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THE  
SENTIMENTS

OF THE

OLD WHIGS

UPON A

PLACE-BILL.

IN TWO PARTS:

CONTAINING,

*First*, CONSIDERATIONS on the  
NATURE of P-----TS, and  
ELECTIONS:

AND

*Secondly*, The DANGER of MER-  
CENARY P-----TS.

To which is prefix'd

*An* INTRODUCTION.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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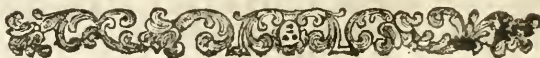
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In One FOLIO VOLUME.

By JOHN FLUDGER, M. A.  
Lecturer of St. John's Cleekewell, and Fellow of Pem-  
broke-College, Oxon:





T H E

# INTRODUCTION.



VERY wise People will raise the strongest Battery of Laws upon the weakest Part of their Constitution. If there is in the Constitution of *Great Britain* a Gap by which the End of all Government may be defeated by Practices not expressly provided against by the original Model of her Constitution, because they were unknown to our Ancestors, her Liberties are no longer safe than her Governors are virtuous.

The following Pages may now be justly look'd upon as Prophecies of Events hitherto unaccomplish'd. They are Prophecies inspir'd by that Patriot Concern which prompts every *wise* and *good* Man to examine into the Nature of our Constitution; whoever does this will readily own, that the Liberties of *Great Britain*, tho' rescued, were not absolutely secur'd by the *Revolution*. And it requires no great Share of Penetration to discover that this



Defect must arise from *Corruption*. But the Author of the following Treatises rather dreaded than felt the Effects of her destructive Influence. Notwithstanding all their Invectives against a corrupted Majority in P——t, and M——l Power, that Majority was far from being so *determin'd*, as on all Occasions wherein either the Fears or Hopes of a M——y was concern'd, to abandon all Sense of Shame, and to use no other Arguments in favour of the most destructive Measures, but *Numbers*. When a War was then thought necessary to vindicate the Honour and Interest of the Nation, that War was not only *declar'd* but *carry'd on*. When extraordinary Supplies were demanded for the Management of that War, those Supplies if *granted* were *accounted for*; and when our Fleets put to Sea, our Officers serv'd with *Alacrity*, because they could serve with *Honour*. In that Reign a Speaker of the House of Commons was expelled for receiving a *Bribe*, and a President of the Council impeached for accepting of a *Gratuity*. Yet the Patriots of these Days still thought they had done too little towards rendering the Legislative Body as uncorrupted as possible. They thought it not enough that the Members were virtuous, unless it was put out of their Power  
either



## INTRODUCTION.

either to corrupt or be corrupted. They thought that no *Act* could be properly call'd *free*, if the Mind is under any Influence that may byass the Will, and that the Hopes of getting, or the Fear of losing a Place were as actually a Restraint upon the Freedom of Determination, as outward Force and Violence itself.

But these Truths are so nobly set forth in the following Pages, that I shall refer my Reader to them. They breathe all the Spirit of Patriotism, set off with that inimitable Eloquence which Sincerity and Disinterestedness inspire. If this Nation has not yet felt the Woes they pronounce, it is owing alone to the Virtue of the Legislature; but while such a Defect remains in our Constitution, it may be justly said of the great Assembly as was formerly said of *Augustus*, tho' on another Occasion, *That it had been happy for the People he had either never been born, or that he had been immortal.* If the Integrity of a Government renders the People supine, and makes them neglect the necessary Means of securing themselves against future Corruption, a good Government may in one Sense be said to be a Misfortune to a People. At first Sight this seems a Paradox, but I will  
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venture to affirm, that all the Distress to which the Liberties of *Great Britain* has at the several Periods of her History been reduc'd, has been occasion'd by the People trusting too much to the personal Virtues of their Princes, or Governors, and imagining that these Virtues were as hereditary as their Crown, and as communicable as their Power.

It may be a Question with some, whether the Authors, if they had liv'd till now, would not have recanted a great Part of what is contain'd in these Sheets, when they saw no Grounds for their prophetic Fears. But I am of Opinion, that they would have still persever'd in their Sentiments; for the *Reason of the Thing* does and must subsist under the best, as well as the worst Government. A good Government will never be against a *Self-denying Act* when it strengthens the Liberty of the People, and no Precautions can be too great, no Security can be unseasonable against the Practices of a bad one.

It must however be own'd, that the Gentlemen in the Opposition under King *William*, appears to have carry'd their Jealousy of Power farther than it seems to be agree-

agreeable to the Sentiments of those who are now in the Opposition. The former were for suffering none in the Legislative, who had any Share in the Executive Power. Thus the Distinction betwixt these two Branches, which by our Constitution is presum'd to exist, they thought, would be inviolably preserv'd. But it seems to be the general Opinion of the Gentlemen their Successors, that a Limitation for that Purpose is sufficient, and that it may be convenient, nay necessary, that some Placemen should have Seats in P———t. Whether the Constitution has given Rise to this Conveniency or Necessity, or if it arises from Alterations that have been introduced into the Constitution, and by long Usage have almost become a Part of it, is what I shall not presume to determine. If it arises from the former, no bad Consequence can attend such a Limitation; if from the latter, it ought to be look'd on as an Inconveniency that must be submitted to, till the Constitution shall be brought nearer to its original Vigour, and a general Disposition shall appear to reduce it to its first Principles.

However that may be, it is hop'd that the Publication of these Pages can give no  
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just Ground of Offence at this Juncture: All Parties may from this see, that the Doctrine of an un plac'd uninfluenc'd P——t-man is not a Doctrine propagated in order to serve a Term. It can never serve any End of Ambition; because if it obtains, it equally disqualifies those who are now out of Power if ever they shall get in it, and attempt to serve their Country in these two incompatible Capacities, and may be justly look'd upon as the surest Tests of Disinterestedness among all who have the Honour to serve her either in a legislative or an executive Capacity, till such Time as the Public are made acquainted with strong Reasons for discouraging, as there at present seems to be for encouraging a Measure of that Tendency.

PART



# P A R T I.

## CONSIDERATIONS *on the* NATURE of PARLIAMENTS, *&c.*



IT is amazing that a People so zealous for their *Liberties*, should neglect the natural, safe, and certain Way of securing them, when they have often had Recourse to the most violent Remedies, and have run the utmost Hazards to secure their *Property*. This is the only Country in *Europe* that enjoys any Freedom under a King; and it mortifies any Thinking Man, when he considers in how many successive Reigns our Constitution has been aim'd at, how precariously we hold it now, and how often the Opportunities of a secure Establishment have been trifled away, when

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obtain'd by the boldest Attempts that were made successful by an apparent Providence.

As the Restoration of King *Charles II*; so the last Revolution was the Work of the People of *England*: Nothing could have brought it about in so miraculous a Manner, but the Weight of the whole *Nation* in Opposition to the Conspirators against our *Constitution*. And if the succeeding Parliaments (which are called the Representatives of the Nation) have not establish'd by proper Laws those Liberties, and that Government for which the People drew their Swords, it must be concluded, those Assemblies did not truly represent that People.

