

A MEMENTO: DIRECTED To all Those that Truly Reverence the Memory of KING CHARLES the MARTYR; And as Passionately wish the Honour, Safety, and Happinesse of his Royall Successour, Our most Gracious Sovereign Charles the II.

THE FIRST PART.

By ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

Sic Canibus Catulos similes— Virg.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE The EARL of CLARENDEN Lord High CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

My LORD,

HE that Owes more then he is Worth, and Payes as far as he is Able, is an Honest Man; and That's My Case more wayes then One. Nor is it possible for Mee to Think of my Debts and not of your Lordships Bounties, at the same time: Under whose Roofe I have formerly receiv'd so many, many Benefits. In the Establishment of That Felicity, I reckon'd my self as sure, as in the Possession of it: I did, (my Lord) and I must do so still, or do a harder, and a worse Thing, in Thinking Otherwise. For I am the same I was, and to suppose your Lordships good opinion, either Begun, or Ended without Reason, were to subject your Wisdome, or Stability to a Question.

Since so it is, (My Lord) that I cannot suspect your Kindnesse, without an injury to your Honour, nor let your Obligations sleep without some Testimony of my Thankfulnesse: Vouchsafe to know, (my Lord) that after more then Twenty Years spent in serving the Royall Interest: Near Six of them, in Gaoles; and almost Four, under a Sentence of Death, in Newgate; Fortune has been so kind, as to leave me yet a Bottle of Inke, and a Heap of Paper; out of which pittiful Remain, I make your Lordship a Present of a Book. This Book I humbly offer, (not to your Reading, or Thought, but) barely to your Countenance: Let it (my Lord) but wear the Credit of Your Patronage. Which I the rather wish, because of a Late Pamphlet that I find Dedicated to your Lordship, by a Mournevall of Presbyterians, wherein my Name is not well us'd: and truly (if I am not Mistaken) his Majesties Justice and Authority much worse; about the Imprisonment of Mr. Crofton.

I must Proceed now to acquaint your Lordship, that beside the Honour of your Protection, I have great need of your Interest, and Favour: which yet I dare not Beg, for fear of Offending your Readinesse to do me all reasonable Justice without it. In Truth; it is not for a man either of my Nature, or Condition, to Thrive by Begging; for he that is both Poor and Honest, carries a Double Clogg: Especially in This Age, (my Lord) when (Heaven and Hell apart) 'tis a greater Scandal and Misfortune to be Indigent, then Treacherous.

But there are (my Lord) that do not stick to say, I'm Both: and I forgive with all my Soul, the Worst that ever was said of Mee, with good Intention to the King. It is not long since I troubled your Lordship with a Paper upon This Subject; to which (with Leave) I shall add a word or two.

Some will needs have it, that I do not sufficiently Deny the Six hundred Pound.

My Lord; I do so far deny it, that I wish That Penny, or Penyes-worth, which (to the best of my Knowledge) I ever receiv'd from any Creature of the Rebels Party, or by any Order from Them, or any of Them, may rise against Me at the Day of Judgment.

There is a further Rumour, as if Captain Whitlock should have sent me word that he would justify it: whereas I never heard a Syllable from him to That Purpose; nor can the World shew the least Colour for the Truth of That Report.

Let me be Pardon'd (my Lord) if I conoeive This Adresse not altogether Impertinent; for if it did belong to you to Condemne me, while you but Thought me Guilty; your Lordship is certainly Oblig'd in Honour, to Acquit me when you Know me Innocent. In This Particular, (my Lord) I think you are Bound to do me Right; but in what Follows, I totally Depend upon your Favour.

There is a Pitifull creature, One Bagshaw# (a Chaplain to the Earl of Anglesie, and the Authour of the Animadversions upon the Bishop of Worsters Letter) This Fellow, when his hand was In, against the Bishop, lends Mee a Lash too, for my Practices with Cromwell. Your Lordship would do me a Peculiar Honour, to Procure that he might be called before the Counsell, to make good his Charge: where, if I prove not Him That Villein, which he Pretends, I am, let Mee suffer for it.

My LORD,

I am, Your Lordships Most Obedient Servant, Roger L'estrage.

April 11. 1662.

The Preface.

THE Subject I have here undertaken leads mee into several unlucky Characters, which if they were like no-body, would be good for Nothing, as holding no Proportion with Nature, and Truth. If any man Imagine that he sees himself Here, let him keep his own Counsel, and Consider, that a Coat may be fit for him that was never made for him. His Answer was not amisse, that being Compleyn'd of to the Late Eminent Earl of Strafford, for having written a Libel: My Lord (sayes he): The Case is but This#I throw down a Fools Cap; This Gentleman takes it up, and has a Phansie that it fits Him. In short; Let not an Ill man find fault with a Vitious Character; For 'tis much worse to Practice Wickednesse than to Peint it.

The scope of This First Part which I here expose, is by Laying open the Workings and Series of the Last Rebellion, to disappoint the Purposes of another. The Second Part I reserve for more Particular Duties, both Christian, and Political; which shall follow sooner, or Later, according to the Enterteynment which the World affords to This. The Author's Faults, are enow, without the Printers. Of Each sort there are Many, and I leave it to the Judicious Reader to Distinguish them.

A MEMENTO.

PART. I. CAP. I.

The Matter and Causes of Seditious.

THE Matter of Seditious (according to Sir Francis Bacon;¹ whose words and Authority I shall often make use of in this little Treatise) is of two kinds; Much Poverty, and much Discontentment.

The Causes and Motives of Seditious he reckons to be These.² Innovation in Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes, and Customs; Breaking of Privileges; General Oppression; Advancement of unworthy Persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions grown desperate. And whatsoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them in a common Cause.

These Inconveniencies, either seasonably discover'd, colourably pretended, or secretly promoted, are sufficient to the foundation of a Civil Warr. In which Negative and dividing Politiques, none better understood themselves than the Contrivers of our late Troubles: not only improving and fomenting Discontentments, where they found them, and creating violent Jealousies, where there was but any place to imagine them; but They Themselves were the greatest gainers even by those Grievances against which they complained: Reaping a double Benefit, first from the Occasion of the Difference, and then from the Issue of it.

When a seditious humor is once mov'd,³ the best Remedy is to cut off the Spring that feeds it: by pleasing all sorts of People, so far as Possible, and by Disobliging none, but upon Necessity. Which Publique Tenderness must be so managed, that the Majesty of the Prince be not lost in the Goodnesse of the Person: for nothing can be more Dangerous to a Monarch, then so to over-court the Love of his People, as to lose their Respect, or to suffer them to impute that to his Easiness which ought to be ascrib'd purely to his Generosity.

Offences of That Daring,⁴ and Unthankfull Quality, can scarce be pardon'd, without some hazard to the Authority that remits them: Secret Contempts being much more fatal to Kings, then Publick and Audacious Malice: the latter commonly spending it self in a particular and fruitlesse Malignity toward the Person, (and that with Terror too, as being secur'd under a Thousand Guards of Majesty and Power) whereas the Other privily teints the whole Masse of the People, with a Mutinous Leaven, giving Boldnesse to contrive, Courage to execute; and, if the Plot miscarryes, there's the hope of

1 The Matter of Sedition.

2 The Causes of it.

3 The Remedy.

4 Contempt more fatal to Kings then Hatred.

Mercy to Ballance the peril of the Undertaking. For a Conclusion of this Point,⁵He that but Thinks Irroverently of his Prince, deposes him.

Concerning the Materials of Sedition, viz. Poverty and Discontentment: it would be endless to dissolve these General Heads into Particular••le•: the best advice in This Case must be General too; that is, to endeavour to remove whatever Causes them, referring the Particulars to Counsell, and Occasion.

'Tis very well observ'd by the Lord St. Albans touching Poverty:⁶ [So many overthrown Estates, so many Votes for Troubles; and if this Poverty, and Broken Estate in the Better sort, be joy'n'd with a Want and Necessity, in the mean People, the Danger is Great and Imminent:]⁷ which to prevent, [Above all things (sayes the same Author) good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve:⁸ And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread.] And again [A numerous Nobility, causeth Poverty, and Inconvenience in a State, for it is a Surcharge of Expence.

As to the Seeds of Discontentments, they are as various as the Humours they encounter: dependent many times upon Opinion; and inconsiderable in Themselves, however Notorious in their Effects.

Touching the Discontentments Themselves,⁹it is the Advice of the Lord Verulam, [That no Prince, measure the danger of them by This; Whether they be Iust or Unjust? for that were to imagine People to be too Reasonable; Nor yet by This, whether the griefs whereupon they rise, be in Fact, great or small: For They are the most Dangerous, where the Fear is greater then the Feeling.

Such were those furious, and implacable Iealousies, that started the late Warr, which doubtless may more properly be accompted among the Dotages of a Disease, or the Illusions of a dark Melancholy; then the Deliberate Operations of a Sober Reason.

Proceed we now from the Matter, and more remote Causes of Seditions, to the Approches and Prognosticks of them.

CAP. II.

The Tokens and Prognostiques of Seditions.

IT is in many Cases with Bodies Politique, as it is with Natural Bodies; Both perish, by Delaying till the Distemper be grown too strong for the Medicine: Whereas by watching over, and applying to the first Indispositions of the Patient, how easie is the Remedy of a Disease, which in one day more

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6 Poverty breed• Sedition.

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8 A numerous Nobility causeth Poverty.

9 Fears and Jealousies.

perhaps becomes Incurable? Some take it for a poynt of Bravery, not to own any Danger at a Distance, lest they should seem to fear it. Others are too short-sighted to discern it: So that betwixt the Rash and the Stupid, (a large Proportion in the Division of the World) we are past the help of Physick, before we can perswade our selves we need it.

Dangers (sayes the Incomparable Bacon) are ### more light, if they once seem light: and more danger have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay it wer• better, to meet some Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approches, for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep.

Neither let any man measure the Quality of the Danger, by That of the Offender: for again, ['tis the Matter, not the Person, that is to be consider'd# Treason is contagious, and a Raskal may bring the Plague into the City, as well as a Great man.] I do the rather press This Caution, because Security was the fault of those to whom I direct it.

But what avails it to wary of Dangers, without the skill and providence. to foresee and prevent them? Or what hinders us from the fore-knowledge of Those Effects, to which we are led by a most evident, and certain train of Causes? States have their Maladies as well as Persons; and Those Ill habits have their peculiar Aecidents, and Affections; their proper Issues, and Prognostiques: upon the true Iudgement of which Circumstances depends the Life and Safety of the Publique. Not to play the fool with an Allegory; Be it our care to observe the Gathering of the Clouds, before they are wrought into a Storm.

Among the Presages of foul weather,¹⁰ the Lord St. Albans reckons Libels and Licentious Discourses against the Government, when they are frequent and open: and in like sort, false newes often running up and down, and hastily embraced, to the disadvantage of the State.

We need not run beyond our Memories to Agree This Point; it being within the Ken of our own Notice, that Libells were not only the Forerunners, but, in a high Degree, the Causes of our late Troubles: and what were the frequent, open, and Licentious Discourses of ### in Pulpets, but the illboding Play of ### before a Tempest#

We may remember also the false Newes of Plotts against the Religion, and Liber•ies of the Nation, and how the King was charg'd, as an Abettor of the Design.

We may remember likewise, how the Irish Bloud was cast upon the accompt of his late Sacred Majesty, even by Those men whose guilty Souls are to Reckon with Divine Justice for every Drop of it.

Neither have we forgotten with what Care and Diligence These Falshoods were dispers'd; with what Greedinesse, they were swallow'd; nor what ensu'd upon it.

If we look well about us, we may finde This Kingdom, at this Instant labouring under the same Distempers: the •esse as Busie, and as Bold; Sermons as factious; Pamphlets as seditious; the Government defam'd, and the Defamers of it (if Presbyteriane scape better then their Accusers. The Lectures of the Faction are throng'd with Pretended Converts, and Seandalous Reports against the King, and State are as current now as they were twenty years agoe.

10 The danger Libels.

These were ill Tokens Then, and do they signifie just nothing Now? What means all This but the new Christening of the Old Cause? the doing over again of the Prologue to the last Tragedy?

Sir Francis Bacon proceeds, that [Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking of the Yoak, and Assay of disobedience; Especially, if in those disputings, they which are for the direction, speak Fearfully, and tenderly; and those that are against it, Audaciously.

Herein is Judiciously expressed the Motion, or Gradation, from Duty to Disobedience. The first stepp, is to Dispute; as who should say, I will if I may. The very Doubt of obeying, subjects the Authority to a Question, and gives a dangerous hint to the People, that Kings are accomptable to their Subjects.

To Excuse, is a degree worse; for That's no other, then a Refusal of Obedience, in a tacit Regard either of an Unjust Command, or of an Unlawfull Power.

To Cavil at the Mandates of a Prince, is an express Affront to his Dignity, and within one Remove of Violence.

Through these Degrees, and slidings from Bad to Worse, from one Wickednesse to Another,¹¹ our late Reformers travail'd the whole Scale of Treason; as the Scene chang'd, shifting their Habits, till at last, quitting the Disguise of the Kings Loyal Subjects, they became his Murtherers.

What's more familiar at this Day, than Disputing his Majesties Orders; disobeying his Proclamations, and viligying Acts of Parliament? Whereof there are so many, and so Audacious Instances, it shall suffice to have made this General mention of them.

Another Observation is,¹²that, When Discords and Quarrels; and Factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the Reverence of Government is lost.

This was the temper of that Juncture, when the Schismatiaeal Part of the two Houses, and the Tumultuary Rabble joyn'd their Interests against Bishops, and the Earl of Strafford; which Insolence was but a Prelude to the succeeding Rebellion.

And are not Factions carryed Openly and Audaciously now? when the Promoters, and Iustifiers of the Murther of the late King, are still continued publique Preachers, without the least Pretence to a Retraction# Dictating still, by Gestures, Shruggs, and Signs, That Treason to their Auditory which they dare not Utter? What are their Sermons, but Declamations against Bishops: Their Covenant-keeping Exhortations, but the contempt of an establish'd Law? How it comes to pass, Heaven knowes; but These Honest Fellowes can come off for Printing and Publishing down-right Treason, when I have much adoe to scape for Telling of it.

Whither these Liberties tend, let any man look over his shoulder, and satisfie himself.

When any of the Four Pillars of Government,¹³ are mainly shaken, or weakened, (which are Religion, Iustice, Counsell, and Treasure,) men had need to pray for fair weather.

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12 Sir F. B.

13 Sir F. B.

To speak only of the last, The want of Treasure was the Ruine of the late King; Through which defect, his Officers were expos'd to be Corrupted, his Counsells to be Betray'd, his Armies to be ill Pay'd, and consequently not well Disciplin'd. Briefly, where a Prince is Poor,¹⁴ and a Faction Rich, the Purse is in the wrong Pocket.

Multis utile Bellum, is an assured and infallible Sign, of a State disposed to Seditions and Troubles, and it must needs be, that where War seems the Interest of a People, it should be likewise the Inclination of them.

Touching the General Matter, Motives, and Prognostiques, of Sedition, enough is said; Wee'l now enquire into the special cause of the late Rebellion.

CAP. III.

The True Cause of the late Warr, was AMBITION.

THE true Cause of the late Warr,¹⁵ was Ambition: which being lodg'd in a confederate Cabale of Scotch, and English, drew the corrupted Interests of both Kingdoms into the Conspiracy: to wit, the factious, covetous Malecontents, Criminals, Debtors; and finally, all sorts of men, whose crimes, necessities, or Passions, might be secur'd, reliev'd, or gratifi'd by a change of Government. To these, were joyn'd, the credulous, weak Multitude; the clamour being Religion, Law, and Liberty: And here's the sum of the Design, Pretence, and Party.

This League we may presume was perfected in 1637. First from the corespondent Practices in both Nations, appearing Manifestly about that time: Next, 'tis remarkable, that the English Pardon has a Retrospect to the beginning of the Scotch Tumults; (Jan. 1. 1637. Three years before the meeting of the Long Parliament) which Provision seems to intimate That Conspiracy. And now the Poyson begins to work.¹⁶

Upon the 23 of Iuly in the same year, (according to a Publique Warning given the Sunday before) the Dean of Edinburgh began to read the Service-Book in the Church of St. Giles: whereupon ensued so horrid a Tumult, that the Bishop was like to have been Murther'd in the Pulpit; and after Sermon scaped narrowly with his life to his Lodgings.

The particular recital of their following Insolencies upon the Bishop of Galloway, the Earls of Traquair and Wigton; the besieging of the Councel-House, and contempts of the Councell, their Audacious Petitions against the Service-book, and Canons, I shall pass over, as not belonging to my purpose.

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15 The Rise of the late War.

16 The first Tumult against the Service-book.

Upon the 19 of Febr. following,¹⁷ a Proclamation was publish'd against their Seditious Meetings, which they encounter with an Antiprotect, and presently erect their Publique Tables of Advice and Counsell for Ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom. The Method whereof was This. Four principal Tables they had. One of the Nobility; a Second of the Gentry; a Third of the Burroughs; a Fourth of Ministers. And These Four were to prepare Matters for the General Table; which consisted of Commissioners chosen out of the Rest.

The first Act of this General Table was their Solemn Covenant;¹⁸ a Contrivance principally promoted by persons formerly engaged in a Conspiracy against the King,¹⁹ and, among others, by the Lord Balmerino, a Pardon'd Traytor, and the Son of One. His Father had been a Favorite, and principal Secretary to King James, and rais'd by him out of Nothing, to his Estate, and Dignity. Yet was this thankless Wretch Arraign'd for, and Attainted of high Treason, and after Sentence to be Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd, he was by the Kings Mercy Pardon'd, and Restor'd. Another eminent Covenanter was the Earl of Arguile, of whom Walker gives this Accompt.

He brought his Father to a Pension;²⁰ outed his Brother of his Estate Kintyre; ruin'd his Sisters by cheating them of their Portions, and so enforcing them into Cloysters.

It must needs be a Conscientious Design with such Saints as These in the Head of it.

This Covenant was effectually no other then a Rebellious Vow to oppose the Kings Authority,²¹ and Iustifie Themselves in the exercise of the Sovereign Power, which they assum'd, to a degree even beyond the claim of Majesty it self, pleading the Obligation of the Covenant, to all their Usurpations.²²

They Levyed Men and Moneys;²³ Seiz'd the Kings Magazines, and Strong Holds; Rais'd Forts; Begirt his Castles; Affronted his Majesties Proclamations; Summon'd Assemblies; Proclaim'd Fasts; Deprived, and Excommunicated Bishops; Abolish'd Episcopacy; Issued out Warrants to choose Parliament-Commissioners; Renounced the Kings Supreme Authority; Trampled upon Acts of Parliament; pressing their Covenant upon the Privy Councill. They gave the last Appeal to the generality of the People; discharging Counsellors, and Iudges of their Allegiance, and threatening them with Excommunication, in case they disobeyed the Assembly.

All this they did, according to the Covenant; and whether This was Religion or Ambition, let the World judge.

These Affronts drew the King down with an Army to the Borders; and with two miles of Barwick,²⁴ the two Bodies had an Enterview; March 28. 1639. But the Scots craving a Treaty, his Majesty

17 The Covenanters Usurp the Supreme Authority#

18 The Institution of the Scottish Covenant.

19 The Promoters of it.

20 Hist. Iudep. Appendix, pag. 14.

21 The Covenant a Rebellious Vow.

22 A Plea for Treason.

23 The Usurpations of the Covenanters.

24 A Pacification with the Scots.

most graciously accorded it; Commissioners were appointed; Articles agreed upon; and a Pacification Concluded, June 17.

Not one Article of this Agreement was observ'd on the Covenanters part;²⁵ but immediately upon the Discharge of his Majesties Forces, the Scots brake forth into fresh Insolencies, and Encroachments upon the Prerogative: addressing to the French King for assistance against their Native Sovereign: And yet the Quarrel was, as they pretended, for the Protestant Religion, and against Popery.

In August 1640. they entred England,²⁶ and upon a Treaty at Rippon soon after, a cessation is agreed upon, referring the decision of all differences to a more General Treaty at London.

In November began the Long Parliament;²⁷ and now the Scene is London: Where with great License and Security, Parties are made, and Insolences against the Government committed and Authorised under protection of the Scotch Army, and the City-Tumults. By degrees, matters being prepar'd and ripened, they found it opportune, soon after, to make something a more direct attempt upon the Sovereignty, but by request first; and resolving if that way fail, to try to force it.

In Ian, they Petition for the Militia: In February, they secure the Tower; and in March, Petition again for't.²⁸ but so that they Protest, if his Majesty persist to deny it, they are Resolv'd to take it: And the next day it is Resolv'd upon the Question, That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a Posture of defence, by Authority of both Houses of Parliament.

In April 1642. the Earl of Warwick seizes the Navy,²⁹ and Sir Iohn Hotham, Hull; Refusing the King entrance, which was Iustified by an Ensuing Vote; and his Majesties Proclayming him Traytor for it, was Voted, a Breach of Privilege.

In May; the pretended Governour of Hull sends out Warrants to raise the Trayned Bands, and the King (then at York) forbids them; moving the Country for a Regiment of the Trayned Foot,³⁰ and a Troop of Horse, for the Guard of his Royal Person; whereupon it was Voted, That the King, seduced by wicked Counsell, intended to make a Warr against his Parliament, and that whosoever should assist him, were Traytors.

They proceed then to corrupt and displace divers of his Servants,³¹ forbidding others to go to him. They stop and seize his Majesties Revenue, and declare, that whatsoever they should Vote, is not by Law to be Questioned, either by the King, or Subjects; No Precedent can limit or bound their proceedings. A Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or People have any right. The Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament. The King hath no Negative Voyce. The levying of Warr against the Personal commands of the King, though accompanied with his presence, is not a levying of Warr against the King: but a levying Warr against his Laws and Authority (which

25 Their Infidelity.

26 They enter England.

27 The influence of the Scottish Army, and the City Tumults, upon the long Parliament.

28 The two Houses usurp the Militia.

29 The Rebellion begins at Hull.

30 The Kings Defence of himself, Voted a Warr against his Parliament.

31 Treasonous Positions of the Two Houses.

they have power to declare) is levying Warr against the King. Treason cannot be committed against his Person otherwise then as he was Intrusted. They have Power to judge whether he discharge his Trust or not, that if they should follow the highest precedents of other Parliaments Patterns, there would be no cause to complain of want of Modesty or Duty in them; and that it belonged only to them to Judge of the Law.

Having stated and extended their Powers, by an Absurd, Illegal, and Impious severing of the Kings Person from his Office, their next work is to put Those Powers in Execution; And to subject the sacred Authority of a Lawfull Monarch, to the Ridiculous, and Monstrous Pageantry of a Headlesse Parliament: and That's the Business of the 19. Propositions demanding,

That the great affairs of the Kingdom,³² and Militia, may be menaged by consent and Approbation of Parliament; all the great affairs of State, Privy Councill, Ambassadors, and Ministers of State, and Judges, be chosen by Them; that the Government, Education and Marriage of the Kings Children, be by Their consent, and approbation; and all the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, put under the Command and Custody of such as They should approve of, and that no Peers to be made hereafter, should sit and Vote in Parliament.

They desire further, that his Majesty would discharge his Guards; Eject the Popish Lords out of the House of Peers, and put the Penal Lawes against them, strictly in Execution; and finally, that the Nation may be govern'd either by the Major part of the Two Houses, or in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Major part of the Councill; and that no Act of State may be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority without Them.

Upon These terms they insisted,³³ and Rais'd a Warr to Extort them; So that 'tis clear, they both design'd and fought, to Dethrone his Majesty, and exercise the Sovereign Power, Themselves: which was to suit their Liberty of Acting to That of Sitting, and to make themselves an Almighty, as well as an Everlasting Parliament.

CAP. IV.

The Instruments, and Means, which the Conspirators employed to make a Party.

THat Their Design was to Usurp the Government, is Manifest: Now to the Instruments and Sleights they us'd to compass it.³⁴

The Grand Projectors knew very well that the strength of their Cause depended upon the favour of the Ignorant and Licencius Multitude; which made them court all people of That Mixture, to their

32 Depositing Propositions of Iune 2.

33 The Cause of the Warr, was Ambition.

34 The Rabble were the Pillars of the Cause.

Party, (for men of Brain and Conscience would never have agreed to a Conspiracy, against so clear a Light, so just an Interest); and Those they found their fast Friends, whom neither the Horrour of Sin, nor the brightest evidence of Reason was able to work upon.

To fit and dispose Both Humours to their purpose;³⁵ the first scruple they Started was Religion: which taken as they used it, in the external form, and j•ngle of it, is beyond doubt, the best Cloke for a Knave, and the best Rattle for a Fool in Nature. Under This Countenance, the Murther of the King pass'd for a Sacrifice of Expiation, and those Brute-Animals, that scarce knew the Bible from the Alcoran, were made the Arbitratours of the Difference.

The fear of Popery,³⁶ was the Leading Jealousie, which Fear was much promoted, by Pamphlets, Lectures, and Conventicles. Still coupling Popery, and Prelacy; Ceremonies, and the Abominations of the Whore: by these resemblances of the Church of England, to That of Rome, tacitly instilling, and bespeaking, the same Disaffection to the one, which the people had to the other.³⁷ Their Zeal was first employ'd upon the Names of Priests, and Altar, the Service-book, Church-habits, and Ceremonies: From Thence, they stept to the Demolishing of Church-Windows, Images, Crosses: the Persons of the Bishops went to't next, and Then the Office. Thus far the Rabble Carry'd it, the Leaders at last sharing the Revenues; and here's the Reformation of the Hierarchy complete.

When by these Scandalous Impostures,³⁸ the Duties of a Christian and a Subject; Conscience and Loyalty, seem once to enterfere, what can be looked for, but Rebellion, from a Loose Multitude that think themselves discharged of their Allegiance?

All Governments are lyable to Abuses,³⁹ and so was Ours, among the Rest; where Personal Faylings, and Excesses, were improv'd into the Fame of an Universal Prophanenesse, or Apostacy. Nor did they reckon it enough to Expose, and Aggravate Particular miscarriages,⁴⁰ and Humane Fraylties; but the most horrid Crimes Imaginable, were without either Proof, or Ground, or Colour, laid to the Charge of the Episcopal and Royal Party; Both which were ruin'd by the same Methode of Calumny, and Sediton.

The main Encouragement to their Attempt,⁴¹ was that, The Presbyterians had a strong Party in the Kings Council; (and this His Majesty himself takes notice of, in his Large Declaration of 1639. Pag. 124.) by which means, the Kings Counsels were both Distracted and Betray'd: and the Conspiratours Secure (at Worst) of Mediatours for a Commodious Peace, in case they Fayl'd of a Successful Warr. Nor did this Confidence deceive them, in the following Enterview of the Armies near Barwick, where the Covenanters had been almost as easily Beaten as look'd upon, had not the Quarrel been taken up by

35 Religion the Pretense.

36 Their Zeal against Popery.

37 The Methode of the Reformation.

38 Rebellion divides God and the King.

39 Scandals Employed,

40 and Invented.

41 The late King was betray'd by Presbyterians in his Counsel.

an Importune, and dear-bought Peace; for that expedition cost more Mony,⁴² only to face the Scotch Rebels, then would afterward have serv'd His Majesty to have Reduced the English.

Throughout the Menage of their Affairs, it may be Observed that they had these Three regards,⁴³ still in their eye, and Care. 1. To Reproche his Majesties Government. 2. To Animate, and Reward his Enemies: And 3. To Persecute his Friends: And still as any thing Stuck, a Tumult ready at a dead lift to help it forward: For they were not Ignorant,⁴⁴ that the King was to be Defam'd before he could be Disarm'd; Disarm'd, before Depos'd; Deprived of his Friends, before Despoyl'd of his Rights and Privileges: and That being their Designe, This was Rationally to be their Methode.

Their first Uproar about the Service-book,⁴⁵ was but a wild tryall how far the Multitude would Engage, and the Magistrate Endure; which appeared in This, that the City-Magistrates did at first, Earnestly, and Publicly Protest, not only against the Outrage; but for the Liturgy: not daring to do Otherwise; till a while after, Encouraged by the Boldness and Importunity of the Offenders,⁴⁶ and the Patience of some in Authority; those very Persons did in their Pulpits, and Discourses, magnifie that Beastly Crew for the Worthies of the Age, whom just before they had decry'd for Rogues and Villeius. The Truth is, they were Then about to play the Rogues, Themselves; and when Persons of Quality turn Rascals, Then do Rascals become Persons of Quality.

At the beginning of the Broyle,⁴⁷ half a dozen broken Heads had saved Three Kingdoms. Who would have own'd That Rabble, had they been Worsted? or, What Resistance could they have made to any Legal Opposition? But they were Flatter'd to be Quiet, and That advanc'd this Tumult to a Party; the Faction growing every day, more and more Formidable.

As their Strength increased, so did their Pretenses, both in Number, and Weight; and nothing less would content them, then to strip the King as bare, as they had done the Bishops. The Particulars of their Insolencies are too many for a Treatise, and, in Truth, too foul for a Story; but in grosse, nothing was wanting to the perfection of the Wickednesse, which either Hypocrisie, Perjury, Treason, Sacrilege, Rapine, Oppression, Forgery, Scandal, Breach of Faith, Malice, Murther, or Ingratitude could Contribute. All which, in every Poynt shall be made good by several Instances, if any man require it.

We'll now look homeward,⁴⁸ where we shall find the English Rebellion wrought, to a Thridd, according to the Trace of the Scottish Pattern.

The Presse and Pulpit were already at the Devotion of the Reforming Party, the Covenanters had an Army on Foot, and the Schismatiques were prepar'd for a General Rising; at which time, his Majesty summon'd a Parliament, to assemble in November following.

42 A Dear Peace the cause of a long Warr.

43 Tria Pricipia.

44 The Methode of Treason.

45 Rebellion begins in Confusion, and ends in Order.

46 #

47 #

48 The English follow the Scottish Pattern.

In This Convention,⁴⁹ those of the Confederacy, made it their first work to engage the People, by ripping up of Common Grievances, Breach of Laws, and Priviledges; and by contending to assert their Rights, Liberties, and Religion, against the Encroachments of Prerogative, and Popery. Being Secure of their Party, they propose next, the Manner of accomplishing their Purpose; which must be Effectuated by Craft, and Terrour. In Order whereunto, they first attack'd two of his Majesties prime Counsellours and Confidants,⁵⁰ the Earl of Strafford, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury# (Two Persons worthy of the Kings Trust, and Kindnesse, however Worried by the Multitude). To weaken the Lords House, they null'd the Bishops Votes, and Committed 12 of them for Treason: Five of the Iudges were Committed likewise: and to dispose the Lower House, nothing was wanting which either Force, Flattery, Corruption, or foul-play in Elections could Procure them.

So far as the King Granted, all went well; but if his Majesty deny'd them any thing, the Fault was Laid upon his Evill Consellours: under which Notion all his Friends were comprehended. So that his Choyce was This; either to give away his Crown, or to have it wrested from him.

In May, the Faction of the Two Houses Publish'd a Protestation, (which was but a Gentle slip into the Prerogative Royal to try their Interest, and by degrees to inure the People to their intended, and succeeding Usurpations. Some Four or Five dayes after, were signed those Two Fatal Bills, for the Death of the Earl of Strafford, and the Perpetuity of the Parliament: and having now gain'd leave to sit as long as they please,⁵¹ they have little further to ask, but that they may likewise do what they list.

Where Loyalty was made a Crime,⁵² 'twas fit Rebellion should pass for a Virtue. Upon which suitable equity, The Scots were Justified, and Voted, our Dear Brethren; 300000 l. in Iune 1641. and Sixscore Thousand more in August following; and so we Parted.

In this Perplexity of Affairs,⁵³ the King takes a journey into Scotland, if Possible, to secure an Interest There; but the Conspiracy was gone too far to be composed by Gentleness. Upon his Majesties Departure, the Houses adjourn, and during the Recess, appoint a standing Committee, and They forsooth must have a Guard, for fear of their own Shadows. In which Interval of the Kings Absence, the Usurpers lost no time, as appear'd by their readiness to Entertein him at his Return: When the first Present they made his Majesty,⁵⁴ was the Petition, and Remonstrance of December 15. which I cannot think upon,⁵⁵ but That Text comes into my mind of Mark 15. 18. [Haile King of the Iews, and they smote him on the head with a Reed, and spat upon him, and bowed the Head, and did him Reverence.]

This Impious Libell was seconded with an Audacious Tumult,⁵⁶ even at the Gates of the Kings Palace, and it was now high time for his Majesty to enquire into the Contrivers and Abettours of

49 The Prologue to the late Warr.

50 Loyalty pers•cuted.

51 #

52 Rebellion Rewarded.

53 The King goes for Scotland.

54 His Welcome at his Return.

55 #

56 The King Affronted by Tumults first;

these and other the like Indignities; and Proclamation was accordingly made for the Apprehending of them;⁵⁷ which very Proclamation was Declared to be a Paper False, Scandalous, and Illegal.

After This Language, what had they more to do, but by Armed Violence to invade the Sovereignty, and to emprove a loose, and Popular Sedition, into a Regular Rebellion? Which was a little hastened too, (even beside the Termes of Ordinary Prudence) to emplunge their Complices beyond Retreat, before they should discern that hideous Gulfe into which their Sin, and Folly was about to lead them. To keep their Zeal, and Fury waking; the Faction had a singular Faculty at Inventing of Plots; Counterfeiting Letters;⁵⁸ Intercepting Messages; overhearing Conspiracies; which Artificial Delusions (especially asserted by the pretended Authority of a Parliament, and a Pulpit) could not but work strong Effects of Scruple, and Iealousie, upon a prejudging and distemper'd People.

These were the means and steps by which they gain'd That Power, which afterward they Employ'd in Opposition to those very Ends for which they sware they Rays'd it; leaving us neither Church, nor King, nor Law, nor Parliaments, nor Properties, nor Freedoms. Behold; the Blessed Reformation! Wee'll slipp the Warr, and see in the next place what Government they Gave us in Exchange for That they had Subverted.

