animals*, and such as fancy themselves *disoblig'd*, or whose *Crimes* have render'd them *obnoxious* to the *Government*, who think they can have no *Safety*, at least no *possibility* of compassing their *Ends*, but by our *disorder* and *Confusion*, now keep constant *Clubs* and *Cabals*, in all the *Corners* of the *Town*, to contrive such *Schemes* and *Measures*, as they think most proper to frustrate all honest *Mens Expectations*, by rendring the next *Sessions* ineffectual.

It has been always their *Policy* to begin with *Religion*, as the most *popular Topick* they can make use of, to engage the *unthinking Multitude* in the *Cause*, according to *Machiavel's Rule*, *Quoties vis fallere plebem, finge Deum*: Tho'tis well known, the old *Heathen Philosophers* were far better *Christians* than such *noisy Reformers* as we have had of late days, who were every *Moon* for *chopping* and *changing*, *paring* and *clipping Religion*, till they wou'd have left us none at all. It was *Erasmus* his *Drollery*, *Quid rerum nunc geritur in Anglia? Consulitur de Religione*. And it has been our *Misfortune* ever since to have been perplex'd with the same *Endless Consultations*; till at length *Christianity* it self was *Spirited* away from among us by an *Ignis Fatuus* of an *Imaginary Religion*, and nothing

in a manner left to the *Establish'd Church*, that we cou'd call *Primitive*, but *Poverty* and *Persecution*. And all this while, which was our *fatal Error*, we never consider'd before-hand the *Lives* and *moral Actions* of those *Refiners* of the *Reformation*, that we might thereby know what *Spirit* they were of: But, as if *God* wanted the *Devils* assistance to defend his *Church*, the loosest *Debauchees*, and the greatest *Hypocrites*, no sooner pretended to stand up for *Religion* and *Liberty*, but they were immediately Canoniz'd by the gaping *Crowd* into *tutelar Saints* and *true Protestant Patriots*. Thus poor *Perkin Warbeck*, and his good natur'd *Cornudo*, to omit many *hundreds* more of the same *Stamp*, were cryed up for the *main Pillars* of the *Protestant Religion*, that stood in the *Gap* against the *Inundations* of *Popery*; tho' at the same time little better than *Atheists*, and when their *Vizards* were pull'd off, and they cou'd stay no longer here, then each of them thought fit, for their *Spiritual Recreation*, to lead about a *Holy Sister* in their *Travels*, to propagate their *Gospel* in *Foreign Countries*.

But *Expedients*, say they, we must needs have to secure the *Protestant Religion*, otherwise the *Nation* will be at length prevail'd upon to return from whence they came, and once more to observe the *Souldiers* posture, *As you were*. I wish in the mean time we had an *effectual Expedient* to Cure some *Peoples* brains of *Maggots* and *Chimeras*, who seem to tremble with *fear*, where there is no *possibility* of *Danger*. Our *Religion*, I am sure, is already as well secur'd, and as firmly establish'd by the *Care* and *Vigilance* of our *Ancestors*, as the *Law* is able to make it, or *human wit* can devise; there being so many severe *Statutes* in force against all its *Opposers*, even to the

making it \* *Treason* to pervert or be perverted, that no *Power* on Earth, but our *own folly*, can alter or destroy

\* 23 E. 2. 1.  
Sec. 2. & 3.  
J. c. 4. S. 0.  
22, 23.

it. Besides, to remove all *Objections*, and satisfy, if possible, the most *scrupulous* amongst us, *His Majesty* that now is, whose *Word* has ever been as *Sacred*, and as *punctually observ'd*, as the most *Solemn Laws* by any of his *Ancestors*, was graciously pleas'd, upon the late *Kings* Decease, to declare himself in *Council*, and give us this further assurance: *I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State, as it is now by Law established. I know the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shew'd them-*

*selves*

*selves Good and Loyal Subjects, therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.*

Now if all these be thought *insufficient*, what new *Expedient* can be found *able* to secure us? If *People* be so base as to imagine, His *Majesty* will regard neither the *Establish'd Laws*, nor *His Royal Word*, nor yet *His undoubted Interest*, to what purpose shou'd *People* dream any more of *Expedients*, since the *Laws* formerly made are as full and as binding, as any can be fram'd a new. Unless they will offer (and that to be sure is their *aime*) to clip the *Prerogative*, which is already par'd so very near the *quick*, that nothing more can be parted with, without *apparent danger* to the *Monarchy*. And therefore no *honest man*, or which is the same, no true *lover* of the *Government*, will *approve* of, much less *promote* any thing, that may tend to a further *diminution* of it; none but such as wou'd fain dash both *Church* and *State*, one against the other, will offer to *weaken* the *Crown*, on *pretence* to *support* the *Miter*; whereas indeed nothing can secure the *one*, but the *strength* and *power* of the *other*, which have been always observ'd, like *Hippocrates his Twins*, to *Laugh* and *Weep*, *Live* and *Dye* together.