Whether they have done so ought well to be consider'd; and if they have not, to find where the Fault lay, were a useful Discovery: And it is highly necessary that the Boroughs of *England* should be well appriz'd of the present Circumstances of Affairs, and of the Sentiments of Mankind at this Time; that by a proper and discreet Choice they may secure at once the Happiness of their Country and their own Reputation, which are both in Danger.

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The Opinion of the *universal Corruption* of this Age cannot be concealed; it is made evident by those that elect, by those that are elected; buying Elections, and selling of Votes are Consequences. And if this should appear to be the present Case, such a House of Commons cannot pass for a Representative of the People, but a Representative of a few dissolute, mercenary Persons, possess'd of Voices in the Boroughs of *England*. The Consequences of such Thoughts they will do well to consider; Which must induce all true *Englishmen* (at a proper Time) to seek other Methods of being better represented.

When I speak of a natural, safe, and certain Way of preserving the Liberties of *England*, I mean the securing a free, uningag'd House of Commons, consisting of the Rich, Honest, and Able Men of the Kingdom. When the Balance of the Government went out of the Hands of the Nobility and the Church-men, if a sufficient Provision had been made for this, how happy had we been, and what Mischiefs and Dangers had been prevented to this Nation? From *Henry VII.* to this Time, our Annals had contain'd the Names of Princes on the Throne fit to have been the  
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Predecessors to our glorious King: But true it is, he must have lost his Title of *Deliverer*, as we had saved the Price of our Redemption; for our Constitution would have preserv'd us from those Dangers and Violences from which he came to free us, and we had not had a whole Generation conspiring for a hundred Years together (tho' in different Ways) against our establish'd Government, when sworn to support it. If our new Barrier had been well fortify'd, and if our Representative of the People had been contriv'd to answer in Deed to the Name, all our Kings had been Queen *Elizabeths*. But our Elections in considerable Boroughs, and our Members being qualify'd to serve two Masters, were such Mistakes in our Fundamentals, that as they have produc'd our past Misfortunes, they must produce the like under bad Princes, or evil projecting Ministers.

A House of Commons chosen truly by the People, incapable of Pension and Place; and the King and Kingdom had been incapable of Misfortune; They had been out of the Reach of all human Power, and, with due Submission, above Fate; since such a Government would have made us the proper Objects of Divine Protection,  
and.

and not only have secur'd our Greatness and Glory, but our Religion and Morals too, which I fear are all going together.

In such Circumstances we should have had no Cause to fear the *Scotish* Cunning of King *James I.* No King of *Scotland* could have made a *Scotch* Parliament of such an *English* Assembly. Such a Monster as *Buckingham*, and upon so monstrous a Foot of Favour, could never have grown to such an exorbitant Size under such a Constitution: He had soon been prevented in the apparent Prostitution of our Wealth, in his apparent Neglect of the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom, in his apparent and treacherous Dealings with the *French*, and the public. Enemies: His Iniquities had never been screen'd by a Party; in a Word, he had not fallen a Victim to a private Hand.

Under such a Government his pious Son had pursued the like Measures in vain: His *French* Wife, his scandalous Favourites, his unlaudable Bishops, his own insolent and unconstant Temper could never have brought him to the Block: All the Blood shed to no Purpose in those Wars had been saved; he could never have lost his Life,  
nor

nor his Kingdoms; he would only have lost his Title of Martyr.

Under so just a Ballance of Power, as the Sons would have avoided the ill Consequences of their Father's Fate, so would they probably have avoided all the *French* Infection which they receiv'd in Body and Mind: They had not receiv'd (Sons of the Protestant Martyr) the *French* Religion, and above all Contagions a *French* Inclination, the most fatal Poison that could enter the Blood of an *English* King. Such a Government would soon have discover'd the Protestant Mask King *Charles II.* only pull'd off at his Death. Such a Parliamentary Constitution would not have suffer'd the avow'd and open Apostacy of the next Heir; the Bill of Exclusion had then past, and had prevented the setting up, the pulling down the late King with such Hazard and Expence to this Nation. Such an Establishment would have prevented that late damnable invented Project of *corrupting Parliaments* (which I must mention in this Place, because it began at this Time) that cursed Project, which defeats all our Hopes, which poisons us in our Mother's Milk, which murders us by the Hands of our Parents, which infects the only Cordial  
that

that can preserve our Being, which makes us accessory to our own Fate, betray'd by those we chuse to represent us, made Slaves by our Protectors, and given up by those elected to defend our Liberties. But of this, and the terrible Consequences, I shall take farther Notice. Such a Constitution would have prevented that Inundation of Prophaneness, Lewdness, and Immorality, introduc'd by King *Charles II.* and his Atheistical Wits, to fit the Nation for the intended Yoke of Popery and Slavery. To that End was all Learning and Virtue exploded in his Reign, Scorn of Religion, Contempt of a public Spirit, Derision of Letters, and a pretending Wit above Rule, Learning, or Scruples, being the sure and only Recommendations to his Favour and public Employments. No Government but must leave Mankind, as the Deity does his Creatures, in a State of Free-will, and therefore in an Exercise perhaps of private Vices, or concealed Villanies: But in such a true *English* Establishment we had never seen a rampant *French* Whore openly governing our Councils; we had not seen an *English* King (well understanding Seafaring Matters) an open Instructor to his Brother of *France* in the Mysteries of Navigation, Building, and Trade. And to evince, as I

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go along, the Interest of King and People equally to subsist in a steady, good, and incorruptible Administration, the elder Brother had never died an unnatural Death in such a well regulated Protestant State, as would not have admitted of a bigotted, headstrong, Popish Successor. But let us leave this artful King, trick'd in his Tricks, outwitted by such a Brother, plotted against by his Son, unpitied by his Subjects, tho' making Way for such a Successor, abandon'd at last by his Bishops, and with nothing to save him from a future Account, but extreme Unction from the Priests of the Whore of *Babylon*.

And now to the last, and in my Opinion the best, of the wicked Reigns; for the Project of a Standing-Army under a Popish King did but hasten our Deliverance, as did the Expedient of an Heir under a Belly of Clouts. The Son must really be got, and the Army must be Protestant, I do not say really so, for the Name will do. But I shall say less of the living Prince, because of his Misfortunes. He lives, and without a Crown, which is Punishment great enough for Follies having the Excuse of Conscience, and Mistake. Yet I can hardly contain when I remember he is the  
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Cause, that all Mankind have been getting our Wealth, while our own Recompence is, that we have got rid of himself. However I forgive him all the rest, but having left behind that worst of Evils, *a Pretence to a Protestant Army, in a good Reign, and in Times of Peace*: And I will only lay to the Charge of his Brother of Blessed Memory, *all the Mischiefs arising from corrupted Parliaments.*

Now to this great Point, and our most pressing Danger, and the present and future Remedies of them. I have hitherto been shewing what Violences, what Infamies, what Follies, an uncorrupted Parliamentary Constitution would have prevented; which evinces sufficiently what we have to expect in future Times, if a secure Settlement be not obtain'd under a good King against the notorious Increase of Corruption in our Age. It is now come to such a Height, that it may almost be said, *A wise Prince must comply with it*: For as in a weak and low Condition, the Physician must not apply the proper Remedy till the Patient has Strength to bear it; so in our low and corrupted State, when Patriots must be hir'd to serve their Country, when Whigs go resty without Pension or Place,