CAP. V.

A short View of the Breaches and Confusions betwixt the Two Factions, from 1648. to 1654.

IT cannot be expected that a Power, acquir'd by Bloud and Treason; maintain'd by Tyranny; the Object of a General Curse; and Horror both of God, and Nature; only United against Iustice, and at Perpetual Variance with it self;—I say, it cannot be expected, that such a Power as This, should be Immortal. Yet is it not enough barely to argue the Fatality of Wickedness, from the Certainty of Divine Vengeance; and There to stopp:—Usurpers are not Rays'd by Miracle, nor cast down by Thunder; but by our Crimes, or Follyes they are Exalted, and Then, by the Fatu•ty of their own Counsels, down they Tumble. Wherefore let us Enquire into the Springs, and Reasons of their Fortunes, and Falls; as well as Gaze upon the Issues of them; A timely search into the Grounds of one Rebellion, may prevent another. How the Religious Opposers of the late King advanced themselves against his Sacred Authority, we have already shew'd; be it our business here, to Observe their workings, one upon the other.

To begin with Them that began with Us:⁵⁹ The Presbyterians, having first asserted the Peoples Cause against the Prerogative, and attempting afterward to Establish Themselves, by using Prerogative-Arguments against the People; found it a harder matter to Erect on Aristocracy upon a

57 And Then for compleyning of them.

58 #

59 The Presbyterians ruin'd by their own Arguments.

Popular Foundation, then to subvert a Monarchy upon a Popular Pretense; or to dispose the Multitude (whom they themselves had Declar'd to be the Supreme Power) to lay down their Authority at the Feet of their Servants. In fine, they had great Difficulties to struggle with, and more then they could overcome: (I mean, great Difficulties in point of Interest, and Conduct; for those of Honour and Conscience, they had subdu'd long since) They strove however, till, opprest by a General Hatred, and the Rebouud of their own Reasonings, they Quitted to the Independents.

Thus departed the Formal Bauble,⁶⁰ Presbytery; succeeded, for the next Four years, by the Phanaticisme of a Free-State. The better half of which time, being successfully Employ'd in the subjecting of Scotland, and Ireland to their Power, and Model, and to complete their Tyranny over the Kings Best Subjects, and their Usurpations over his Royal Dominions; their next work was to make themselves Considerable Abroad, and 'twas the Fortune of the Dutch to feel the First proof of That Resolution.

Betwixt these Rivall States pass'd Six Encounters in 1652. most of them Fierce and Bloody,⁶¹ the Last especially, a Tearing one. Upon the whole, the Dutch Lost more, but the English got little, beside the Honour of the Victory; in which particular, the Kingdom pay'd dear for the Reputation of the Common-wealth.

This Success rays'd the Pride and Vanity of the English, so that at next Bout, nothing less would serve them than an Absolute Conquest. But while they are Providing for it, and in the Huff of all their Glory; behold the Dissolution of the Long-Parliament;⁶² which whether it Began or Ended, more to the Satisfaction of the People, is a Point not yet decided.

Dissolved however it is, and Rebuk'd for Corruptions, and Delayes, by Cromwell; who with his Officers, a while after, Summon a new Representative; and Constitute a new Counsell of State, compos'd of Persons entirely disaffected to the Common-wealth. This Little, Ridiculous Convention, thought to have done mighty Matters, but the Plot Vented, and Vanish'd.

Some of their Memorable Fopperies are These;⁶³ The Famous Act concerning Mariages, was theirs; they pass'd likewise an Act for an Assesment of 120000 l. per Mensem; they Voted down the Chancery and Tythes; they Voted also a total Alteration of the Laws.

All of a mind they were not, and for Distinction sake, the company was divided into the Honest Party, and the Godly Party. Of the Former, were Cromwell's Creatures, and of the Other, Barebones; or rather, Harrison; (the Person they had design'd for General, if they could perswade Cromwell to quit his Security for some additional Title of Dignity.) These Zealous Patriots Commonly brought their Bibles into the House with them;⁶⁴ and as I am Enform'd, diverse of them were seeking the Lord with Vavasor Powell, when This following trick was put upon them.

60 England a Free-State.

61 Quarrels with the Dutch.

62 The Long-Parliament dissolved.

63 Barebones Parliament: Their Acts.

64 Their Zeal.

An Hour or two sooner in the morning then usuall, Decemb. 12. he that they call'd their Speaker took the Chayre;⁶⁵ and it was presently Mov'd and Carry'd, (for several Reasons) to re-assign their Power to him from whom they had it;⁶⁶ which was immediately persu'd, and so they made Cromwell a Prince, for making Them a Parliament.

This gracious Resignation produc'd that blessed Instrument of Government, by which the Hypocrite was made Protector; and now forsooth the style is chang'd from The Keepers of the Liberry of England by Authority of Parliament,⁶⁷ into Oliver Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. who was Installed and Sworn, Decemb. 16. 1653.

To his Assistance was Appointed a Counsell of 21. the Quorum, 13.⁶⁸ By whom immediately upon the Death of the Present Protector, should be chosen one to succeed him, (alwayes excepted the Right Line from the choice) 'Tis suppos'd, that Lambert had an eye upon himself in the reach of That Article, and a Particular influence upon the drawing of it, being at That time Popular enough with the Army to hope for any thing. A while after the Establishment of this Traytour, comes forth an Ordinance, Declaring Treasons; and now his Highness thinks himself in the saddle; especially having Beaten the Dutch into One Peace, and Treated the Swede into Another, which were Proclaim'd soon after.

Having run through the Narrative of those Considerable Changes, and Confusions, of Power, which intervned betwixt the Murther of a most Gracious Prince, and the appearing Settlement of an Usurping Tyrant, wee'll make a little stand here, and look behind us.

The two Main Engines that made Cromwell Master of the Army,⁶⁹ were first, The Self-denying Ordinance by which he worm'd out the Presbyterians, and skrew'd in his own Party: The Second, was The Vote of March 19. 1646. for the Disbanding of so many Regiments, and sending Others for Ireland. This Vote was privily procur'd by himself and Ireton: which he foresaw must necessarily enflame the Army: and so it did, never to be reconcil'd.

This Breach was the setting up of Cromwell:⁷⁰ and the Foundation of his succeeding Greatnesse. It was the Impression of That Vote that Buffled, and Purg'd the House in 47. Forced it, in 48. and Dissolv'd it, in 53. after which he call'd Another, that Dy'd Felo de se, and Bequeathed to his Excellency the Government.

Had the Devill himself Destroy'd that Faction, the Nation would have Thank'd him for't; so tis no wonder if his Advance was smooth, and Prosperous: but now Hee's Upp, how to maintein his Power, against a Generall Odium, and Interest; how to get himself forc'd to exchange That Temporary Title of Protector, for the more Stable, Legall, and desirable Name of King, without discovering his Insatiate Longing for it: This is a Point of Mastery, and Cunning; and Possibly the Thing that brake his Heart, was his Despaire to Accomplish it.

65 Their Dissolution.

66 The corruption of a Conventicle, is the Generation of a Protector.

67 Cromwell Installed, and Sworn Protector.

68 A Counsell of one and Twenty.

69 Cromwels Masteries.

70 The Foundation of Cromwels Greatness.

The Faction has already trod the Round of Government; The Lords and Commons, outed the King; the Commons, the Lords; the Multitude, the Commons; (and with the Fate of all Rebellious Courses; seeking Rest, but finding None) At last, up goes the Pageantry of a Monarch, Cromwell; whose Temper, Streights, and Politiques, shall be the Subject of the ensuing Chapter.

CAP. VI.

The Temper, Streights, and Politiques, of Cromwel, during his Protectorship.

THE Character of Th•glorious Rebell, is no further my purpose, then as i• leads to a right Iudgement of his #...# the Confusion of his Adorers.

Of strong Natural Parts,⁷¹ I persw•e my self he was, tho' some think otherwise, •puting all his Advantages to Corruption, or Fortune, (which will not be deny'd however to have concurr'd powerfully to his Greatnesse). Nor do I pretend to collect his Abilities from his Word, any more then the World could his Meaning, save that the more entangled his Discourses were, I reckon them the more Iudicious, because the fitter for his Businesse. His Interest obliging him to a Reserve, for he durst neither clearly Own his Thoughts, nor Totally Disclaime them; the One way endangering his Design, and the Other, his Person. So that the skill of his Part lay in This; neither to be mistaken by his Friends, nor understood by his Enemies. By this middle Course he gain'd Time, to remove Obstacles, and ripen Occasions; which to emprove and follew, was the peculiar Talent of that Monster.

To these enablements to Mischief, he had a Will so prostitute, and prone, that to express him, I must say, He was made up of Craft and Wickednesse; and all his Faculties, nay all his Passions, were Slaves to his Ambition. In fine, he knew no Other measure of Good and Bad, but as things stood in This or That Relation to his Ends; which I the less admire, when I consider that he was brought up in a Presbyterian Schoole: where Honour, Faith, and Conscience, weigh nothing, further then as they subserve to Interest. But enough of This.

In the foregoing Chapter we have Plac'd the Protector in the Chaire, but not the King in the Throne; the Power he has already, but wants the Title; and, which is worse, he dares not offer at it, being equally affray'd to own his Longing, or to misse it. In This Distraction of Thought, his Ielousie joyns with his Ambition; Sollicitous on the One hand for his Family, and on the Other for his Safety. For his Family, in point of Grandeur, and for his Safety Thus.

After his Death,⁷² according to the Instrument, the Counsell is to chuse a Successour, and whoever gapes to be the One, is supposed to wish for the Other; which probably they had rather hasten, then wait for: So that This Miserable creature being peyned, betwixt the Hazard either of enlarging his Power or having it thus dependent, and the disdein of seeing it limited, enters into a restlesse suspicion

71 Cromwels Character.

72 Cromwell Jelous of his Counsell.

of his Counsell, and no way to be quieted but by depressing Those that Rays'd him. So much for the first Difficulty, a Second follows.

His Design had These Three Grand Enemies.⁷³ The Royallists, The Presbyterians, and the Common-wealths-Men: the Last of which compos'd the Grosse of his Army; whom he had so inured to the Gust of Popularity, and Freedom, and so enflam'd against the Tyranny of King-ship, that the bare Change of the word Common-weath, to Kingdom, had been enough to have cast all into a Revolt.

These were the main Impediments of his Majesty that would be; and now wee'll touch upon the Shifts and Tricks his Highness us'd to Remove them.

Cromwell having squander'd away his Mony,⁷⁴ and taking occasion from the Salisbury Rising in 1654. to Squeeze the Cavaliers for more; Kills two Birds with one Stone, by Commissioning some of those Persons which he most apprehended in his Counsell, to do his work: whom under the Name of Major-Generals, and with a Power at Liberty, (doubtless foreseeing how they would abuse it) he places as Governours over the Several Counties. These he employes to Levy his barbarous Decimation, which when they had done, and by a Thousand Insolencies enraged the People, he layes them aside;⁷⁵ being now become, of the most Popular of the Party, the most Abominated Creatures of the Nation.

Touching the Royallists,⁷⁶ no good for him was to be hop'd for There, but by Gaols, Exile, Selling them for Slaves, Famishings, or Murther: all which was abundantly provided for, by Sequestrations, Pretended Plots, High-Courts of Iustice, Spyes, Decoyes, &c. Nay (for the very Dispatch sake) when they should resolve upon the Massacre, (which beyond doubt they meant us) No Cavalier must be allow'd so much as the least piece of Defensive Arms, by an Order of Nov. 24. 1655.

No Person suffer'd to keep in his house as Chaplain or School-Master, any Sequestred or Ejected Minister, Fellow of a Colledge, or School-Master, nor suffer his Children to be taught by such. Nor any Person of that Quality must be permitted to Teach a Schoole, either Publique, or Private; Nor Preach, but in his Own Family, nor Administer the Sacraments, nor Marry, nor use the Common-Prayer book, &c.

This was the only Party the Rebels fear'd and R•in'd; but for the Presbyterians they knew they'd never Ioyn to help the King; and single they were inconsiderable.

The Common-wealths Men finally contented themselves with the Name of a Common-wealth, under the Exercise of a Single Person; so that by This Method of Engaging one Party, conniving at another, and crushing the Third: This Tyrant gave himself the Means and Leisure to fortifie his Interests some other way.

He had already try'd a Parliament of his own Call;⁷⁷ that met, Septemb. 3. 1654. Five or Six dayes are spent in dangerous Debates about the Government, and the Authority by which they are Convened. This, Oliver did not like, and sent them an Appointment to meet him (on the 12.) in the •ainted

73 And of his Army.

74 Oliver erects Major Generals, and then fools them.

75 #

76 The Persecution of the Cavaliers.

77 Cromwells T••• of the Ho•se.

Chamber: where discoursing the Reciprocal ties betwixt Him and his Parliament; The Fundamentals of the Government, as to a Single Person; the Succession of Parliaments; their mutual Interest in the Militia; and Liberty of Conscience; and that These Particulars they were Entrusted to maintain; concluded, that finding a Design among them to overthrow That Settlement, he was necessitated to appoint a Recognition, for every Man to sign, before he could be re-admitted into the House; which Recognition was as follows.

I A. B. do hereby Promise and Engage my self to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector,⁷⁸ and the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland: and that according to the Tenure of the Indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in This Present Parliament; I will not propose, or give my consent to alter the Government, as it is settled in one Single Person and a Parliament.

This was no Conventicle for Cromwells Turn; so that after Five Months sitting, This Puppet of a Prince did formally dissolve it, in hope the next might use him better.

His Credit though but small at Home, had better lack abroad; The Dutch, the Swede, and then the French, entred a League with him, and the effect of this Conjunction hasten'd his Ruine. I must not overslip that One Condition with the French, was the Extrusion of our Gracious Sovereign,⁷⁹ with his Adhaerents, out of the French Kings Dominions.

Flush'd with Successe, and Vanity, nothing lesse serves us now, then the Spaniards part of the West-Indies. By whose advice, it matters not; but in Decemb. 1654. a Considerable Fleet sets Sail from Ports-Mouth,⁸⁰ and about mid-April, 1655. arrives at St. Domingo; Briefly, the Voyage was disastrous, and those that Scap'd the Fate of That Attempt, dispos'd their After-game for Iamaica.⁸¹ To Ballance This disgrace, Blake made amends at Tunis, firing Nine Frigates in the Port Ferino, and came off fair at last.

Olivers next design was to intercept the Plate-Fleet;⁸² and within four Leagues of the Bay of Cadiz, the English engaged eight Galcons, whereof only One Scap'd, Two were Taken, and the Rest Sunk, Burnt, or Stranded: This disappointment to the Spaniard was a bitter one, and the Success as seasonable to the English; Yeelding them both a Prodigious Booty, and a Dreadful Reputation. But these Successes were to Cromwell, as a good hand or Two to a Young Gamester; only Temptations to a Course will ruine him.

While These Exploits were driving on, Abroad, Others were in the Forge at Home. Here, to gain Love; There, Awe, and Credit, with as much Mony toward the Purchase as the Fates pleas'd. Upon the Royallists, his Flatteries wrought little, as being a Party mov'd neither by Security, nor Profit, (where the Kings Interest was the Question) Both which, they freely Sacrificed in their first Dutifull engagement with him: and to the last, stood firme, through the whole course of Olivers most furious Extremities. But other Instruments there were, of a more tractable, and complying Temper; and These, forsooth, (Ten, Twenty perhaps, in a County) worshipp'd the Golden Calfe, and in the Name of the

78 The Recongition.

79 #

80 Cromwells design upon Sr. Domingo, Disa••rous.

81 Blake makes amends at Tunis.

82 His Success against the Plate-Fleet near the Bay of Cadiz.

People of England, Addressed, Congratulated, [engaged themselves to stand by and assist him to the Uttermost,⁸³ in the discharge of the Trust which so remarkably was devolved upon him.]⁸⁴ This is the Style of that from Bucks.

To These Appearances of a General good-liking,⁸⁵ were added the Conjoynt-endeavours of his Dependents, and Allies; which being Numerous in Truth, and Considerable by Employment, gave no small Succour and Support, to his Ambitious Project, and Tottering Greatness. As by the Influence they had upon the Iuncto, in Sep. 1656. more eminently appear'd: consisting of near 100 Military Officers, 40 or 50 of his Allies, Domestiques, and Particular Creatures; (I speak the Least) beside their Seconds: A mixture there was likewise of certain Persons truly Honourable, but divers being excluded, and the Rest over-voted, Their Interest came to Nothing.

These were no strangers to their Masters Pleasure, and what That was, may be collected from the Votes they Passed to please him. The Main were These.

1. An Act for Renouncing and Annulling the Title of Charles Stuart to the Three Kingdomes.⁸⁶
2. For the Securing of the Protectours Person, and Preserving the Peace of the Nation.

3. The Humble Petition and Advice.] Wherein was plentifully provided whatever might conduce to his Establishment, the most Material Points being These following. (Only Protectour should have been King, if he had pleas'd.)

1. That under the Name and Stile of Lord Protectour,⁸⁷ &c. He should in his Life time Declare his Successour, and Govern according to the Petition and Advice, in matters therein express'd, and in other things according to the Law of the Land.

2. That he would call Parliaments for the Future, Consisting of Two Houses, &c.—and Triennial at least:

3. That the Quorum of the Other House be One and Twenty,⁸⁸ and the Number not above Seventy, Nominated by his Highness, and Approved by That House.

4. That the Quorum of his Privy Counsell,⁸⁹ be Seaven, and the Number not exceeding One and Twenty: and that sitting the Parliament, the Standing Forces of This Common-wealth be disposed of by the chief Magistrate, with the Consent of Both Houses; and in the Intervals, by advice of his Counsell.

5. That a Constant yearly Revenue of Thirteen-Hundred-Thousand Pounds be forthwith Settled,⁹⁰ and no Part thereof to be Rays'd by a Land-Taxe: a Million of This Mony, for the Navy and Army;

83 Addresses.

84 #

85 Olivers Kindred stood his Friends.

86 #

87 The Petition and Advice To Declare his Successour.

88 ### Other House.

89 Privy Counsel.

90 Revenue.

the Rest, for the Support of the Government: Other Temporary Supplies being left to the Judgement of the House of Commons.

6. That all That ever serv'd the King Loyally,⁹¹ and Constantly, be made Incapable for ever of any Office or Place of Trust in any of the Three Nations. The Rest is Formality.

To these Propositions, his Highness AMEN, is not to be doubted, and in Form, May 25. 1657. The LORD PROTECTOR doth CONSENT.

Here's in the First, his Family Secur'd. In the Second, his Interest; (One House consisting of his own Creatures). In the Fourth, the Standing-Army is his own; (that is, in the Intervals of Parliaments, which he can Dissolve at Pleasure). In the Fifth, a Revenue proposed; and Lastly, his Enemies cast at his Feet.

On the Day following (Iune 26.) was presented an Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice: Desiring,

That Forty and One Commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or any Five of them, shall be Authorized to examine the Capacities of Members to be chosen into Future Parliaments, and every unqualify'd Member to forfeit a Thousand Pounds, and suffer Imprisonment till he Pay it.]

The Forms of Several Oathes are likewise offered; to be taken by the Protector, his Counsell, and Members of Parliament; and, his Highness is further desired to Issue forth his Summons in due form of Law to such as he should think fit to Call to his Other House.⁹²To all which—The LORD PROTECTOR doth CONSENT.

Diverse Bills his Highness pass'd, that his People scarce Thank'd him for; Mony-Bills very many, and so the Thing was adjourn'd till the Twentieth of Ian. next.

But we must not forget the Solemn Investiture of the Protector, by Authority of Parliament, (forsooth) and yet we must not make the Bauble Proud neither, by saying too Much on't.

The Foolery was perform'd in Westminster Hall,⁹³ where his Highness was Presented with a Coat: to wit, a Robe of Purple Velvet, Lin'd with Ermins: A Bible, Guilt, and Bossed: A Sword: and Lastly, a Scepter of Massive Gold. When he was Girt, and Vested, he lift up his eyes to Heaven, and took an Oath, (not the first he had broken by many a Thousand) which being dispatch'd, Mr. Manton consecrated the Independent Foppery with a Presbyterian Blessing; after which his Highness being Publish'd, and Proclaim'd, the Comedy concluded.

Put Comedy and Mr. Manton will Scarce agree in the same Period:⁹⁴ and why? Let us Expostulate. Does not a Counterfeit, or a Mimique better become a Stage, then a Pulpit? or is it not as Lawfull to see Honest Lacy play a siniveling Schismaticque, as a Perfidious, bloody Traytour to sustain the Person of a Gracious Prince? Yet Here his Holyness Acts his Part himself; (or in the Gibbrish of the Brethren) performes the Duty of the Day: Pronouncing a Blessing upon the horrid, and Ridiculous Spectacle.

91 Cavaliers incapable of Office.

92 #

93 Cromwell Installed Protector.

94 #

Say Mr. Manton: did not you know that Cromwell was an Imp•stour;⁹⁵ and that the Purple Robe he ware, belong'd not to his Shoulders? How as a Minister of the Gospell then, could you Officiate to such a piece of Pageantry? It minds me of Mazarins Kinsman, that upon a Good-Friday in Derision Crucified a Frog.

You knew moreover, that he was a Murtherer,⁹⁶ and an Usurper, and that the Gawdy Bible then before him, was but to him the Book he Conjur'd by. How as a Christian could you own the Augury? You'd scarce have ventur'd to Baptize the Infant of an Unbeliever, that were so Prodigal of your Charity toward This Monster.

Further; You knew Whose Bloud he had Spilt,⁹⁷ Whose Rights he Usurp'd; and that the Murther'd Father, and his injur'd Successour, were Both YOUR SOVEREIGNS: The Ceremonial Sword and Scepter likewise You knew the meaning of. How as a Subject then could you submit to Countenance so Undutiful an Undertaking?

Lastly;⁹⁸ You knew that the Design was (in Truth u•terly Atheistique, but in shew) Independent. How as a Presbyterian could you Agree to't?

For All This now may you Thank your self Sir. 'Tis True, you did Exceeding well, on the late Fast, to reckon Drunkenness, and Prophaneness among Those Crying Sins that draw God's Judgements upon a People, and Earnestly to presse a Reformation. Nay more, I do here publicly confess my self not absolutely Free from those Distempers, which (not to cast either upon Good-Nature or Complexion) I am both Sorry for, and Asham'd of.

But, I beseech you, how come Playes into the Rang of these Provoking Sins? Or, what does Histriomastix in the Pulpit? [The Theaters (it seems) are so Throng'd with Coaches, your Greatness can scarce pass the Streets: Those Temples of Satan, &c.] Good Sir! and what would you now have the world believe of Those that Frequent Them? But your pleasure is known. Is not This, Lashing of a Party, under the disguise of taxing a Vice? or Certainly, 'tis a Strange Conscience, that adores Catiline in a State,⁹⁹ and Scruples him upon a Stage.

Would not a Whip on the Other hand do well sometimes?

I would go Five Miles barefoot to hear you Preach, that the first War in 1642. Rays'd by the LORDS, and COMMONS was a REBELLION. Let me Entreat you, if you Think so, Say so; and so adieu.

It must not be supposed that the first Tender of the Petition and Advice under the R•gall Stile,¹⁰⁰ was without Cromwels Privity, and Liking; and beyond doubt, the Title was a Bait he Lick'd his Lips at: but the Old Fox durst not Bite; and he had Reason to be shy, finding how great a Flame the first Bruit

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100 Oli•er durst not take upon him the Title of King.

of the Proposition had Rays'd among the Sectaries:¹⁰¹ That very Ninth of Aprill, when a Committee was appointed, to treat his Highness Scruples into a Satisfaction, being design'd for a Tumultuary Attempt upon his Government; and divers of the Plotters apprehended.

'Twas This,¹⁰² that put the Gentleman to his Hums and Haws; that makes him Sick to day, Late to morrow, Busie the next; and when he speaks, Chewes false,¹⁰³ or utter Oracles# all these put-offs, tending only to gain Time, to find how the Tide serves, and Taste how the Proposall Relishes. At Last, the Crafty Sir, fearing the distance too wide for a single Step, resolves rather to make Two on't; and to content himself at present to be Install'd Protector, with such Additional Powers as were then offer'd leaving the Complement of his Regality to the next meeting.

During the Prorogation,¹⁰⁴ Cromwell patch'd up his Other House, who took their seats (the Term of the Adjournment being expir'd) in the Lords House. Such Peers they were, as in good Truth the Commons were not only asham'd of, but gall'd to see the Affront they had done Themselves,¹⁰⁵ by their own Follies in permitting them. Some few there were of Quality, and Moderation, Whose Names were only mix'd to Grace the Rabble.

And now forsooth the Mushroom-Fops begin to talk of Dignities and Privileges.¹⁰⁶ Prodigious Impudence and Folly!—Two of These Fellows, Pride, and Berkstead quarrell'd upon the Bench at Hicks his Hall, about the meaning of [the PREAMBLE that went AFTER.]

The Commons (though a little late) resented the Indignity of Truckling under such Cattell,¹⁰⁷ and not enduring an Upper-House so like a Bear-Garden, they presently took in their formerly Secluded Fellowes, and fell to work upon the Authority of That New Creation, not sparing His that Plac'd them there. This course would soon have bred ill blood; and Cromwell, after 15 Dayes tryall of their Humour, did Prudently Dissolve them.

From that Degree of Confidence, to Fall beyond Ressource, and from That point of Power, to become Ridiculous; did but demonstrate to him the Vanity of his Ambitious Hopes, and that he aym'd at Things Impossible.

Of all the Cross-Encounters of his life,¹⁰⁸ This sank the Deepest, and the Impression of That Anguish, went with him to his Grave; as may be fairly Gather'd from the wild disproportion of his following Actions: which, well consider'd, will appear rather the Products of Revenge, Rage, and Despair, then the form'd, Regular Polittiques of his wonted Reason.

Yet that he might not seem to abandon the persuit, and utterly despond; some Five weeks after the breaking up of the late Assembly, The Maior of London and his Brethren were summon'd to White

101 For fear of the Sectaries.

102 His Reserve.

103 And the Reasons of it.

104 Olivers Other House.

105 Enraged the Commons.

106 The new Peers.

107 The Commons pick a Quarrell with the Other House.

108 Olivers heartbreaking cross.

Hall,¹⁰⁹ and there (March 2. 1658.) the Citts are told a Formal Tale of the King of Scots; 8000 Men in Readiness, and 22 Vessels to Transport them. A General Plot, The City to be fired, and twenty Terrible Things, to start and Settle a New Militia, which in some Six weeks time was perfected.

And Now from all Parts are to be procur'd Addresses: which are no other then Leagues Offensive, and Defensive Betwixt the Faction, and the Usurper.

Sweet London leads the way;¹¹⁰ Then, Michell's, Ashfields, Cobbetts Regiments: The Officers of the English Army; and the Commission-Officers in Flanders. All these in March.

In April the Officers of Biscoes Regiment: and the Commission Officers of the Militia in Suffolk, Leicester, Sussex, and my Country-men of Norwich. After These, follow the Souldiery of South-Wales, and Daniels Regiment. The Well-affected of Notingham, &c.

These Numerous and Pretending Applications, were but False Glosses upon his Power; and Cromwell was too wise to think them Other: Gain'd by Contrivement, Force, or at least, Importunity. Half a Score pitiful wretches call themselves the People of such or such a County, and here's the Totall of the Reckoning. 'Tis Rumour'd that his Daughter Cleypoole, in the Agonies of her Death-Sickness rang him a Peal that troubled him. Whether 'twere so, or no, 'tis past Dispute, his Grand Distress was for the Losse of That which while he hop'd to gain, made the most horrid of his helpful Sins, seem Solaces and Pleasures.

While by the Artifice of These Addresses, his broken Interest is pieced as Fair as well it may, his Care is Divided between the engaging of One Party, and the Destroying of Another. And under the Masque of a pressing and Pious Necessity, he breaks out into such Enormous Cruelties,¹¹¹ such Wanton, and Conceited Butcheries, that, had not his Brain been Crackt, as well as his Conscience Sear'd, he would not have gone so Phantastical a way to the Devill. Some of the Martyrs Hearts were quick and Springing in the Fire, (as I had it from several Ey-Witnesses). Ashton did but desire to be Beheaded, and it was seemingly Granted, but the Order kept till 'twas too late, and Then tendered with a Ieere.

London was made the Altar for These Burnt-Offrings: God grant That City be not at last purg'd by Fire, (I mean, before the General Conflagration) for Those Polluting Flames. The Crime was Loyalty,¹¹² and made out against them, more by the doubling Artifice of Mercenary Tongues, than any Pregnancy of Proofes.

What could This Furious and Inhumane Rigour avail That miserable Politician, further then as it Gratifi'd his Malice, and Revenge, for his Lost Hopes, and Fortunes! Without a Parliament, or somewhat like one, he Perishes for want of Mony; and an Assembly to his mind throughout, he utterly despayres of: so that no Remedy remains, but by extremities of Violence and Bloud to do his Business. And to That end, he faintly labours the new Modelling of his Army, a way, which he had found by Long Experience, made Enemies, as well as Friends: Those certain, and Implacable; These, prone

109 He Fools the City of London.

110 Addresses.

111 Barbarous Cruelties.

112 #

to change their Interest, and without Mony, True to None. In fine, his Fate was Irresistible. and his Tormented Soul Inconsolable. He Sinks, Sickens, and Dies: Upon the Day of his grand Anniversary,¹¹³ for Dunbar, and Worcester, (Sept. 3.)

The Night before his Death, arose a Tempest, that seem'd to signifie the Prince of the Ayre had some great work in hand: and 'tis Remarquable, that during his Usurpation, scarce any Eminent Action pass'd without a furious Storm.¹¹⁴

I have drawn This Chapter to a length beyond my intention, and should be too too Tedious to run through all his Wiles, which were No other then an Habitual Craft, diffused throughout the entire Course of his Tyranny. But certain General rules he impos'd upon himself, which must not be omitted.

One was,¹¹⁵ to Buy Intelligence at any Rate, by That means making every Plot bear it's own Charges.

2. Never to Engage Two Parties at once; but to Flatter, and Formalize with the One, till he Ruin'd the Other: Which was the Reason that he durst never make the Presbyterians Desperate, for fear of Necessitating them to side with the King.

3. To extirpate the Royallists by all possible means, as Poverty, Bondage, Executions, Transplantations; and a Device he had to dispose of several Levies, out of That Party, Some to serve the Spaniard, Others the French, that they might be sure to meet in Opposition, and cut One the Others Throats.

4. He ever made his Army his own Particular Care.

5. To keep the Nation in a perpetual Hatred, and Iealousie of the Kings Party; which he promoted either by forging of Plots, or Procuring Them.

So much for Olivers Temper, Streights, and Politiques.

CAP. VII.

A short Account from the Death of the Tyrant Oliver, to the Return of Charles the Second, (whom God Preserve from his Fathers Enemies.)

THE Heart of the Cause was broken long since, and now the Soul of it is gone; though the Protectorate be formally devolv'd to Richard, as the Declar'd Successour to his Father. Whether Declar'd, or not, was (I remember) at That time a Question. But whether Thus or So, it Matters not.

113 Cromwels Death.

114 #

115 Olivers Maximes.

Oliver's Dead, his Son Proclam'd, and at night Bon-fires, with all the Clamor, Bustle, and Confusion that commonly attends those Vulgar Jollities. The Souldiours took the Alarm, and in my hearing threatned divers for daring to express their Joy so unseasonably: but they came off with telling them that they were glad they had got a New Protector, not that they had lost the Old. In Truth, the New Protector was look'd upon as a Person more Inclinable to do Good, than Capable to do Mischief, and the Exchange welcome, to all that Lov'd his Majesty.

By the Court-Interest (as they call'd it,) Addresses thick and threefold were brought in, to Condole, and Gratulate; but Those Complements had no Sap in them: The Dutch, the Swede, and the French, sent their Embassadors on the same Errand. And now the Funerals come on; A Solemn, and Expensive Pageantry; yet, in my Conscience, the Chief-Mourners were his Highness Drapers.

These Ceremonies over, to keep the Wheel in Motion, a Supply was Resolv'd upon for the King of Swede, and little further of Moment, before Jan. 27. When (in the Language of the Time) met Richards Parliament. The First, and Last of his Reign.

It cost These people some time to agree the Powers of the Chief-Magistrate,¹¹⁶ and the New Peerage, which came to this result, that Richard should be Recognized; but with limitations, consistent with the Rights of Parliament, and People: and that for quiet sake [they would transact with the Persons then sitting in the Other House, as an House of Parliament during that Session.]

The House proceeded by Degrees to make dangerous Inspections into the Militia, the Revenue; to look into the Exorbitances of Major Generals, to threaten the Excise; and finally, by all Popular pretenses, to engage the Multitude; Effectually against both Protector and Army, enduring the Government neither of the One, nor of the Other.

Whereupon, the Officers set up a Counsel at Wallingford-House, the Protector advises at White-hall, and April 6. 1659. comes a Paper to Richard from the Generall Counsell of Officers, Entitled, A Representation and Petition, &c. importing, [the great danger of Good Old Cause is in, from Enemies of all sorts, the Poverty of the Souldiery; the Persecution of Tender consciences, &c. which Particulars they Petition his Highnesse to represent to the Parliament, with their Desire of Speedy Supply, and Certainty of Pay for the future: Declaring likewise their Resolution, with their Lives and Fortunes to stand by, and assist his Highness and Parliament, in the plucking the Wicked out of their places wheresoever they may be discovered, &c.]

The Paper boded a Purge, at least, Sign'd it was by 230 Officers, presented by Fleetwood; Publish'd throughout the Army, and followed soon after with a Day of Humiliation: (the never-failing Sign of Mischief at hand.)

In this Juncture,¹¹⁷ Each of the Three Parties was Enemy to the Other Two, saving where Either Two were united to Maintain themselves against the Third: and All Three of Them Enemies to the Good of the Nation.