But 'tis plain, *Religion* is not the *Matter* in *Question*, nor *Conscience* the *Motive* of all these *Frights* and *Apprehensions*. *Worldly Interest* is the *Spring* that moves all the *Wheels*, and provided these *Men of Zeal* and *Devotion*, cou'd but secure in their own *Hands* all the *Offices* and *Employments* in the *Kingdom*, I am morally certain, they wou'd not much care what *Mode* of *Religion* shou'd be in *Fashion*. For my part, tho' I have as much *reason* perhaps as another to wish, that none shou'd be employ'd in any considerable *Station* amongst us, but the *obedient Sons* of the *Church* of *England*, and that I see no manner of *grounds* to fear, while the *Laws* which the *King* has been *graciously* pleas'd to promise, shou'd be the *Rule* of his *Government*, are so strict and severe against all *Dissenters*, there shall be any other advanc'd in this *Kingdom*; whatsoever His *Majesty* may think fit to do, which is no business of ours, in His other *Dominions*, especially in *Ireland*, where it is not only *lawfull*, but perhaps very *necessary* to employ some *Persons* of known *Integrity*, to ballance the *Cromwellians*, and the *ungovernable Fanaticks* there, who (I am told) have rais'd themselves from nothing to very considerable *Estates* by Fighting for *Oliver*, and therefore

therefore cannot easily forget the *Principles* nor the *Practice*, which of *Weavers, Coblers*, and other pitiful *Mechanicks*, made them *Esquires, Knights*, and *Peers* of that *Realm*. Tho' I say, there is no *Moral Possibility* of any others being prefer'd here, but such as will, at least *seemingly* conform according to *Law*; yet to give you my own thoughts upon that Point, I must tell you, that as I have been always of *Opinion*, that *Honesty* is not only the best *Policy*, but the best *Religion*, it being confess'd by all, that *the Honest Man only goes to Heaven*; and as it cannot enter into my Head, how it is *possible* for any to be really *solicitous* about *Religion*, that practises nothing of it in his *Life* or *Conversation*: So I cou'd never yet be induc'd to *believe*, it was the *Interest* either of *Church* or *State* to make an *outward Profession* of the *establish'd Religion* a *necessary step* to *Preferment*. That indeed with the *Practice* and other *Endowments* must be always exacted in *Spiritual Promotions*; but *Merit* only and *good Services* to the *Crown* shou'd, in my *Opinion*, be thought enough to recommend *Candidates* to *Civil* or *Military Employments*. And as it is *Demonstrable*, the *Monarchy* has been very much weakn'd, by making that the *Standard* of the *Princes* favour, which neither *King* nor *Kingdom* were a *Straw* the better for; so 'tis plain the *Church* suffer'd extremely by the accession of *thousands* of *Atheists* and *profane Libertines*, who pretended to be of her *Communion* for no other *Reason*, but to qualify themselves for *Offices* and *Preferments*; by which means, besides the *Opportunity* given to such *ill men* to execute any *Villany* upon an occasion, to the great *hazard* of the *State*, many a *well-meaning Christian* was very much *scandaliz'd*, and a *Gap* open'd to her *Enemies* to throw all the dirt they cou'd upon the *most primitive Reform'd Church* in the *World*. 'Tis certainly an odd sort of *Policy*, to exclude one that signaliz'd his *Ability* and his *Loyalty* to the *Crown*, for some *differences* in *Religious Opinions*, own'd even by ourselves *unnecessary to Salvation*; and prefer another that never gave any one *Instance* of either, because he makes no *Conscience* of taking, nor will perhaps of *breaking*, any *Test* or *Oath* that is tender'd him.

We see the *Politick French Monarch*, tho' *Himself* and the *Generality* of his *People* are *zealous Papists*, do nevertheless prefer

such of his *Protestant Subjects* as he finds deserving, to places of *Trust* and *Profit*, sends them *Envoys* and *Ambassadors* to his *neighbouring Princes*, makes them *Captains* and *Colonels* in his *Army*, and raises them by degrees according to their *Honesty* and *Capacity*, as appears by *Monsieur Schemberg*, whom tho' a *zealous Protestant*, he made *Mareschal of France*, and consequently *General* in his turn, one of the *highest Stations* and of the *greatest Trust* in his whole *Kingdom*. Neither can the *French Papists* be offended at the Advancement of any such, when they consider 'tis but *Equity* and the *undoubted Right* of the *Subject*; because that part of *political Justice*, which is call'd *Distributive*, always makes it a *due Debt* upon the *Prince* to reward his *Subjects* according to their *Deserts*, as the *Vindicative part* does oblige him on the other side to punish *Offenders* according to their *Demerits*; with this only *Difference*, that he can with much better *Conscience* forgive the one, than forget the other.