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and begin with untimely barking against the Government in War, to conclude with prostitute Bawling for it after a Peace; I say, when this is our Case, till effectual Laws have recovered our Constitution, it must be confess'd, our Princes have an Excuse for practising the base Arts of Corruption, especially in Times of eminent Danger, which allow of no Delays. This makes it plain that amongst Men, Lawgivers must only seek for coercive Honesty; and Legislators remembering that most necessary Part of the most perfect Prayer, *Lead us not into Temptation*, should have that principally in View for King and People, that neither be led into it. No Emperor but envies the least Bird upon the Wing: But since Flying is impossible, the great Vicegerents of God upon Earth are content to walk upon two Legs with common Porters; and either Kings must drop from Heaven, and then let them be *Jure divino*; or Mankind must be Slaves, unless they provide such happy and irresistible Laws as may restrain the Love of Power, as well in Kings, as in Statesmen. I will only desire the Example may be given me, of the best of Kings succeeding a bad one, who ever made it his Choice to give up any Authority or Acquisition, tho' obtain'd by his



his Predecessor, by Means he would not have practis'd himself. Since then the Evils of bad Princes are permanent, and the good Establishments of just ones often overthrown by those that are arbitrary, what Methods for the Good of Mankind and Society, but to find Chains strong enough to bind a Tyrant, which can only be made here in *England*, when a good King with upright Ministers beat the Anvil, and uncorrupted Parliaments find Fire and Materials?

The highest Compliment I can make this King is to say, This is the Time for so glorious a Work, and we have great Reason to expect his utmost Assistance: For in Truth, Deliverance and Reformation are his very Title. There is this unanswerable Argument to prove it must be now or never: Some Infections must be check'd in Time, or Remedies will come too late; and I am sure we must *flax now, or never expect to see a sound Nose on the Face of the Government*. Such a precarious Peace as we have obtain'd is hardly a Blessing: But because it sets Parliaments at Liberty to settle our shatter'd State, let no Time be lost then, when we are so unsecure of its lasting. But as I would willingly give  
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some Hints that may be serviceable at all Times in the great Cause of Liberty, so I shall take Notice, and that only from Observations of the last Reigns, what are the most dangerous Symptoms threatening a People with Loss of Liberty: And when most of those Circumstances concur at once (any one of which does threaten Ruin) then I need not say a Government is most in Danger, and that the speediest and strongest Antidotes should be provided against the Influence of so many malignant Constellations joined together.

To begin then with what the Reign of King *James* I. will afford us: The most dangerous Circumstance that could attend a Nation, was a reasonable Obligation to set upon the Throne a Prince born and bred up in another Country, who must retain a Foreign Heart, who must be partial to the People, to the Customs of his Native Land; who must therefore be unacquainted with the Men, Manners, Privileges, and Laws of those Territories he is newly come to govern. This Partiality is natural, and for that Reason justifiable: And therefore as it seldom happens but that Princes transplant themselves to a richer Soil (as was the Case of King *James*) so the Wealth of the  
more

more opulent Nation must always be prostituted to raise and supply the Favourites of the poorer; and 'tis all can be expected, that they be not raised by hasty and unmerited Favours: Besides, it is almost impossible but the Interest of the two Nations or People must interfere, if he retains the Jurisdiction of both, as this *Scotch* Prince did. How perplex'd must the best of Kings be in his divided Thoughts and Inclinations? And where, and to whom must Nature and Education incline him? It may happen, as in this Case, that the unforced Constitution of one Country allowed a greater Power, and greater Prerogatives than was consistent with the Laws of the other. How shall the Spirit of a Prince brook the Refusal of that in one Place, which he was us'd to the Submission to elsewhere? How can he easily change a Bent created perhaps by Nature, and confirm'd by Custom? In one Country requir'd to *head Armies*, in another oblig'd to *encourage Fleets*: In one Country Troops are the Support of Men's *Property*, in the other they must prove the Ruin of their *Liberties*; this Distinction Princes cannot easily make. Religion too, the great Guide of Men's Actions, or at least their Pretence, differs almost in all Countries, even where it agrees in Name:

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And we know by bloody Experience how little the Protestant Religion of the *Scots* did agree with our Episcopacy. Innumerable are the Mischiefs arising from such a Circumstance; but I confine myself only to what were the apparent Dangers in the Case before us.

Another dangerous Symptom appearing in the Reign of King *Charles I.* was this, That all his arbitrary Designs were carry'd on, and disguis'd under the Mask of the most precise Piety. Such impious Projects as arose from Insolence and Pride, that were carry'd on by Breach of Faith, that tended to the Effusion of the best Blood in the Nation, were always transacted in Forms, with Fasting and Prayers. As his Ship-money was maintain'd by his Judges, so were all his other Expedients to inflame the Nation preach'd for by his *Church*, and labour'd for by his *Bishops*.

Another threatening Circumstance was the Advantage with which King *Charles II.* came to the Throne. The Nation was then intoxicated with Joy: And he made as ill Use of that Opportunity, as *Lot's* Daughters did of their Father's Drunkenness; as they went into him, so he got into  
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his People, and with all sly Arts and Corruption began the fatal (well-improv'd) Project of *bribing Parliaments*. And that none might have a Scruple of Conscience against this highest of Crimes, betraying their Country, Religion in his Time was the Jest of his Favourites: But for himself, he had a different one ready for every Nation, and sort of People he had to do with; a Papist in *France*, a Presbyterian in *Scotland*, a Churchman in *England*, a Quaker with *Penn*, an Athiest with *Hallifax*. A most dextrous Practise this in all Princes that pursue it, who thus easily impose on good People willing to be deceiv'd.

Another certain Warning of ensuing Mischiefe (the very Porpoise before the Storm) is a **STANDING-ARMY**; which tho' it prov'd unsuccessful in King *James's* Time, yet it immediately preceded his Intentions of subverting all our Laws, Human and Divine. He thought his Project as infallible as his Pope, when so many of his Troops were Papists and Foreigners; being secure too of Ships from abroad to transport more Strangers when wanted. But all this was spoil'd with one Word, Popery. Heaven had in store an Antidore against a  
Popish



Popish Army, pray God preserve us at all Times from a PROTESTANT ONE.