The House being Biass'd for a Common-wealth, and not yet enabled to go Through with it, Dreaded the Army on the one hand, and Hated the Single-Person on the Other.

116 Richard Recognized upon condition.

117 Each of the Three Parties Enemy to the Other Two.

Richard, finding his Power limited by the Members, and Envy'd by the Officers, willing to please Both, and Resolv'd to Hazzard nothing, becomes a Common Property to the House and Army; a Friend to Both by Turns; Theirs to day, T' others to Morrow, and in all Tryals Meekly submitting to the Dispensation.

The Army on the other side had their Protector's Measure to a Hair;¹¹⁸ and behind him they Stalk'd to Ruffle That Faction in the House, that was now grown so Bold with the Military Interest: and it behov'd them to be quick, with (as the Case stood Then) so Popular an Enemy.

The Members kept their Ground, and April 18. pass'd These following Votes.

First,¹¹⁹ That, during the sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Counsell, or meeting of the Officers of the Army without Direction, Leave, and Authority of his Highnesse the Lord Protector, and Both Houses of Parliament.

Secondly, That no Person shall Have and Continue any Command, or Trust in any of the Armies, or Navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to Subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament, of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedom in their Debates and Counsels.

Upon These Peremptory Votes, Richard Faces about, joyning his small Authority, to forbid their Meetings; and great Assurances are Enterchang'd, to stand the Shock of any Opposition.

Two or three dayes they stood upon their Guards, continuing in that sharling Posture,¹²⁰till April 22. when Richard at the suit (or rather menace) of Disborough and his Fellows, signes a Commission to Dissolve his Parliament; which to prevent, the Members Adjourn for Three dayes; and to avoid the shame of falling by an Enemy, th• Catoe's kill themselves. For at the Three dayes end, they finde the Dore shut# and a Guard upon the Passage, to tell them, They must Sit no more; Their Dissolution being also Published by Proclamation.

His Highness steps aside next;¹²¹and now the Army undertakes the Government. They Modell, Cast about, Contrive, and, after some Ten Dayes fooling with the Politiques, they found it was much a harder matter to Compose a Government, than to Disorder it, and at This Plunge, besought the Lord [after their Wandrings and Back slidings,¹²²to shew them where they turned out of the Way, and where the Good Spirit left the Good Old Cause, that through Mercy they might Return and give the Lord the Glory.

At last, they call to mind, that the Long Parliament sitting from 1648. to 1653. were eminent Assert•urs of that Cause, and had a Speciall Presence of God with them:¹²³ Wherefore they Earnestly desire Those Members to Return to the Exercise, of their Trust, &c.—]

118 The Army Ruffles the House.

119 The House Opposes the Army.

120 Richard dissolves his Parliament.

121 And is laid aside himself.

122 The Army acknowledge their backslidings.

123 And invite the old Parliament to sit again.

This is the Tenor of that Canting Declaration, which the Army-Officers presented Lenthall (the Good-Old-Speaker) with, at the Rolls, May 6. in the Evening; where a Resolve was taken by several of the Members, to meet next morning in the Painted Chamber, and There to advise about their Sitting.

They met accordingly,¹²⁴ and made a shift, by Raking of Goals, to get together a Quorum, and so they sneak'd into the House of Commons, and There Declar'd for a Common-wealth, passing a Vote expresly against the Admission of the Members, Secluded in 1648.

This Device was far-fetch'd, and not long-liv'd, but These were Old Stagers, and no ill Menagers of their Time.

To make short; they Erect a Counsel of State, Place, and Displace; mould their Faction; settle the Godly, appoint their Committees, and so soon as ever they are Warm in their Gears, begin, where they left in 1653; Fleecing the Nation, and Flaying the Cavaliers, as briskly, as if 'twere but the GoodMorrow to a Six-Years Nap.

But the sad Wretches were filthily mistaken, to think Themselves brought in again to do their own Business; for the Army makes bold to Cut them out their work in a Petition of May 12. containing 15. Proposals, desiring,

First;¹²⁵ a Free-state.] 2. R•gulation of Law and Courts.] 3. An Act of Oblivion, since April 19. 1653.] 4. All Lawes, &c. since 1653. to stand good untill particularly Repeal'd.] 5. Publique Debts since 1653. to be Paid.] 6. Liberty of Worship, &c. not extending to Popery or Prelacy.] 7. A Preaching Ministry.] 8. The Reformation of Schools, and Universities.] 9. the Exclusion of Cavaliers, and loose Persons from Places of Power, or Trust.] 10. The Employment of the Godly in such Places.] 11. To provide for a Succession of the Legislative Authority.] 12. That Charles Fleetwood be Commander in Chief at Land.] 13. That the Legislative Power be in a Representative of the People; and of a Select Senate, Coordinate in Power.] 14. That the Executive-Power, be in a Counsell of State.] 15. That the Debts of his Late Highness, and his Father, contracted since Decemb. 15. 1653. may be satisfi'd, and Twenty Thousand Pounds per Annum settled upon him, half for Life, and half to him and his Heirs for ever.

The Principal point was Fleetwoods Command, which they agreed to; only reserving the Supreme Power to Themselves, and constituting the Speaker, Generalissimo; in the Name of the Parliament: which waryness shewed that they understood one-another.

For a while, the Iuncto treated the Army like Apes, with a Bit and a Knock, Flattering some and Removing others, as they saw expedient: Particularly the Two Sonnes of the Late Usurper, were fairly laid aside, Submitting and Resigning in Excellent Form, and without making two words on't.

The High and Mighty did not, all this time, forget, that the Key of the Work, was Money; nor in Truth did they well consider, that they were call'd back by the Army only to Raise it. But On they went through Thick and Thin, and such Ignoble, sordid Courses they took to Levy it, that, in Effect, to Stop the Souldiers Mouths, they brake their own Necks; the Nation not enduring any Longer that such a pilfering Covy of Pick-Pockets should call Themselves a sarliament.

124 The Rump.

125 #...#

This Universal Hatred, and Disdeign of Their Proceedings, provok'd a General •eizure of Men, Horse, and Armes: and in Effect, the Plot was General; but what by Treachery; Delays; Babbling; Disappointments; and Scruples of taking in the Royal Party, (by those that never meant His Majesty, or his Friends should be the better for't) the whole was Dash'd.

I well remember one Particular, in That Transaction, that pass'd my Understanding, and Methought smelt of Treason. It was extremely labour'd, that the King might be perswaded to come Over; and That too, before any Port was Secured, or Men Embod'y'd, on the bare hopes of the Design, to engage his Sacred Person.

After the Cheshire-Rout, Lambert Retires to his House at Craven, and there ('tis thought) centrikes the Ruine of the Rump. Which unforeseeing Creature, (dreaming of nothing Less) flies higher now then ever,¹²⁶ Imposing upon the House, and the Militia, an Oath of Abjuration, not only Renouncing the Title of Charles Stuart, but the whole Line of the Late King James. And then besides Excise, Customs, Forfeitures, and Confiscations, out comes an Assesment of 100000 l. per Mensem. They dis-incorporate the City of Chester, &c.—

In the Carier of their head-strong,¹²⁷ and unbridled Fury, the first Check they receiv'd, was from a Petition and Proposals then on foot in Lamberts Army. Whereupon they Order Ashfield, Cobbet, and Duckenfield, (Three of the Principal Abettours of it) to bring in the Original Paper, which was accordingly done, and Caus'd this Vote, That to have any more General Officers in the Army, than are already settled by Parliament, is needless, chargeable and dangerous to the Common-wealth.

Upon this Vote, the Officers appear'd to acquiesce; but Octob. the 5. Matters were re-enforced, Disborough presenting the House with a Representation, and Petition, from the General Counsell of the Army. For which, from the Teeth outwards, the Officers had Thanks.

The Conventicle and the Army began now to speak English, and the Members seeing their Dissolution at hand, however cast This Block in the Armies way; Enacting, That it should be adjudg'd High-Treason for any Person or Persons after the Eleventh of Octob. 1659. to Raise Monies without the Peoples Consent in Parliament.

This being passed; They Uncommission'd Nine of the Army-Officers; to wit, Lambert, Disborough, Berry, Kelley, Ashfield, Cobbett, Creed, Packer, and Barrow. They voyded Fleetwoods Commission also, Investing the Command of the Army in Seven Persons, himself being one, and any Three to be a Quorum.

Hereupon the House adjourns, and Hazelrigg, Morly and Walton (Three of the Seaven) repair to the Speakers Chamber, forthwith dispatching Orders to Draw their Troupes together. The Army-Party do the like, and March to the Palace-Yard at Westminster, (their Appointed Rendezvouz) where The Two Parties for That Night and part of the next day made Faces at One-another;¹²⁸ and finally, the Souldiery dismiss'd the Senate.

126 The Factio• fli•s high.

127 The Rump and the Army Clash.

128 The Rump thrown out.

Now was the Government once again in the Army; who after Thirteen dayes deliberation how to bestow it,¹²⁹ Octob. 26. Disposed of it to a Committee of Safety, consisting of 23 Persons: Empower'd at Large; to advise upon Occasion with the Principal Officers of the Army; and within Six-weeks time, to bring in a Form of Government. Their Reign was short, and Troublesome; as 'tis reported, Feak told Sir Harry Vane upon his Uction, that his was like to be. They make Fleetwood their Commander in Chiefe, and constitute a New Militia.

Scarce were these Worthies warm in their Seats, but the News comes that Scotland's in Disorder, and Barwick in a wrong hand. Whereupon Lambert marches Northward; soon after which, comes on a Treaty, that gave General Monk (now Duke of Albemarle) leisure to purge his Army,¹³⁰ and to put Scotland in a Posture of Security. By These Delayes, and want of Monys, Lambert's Army Moulders away; and briefly London is left so Thinn, that Sir Harry Vane's Privy List of Congregationals was the danger they most Apprehended.

The first step toward their Deliverance, was a Petition desiring the Assistance of the Common-Counsell for the Procurement of a Free-Parliament: Promoted by the Honest-Part of the City, and Cross'd by some Factious Magistrates of the Wallingford Leaven.

This Battle did but more Incense the Petitioners,¹³¹ and upon Monday, Decemb. 5. Horse and Foot were Commanded into the City to hinder the prosecution of it. Where, by surprize, Hewson the Cobler knocks Two or Three Citizens on the head, barbarously wounding and Affronting Others, till at last, Multitudes being drawn together, and ready to fall in among them (where not a Red-Cote could have scap'd without a Miracle) the Quarrel, forsooth, was taken up by some of the Formalities, and then excus'd, to the Committee of Safety, as if the fault had been the Cities. The Army had at This time their Guards in Pauls, and Gresham-College.

During These Broyles,¹³² Hazelrigg, Morly, and Walton, possess themselves of Portsmouth, and the Forces employ'd to reduce it, joyn with them. The Fleet drives the same Interest likewise: only the Troupes in London were at a stand, and fair for any Purchaser, but the Opportunity was slipp'd.

Upon the 26. of Decemb.¹³³ the Rump sits once again, and Empowers Seaven Commissioners, or any Three of them, to Command the Army; Here, the Secluded Members of 1648. put in for their Right of Sitting; whereupon a Vote is pass'd for taking the Case of Absent Members into Consideration, upon the fifth of January next; and upon the Day appointed, they Resolve, That the Members Discharg'd from Voting, or Sitting in 1648. and 49. do stand duly Discharg'd by Iudgement of Parliament, and that Writs do Issue forth for New in their Places.

And now They think their Game Cocksure, having already Voted the Disbanding of Lambert's Army; Setled their Counsell of One-and Thirty; and Offer'd Grace to the Revolted Officers, (Lambert

129 The Army settles a Committee of Safety.

130 General M. Secures Scotland.

131 Hewsons Insolence toward the City.

132 Hazelrigg seizes Portsmouth.

133 The Rump sits again.

himself, by Name) that would lay down before the Ninth of January;¹³⁴ whereupon, Lamberts Forces disperse, He himself submits, and the General receives an Invitation to London.

In Conclusion, after Many Indignities cast upon the Honest Part of the Nation, for desiring a Free-Parliament, by That wretched Conventicle, that intended only to Perpetuate it self; The General arrives at London, Feb. 3. and upon the 7. comes out the 100000 l. Tax,¹³⁵ which produced a Common-Counsell the day following to advise upon it: where it was Resolv'd, To adhere to a former Vote of the Court in the Negative. This Refusall puzzled the Counsell of State, who without being Masters of the City, and of Mony, were able to do little; so that they forthwith Order'd the Reducing of the City, by Emprisoning half a Score of their Citizens; and,¹³⁶ upon another Denyall, to take away their Posts, and Chains, and destroy their Gates and Portcullisses; which was accordingly Executed, but with such Regret, that thereupon they lodg'd the Government of the Army in Five Commissioners, (the General being One) with Evident Design to wipe him of his Employment. But Their Ingratitude wrought little with him, whose Actions were only steer'd by the Compass of Loyalty and Prudence. So that having humour'd the People at Westminster, till they had made themselves sufficiently Odious, and abundantly try'd the Affections of the City to his Design in hand: Upon the 11 of Feb. he gave the House to understand the Necessity of their timely Dissolution, in order to the right of Successive Parliaments; the very hopes of which Release gave the People a Joy, to the Degree of Madness.

Upon the 21.¹³⁷ were re-admitted the Secluded Members of 1648. by whom were Writs Issued out for a Representative, to meet upon the 25. of April 1660. and March 16. 1659. they formally Dissolve themselves, Committing the Government in that Interval, to a Counsell of State. Upon the day Appointed, the Convention meets, but not altogether so Leaven'd as by the Qualifications was intended;¹³⁸ Excluding Father and Son of such as had serv'd the King, from the Election. In fine, the Major Part of that# Assembly, according to their Duty, gave the King his own again, without Those shackles, and conditions which the Qualifyers would have impos'd upon his Majesty: Upon whose Legal and Imperial freedom, depends the safety and well-being of his People.

CAP. VIII.

The Usurper Oliver was principally distress'd by the Warr with Spain, and his Standing Army.

WE have now brought Rebellion from the Cradle to the Grave; we have seen it Triumphant, and now we see it in the Dust, subjected at the Feet of our Most Gracious Sovereign, to accompt for the

134 Lambert and his Party submit.

135 The City refuse to Levy Monies.

136 The Rump offended with the City.

137 The Secluded Members re-admitted.

138 #

Bloud of his Royal Father. Be it our Business next to enquire, What hinder'd Oliver from Establishing himself? Upon what Reason of State, Cause, Errour, or Necessity, That prosperous Usurper fayl'd.

But some will not allow he fail'd; as if the sole Fatality of the Cause was his Decease; and the Design only miscarried through the ill menage of a Weak Successour. For granted; by good order, it might have been Caudled up, and kept above ground a little longer: but still it seems to Me, that before Oliver Dy'd, the Cause was Bed-rid, and Hectique past Recovery.

Opinion is Free; Any Mans as Mine, and Mine as Any Mans: so that submitting my Reasons to the Wise, and Recommending my Weakness to the Charitable, I Proceed.

Cromwell did wisely to take his Rise to the Sovereignty upon the Necks of those Usurpers whom he cast out in 1653.¹³⁹ For in the same Action, he Oblig'd the People, Master'd his Enemies; and Fill'd his Pockets. Yet were not Those Means that advanc'd the Tyrant, sufficient to Establish him.

One Obstacle was the Inconsistence of his Doctrine with his Design:¹⁴⁰ for the same Arguments that Rays'd him, Ruin'd him. The People were instructed to Destroy Kings, not to set them up: and beside, he that had so many Sharers in the Hazzards of the Rebellion, could not fail of some Competitors for the Benefit of it.

Further, he had no considerable Party sure to his Interest; and all, but his Meer Creatures and Allies, were utter Enemies to it.¹⁴¹ The City Hated him for their Losse of Trade; the Countrey, for their Taxes; the Royallists, for his Rebellion, and Cruelty; the Presbyterians, for his Breach of Covenant, (That is, for not destroying the King after Their Way); The Levellers, for his Ambition; and, in fine, all the hope he had, was to New-Modell an Army to his purpose; that fayl'd him too at last, for want of Mony, and Credit to maintein it. Which Want was chiefly hasten'd, and procur'd, by his precipitate Breach with Spain, together with the Necessity of keeping up a Standing Army.

The Former of These was doubtless his Mistake;¹⁴² (or rather a Temerity scarce advised upon.) For having brought the Hollander to his Knees, (the only Stranger he had then to fear) and after That, shak'd hands with him; his next Course should have been by Thrift and Popularity to Ingratiate himself at Home, and not by a Rambling, Needlesse, and Expensive Warr, to squander away the life-bloud of the Nation, and in That Indigent Extremity of the State, to make Ducks and Drakes with the Publique Treasure. Nor was the Consequence lesse Fatall to him, than was the Enterprize (to a common Eye) Imprudent: the hopes of carrying his Design, in no wise Countervailing the risque he ran of losing all he had Got# in case he missed it.

I might Instance in a Thousand wayes of profusion, and Oppression Common to all Usurpers,) both practised by Him, and exposing him to great Necessities, but I shall rather bestow the rest I have to say,¹⁴³ upon the Fatality of that Tyrant's Condition; Which forc'd him to make use of for his Safety, the greatest of all Dangers, to wit, A Standing Army.

139 Cromwel's Rise to the Sovereignty.

140 What hindered his Establishment.

141 He was Generally Hated.

142 The Warr with Spain was an Oversight.

143 A Standling Army dangerous.

For Order sake, Wee'll first Consider, Upon what Pretense, and to what end 'twas Rays'd.

In the Next Place; Wee'll see what it produc'd, and weigh the Benefits with the Inconveniences.

Lastly; Wee'll look into the probable Effects, and Influence of it; as related to the English Temper, Custome, and Government.

To the first;¹⁴⁴ what I here call a Standing Army, was but the Emprovements of a Slight Temporary force, rays'd, (in pretense at first) as an Expedient against Plots, (being indeed it self the Greatest) but Encreas'd, Continued, and Carried on, by Policy, and Power. This Project came from the Cabale in 1641. Couch'd under the Notion of A Guard for the House of Commons:¹⁴⁵ [Who conceiv'd that they could not with the Safety of their Persons, (upon which the Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom did then depend) sit any longer Unarmed, and Unguarded#] —so great were their [Apprehensions,¹⁴⁶ and just Fears of mischievous Designs, to ruine and destroy them]

This was the Popular Colour for that Guard; Plots,¹⁴⁷ and the Safety of the Publique. Where the Plot was, in Truth; and where the Reall Danger; may be gather'd from the Practises of Those Armies, whereof The Guard aforesaid was but the Rise and Foundation. (And That's the point we handle next.)

The setting of This little Force a-foot,¹⁴⁸ was a fair Step toward the Militia; One Guard begetting Another; and the same Reason standing good, for the Augmenting, and Upholding of Those Troupes, which was employ'd for the first Raysing of them. The Parliament was first in Danger; the City, Next; and Then the Nation: and as their Ielousies Encreas'd, so must Their Forces, till by Degrees they grow to an Army. The King, and his Adherents, they call the Common-Enemy; whom they Invade and Vanquish.

Here's their work done in short; what have they now to fear? Only New-Modelling, or Disbanding. A blessed Translation of the Government, from the Rule of the Law, to the Power of the Sword! and There to abide, till One Army be remov'd by Another: That is; the Tyranny abides; no matter tho' under several Formes, and Tyrants.

Our LEGIONS of the Reformation, were Rays'd by certain Rebellious Lords, and Commons; and Seconded by the City of London. Wee'll see now, how they behav'd themselves towards their Masters and Friends,

In 1647. the Army Reformes,¹⁴⁹ and Purges the House; Presses their Dissolution. Seizes their General Pointz in the North; Squeezes and Menaces the City of London; Marches up to it, and in Triumph through it. Takes Possession of the Tower; Charges the Maior with divers Aldermen and Citizens, of High-Treason. Alters their Militia's, and Common-Counsel; and finally, gives the Law to the House, and That to the Nation.

144 The Rise of Cromwels Standing Army.

145 Exact Collect. Pap. 44.

146 Ibid.

147 #

148 The Consequences of the House of Commons Guard.

149 The Effects of a Standing Army.

In Decemb. 1648. the Army gives the House another Purge; and the year following, Cromwel himself had like to have been out-trick'd by the Levellers about Banbury.

In 1653. The Army Casts off the Ol• Conventicle, and up goes Oliver, who calls Another; only to get a Taxe, and a Title: and when They had done the One half, and made way to the Other; off goes That too. The Next was call'd in 1654. another after That in 1656. and Both were serv'd with the same Sauce.

If Cromwell could as easily have moulded the Army, as That did the House, his businesse had been done with half the Ceremony; but Mony was Their business, and Kingship His, so that they help'd him in the One, and Cross'd him in the Other.

In Septemb. 1658. Oliver Dies;¹⁵⁰ and Then; they are Richard's Army; whose puisne Highness must have His Parliament too. They meet; and notwithstanding a huge Pack of Officers and Lawyers, the Vote prov'd utterly Republican, and Friend, neither to Single-Person, nor Army.

Now,¹⁵¹ Richard takes his turn: but first, down goes his Parliament: and for a while, the Army-Officers, undertake the Government.

Some Ten dayes after, up with the Rump again, and then they're Lenthall's Army:¹⁵² which, in Octob. 1659. throws out the Rump, and now they're Fleetwood's Army. Enter the Rump once more, in Decemb. and once more the Army comes about again.¹⁵³ The Rump's next Exit, is for ever, March the 16. 1660.

Behold the Thorough-Reformation; and every Change Seal'd with a Sacrament, to have been an Act of Conscience, and guided by a Divine Impulse.

Behold the Staff of the Rebellion; both the Support and Punishment of it; a Standing Army.

While Plots could either be Procured, or credibly suggested, the Innocent were their Prey, and when That entertainment fayl'd them, they worried one-another:—never at Peace; betwixt the Stri•e, first to Subject the Nation, and Then to Govern it.

So long as the Royal Interest was in Vigour;¹⁵⁴ it was the Faction's Policy to engage all sorts of People, whom they could possibly Unite against That Interest; however Disagreeing among Themselves, their first work being only to Destroy the King) and This was the Composition of the first Army.

From Killing they Proceed to take Possession; and here Ensues a greater Difficulty.

A Force is Necessary still,¹⁵⁵ but the State of the Dispute being Chang'd, the Former Mixture is not for their present purpose: the Conspiratours that agreed to overthrow the Government, being now

150 Note.

151 #

152 #

153 Exit The Rump.

154 All Factions Unite against the King.

155 They Divide.

Divided who shall Enjoy it. Hereupon, they fall to Sorting and Purging of Parties; the Independent at last carrying it, and Oliver in the Head of them.

After this Decision of the Contest betwixt the Two Factions,¹⁵⁶ the Army it self divides; and Cromwell is now more puzzled with the Private Contrivements of his own Officers, then he was before with the open Power of his profess'd Enimie, for they are cleerly for his Ruling with them, but not over them; so that unless •e can both Uphold them for his Security, and Modell them for his Design, he does nothing: In Both He labour'd, and beyond Question, Di'd in the Despaire of perfecting Either, finding upon Experience, that his Ambition was as Intolerable to his Party, as the Charge of Continuing his Army was to the Publique; and what the Latter was, wee'll read in own words, deliver'd at a Conference, April 21. 1657.

The present Charge (sayes he) of the Forces both by Sea and Land, including the Government, will be 2426989 l. The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland, is about 1900000 l. I think this was Reckoned at the Most, as now the Revenue stands: Why now towards This, you settle by your Instrument 1300000 l. for the Government, and upon That Accompt to maintain the Force by Sea and Land, and This without Land•Taxe I think, and this is short of the Revenue, that now may be Raised by the Government, 600000 l. because you see the Present Government is 1900000 l. and the whole Summe which may now be Raised, comes of the Present Charge 542689. And although an End should be put to the Spanish: Warr, yet there will be a Necessity of the Preservation of the Peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the Present Established Army in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and also a considerable Fleet, for some good Time; untill it shall please God, to Quiet, and Compose Mens Minds, and bring the Nation to some better Consistency: so that Considering the Pay of the Army, coming to upwards 1100000 l. per annum, and the Government 300000 l. it will be necessary, that for some convenient Time, seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a Wound healed before it be; that there should be Raised over and above 1300000 l. the Summo of 600000 l. per annum, which makes up the Summe of 1900000 l. That likewise the Parliament declare how far they will carry on the Spanish War; and for what Time, and what farther Summe they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what Time, and if these Things be not Assertained, as one saith, Money is the Cause certainly, what ever the Cause is; if Money be Wanting,¹⁵⁷ the business will fall to the ground, and all our Labour will be Lost, and therefore I hope you will have a care of our Vndertakings.

How many Souls,¹⁵⁸Lives, Millions; and Noble Families; How well a Temper'd Government; How Gracious a Prince, and happy a People, were by This Cursed Army Destroy'd; will need no more then their own Consciences to determine, when Divine Vengeance shall call them to a Reckoning. It brought forth (briefly) the worst of Crimes, and Mischiefs, without the least Tincture of a Comfort, or shadow of a Benefit. Nor was it likely to do other, if we consider either the People, Place, Custome, or Government, they were to work upon.

156 And Subdivide.

157 #

158 The Effects of a Military Government.

Concerning the People (first) [Populi ferè omnes ad Aquilonem positi,¹⁵⁹ Libertatem quamdam spirant] 'Tis Rodin's observation, that your Northern Nations are Generally keen Assertours of Freedom; (which for their Parts, the English made too true) How could it be Expected then, that a People, which Oppos'd their Lawfull Prince for the fear of Slavery, should ever finally Submit to a Rebellious Usurper under the Actual and Shameful Extremity of it? This Reluctancy of Humour in the Generality, joyn'd with the Particular Vigilance, Loyalty, and Enterprisings of the Royallists; render'd those Courses Necessary at present, to the Usurper, which must certainly sink him in the End.

Nor was it more against the Genius of the People, than against the Interest and Reason of the Place.

The Place, we are to consider as an Island; no Forreign Danger then in view, to Palliate the Oppression of an Army; nor any Subject whereupon to turn the Influence of it. No Stranger in the Case concern'd; only at Variance with our selves; we breed and nourish in our proper bowels, the Evill that Devours, or, at the best, Consumes us. The Army fear'd the Plots, but 'twas the Nation felt them, and the Result of all was only a Dispute betwixt the Civill and the Military Power; Law, and Necessity: so that Effectually (the two Parties of this Division thus Enterwatching and Counter-Plotting one another) we were rather in a State of Warr than a Posture of Security,¹⁶⁰ the People being at this Election, either to Resist, or Starve# and the Army, as much oblig'd, to make good their undertaking, or fall to nothing. What could be Rationally the Issue of these Provocations, and Animosities, but either the Destruction of the Army by the People; or of the People by the Army, in Order to a General Quiet? Neither of them being safe, but by the Ruine, and Subjection of the Other. If the People refuse to Pay, they are Presently Dis-affected; if the Souldiery be their own Carvers, they are look'd upon as Tyrannical, and Insolent; and here's Matter furnish'd for a Civill Warr.

Now That which makes the Case Worse, is (as I said) that being Islanders, and wanting the Colour of Arming against Dangerous Neighbours, we are forc'd to spend That humour in Mutiny among our selves, which might Otherwise be Diverted by, and Employ'd upon, a Publique Quarrell. A Digression to the State of FRANCE.

Upon the Continent 'tis Otherwise; as in France, (for the Purpose) where though the King Enterteins a Standing Army of 12000. and about Fourscore Regiments more, in Flanders, Italy, Catalogne, and Luxemburgh; (besides Strangers) There's yet the Countenance of an Interest, and a Prudentiall Ground for't: to Ballance the Power, or at least Check the Progress of his Ambitious Neighbour Spain. For, (sayes the Duke of Rohan in his Interest of France) Il faut opposer La Force à la Force. Car ni les persuasions, ni la Iustice des armes, ne fera la loi à celui qui sera armè, tellement que la France doit se retrancher de toute autre despense moins utile, & estre tousiours puissamment armè. [Force must meet Force,¹⁶¹ for 'tis the Sword that gives the Law to Equity, and Reason; wherefore let France rather be sparing in any other way, then in the Constant Entertainment of a Puissant Army.]

It may be Argu'd too, that the Exercise of Armes, is the Profession of the French Nobility, and in Effect, 'tis only Warr abroad keeps them in Peace at home. Yet even in France it self, where the

159 The English Impatient of of Slavery.

160 #

161 It seems to be the Interest of France to maintain a ### Army.

Necessity of a Standing-Army is bolster'd up with so many fair Appearances, the Effects are Dismall, how plausible soever the first Occasion seem'd.

Where it began, or what it was, not a rush matter, but, that by Gradual encroachments, from small, and Temporary Pretenses, 'tis now grown to a Constant, and unlimited Excess, he that knows any thing of France, cannot be Ignorant.

They that fetch it from Guntran King of Orleans, 587. look too far back methinks, and entitle the Tyranny to too fair a President. His Case being This.

Guntran was the Survivor of Four Brothers;¹⁶² Sons of Clotaire the First; the other Three, being Cherebert, Chilperic, and Sigibert. The Eldest of These, Died Childlesse, and the Other Two were Murther'd by the Practises of Fredegonde, (first the Mistresse, and afterward the Wife of Chilperic.)

Sigibert, supinely indulging himself in the height of his Conquests, and Pleasures, was Stabb'd in his own Palace by a Couple of Souldiours, employ'd by Fredegonde, who did as much at last for her Husband Chilperic; having first Caused him to Murther his Son Clouis; to Divorce one# Wife, and Strangle another. The Story is Short, and a little Curious.

Fredegonde had a Gallant, called Landry de la Tour, by Her, Preferr'd to be Duke of France and Maire of the Palace)

The King comes one Morning in his Hunting-Dress into the Queens Chamber, as she was busie about her Head, with her Hair over her Eyes; and (without a word speaking) tickles her on the Neck with the Twigg-end of his Riding-wand. Ah Landry (sayes she) That's not Cavalier like,¹⁶³ to come Behind. The King was as much surpriz'd with the Discovery, as Fredegonde with the Mistake; and went his way with the Thought of it in his Countenance. Landry is presently sent for by the Queen, They discourse the Accident, Debate the Consequences, and in the End, Complot to have Chilperic Murthered as he returns from the Chase; which was Executed, with much Ease and Security, the King being only attended with a Single Page, who Dy'd with his Master, and the Murth•rers escap'd.

This Chilperic had, by Fredegonde, Clotaire the Second, (but Four Moneths old at the Death of his Father) and the Regency of King and Kingdom was Committed to Guntran. (the young Kings Uncle by the Fathers side) The Regent, warn'd by the Miscarriage of his Brothers, and being enform'd that the same Hand by which They fell, sought His Life also;¹⁶⁴ Establishes a Considerable Guard, Constantly to attend his Person: which was both suitable to his Wisdom, and Dignity; as a Security, against not only the stroke of Violence, but the very Thought of it, and a fit Circumstance of Majesty.

The Influence of This Fo•ce went not far, nor, in Truth, the Royalty of their fi•st Race of Kings, much farther:¹⁶⁵ whose either L•nity or Averser•sse to Business of State, gave their Great Counsellours the means to Usurp, and Transferr Their Authority, which Confidence they abused to the Supplanting of their Masters.

162 #

163 A sad Mistake.

164 A Guard both Sutable and n•cessary about the Person of a King.

165 The Mai•es of Fra••e abus'd the Confidence of their Masters.

Complaints, Suits, References, Addresses, must be made, forsooth, to the Majors, not to the Kings: They undertake the Disposition of Monies, and Offices; the Menage of Treaties and Alliances: They Grant, Revoke at Pleasure: Briefly, from 632. to 750. France was rather under a Majoralty, then a Monarchy: and Then, (Pope Zachary, having first Absolv'd the French of their Oath of Obedience) the Race of Childeric is Laid By;¹⁶⁶ Himself (the Fourth of that Name) formally Degraded, and Cast into a Monastery, by Decree of Parliament; and Pepin Install'd in his Stead. Thus did the Son of the Last Great Subject make himself the First of the Second Race of Kings: of which, in requital for too much said upon the First, I shall say nothing at all. Nor much more upon This Subject; save only that Charles the VII. and his Successour Lewis the XI. Laid the first firm Foundation of the Military Power; to which, Charles the VIII. Francis the I. &c. have since furnish'd their Additional, and Superstructures, to make the Tyranny complete.

'Tis Truth; the Splendor, and Profusion of the Court and Camp, is Dazling, and Prodigious; they swim in Pleasures and Plenty: but he that turns his Eye toward those Miserable Animals, the Peasants, that with their Bloud, and Sweat, Feed and Support that Luxe, and Vanity (with hardly bread for their own Mouths), will find it much a different Prospect; the great Enhansers of the Charge clayming Exemption from the burthen of it.

He that would see the Glory of the One Part,¹⁶⁷ and the •lavery of the Other, needs only read L'ESTAT dela FRANCE, of 1661. Treating of the Officers of the Crown, Honours, Governments, Taxes, Gabelles, &c. He shall there find the Venality of Office•s, and Their Rates; the Privileges of the Nobility, and Their Enc•rochments; Who are Exempt from Payments; or rather, that the Country-man Payes for All. To make an end, let him also observe the Power, and Partiality of their Supereminent Parliament of Paris.

The Book I mention, is of undeniable Authority,¹⁶⁸ wherein Accompt is given of,¹⁶⁹ at the least, Eight Millions (English) arising from Three Taxes only; and for the sole behoof and Enterteinment of the Souldiery (their Tailles, Taillon, and Subsistance) Beside their Aydes; (an Imposition upon all sorts of Marchandise, Salt excepted) which must needs be a Vast Income: and their Gabell•s upon Salt; that brings in near Two Millions more. Not to Insist upon Casualties, and infinite other Inventions for squeezing, which they Practise; The Plough mainteins the Army.