Besides, when a *Prince* has several *Factions*, whether *Religious* or *Civil* in his *Dominions*, as *Protestant* and *Papist*, *Guelph* and *Gibelline*, which he cannot easily reconcile, 'tis his *Interest*, by employing them indifferently according to their *Parts* and *Loyalty*, to keep the *Ballance* in an equal *Libration*; that while they are at enmity amongst themselves, they shall have no *Aversion* to him, who impartially rewards them in proportion to their *Deserts*: which must needs create such an *Emulation* betwixt his *Subjects*, that they will strive to outdo each other to serve their *Prince*, to the great *Advantage* of the *Publick*; and every one, instead of depending on the *idle Interest* of his *Party*, will endeavour to lay a better and a more useful *Foundation*, that of his own *Merit*, to raise him to *Preferment*. Whereas the contrary Practice will slacken the *Hearts* and *Hands* of many an *able Subject*, who thinking themselves oblig'd in *Honour* not to quit their *Party*, and perhaps in *Conscience* also not to change their *Perswasion* for *Worldly Interest*; if they find they are upon that account incapable of a *due Encouragement*, they will be *remiss* in promoting their *Princes service*: For it is always observ'd, that *Honour* and *Reward* are the *great Motives* to *Zeal* and *Diligence* for the *Publick*; few being now-a-days of the old *Philosophers* temper, to

love

to love *Virtue* for it self; and therefore the *Poet* was very much in the Right, when he said, *Quis enim Virtutem amplectitur ipsam, Præmia si tollas?*

Ay, sayes one, but if that were once allow'd, the Protestant Religion wou'd soon decay, and People turn Papists, in great Numbers. A good riddance of them, say I; for 'tis plain nothing cou'd be more the *Interest* of the *Establish'd Church*, than to be quit of all her *Counterfeit Members*, who follow *Christ* for the *Loaves*; because of all *Enemies* the pretended *Friend* is the most dangerous. Since therefore \* no *True* or *Real Protestant*, none but *Libertines* and *dissembling Conformists* wou'd desert the *Churches Communion* in the Case suppos'd; where is the *Harm*, if that *Temptation* were remov'd, and the wither'd unprofitable *Branches* left to fall off by Degrees? Such as insist upon this *Objection*, I am sure, are either silly *Fools* that understand not what they say, or they have the *Jesuits* and the *Dissenters* sence of the *Establish'd Religion*, that it must have *Baits* and *Allurements* to gain *Profelytes*; which is certainly the greatest *Scandal* imaginable upon any *Church* or *Perswasion* whatsoever. For *Truth* will ever prevail, *Magna est veritas & prævalebit*; and tho' it may be *Clouded* for some time, yet it can never be overcome, because it alwaies stands firm upon *Feet of Iron*, without any *mixture* of *Clay*. Are not we then extreamly oblig'd to such rare *Advocates*, who seem to plead for the *Establish'd Church*, and with the same *Breath* endeavour to make her *Ridiculous* to her *Enemies*? As if she were not able to stand her *Ground* in *Spirituals*, without a *Monopoly* of all the *temporal Advantages* of the *Kingdom*; which (as *St. Jerome* \* has long since well observ'd) does very often rather *hinder*, than *advance* the *Purity* of the *Gospel*. Yet this I perceive, is the ordinary *Meth d* of the *Faction*, to make loud pretences of *Zeal* for the *Church*, and of *Loyalty* to the *King*, and at the same time take such *Measures* under this *Mask*, as will effectually *Weaken*, if not *Destroy* both in the *Conclusion*.

But the *Main Point* is yet behind, which if they can but compass by *Hook* or by *Crook*, they are cock-sure of the *Victory*;

\* Nemo sustinet bonos posse de Ecclesia decedere: Truncum non rapit ventus, nec arborem solidi radice fundatam prociis subvertit: Irans palatempore jactantur. S. Cyprian.