Now, having recapitulated all these Circumstances of approaching Ruin, which we so narrowly escap'd in the foregoing Reigns, what would become of us if these Difficulties should bear upon us (as in a Hurricane) all at once? Whenever they do, well may the Nation fear their impending Fate. Yet after all I say, a free uncorrupted Parliament would soon dispel these Clouds. Under such a Government as I have mention'd, King *James I.* had been compelled to have made Use of *English* Councils in governing an *English* Nation: He had been oblig'd to have provided for his *Scots* Favorites out of his *Scotch* Revenue: He had no doubt been supply'd with the Money of *England*, but forced to have laid it out for the Honour and Interest of that People. Suppose the Nation prepossess'd for him as they were for King *Charles II.* reliev'd from long Wars, from Confusion, from *Cromwells* and Usurpers; such a Parliament would not then have sat still in idle Rejoicing, but wisely have prevented the Causes of future Mourning: Nay, give him the Standing-Army of the unfortunate Prince of his Name (let it be

be a Protestant one too) yet such an Assembly with their steady Wisdom and Vigour, would have rescued their Country from all these Dangers. All I can allow, but the Circumstances of King *Charles's* corrupted Parliament: For the Incorruption of that is my only Remedy to all other Evils; when that falls out with the rest, there is nothing left but for honest Men to show the Nation the *Precipice upon which they stand*: And much may be expected from so brave a People, when waked out of their Lethargy, and well appriz'd of their Danger. I shall conclude this Part with the Questions of King *James I.* upon his Accession to the Throne, *Do I make the Bishops? Do I make the Judges?* If to this he might have added, *Do I make the House of Commons?* To such fatal Interrogatories the Answer is too plain.

Having treated (and with a Freedom an *Englishman* may well take) of the Circumstances of the last Reigns, I come to a Subject with more Difficulty to be handled. What the People and Parliament have to do at present, may well be gather'd from the foregoing Considerations, yet I must say something of the Revolution, and what has happen'd since, were it only to acknow-

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ledge the Obligations we owe to our present King. The Oppressions and Dangers from which he reliev'd us were so grievous, and the Advantages we might have procur'd ourselves by his coming were so great, that we owe him the utmost Gratitude, not to be over-paid by any thing but by such a Confidence in his Virtue, as (forgetful of Times past and to come) should make us neglect the Opportunity he has given us of securing to ourselves, the never being so much oblig'd to any other. This were the worst Requital we could make him, to let it be possible by our Negligence, that any Person should ever rival him in his glorious Title of *Deliverer*.

Our present King has now the same Game he has all his Life been successfully pursuing abroad, and the same Business he has been bred up to in other Countries; but he has now other Tools to work with, a divided and corrupted People. His Declaration assures us, he came to secure our Constitution, so as no ill Prince, no evil Minister should be able to violate it for the future. I shall not now repeat what he has done in Person towards all this; it were unnecessary Flattery to repeat Actions done in the Face of the Sun: But my Business at present is

to consider what has been deficient; and, as I propos'd at first, to give some Hints where the Fault lies, and how it came about that we have been expos'd to such Hazards, and are yet unsecure; and this, to the end the Scene of his great Life may be perfected, and his Promises made good to us, in an Establishment secur'd against future Attempts.

I must confess I cannot wholly acquit the CONVENTION, and other following Parliaments. I doubt all the unnecessary Hazards to which we have been expos'd, all our unsuccessful Undertakings, all the mis-given and mispent Treasure, all that is deficient, or left undone to the compleating our Security, must in a great Measure be laid to their Charge. It is well known, many in Pamphlets, more in Discourse, accuse them both of Weakness and Corruption: But they should consider that such a War was what never came before into the Hands of a Parliament; the Dangers and Difficulties succeeding and increasing from Year to Year, were enough to amaze and distract the greatest Assembly. I shall be far from passing so hard a Judgment upon them; my only Wish is, if they have done well, that they may never do otherwise; if they  
have

have committed Errors, the like may never happen. My Ambition is their Glory; only out of Zeal to their Honour, I shall take Notice of some Complaints made by others; and from myself take the Liberty to say, that this ensuing Parliament made free by a happy Peace, must make the Nation so for ever, or for ever lose their Reputation.

*This is the Time* in which Parliaments should exert themselves for the Nation's Happiness, and their own Fame. All Mankind have observ'd, this is the second Revolution unimprov'd by Parliaments in the same Age; the one as ineffectual to the Good of *England* in the Hands of *Patriots, Whigs* and *Dissenters*, as the other was in the Hands of *Cavaliers* and *Churchmen*: Which makes Men apt to conclude, *the Fault lies in that Part of our Constitution on which we most rely.* And the common Reason given by all why Parliaments have mismanag'd, is, that they are so manag'd themselves: They do not only suppose them subjected to the Power of Kings, to the Influence of great Men, to the Arts of old and crafty Statesmen, but accuse them now of being led by beardleis Politicians, by upstart Prentices in Business,  
neither

neither supported by Fortune, Dignities or Experience, and only buoy'd up by projecting Insolence. If this were the Case, to what are we reduc'd? This is not *Phaeton* unfortunately conducting the Horses of the Sun, but a Carrier driving Pack-horses, and Beasts of Burden, which jog on their appointed Stages for their Pensions.

The propos'd Limits of a Sheet, and not the Subject, confine me; and therefore I shall repeat but one Objection made to the Wisdom of our National Assemblies, which is, that the Members of a Convention freely chosen, brought together at this Revolution, and miraculously deliver'd from the highest Oppressions, should admit of the old Underminers of our Liberties: for the new Managers of Reformation: And this I may say as to their Integrity, who would have admitted of such Corrupters, but to be corrupted?

It may very well be said to the Justification of some; When there was no Government, no Ministers, no Money, no Privy Purse, who could Influence? It must be confess'd (and here is the fatal Error) if there was Corruption, it was from within: Nay, it is plain, they must bribe themselves,



elves, and only with Hopes and Expectations; they were qualify'd by the Constitution to have Places; every Fool was well qualify'd in his own Thoughts, and every Knave betray'd his Trust and his Country to make himself worthy.

Men have not only alter'd in our Times, but Parties have chang'd their Principles and Practices: If so, what Cautions can be great enough in such an Age? I come therefore to those Considerations, what wise and honest Men should do in this critical Juncture. I shall propose preventing Physic, safe, were there no present Disease, were there no Corruption in our Land, were all upright from the Lord to the Commoner: Yet I doubt the Golden Age would not succeed, were all wise as *Solomon*, and after God's own Heart as *David*; we know the Follies committed by the one, the Impieties by the other; let no Man depend too much upon himself, let no Government depend upon Men. Presumption is the highest Sin, and Prevention the highest Wisdom.

I doubt not but some will think, and more will say, I have writ a tedious Preface to a very short Treatise; that without so  
much

much Repetition, without enumerating so many Diseases, and Times of Infection, I might sooner have given my short Receipt, which is this; *Good People of England, elect those to represent you this Parliament, who most probably will secure your being truly represented for ever: In other Words, Those who have Virtue enough to incapacitate themselves from any Service but that of their Country, while they take that Trust upon them.*

Now, towards the making such a Choice, my Instructions shall be as short as my Advice; *Chuse Rich Men.* For you may know who are rich, and cannot know who are honest: One you think honest may take Money, but one that is rich does not want it. Let no Character of Party recommend or prejudice: Poor *Whigs*, poor *Tories*, want equally Places, and will act alike to get and keep them; but be sure, if they want Money much, they have not much Ambition. Therefore *avoid the younger Sons of Lords*, who full of Pride, with empty Pockets, will endeavour, at the Nation's Cost, to become rich Commoners. It is needless to advise against those whose Actions have discover'd them in foregoing Parliaments, those worst of Villains who  
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began like *Patriots*, to conclude like *Parasites*.