Give them their Due, their Noblesse are brave and Accomplish'd men and the Brunt of all Hazzards lies totally upon Them; but scarce in Nature is there a more abject Commonalty: and to conclude; such is their Condition, that without Warr, th•y cannot Live: if not Abroad, they are sure to have i• at Home.

Let it be Noted too;¹⁷⁰ the Taxes follow'd their Army, not their Army the Taxes; for 'tis One thing to Levy Mony to Raise Guards, and Another thing to Levy Guards to Raise Mony: the One appearing to be done by Consent, the Other by Force. (I use Guards and Army promiscuously, as only taking a Guard for a Small Army, and an A•my for a Stronger Guard.)

166 Pepin, the Son of a Powerful Subject, deposes his Prince, and •ets up ###.

167 The State of France.

168 #

169 The effects of a Standing Army in France.

170 #

IF a Standing Army subjects France to so many Inconveniences,¹⁷¹ (whereof History is full) where the Strength lies in the Nobility; How much more Hazzardous was it to England, where the welfare of the whole, depended upon the Affections and Interest of the Middle-rated People: Especially under an Usurper, that was driven to uphold himself upon the daily consumption of the Nation: (and a Body, that becomes every day Weaker then Other, must not expect to be long-liv'd.)

So much for the Inconvenience of Cromwell's Standing Army, as to the Situation of England, together with a View of the Effects of it in France. Wee'll now consider what Welcome it was like to find upon the Point of Experience, or Custome.

Alteration of Customes,¹⁷² is a work of Hazzard, even in Bad Customes; but to Change Customs under which a Nation has been happy, for Innovations, which upon Experience they have found Fatal to them, is matter of great Perill to the Undertaker. But I look upon Oliver's Case, as I do upon a Proposition, of such or such a Mate at Chesse: where there are several wayes to come within One on't, and None to Hit it. The Devil and Fortune had a mind to Puzzle him. He Prefers his Pawnes; Transposes, Shifts his Officers, but all will not do; he still wants either Men, or Mony; if he Disbands, he has too few of the One; if he holds up, he has too little of the Other. Such in Truth, was This Tyrants Exigence, that he was forc'd to That, which the Lawful •ossessours of the English Crown would never venture upon. No nor the Usurpers neither, before Our Blessed Reformers of 1641. But —Where will Those People Stay, That thorough God, and Majesty, make way?

Our Saxon Kings contented themselves with a Law,¹⁷³ What Armes every man of Estate should find, and a mul•t upon such as did Detractare Militiae.

Edmond Ironside after his Duell with Camillus the Dane,¹⁷⁴ and a Composition, to divide the English, and Danish Kingdoms betwixt them and their Heirs, kept no Army on Foot to Guard the Agreement; Neither did The Danes (who after His Death, Treacherously Seiz'd the Kingdom) to maintein their Conquest.

William the Conquerour,¹⁷⁵ that subdu'd both English and Danes, thought himself safe enough in Creating Tenures by Knights Service, and permitting Proprieties; though at That time under such Jealousies, that he took divers of his English Prisoners into Normandy with him, for fear of a Commotion in his Absence.

William Rufus,¹⁷⁶ and, after Him, his Brother Henry the First, (tho' the Usurpers of the Senior Right of their Elder Brother Robert) set up his Rest upon the same Termes: And so did Henry the II. after a Long Contest with King Stephen, and notwithstanding the unruliness of most of his Sonnes.

171 A Standing Army more hazzardous in England, than in France.

172 Alterat•ons of C•sto•es dangerous.

173 Our Saxon Kings kept no Standing Army.

174 N•r Edmo•d ###.

175 Nor W•lliam the Conqu•ror.

176 No• William Rufus.

Henry III.¹⁷⁷ and then Edward I. after the Barons Warrs, Employ'd no Standing Army to secure themselves: neither did Edward or Richard the Second; notwithstanding a Potent Faction of the Nobility bandying against the Latter of them.

Neither did the Henries IV. V. & VI.¹⁷⁸ in the Grand Schism of York and Lancaster, ever approve of it. Nor Henry VII. (as Wise and Jealous as any of his Predecessours.)

If any thing could have warranted the Adventure,¹⁷⁹ methinks the T•epsie-turvy and Brouillery which Henry the VIII. introduc'd, might have perswaded, or Provok'd it. But neither There, nor in the following Tosse and Tumble of Religion, from Edward VI. to Queen Mary, and then back again to Queen Elizabeth, was it put in Practice.

King James had no temptation to it.¹⁸⁰ King Charles the Martyr, was indeed charg'd with the Intention of it, and so he was with being Popishly affected; (In Truth, with what not?) and the One as True as the Other. But who were They that laid This to His Charge?¹⁸¹ Even Those very Persons, (some of them that advised Oliver to keep a Standing Army, of 10000 Horse, and 20000 Foot, to Aw, and Scourge the Nation. A Course unknown to our Forefathers; and by the Best, and Worst of Former Princes equally disallow'd; the Bad not judging it Safe, nor the Good, Expedient.

But other more Convenient,¹⁸² and as Effectual, means they had, either to Prevent Dangers, or Suppress them, as Their Custome of Friborghes or Frank-Pledges, Enques•s, Oathes, and ••nalties, Tenures by Kn•ghts-Service, Commissions of Array, &c. which being of approv'd Benefit, and Equality, were much more suitable to the G•nius and Interest of the People, than a Standing A•my, which to allow, had been no other then to deliver up the Strength of the Nation, into the hands of a Faction.

Nor was it lesse against the Government,¹⁸³ than against the Humour of the Nation. Put a Parliament over the Nation, and an Army over the Parliament. Who Governs? But all Oliver's Geese were Swans; and his Souldiers Saints. Did they not Take what they would; Give what they would; Raise and Pluck-down at Pleasure? Nay; Effectually, did ever any Standing-Army Other, if they had nothing Else to do? Had they not already got the Trick of Calling the People together, to Get Mony of them# and then sending them away like Buzzards, when they had gotten it? of Packing, and Qualifying; Engrossing of Powers and Offices; Cantonizing the Nation? Was it to be expected they should restore the Right Line again, when they had set up the Wrong? The King, when they had erected a General; The Law, when they had Master'd it by the Sword? They did not Tug so hard, for that they meant to part with Easily. What they got by Rebellion, was to be mainteyn'd by Tyranny; and Necessity was sure at Last to do the work of Conscience.

177 Nor Hen. 3. Edw. 1. Edw. nor Ric. 2.

178 Nor the Henries 4, 5, 6, & 7.

179 Nor Hen. 8. •dw 6. Queen M•ry, nor Q•een Eliz.

180 Nor K. James, nor Charles the MARTYR.

181 #

182 Expedients to prevent or disappoint Dangers.

183 A Standing Army destructive to the Government.

I Think,¹⁸⁴ more need not be said to Oliver's Standing-Army. His Mony could not last alwayes, and when he wanted That once; he was certain to find his Army as Dangerous an Enemy, as it had been a Faithfull Friend to him in his Prosperity.

Nay truly, 'bate his Usurpation; his want of Faith and Honour,— But rather then Prophane the Sacred Character of God's Vicegerent by joyning Majesty and Cromwell in the same Supposition; let us Imagine rather a Wise and Lawfull Prince in the place of that Usurper: and yet it may be a Question, How far a Standing Army would have Consisted with the Interest, even of a Rightfull Monarch.

First; As the Nation was Poor, and in no Condition for the Charge of it. Next; as it was Impoverished by an Army; and therefore ill-persuaded of That Expedient. Thirdly; the Prince himself must have been Poor; (in Oliver's Place) and what should a Poor Prince have done with a Standing Army, over a Poor and Discontented People?

The Interest of This world is Mony.¹⁸⁵ Subjects Rebel; Armies Divide; and Kingdoms fall to nothing, for want of it: That which Fools call Fortune, being (to men of clearer sight) only the Favourable Influence of Treasure. 'Tis That, which Carries Townes, Causes, and Armies; puts Knaves in Honest mens places; Corrupts Counsels, and Supplants Governments: the People wear their hearts at their purse-strings; and a General Oppression, is ever accompanied with a General desire to Remove it. I speak of what they do, not what they ought to do; for all men are not of a Constitution to hang, and Sterve for Conscience.¹⁸⁶ In fine, where the State is Necessitous, and a Faction Wealthy, That Prince (as is already hinted) that erects a Standing Force, in that condition, does but provide an Army for his Enemies. Not to insist upon the hazzards, arising either from the People, if the Principal Officers have too little Power; or from the Officers Themselves, if they have too much; by which, not only the Publique Peace, but the Monarchy it self, is Endanger'd: the King's Crown depending upon the Revolt of a Province. What can be more perillous then This Conjuncture; where there is so great a Temptation, on the one hand, and so great a Provocation on the Other; where the Multitude wait only for a Head, and the Ambitious for a Party?

But why do I discourse the Mischiefs of a Standing Army? They are too many, great and Obvious, to admit a Question.¹⁸⁷ What are the Benefits of it Rather? Is it either safe to any Purpose, or Useful to the common and pretended end of it, even under a Lawful and Hereditary Monarch?

It's true; a Prince may deal with his Dominions, as the Gentleman did with his Estate, that turn'd an Inheritance into an Annuity, because he would rather have it L••ge, then Long, and That's the Fairest of a Forc'd Government; Suppose he save himself for his own time; what will become then of his Successour? But that wee'll waive too; and Consider, what's the Fruit of it to himself?

Is he the Richer for't?¹⁸⁸ Alas, the Contrary: the Nation bears a Double Burthen, and the Army Sucks the better half of the Advantage. Is he the Safer? Neither: for a Mutiny in his Army, is both

184 An Army without Pay, is the most Dangerous Enemy.

185 Mony is the Interest of This World.

186 #

187 What's the Benefit of a Standing Army.

188 The Mischief and Danger of it.

more likely, and more dangerous, than a Tumult among his People. In fine; A Standing Army may promote a Faction, but 'tis the Law preserves the Publique,¹⁸⁹ and consequently the King.

That Monarch that Secures himself from Private Practices by a Choice,¹⁹⁰ Full, and Honourable Guard, well Paid, and Disciplin'd, about his Royall Person;¹⁹¹ as to the Rest shall find the Strict and timely Execution of Good Lawes the best Publique Security against Sedition.

'Tis a Cheap Remedy, and therefore Acceptable to the Generality: A Legall one; so that the Delinquents Themselves cannot Complein of it; and Lastly, 'tis a Sure one: which if it be, what can be more advisable for any Prince and People? In Truth; so Sure it is, that I'm to seek ('bate only Matter of Claim) where ever any Setled Government was Embroyl'd, but either by the Interest of a Standing Force; or the Remisseness of Authority, in the Execution of Establish'd Lawes.

The Necessity of a Royall Guard is Evident# the Number must be suited to the differing Exigences of Times and Places: but with This General Regard: That it be not only sufficient to the Safety of a Prince; but Honorary likewise, and Accommodate to his Dignity; and Demonstrative rather of his Power than of his Danger.

But be the Body Great or Small; Nay, wee'll suppose it equal, to a Standing Army (but not Distributed (as That is) into County-Troops, and Provincial Governments) Call it a Guard still, for the very Name of the Other sounds like a Grievance. The One, supposing only the Peoples Care of their Sovereign;¹⁹² the Other intimating the Sovereigns Jealousie of his People. Let me not be understood as in allowance of This Over-proportion: for such a Guard is but an Army in Disguise.

There may be Temporary Occasions indeed, for Temporary, and Extraordinary Levies, but the word Temporary, is commonly attended with such a Train of Reasons for Perpetuity; that if the Occasion be not very Manifest, the World is apt to doubt of the Necessity. Not that the Generality have any Right to judge of, or Debate the Grounds of a Change; but I suppose that Their Opinions, and After-feelings will not be deny'd to have some Influence upon the Event of it.

To Conclude; That Prince is Great, Safe, and Happy, that Commands by his Armes, Abroad, and Governs by his Laws at Home. The Apprehension of Conspiracies and Plots, in my opinion, weighs not much; or if there be any danger; the failing is rather in the Constitution or Administration, than in the want of Power to keep the Peop•e quiet: Good Lawes, and Good Officers, will do the Business, without an Army; and if the Instruments be bad, The Hazzard's Ten time• greater with it.

It will be needful here, for the Clearing of the Question, to make a Particular Enquiry concerning Seditions; and That's the Point wee'll handle in the Next Chapter; which, for Order sake, we shall divide into Seaven Sections, with their Subdivisions as occasion shall require.

189 #

190 A Royall Guard Necessary and S•fficient.

191 With the timely execu•ion of Good Lawes.

192 #

CAP. IX.

Of Seditions in Particular; and shewing in what maner they arise from These Seaven Interests. The Church; the Bench; the Court; the Camp; the City; the Countrey; and the Body Representative.

IN the first Chapter of this Tract, we have touch'd upon the Matter and Causes of Seditions in General: We must be now a little more Particular.

The Scene's Utopia; and wee'll Divide it, into Seaven Interests. The Church; the Bench; the Court; the Camp; the City; the Countrey; and the Body Representative: the least considerable of which, being in any great disorder, hazzards the whole, and That, either by engaging in some Actual Violence, against the Government; or by some Irregularity of Proceeding that may Provoke or Cause it. Of These in their Course, and first of the Church.

Sect. 1.

Seditions Arising from the CHURCH.

THose Troubles in the State which derive from Distempers in the Church, proceed either from Faction, Ignorance, or Scandal.

The Strongest Tie upon Reasonable Nature,¹⁹³ is Conscience; and the Stubbornest Consciences, are Those that do they know not What, they know not Why. In Truth, what is Conscience without Understanding, but a well-meaning Madnesse? And# That's the Fairest Sense my Charity can Afford to the Blind Zeal of a Transported Multitude. If Conscience bids them Kill the King; R•b the Church; and Tear up the Foundations of Both Governments; They'll do it: Nay More, This has been done, and Providence it self Proclaim'd for the Doer of it. Great Heed should then be taken, what Persons are Entrusted with the Care of Souls, since the Consequence of a Factious Preacher, and a Mistaken Conscience, proves many times the Ruine both of Prince and People.

Under the Note of Faction, I comprize all Opinions delivered Publicquely, and with Design; against the Doctrine, Practice, or Authority of the Church. Reduce it, in Short, to Haresie, and Schism•. The former whereof, reflecting only upon Matters of Faith, concerns rather Religion, then Government: and lyes beyond the Line of my Purpose; but in This Place; the Latter is the Question, and, briefly as we may, wee'll take a view of the Rise, the Methode, the Design, and the Effects of it.

It is with Church-men as with other Mortals# There are of all Sorts, Good, Bad, and Indifferent. Some we have known, whom neither the Losse of Dignity, Fortune, Freedome, no, nor the Losse of

193 Conscience the strongest Tie.

Life it self, could ever move from the strict Rule of Conscience, Magnanimity, and Duty. Others we have seen to Exercise these Cruelties, (though Ecclesiastiques themselves) upon the Nobler Sort of their own Function. And some again, we have Observ'd to shift with every Turn, and Steer by Interest# Still putting on the Livery of the Prevayling Party: Squaring the Rule, and Will of Heaven to th^o Appetites and Passions of Humanity: so that upon the whole, 'tis evident; some Clergy-men are Quiet, because they have Preferments, and Others Troublesome, because they want them.

The Principal Ingredients into Schisme are These; Ambition, Avarice, Popularity, and Envy; The Scope of it is to destroy Authority, and advance a Faction. Now how to accomplish This, is the great work; for a Rent in the Church signifies nothing without a Sedition in the State: and in This manner they Proceed.

First,¹⁹⁴ in a Stile of Holy Tenderness they slyly disaffect the People against the Rites of the Church, as in themselves unlawful; and utterly Destructive of Christian Liberty.

To strengthen,¹⁹⁵ and advance the Imposture, what do they next, but rip up all the Faylings, and shew the Nakednesse of their Superiours? still aggravating what they find, and Creating Scandalous Matter where they want it.

When the Multitude are once mov'd in Conscience against the Impositions, and in Passion against the Imposers,¹⁹⁶ their next attempt is upon the Authority, and Then they divide into Separate Assemblies, which under colour of so many Conscientious Dissenters from the Ceremonies of the Church, are infallibly so many contrivers against the Peace of the Kingdom. For here comes in the Civill Power to prohibit their Seditious meetings, and Then, the Saints (they cry) are Persecuted: The Cause is God's; and they are ty'd in Conscience,¹⁹⁷ to bind their Kings in Chains; and through all Extremities to persue a Reformation: This is the Fruit of Tolerating a Faction under a Countenance of Conscience. Nor is it any wonder to see Those wretches draw their Swords against Their Sovereign in the Field, whose Souls are turn'd against him in the Pulpit.¹⁹⁸

But 'tis Objected, that some Ministers do really make a Conscience, of Conformity. Truly, the better for Them, if they forbear upon That Accompt; but 'tis the same Thing to the Publique, upon what-accompt-soever; for they Prescribe, what they Practise, and by the President of Sticking upon a Doubt of Conscience, they open a Dore to Disobedience upon any Pretence of it, breaking the Bond of Unity in favour of a Particular nicety of Opinion.¹⁹⁹

Very Notable is The Determination of the Lord St. Albans,²⁰⁰ in This Case [In Points Fundamental, he that is not with us is against us. In Points not Fundamental, he that is not against us, is with us.]

194 The Rise of Schism.

195 The Method of it.

196 The Motion of Schis• into Sedit•on.

197 The Design.

198 #

199 And Effect of it.

200 Note.

Let this suffice to shew the Political Inconvenience of Entertaining Schismatical Preachers. It may be now a Question,²⁰¹ How far a Christian Magistrate may justify the sufferance of any man to exercise the Ministry, within his Dominions, that's a profess'd Enemy to Episcopacy: Which I Offer, with the fit Modesty of a Proposal, and with Reverence to the better-enform'd. But if# as the Danger of such a Mixture is Evident, so the Lawfulness of it shall appear doubtful, their own Argument is then turn'd against Themselves, and we have both Scripture and Experience on our side, over and above.

The Three Questions, wherewith King Charles the Martyr Choak'd the Presbyterian Ministers in the Isle of Wight, Remain still Unresolv'd, and they are These.

First,²⁰² Is there any Certain Form of Church-Government at all prescrib'd in the Word?

Secondly, If there be any Prescript Form, Whether or no may the Civil Power Change the same, as they see Cause?

Thirdly, If any Prescript Form there be, and That unchangeable; If it were not Episcopal, what was it?

In Fact, the Constant Exercise of Church-Prelacy is so manifest, that the whole stream of Story, and Tradition Runs Episcopal: which to Oppose, were to deny the only Means of knowing whether it were so, or not.

Is it the Right they Question? Take then the learned Bishop Sanderson's Deduction of it.

Leaving other men to the liberty of their own Iudgments,²⁰³ my opinion is, that EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT is not to be derived meerly from Apostolical Practice or Institution: but that it is originally founded in the Person and Office of the Messias, our Blessed Lord JESUS CHRIST. Who being sent by his Heavenly Father to be the great Apostle [HEB. III. 1.] Bishop and Pastor, [1 PET. 11. 25.] of his Church, and anointed to that Office immediately after his Baptism by JOHN, with power and the Holy Ghost [ACT. X. 37—8.] descending then upon him in a bodily shape [LUK. III. 22.] did afterwards, before his Ascension into Heaven, send and empower his holy Apostles, (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise as his Father had given him) in like manner as his Father had before sent him [JOH. XX. 21.] to execute the same Apostolical, Episcopal, and Pastoral Office for the ordering and governing of his Church untill his coming again: and so the same Office to continue in them, and their Successours, unto the end of the world. [MAT. XXVIII. 18—20. Thus far the Reverend Bishop.

Some will Pretend, that This only proves the Authoritative Power they receiv'd by their Mission, but no Succession to the Office.

For That;²⁰⁴ Observe the Mandate, [Go, Teach ALL Nations.] Personally, and Actually they could not do it; but in Effect, and Virtually, 'tis out of doubt, they did it: and How, but by their Delegates? For otherwise; our Saviour Commanded them a Thing Impossible. Briefly; if the Gospel was to be Preach'd to All Nations, (which no Christian will deny) and if (according to the Literal direction of the Order) the Gospel could not be Preach'd to all Nations, by so few Persons as were Then Commission'd;

201 Qu. May an enemy to Bishops, exercise the Ministry?

202 Three Questions propounded by King Charles the Martyr, concerning Church Government.

203 The Derivation of Episcopal Government.

204 Christs Mandate to the Apostles.

what follows, but the Evident Necessity of a Substitution: which Delegation being granted, clears the Dispute: for 'tis Indubitable that What Authority-soever our Saviour vested the Apostles with, the same likewise was from Them transmitted to their Successours; Who (in the words of his late Sacred Majesty) succeed into the same Apostolical Power, and Function, which the Apostles, as Ordinary Pastors, had. *Qui in Dominium alterius succedit, iure eju• uti debet.* He that succeeds to the Government of another, succeeds also to his Rights of Governing. And Marke This further; that the Apostles Powers, and Commissions, were granted before the Descent of the Holy Ghost: and relating only to matters of Ordinary use, and perpetual Establishment in the Church: the extraordinary Guifts of the Apostles not at all proving them extraordinary Officers.

Now how far a Prince may safely either Act,²⁰⁵ or Suffer the violation of a Church-Government of This Authority, I am not yet instructed.

In fine; it is most certain, that a Divided Clergy makes a Divided Nation; and by how much Religion is the fairest of all Pretenses; Conscience the deepest of all Impressions; Preaching and Praying the most Popular and Publique of all Operations: by so much are Dis-affected Church-men the most Pernititious and Intolerable of all Disloyall Instruments.²⁰⁶ No Calumny being so Plausible, as That which drops from the Lips of Persons famous for an External form of Piety: No Hypocrites so abominable, as Those that Tithe Mint, and Cummin, and yet neglect Mercy and Iudgement: that under colour of long Prayers devour Widows houses, &c. And no sting so Deadly, as That from a Snake in a mans own bosome.

We have now done with the Schismatique; the Active and Industrious Promoter of Seditions. The Matter he works upon, is Scandal; either Suppos'd, or Real; and That comes next.

In all Invectives against the Church,²⁰⁷ the Scandalous, Negligent, and Insufficient, March hand in hand: to which are opposed a Party that stile themselves a Godly, Peinful, and Able Ministry. Thus with the Boasting, and Censorious Pharisee, does the Proud Schismatique advance himself above his Brethren, calling Good Evill, and Evill Good; imposing equally upon the People, by an uncharitable Iudgement, and Report, on the One side, and a fictitious Holiness, on the Other.

Not to excuse all Clergymen, nor to extenuate the Crimes of any of them. Iudas his Treason was the Foulter because of his Profession: and yet the Eleven were never the worse, because of Iudas his Treason.

Wee'll Grant,²⁰⁸ that for a Minister to spend one Hour of the week, in a Pulpis, and the rest in a Tavern; to Undo a good Sermon by an Ill Example, and to discredit a Strict Doctrine by a Loose Life; is to extinguish the Reverence that is due to the Function; and to make Preaching look only like a Politique Ordinance to keep the People in Order. Not that the Doctrine is ever the worse for the Person, nor the Priesthood the lesse Venerable for the abuse of it; but it ministers matter of Scandal, and Exception; and with the Simple it passes for an Argument against the Government.

205 •ipiscopacy unalterable.

206 Corruptio Optimi, Pessima.

207 The Method of Schism.

208 A Scandalous Clergy, makes a Seditious Laity.

But as the Habit of Drunkenness, and Prophaneness, in a Churchman is most unsufferable;²⁰⁹ so is it on the other hand a Practice Diabolical, to put all their Actions upon the Tent, and Skrew up every allowable, and social Freedom to the construction of a Scandal. As if there were no Medium to be admitted, betwixt the Angel and the Brute. Are they not Men; and equally subjected to Infirmities, with other Men? 'Tis true; their Calling is Divine, but their Persons are Humane; and as much is required, in regard of Their Ministry: so somewhat also is to be born with in respect of their Humanity. Remember, there were those that call'd our Saviour himself a Wine-bibber.

Alas; For a Minister to Drink a Glass of Wine in a Tavern, is made a mighty bus'ness: Nay, to be only Pleasant, and well-humour'd, is by some, cast in their dish as an Ayre too Light for the Severity of their Profession: as if the Messengers of Ioy, the bearers of good-tidings to the world, were only to be sad Themselves, and look, as if either They suspected the Truth of their Brrand, or their Title to the Benefit of it.

However,²¹⁰ since there are Those that will make use of small Occasions to do great Mischiefs; It is a Point of Pious Prudence, fairly to shun appearances of Scandal; but 'tis indeed of high, and absolute Necessity, to Punish, or Remove the Scandal it self: as That which both provokes a Judgment from Heaven, and stirrs up the People to execute it. Yet let us put some difference betwixt Sins of Appetite, and Sense; and Sins of Malevolence: in the Former, a man playes the Beast; but in the Latter, he playes the Devill.

I look upon Ignorance also,²¹¹ as a Species of Scandal; even although in a Good Man; for every Good Man makes not a Good Minister; nor do I know which is more tolerable; Habitual Prophaneness, and Sensuality in a Divine, or Ignorance in a Teacher: the hazzard of False Doctrine, or the Influence of an Ill Example.

Touching the Body of the Clergy, enough is said, to shew the dangerous Effects of Schism, and Scandal; the one tending Directly to Sedition, the other, Consequentially.

There remains another stumbling-block,²¹² and That concerns the Governours of the Church; who are commonly charged with Innovations, Rigour, Pride, or Avarice. They are capable of All This, as they are Men; but never the more blameable for a Clamour Levell'd at them as they are Bishops: There being great Difference, betwixt Personal Reproof, and a Factious Confederacy: betwixt the seasonable Freedom of Counsell, or Reprehension, duly Circumstanc'd; and the contumacious Insolence of Subjects toward their Superiours. In fine, a likely Tale does Their feat as well as a certain Truth; only they accommodate all their Stories to the Design of over-turning the Government, and to the Gust of the Multitude.

The Sound of Innovations,²¹³ and of Popery, in some places, goes a great way with the Common-people toward a Sedition. They Fear, they Wish; they Love, they Hate, they know not what: and yet against This Terrible Nothing, shall they engage their Lives and Fortunes, as Zealously, as if their

209 Slander is the Sin and Practice of the Devil.

210 Shun Appearances of Scandal.

211 Ignorance a species of Scandal.

212 Bishops blamed by the more blameable.

213 Fears and Jealousies.

Souls lay at Stake; and as Ridiculously, as if they Phansy'd These same Innovations to be an Army of Flying Dragons, and the Pope leading them on upon a Hobby-horse. With This Device, the Multitude is first startled, and then every Bush is a Thief; Church-Habits are the Trumpery of Rome; Decency is Superstitious; Kneeling, direct Idolatry, and finally, to Impose all This, is interpreted a violence upon the Consciences of the Godly: Thus from the very Methode of Agreement, is rays'd an Argument for Separation; and Christian Liberty is render'd Destructive of Humane Authority.

Another General Objection,²¹⁴ among the Prouder Brethren, is the Pride of Bishops, their Lording it over Gods Heritage: which through the Person. Wounds the Office, Incensing the Multitude against the Power it self, under pretext of blaming the unlawful Exercise of it. Suitable to the Dignity of Bishops, and Correspondent to the Duty of them, ought to be the Revenue: (that is, sufficient both for Honour and Hospitality) in which Particular, the Ecclesiastical Patrimony, is by some People thought as much too Large, as the Iurisdiction; and from a false, and envious Calculation of Bishops Rents, occasion is taken to inveigh against their Avarice; exposing them at once, both as a Grievance, and a Booty. Thus, like the Devill, the Schismaticke advances his Kingdom by Slander,²¹⁵ and thrives by the sins of the People.

We have dwelt long upon this Subject of the Church; but, with the next, the Bench we shall be quicker.

Sect. II.

The BENCH.

THE Two main Springs that Move, and Govern the Affections of reclaim'd Nature, are Conscience,²¹⁶ and Law. By the Former, we are obliged, in relation to our Immortal Beeing; and by the Other, as Men Link'd in Society. Our Priests and Iudges, are the Oracles we depend upon, for Counsell, and Instruction, in both these grand Concerns; and if They deceive us, what greater Misery can befall a Nation, then to have Iuglers, and Impostours, take up the Bench and Pulpit? Cousening the Vulgar with False Weights, and Measures, of Truth and Reason; and uttering their Licentious Prevarications, for Law, and Gospel? In which Case, the greater the Modesty, and Virtue of the Common-people, the greater is the Peril of the Delusion: it being their Duty to submit, to the Reason of the One, and to Believe the Doctrine of the Other, without disputing either, unless in matters most Notoriously Repugnant to the Elements of Polity, and Religion. And he's not his Crafts-master, that cannot give, even to the fonlest Purpose, a colour fair enough to cheat a Multitude.²¹⁷ What Wickedness is there, for which a corrupt Divine shall not produce a Text; and a shifting Lawyer, a President? But enough is said of the Former, and too much in Preface to the Latter.

214 Bishops charged with Pride, by the Prouder Brethren.

215 #

216 Conscience and Law, Govern the world.

217 #

Those Faults,²¹⁸ among the Professours of the Law, which frequently cause Seditions (although not in Themselves Seditious) are, Corruption; Partiality; Oppression; Chargeable Delays; or, in a word, the Non-administration of speedy Iustice. Whereupon must necessarily ensue Poverty, Factions, Animosities, &c.

The Consequences are Dangerous likewise, of overstreyning the Prerogative; and so of Depressing it: both which may be done; either out of Zeal, or with Design. But, be the Intention of the Doer what it will, the Effects of the Thing done are Mischievous; for it injects Fea•s and Iealousies of Tyranny, on the one side; and begets False, and bold Opinions, and Attempts of Liberty on the Other: engaging all Humours against the Government, whom either the Hopes and Gust of Freedom, or the Dread of Oppression can work upon. But Personal Vices, and Mistakes, we may put upon the Roll of Slow Poysons, that do the Deed, though it be long first.

There are another sort of Lawyers,²¹⁹ whose Malice is of a Quicker, and Stronger Operation; under whose Lips, is the Poyson of Aspes: or rather, whose Tongues are Daggers, turning the Point of Law, upon the Law it self; wounding the Eagle with a Feather from his own wing, and Stabbing the Persons of Princes with their own Authority. These are the Execrable Regicides; and the Tumultuary Rabble are but the Ministers of their vile Purposes. Alas! in Matter of Law; by whom should the simple Multitude be directed, if not by Lawyers? (as by Divines, in points of Conscience) Whether is the greater offender then; that Ignorant Wretch that Draws his Sword against his Sovereign, on the behalf of Law, and Religion: (as he supposes) Or, Those Abominable Seducers, that by wrested Scriptures, pretended Inspirations; by misconstruction of Laws; misapplying of Presidents; Torturing or Embezelling of Records, inveigles the Poor Creature into a Good Opinion of so foul an Enterprize? What signifies the event of a Popular Action, compared with the deliberate Contrivance, Allowance, and Direction of it; more then the effect of some dull Passive Instrument, employed by such or such an Agent? Or, if a Prince be Murther'd; whether's the more to blame, the Axe, or the Executioner; the Bullet, or the Marks-man? So much for the Bench, now to the Court.

Sect. III.

The COURT.

BY the Court-Interest, is meant That Party, which more Immediately depends upon the Grace and Favour of the Prince: and here (as elsewhere) Seditions are either Plotted or Occasion'd.

Touching the Plotters of Seditions;²²⁰ Some out of Avarice, with Iudas, Betray their Masters. Others, are spurred on by Ambition, with Absalom to Supplant Them. One man is puft up by Popularity; a Second, stung with Envy; a Third, with Iealousie; a Fourth, Transports himself with Revenge, or some other Personal Animosity. In fine, These various Humours, make but One Party; and the Covetous, Ambitious, &c.—agree in the same Conspiracy.

218 Occasions of Sedition.

219 Seditious Lawyers and Schifmarical Divines are the most abominable Seducers.

220 Plotters of Sedition.

Of the Contrivers of Sediti^on,²²¹ some strike directly at the Governour; Others, at the Government: and a Third Sort, by crafty Circumstances, and Windings, chuse rather to Mine the Regal Authority, then Batter it; and to work out a Prince by a skrew, rather then force him by an Army.

The first sort of Contrivers here Specify'd,²²² are such as Clayming to the Crown, Themselves, Challenge the Prince that wears it, as an Usurper: And These, by making a fair Title to the People, joyn'd with a little Popular skill of Humouring the Multitude, may with great ease engage a Party, in favour of a Person whom they Love, against a Right which they cannot understand.

Concerning such as directly oppose the Form of Monarchy,²²³ upon a Principle of Iudgment; much needs not be said, because they are neither many, nor considerable: for, to maintein That Paradox, they must overthrow all Story, Sacred, and Prophane; the Practice of all Ages, and the Reason of all Governments.

A Third sort of Contrivers,²²⁴ are Those who under fair appearances of Loyalty, and Publiquesse of Spirit, Masque their Seditious Intents, and Drive on a Particular Interest. From which kind of evill Instruments, even the Cabinets, and Private Counsels of Princes are not absolutely Free; and (according to Sir Francis Bacon) the hazzard arises, either from an Over-greatnesse in one Counsellour; or, an Over-strict Combination in Divers; which are (says he) things soon found and holpen. For Perspicuity sake, wee'll treat of this Division in Subsections.

Subsection I.

Over-greatnesse in one Counsellour.

THis Over-greatnesse in one Counsellour, is to be understood Principally, in Respect of his Credit with his Master; and partly, in Regard of those great Offices, and Riches which are commonly heapt upon great Favourites, giving them the means of over-awing the Honesty of their Inferiours, and of ingratiating themselves with the People; at least with so many of them as will be drawn to their Party, either by Fear, or Promotion.