\* Postquam Ecclesia cepit Christianos habere invidiosos, facta est quidem pius maior, sed virtutibus minor. S. Hieron.

but if they shou'd fail, as undoubtedly they will, all their other *Arts and Contrivances* will prove insignificant. The *Revenue* settled on the late *King*, tho' very inconsiderable to support the *Grandeur* and the *ordinary Charge* of the *Government*, has been a great *Grievance* to the *Godly Party*, and no small *Block* in their way to a *thorough Reformation*, that is in plain *English*, the *Subversion* of *Church and State*. And therefore they have now all their *Engines* at work to hinder the settling on his present *Majesty* such *Branches* of it, as are not already made *perpetual*, that He may not be able either to defend His *People*, or to offend His *Enemies*. But as the *Devil*, when he intends most *Mischief*, transforms himself into an *Angel of Light*, so do our *giddy Gospellers*, to hide their *Cloven Foot* of *Separation*, pretend to be *zealous Advocates* for the *Church of England*, when really they design Her *Ruine*, which they know has no *Security* under *God*, but in the *Strength* and *Power* of the *Monarchy*. They boast, that besides some *Lords* and several *Commoners* of the *Establish'd Religion*, they have got a *Prelate* or two (and you may remember they allow'd us lately but two *Protestant Bishops*) to joyn with them in their *Insolent Proposal* for *Clipping* the *Prerogative*; which if refus'd, as they expect it will, because *unreasonable* and of very ill *Consequence*, they hope it may then beget such *Misunderstandings* between *King* and *Parliament*, as will make them part without providing for the *Security* of the *Publick*. Yet because they find the *Nation* is now grown *wearry* of *Confusion*, and the *Major Part*, out of a sense of *Duty* and *common safety*, inclin'd to comply with their *Sovereign* for the support of the *Government*, they have another *Project*, which they think will *better* take, and in *Precess* of *Time* will do their *Work* as well, *viz.* that the *Revenue* be not settled but from *Year* to *Year*, at most not above *three Years* together, that they may, like *Dutiful Subjects*, keep their *Sovereign* on his good *Behaviour*; by which *Means* they are sure of *frequent opportunities* to shuffle the *Cards* again, and venture in spite of *Fate* another *Game* for the *Good Old Cause*.

These, Sir, are the *wild Imaginations* of a restless sort of *People* amongst us, whose *Religion*, like the *Story* of the *Salamander* in the *Fire*, never thrieves but in *Confusion*. And therefore I shou'd be sorry, that any *Member* of the *Church of England*, whose *Doctrine* I am sure is quite opposite, shou'd be so far misled, as to joyn with them in such *Disloyal Contrivances*. We may easily ob-  
serve

serve from late and former Experience, that the *Welfare* of all *Nations*, but more particularly of this, wholly consists in a *good Understanding*, and *mutual Confidence* between *Prince* and *People*; and that if the one be *jealous* of the other, neither our *Peace* at home, nor *Trade* abroad can be *Durable*; for both *Domestick* and *Foreign Enemies* will daily gain ground upon us, and make us at length a *Prey* to their *Malice* or *Ambition*.

Besides, if we consider the *Grievous Complaints* of former ages against *Monopolyes*, and the frequent *Disputes* about the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, with the *many Evils* that follow'd to the great *Hazard* of the *Publick*, which were all founded on the *want* of *Money*, we shall quickly conclude with the *Emperour Theodosius*, *Periculosissimum Animal Pauper Rex*: And that it is neither *Dutiful* nor *Prudent* in *Subjects* to tempt their *Prince* to go out of the beaten *Road*, and strain his *Prerogative*, or hearken to the *Devices* of *Projectors*, for the *support* of his *Government*. His *Majesty* in his most *Gracious Declaration* was pleas'd to take particular notice of the *Loyalty* both of the *Members* and of the *Principles* of the *Church of England*, and promis'd upon that Account to defend and support it. But, if in stead of continuing *Loyal* and *Faithful*, according to our *Duty* and to our *Conscience*, we shou'd endeavour by raising a *Faction* in the *State*, to make the *Crown* uneasy, we cancel the *Obligation* of this *Gracious Promise*, and give his *Majesty* occasion to make us as *uneasy* as he pleases. For 'tis manifest, as his *Majesty* well observ'd, the *Laws of England* are *sufficient* to make the *King* as *great a Monarch* as he can wish: And if he were forc'd by the *Baseness* of some *People* to take such *Measures* in his own *Defence*, which I am certain, nothing but their *Perverseness* cou'd induce him to do, 'tis *Demonstrable*, he cou'd raise more *Money* that way in one year, than he can expect from his *Parliament* in three.

This cou'd be made out by several *Instances*, yet because I have always been a great *Enemy* to *Projects*, and very averse from cutting out *new ways* for raising the *King Money*, when a *Parliament*, if mindful of their *Duty* and of the *Publick Good*, is undoubtedly the *Best* and the most *Natural Method*, I will instance only two *Branches*, and make no *extravagant Calculation*,