Thus I conclude, like a Quack, undertaking my Remedy shall cure all Distempers, whether they lie in the Heart or in the Brain. No Matter what sort of Men conspire, whether the bold Projects (flaming like Comets in the Sky) threaten Multitudes, or whether the softer Methods (like Mines under Ground) work hidden Mischief. Such a National Assembly; under the Qualifications I have mention'd, would repel the *Bashaw*, and defeat the Courtier, and prove strong enough to secure us from the most dangerous Designs, those dress'd up with Zeal, and disguis'd by Improbability. Such a Parliament would secure us from *Religious Lewdness*, *Protestant Arbitrariness*, and *Parliamentary Slavery*.

PART





## PART II.

### *The DANGER of Mercenary PARLIAMENTS.*

I. **S**everal Treatises have been formerly written, and more (I doubt not) will be in this Juncture publish'd, with Directions and Informations to the People of *England* for choosing fit and proper Representatives for the ensuing Parliament, wherein sufficient Notice will be taken of the Failures and Defects of several who have already been entrusted in that Service; and the due Qualifications of such who are now to be elected. I shall therefore confine my present Thoughts only to one particular Head, which yet, in my Opinion, seems to involve in it the inevitable Fate of *England*, which wholly depends upon the Choice of Members for the next Session of Parliament: I mean *the chusing or refusing of such Persons who are now possess of any Places and Preferments, depending upon the Gift and Pleasure of the Court.* If herein my Endeavours prove unsuccessful, I shall

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have nothing left but the Satisfaction of my own Conscience to support me under the deplorable Consequences and Effects which much necessarily attend the Choice of a House of Commons fill'd with Officers and Court-Pensioners. This is the last struggle and effort the People of *England* have left them for their Properties; and should we now miscarry in this, we may sit down and idly shew our Affections for our Country, and fruitlessly bewail the Loss of our Liberties, but shall never meet with another Opportunity of exerting our selves in its Service. That I may therefore set the Minds of People right in this Particular ere it be too late, I think it will be only necessary to shew the Danger of choosing Members that are in Places from two Considerations: First, From the Nature of such a Parliament consider'd in it self: And, Secondly, From what has already been done by Parliaments so qualified. In both which I shall be very brief, and content myself with much fewer Arguments than might be urg'd upon this Subject: For I should almost despair of being survived by the Liberties of *England*, if I could imagine their was a Necessity of saying much in a Case not only of such irresistible Evidence and Demonstration, but also of the utmost Concern and Importance to us,

2. First then, We shall best be able to understand the Nature of such an ill-chosen Parliament, by comparing it with a true one, and with the original Design of Parliaments in their Institution. I hope it need not be told that they were at first intended for a Support to the King's just Prerogative, and a Protection to the Subjects in their as just Rights and Privileges: For maintaining all due Honour to the Executive Power, and all suitable Respect and Encouragement to those who are intrusted with the Administration of the Laws: For a Poise and Balance between the two extreme contending Powers of absolute Monarchy and Anarchy: For a Check and Curb to insolent and licentious Ministers, and a Terror to ambitious and over-grown Statesmen: For giving their Advice to his Majesty in all Matters of Importance: For making necessary Laws to preserve or improve our Constitution, and abrogating such as were found burdensome and obsolete: For giving the King Money for defraying the Charges and Expences of the Government, or maintaining a necessary War against Foreign and Domestic Enemies: For examining and inspecting the Public Accounts, to know if their Money be applied

plied to its true Use and Purposes: In short, For the best Security imaginable to his Majesty's Honour and Royal Dignities, and the Subjects Liberties, Estates, and Lives.

3. This being the Nature and true Design of a Parliament, let us now see whether a House of Commons, full of Officers and Court-Pensioners, will answer those noble and laudable Ends of their Constitution: And here indeed I begin already to be ashamed of my Undertaking; the Proof of the Negative is so ridiculous, that it looks too much like a Jest to ask any one in his Wits, Whether a Parliament filled with Delinquents will ever call themselves to an Account, or what Account would be given if they should? Whether an Assembly of public Robbers will sentence one another to be punish'd, or to make Restitution? Whether it is possible our Grievances can be redrest, that are committed by Persons from whom there is no higher Power to appeal? Whether there is any Hope of Justice where the Malefactors are the Judges? Whether his Majesty can be rightly inform'd in Affairs relating to Himself or the Public, when they are represented to him only by such Persons who  
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design to abuse him? Whether the Public Accounts will be faithfully inspected by those who embezzle our Money to their own Use? Whether the King's Prerogative can be lawfully maintain'd by such who only pervert it to their own sinister Ends and Purposes? Whether a Parliament can be a true Balance, where all the Weight lies only in one Scale? Or, lastly, Whether a House of Commons can Vote freely, who are either prepossess'd with the *Hopes and Promises of enjoying Places, or the slavish Fears of losing them?* Methinks it is offering too much Violence to human Nature to ask such Questions as these; I shall therefore leave this invidious Point.

4. Yet lest still any should remain unsatisfied, or lulled into a fond Opinion, that these Mischiefs will not ensue upon the Elections they shall make, I shall farther endeavour to convince those who are most moved by the Force of Examples, by coming to my second Particular, and shewing how Parliaments so qualify'd have all along behaved themselves. And here I must confess there are not many Instances to be given, the Project of corrupting Parliaments being but of a late Date, a Practice first set on Foot within the Compass of our  
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own Memories, as the last and most dangerous Stratagem that ever was invented by an encroaching Tyrant to possess himself of the Rights of freeborn People; I mean King *Charles II.* who, well remembering with how little Success both He and his Father had made Use of open Arms and downright Violence to storm and batter down the Bulwarks of our excellent Constitution, had Recourse at last to those mean Arts, and underhand Practices, of bribing and corrupting with Money those who were intrusted with the Conversation of our Laws, and the Guardianship of our Liberties. And herein he so well succeeded, that the Mischiefs and Calamities, occasion'd by that Mercenary Parliament, did not terminate with his Life and Reign; but the Effects of them are handed and continued down, and very sensibly felt by the Nation to this very Hour. For it is to that House of Commons the formidable Greatness of *France* was owing, and to their Account therefore ought we to set down the prodigious Expences of the late War: It was by those infamous Members that Money was given to make a feign'd and collusive War with *France*, which at the same Time was employ'd either in subduing the Subjects at home, or oppressing our Protestant

testant Neighbours abroad: It was this *Venal* Parliament in Effect that furnish'd the King of *France* with Timber and skilful Workmen for building Ships, as well as expert Mariners, and prodigious quantity of Brass and Iron Cannon, Mortar-pieces, and Bullets from the Tower; by the Help of which our own treacherous King was able to boast publickly, and thank God, that he had at last made his Brother of *France* a Seaman: By this Means the Honour of *England* was prostituted, and our Natural and Naval Strength betray'd, with which, like SAMPSON, we should easily have broken all the Cords that *Europe*, or the whole World could have made to bind and enslave us, had not this Parliament made a Sacrifice of all to the Charms of a *French* DALILAH. To this profligate and villainous Reign we are to ascribe the Loss of all the considerable Charters of *England*, the Deaths of our best Patriots, the Encouragement and almost Establishment of *Popery*, the Decay of Trade, the Growth of Arbitrary Power, *the ill Effects of dishonourable Leagues*, the shutting up of the Exchequer, the Progress of all Sorts of Debauchery, the servile Compliances at Court of a rampant *Hierarchy* in the Kingdom, the insolent Deportment of the inferior