Where it happens that a Prince his Heart is touch'd with the Magique of so much Kindness for a Subject,²²⁵ as to make him dangerously Over-great: it is not either Wisdom, or Virtue, that can properly deliver him from That Charme, but it must be rather Time, and Experience, that shall Dis-enchant him. Nor is it a Fault in a Prince, to comply with a Natural Inclination; but it is a Barbarous Ingratitude in a Subject to abuse it, by Endeavouring, (Comparatively) to Darken the Sun, with the sparklings of a Refracted light, shot from his own Glory.

In This Case, the Happiness of a Nation depends not absolutely upon the Prudence of the Governour; but, in some Degree, upon the Honesty of the Favourite: not altogether upon Counsell, but much also upon Enformation: nor upon That neither, so much concerning the State and Quality

221 Are of three Sorts.

222 Usurpers.

223 Monarchoma-ch••sts.

224 J•suited Puritans.

225 Time is the best Tryall of Fidelity.

of Affairs, as touching the Fitness of Instruments to manage them,²²⁶ and the Faith, and Abilities of Persons. [In vain is it, (says the Profound St. Albans) for Princes to take Counsell concerning Matters, if they take no Counsell likewise concerning Persons.]

Is a Kingdom in Danger of Invasion, or²²⁷ Sedition? To Obviate That Danger by a Force, is a Rational Expedient. But he that Armes his Enemies in stead of his Friends, Encreases the Danger. It were neither safe, nor Royall, for a Prince to Walk, or Sleep without a Watch about him. But were he not better be Alone, then take Assassins into his Guard, or Bed-chamber? In fine; Great is the Hazzard of Mistaking Person; Great is the Crime of the Industrious Authors of such Mistakes; and Great the Infelicity of a Monarch so Mistaking.

Nay,²²⁸ which is worst of all in This Particular, the Noblest Dispositions are the most lyable to be Deceiv'd, and only Omniscience, or Ill-Nature can totally Secure a Prince from the Delusion. Imagine a Servant receiv'd into the Armes of his Master, Crowned with Honour and Bounty; and in This State of Favour, giving advice concerning Persons that are meer strangers to the Monarch: Who fit, or unfit, for such or such Employment; who false, or Loyall, &c. How should a Prince suspect a Subject under so many obligations to Fidelity?

Although Abuses of This Kind are in Themselves sufficiently Mischievous,²²⁹ yet are they the more so, by reason of the Difficulty, and Perill to Rectifie them; for, in many Cases, (as Sir Francis Bacon) the Truth is hard to know, and not fit to utter.

He that would duly Execute This Office,²³⁰ must first, Resolve to feel the weight of a Potent Adversary; and Sacrifice his Hopes, his Fortunes, his Freedom, (nay, and perhaps, in Consequence, his Life) to his Duty.

He must be wary too, that not a Syllable pass from his Lips, Or Pen, which by the utmost force of Misconstruction, may seem to glance upon the Monarch: wherein, his Loyalty is not lesse concern'd, then his Discretion; for 'tis a fouler Crime Publiquely to Defame a Prince, then Privately to mis-persuade him. Let him but keep himself to the Fact, (as whether This or That be True, or False, not meddling with the Equity, and Reason of the matter) he may with as much Honour, and good-manners, advertise his Prince of a Mistake, as believe that he is no God.

The Application of This Over-greatness is exceeding various, nor is the Grace it self lesse Beneficial to the Publique, when Nobly Lodg'd, then it is the Contrary, when so large a Bounty is pour'd into a Thirsty and Narrow soul. But we are Ty'd in This Place to discourse the Irregularities of Power, not the blessed Emprovements of it.

We might reckon the Art of Flattery,²³¹ among the main Conducements to a Court-Design: but, That's one of the Knacks we Learn without a Teacher. So Common it is, that he that cannot shift his

226 The Knowledge of Persons, is more then the Understanding of Matters.

227 #

228 The Noblest Natures most easily Deceived.

229 Abuses from Great Persons hardly Rectify'd.

230 What he must do that undertakes it.

231 The Art of Flattery.

Face, and Humour, 'tis odds, can hardly shift his Linnen: (he is so Poor, I mean) In This Particular, the Confidants of Princes, being generally of their Masters Age and Inclination, or thereabout; have great Advantages, both for the Freedom of Accesse, and Privacy: the Timing of Affairs; and the more Clear Discovery of their Natures.

How The aforesaid Inconveniencies may be holpen, shall be the Subject of the next Chapter; but to Discern them in the Intention, falls properly under Consideration in This.

To give the better Guesse at the Design of This Over-great-One,²³² see how he stands Affected, first to the Religion of the place he Lives in. 'Tis possible, the Conscience of a Catholique Good, may over-rule him, to the Hazzard of a Good which he conceives lesse Universal: and some Light, may be taken toward This Discovery, from the Observation of his Familiars; but much more from his Natural Temper, and from the Tenor of his Life. (i.e. if he be Naturally Melancholique, and Scrupulous) he may be suspected to be Conscientiously Seditious.

Is it Ambition moves him?²³³ Ye shall then find him scattering his Donatives among the Souldiours. The Town has not Poor enow for him to Relieve, nor Rich enow for him to Oblige. He Caries his Hat in One Hand, and his Heart in the Other. Here he Lends a Smile, There he Drops a Nod: with These Popular Incantations betwixching the Multitude.

Is the Good of the Subject the Question? Who but He to Ease the People in Publique, of the Grievances which himself had Procured in Private; and in fine, no man so fit to be made a Iudge in Israel. To All This; he must be Daring in his Person, Close in his Purpose, Firm to his Dependencies, and rather stooping to the Ordinary People, then mixing with them, hee'll do no good on't else.

To Proceed;²³⁴ let him be Watch'd, how he Employes his Power, and Favour, whether (with Machiavel) more to the Advantage of his Master; Or, to his own particular Benefit: and Then, whether (according to the Lord St. Albans) he applies himself more to his Master's Business, or to his Nature; and rather to Advise him, then to feed his Humour. If he be found to study his Masters Passions, more then his Honour,²³⁵ and to Preferr his Private Interest, to his Duty, 'tis an Ill sign.

And 'tis no good one,²³⁶ if the Favourite grows Rich, and the Prince Poor: (especially if the Former be the Cause of the Latter) but it is much a worse, if he Presume to graspe Authority, as well as Treasure. It looks as if the Suppos'd Equality of Friendship, had Drown'd the Order of Subjection.

Take Notice next,²³⁷ of the Proportion betwixt the means he uses, and his suspected ends.

Does he Engross the Disposition of all Charges, and Preferments? See in what hands he Places Them. Does he endeavour to Obstruct all Grants of Grace. and Benefit, that passe not through his own fingers? That's Dangerous: for (says Sir Francis Bacon) [When the Authority of Princes, is made but

232 Conscientious Seditious.

233 An Ambitious Person.

234 The Test of an Honest Favourite.

235 An ill sign.

236 Another as bad.

237 Note.

an Accessary to a Cause, and that there be other Bands that Tie faster, then the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Marque then again what Kind of Persons he Promotes,²³⁸ and for what likely Reasons, whether for Mony, or Merit; Honesty, or Faction? Observe likewise the Temper, and Quality of his Complicates, and Creatures; and whether his Favours be Bounties, or Purchases. If the Former, Judge of his Design, by his Choyce. If the Latter, 'tis but a Mony-Business; which Avarice meeting with an overweening vanity of mind, is many times mistaken for Ambition. In fine; what Ambition does at hand, Corruption does at Length; nor is the Power of the One, more Dangerous, then the Consequence of the Other.

Subsection II.

The Combination of Divers Counsellours.

Proceed we now, from the Greatness of One Counsellour, to the Combination of Divers: which (to vary the Phrase) is no other then a form'd Confederacy in the Counsel against the Monarch. Wherein we shall Briefly lay down, first, the Advantages of the Faction; the Methode, next; and lastly, the marques of it.

Their Advantages are great,²³⁹ and many; in Regard both of their Privileges, exempting them from Question; of their Power, to Offend their Enemies, and Protect their Friends; and in Consideration of their Opportunities to look into Both hands, and play their Cards accordingly.

In their Methode of proceeding,²⁴⁰ This is their Master-piece; not only to do all the hurt they can, under a colour of Good; but to Engage Persons of more Honesty, then Understanding, in Offices, seemingly Serviceable, but Effectually Pernicious to the Publique: by which Artifice, those that are Friends to the Government, do unwarily serve the Crafty Enemies of it; secretly undermining the Honour of the Prince, under Pretext of advancing his Profit; Lessening his Power at Home, under the Disguise of making him more formidable Abroad: and where they cannot persuade an Interest, if it be Considerable, they will not stick to Purchase it.

As to the Rest, the Methode,²⁴¹ is rather tacitly to Invite and Countenance a Sedition, then openly to Head it; and to Engage rather for it, then with it, till the hazzard of the first onset be over. In Truth, the first Essay of a Tumult is but a Tryall how the Ice will bear; and the Popular Faction in the Counsell, is more concern'd, in case of a Disaster, how to bring their Friends off, then to Venture the leading them On;— for Fear of One. Whence it comes to passe, that by the Obligation of Encouraging, and Preserving their Party, they are Cast upon a Scurvy Necessity of Discovering Themselves.

Their Marques are many;²⁴² for They are known by their Haunts; by their Cabales; by their Debates; by their Domestiques; by their Favorites; and by their maner of Conversation, and Behaviour.

238 Marque again.

239 The Advantages of a Confederacy in Counsell.

240 Their Method.

241 Rather to Countenance a Sedition, then Head it.

242 How to know the Faction.

If there be any Schismatical Teacher that's Craftier,²⁴³ and Slyer then the Rest, you may be sure of my Lord's Coach at His Preachment: It gives a Reputation to the Conventicle, besides the Gracious Looks at Parting, that passe betwixt his Honour and the Brethren: which Enterchange, is but a secret way of Sealing and Delivering a Conspiracy.²⁴⁴

Look into their Cabales,²⁴⁵ and ye shall, find them all of a Tribe, and Leaven; Close; Sedulous; and United: Their Dayly Meetings relishing of a Design, as being Compos'd rather for Counsel, then Entertainment.

In their Debates,²⁴⁶ you'll know them by their Pleas; Shiftings; Delays; Extenuations; Distinctions; their Frequent, and Industrious Obstructions of Dispatch in favour of the Faction. By their Zealous Intercessions for the Enemies of the Prince, and their Coldnesse for his Friends; by their watchfulnesse to Seize all Opportunities of helping the Guilty, and of Surprizing the Innocent: by their Injecting of Snares, and Scruples, to Amuse, and Distract those that are for the Government, in Order to the Benefit of such as are against it; wherein, it is worth a Note, that they all Vote the same way, and, without Question, to the same Purpose: for they shall sooner destroy a Loyal Subject upon a Calumny, then punish a Traytour Convict; and prosecute one man for Writing, or Saying, that it is possible for a Prince to have a Judas in his Counsel, when another shall scape unquestion'd, or perhaps be justify'd, that calls his Sovereign a Tyrant; and defends the Murther of Kings.

They may be guess'd at likewise in some measure,²⁴⁷ by their Domestiques: Especially, by those of near Relation to Trust, Privacy, and Businesse; as Chaplains, Secretaries, &c. Nor is it enough to have it, like Master like man, unless it be, like Lady like woman too; for the pure strein must run quite Thorough, for fear of Tales out of Schole, and Discovering the Secrets of the Family. But This Rule is not Universal.

From their Favorites,²⁴⁸ much may be gather'd; first, from their Principles, and Abilities. And Then from the Frequency, Privacy, and Particularity of their Entertaining them.

The True Composition of a Confident fit for such a Statesman as we here speak of, is This.

He must be One that knows the Right,²⁴⁹ and Opposes it; for there is then lesse Danger of his Conversion, and Consequently, of Discovering his Patron. Let him be likewise a man of Sobriety, in his outward appearances; of Reputation. with his Party; and well-grounded in the Niceties of the Controversie: he must be also a Master of his Passions, Peremptory in his mistakes; and (right or wrong) never without a Text at hand for his Opinions.

When a Person of This Character, repairs often to a Counsellour of State, a man may without a Scandalum Magnatum, take the Boldnesse to suspect his businesse. But if to Frequency, be added

243 By their Haunts.

244 #

245 By their Cabales.

246 By their Debates.

247 By their Domestiques.

248 By their Favorites.

249 The Composition #...# sic Instrum•nt or a Corrupt States-man.

Privacy, it makes the Matter worse; and These Instruments are commonly taken in by Owl-light, or at the Backdore.

Nor is the Particularity they shew to this kind of Cattell lesse Remarquable. Ye shall see a Factious Libeller,²⁵⁰ or Schismaticque, taken into my Lords Closet, when a Person of Honour, and Integrity cools his heels in the Hall. One Lawyer admitted, that has Got just as much by Betraying his Country, as Another, (that is Rejected) has Lost by Serving it. Briefly; look through the Offices they dispose of, both Civil, and Military, and in the Persons you may see the Cause they Favour.

Another way of Detecting them,²⁵¹ is from their Conversation, and Behaviour. They take up other, Looks, Phrase, Accent, Habit, Motion, Gesture, then their Neighbours. All which Together, are but a Certain Idiome, or Propriety, of the Faction.

Further; ye shall see a States-man, on the sodain, grow more Devout in Publique, then many an honest man is in Private; and Start from his Politiques, into Cases of Conscience. This Affords matter of Wonder, if not of Question: but observe him; and if he be more Scrupulous of Obeying the Law in some Cases, then he is of opposing it in Others, Pronounce him a Iugler.

So much for the Contrivers of Seditions.

Another sort there are of Honester Ill Subjects,²⁵² a People, I mean, that Hate the Sedition it self, although they Love the Occasion of it. Then These, none make a Greater Conscience of Speaking Reverently of their Sovereign; yet none in shew more Carelesse what they make Others Think of him. Fiercer declaymers against Rebellion, there are not in the world; but do they Imagine that it is no sinne to Cause, what is so horrid an Impiety to Commit? They'll say per•hance, They do not Cause it; Yes, yes, there are that do That is; there are Insatiable Beggars, that such like Leeches, till they Burst; Asking the very Bread out of the Mouths of Famishing Thousands; only to add unto their Private Superfluties, or furnish. Ornament for Luxe, and Vanity. Are not these Persons in a high Degree Accomptable for the Effects of That Oppression?

If Those that follow Courts,²⁵³ would but Consider, how many Snares beset the Thrones of Princes; what Envy waits upon their Trayn; how many Spyes upon the Actions of their Servants; They would tread warily. This is not yet to Blame all Courts, but where they are Vitious, or Corrupt, to shew the Desperate Events of those Disorders: whereof a General Poverty is not the least Considerable; and That inevitably begets a General Discontentment.

But what's all This to a Sedition? Shall People Rebell because they are Poor? No no, they should not; but what if they will do, what they ought not to do? [Let no Prince (sayes the Lord St. Albans) measure the Danger of Discontentments, by This; whether they be Just, or Unjust: for That were to Imagine People to be too Reasonable]. So that the Question is not, whether the Cause can warrant a Commotion; but whether probably it may Provoke one? And whether the Multitude will not rather Tumult, then Sterve. It is not Here, Delirant Reges, Plectuntur Achivi— but on the Contrary; Delirant

250 #

251 By their Conversation and Behaviour.

252 An honester sort of Ill Subjects.

253 A Ca•eat to ###.

Achivi, Plectuntur Reges; The Faults of Servants are Reveng'd upon the Heads of their Masters. But to Reason the Matter orderly, and by Degrees, take it Thus.

All men do naturally Covet Power;²⁵⁴ Partly for their Security; and in Part, for Glory: not considering, that what Each Individual desires, All cannot enjoy; but finding Themselves Plac'd by Nature in a State of Equality, they are apt to Believe, that One man has as good a Title to Dominion as Another, and from this Levelling opinions proceeds that Envy which we find Generally in the Common-People against their Governours.

Upon the same Grounds, they Contend for Liberty, and since they cannot Rule, they would at least be Free from the Restreint of Laws and Impositions. But this must not be, neither.

Why Then, let them but know the Bounds of their Subjection, the Law, by which they are to be Govern'd# Yes, That they may, and when they are once enur'd, and wonted to the soft yolk of Political Order, and Authority; their further Care is chiefly Profit, or Pleasure; and to provide Themselves of such Conveniences, as to man's Life are either Necessary or Delightful, and Here they Rest.

This is the summe of the Vulgar Politiques: Allow the People These Private Conveniences, and keep but the Priests, and Lawyers, from Prating to them of Christian Liberty, and Fundamentals; the Generality shall never trouble the State with Seditions: but he that strips them of their little Livelyhood, rifles a Neast of Hornets. From whence ensues This double Mischief: A Great deal of Mony is drawn into a few hands; and a Great number of People are left without any at all: Two Hazzards that might pose a wise Prince which rather to submit to.

As a General Poverty yields the most desperate matter for Sedition, so are the disorders of a Court the most likely means to produce a General Poverty: and it is done, by Corruption, Begging, or Non-Payment of Debts.

Corruption is a great Dreyner;²⁵⁵ for he that Gives must Take; he that Buyes, will Sell. But the influence which Corruption has, upon the Constitution and Morals of a Court, is more Notorious; especially, if it begin Above; and in a place where the Honester Part is the Poorer. First, it facilitates the Introducing of a Faction; for he that designs to make a Party, shall be sure to out bid him that only offers at an Office. Beside that it makes men knaves in their own Defence; after a dear Bargain, to lick themselves whole again: and quenches the most Generous Inclinations, by frustrating the bravest Actions; and conferring Those Dignities, and Preferments upon unsuitable Persons for Mony, which are the Proper Rewards of Virtue, and Honour. In all these Transactions, the Prince is sold into the hands of his Enemies.

In short;²⁵⁶Corruption does more Immediately expose a Monarch, and Embroyle a Court; but Inordinate Begging does more Empoverish and distress a People: particularly, if the Request be preter-Legall, and pinching, either upon Trade, or Tillage: in which cases the Benefit of a single Person enters into Competition with the Quiet, and Security of a Nation.

254 The Politiques of the Vulg••.

255 The Effects of Corruption in a Court.

256 Court-Beggars.

There is an Evill yet behind,²⁵⁷ which of all Evils, so trivial in appearance, is (possibly) of the most fatall, and malitious consequence: and That is, the Non-payment of Debts: which not only draws upon a Court the most Violent of all Passions; (Envy, and Hatred) but upon Monarchy it self, a Popular Prejudice.

'Tis Dangerous, in regard both of the Quality, and Number of their Creditours; They are (for the most part) Citizens; Poor, and Many. They lie together in a Body; meet dayly; conferring, and dispersing their Complaints, and Clamours: they Break at last, and Then they Tumult.

How many Thousand Persons are there in England, that Live, from Hand to Mouth, only upon the Trades of Cloth, and Ribands? and 'tis the same, in Utopia. To Conclude; Pay strikes deep, and takes off, in great measure, That Odium, and Envy which usually attends the Splendor, Pomp, and Luxury of Courts. A word now to the Camp.

Sect. IV.

The CAMP.

THE Two Grand Interests of the Souldiery,²⁵⁸ are Pay, and Honour; that is such Honour as belongs to them as Sword-men. As for Instance; 'tis their Profession not to put up Affronts: They do not love to have their Under-Officers rais'd over their heads, New-Modelling, or Disbanding is a Thing they do not like; and a Publique disgrace is never to be forgiven.

By Ill Order in These Two Particulars, are commonly occasion'd Mutinies, and Revolts: which become then most perillous when a disobligh'd General has a Purse to Engage a Discontented Army. We speak here, of an Army Employ'd by a Prince as a Security against his own Subjects, which is quite another Case then against a Foreign Enemy; for the same Popular and Ambitious Humour,²⁵⁹ that in a Commander Abroad, is most Proper, and Necessary, is on the Contrary, as Dangerous at home. The safety of the State depending only upon the Insuperable Virtue, and Fidelity of such a Person.

Some Armies we have known to Prove Troublesome,²⁶⁰ and to Divide, upon Pretenses of Religion; but, a Holy War is a Contradiction; and a Story only fit to passe upon Women and Children. Upon the whole, it seems that an Army, within it self, and without any Separate Interest, may be troublesome upon These Three Accompts: Either Want of Pay; which causes a General Mutiny: or Disgrace; which (more Peculiarly reflecting upon such or such Officers, Troupes, or Parties) provokes Animosities, Factions, and Revolts: or Ambition; which more directly attempts upon the Sovereignty. It may be also Hazzardous, by reason of some Error in the Constitution of it. That is; if it be composed of Persons Ill-affected to the Government,²⁶¹ it cannot rationally be expected, that it should labour to Preserve, what it wishes to Destroy.

257 Non payment of Debts.

258 The Interests of the Souldiery.

259 An Ambitious Commander does better Abroad then at Home.

260 A Haly War is a Contrafiction

261 #

But we are treating of Distempers acquir'd; and rather proceeding from the ill manage of an Army, then from the first Mis-choyce, or founded in the Judgment of it. Concerning a Standing-Army, enough is said in the foregoing Chapter: a word wee'll add; It is in This Regard, an Affair of a Peevish Quality; that either a General has too little Power to do his Master's businesse, or enough to do his own.

As it is not safe for a Monarch,²⁶² at any time, to entrust the Chief Officer of an Army, with so much Power, for fear of a Sedition, as may enable him to move a Rebellion: so is it a work of great Skill, and Difficulty, so dexterously to Resume, or Ballance that over-grown Power, as to bring in under Command, without discovering such a Jealousie, as may Provoke him to abuse it. Let This suffice, as to the Disorders of an Army within it self.

Another Hazzard is, lest it be Corrupted into a Dependence, upon some other Interest, into which Defection, it may be partly Driven by the Neglect, or Unkindnesse of the Prince, and partly Drawn by the Allurements of Profit, and Reward.

Having spoken of the Mischief a Seditious Army may Doe; very Briefly let us behold what mischiefes a Vitious, and undisciplin'd Army may Cause.

There never fails to be an Opposition betwixt the Civill, and the Military Power; and in like maner betwixt the People, and the Souldiery. Whom nothing else can Reconcile but downright Force, and Necessity. So that the fairest State of a Nation overaw'd by an Army of their own Countrymen, is an extorted Patience, accompany'd with a Readinesse to embrace any opportunity of working their Deliverance.

If at the best, the bare appearance of a Force be so Generally distastful; what Havock will not the Licentious abuse of it Cause in a Kingdom? Especially in Populous Towns where One Affront Exasperates a Million, and 'tis not two hours work to destroy an Army.

A. Royall Guard is of another Quality;²⁶³ and such it ought to be before Choice and Number as both suitable to the Charge they undertake, for the Safety of That Sacred Person, and sufficient to the Execution of it.

Sect. V.

The CITY.

BY the City, we intend the Metropolis of a Kingdom; which in many Respects, challenges a Place and Consideration in This Chapter of Seditions; Particularly, in Regard of Inclination and Power.

There is not (Generally speaking) so fair an Intelligence betwixt the Court,²⁶⁴ and City, as for the Common Good of Both were to be wish'd: and This proceeds Chiefly from a Pride of Bloud,²⁶⁵ on the One side, and of Wealth, on the Other; breeding a mutual Envy between them.

262 Hazzard not a Rebellion in one Place, for fear of a Sedition in another.

263 The Constitution of a Guard Royall.

264 Court and City seldom agree.

265 The Reason of it.

This Envy, by degrees, boyles up to an Animosity, and Then, Tales are Carryed to the Monarch, of the insolence of the Citizens; and Stories, on the other side, to the People, of the Height, and Excesses of the Court: and Here's the Embryo of a Sedition. From Hence, each Party enters into a Crosse Contrivement. These, how to tame the Boldness of the One; and Those, how to supplant the Greatnesse of the Other: Both equally unmindful of their Inseparable Concerns: the Citizen, that he holds his Charter of the Bounty of his Prince; and the Courtier, that it is a flourishing Trade that makes a Flourishing Empire. By These Heats, is a City-Humour against the Court, emprov'd into a Popular Distemper against the King: and here's the Inclination of a Disorder'd City.

As to their Power;²⁶⁶ they have Men, Money, and Armes, at an houre's warning; the very Readynesse of which Provision makes it worth double the Proportion. Their Correspondencies are Commonly strong, and Firme; and their dependencies Numerous: for the Pretense, being Trade, and Liberty, books in all Places of the same Interest, to the same Faction: Beside That General device, (seeming Religion) that stamps the Cause, and Prints a GOD WITH US upon it. In fine; a Potent, and a Peevish City is a shrew'd Enemy.

Now to the Maner of Actuting Those Seditious Inclinations, and Emproving These Abilities to do Mischief.

Their first work is to Possesse the Vulgar with This Notion,²⁶⁷ that in some Cases the Monarch is limited, and the Subject free: intending, that the Prince is bounded by the Law, and that the People are at Liberty, where the Law is silent; and so likewise in points of Conscience. (by which Argument, the People Govern, where there is no expresse Law, and the King only where there is.)

Taking it once for Granted, that the Prince is Limited by the Law; (which Conscientiously he is; for in observing the Law,²⁶⁸ he does but keep his own word) They presently Conclude, that if the King transgresse the Rule of his Power, he forfeits the Right of it: and that for such a Violation, he is accomptable to the People, for whose Behoofe the Law was made. This is a Specious, but a Poysonous Inference, and rather adapted to a Mutinous Interest, then to a Peaceable, and candid Reason.

Let a Transgression be supposed; are there any Laws Paenal upon the Monarch? But there are none that warrant Tyranny. Right; but there are some yet that forbid Rebellion; and (without questioning the Cause) that declare all Violences whatsoever, upon the Person, or Authority of the King, to be Crimina Laesae Majestatis, or Treason. Are there any Laws now on the Other side, that depose Kings for Male-administration? If none, the Law being Peremptorily against the One, and only not for the Other:²⁶⁹ what does it, but constitute the Subject, in all cases, accomptable for his Resistance, to the Sovereign; and Leave the Supreme Magistrate, in all cases, to answer for his Mis-government to Almighty God? But let the Controversie passe, for we are not here so much to enter into the True State Matters, as to deliver their Appearances.

266 The Power of a City.

267 The Maner of Preparing the People for Sedition.

268 A Seditious Principle.

269 The King only Accomptable to God, and the People to the King.

And now is the time to bring the Faylings,²⁷⁰ and Mis-fortunes of the Prince upon the Stage; and by exposing him Naked before the Multitude, to make his Person Cheap, and his Government Odious to his People. Which they Effect, by certain Oblique Discourses from the Presse, and Pulpit; by Lamentable Petitions, craving Deliverance from such and such Distresses of Estate, or Conscience: and These they Print, and Publish; converting their (pretended) supplications for Relief, into bitter Remonstrances of the Cruelty and Injustice of their Rulers.

By These wiles, are the Vulgar drawn to a dislike of Monarchy; and That's the Quèue to a discourse of the Advantages of a Popular Government. (the next step to the Design of introducing it) There's none of This or That they cry) at Amsterdam:— and in short; from these Grudgings of Mutiny; These Grumblings against Authority, they slide Insensibly into direct, and open Practices against it. Alas! what are These Motions,²⁷¹ but the sparkling of a Popular Disposition, now in the Act of Kindling; which only wants a little Blowing of the Cole, to Puff up all into a Flame?

From the Leading, and Preparatory Motives to Sedition, now to the more Immediate and Enflaming Causes of it: which are reducible either to Religion, Oppression, Privileges, or Poverty.

Subsection I.

Seditions which concern Religion.

Those Seditious which concern Religion,²⁷² referr either to Doctrine, or Discipline: Haeresie, or Schism. The Former, is a Strife (as they say) for a better, or a worse: a Contest betwixt the Persuasion of the People, and the Religion of the Government, in matter of Faith; and tending either to Overthrow the One, or to Establish the Other. In This Case, the People, may be in the Right, as to the Opinion, but never so as to justify the Practice# for Christianity does not dissolve the Order of Society. To Obey God, rather than Man, is Well, Let us obey him then; in not Resisting Those Powers to which his Ordinance hath Subjected us.

Touching This, (with the Brethren's Leave) I take it to be the more Venial-Mortal Sin of the Two. That is;²⁷³ the Rebellion of Haeresie, is lesse unpardonable, than That of Schism: in regard first, that the Subject of the Difference is a matter of greater Import: Secondly, 'tis not Impossible, but the Mispersuasion may be founded upon Invincible Ignorance—. I do not say that I had rather be an Arrian, than a Calvinist; but I averr, that he is the foulest Rebell, that for the Slightest Cause, upon the Least Provocation, and against the Clearest-Light, Murthers his Sovereign.

Those Seditious,²⁷⁴ which are mov'd upon accompt of Schisme, are commonly a combination of Many against One; of Errour against Truth: and a Design, that strikes as well at the Civill Power, as the Ecclesiastick.

270 Cursed be the Sons of Ch•m.

271 #

272 Religious Sedition, either referring to Haeresie, or Schism.

273 Rebellion upon a point of Heresie, more Pardonable, than That from Schisme.

274 Seditious arising from Schisme.

This being a Subject which both in the first Section of This Chapter, and Else-where, is sufficiently discours'd upon; we shall rather addresse our selves to the Means (Peculiar to a City) of Comforting,²⁷⁵ and ayding these unquiet agitations, as more properly the Businesse of our present Argument.

Great Towns have first the Advantage of great Numbers of People,²⁷⁶ within a Small Compasse of Place; where, with much Ease, and Privacy; Those of the Faction may hold their full, and frequent Meetings; Debate, Contrive, nay, and Execute, with all Convenience. For when the Plot is Laid; the Maner, and the Time, Appointed: ther's no more trouble for the Rendezvons; the Party's Lodg'd already, the Town it self being the most Commodious Quarter. 'Tis in respect of These favourable concurrences, that men of Turbulent, and Factious Spirits, rather make choyce of Populous Cities to Practise in.

Another Hazzard may arise from the Temper of the Inhabitants, as well, as from the Condition of the Place; and from the very Humour, and application of the Women, in a notion distinct from That of the Men.

From the Temper of the Inhabitants;²⁷⁷ first, as partaking usually of the Leaven of their Correspondents; whom we find very often, both Famous for Trade, and Notorious for Schisme. (But Men are Generally so good-Natur'd, as to think well of any Religion they Thrive under.)

Further; their Employment being Traffique, or Negotiating for Benefit; and their Profession being to Buy as Cheap as they can, and to Sell, as Dear: without any measure between the Risque, or Disbursment; and the Profit: they are commonly better Accomptants, then Casuists; and will rather stretch their Religion to their Interest, then shrink their Interest to their Religion.

They have again, so superstitious a Veneration for the Iustice of Paying Mony upon the Precise Hour; that they can very hardly believe any man to be of the right Religion, that Breaks his Day. And observe it, let a Prince run himself deep in Debt, to his Imperial City, they shall not so much Glamour at him for an ill Pay-Master,²⁷⁸ as upon a Fit of Holinesse, suspect him for an Haretique, or Idolater: Proposing a Tumult, as the ready way to Pay themselves; and That I reckon as the first step into a Rebellion.

Now, how The Women come to be concern'd, That first: and Then; why the City-Dames more then Other?

It is the Policy of all Cunning Innovatours, when they would put a Trick upon the world in matter of Religion,²⁷⁹ which they desire may be Receiv'd with Passion, recommended with Zeal, and Dispersed with Diligence, to begin (with the stronger Sex, though the Weaker Vessell) that excellent Creature#Woman. And This Course they take, out of These Considerations.

275 The Means of provoking Sedition.

276 The Advantages of Great Towns for Seditions.

277 Cities are inclinable to Seditions, from the Temper of the Inhabitants.

278 #

279 Religious Innovatours begin with Women.

First,²⁸⁰ as That Sex is Naturally scrupulous, and Addicted to Devotion; and so, more susceptible of delusive Impressions, that bear a face of Piety.

Secondly, as it is too Innocent, to suspect a Deceit, and too Oredulous, to Examine it; so is it probably not crafty enough to Discover it.

Thirdly, Women are supposed, not only to Entertein what they Like, with more Earnestnesse of Affection, but also to impart what they know, with a Greater Freedom of Communication: which proceeds from a Particulr propensity in That Gracious Sex, to enter into a strict Intelligence, concerning Matters Curious, and Novell.

Fourthly, They are as well the Best Advocates, as the Freest Publishers.²⁸¹ Get them but once engaged, and at next word all their Children are to be taught Short-hand, and new Catechisms; the Table shall be bl••t in a Tune; not the Heel of a Lark; no, not so much as a Prune in the White-Broth, shall scape without a Particular Benediction. And Then,²⁸² the Wrought Cushion; the Damask Napkin; the Best Room, and the First Cut at the Table, are reserved for the Adored Genius of the Family. The Good Man of the House, shall not presume to Close his Eyes, without an Opiate, (to make it English) according to the Directory; and when he opens them again, next day, 'tis odds, he finds his wakefull Bedfellow Shifting her Linnen, and Preparing for a Mornings Exercise. This Reverend Wight has commonly some Skill in Physique too; enough to Comfort a Professing Sister, that Keeps her Bed, (for grief no doubt) because her Lord (perhaps) is call'd aside by State, or Business.

Nor does The Pious Matron Confine her Bounteous Dispensations within the Circle of her Private Family; but with an Over-flowing Charity, reaches a helping hand to all the Members of the Distressed Brother-hood; and (like a Christian to the very Letter) Layes every thing in Common. These are the Early and Late Advocates; the warm Sollicitresses; What Husband would not Glory to see his Wife, and Fortune so dispos'd of?

Let not some few Mistakes persuade the world yet,²⁸³ that Woman is [not,] of all Creatures, the most accomplish'd, and the best dispos'd to the End she was made for.

That Women are (in General) the fittest Agents of all Others, for a Religious Errour, to me seems past a Question:²⁸⁴ Now; why a City-Dame, is for That Purpose, the fittest Instrument even of all Sorts of Women?