to prove my *Assertion*. The first is, that if the  
 \* *Laws* made by *K. Edward 6.* and confirm'd by  
*Q. Elizabeth* and *K. James*, against eating of *Flesh*  
 in *Lent* and other *Fasting-days*, were put in *execution*, where  
 the least *Penalty* is ten shillings and ten days *Im-*  
 \* *prisonment* for the first, and double for the *second*  
*Offence* (not to mention higher \* *Forfeitures* since  
 impos'd) most *People* rather than be obnoxious to  
 such *Penalties*, or oblig'd to abstain from *Flesh* near  
 150 days in the *Year*, two *Fifths* of the whole, wou'd give  
 a yearly *Sum*, at least 20 shillings one with another, and save  
 treble by it in the price of *Fish*, for *Licences* from the *King*,  
 according to a *Proviso* made in one of the said *Statutes*: *Pro-*  
*vided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the Authority*  
*aforsaid, That this Act or any thing therein contain'd, shall*  
*not in any wise extend to any Person or Persons, that hereto-*  
*fore hath, or hereafter shall have obtained any Licence of our*  
*Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs or Successors.* 2 & 3 Ed.  
 6. C. 19. Sect. 5. Now all *knowing Men* do generally agree there  
 are in *England* at least *six Millions* of *Persons*, and we may  
 reasonably suppose above two *Fifths* liable to this *Statute*, who  
 consequently wou'd yield to the *Crown* two *Millions* and a half  
 of *Pounds Sterling per An.* near double the *Produce* of the  
 three great *Branches* of the *Revenue*, the *Customs*, *Excise*, and  
*Hearth Money*. Secondly, If his *Majesty*, which *God* forbid,  
 should find the *Members* of the *Church* of *England* refractory,  
 and thereupon think fit to countenance the *Dissenters*, and sus-  
 pend the *Penal Laws* against them, pursuant to the *Bill* pass'd  
 both *Houses* in the last *Parliament* at *Westminster*, he might  
 have their *Hearts* and *Purses* at his *Devotion*, if it were for no  
 other *Reason*, but to spite the establish'd *Church*, and seem to  
 outdo them in *Loyalty*. And since there are in *England* above  
 six hundred thousand *Dissenters* and *Libertines*, who wou'd ra-  
 ther pay 12 pence a *Sunday*, that is 52 shillings *per An.* than  
 be oblig'd to go to *Church*; his *Majesty* might receive above a  
*Million* and a half more upon this *Account*.

Thus I have shew'd you in part, how the *King* might raise  
*Money* enough to supply his *Necessities*, without the *Assistance*  
 of a *Parliament*; yet at the same time I must tell you, I do

not approve of the *Method*, nor do I believe *his Majesty* will ever make use of any such *Artifice*, who values more a *Penny* with the *Affection* of his *People*, than a *Pound* gain'd by any other *Means*. Nevertheless, it makes it plain, 'tis our *Interest* as well as *Duty*, not to tempt him too much; for if it be a true saying, *Cervus lacepsitus Leo*, what shall a *Lyon* be, when provok'd beyond Measure?

As for that *Faction's Contrivance* of the *Cabal*, to have the *Revenue* settled but from year to year, or some limited time, 'tis so *Base* and so *Disloyal* a *Project*, that it is not to be imagin'd the *Parliament* wou'd propose, or the *King* accept of any such thing. 'Tis enough to make all *Honest Men* abhor it, that it was never offer'd to any *King* of *England*, but to his *Majesties* *Father*, our *Royal Martyr*, whom the *Bloodhounds*, that hunted him to the *Scaffold*, thought fit to feed as it were with *Sugar-plums*, till they wheedled him out of all *Power*, and then made him a *Sacrifice* to secure their *Usurpation*. But the *Impudence* of the *Faction* is very *prodigious*, who have the *Face* to think of such a *Proposal*, and at the same time talk of the *Necessity* of a *general Act* of *Indemnity*, to *forget* and *forgive* all past *Miscarriages*. Wou'd it please them, think you, to have such a *Pardon* as wou'd secure them from *Justice* from year to year, or from one *Session* of *Parliament* to another, as they are pleas'd to propose about the *Revenue*? Or wou'd they have the *Revenue* so *Limited*, and the *Pardon* made *Absolute*? This I am sure no *Honest man* will approve of; none, but a *Partie* in the late *Conspiracy* will offer or promote. I am sensible an *Act* of *Oblivion*, provided the *Crown* were secur'd against further *Attempts*, wou'd be a great *Means* to quiet *Peoples* minds; whereof a great many are still *Apprehensive*, the *Conspirators*, that fled from *Justice*, will one time or other be taken, or freely come in, and to save their own *Bacon*, will discover their *Accomplices* in that *Hellish Design*, which (as *Captain Walcot* confess'd in his last *Speech* at *Tyburn*) was laid very deep, and the *King* had a great many men to take *Judgment* of: But otherwise 'tis only acquitting the *Faction* of all their former *Contrivances*, and exposing the *Monarchy* to their *future Designs*.