inferior *Clergy* both in the Universities and elsewhere, their slavish Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance; in short, a general Depravation of Manners, and almost utter Extirpation of Virtue and moral Honesty. These and all the other Mischiefs of that Reign are justly chargeable to the Account of that pension'd Parliament, who either were the immediate Authors, or the undoubted Causers of them: Who, tho' they sat long and often, and could not be ignorant of our deplorable Condition, yet having their Eyes blinded with the Dust of Gold, and their Tongues lock'd up with Silver Keys, they durst not cry out for the Rescue of their Country, thus inhumanly ravish'd in their very Presence. It will not consist with my design'd Brevity, nor is it here necessary to give the Reasons that induced the Court to dissolve that Parliament; nor shall I take any farther Notice of their great and fortunate Oversight in doing it, nor of their unfeign'd Repentance afterwards for it: I shall only observe, That if the Nation had been so *senselessly stupid* to have chosen the same Members *a second Time*, who were Pensioners in the foregoing Parliament, we had long ago suffer'd the dismal Consequences of our *Folly and Madness* in such a *Choice*;

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nor should we now have had this Liberty to warn one another against splitting upon the like Rocks, and falling into the same Precipices. But they were wiser in those Times, and the Consideration of the dreadful Shipwreck they had so lately escaped, made them choose Pilots of a quite contrary Disposition, who, as far as in them lay, and as long as they were permitted to sit at the Helm, repair'd the shatter'd Vessel of the Common-wealth, restor'd its Honour, revived its drooping Genius, gave Force to its Laws, Countenance to its Religion, and, in a great Measure, reduced our banish'd Liberties, and expos'd the Persons who sold them to the *universal Hatred and Reproach of their Fellow Subjects*; a Punishment indeed infinitely less than they deserved for the highest Crime a Member of Parliament is capable of committing.

5. As for King *James's* Reign, tho' it was notoriously guilty of the Breach and Violation of most of our Fundamental Laws, which sufficiently justifies our Carriage towards him, yet cannot we say that his Mismanagement is to be ascrib'd to the Corruption of any Parliament sitting in his Time. 'Tis true indeed, he reap'd too much Advantage from the Conduct of the brib'd  
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Parliament in his Brother's Reign, and us'd all possible Endeavours to procure such another for himself, well knowing it to be the most effectual Means for carrying on his ruinous and destructive Projects; yet either from the unshaken Constancy of the People, or want of Dexterity in his Ministers, he was altogether defeated in his Expectation.

6. This miserable Disappointment of King *James's* Hopes made way for our late glorious Revolution, which was brought about by the hearty Endeavours, and accompanied with the most unfeigned Vows and Wishes of all true Lovers of their Country, who from hence expected a full Deliverance from their present Miseries, and a sure Remedy from their future Fears: For what Happiness might not the People well hope for under the Government of the best of Kings, supported by the best of Titles, *viz.* The general Consent and Election of his People? We were fill'd with golden Dreams not only of a bare Security for our Estates and Lives, but an inexhausted Affluence of all Manner of Blessings a Nation is capable of enjoying. But tho' we have dreamt the Dreams, yet have we not seen the Visions. And tho' the



the Nation is by this Time sadly sensible how wretchedly they have fallen short of their expected Happiness, yet are they not all acquainted with the true Spring and Fountain from whence all their Misfortunes flow, which is indeed no other than that *bare-faced* and *openly-avow'd* Corruption, which, like a universal Leprosy, has so notoriously *infected* and *overspread* both our Court and Parliament. 'Tis from hence are plainly derived all the Calamities and Distractions under which the whole Nation at present groans: 'Tis this that has chang'd the very Natures of *Englishmen*, of *Valiant* made them *Cowards*, of *Eloquent Dumb*, and of *Honest Men Villains*: 'Tis this can make a whole House of Commons eat their own Words, and countervote what they had just before resolv'd on: 'Tis this could summon the *Mercenary Members* from all Quarters of the Town in an instant to vote their *Fellow Criminals* innocent: 'Tis this that can make a Parliament throw away the Peoples Money with the utmost Profusion, without enquiring into the Management of it: 'Tis this that put a Stop to the Examination of that scandalous Escape of the *Thoulon* Fleet into *Brest*: 'Tis this that has encourag'd the Mismanagements of the Admiralty in relation

to the Loss of so vast a Number of Men of War and Merchants Ships, as well as other Miscarriages, which were by all Men judged to proceed not from their Want of Understanding in Sea-Affairs: 'Tis this that has hinder'd the Passing a Bill so often brought into the House for incapacitating Members to bear Offices: 'Tis this that could not only indemnify, but honour a leading Member for his audacious procuring and accepting a Grant of Lands, which by the Parliament had been set apart for the public Service; a Vote that shall stand recorded in their own Journals, to the never-dying Infamy of that *Mercenary Assembly*: 'Tis this could make the same Person most confidently affirm, *That he was sure the Majority of the House would agree to what he was going to propose*: 'Tis this that could make Men of peaceable Dispositions and considerable Estates vote for a Standing-Army: 'Tis this that could bring Admirals to confess that our Fleet under their Command was no Security to us: 'Tis this could make wise Men act against their own apparent Interest: In short, 'tis this that has infatuated our Prudence, stagger'd our Constancy, sully'd our Reputation, and introduc'd a total Defection from all true *English* Principles. Bribery is indeed so sure  
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and unavoidable a Way to destroy any Nation, that we may all sit down and wonder, that so much as the very Name of a Free Government is yet continued to us. And if by our wary Choice of Members we should happen to recover our ancient Constitution, we shall with Horror and Amazement look back, and reflect upon the dreadful Precipice we so narrowly escaped.

7. Fatal Experience has now more than enough convinc'd us, that Courts have been the same in all Ages; and that few Persons have been found of such approv'd Constancy and Resolution, as to withstand the powerful Allurements and Temptations, which from thence have been continually dispens'd for the corrupting of Men's Minds, and debauching their honest Principles. Such Instances of the Frailty of Human Nature may be given within these few Years past, as might make a Man even ashamed of his own Species, and which (were they not so open and notorious) ought out of Pity to Mankind to be buried in perpetual Silence. Who can enough lament the wretched Degeneracy of the Age we live in? To see Persons who were formerly noted for the most vigorous Assertors of their  
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their Country's Liberty, who from their Infancy had inbib'd no other Notions than what conduc'd to the public Safety, whose Principles were farther improv'd and confirm'd by the Advantages of a suitable Conversation, and who were so far possess'd with this Spirit of Liberty, that it sometimes transported them beyond the Bounds of Moderation, even to unwarrantable Excesses: To see these Men, I say, so infamously fall in with the Arbitrary Measures of the Court, and appear the most active Instruments for enslaving their Country, and that without any formal Steps or Degrees, but all in an instant, is so violent and surprizing a Transition from one Extreme to another without passing the Mean, as would have confounded the Imaginations of EUCLID or PYRRHO. All the stated Maxims in relation to the Nature of Mankind, which have been long ago settled and establish'd by Philosophers and Observing Men, are now baffled and exploded; and we have nothing left us to contemplate, but the wild Extravagancies of Romantic Fables, the sudden Conveyances of nimble-finger'd Jugglers, the inimitable Dispatches of transubstantiating Priests, or the now more credible Metamorphoses of Men into Beasts.