First,²⁸⁵ her Employment's Little; she keeps much at Home; and her dead Leisures, are, beyond doubt, not absolutely Thoughtless. Is not her Mixture Sociable, as That of other Mortals? Phansy her Solitary Enterteynment now. Does not she wish to see, and to be seen, as well as other Women? Nay, does she not Contrive too, how to Compass it? Playes there are none perhaps, at hand; Festivals come but seldome.

280 Four Reasons why.

281 A Zealous Sister.

282 And her Confessour.

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285 #

While shee's Thus casting, How and How; in Steps the Tempter; dreams out an Hour or Two in Prologue, and at last, happily hits her Humour; asks her, what Church she goes to? and invites her to a Lecture. Away she goes; enters her self a Member of his Congregation;²⁸⁶ never to be Reclaimed, and so Farewell she. Look to your Wives, my Masters; and Remember BAGSHAW.

After all This, let me profess, I take the better sort of Citizens, for an Intelligent, Frank, and Sober People; nor do I find more Prudence, Modesty, Virtue, then under That Denomination. Yet is it not to be Expected, that so Vast a Multitude should be without some Loose Examples? and I divide the Blame, even There too, betwixt an Idle Course of Life, and the Alluring Artifice of their Seducers. But this I stick to: A Schismatical Clergy infects the Women; They, the City; and a Schismatical City destroys a Kingdom.²⁸⁷

Subsection II.

Oppression.

Oppression provokes Sedition, many wayes; and many wayes it is Procur'd, even by the most Seditious Themselves; with Express end, that it may provoke Sedition.

The Haughty,²⁸⁸ and Imperious Rudeness of a Churlish Officer, that without either Proof, or Hearing, Law, or Reason, hand over head Condemnes and Punishes: (only perchance to Vaunt his Power,) This is a Boldness, that Reflects upon the Safety and the Honour of his Master; rendring both the Minister hated, and the Prince suspected.

Unlimited Protections, Irregular and Heavy Taxes, Billetting and Free-quartering of Souldiours; The Denyall of Equal Right, &c.—Stir up Seditious Humours in a City. But These are downright Provocations.

There are that go a cleanlyer way to work,²⁸⁹ that squeeze the People, under Colour of serving the King; winding up the Pin of Authority, till they Crack the very strings, by which That, and Subjection are tack'd together. They undo all, by Overdoing, and under an humble shew of holding the Stirrup, till the Prince seats himself, they draw so hard they turn the Saddle: or if he needs a Lift to help him Up, they'll give him one, but such a One, shall cast him Over.

In fine;²⁹⁰ what ever may be Plausible for the present; fatall in the Consequence; wherein the Promoters may either seem Innocent, or not appear at all; and a Publique Obloquy rest upon the Sovereign; This is a Device to do Their Business.

Is there any Colourable fear of a Sedition? Their Counsell will be then, to raise such a Force, as in all likely-hood will cause a Rebellion. Are the Prince his Coffers full? Occasions will be sought to Empty Them; by Breaking with One Interest, wedding Another. A Thousand Remedies there are

286 A Shee-Proselyte.

287 #

288 Oppression causes Sedition.

289 A Presbyterian Trick.

290 The Politique Hypocrite.

for That Sur-charge of Treasure. When they have drawn the Monarch dry, they know he must be resupply'd; and they known what a Peevish task it is, to six Regality upon a new Bottome.

As their first Aime was to Provoke Expencc, that he might Want; it will be now Their work, in such maner to sollicite his Supply, that he shall suffer more by the ill Methode of it, then Gain by the Recruit. Briefly, if they can Effect, that what Themselves call a Supply, the Generality may understand to be an Oppression (and so They wish it Understood) The City Clamours first; and Popular Tumults, are but the Forlorn to a Rebellion.

Not that either Force,²⁹¹ or Cruelty, can ever discharge a Subject of his Allegiance: Nay, should his Prince command one of his Armes for Dogs-meat; he were a Traytour, should he yet refuse to serve his Master with the other.

Subsection III.

Privileges.

A Third Particular of no small Force upon the Genius of a City,²⁹² is what concerns their Privileges; whereof they Principally are Tender. First, in points of Trade, and Commerce: Secondly, in Affairs of Order, and Custome, relating to the Counsell, and Government of the City: Thirdly, in Matters of Personal Freedom, and Advantage.

Any Empeachment in the Point of Trade,²⁹³ they take heynously; as Disappointing at once, the very Purpose of their Incorporations, the Hopes of their Well-being; and the main Businesse of their Lives. In This Respect, they are many times so Delicate, as not to distinguish between Benefits of Grace, and Rights of Privileges clayming a Title to Those Advantages which they hold only by Favour.

They are likewise Subject to forget,²⁹⁴ that even their clearest Immunities are but Dependent, and Precarious: and they had need be minded, that to believe them Other, is to Forfeit them. For it implyes a Disacknowledgment of the Sovereign Power; which Mistake being once set afoot, obliges the Prince to Resume, for the Safety of the whole, such Indulgences as were only Granted for the behoof of a Part. To This he is Ty'd by evident Reason of State, and by Political Equity; both as a Wise Prince, and as a Pater Patriae, a Father of his Country. Wherefore away with These Dividing Niceties,²⁹⁵ since neither Prince, nor Peapli• can be Secure, but by Agreement. What can a Single Monarch do without the Obedience, Love, and Service of his People? Or what becomes of a Distracted Multitude, without a Head to Govern Their Confussions? But This (in the words of a most Ingenious Person) is a Text upon which the Wise part of the world has used in vain to Preach to the Fools.

Since so it is, that the Vulgar will neither be Taught by Experience, nor persuaded by Renson, we are to take for Granted, that some Grievances lead to Seditions, almost as Orderly, as Natural Causes to their Effects, the Multitude ever siding with Interest, against Virtue.

291 Loyalty is Indispensable.

292 Citizens are Tender of their Privileges.

293 Principally in point of Trade.

294 Their immunities are Precarious.

295 Neither Prince nor People can be secure but by Agreement.

²⁹⁶The Liberty of Exporting Native Commodities raw, and unwrought; and of Importing (possibly) the same Materials in Manufacture, is a Matter of Evill Relish, and of Dangerous Consequence. So likewise is the Employment of Strangers, where the Natives want Work; and the advancing of Foreign Trade, to the Sterving of it at home.

Concerning the Other Two Particulars, before mentioned, the One Relating to the Frame of a City-Government, the Other, to their Personal Privileges; it shall suffice to Note, that an Encroachment upon either of them, Endangers a Sedition.

Subsection IV.

Poverty.

THE Last,²⁹⁷ and the most Irresistible incentive to Sedition in a City, is Poverty. That is, a Poverty proceeding from Misgovernment. Not but that Want, upon what accompt soever is bad enough: Whether from Dearth, Losses by Fire, or Storme; Piracies, Banquerupts; the Ravages of Warr, &c.— Yet Here, there's something in the Fate, the Accident, or Maner, of the Calamity, to allay the Anguish of it. Men Quarrel not with Providence for ill Seasons; nor with the Winds, the Waves, or Flames, because of Wracks, or Conflagrations. To suffer by Pirates, or Banquerupts, is but the Chance of Traffique, and the Extremities of Warr are Common Injuries.²⁹⁸ But where a Pinching Poverty Seizes a Populous City, and from a Cause too that's within the Reach of Malice, or Revenge; That State's concern'd betimes to look to the Disorder.

The Immediate Cause of This Necessity among the Common sort is want of Work, which proceeds from the decay of Trade, arising chiefly from a General Scarcity of Mony; which may be Imputed to One or more, of These Ensuing Reasons.

First,²⁹⁹ The Insatiate Corruption of Rapacious, and Great Officers; in whose Coffers, as in the Grave, Monyes are rather Buried, then laid up. Nay, as in Hell it self (I might have said) for they are as Bottomlesse; and of the Treasure that lies There Condemn'd, the Doom's almost as Irreversible. 'Tis as the Fox Observ'd to the³⁰⁰ Aegrotting Lion

—Me Vestigia terrent,

Omnia te Adversum spectantia, Nulla Retrorsum.

I can Trace Many, Forward, but None Back.

These Private Hoards cannot chuse but produce a Publique Penury,³⁰¹ when That Wealth, which would suffice to Employ, and Relieve Thousands, that either Beg for want of Work, or Sterve for want of Bread; is drawn into so narrow a Compasse. And yet in This suppos'd Extremity of Affaires, I make a Doubt, whether is more Miserable, the Needy, or the Oppressour?

296 #

297 Poverty an Irresistible Incentive to Sedition.

298 The most Dangerous Poverty.

299 Corruption the Cause of Scarcity.

300 A word us'd in Westminster Schoole, when a Boy Counterfeits Sick.

301 Private Hoards breed Publique Penury.

Can any Composition more certainly destroy a Nation,³⁰² then a Concurrence of Power, Pride, Avarice, and Injustice, in the same Persons? But Then again, when the Storme comes; These are the Ionasses, that by the Rabble will be first cast Over-board, to save the Vess•ll. And This they cannot but forethink, and Tremble at; at least, if ever they get Leisure for a Sober Thought. And let them Look which way they Please;³⁰³ Backward, Forward, Round about, Upward, Downward, Inward, they are beset with Objects of Terrour, and self-affrighted, from the Glasse of their own Consciences.

Behind them,³⁰⁴ they see dreadful Presidents of Corrupt Ministers, thrown from their Slippery, and ill-menaged State of Greatnesse: Torne by their Enemies; scarce Pitty'd by their Friends; the Mirth of their own Creatures, and the meer Mockery of Those that Rays'd them.

Forward,³⁰⁵ they find Themselves upon a Precipice, and in great hazzard to encrease the Number of those sad Presidents.

If they look Round about them,³⁰⁶ they are Encompass'd with the Cryes of Widows, and of Orphans; whose Husbands, or whose Fathers, lost their Lives, in the Defence (perhaps) of their Prince, and Country. With These, are Mingled the Faint Gr•ans of Sterving Wretches in their Last Ag•nies, whose Modesty chose rather to Die silent, then Complaining; and to abide the worst Effects o• Want, rather then tell the more Intolerable Story of it. But This to Them, is not so much, as to perceive Themselves at Bay amidst a Snarling Multitude.

In short;³⁰⁷ Above them, there's an All-seeing Eye, an Unchangeable Decree, and an Incorruptible Iudg, that Over-looks,³⁰⁸ and Threatens Them. Below them, Hell: (or rather 'tis Within Them; an Accusing Conscience) If This be their Prospect, how Deplorable is their Condition!

Are not Their Pillows stuff'd with Thornes?³⁰⁹ Or when they Venture at a Nap, do they not Dream of Robberies, and Seditions? Whom, or What do they not fear? Where is't they think Themselves Secure? Is not Their Table Spread with Snares? Does not Every Bribe look like a Bait; Every Servant, like a Spy; Every Strange Face, like somewhat that's worse? And what are their Near Friends, but either Conscious Partakers, or Dangerous, and Suspected Witnesses? They find Themselves Arraign'd by the Preacher; Condemn'd by the Iudg; and Strangled by the Executioner: For being Guilty of the Crime, and Worthy of the Punishment, They cannot but Apply the Processe to Themselves, and in Imagination, bear the Malefactour Company, even from the Pulpit, to the Gibbet.

Add to all This, the Sting of an Incessant, Restlesse Iealousie. Not a Look, Whisper, Hint, or Action, but they suspect Themselves the Subject of it. The Holy Text it self, where it Reproves Their

302 The Composition of Wicked Ministers of State.

303 The Misery of them.

304 If either they look Back;

305 Forward;

306 Round about;

307 Above them;

308 B•low; or within them.

309 The Sollic•tous estate of the Guilty.

Sins, Sounds like a Libell to Them. Nay, were This silly Innocent Description of them, but in a Tongue which any man Concern'd could understand; some of Their Ears would Tingle at it.

A General Scarcity of Mony,³¹⁰ may, in the Second Place, arise from Taxes, and That either Immediately, in Respect of the Burthen; or Consequentially, in respect of the Occasion; the Inequality; the Maner of Imposing, or Levying Them; or the Subject Matter it self of the Tax.

Touching the Burthen, and Occasion; It Properly belongs to Those in Power to Judge of it, as well how much, as to what end? So in the Rest, The People are likewise to Subject Themselves to such Determinations as their Superiours hold Convenient. Only in case of an Undue Authority Imposing, or some Illegal Course of Levying Taxes, there may be some Allowances; which to proportion to their Various Instances, is neither for This Place, nor for my Meaning.

That Subjects are to Obey Lawful Commands,³¹¹ without disputing the Reasons of Them, is beyond Question. Yet is't not in the Power of Humane Nature, to keep men from Surmising, and from Guessing at them. Wee'll Grant ye too, that in some Cases, some People, will in some Sort, do some Things as they ought to do. Yet we are where we were; that is, they will be Guessing still.

If Taxes follow quicker, and run higher then Ordinary; and This too, when a Nation's Poor already; that 'tis the way to make it Poorer, I think's no Secret: for sure, the More men part with, the Lesse they have Remaining. At first; Good God! they cry: so much? and the next Question's, Why? ('Tis true, they should not Aske, but who can hinder them?)

Is it for the Honor or Safety of the Prince? 'Tis Consequently for the Publique Good;³¹² and he deserves to be expell'd Humane Society, that narrowly prefers his Little dirty Interest, before so Sacred, and so great a Benefit.

But are These Levies to be so Employ'd? Who Gathers? Who Receives? or, Who Disposes of them? Are they not Shar'd, or at least so Reduc'd by Private hands; that not a Twenty'th Penny goes to the Publique? Are they not for some other Purpose? (no matter what.) All This is Nothing to the Subjects Right, either of Enquiry, or Refusal. Yet These Miscariages of the Common Treasure make People wary, and provide betimes for fear of Troubles. Some Call In Their Monyes; Others will Let none out: a Third sort, (that dare not stand the Change they fear) dispose of Theirs Abroad: and This may passe for another Cause of a General Scarcity of Mony.

A Third, is the Inequality of Taxes; the Overpressing of any One Party. As if the Burthen lies heavyer upon the City, then Country; upon the Gentry, then Yeomanry, &c.—If upon the City, they call it Spite; if upon the Country, Oppression. And in fine; fall the Disproportion where it fall can, it breeds ill blood: for That Weight breaks the Back of any One Interest, which evenly dispos'd, would seem no heavy Load, upon the Shoulders of All. *Ferre quam sortem patiuntur Omnes, Nemo recusat.* The Consequence of This Inequality, is a Generall Ruine, but piece-meal, and One Part after Another.

Touching the Maner of Imposing, or Levying, we waive That; and passe to the Subject Matter of the Tax. (A point (how little soever regarded) scarce lesse Considerable then the Total Amount of it.)

310 Taxes may cause, or occasion a Scarcity divers wayes.

311 Subj•cts are to Obey, without Disputing.

312 #

If the Device be Novell; the People shy and ticklish: if there be Factions Stirring, and the Prince not absolutely Master, better raise Thrice the Value in the Rode of Levyes, then hazzard the Experiment of a By-way.³¹³ 'Tis Machiavell's advice concerning Sanguinary Cruelties; where Cruelty is Necessary, do it at once; or at least, seldome as possible. But then be sure to follow it with Frequent Acts of Clemency; by which Means, you shall be fear'd for your Resolution, and belov'd for your Good-Nature: whereas a Little, and Often, Terrifies Lesse, and Disquiets people much more, imprinting Jealousies of further Inconveniencies; so that they know not what to Trust to.

Most Certain it is, that as Many petty Injuries deface the Impression of One Great Benefit; so in like maner do Many slight Benefits deface the Impression of One Great Injury; the Last Act sinking deepest. For 'tis from Thence, Men Measure their expectation of the Future; and as they look for Good, or Bad, they are Pea•eable or Troublesome.

Wherefore, as it is Duty to do Well alwayes, so 'tis Wisdom to do Well Last;³¹⁴ and where a Pressure cannot be avoided, not to leave standing (so near as may be) any Memorial of it: Least •When your Children shall ask their Father in time to come, saying, What mean you by these Stones?³¹⁵ &c.—

The wayes of Supplying Princes are Various, according to their Several Interests, Practices, Powers, and Constitutions. Not to lose my self in Particulars, One General shall serve for all.

It behoves a State to be very wary, how they Relieve a Present need upon the Foundation of a Lasting Inconvenience for though in some Extremities, there is no Choyce; yet it very rarely happens, that a Prince is the Better for the Mony, where he is the worse for the President. Sir Thomas Rowe in a Speech at the Counsell-Table, 1640. (directed to the dashing of a Project, tending to the Enfeebling of the Quoyne (as he Phrases it) Cites the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and Sir Thomas Smith, giving Their Opinion to Queen Elizabeth; in These words: That it was not the short end of Wits, nor starting holes of Devises, that can susteyn the expence of a Monarchy, but sound and solid courses. H•race his [Rem facias, Rem,—Si possis, Rectè, si non, quocunque modo Rem] will not serve the turn.

'Tis sharply said of Sir Francis Bacon;³¹⁶ [That the Wisdom of all These Latter Times in Princes Affaires, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shifting of Dangers and Mischiefs, when they are near; than solid and grounded Courses to keep them aloof] (but sayes he again) [It is the Solaecism of Power, to think to Command the End, and yet not to endure the Mean.] These are the Sleights, the Ill-husbandry of Government: through which mistakes, insensibly, a Great Revenue moulders away, and yet the State never out of Debt.

Excessive Building is another Cause of Generall Scarcity;³¹⁷ for it leaves the Country too Thin, and over-peoples the City: Enhansing the Rate, and consuming the Meanes of Living. It wasts the Nobility and Gentry; It Empoverishes also, and Disobliges the Populacy: (All that is got in the Country, being spent in the City) beside the Hazzardous disproportion, betwixt the Head and the Body.

313 Note.

314 Leave no Marque standing to remember a Discourtesie by.

315 Josh. 4. 6.

316 Shiftings passes for Wisdome.

317 Excessive Building.

One Reason of This Scarcity, may be from some Defect in the Law it self: as where sufficient Provision is not made for strict, and Peremptory payment upon Bond. Men will not part freely with their Mony, where they may be put off by Shifts and Delays, and driven to a Vexatious Suit to get it In again.

Another great Inconvenience proceeds from a General Grasping a more Trade then they can Master: which causes many Faylings one upon the Neck of another.

To what's already said,³¹⁸ (not to be endless) we'll only add Two Causes more. The One, is the deceit, and Knavery of Artizans, and Trades-men; who for a Private Gain betray the Interest of the Publique; and invert the Ballance of Trade, by such Abusive Manufactures, as are neither Saleable abroad, nor Serviceable at Home, which both Necessitates the Importation of Forreign Commodities, and hinders the Issue of Native: beside the Treble Charge; their Dearnesse, and their little-Usefulness consider'd.

We shall Conclude with Pride:³¹⁹ which were't in nothing else but what's expended upon Guildings, Gold and Silver Lace, and Forreign Curiosities of Needle-work, would not be inconsiderable. But where 'tis General, and extends both to all sorts of Superfluities, and all Degrees of Persons; That City goes by the Post to Ruine: for Pride, is not only the Fore-runner of Destruction, and the Cause of it; but the Loud, and Crying Provoker of it.

Sect. VI.

The COUNTRY.

THat Interest which contributes the Least to a Sedition, and suffers the most by it, is That of the Country: which is properly comprised under Tillage, and Pasture. For I reckon all Populous Places, (whether Towns or Villages) that subsist by steady Traffique, or Handy-crafts, to be no other then Dependencies upon the Metropolis; which is usually, That in Proportion to the Kingdom, which the Principal City, of every Province, is to the Other Parts of it.

This Interest seldome or never leads a Sedition upon it's own Accompt; and when it does engage, under Protection possibly of the next strong Hold, or in favour of some neighbouring, and Seditious Market-Town, we do not find much hurt the Country-man does, so long as the Sword, and Plough are menaged by the same Hand. If they forsake their Husbandry, and turn Souldiours; they fall under another Notion.³²⁰ But in short; let the Cause be what it will, and the event of a Warr what it can; They are sure to be undone by't: wherefore They may well be Friends to Peace, to whom Warr is so great an Enemy.

Is there a Warr commenced?³²¹ Their Cariages must waite upon the Army, Their Provisions feed them: Their Persons attend them, yes, and Their Contribution Pay Them. Their Teams must serve the

318 Knavery of Tradesmen.

319 Pride.

320 The Country is sure to be undone by a War.

321 The Fruits of it.

State; Their Wives, and Girles, the Souldiery: They must be Mounting Dragoons, when they should be Plowing. Lugging their Beanes and Bacon to the Head-Quarter, when they should be Sowing: and at last, scarce a Lame Iade to get in that little Harvest, which the wild Troupes have left them: Their Cattle are Driven away by one Party to day, Their Corn taken by another to Morrow, and when they are Thoroughly Plunder'd, because they had something; they must afterward expect to be Beaten too, because they have Nothing.

Are not These faire Encouragements to make Husbandmen Seditious? And ye•, This Interest is severall wayes made use of to Promote Sedition. Particularly, by Three sorts of People; The Discontented Nobleman; the Rich Churle; the Stiff, and Contentious Free-born-Subject.

A Great Person may become Weary of the Court,³²² and withdraw into the Country, out of divers unquiet Considerations: Out of Ambition, Pride, or Revenge.

If his Trouble be Ambition,³²³ his Course is to strengthen himself by Popularity, and make a Party, by spending his Revenue in a Bountifull, and Open Hospitality upon the People: which is the most Winning and the most spreading of all Obligations. His Iades, his Kites, his Currs, are free to all comers: his Family is the whole World; and his Companions are the Wits, and the best of Good-fellowes.

If his Retirement be out of Pride as chusing rather to be the first Person in the Country,³²⁴ then the Second or Third at Court: His businesse is Popularity too, though perhaps not Ayning so high (for there are a sort of People, insufferably haughty in their Looks, Garbe, and Language; that have not Courage enough to be Ambitious) This Man's attended by the best Parasites that are to be had for Mony.

The Third Distemper is Revenge;³²⁵ and That's the worst of the Three: In Ambition, there's somewhat that's Noble. Pride indeed, is a Base, and Abject Vice, (that is; a Cowardly • Pride: Nay 'tis at best, but a Simple Sin) But Revenge is Black, and Diabolical. Let it proceed whence it will. Whether from some Affront, Repulse, Neglect; Nay, a Wry Look, or a Mistaken Hint raises this Devill.

This is a Humour now of another Complexion: Morose, Unpleasant, and rather watchful to Emprove an Opportunity of Mischief, then Laborious to prepare it. In the House of a Person haunted with •his Fury, you shall find Throngs of Silenc'd Ministers# Discharged Officers; Crop-eard Schismatiques; Broken Citizens, &c.

These are the Dangerous Malecontents, whose Differing Inclinations of Temper are no hinderance to their Unity of Design, where the Safety of the Prince and Government is the Question.

Next to This Discontented Nobleman,³²⁶ Follows the Rich Churle: which is a Creature, that opposing Wealth to Dignity, becomes the Head of the People, for his Saucinesse of bearing up against the ••wer, and Nobility of the Court. It is scarce to be Imagined, The Interest of This Chuff in a Popular

322 A Discontented Nobleman.

323 Ambition.

324 Pride.

325 R•venge.

326 The Rich Chu•le.

Scuffle; especially, if he has gotten his Estate by a Rustical, and •loding Industry: for Then the Vulgar Reckon him as One of their own Rank, and support him, as the Grac•, and Dignity of their Order.

We come now to the Stiff,³²⁷ and Contentious Free-born Subject: the Queintest, and the Sharpest Youth of the Three. Hee'll tell ye to a hair, upon what Point, Prerogative becomes Tyranny: How far a Subject may promote a Rebellion, and yet be honest himself, and Cleave the very Atome, that divides the Rights of King and Subject. Does any Minister of State, or Iustice passe his Commission, but the tenth part of a Scruple? he cries, 'Tis Arbitrary, Illegal, and an Encroachment upon the Birth-right of a Free-born P•ople. Let him be Question'd, and the Matter Scann'd, here's his Dilemma. Either by Carrying the Cause, he Iustifies, and Puffs up the People; or by Suffering for it, he Enrages them: but still Obliging them both wayes; the One way as their Champion, and the Other, as their Martyr.

Upon the Summe of the Matter, That Government must be Carryed very even, which These Instruments, in Combination, shall not be able to discompose.

Touching the Common Sort; it is so little it their Power to Embroyle a Kingdome, and so much lesse their Interest to do it, that This Little is enough said concerning Them; setting aside the Influence they have upon the Subject we are now entring upon.

Sect. VII.

The Body Representative.

THE Seaventh and Last Interest we are to Treat of, is the Body Representative, which is but One Grand Interest made up of all the Rest; and as the Whole stands well, or ill-affected to the Government, so commonly does That. Yet it falls out sometime, that the Diligence, and Stickling of a Faction gets the Start of a General Inclination. It would aske an Age, to reckon up all the Inconveniencies which may arrive from the Evill Composition of This Assembly: but so strict an Accompt will not be Necessary, in regard that the Prince may, at his Pleasure, Remedy all, by Dissolving them.

One great Defect, is that in many places they have no Stated Rule how far their Cognisance extends; No Measure of their Privileges:³²⁸ through which Default, more Time is spent, and too too oft, more Passion Stirr'd, about the bounds of Their Authority, then the main Businesse of their Meeting. Beside the desperate Influence of This Mysterious Incertainty, upon the Prince, and Publique:•nder which Colour, nothing so Seditious, but it may both be Introduc'd and Protected. Suppose a Motion in the Assembly directly against the Crown: The Prince takes Notice of it; and demands Reason for it. Is't not a fine Reply, that to deny Liberty of Speech; to take Notice of any Thing in Debate; to Question any One Member without the Leave of the Rest, is a Breach of Privilege.

The Representative we here speak of, answers the nearest of any) to the House of Commons in England; which Resemblance will much facilitate the task we are now upon, having only to look back into the History of Charles the Martyr, to find the Greatest Mischiefs, and the Foulest Crimes which such a Convention in disorder may be capable of: not meddling with the Names of Persons, but

327 The Contentious Free born•Subject.

328 #

contenting our selves to discover the Arts, Grounds, and Occasions of Seditious, without reproaching the Authors of them.

The Dangerous Mixture of a Representative,³²⁹ we may divide into These Three Parties. The Designers of Mischief; tho Permitters of it; and the Incompetent Iudges of it: whose faylings, are either of Commission, Omission, or Ignorance.

To begin with the First.³³⁰ The Designers are either the Ambitious Heads of the Faction, that ayme at Power, as well as Profit, in the Subversion of the Government; or such Dependencyes, as they can Engage by Menace, Flattery, faire Pretences; Mony, or Preferment. These in their Severall Places, promote the same Seditious Interest, and every man knowes his Station.

They have their Contrivers,³³¹ their Speakers, their Sticklers, their Dividers, their Moderators, and their Blancks: (their I-and-NO-men) by which Method, and Intelligence, all Debates are Menaged to the Advantage of the Party, and Occasion. They know when to Move, when to Presse, when to Quit, Divert, Put off, &c. and they are as Skilfull in the Manner of Moulding their Businesse, as they are Watchfull for the Season of Timing it. Add to this Agreement, and Confederacy of Designe, their Zeal, and Earnestness of Intention; and what will not an Indefatigable Industry, joynd to these Emprovements of Order, and Counsell, be able to accomplish? [The Lower# and Weaker Faction, is the firmer in Conjunction (says Sir F. Bacon) and it is often seen, that a few, that are Stiffe, doe tire out a Greater Number, that are more Moderate:]

Yet to the Miracles that are wrought by Forecast,³³² and Assiduity, there is still requisite a Matter predispos'd, and fit to work upon: and That's the Dresse, or Cleanly Couching of the Project. 'Tis not at first dash to attempt the Person of the King, but the Multitude must by Degrees, be made sensible of the Faults of his Ministers; and Instructed to clamour against Oppression and Prophaneness. Why should a Free-borne Subject be Press'd with Taxes, and Obedience, or a Christian Libertine be ty'd to worship by a Set-forme? Is it not against the Fundamentals of a Mix'd Monarchy, (That ridiculous supposition) for the Supream Magistrate to impose upon his Coordinate Subjects? Or, where is it Commanded in the Bible, for people to Kneele at the Communion, or to stand up at Gloria Patri?

These are sore Grievances indeed,³³³ and now the Humour's ripe for Petitions to the Senate; which being both Procur'd and Fram'd by a Cabale of the Senatours Themselves, cannot fayle of being acceptable to the Faction: who, by this Artifice, get the Credit of being taken for the proper Arbitratours of all Differences betwixt King, and People, through which mistake, the Popular Representative becomes both Party and Iudge, and it is Then no hard matter to Guess what will become of the Prerogative.

By making the most of all Complaints, and the Worst of all Abuses; they bespeak a Compassion for the One side, and they provoke an Odium toward the Other: which Amplification renders exceedingly Necessary the Remedy of a Thorough-Reformation.

329 The Dangerous mixture of a Representative.

330 The Designing Party.

331 Their Industry and Combination.

332 The Matter they work upon.

333 Their Maner of Proceeding.

The Subject is to be Free in One Point, and the Monarch Limited in Another. These Courts are to be Abolish'd, Those Counsellours to be remov'd, &c.— And in fine, when the Prince has yielded, till they want matter for Compleint; Their Fears are not lesse Clamorous, and Importune, then were their Compleinings. Of which undutiful, and unlimited Distemper, This is the certain Issue; from one desire they proceed to another, till the Prince to secure Their Jealousy,³³⁴ has parted with all possibility of Preserving Himselfe.

This is their Course, where they find the Government allready in Disorder; but how to Introduce That Disorder, is quite another point of Cunning.

They are here onely to procure Those Grievances, for which they are afterward to provide Remedies, and to cast the State into a Disease# that with better Pretense they may give it Physick; Siding with the Prerogative against the People, in the first place, and with the People against the Prerogative, in the next. In a word; Their Services are snares; they give a little, that they may take all, and by a Plausible Oppression, provoke a Barbarous Rebellion.

Another sort of ill Ministers in a Representative,³³⁵ are the Permitters of these Abuses: Such as being Chosen and Entrusted for the Publique Weale, Abandon their Stations, and Deliver up their Country. Betwixt whom, and the Conspiratours Themselves, there is but This Difference. The One Quits the Breach, and the Other, Enters: These, Throw down their Armes, and Those Take the Town; what the One Party carries by Treason, the Other loses by Cowardice.

Of These Deserters,³³⁶ some are taken Off by Profit, Pleasure, Vanity, Sloth, Neglect, or Partiality: Others, are led by their Passions; as Fear, Anger, &c. In all which Cases, whoever prefers a Private Interest to a Publique, Betrayes his Trust.

Some Peoples Mouths are Stopp'd,³³⁷ with Offices, Rewards, Fair Promises, Hopes of Preferment, &c. And These, upon the very Crisis of a Debate, find Twenty Shifs, to waive the pinch of the Dispute, and let the Question fall; even though the Crown it self depend upon the Issue of it. This is done, either by coming too late, or perhaps, not at all; by Going away too soon, or saying Nothing when they are There: by which Discouragements, the Cause is lost, only for want of Their Arguments, and Voices to Turn the Scale.

Others are Drawn from Their Duties by Pleasure:³³⁸ perhaps a Party at Tennis, Bowles; Chards; a Pack of Dogs, a Cock fight, or a Horse-match, a Comedy, a Good-fellow, or a Mistresse: And while They are Thus Employ'd, the Vigilant Faction steals a Vote That's worth a Kingdom.

Some again are so Transported with the Vanity of Dresse,³³⁹ and Language, that rather than serve the Publique with one hair amisse, or in one Broken Periode, they'll let the Publique Perish. Mallent Rem-Publicam turbari, quàm Capillos. These, while their Country lies at Stake, are ordering

334 #

335 The Perm•tters of Seditious Contrivements.

336 The Deserters of their Trust are taken off

337 by Profit,

338 Pleasure,

339 Vanity,

of their Heads, and Polishing the Phrase, Shaping the Parts of a Set-Speech, till 'tis too late to use it. Nothing methinks does lesse beseem a Grave Assembly, then This same Facultatula loquendi: this same Rhetoricall Twittle-twattle; it spins out so much Time in Tedious Circumstance, that it makes a man e'en sick of a Good Cause, and for the very Form, prejudg the Reason of it.

Sloth,³⁴⁰ and Neglect, are yet more dangerous in a Senatour; nor onely in Regard of Surprises from the Faction, but of Discontentments likewise from the People. These think a Wet Day, or a Cold Morning, a Sufficient Discharge of their Attendance: and while they are taking t'other Napp, or t'her Bottle, the Monarch perhaps has lost his Crown, or the Subject his Liberty.

Come to Particular Cases, how many Families are lost by Disappointments;³⁴¹ by Relying upon promises; Delays from Time to Time! How many Iust and Sad Petitions are thrown aside, unregarded; as serving onely for waste Paper! and so far from Reliefe, they cannot obteyn so much as a bare Reading.

Distinguishing of Persons in Matters of Equity,³⁴² is furthermore a great Abuse; where a Friend, an Acquaintance, or some By-Respect shall interrupt the Speedy, and Direct Course of Iustice. (I do not say Divert; though to forbear helping the Right, or not to hinder the Wrong, because of such or such an Interest, is but a Negative Oppression.)

Those that are mov'd by Passions,³⁴³ from their Duties, are not lesse Culpable than the Rest. For a Good Patriot Fears Nothing, but to be Dishonest; Hates Nothing, but Iniquity; and knows no other Friend then Iustice.

Is any Thing propos'd, which to my Reason appears of Dangerous Consequence; Unlawful to my Conscience; Dishonorable to my Prince, or Country? Do I Discharge my Soul to God, and to the World, in not opposing it? because forsooth 'tis my Lords Interest,³⁴⁴ or Project. Where 'tis my Office to withstand a Publique Injury, 'tis my Act, if I suffer it: Nor will it serve the turn to say, Alas! I'm but one Man, what should I struggle for? A Noble Tru•h, and Equity, though Single, ought to be Maintein'd against the World. But very rarely is That the Case; for Those Particulars, that under Colour of This Singlennesse, relinquish and withdraw, would in Conjunction cast the Ballance. The Question is but This.