This wou'd be a *Fatal Error* indeed, and of so pernicious a *Consequence*, that we need not fear there will be any such *Pardon* granted,

granted, without good *Provision* made on the other side to keep the *Disaffected* in awe. And 'tis manifest there is no *possibility* of providing for, or securing the *Crown*, nor consequently the *Peace* and *Tranquillity* of his *Majesties* good Subjects, any other way than by settling for ever a *sufficient Revenue* for the *Support* and *Defence* of the *Government* against all the *Machinations* of its *Enemies*. For to settle a *fond*, tho otherwise considerable, for a term of years, or during *Life*, is like the *Jesuits Powder*, which puts the *ill Humors* asleep for some time, but destroys not the *Original Cause* of the *Distemper*. And if we consider that the *Nation* wou'd think it less grievous, to be tax'd yearly a *Million* of *Money* for seven years together, than oblig'd to pay four *Millions* in any one year, without being charg'd a *Farthing* for the other six, because the former operates like *Physical Dyet*, but the later like a *Violent Purgation*, we shall find 'tis no less the *Peoples* than the *Princes* Interest to have the *Revenue* made certain and perpetual. It was well observ'd by the best *Parliament* that ever met in our *Days*, *That nothing conduceth more to the Peace and Prosperity of a Nation, and the Protection of every single Person therein, than that the Publick Revenue thereof may be in some measure proportioned to the Publick Charge and Expence.* 13 & 14 Car. 2. Cap. 10. Sect. 1. Since therefore the *Charges* of the *Government* are for the most part *perpetual*, is it not the *undoubted Interest* of all *Honest Men*, and particularly of those that have any thing to lose, to allow and settle upon the *Crown* for ever such a *proportionable Revenue*, as may secure them in the peaceable *Possession* of the rest? As for the present, 'tis our *Comfort*, that *God* in his *Mercy* has been pleas'd to set a *Prince* to reign over us, so extraordinarily qualified for the greatest *Undertakings*, that we may well conclude, *He was born to retrieve the sinking Glory of the English Nation*, in whom the *Prudence* of *Henry* the seventh, and the *Courage* of *Henry* the Eighth, without the *Dross*, either of the *formers* close *Parcimony*, or of the *laters* too much *Severity*, do meet in *Perfection*: So that in His *Days* notwithstanding all the *Snarlings* of an *inveterate* sort of *People*, we need not fear any considerable *Disturbance*. But if it please *God* to call him, which I heartily wish may not be till after a *Long* and *Prosperous Reign*, from an *Earthly* to a *Heavenly Crown*, and leave no *Issue Male*, or but a *Child* to succeed him, what shall then become of the *Monarchy*,

if at the same time the greatest part of the *Revenue* happens to expire? The people will dwindle afresh into several *Parties* and *Factions*, the *Republicans* have an opportunity to push for their *Darling Commonwealth*, and the *Crown* because poor, and the *Successor* not very active, will be in danger of being made a *Prey* by the *strongest Arm* and *longest Sword*; which will inevitably turn our *British Paradise* into a *Field of Blood*, and involve the three *Kingdoms* in endless *Confusions*.

To prevent therefore such *Fatal Calamities*, as I do not question your *Zeal* in the Matter, so I hope your *Fellow-Members*, and the whole *Representative Wisdom* of the *Nation*, *King*, *Lords* and *Commons*, will take effectual care to secure your *Country*, not only in your *own days*, but as far as possible, for *Future Generations*. If you consider, how stiff and unreasonably *obstinate People* are sometimes, who like the *Foolish Members* in the *Apologue* combining against the *Belly*, refuse to help their *Prince*, tho' to prevent their own and their *Countries* ruine, you can have no *Reason* to leave a business of such *Importance*, as the *Welfare* of your *Posterity*, to *blind chance*, or to the *Humor* and *Capricio* of *pretended Patriots*. The taking of *Constantinople* by *Mahomet* the Great gives us a remarkable *instance* of this sort of *Madness*, which made the *Grecians* of a *Learned flourishing Nation*, become the most *ignorant Peasants*, and the *veriest Slaves* in *Nature*. The poor *Emperor* went, as it were for *Alms* from door to-door, begging of the *Rich Citizens* to contribute a little *Money* to enable him against the *Common Enemy*: but they pleaded *Poverty*, and wou'd not part with a *Farthing*, till the *Town* was taken by *Storm*, and three hundred *Millions* of their *Money* brought into the *Conquerors* *Coffers*; who wondering how so *Rich a City* cou'd be so easily won, said, *If these People had bestow'd but three Millions of this Money in defence of their City, I cou'd never have taken it.* But what need we go into *Foreign Countries*, when we have *instances* enough at *Home*, and within our own *Memory*, to convince us of this *Truth*. The strange *usage King CHARLES* the first, and his late *Majesty* for some years past, receiv'd from an *ungrateful sort of People*, (who the more *Gracious* and *obliging* they found their *Prince*, the more *Stiff* and *Refractory* still they grew, to the undoing almost of the whole *Nation*) is *warning* enough to all honest and *thinking Men*, to provide against such dangerous *Fits* of *Madness* for the future.