8. The Necessity we have lain under of frequent Meetings of Parliament during the War, has taught our Managers so much Dexterity and Address in their Applications to the Members of that Assembly, that they are now become consummate Masters in that most detestable Art of corrupting our Representatives, by Hopes and Fears of attaining or losing Offices and Preferments. And tho' I here name Offices, yet those Offices are downright Bribes and Pensions, since they are held precariously from the Court, and constantly taken away upon Non-compliance with the Court-Measures; tho' I am not ignorant that several considerable Pensions were also paid out of the Exchequer to Members of both Houses: For Places could not be had for all, tho' they have tried all imaginable Arts for dividing amongst themselves the considerable Posts in the Kingdom: For either by splitting of Offices amongst several Persons which were formerly executed by one, or by reviving such as were sunk, or by creating others which were altogether useless and unnecessary, or by Promises of Preferment to those who could not presently be provided for, they had made above 200 Members absolutely dependent upon them. And what Points might not such a Number

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ber carry in the House, who were always ready and constantly attending with more Diligence to destroy our Constitution, than the rest were to preserve it? Who represented not their Country but themselves, and always kept together in a close and undivided Phalanx, impenetrable either by Shame or Honour, voting always the same Way, and saying always the same Things, as if they were no longer voluntary Agents, but so many Engines merely turn'd about by a mechanic Motion, like an Organ where the great humming Bases as well as the little squeaking Trebles are fill'd but with one Blast of Wind from the same *Sound-board*? Yet a few of them may in some Measure be distinguish'd from those *point-blank* Voters, whom neither their Country's Safety, nor their own more dear and valu'd Interest, nor the Persuasion of their once intimate Friends, nor Fear of Reproach, nor Love of Reputation could ever prevail to join in an honest Point, or dissent from a Question that carried in it the Violation of the Rights and Properties of the Subject. These are the Men who have persuaded his Majesty, or rather assum'd to themselves not to fill up any vacant Offices whilst the Parliament is sitting; but to keep all Pretenders in a Dependance till the End of the Session,

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and bind them up to their ill Behaviour, which will then be their best Pretence to demand their Wages of Unrighteousness: Witness the Commission of Excise the last Session, which was sued for by, and promis'd to above 30 Competitors, who all did their utmost to signalize their several Merits for an Office, which doubtless will be at last divided amongst those who have deserved worst of their Country. By these Means they made their Numbers and Interest in the House so great, that no Mis-carriage in the Government could ever be redrest, nor the meanest Tool belonging to them be punish'd: Some of which they did indeed take into their own Hands, which rais'd in the People a high Expectation that some extraordinary Penalties would be inflict'd upon them; when their Design at the same Time was nothing else but to protect and screen them from the ordinary Course of Justice: Such is now the Difference in Point of Corruption between a common Jury and the Grand Jury of the Nation: Such a mutual Assistance and Support have they been to one another in the several Mismanagements of their Trusts: So favourable have they been to their own Creatures, and so implacable to those who have any way oppos'd their un-

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just Proceedings, witness their scandalous Partiality in the Case of DUNCOMB, which I hope to see printed at large for the Satisfaction of the Public. If it were truly represented, I am sure there needs nothing more to excite in the People an universal Detestation of their Arrogance and Injustice. And yet do these Apostates pretend to value themselves upon their Merit in contriving that most destructive Project of *Exchequer Bills*, by which all impartial Men must either think they notoriously dissemble with us, or that they have indeed lost their Senses when they speak of public Service; the Word is so unbecoming in their Mouths; and so awkwardly pronounced, that they seem not to breathe in their own Element when they usurp the Name. These are the Men who have endeavour'd to render our Condition *hopeless* even beyond the Power of the King himself to relieve us: For tho' his Majesty be deservedly loved and honour'd by his People for his Readiness to do them Justice, and ease their Oppressions, yet can we not expect it from him whilst he is thus beset and surrounded, and his Palaces invested by these Conspirators against his own Honour and the Welfare of his Kingdoms. The only Remedy therefore that remains is, to  
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choose such a Parliament who lye under no Temptations, and are acted by no other Motives but the *real and true Interest* of his Majesty and his Dominions ; a Parliament that will fall unanimously upon public Business, and be free from those petty Factions and personal Piques, which in the late Session so shamefully obstructed and delay'd the most importance Service of the Common-wealth,

9. If it should be pretended, That the Nation is yet unsettled, and the Fear of King *James* has forced them upon these extraordinary Methods for their own Preservation, I answer, That no Cause whatsoever can be justly alledg'd in Vindication of such vile Arts and pernicious Practices. But I would farther ask them, What Necessity there is upon that Account for *their gaining such prodigious Estates to themselves in so short a Time, and in so merciless a Way*, when the Nation was rack'd to the utmost by Taxes in a long and expensive War? Is it the Fear of King *James* that has brought such a Reproach upon our Revolution, as if it needed to be supported by such mean and unjustifiable Practices? Is it the Fear of King *James* that makes us content he should live so near us, or that  
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he should be maintain'd at our own Charge of 50000*l. per Annum*? Or has not rather King JAMES been made the Pretence for the unwarrantable Proceedings of our Conspirators during the War, and since the Conclusion of the Peace? It is very strange that King JAMES, who is but their Jest in private, should be thus made their public Bugbear to frighten us out of our Senses like Children; so that King JAMES must be at last our Ruin abroad, who could not compass it by all his Power and Interest at home. And in this Sense I am of their Opinion, *That we are not yet quite delivered from the Fear of King JAMES, who must be made the Instrument of our Slavery by those very Persons who pretend their greatest Merit to consist in delivering us from him.* But what is this but making the old abdicated Tyrant a Footstool to ascend the Throne of *absolute* Power, and a Scaffold for erecting that proud and stately Edifice from whence we have so justly tumbled him down headlong? But 'tis to be hop'd the Nation will be no longer impos'd on by such stale Pretences as these; and that a well-chosen Parliament will not fail to pass their severest Censures upon those who would thus jest us out of all that is dear and valuable amongst us: That they will no longer



longer resemble a Flock of Sheep (as CATO said of the *Romans* in his Time) that followed the Bel-weather, and are contented when all together, to be led by the Noses by such whose Counsels not a Man of them would make Use of in a private Cause of his own: That they will at last vindicate the Honour of *England*, and imitate their wise Ancestors in hunting down these Beasts of Prey, these noxious Vermin to the Common-wealth, rather than suffer themselves to be led in Collars and Couples by one mighty NIMROD, who upon the turning up of his Nose shall expect a full Cry of sequacious Animals, who must either join Voices or be turn'd out of the Pack.