Whether shall I rather venture, the losse of an Office, or the losse of my Country? Whether shall I rather disoblige a Powerfull Subject, or Betray my Lawfull Prince? Whether in fine, shall I rather chuse, Modestly to Oppose a Faction, or Tamely to desert my Conscience.

Some we find Prepossest with Personall Animosities;³⁴⁵ and These Particular Piques, are many Times, the Bane of Publique Designes. They do not so much heed the Matter, as the Man that Promotes

340 by Sloth and Neglect,

341 #

342 by Partiality.

343 Passion.

344 Fear,

345 or Personal Animosity.

it; They are resolv'd to like Nothing from That Hand; and while they are Cavilling about Niceties, and Nothings; the adverse Party runs away with the Sum of the Contest.

Another Infelicity is where Elections are Carried by Recommendation, Fortune, or Affection; without any Regard to the Abilities of Persons.

These are a Dangerous Party,³⁴⁶ and a fit Subject to work upon: for being more addicted to follow the Appearances, then Capable of Comprehending the Reasons of Things; They are not only Liable to fall into Mistakes, but Obstinate Maintainers of Them; and in all Cases Determinable by Plurality of Voyces, the Greater Number of Fooles weighs down the more Prudentiall Counsellis of Fewer wise Men Nay, which is most Ridiculous and Miserable; (but that in Popular Suffrages it must be so) His Vote many Times Casts a Kingdome, that has not Brain enough to Rule his Private Family; Deciding the Question, without understanding the Debate.

We have Prosecuted This Theme of Miscariages; far enough. From the Discovery, our next advance is to the Remedies of them: The harder undertaking; for Faults are more easily found, then mended.

CAP. X.

How to prevent the Beginnings, and hinder the Growth of Seditions in General; together with Certain Particular Remedies, apply'd to the Distempers of Those Seven Interests, mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.

THE Two main Pillars that support Majesty,³⁴⁷ are Love and Reverence: To which are oppos'd, (as the Foundation of a Prince his Ruine) Contempt and Hatred. What are Disloyall Actions, but the Issue of Disloyall Thoughts? Or what are Generall Tumults, but the Rationall Effects of Generall Discontents? (The Violent part being no other, then the Manifestation of a Treason allready Form'd and Perfected in the Affections) So that to set the Heart Right, is the Prime Duty of a Good subject, and Then to observe the Law, for Love of the Authority. Kings are first Render'd Odious, or Despis'd; and in Persuance of Those Passions they come at last, to be Dethron'd, or Murther'd. That is; to be dethron'd, or Murther'd Actually; (for even the first Malicious Motion was Murther in the Heart, and betwixt God and our own Souls every Seditious Thought is a Rebellion)

346 Fools are fit Inst•um•nts for Kn•ves.

347 Love and Reverence are the Pillars of Majesty.

Although no Prince can be Mighty,³⁴⁸ without the Love of his People, or Secure under their Hatred; (the One being Necessary to his Greatnesse, and the Other Sufficient to his Undoing) yet must we not suppose the Subjects Love more Needfull to their Prince, then His to •hem: since upon His Protection depends#Their Welfare; no lesse then, upon Their Support, His Power.

Because the Hazzard of disuniting is mutuall, it must not be suppos'd that it is therefore Equall; nor that the Crime is so, where Tumult, and Oppression are the Question. They are Both ill, but with exceeding odds of worse betwixt them: The One does but affront the Mode of Government; the Other strikes at Government it selfe: the very Ends, and Reason of it;—Peace, Order, and Society.

A Prince, without the Hearts of his Subjects, is in a bad Condition;³⁴⁹ but Hee that falls from Hatred, to Contempt, His Case is Desperate. For when they neither Love his Person, nor Fear his Power; They are both Provok'd to Contrive mischief, and Embolden'd to Execute it.

These are the Generall, and Enstaming Grounds of Seditions; which may be easily prevented, and Cut off in their next Immediate Causes. The Difficulty is, for a Prince to be Popular, without making himself Cheap; to Gratify his People, without Derogating from his Authority; and so to Comply with the Interest of his Subjects, as not to be wanting to the Necessities of his Crown. In the Due Temperation of which Mixture, Consists, in a Great measure, the skill of Governing; and thereupon depends the Peace, and Safety of the Government.

In all well-ordered Monarchies, there are certain Metes and Boundaries, that Part the Rights of King, and People; and These, are either Laws, or Customs; providing for the Common Good, and Safety, both of the Subject in his Obedience, and of the Sovereign in his Authority.³⁵⁰ Let a Prince therefore stick to his antient Laws, and he may be sure his People will stick to him; and more he needs not ask, being by Those Laws arm'd with Power sufficient to the Intent of Government: or, at the worst, if any Defect there be, the Fault is imputed to the Constitution, and not to the Person.

There may indeed occur such Cases, and Emergencies of Imminent, and Publique Danger, as (being un-foreseen by the Wisdom of former Times) are left without a Rule. Of These, beyond Dispute, The only Supreme Governour is the only Supreme Iudge; and under so strict a Necessity, He not only may, but ought to dispense with Common Formalities, in Order both to the Discharge of his Duty, and the Welfare of his People#³⁵¹ His Oath of Protection, Implying him Vested with a Power of Protecting;•nd his Conscience, as a Governour, obliging him to be careful of his Charge.

The Objection is Frivolous, that This Supposition opens a Dore to Tyranny; because that at This Rate, a Prince has no more, but to pretend a Danger, and Then to do what he Pleases. 'Tis very right a Prince may Tyrannize under This Colour; but 'tis as certain, that a People cannot Scruple This Inconvenience, without incurring a Greater: for 'tis an Opinion Destructive of Government it self; all Subjects being equally expos'd to the same Hazzard,³⁵² under all Governments; and it is inevitable, that either the King must have it in his Power to Oppresse his People, or the People have it in Theirs

348 The Power of a Prince depends upon the Love of his People.

349 The Gr•unds of Sedition.

350 Let a Prince Stick to his Laws, and his People will stick to him.

351 The Oath of Protecting, implyes a Power of Protecting.

352 Where a King has it not in his Power to Oppresse his People, They have it in Theirs to Destroy their King.

to Destroy their Sovereign. (and betwixt the Ills of Tyranny and Rebellion, all the world knows the Disproportion) Wherefore let Subjects hope and believe the Best of their Prince his Will,³⁵³ and Inclination; without meddling with his Power; for it is not lesse His Interest to be well Obey'd, and Belov'd; then it is Theirs, to be well Govern'd.

Yet when a Prince, by Exigencies of State, finds himself forc'd to waive the Ordinary Path, and Course of Law; the Lesse He swerves, the Better: and the more unwilling He appears to Burthen his People, the more willing shall he find Them to serve Him. Especially, he should be Cautelous, where men's Estates, or Freedoms, are the Question; to make the Necessity as Manifest as is possible, and the Pressure as Light,³⁵⁴ and as Equall, as Consists with his Honour, and Convenience: Mixing however with This General Indulgence, such a Particular Severity, where his Authority is Disputed, that the Obedient may have Reason to Love his Goodnesse, and the Refractory, as much, to Fear his Displeasure.

By These Means, may a Prince preserve himself from the Hatred of his People, without exposing himself to their Contempt, and in Order to the avoiding of That too, wee'll take up This Observation by the way: That Subjects do Generally Love, or Hate, for Their own Sakes; but when they despise a Prince, it is for some Personal Weaknesse, or Indignity in Himself.

Nothing makes a Monarch Cheaper in the Eyes of his People, then That which begets an ill opinion, either of his Prudence,³⁵⁵ or Courage; and if they find once that he will either be Over-reach'd, or Overaw'd, they have his measure. By Courage here, we do not intend a Resolution only against Visible and Pressing Dangers; but an Assurance likewise, and Firmness of mind against Audacious, and Threatning Counsels.

The Prudence we intend, is of a more extensive Notion; and from the most Mysterious Affaires of Royalty, descends to the most Private, and Particular Actions of a Princes Life. It enters into his Cabinet-Counsels, and Resolves# his Publique Acts of State; his very Forms of Language, and Behaviour; his Exercises, and Familiar Entertainments. In fine; It is scarce lesse Dangerous for a Sovereign to separate the Prince, from the Person, even in his dayly Practices, and Conversations; then to permit Others to Divide Them in their Arguments: And in a word;³⁵⁶ to secure himself from Contempt, it behoves a Monarch to Consider as his most Deadly Enemies, such as Brave his Authority; and by no means to allow, even in his most Acceptable Servants, and most Familiar Humours, too great a Freedom toward his Person.

Not but that a Sovereign may in many Cases Familiarize with his Subjects, and, by so doing, win the Reputation, of a Wise and Gracious Prince: Provided that the sweetness of his Nature, cause him not to forget the Severity of his Office; and that his Stooping to his People# prove not an Emboldening of Them to come up to Him. This is a Course to Prevent Sedition, in the First Cause, and check it in the Bud.

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354 A Mixture of Indulgence, and Severity. Obliges the Loyall, and Aws the Refractory.

355 The Influe•ce of Prudence, and Courage.

356 A• Prince that bears Affronts, and Familiarities from his Subjects, Lessens himself.

But if it come once to shew it self and spread;³⁵⁷ there is first Requisite, (upon a Cleare and Open Prooffe) a Speedy Execution of Lawes to the Utmost Rigour. I say, [upon a Cleare and Open Proof] for in such cases, 'tis of great Advantage to a State, to make the Crime as evident as the Punishment, that the People may at once Detest the Fact and Approve the Iustice. I say Likewise [a speedy execution] for Delay brings many Inconveniencies. It gives a Faction Time to Contrive, and Unite; and Boldnesse to Attempt: for it looks as if They that sit at the Helme were either more sensible of The Danger, or lesse mindfull of their Duty then becomes them. Lastly; whereas it is added, [to the Utmost Rigour:] My meaning is not to extend the Severity to a Multitude of Offenders, but to Deterre the Generality by making some few, and Dreadfull Examples.

Nay my Advice should be, to Pick These Few too. They should not be Fools,³⁵⁸ Madmen, or Beggars; but the Boldest, the Wisest, the most Circumspect and Wealthy of the Party: the Leaders, and first Starters of the Quarrell: to shew that neither their Confidence should Protect them; nor their Shifts, and Politiques avayle them. But above All; let not their Mony save Them, for That's no other then Setting of a Price upon the Head of the Sovereign.

Another Expedient to Stop a spreading mischief,³⁵⁹ is for a Prince to keep a watchfull eye over Great Assemblies; which are either Irregular and Lawlesse; or Regular and Constant; or Arbitrary and Occasionall.

Concerning the First; it is seldome seen: where the Maner of a Meeting is •umultuary, that the Businesse of it is not so too; and where Many Concurr• in One Unlawfull Act 'tis no hard matter, to persuade them to agree in Another.³⁶⁰ So that to frustrate the Ends, and Prevent the Consequences of such Meetings, the surest way, is for the Sovereign to employ his Authority, Timely; and strictly, to Prohibit them. If That does no Good; He has no more to doe, but Instantly to Scatter them by force, and single out the Heads of the Riot, for Exemplary Punishment.

Touching Conventions which are Regular, and Steady;³⁶¹ It concernes the Chief Magistrate not to be without his Creatures, and Discoverers, in Those Assemblies; and to see that they be well Influcnc'd as to the Government. For Instance; when the People Meet to Chuse Officers; when Those Officers meet to advise upon Businesse, 'tis worth the while for a Prince to learn how the Pulse Beats; and Principally, to Over-watch Churches, and Courts of Iudicature: Both in regard of the hazzard of Errours in matters of Law, and Religion; and of the Multitude, being ever in readiness, and Humour to Entertein them.

As to Meetings Arbitrary, and Occasionall, heed must be taken to the Persons assembling, the Occasion which brings them Together, and the Matter whereupon they Treat; which we shall handle in their proper places, and so passe from Generalls to Particulars, beginning with the CHURCH.

357 How to hind•r the Spr•ading of a Seditious Humour.

358 #

359 Let a Prince keep an Eye over Great Assemblies.

360 Let him be Qu•ck,

361 and Watchfull.

Sect. I.

By what means, Haeresies, and Schismes, may be kept out of the CHURCH; Their Encrease hinder'd, and the Seditious Consequences of Them Prevented: with the Remedies of other Mischiefs arising from Disorders in the CHURCH.

Since so it is, that Divisions in the Church have no further Interest in This place, then as they Lead to Seditions in the State: the shortest Cu•t I know; will be to reduce all of That Tendency to Sr Francis Bacon's Notable Comprizall of Them, under Two Properties [If a New •ct have not Two Propertyes fear it not,³⁶² for (says he) it will not spread. The One is, the Supplanting or the Opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular than That. The Other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for speculative Heresyes (such as were in Antient Times the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they work mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Help of Civill Occasions.] Now when a Prince meets with a Faction Thus Marq'd, let him Look to himself: for there are against him, the best Counterfeit of a Friend, and the most Deadly Composition of an Enemy; the Strongest of all Allurements; the most Popular of all Designs; and the most Rationall Meanes to Accomplish it.

But the Question will be, How to Prevent, what is not as yet Discover'd. To which, we answer that the Sect here spoken of, is New, either Absolutely, or Comparatively. If Absolutely; Observe what Carnall Interest they drive: If Comparatively, marque what Copy they follow; and Measure the Disciple by his Master.

One Safe,³⁶³ and Certain Remedy, (be the Novelty what it will,) is not to suffer any Innovation whatsoever, without a warrantable Authority: no, not so much as a Publick Dispute against an Establish'd Order, from a Private Person. Nay more; let the Dissent be Right, or Wrong, 'tis the same thing as to the Reason of Government, though not so to the Conscience of the Dissenter. Suppose the Subject of an Idolatrous Prince, within his Masters Dominions, and Contrary to his Expresse Order, Preaches against the Religion there Establish'd: he does well, to Discharge his Conscience, but let him have a Care of the Consequence; for if in Order to the making of Good Christians,³⁶⁴ he makes Bad Subjects, his Zeal will hardly acquit him of Sedition: God does not allow of Proposing Good Ends, by Ill Means; and of Reforming Religion, by Rebellion.

Let him have a Care likewise, if he comes to suffer for well-doing, how he behaves himself; for if he but open his Mouth against the Civill Magistrate, as a Persecutour, he betrayes himself to be an Hypocrite.

362 The mostdange••us of all Sects.

363 A sure way to prenent Schisme.

364 Have a Care.

There are Two Sects, whom I dare say, This Doctrine will not please, i.e. the Pontifical Presbyterians, and the Rigid Iesuites. The Latter of which, have, for Convenience sake, been True to One King: The Former, (give the Devill his Due) since Presbyterians had a Being,³⁶⁵ were never True to Any: or if they ever were, let him that Loves Them best, or knows them better, shew me but when, where, how; and with a Noverint universi, I do here declare, I'll make a Publique Recantation. Till Then, wee'll take the Presbyterian for the Cock-Schismatique, and (if Sir Francis Bacon's Note holds Good) the Dangerous New Sect: against Whom, no Caution can be too early, no Importunity too Earnest, no Restriction too Severe.

These are They that (according to the Lord St. Albans) Propagate Religion by Warrs; Force Consciences; Nourish Seditions; Authorise Conspiracies and Rebellions. That put the Sword into the Peoples hand, and Dash the first Table, against the Second. In short; all Those Popular, and Supplanting Politiques, which we find only here and there; Scatter'd, and Thin, in Other Sects, are by These People drawn into a Practicable Methode; a Setform of Sedition.

They Govern Their Looks,³⁶⁶ their Words, their Actions; Nay, their very Dresse, Garbe, and Accent, by a Rule: They are Instructed, when to Beseech, and when to Expostulate; when to Flatter, and when to Threaten; when to Offer, and when to deny; when to Presse Swearing, and when to Declaim against it; when to Save, and when to Kill.

In the first Scene,³⁶⁷ ye have the Schismatique upon his Knees, begging his Prince into a Dispensation, for Scrupulous Consciences, that perhaps stick at such and such Ceremonies; the Crosse, the Surplice, or the like.

Let but the Sovereign Comply Thus far,³⁶⁸ and what's the Fruit of This Indulgence? Within a Day or Two, they come for more, and by Degrees, more still, till at the Last, they find the Government of the Church as Troublesome, as they did the Rites of it; and Bishops as great a Grievance, as Ceremonies. Where the King Stops, They Cavill, and now, from Petitioners for Freedome to Themselves, they are Grown to be most Insolent denyers of it to Others.

Their Art is next, to Tune the People; which is best done by the Pulpit, where One half of their Businesse is Invective against Prelacy, and the Other is spent in Well-Acted Supplications, that God would turn the Kings Heart; Accompting His yielding to all They Aske, as a Divine Assurance that their Prayers are heard.³⁶⁹ But if the Monarch still holds out; what Pitty 'tis (they Cry) so sweet a Prince should be Mised? and Then they fall upon his Evill Counsellours; still Taking all he Gives, and Strugling for the Rest, till having first Disrob'd him of his Rights, Depriv'd him of his Friends; Step after Step, they attempt his Sacred Person, and at last take away his Life.

Here's their Glorious King; the End of all their Vwues, and Covenants, Their Prayers, and Fastings; or, in a word, the summe of their Religion.

365 #

366 The Presbyterians Set-form.

367 And Methode.

368 Their Modesty.

369 #

It was great Blasphemy, (says Sir F. B.) when the Devill said; I will Ascend and be like the Highest; But it is greater Blasphemy, to Personate God, and bring him in saying; I will Descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse, and what is it better to make the Cause of Religion, to descend, to the Cruell, and Execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States, and Governments?

He that stands firm against (not the Wit, or Bravery, but) the Fawning, and Treacherous Insinuations of This Faction, may make himself sport with all Other Practices, and Combinations whatever: and That Prescription, which helps This Evill, serves for all other Publique, and Intestine Maladies.

I think we may be Positive, that there neither is, nor ever was in Nature, any Society of Men, without a Vitious Mixture, under what-Government, or Governour-soever. I think we may be as Positive likewise, that Those Ambitious, and Unsatisfy'd Particulars, with which all Constitutions are infested, are only Deterr'd from troubling all Governments, by the want of Opportunities to Plot and Contrive; and by the Hazzards they meet with, in putting Those Plots in Execution.

Wherefore it ought to be a Prince his first Care,³⁷⁰ to Choak These Seeds of Discord: which may be Effected, by a Provision of Orthodox Ministers; (to the utter Exclusion of the Contrary) by Prohibiting Private Meetings, or Conventicles; and by taking heed to the Presse. A Watchfulnesse in These Three Points Secures the Church from Schismes, and Consequently the State from Conscientious Seditions. (at least, if I am not Mistaken in my Presumption, that there is not any fourth way of Dangerous Communication)

Touching the Licentious abuse of the Presse, and the Freedome of Riotous Assemblies; the Distemper is not as yet grown Bold enough, to avow Those Liberties: But from the Non-Conforming Ministers, we must expect hard Pleading.

What?³⁷¹ [shall the Faithfull Guides be ejected, upon the accompt of Forms, or Ceremonies?³⁷² because they dare not do that which they Iudge to be so great a Sin against the Lord?] May not a Dissenting Brother be an Honest man?

Our Reply shall be short,³⁷³ and Charitable.³⁷⁴ If the People take them for Guides, they will be the apter to follow them; so that the fairer their Credit is, the worse is their Argument.

Nor are they laid aside, as if the Difference it self were so Criminal, but for the evill Consequences of Reteining Them.

First, it advances the Reputation of the Dissenting Party to have the matter Look as if either the Power, or Reason were on Their side.

Next, it Subjects the Prince to be Thought Diffident, either of his Authority to Command, or of the Iustice of the Thing• Commanded.

370 The means of Preventing Schisme.

371 Object.

372 Petition f•• Peace, pag. 4, 5.

373 Answ.

374 The Hazzards of Toleration.

Thirdly; a Dissenting Minister makes a Dissenting Congregation.

Fourthly; it makes Conscience a Cloak for Sedition, and under Colour of Dividing from the Church, it Ministers Occasion for People to unite against the State.

Fifthly; it not only leads to Novell Opinions, whereof the Vulgar are both Greedy, and Curious; but it Possesses the Multitude with These Two Desperate, and Insociable Persuasions. First, That the People are Iudges of the Law; and Next, That because God alone has Power over Their Souls, the Sovereign has none over their Bodies.

As to the Honesty of a Dissenting Brother; his Honesty is only to himself, but his Dissent is to the Publique: and the Better the Man is, the Worse is the President.

Upon These hazzards, depends the Royalty of That Sovereign, that dispenses with the Law, to Indulge This Faction: and, which is the great Pitty of all, the better he deserves, the worse they use him. So that the only way for a Prince to deal Safely with These People, is first to lay aside That Dangerous,³⁷⁵ and Fatal Goodnesse, and Steer his Resolutions by the Compass of a Severe, and Inexorable Reason. Not that Kings are Gods, in any Respect, more then in their Power, and Mercy; but there are certain Cases, and Instances, wherein That Power, and Mercy may be Restreyn'd; and wherein 'tis possible that what is Excellent in Nature, may be a slip in Government. 'Tis One Thing for a Party to ask Pardon for a Fault already Committed, and another thing to beg a Dispensation beforehand, to Commit it. And there's This Difference also in the Issue of the Grants. The Prince has the Faction at His Mercy, the One way; and the Faction has got the Prince at Theirs, the Other. But to the Point.

Will the Monarch's Yielding to this, or That, Content them? They'll say 'tis all they aime at; and truly I'd believe them: would they but shew mee out of their whole Tribe, any one Instance of This Moderation to save the Credit of my Charity; Any Presbyterian Interest in Nature that is not Rays'd upon the Ruines of a Prince,³⁷⁶ and Cimented with Broken Vowes, and Promises.

If it be Thus; Nothing lesse then a Miracle can secure That Monarch that makes This Faction Master of the Pulpit: and This King Charls the Martyr prov'd by sad Experience: For not a Soul that by the Instigation of Schismaticall Lecturers deserted the Church,³⁷⁷ but became an Enemy to the State. So that Effectually a Gracious Toleration in some Cases, is by Some people understood no otherwise, then as a Tacit Commission from the Person of the King to Levy a Warr against his Office. And it is very rarely that such an Indulgence is better Employ'd. In which Opinion we are not a little Confirm'd, by the Reflections of That Blessed Prince above mentioned.³⁷⁸[I wish (says he) I had not suffered My own Iudgment to have been overborne in some Things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My Confidence had lesse betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms, to Those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but Power, and Occasion, to do Mischief.] And after the utmost Tryall of Bounty and Remis•nesse to That Faction; These are his words to his Royall

375 #

376 The Founda•ion of Presbytery.

377 #

378 # in non-Latin alphabet # Pag. 3.

Successour [I cannot yet Learn That Lesson,³⁷⁹ nor I hope never will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publique Interest, and the Good of the Community.]

Finally; Those Perfidious Creatures which at first Petition'd their Sovereign, afterwards fought against Him,³⁸⁰ and Imprison'd Him: Refusing him in his Distresse the Comfort of his own Chaplains, in Requital for having Granted them the Liberty of their Consciences. Who strook the Fatall Blow, it matters not: If He had not been Disarm'd, he had not been Kill'd. Subjects do not Hunt Kings for Sport; only to Catch Them, and let them go again. To Conclude; He was persecuted with Propositions worse then Death;³⁸¹ as by his Choyce appear'd: for he Preferr'd rather to Die, then Sign Them. But to Signalize the Honour of his Memory, and the Glory of his Martyrdome, take his Last Resolution, and Profession.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul,³⁸² to have been worsted in my Enforced contestation for, and vindication of, the Laws of the Land, the Freedome and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the Iust Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due Encouragements, then if I had with the greatest Advantages of Successe, overborn them all, as some men have now Evidently done, whatever Designs they at first pretended.

From a Supposition of the first Inclination to Schism, Proposing also how to strangle it in the Birth: we are now to Consider it in some Degree of Growth, and Progression; and to enquire after the best means to prevent such Mischieves, as may arise from the further Encrease, and spreading of it. That is; the Mischieves of Conspiracy, which may be Promoted, either by Speech, or Writing.

The first great Hazzard is when Popular Persons,³⁸³ are put in Popular Employments, and in Populous Places. A Cunning, and a Factious Minister, is a Dangerous Instrument in a City; and the more Dangerous, if Tolerated; for Then he Stirs up Tumults by Authority: and who shall blame the Flock for Following the Shepheard?

The Liberties of Conventicles, and Pamphlets, are likewise of Desperate Influence upon the People; but These (as is already said) are easily Suppress'd by the Seasonable Execution of Laws. But There's no Dallying with the Combination.

If through the fault of Negligent Officers, tho Distemper be gone too far, and the Confederacy grown Strong and Bold enough to struggle with the Law. Then, Other Arts must be found out, either to amuse, Ensnare, or Disunite the Faction. The Last Resort is violence, which must be Timely too before the Reverence of Authority is quite Lost.³⁸⁴ And let the King Himself appear; not only to Ask, but Take the Heads of the Sedition; before the Quarrell is Transferr'd from his Ministers, to his Person: if he but Stoops, he Falls. How horrible a Mutiny was That which Caesar Quieted at Placentia? Single, Unarm'd and with One wretched word. (QUIRITES)

379 # in non-Latin alphabet #Pag. 239.

380 Let Pagans blush at These Christians.

381 #

382 # in non-Latin alphabet # Pag. 263.

383 The Growth of Schisme.

384 #

—Nec dum desaeuat Ira,
 Expectat; Medios properat tentare Furores.
 Nor Waites he till the Hot Fit should asswage,
 But at the Maddest, Scorns, and Braves their Rage.

As the Resolve was Great,³⁸⁵ and the Successe Good, so doubtlesse was the Reason of This Action; For by the Sodainnesse, he Prevented their Agreement; and by the Generous Contempt of Danger, he was almost Certain to Divide the Revolt: making the Nobler Part of the Mutiniers to Adore him, and the Baser, to Fear h•m.

If the bare Presence of a General, could have This Power upon a Disciplin'd, In••ns'd, and Daring Army; what should a Lawful Monarch apprehend, from an Unpractic'd, and Loose Multitude?

But the Dispute is not yet Brought to This Extremity; our Purpose in This Place, being rather to Frustrate, and Disappoint the Malice in the Contrivance, then Crush it in the Execution. To which end are Requisite, great Diligence, Secrecy, Watchfulnesse, Moderation; and (at-what-rate-soever) a strict and General Intelligence: All which together, make up a Necessary, and Befitting Prudence.

Sir Francis Bacon's Counsell is,³⁸⁶ to Begin, with Reforming Abuses: a worke seldom out of Season, but never more needfull; then upon the very first Murmurings, and Motions toward Troubles. Most especially, let Great Towns be Supply'd with Good Ministers, and the Earlier the Better, least the Multitude think it Extorted; and the Guilty become too Strong for the Innocent.

In ought to be Impartiall too;³⁸⁷ too; for a Toleration on the One hand, will make Iustice it selfe look like a Persecution on the other. Beside That it takes away the Subject of the Cla••ur and exalts the Reputation of the Monarch, in making him appear the Common Father of his People.

By these meanes, may the Church be Purg'd of Schism•, without much hazzard of Sedition.

If the Plot be allready Mode••'d and the Multitude Leaven'd, The Sovereign is to look for Petitions, on the Behalfe of Ejected Ministers; in the Names of Thousands; and Accompanied with the Rudeness rather of a Riot, then a Request. The Petitioners may be Put off, Threatned, or Punished &c.—according to the Merit of their Behaviour: out let a watch be set upon the Leaders of Those Troupes:³⁸⁸ their Haunts, and Correspondents. Let it be Marqu'd, who Interceedes, who Mitigates on Their behalfe.

Let the Motions of the Disaffected Clergy be likewise Observ'd; which of the Nobility They Frequent: and in fiue, Spyes Employ'd upon all their Considerable Privacies:³⁸⁹ for, Let the Cry be what it will, the Cause of these Disorders is Ambition. Of which in another Place, and with One Word more wee'll Conclude This Poynt.

That may be Conscience in the People, which is Sedition in the Minister; wherefore, in all Schismaticall Ruptures, I could wish all possible Favour to the Common sort of the Laity, and as much Severity to the Offending Clergy.

385 A Noble Resolve.

386 Let the Prince Reform betime.

387 And Impartially.

388 Note.

389 Ambition is the Cause, no matter what's the Cry.

Sect. II.

How to prevent Seditious arising from the Disorders of the BENCH.

WE have begun with the Church; and the Bench properly follows: which is but to give Them the Same Place in the Order of This Discourse, which they have in the Argument of it. Was there ever any Considerable Rebellion (I do not say Revolt) That was not usher'd in by Corrupt Divines,³⁹⁰ or Lawyers, or Both of Them? And 'tis no wonder; since upon These Two Interests depends the Grand Concern, both of our Souls, and Bodies. One Reason of their Forwardnesse may be This; that they may doe more Harme, upon Safe, and Easie Termes, then other People: Bolt a Rebellion out of a Text; Dethrone a King with a Moot-Point, and Execute a Bishop at a Reading. All which is done with a Wet Finger, for when a People are Discontented, 'tis but Picking a Scripture, or a Statute, for the Time and Purpose; and commit the Rest to Application.

These two Interests hold so Good Intelligence, it is almost Pitty to part Them: and Compar'd with the Rest, (Supposing all in Disorder) They mind me of a Combination I have observ'd betwixt a Beagle, and a Grey-hound: the One Starts the Hare, and Yelps,³⁹¹ the Other Catches it, but by Consent, they part the Quarry.

As I Reckon These Men of the Robe to be the very Pests of Humane Nature,³⁹² when they Degenerate from the Prime End of their Institution; So take them (on the Other side) in the Due Exercise of their Callings, they are the Blessings and the Pillars of Society. A word now to the Lawyer apart.

The Common Crime of Vitious Lawyers,³⁹³ is Av•rice; and Those Inducements to Sedition, which (in the Chapter next fore-going This) we have divided into Corruption, Partiality, Oppression, Chargeable Delays, &c. are but as Severall Branches from That Root of Covetousnesse.

Nay, take their more Pernicious, and Vile Practices; Their Misconstruction of Laws; Misapplying of Presidents; Torturing or Embezzling of Record, &c. What is All This, but Corruption in another Dresse? A Project to Embroyle the Government, that They may get Mony by Settling it again?³⁹⁴ Or if they can procure a Change; They make the best Market they can of their Country; and Betray it to That Faction that will Give Most for it. Nay, when That's done, (and that Matters will come right again, in spite of them) They shall Betray it Back again to the Right owner: at once Lamenting, and adoring their Past, and Profitable Transgressions. These are the miserable fruits of Corruption.

Others there are that Erre through want of Iudgment.³⁹⁵ And That's a sad Case too; for Mistakes coming from the Lipps of a Iudg, passe for Oracles.

390 Corrupt Divines and Lawyers are in the forlorne of all Rebellions.

391 #

392 But the Contrary, are the Pillars and Blessings of Society.

393 The Common Crime of Vitious Lawyers, is Avarice

394 The Basest of Corruptions.

395 An Ignorant Iudg is a Dangerous Minister.

Others,³⁹⁶ there are again, that understand the Right, but in some Cases, dare not own it. And These deliver up the People to day, for fear of the King; and the Prerogative to morrow, for fear of the Subject.

From hence, it seems to me that a Prince his Chiefest Care in This Particular of the Law, lies in a Narrow Compasse: That is, in securing, and preserving his Courts of Iudicature from Corruption; and in Supplying them with men of Eminent Abilities, and Courage, These are the Instruments to make a Prince, and People Happy; nor does any Thing more Conduce to it, then the Caring of an Even, and Impartiall Hand upon the Ballance of Government, and Obedience. We come now to the Choyce of Persons, and There the Difficulty lies.

Some Deceive the World,³⁹⁷ by appearing Hon••ter then they are. Others Deceive Themselves, and are Honest only for want of Temptation. Some there are, that are Proof against Mony, but not against Danger. In short; Where it so much Imports a Prince not to Repent too late, it may be worth his while to Consider of his Choyce to Time.

Concerning the Abilities of Persons for the Offices to which he Designs them; Common F•me, with a Little Particular Enquiry, will be sufficient: but their Integrity requires a Stricter Scrutiny. What's such a mans Humour? his Behaviour? his Temper? are not Unnecessary Questions. And upon the Whole;³⁹⁸ if he has ever Betray'd any Friend, Trust, or Interest, either for Fear, or Profit; Away with him. But if upon Tryals, either Private, or Hublique, it appears, that rather then do small Injuries, he has Refus'd Great Benefits; that he has Preferr'd his Faith, and Honour, before his Life, and Fortune; This Evidence may serve for a Morall Assurance of an Honest Man. Whereas without This Personal and Particular Examination, not only the Futi••e Safety, but the Present Quiet of a Kingdome may come to be endanger'd by a Mischoyce of Ministers.

To Reason upon This Hazzard; does no• at all empeach the Sovereign's absolute Freedom to Elect whom He pleases; nor does it one ####justifie the Subject, that shall presume to Scan and Iudg the Actions of his Prince. But in Regard that Discontentments breed Seditions; and that Mistakings of This Quality may beget Discontentments, we Offer This Expedient as to That Consequence. And in Truth it seems to be a Kind of Prophanation of the Seat of Iustice, when Hee sits upon the Bench, that deserves to hold up his hand at the Barr. To Conclude; when a Monarch comes to Discover the Inconvenience of such Ministers, he may Kill Two Birds with One Stone; and Consider who Recommended them. (but they may be better Kept out, then Driven out.)