'Tis true, saies one, it were to be wish'd such provisions cou'd be made, as wou'd for ever secure the *Crown* from all future Attempts both *Foreign* and *Domestick*; but then, on the other side, what security cou'd the *People* have, that the *Prince* wou'd not in two or three Generations shake off his *Parliaments*, and make Himself *absolute*? This, I must confess, is a very *Popular Objection*, and the main *Block* in our way to a *Happy Settlement*, which is never to be hop'd for without a mutual Confidence between *Prince* and *People*: yet we see, it weigh'd not with the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, whose steady *Loyalty* in the late times of *Tryal*, and now in making the *Revenue* of that Kingdom *Perpetual*, has made all possible amends for the many Evils the *Scotch Covenant* has formerly brought upon us. And I hope, it shall never be said, that an *English Parliament* will be behind them in *Duty* or *Affection* to their *Prince*, or less mindful of the *Publick*; especially when they can have no other grounds for so doing, but bare un-supposable possibilities of future Inconveniences. For it is not to be imagin'd by *Rational Men*, that any *King* of *England* will ever be so far overseen, as to hazard the loss of all the hearts of his *People*, the only *support* and *security* of *Princes*, to make himself somewhat more *absolute*, while He may, even by the *Laws* of the *Land*, be as great a *Monarch* as any good *Christian* can wish; and the frequent *Meetings* and *Counsels* of *King* and *Parliament* are the only means to make both *Prince* and *People* *Happy*; because, as *Solomon* tells us, *Without Counsel, Purposes are disappointed, but in the multitude of Counsellours they are established.* Prov. 15. 22.

Nevertheless, to obviate this and all other *Objections* of that kind, if we seriously consider Matters, we shall find that a middle course may be taken, by which we may avoid all these Inconveniences. For if a competent *Revenue*, that is, the *Customs* and the temporary part of the *Excise*, be made perpetual, to support the *Crown* against *Foreign* or *Domestick Designs*, upon the Death of the *Sovereign*; And because this is not sufficient to defray the necessary *Charges* of the *Government*, while our *Neighbours* have far greater *Revenues*, if the *Parliament* will settle an *Additional Fond* for *Life*, whereof part shall be appropriated to particular uses, and the *overplus* laid up in *Bank*, instead of our *occasional Taxes*, towards the *Expence* of a *War*, &c. with this *Proviso*, that all *Officers* concern'd shall give the *Parliament* a full account of their *Receipts* and *Disbursements* once

every three years, otherwise all farther *Levies* of the same to cease; both *Prince* and *People* will then be secur'd, *Parliaments* even upon this account will be found still necessary, the *Nation* much eas'd in raising their *Taxes*, and the *Crown* made more considerable both at home and abroad.

You will excuse me, I hope, if I do not any further descend to Particulars, or take upon me to tell you exactly, which your Fellow-Members can do a great deal better, how much may be a sufficient Fond to answer all the ends aforementioned. 'Tis enough to say in general, that I see no other Rule in that Case to be made use of, but the Consideration of the Strength and Riches of our Neighbour-Nations, and that the Publick *Revenue* of *England* must bear some proportion to theirs, unless we intend to live within ourselves, and think no longer on trading with Forreign Countries. We see how much the *French* and *Dutch* have, within these fourscore years past, encroach'd upon our undoubted Right, the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, and by that upon our Trade and Commerce, the great Magazine of our Wealth, to the loss of many Millions a year to the *English* Nation. And we cannot in reason expect they will desist, untill we put ourselves into such a posture, as will make it visible to the World, we are able to cope with them, and to recover our own; which yet is altogether impossible, as long as we have nothing else to depend upon, but temporary *Taxes*, to carry on a War; while they have vast Sums of Money in Cash, and a large yearly *Revenue* to oppose us, the *French King* about twelve Millions of Pounds sterling *per an.* and the *Dutch*, who in *Queen Eliz.* time stil'd themselves, *The poor distressed States of Holland*, above five Millions, coming in yearly into their publick Treasury. For they cannot be ignorant, but that the extraordinary Charge of a War, falling upon us all of a sudden, will quickly make the *People* here so uneasie, that they will be content to quit their Right after all their losses, and clap up a Peace on any terms, rather than bear such heavy unusual *Taxes* any longer; so that if our Enemies can but prolong the War for some years, they will by degrees weary us out, and force us at last to a Compliance. Whereas if they saw, we had a considerable Sum of Money in Cash, and the like yearly coming in, to defray the Charge of a War without making the *People* uneasie, they wou'd be more cautious how to offend us, and without striking a stroke wou'd be ready to comply with all our reasonable Demands.