10. Notwithstanding what I have said, I would not have any of them either really imagine themselves, or falsely suggest to others, that I envy them their Places and Preferments, which I am so far from doing, that I wish they rather had them for the Term of their Lives; I desire only they may be subject to the Laws, and to some Power on Earth that may call them to account for their Misbehaviours, that they may not be their own Judges, that our sovereign Remedy may not prove our chief  
Disease,

Disease, and that the Kid may be seeth'd in something else than its Mother's Milk. Nor would I by any Means deny them their Seats in Parliament, provided they are in a Condition to speak and act freely, and discharged from those Temptations which I find they have not *Constancy* enough to understand; for after all, I still believe many of them so honest that nothing but Money or Preferments will corrupt them. But if nothing will satisfy them but the downright Subversion of our Constitution; if they will be content with nothing but the utter abolishing of all Laws, and the rooting up of those Fences and Securities provided by our Ancestors for the Preservation of all Things that are sacred and esteem'd amongst Mankind; it is high Time for the *Electors* to look about them, and disappoint their unreasonable and exorbitant Hopes, and to spew them out as detestable Members of the Commonwealth; not only as unfit to be trusted with their Liberties, but as unworthy to breathe in the Air of a Free Government.

II. If any should say, That the *Alterations* in Elections will stand us in no stead, since whoever are chosen will still be *bought off* and *brib'd* by *Court-Preferments*: I answer,

swer, it will require a considerable Time to new-model and debauch a House of Commons, nor can it be done but by displacing all those who are already possess'd, to make Room for these new Comers, which will make the *Trade* and *Mystery* of *Bribery* more plain, and consequently more abhor'd. And since no Parliament can now sit above three Years, the Court will meet with fresh Difficulties to interrupt them, which may possibly at last make them weary of these Practices. 'Tis true, indeed, this Consideration ought to make us more circumspect in our Choice of Members, for tho' we should choose but an inconsiderable Number of Pensioners, yet will they soon be able to work over a Majority to their Side: So true is the Saying, *A little Leaven leavens the whole Lump*. Whoever therefore out of any particular Friendship, or other Motives of Fear or private Interest, should vote for any one Person so qualify'd, let him consider that as much as in him lies, he makes a Compliment of all the Liberties of *England* to the *unsatiabie Avarice* and *Ambition* of *Statesmen* and *Court-Ministers*. Since therefore we have so narrowly escap'd our Destruction, and one Session more of the last Parliament would infallibly have ruin'd our Constitution, we cannot surely

be so grossly overseen as to neglect the Opportunity now put into our Hands for avoiding the like Hazards in Time to come; which may easily be done, if the Freeholders and Burghers in *England* will petition and engage their Representatives to consent to a Bill which shall be brought into the House; to incapacitate all Members for holding Offices and Preferments: Or if it should be thought too much to debar them altogether from the Enjoyments of Posts of Honour and Advantage, let them keep them during good Behaviour, and not otherwise; that such Places may not be reserv'd in store for those who shall be from Time to Time elected, and thereby a continued Course of Corruption be carry'd on successively thro' the whole Nation, who will in a few Years insensibly find themselves so universally infected with this insinuating Vice, that we shall be thoroughly ripe for Destruction, and readily expose to sale the Liberties of *England* by Auction to the fairest Bidder. If it was deservedly thought one of our most dangerous Grievances, that the Judges, who only declare the Law, should hold their Places *ad beneplacitum*; what Condition must we be in when our Law-makers themselves are subjected to the same Temptations? Of what Advantage

Advantage have we got by having our Judges Commissions for Life, when our very Legislature itself is prostituted to Bribery and sordid Gain? The Fortune of *England* is now brought to the nicest Point, and there are critical Seasons, which if neglected, will never again be offer'd; and should we now fail in our Duty to our Country, we shall assuredly fall unpitied by the rest of the World. But if on the other Hand, we can by our foresight and diligence prevent for the future the Bribing and Corruption of Parliaments, it is not to be imagin'd what Security, what Happiness, and what immortal Reputation will be the never-ceasing Concomitants of such a Settlement. If the very Rump of a Parliament, even in the midst of Domestic Discontents, and beset on all Sides with foreign Assaults and Invasions, were able by that one *self-denying Act* to maintain the public Welfare from the Danger of inward Convulsions at home, and violent Concussions from abroad; if that small and broken Number without any Head, and under so many Disadvantages, could by this only Means secure our Peace, and so widely extend the Repute and Honour of the *English* Name; what Country or what Region could ever give Limits to the unbounded Reputation of a



full and legal Parliament so nobly qualify'd? What Nation could there be so powerful as to resist our Forces, or so politic as to infatuate our Counsels? There is nothing within the Compass of human Wishes that we might not assure ourselves from the Wisdom and Virtue of such a disinterested Assembly, headed and encourag'd by the most auspicious Prince that ever yet sway'd the *English* Scepter: A Prince who only waits the Opportunity of our own Willingness to be happy, and is fir'd with a longing Eagerness to see the Nation deserve the glorious Effects of his inimitable Conduct, and inexhausted Beneficence; who only wishes a happy Conjunction of a free and unbyass'd Parliament, that he might join with them in the Rescue of himself and us from the Oppression of those devouring Harpies, who would tear off the yet green and flourishing Lawrels from his Majestic Brows, and ungratefully cast a Tarnish upon the lustre of his bright and shining Atchievements: That he might dissipate those inauspicious Vapors which have hindred him from breaking out in the height of his Meridian Glories, and intercepted his benign and noble Influence upon his inferior and dependent Orbs: That he might deliver up to Justice those traiterous  
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and insinuating Parasites, who endeavour to inspire into his sacred Breast an unworthy Jealousy of his People, as if he wanted the Assistance of a Standing-Army to secure and establish to himself that Throne which he has already so firmly erected in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects: And lastly, that he might wholly discharge himself of those wretched and perfidious Statesmen, who endeavour to fix the Brand of their own acquir'd Infamy upon their Master, that they may make him as hateful to one Party for their Vices, as he is already to another for his own Virtues, and deprive him of the glorious Title of the World's greatest Benefactor, which he has so justly purchas'd to himself by his immortal Performances.

12. I shall conclude with one Word, in answer to such who may possibly think I have reflected too much upon the Supineness and base Neglect of the People of *England*; as if it were possible they could be such monstrous and unnatural Self-murderers, as to give away with their own Breath and free Consent all their Rights to their Estates and Lives. I confess I should be glad to find my Labour lost upon this Account: But I desire such to consider, that there are  
 many

many honest and well-meaning *Englishmen*, who do not distinguish between our present Government, and our present Way of governing; whose Distance from the Parliament, Multiplicity of Business, or other Circumstances in the World, render them less able to penetrate the Designs that are now carrying on for the total Subversion of our most excellent Constitution. And it is plain on the other Hand, that the great and unwearied Diligence of the present Conspirators against our Government, in order to support their future Elections, does infer their Thoughts that the Majority of the Electors are capable of being impos'd upon in this gross and unexampled Manner. Since therefore *those* who are making us Slaves, think it no great difficulty to effect their Purposes, I see no reason why I ought to be so tender as to forbear expressing my Fears and Apprehensions of their Success.

F I N I S