But because the Circulation of Money is thought as necessary to the *Body Politick*, as that of Blood to the *Natural*, and therefore the hoarding up such Sums in time of Peace wou'd prove very prejudicial to Trade, the Life and Vigour of a *Commonwealth*, this intended Bank of Money may still be laid out to use on good Securities by *Commissioners* appointed by Act of *Parliament*, some of the most knowing, most honest, and best estated of both Houses, and the Interest constantly employ'd either in building *Work-houses* for the *Strong*, and *Hospitals* for the *Sick* and *Disabled* Poor of the *Kingdom*, or in some publick Trade, as the *Woollen Manufacture*, *Fishing*, or the like, which will be of infinite Advantage to the whole Body of the *Nation*. Neither is it to be reckon'd the least, that this Method wou'd in a short time spoil the sport of *upstart cheating Bankers*, who stick like Leeches daily sucking the Blood of the credulous unwary People, while they can find any faith upon earth; but when that fails them, so that they can suck no more, then they drop off, and to the ruine of hundreds of poor families wilfully break for many thousands of Pounds, tho perhaps not one of them had a hundred to begin withal, and run into the *Fryers*, or the *Kings-Bench*, where they live like petty Princes upon the Fortunes of poor Widows and Orphans, to whom in case they condescend to come to any Composition, they will hardly allow a Crown in the Pound of their Principal Money. And which is very strange, there is no *Corporal Punishment* here, as in *Foreign Countries*, not so much as the Pillory to be inflicted in this Case, nor any other Remedy to be had, if the Bankrupt has the wit to secure his Books and Money, which he may easily do, when he *designedly* breaks to defraud his Creditors.

This is a hard case indeed, and a very great grievance, well worth the *Parliaments Care* to contrive such Laws as may prevent the like for the future; But the *Devil of Perjury* is the grand *Grievance* of all, which best deserves their most serious Consideration: For if such as deal with Bankrupts are ruin'd in their *Estates*, and if upon that account others are frightned from laying out their Money, because for a *little Gain* they will not *hazard* the loss of their whole *Fortune*, which is a main obstruction to Trade; the *True-Protestant Flayl* of *Perjury* will not only ruine *People* in their *Fortunes*, but will *Hocus Pocus* them out of their *Innocence*, and sweep *Estate*, *Reputation*, *Life* and all away, to the utter undoing of whole *Families*. Yet certainly

certainly 'tisa great Solecism in our Laws, that if one *Rob*s another of *Sixpence* upon the Road, he is hang'd without any more ado; but if a Banker *cheats thousands* of his Majesties Subjects, of *Millions of Money*, and can but get into the *Fryers* or *Kings-Bench*, he is as safe as a Thief in a Mill, and cares not a straw whether his Creditors do live or starve. And which is yet worse, if a forsworn Villain will set up for a *Kings Evidence*, and by his Perjuries murder never so many innocent Subjects, all he is to suffer, is to stand in the Pillory, or lose his *more harmless Ears*, instead of his *Murdering Tongue*. Whereas the Divine Law expressly orders, that *Whosoever sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*, Gen. 9. 6.

But the Truth is, tho' the Fundamentals of our Constitutions be undoubtedly the best Laws in the world, and the most suitable to the *Genius* of the *English Nation*; yet we have several defects on the one hand, and a great deal of rubbish on the other, that want a Reformation, the proper province of *King* and *Parliament*. And in this case, as I am certain of your Zeal, so I doubt not but your Fellow-Members will be forward enough to promote so good a Work, whereon the happiness of this Nation so much depends, which some of their Predecessors have strangely neglected. For I find the *French Gentleman* was not very much out in his Observation, when he said, that as the *Roman Conclave's* overbusy'ing themselves with Temporal Matters and State-Affairs, which was none of their business, did no small injury to the Christian Religion; so several Members of our House of Commons for some years past, meddling too much with Religion, and prying into Intrigues of State, which was quite out of their \* Sphere, made them very much neglect the true Interest of their Country. But now, I hope, we have got a true English Parliament, that will zealously promote the Good of the Publick, disable the Faction from making any disturbance, settle a sufficient Revenue upon the Crown, to support the Grandeur and necessary Charge of the Government, repeal the useles and enact new Laws for the advancement of Trade, and in a word, make their King as happy in this, as ever any of his Ancestors have been in their most Loyal and bountiful Parliaments: Which, because the only way to a *Lasting Settlement*, is the hearty wish of

\* 35 Eliz. The Queen herself told the Commons, It was not meant they should meddle with matters of State, or Causes Ecclesiastical. And the like did K. James 1. Sandersons Hist. p. 510.

SIR,

Your &c.

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