Next to the Choyce of Good Persons, Succeeds the Care of Good Order, when they are Chosen: Which may be Provided for, first; by Mainteining an Intelligence concerning the Generall Bias, and Complexion of their Proceedings, as to the Publique, (i. e. whether or no they do equall Iustice betwixt King, and People) Secondly, by overwatching them in Cases of more Private and Particular Concern.

Let not This Strictnesse appear either too much for a Prince his Businesse, or below his Dignity. Kingdomes are Lost for want of These early Providences;³⁹⁹ these Little Circumspections; but it costs more to Recover them. Nor (in effect) is the Trouble at all considerable; for 'tis here, as 'twas with the

396 And so is a Timorous.

397 A hard matter to make a good choice.

398 A Rule to Chuse by.

399 He nuga•s•ri•duc #### in mala.

Tyrant, that durst not Sleep for fear of having his Throte Cut.⁴⁰⁰ A Mathematician comes to him, and tells him; that for so many Talents hee de secure him; and shew him such a Secret, that it should be impossible for any man so much as to design upon him without Discovery. The Tyrant was content; provided that he might be satisfy'd of the Secret, before he parted with his Mony, and so takes the Cunning-man into his Cabinet. What was the Secret? but that he should give the Fellow so much Mony, and pretend that he had Taught it him. This Story comes up to Us. The bare Opinion of a Prince his Vigilance, saves him the Need, and Trouble of it: And Three or Four Discoveries in his whole Reign, shall gain him That Opinion.

Touching Those Abuses which Immediately direct to the Publique; (as concerning the misconstruction of Lawyers, &c.) they are usually couch'd under the Salvo of an Ambiguity. To prevent which Inconvenience, all Those Distinctions which in Seditious times have been made use of for the Authorising,⁴⁰¹ or Countenancing of Treason: might be summ'd up and Declar'd Treasonous Themselves. Such I mean, as the Coordinate Power of King, Lords, and Commons. The Literal and Equitable Construction of Laws. The Person, and Authority of Princes. Singulis Major, Universis Minor, &c. For sure it is not Reasonable, that the Cleer, and Sacred Rights of Kings, should depend upon the dubious, and Prophane Comments of the People.

Concerning Grievances of a more Particular Quality; the Principal of them are Injustice, and Delay: The Former whereof, is purely the Fault of the Iudge; the Other, may in some measure, and in some Constitutions, be imputed to a Defect in the Law. In This Case, the best way to prevent further Mischief, and Satisfie for what is done already, is an Impartial Severity upon all Offenders as they are Detected: Especially, where Compliments are General, and the Injustice Notorious; for nothing lesse then a Publique Example, can amount to a Publique Satisfaction.

Sect. III.

How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditious arising from the Disorders of the COURT.

WE have in the Last Chapter, Pag. 99. (concerning Seditious which may possibly arise from a Disorder'd Court) stated what we intend by the Court-Interest. We have likewise Divided the Evill-Instruments, into such as either Plot Mischief, or Occasion it. We have again Subdivided the Plotters into Three Parties.⁴⁰² The One whereof opposes the Title of the Governour; The Other, (as Directly) the Form of the Government: And there is a Third Party, that bring their Ends about, by Supplications, Vowes, Fasting and Prayer; by Forms of Piery, and Reverence: and finally; that with a Hail Master and a Kisse, Betray their Sovereign.

Concerning the Two Former; More needs not be said, then that Force is to be Repell'd by Force • and That, the Monarch is suppos'd to have alwayes in Readiness, for the Safety of the Government.

400 #

401 A way to prevent Treasonous Mistakes.

402 The Contrivers of Seditious are of Three Sorts

The Other,⁴⁰³ is a Serpentine, and Winding Party; that Steals, and Glides into the very Bosome of a Prince, and Then it Clips, and Strangles him. This is a Faction that Answers to our Iesuited Puritan.

Yet while I separate These Three, for Perspicuity of Methode; let me not be understood, as if they would not mingle in Complication of Interest: For nothing is more Notorious, then that in all Comotions upon pretext of Conscience, the Religious Division is still the Receptacle of all other Disaffected Humours whatsoever. He that's an Atheist to Day, becomes an Enthusi•st to Morrow; where a Crown is the Prize. Only I must confesse, the Presbyterian playes the Fast and Loose of the Device, the best in the whole World. Let as many Help him as will, 'tis Liberty of Conscience forsooth; but have a Care of the Purity of the Gospell; when they come to share with him. They may, if they please, (nay they shall be Invited to't) run the hazzards of the Course with him;⁴⁰⁴ Venture Neck, and Body; over Hedg and Ditch; through Thick and Thin— but yet at last, the Devill a bit of the Quarry.

In fine; the Plausible Contrivers of Sedition (under what-Masque-soever are the People we aime at; and These are either In the Counsell, or Out of it. Sir Francis Bacon Divides the Dangers from Within the Great Counsell, into an Over-greatnesse in One Counsellour, or an over-strict Combination in Diverse. The Rest, we only look upon as Their Dependencies.

Pag. 110. We proceed from the Direct Contrivance of Seditions, to the more Remote Occasions of them. As Corruption, Monopolizing; Non-payment of Debts, &c.—

This being the Order into which we have dispos'd the Causes of Seditions; it will be suitable, that some Degree of Methode be observ'd in the Remedies. But first, a word of Introduction.

We are to take for granted, that Sedition is a kind of Clockwork, and that the Main Spring of all Rebellions is Ambition. We may be again as Confident, that never any One Monarchy was destray'd, but with design to set up Another.⁴⁰⁵ (The Talk of This or That Form of Government; or of This or That Shape of Religion, being no more then a Ball toss'd among the People, for the Knaves to keep the Fools in play with) It's Truth, that a Sinking Monarchy lapses into an Aristocracy; and That again into a Popular State. But what's the Reason of all This?

Does any man Imagine that the Conspir•ours work for One-another,⁴⁰⁶ or for Themselves? They loyn in the Necessity of a Common Assistance, but they Divide in the Proposition of a several Interest. Who is He in the Senate, that had not rather Rule Alone, then in Company, if he could help it? To be short; where more then One Govern, 'tis because what Every man Wishes; no Particular can effect. (that is, to Master the Rest. (Understand me only of Medlers to overthrow a Government.)

The next Slid•e from an Aristocracy, downward; comes a little clearer yet. Some of the Craftyest of Those that help'd the Peers to Cast off the King, are now as Busie with the People to Throw off the Nobility: and Then, they are within one Easie step, of Confusion; from whence, the next Change brings him that can carry it from the Rest, to the Sovereignty. As arrant a Mockery, is Religion, in the Mouth of a Conspiratour.

403 The Puritan.

404 #

405 Religion is but Talk.

406 Every man for himself.

Indeed it makes me smile sometime,⁴⁰⁷ to hear how Soberly Men will talk of the Religion of This or That Faction: as if a Traytour, or an Hypocrite were of Any. And Then they cry,—This is against the Principles of the Presbyterians; and That against the Principles of the Independents: when (Truly, and Shortly) they are but Thus Distinguish'd; Those would subvert the Government, One Way; These, another: And He that would rightly Understand them, must Read, for Presbytery, ARISTOCRACY; and DEMOCRACY, for Independency. (I speak of the next Consequence, if they Prevail; not of the Ultimate Design of the Chief Leaders; for That's Monarchy) Wee'll drop ye a Little Story here.

An Officer of the Reformation advises with an Ingenious Surgeon of my Acquaintance,⁴⁰⁸ about a Grief, (as he protended) caught with a Streyn. After diverse Questions; how and how? The Surgeon tells his Patient, that (by his leave) the Trouble he compleyns of, can be no other, then (to Phrase it Modestly) a Ladies Favour. The good man blesses himself; and still it must be a Streyn. Why then a Streyn let it be: but This I'll tell you Sir; The thing that Cures That Streyn, will Cure the Pox. In fine; the Officer submits, and the Surgeon does his work.

This is the Case of the Two Factions,⁴⁰⁹ They Cry out, of their Consciences; but their Disease lyes somewhere else: and Schism is Cur'd, just as they Cure Sedition.

Nay; does it not behove a Prince, with the same strictnesse to require Submission to a Ceremony,⁴¹⁰ as to a Taxe? Or why may not a Iustice as well refuse to Sweare Obedience, to the Civill Government, as a Minister to the Ecclesiastique? What can be more reasonable, then for a Master either to Punish, or dismisse an undutiful Servant? Briefly, That Momarch that would be Safe, must resolve to be Deaf to These Religious Clamours. Alas! let but the Ministers Begin; the People Bawle in Course: not that they are Troubled; but they'll do't in Rudenesse, or Imitation. They are as arrantly Taught to do't, as a Friend of mine Taught his Beagles. Let Him Gape first, and the whole Kennell falls to Howling: Let Him give off,⁴¹¹ They're Quiet too: and just Thus stands the Case betwixt the Schismatical Clergy, and the Multitude.

But (it will be said) what's all This to the Court? O• to Seditious, Thence proceeding?

Oh very much. These Out-cryes of the Vulgar# are but False Alarmes: The Dint is nearer hand, They have their Demagogues, and their Patron; (as the late Glorious King, and Martyr calls them) and if a Prince look well about him, in such a juncture as is here mention'd; 'tis odds, he finds some of their Principalls, even at his Eare, or Elbow. So that his first Concern is to Inspect,⁴¹² and Purge (where he sees Cause) his Royall Palace, Beginning with his Counsell. Where (as Sir Francis Bacon) The Danger is either, the Over-greatness of One; or the Combination of Diverse: Which Dangers we shall Obviate with their Remedies, in Order.

407 A Traytour is of no Religion.

408 No ill Story.

409 The Presbyterian has gotten a Streyn.

410 A Ceremony may be as well impos'd as a ###

411 #

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Subsection I.

The Remedies of certain hazzards arising from the OVERGREATNESS Of One COUNSELLOUR.

ONE over-great Counsellour may be Dangerous, First; in respect of His Particular Temper, and Inclination: Secondly; in Regard of His Credit with his Master: and Lastly; in Consideration of the Influence of That Power, and Inclination upon the People.

The Over-great Counsellour we here treat of, is as the Malus Genius of a Nation: and in Two Words, behold the Ground, and Summe of the whole Mischief. 'Tis either Vice, or Weaknesse; apply'd to the Dishonour, or Damage, of a Prince, and People.

Now to the Application of That Vice, or Weaknesse. And first, what ill use may be made of the One, and what ill effects may proceed from the Other, by virtue of his Credit with his Master.

If he be Ambitious;⁴¹³ Hee's plac'd upon the very Point, for Popularity. Whom can he not Oblige; by Hopes, Rewards, Preferments? Whose Tongue cannot He Charme, either to Speech, or Silence? Whose Reputation; Suit; Fortune; nay in some Cases; Whose very Life it self, and Liberty, are not dependent upon his Favour? If This Aspiring Humour be accompanied with a Sharpnesse of Iudging; a Felicity of Contriving; and an Impulse of Enterprizing: The Master of such a Servant should do well to Look about him.

It may be Reply'd, that doubtlesse so he would, if he saw any Reason to apprehend his Abuse of That Power; But the Knowledge of the Person, does sufficiently warrant the Reason of the Dispensation. To which, we Answer; that though Sovereign Princes are not a comptable to Others, yet they are to Themselves; both for the Expedience, and Equity of their Actions: And enring into their own Souls, it is very possible, that they may discover some Incongruities betwixt their Affections, and their Convenience. Some Incongruities I say; and such, as may induce the wisest Prince, and the most Indulgent Master; even toward the most Loyall, and Moriting Servant, to limit the Graces of his Inclination, to the Rules and Respects of his Office; and to be wary,⁴¹⁴ least while he Divide his Heart with his Friend, he share also his Authority with his Subject: Therein, both Endangering Himself, and Grieving his People.

To Conclude; it is Great Prudence, in Publique Affairs to commit Little to Hazzard: and it is no small Hazzard, to expose a Favourite to strong Temptations.

Where there are Servants that will employ their Masters Bounty against Himself, (and of such only, we speak) if the Design be to supplant the Sovereign, many Remedies may be found out, to frustrate That Ambition. Nay, (as I have already hinted) whether there be such a Design, or not; 'tis good to provide against the very Possibility of it. For, it is fitter, that the Publique should be indebted for it's well-being, to the Care of the Prince, then to the Honesty of the Favourite.

413 Ambition dangerous in a Favourite.

414 A Caution.

Ambitious Natures do better in the Field,⁴¹⁵ then in the Court; and better yet Abroad, then at Home. If they will advance, they grow Dangerous for their Power; if they receive a Check, they become so for their Malice: whence it comes to pass, that we see Few Seditions without a Malcontent of This Quality, in the Head of them. These are a sort of People, of whom a Prince cannot be too wary. But we are here to provide against the Ambition of a Person Rais'd by Favour, not Aspiring: and from such a one, the Perill is greater, by reason of the means he has, both to Compasse his Ends, and to Disguise them.

Sir Francis Bacon proposes the Mating of One Ambitious Person with Another; and in extremities, the Puzzling of him, with an Enterchange of Favours, and Disgraces, that he may not know what to Expect. Courses, no doubt, advisable, to put an Insolent Favourite to a stand; if it may be as Safe to Disoblige him, without Disarming him: but That depends much upon the Complexion of the Person, according as he is Bold, or Fearfull.

There is not any thing which more fortifies,⁴¹⁶ and establishes a Monarch, then the disposal of all Offices, and Charges of Trust, by his particular Choyce, and Direction, without the Interpose of any Publique Recommendation: Nor can he transfer That Care to his Great Counsellour without a great share of his Power. And here's the Difference; the one way, they are the honourable dependencies of the Prince; and the Other way, they are the suspected Creatures of the Favourite: who by This Indulgence, makes One Party at Present, and Another in Expectation.

A Warynesse in This Particular, breaks the Neck of his Design.

It is good also for a Prince fairly, and Publicly to Refuse him some Requests, and where the Suit is too bold, to Check him for Others: That the World may see, that there are Some things which he cannot obtain; and Others, which he must not Dare to Ask. Whereas, if he carries all without Reserve, the Majesty of the Sovereign is lost in the Power of the Favourite. The Advice of King Charles the Martyr, to his Sacred Majesty now in Beeing, shall put an End to This Point.

Never repose so much upon any mans single Counsell,⁴¹⁷ Fidelity, and Discretion, in menaging Affairs of the First Magnitude (that is, Matters of Religion, and Iustice) as to Create in your self, or others, a Diffidence of your own Iudgment, which is likely to be alwayes more Constant, and Impartiall to the Interests of the Crown and Kingdome, than any mans.

This may suffice to Prevent a dangerous Over-greatnesse:⁴¹⁸ but if it be found Necessary to Crush it; (as in case of a bold, and manifest Transgression of Duty, and Violation of Law) Something like an English Parliament does it best; and much better to be promoted by the People, then by the Sovereign.

A Second Danger,⁴¹⁹ is, when a Prime Minister employes his Credit to uphold a Faction: and it is the more Dangerous, by the hardnesse to know what it is. As whether it be Ambition, Corruption, Popularity; or, in fine, some other Secret Interest. It may be, they have Need of One-another.

415 Ambition does better in a Souldiour, then in a Counsellour.

416 It is the Interest of a Prince to dispose of Offices by Particular Direction.

417 # in non-Latin alphabet # Pag. 240.

418 How to ### an Insolent Favourite.

419 The Danger of a Favourite that upholds a Faction.

Nothing can be more perillous then This Correspondence,⁴²⁰ when a proper Instrument has the menage of it. Oh how he Detests the Faction! But yet Truly in such, and such Cases; and for such and such Persons; and upon This or That Nick of Time; if Matters were Order'd so and so.—And Then, the Insolence of a Schisme is Palliated with the Simplicity of a Scruple: and for such Cases as will bear no Other Plea, is found out the Colour of an indisputable Necessity. Not to prosecute the seuerall Artifices, by which some Truths are Disguised, others Suppress'd: Those Suits Promoted; These Compliments Smother'd: and finally; by which, both Men, and Things are quite misrepresented.

Kings cannot possibly see all things with their own Eyes,⁴²¹ nor hear all things with their own Ears, so that they must commit many great Trusts to their Ministers.] The Hazzard then is Great, when the Confident of the Monarch is the Advocate for the Enemies of the State. But above all, if he be Surly and Imperious to the Try'd Servants of the Crown;⁴²² That looks like a Design, to Introduce one Party to Betray the Prince, and to discourage or Disable Another from serving him.

We are here upon a Supposition, that a Master may be mistaken in a Servant: and that a Servant may abuse his Credit with his Master. In case This be; What Remedy?

Supposing the Favourite still in Credit, we must Imagine the Sovereign still in the Mistake: and therefore not expect a Remedy as to the Person, but rather fetch Relief from some Generall Rules of Government: which shall neither disoblige the Favourite, if he be Honest; nor e••pose the Prince, if he be ###:-But This is better done at the Beginning of a Kings Reign, then in the Middle of it; better upon Iudgment of State, then Urgency of Occasion.

The Certain help is a fit Choyce of Officers,⁴²³ and Servants. Especially in such Places as have Numerous Dependencies; for otherwise, Three or Four Persons Leaven the Court; half a Dozen more, the Souldiery; and in Conclusion, a Great Favourite, with a few select Instruments of his own making, may at his Pleasure seize the Government. This was the Rise of the Second Race of Kings in France.

Yet God forbid,⁴²⁴ that Princes should make Themselves, and their Privadoes miserable, by Eternall, Causelesse, and Unquenchable Iealousies: That Kings should be Debarr'd That Blessing, and Relief, without which, Life's a Plague, and Royalty a Burthen. That is; the Use and Comfort of a Friend: [to whom (as the Oraculous St. Albans) he may Impart, his Grievs, Ioys, Fears, Hopes, Suspitions, Counsels, and whatsoever lies upon his Heart, to oppresse it; in a kind of Civill Shrift, or Confession:] and from whence, (with the same Authour) he may reap, [Peace of affections, and Support of Iudgment.]

Nay,⁴²⁵ take the Subject's Interest in Too; what can be more Desirable, then for a Prince to have a Watchfull, Wise, Faithfull Counsellour; and the People, a Firme Prudent Patriote, in the same Noble Person? Accursed be the man that envies Either. Yet Here's a Line still drawn betwixt Majesty and Kindnesse; which the One cannot passe, without Diminution, nor the Other transgresse without

420 And menage of his Design.

421 St. ###. Bacon.

422 #

423 How to disappoint an Ambitious Design.

424 Favourit•s necessary to the Prince,

425 and desirable to the People.

Presumption. In fine; the Right of Placing, or Displacing Officers, lies on the Kings side of the Chalke, and falls under the Head of Reward or Punishment.

King James in the Second Book of his # in non-Latin alphabet #, delivers Excellent Advises to Prince Henry, concerning the Choyce of Servants.

First;⁴²⁶ See that they be of a Good Fame, and without Blemish.

Next;⁴²⁷ See that they be Indued with such honest Qualities, as are meet for such Offices as ye ordeyn them to serve in; that your Judgment may be known in Employing every man according to his Guifts.

Thirdly;⁴²⁸ I Charge you, according to my Fatherly Authority, to preferr Specially to your Service, so many as have truly served Me, and are able for it.—For if the Haters of your Parents cannot Love you, it followes of Necessity, that Their Lovers must Love you.

Chuse your Servants for your own Uses,⁴²⁹ and not for the Use of Others: and hearken not to Recommendations, more for serving in effect, their Friends that put them in, then their Masters that admit them.

Especially take good heed to the choyce of your Servants,⁴³⁰ that you preferr to the Offices of the Crown and Estate: for in Other Offices, ye have only to take heed to your Own Weale, but These concern likewise the Weale of your People; for the Which, ye must be Answerable to God. Be carefull to Prefer none, as ye will be answerable to God, but for their Worthynesse.

Employ every man as ye think him Qualify'd;⁴³¹ but Use not One in all Things, lest he wax Proud, and be Envy'd by his Fellowes.

These were the Directions of a Prince, then whom no Man spake more upon Experience: and very hardly shall a Sovereign that takes This Course, even upon any Accompt, Miscarry.

Another Profitable Course might be for a Prince to set his Favourite his Bounds,⁴³² afore-hand. As for the Purpose; that in such and such Particulars, concerning Law, and Religion, or wherein his Peculiar Interest is concern'd; he never presume to move him above Once; and that in certain Other Cases, he presume not to move him at all. By these means, the Favourite is minded of his Duty, the Prince of his Dignity: and Both Secur'd; the One, from the Hazzard of Granting too much; the Other from the Temptation of Asking it. So far from being Impracticable, is This Proposition; that, on the contrary, 'tis Obvious and Easie. As for Instance.

There are some things which a King cannot Grant as a Christian; Others, which he cannot Grant as a King; and some again, which he cannot Grant as a Wise man. So that Reserving to himself, a

426 Concerning the Choice of Servants.

427 Let them be Honest and Fit.

428 Of approved Loyalty to th• Father.

429 Not upon Recommendation.

430 Publique Natures for Publique Places.

431 Not One to all Purposes.

432 Let a Prince set his Confident his Bounds, afore-hand

Freedome (even from Sollicitation) in These Niceties of Conscience,⁴³³ Honour, and Convenience; the Favourite may make his Best of the Rest. The Relation betwixt a Governour, and his People, is like That of Man, and Wife: A man may take his Friend into his Armes, but not into his Bed. To make an end of This; That Favourite that presses his Master to any thing which evidently exposes him, to Contempt or Hatred, does probably Design his Ruine.

To run through the whole Body of Humane Frailties, would be too Tedious; Let it suffice, that Those Vices (whether Devillish, or Brutish) which in a Private man, are Mischievous, or Shamefull, are much more so in a Person arm'd with Power to Execute the Malice, and qualifi'd with an Eminence, to Recommend a lewd Example.

Where a Great Trust is committed to a Weak Person; It matters not much to the Publique, whether he be True, or False: for Futility, in him, has the Effect of Treachery in another: The One Blabs his Masters Secrets, and the Other Betrayes them.

The Third Hazzard from the Over-greatnesse of One Counsellour,⁴³⁴ arises from the Influence of his Power, and Inclination upon the People: And That, either as to their Love, or Hatred. The Popular Part we have already done with: (that is, so far as it concerns the making of a Party to Himself; and the Remedies of That Danger) That which remains, shall be divided into Pride, Covetousnesse, and Mis-advise.

It is seldome seen,⁴³⁵ that a Proud man in Power, is not withall Insolent, Vain, and Cruell. The first to his Superiours, where they will suffer it: The Next to his Equalls, till they are Sick of it: and the Third, to his Inferiours, till he is Hated for it.

A Favourite of This Temper, makes it his Glory to be thought the Dictatour to his Master: Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling, upon Mandates and Directions, (as Sir Francis Bacon) His style is, Ego & Rex Meus; and the Consequence of This Boldnesse is to lessen the Sovereign in the Eyes of his Subjects.

It is harder for a Prince to Discover This Audacious Humour,⁴³⁶ then to Crush it; let but the King withdraw his Favour for one Moment• and of himself, he falls below the Scorn of Those he lately Trampled on.

If he be Covetous;⁴³⁷ The Person of the Prince, and the Honour of the Nation are expos'd to Sale: and the People Squeeze'd to fill his Coffers, till they have not Bread left for their own Bellies. This brings the Multitude to Sterve, or Tumult; and There's a Kingdome Swallow'd by a Favourite.

We here suppose the Worst; and yet even These Extremities, are not quite Deplorate, and Helplesse. Spunges will Spue, as well as Suck; and 'tis but the Monarch's sending of the Popular Assembly in quest of the Publique Treasure, to fetch it up again.

433 In Points of Conscience, Honour and Convenience, let not a Favourite presse the Sovereign.

434 The Danger of Over greatnesse as to the People.

435 A Proud man in Power.

436 Easily crush'd.

437 A Covetous Great man.

Now whence proceeds this Mischief,⁴³⁸ but from Misadvise? not want of Prudence, but of Enformation: or which is worse; from Tales fram'd to the Passion, and Advantage of the Teller. Hee's made an Enemy to the State, that's not a Friend to This or That Design. Dangers are Pretended, where there are none; and Security, where there are: And (which is the Curse of These Ill Offices) the Wisest, and the Bravest of Princes, are subjected to Delusion, and Surprize, in Common with their Contraries. Could Solomon's Wisdome tell him which of the Two Harlots was the Mother of the Child, without a further means of Decision? Or Could Caesar's Courage oppose the Fate of the Senate? In Matters of Fact, Princes, as well as Others, are to be Instructed by Report; and if from a Person whom they have Reason to believe, they receive Notice of a Matter whereupon they have not Time to Deliberate; their Proceedings are to be Directed by the Fairest Appearance of that Relation. In fine, if a Servant will betray his Master, there's no avoyding it, for he must Trust somebody. [Remember well (sayes Sir Francis Bacon in a Letter of Advice to the late Duke of Buckingham) the great Trust you have undertaken,⁴³⁹ you are as a Continual Centinell, alwayes to stand upon your Watch, to give him (the King) True Intelligence. If you Flatter him, you Betray him; If you Conceal the Truth of Those things from him which concern his Iustice, or his Honour, (although not the Safety of his Person) you are as dangerous is Traytour to his State, as he that rises in Armes against him.]

If such as only withdraw their Allegiance from their Prince, are so Criminal; how much are They to blame then, that, where his Conscience, Life, and Dignity, lie all at Stake; abuse, and mispossesse him! That cry;⁴⁴⁰ Not That way Sir, for the Lords sake, go This way rather! and so Betray him, from his Guards into an Ambush.

But Centaurs are scarce more Monstrous in Nature, then These men are in Manners; and I may seem perhaps very ha•d driven for want of work, to employ my time in the searching out of Remedies, for Mischiefs so Improbable. Truly His Concept, that imputes the Omission of a Law against Patricides, to a Presumption that the Crime would never be committed, does not at all divert me from Believing,⁴⁴¹ that Prudence is to Provide for the Worst; and Nothing left to Chance, that may be Secur'd by Counsell. Wherefore, I Proceed to my Prevention.

Since the Only Certainty of what is Done, or Said, comes from the Eye, or Eare; and that the Sovereign cannot be every where; so that he must either give Credit to Relation; or know nothing of Affairs at a Distance; let us Consider, by what means a Prince may most probably escape the Snares of a Mis-enformer.

To advise upon the Choyce of the Instrument; is but to say, Chuse an Honest man, and hee'll not betray you: And not to let any man deceive you Twice, is but the After-game of Wisdome; for the First Errour may be Fatall.⁴⁴² We must look out some other Course then, and a Better I know none, then a Strict Iustice, and Severity, of Reward, and Punishment. A False Intelligencer is as bad as a Spy. Wherefore, let a Prince suppress Calumnies, and encourage Accusations, that he may not take

438 The Mischief of False Intelligence

439 Good Advice #...# Counsel ###.

440 #

441 Prudence provides for the worst.

442 Reward and •unishment keep People in Order.

his Friends. for his Enemies, and his Enemies for his Friends. What can be a Greater Injury to the Sovereign's Honour, then by a false Story, to cause him Love where he should almost Hate, and Hate where he should Love? Punish where he should Reward, and Reward where he should Punish? It breaks the Heart of Loyalty, This sad Mistake, and strengthens the Hands of Treason. Who would dare to put These Affronts upon Majesty, and Innocence, if upon Detection, the Scandall were made as dangerous to the Reporter, as the Consequence to the Sufferer? And This we take for a sufficient Mean, to keep Malitious Buzzes from the Eares of Princes.

But This is but the work halfe-done; for there are certain Truths as Necessary to be Told, as are These Calumnies to be Conceal'd;⁴⁴³ and where the Undertaker of the Office, runs a far greater Risque to serve his Prince, then the Other does to Ruine him. These Offices are discharg'd, by Mercenary Persons, for Reward; and by the Worthyer Sort, for Reverence-Sake, and Duty. So that betwixt the Fear of Punishment, the Hope of Benefit, and the rare Integrity of Those that stand firm without considering Either; a Prince may easily secure himself of Good Advise, and Right Intelligence; and That, (at least within Himself) amply suffices to his Establishment.

That Kings are Men; who Doubts? And 'tis as much Their Duty to Remember it, as 'tis Their Subjects, not to be too Prying into the Slips of Their Humanity. Their Clergy are to Prescribe to their Souls; Their Physicians, to their Bodies; and their Counsellours are to Advise in Point of Government: But 'tis within the Pale of every Private mans Commission, to offer his Intelligence. As for Example;⁴⁴⁴ Suppose a Counsellour of State denyes the Kings Supremacy. Shall it be counted Saw•nesse in a Particular Person to acquaint the Monarch with it? Wee'll make an end with This. That State is in an ill Condition, where he that would save his Prince, must ruine himself: and where One Party is bolder to do the King Mischief, then the Other is to do him Good. It is now high time to take another Stepp; and wee'll stay but a Moment upon it.

Subsection II.

How to frustrate a Combination of Diverse Counsellours.

THE Dangers of a Combination in Diverse Counsellours are, in Respect of their Power, and Privileges; their Credit, their Dependencies, (either by Office, or Expectation) Their Opportunities of Concealing, or Protecting their Friends. And finally, in Respect of their Intelligence betwixt th•State, and the Faction.

This Confederacy is so liable to be Discover'd# so dangerous to be Suffer'd, and so easie to be disorder'd, that it is scarce worth the while, to speak to so Manifest an Inconvenience. In Little; if they are not Removed as they are found F•ulty; Disgrac'd, as they appear Bold; or Secluded from such Consultations as properly concern the Difference in Question: It will be a hard matter for a Prince to struggle with a Faction that is assisted by so many Advantages. If it were nothing else but the meer point of Intelligence; it were enough to Endanger the Crown; to have a Faction privy to all the Counsells, Resolves, Deliberations, and Necessities of the Monarch.

443 Honest Truths are Dangerous.

444 A Case put.

In the Lower Region of the Court,⁴⁴⁵ we have supposed Three sorts of People, that may Occasion Great Inconveniences: to wit; Insatiate Beggars; Corrupt Officers; and Ill Paymasters. I might have added Two more; that is, Men of Ill Lives, and of Ill Principles. The First of these Five; I thought to have plac'd in the Upper Division; but it Commonly belongs to Both; only These Beg Oftener; the Other More: and to speak the truth of the businesse, where This Trade is in Fashion, it may be observ'd,⁴⁴⁶ that there are not above Four or Five Beggars in Chief, and the Rest Beg under Them; as it falls out sometime in Popular Representatives; A few Get up, and the Rest Truckle.

Where This Humour is much Indulg'd, the Consequence of it, is not only Faction, within the Walls, but a General Discontentment, and Necessity throughout the Nation: For when the Ordinary wayes of Profit are dispos'd of, Recourse is had to Project, and Invention; which, if not very tenderly menaged, leaves the King a sad Luser at the Foot of the Accompt. Beside, that it Anticipates the Prince his Generosity,⁴⁴⁷ and by Exacting, rather than Obteyning, takes away the Freedome of his Choyce, and Bounty.

The way for a Prince to Help This, is either to put a Stint upon the Suitour, or a Restreint upon his Proper Goodnesse; and even where he is Resolved to Give, not to do it sodainly; lest he appear to Give for the Asking, without considering the Merit. Let him further have a Particular Care of Persons that grow Proud upon his Favours: The same weaknesse of Mind that makes them Proud, will quickly make them S•wcy too: and the reason is, they think they have got the better of him.

Corrupt Officers are Another Pest of a Court#⁴⁴⁸ and Bane of a State: unlesse timely look'd after; and Then, the Publique may be the Better for them. And 'tis no ill Policy in some Cases, to let Them Squeeze for a while, that they may be worth the Squeezing Themselves: for no Supply is more acceptable to the Generality, then That which is L•vy'd upon their Oppressours.

The miserable Consequences of Ill-Payment, we have briefly touch'd upon,⁴⁴⁹ Pag. 114. The Reason of Ill-Payment is commonly Ill-Pay; and Many must needs get Nothing, when a Few get All: from which vast Inequality, arise Factions, and Want. The best Remedy for This Evill, is, first to Enable Them to Pay, and then to leave them to the Law if they Refuse. For Protections are only so far Necessary to the Dignity of a Court, as they consist with the Peace, and Iustice of a Nation: that the Privilege appear not an Affront to the Law.

When a Court Payes Ill,⁴⁵⁰ it had need Live Well; for when People are Poor, they grow Conscientious; and for want of Mony apply themselves to hearken after Religion: The Severest of all Reformers being a Necessitous Multitude. Especially, let them absteyn from Costly Sinnes; for to Expend much, and Pay nothing, is a most distastfull Incongruity. To conclude; the General Rule of a Court, is the Example of the Prince; whom they will be sure to follow in his Errours, and at least Imitate, in his Virtues: Yet where some Particulars Extravagate, there will be also Need of his Severity.

445 The Lower Region of the Court.

446 Four or Five Beggars in Chief.

447 #

448 Corrupt Officers a General Pest.

449 Ill-Pay the reason of Ill-Payment.

450 Want of Mony makes People Religious.

We come now to that Canker of the Government,⁴⁵¹ under the Shadow of the Governour; the Ill-Principled Courtier: who not only causes Sedition, but is Himself the very Tincture of it. You must Expect to see all look Pale, and Wither'd, where This Worme lies sucking at the Root. Can a Prince be safe, that's serv'd by his Enemies? Or a People Happy when the Soul of the Publique is in Danger? Yet, in some Cases, there may be Reason of State; and That known only to the Sovereign, for which some Persons, in Exception to This Generall Rule, may be admitted. Saving Those very Individuals, it may behove the Prince not to let any one of the Rest escape; without a Strict Enquiry; both by what Means, and to what likely End they are There Plac'd, and Entertain'd. Which if he does, and Early too; before the whole Lump has taken the Leaven; 'tis more then an Even Lay, that hee'll find Reason to Remove Them. Proceed we now to the Camp.

Sect. IV.

How to Prevent Disorders arising from the CAMP.

THE Dangers from the Camp,⁴⁵² are Principally These Three#Mutiny, Revolt, or Popular Risings. (provoked by the Oppression, or Insolence of the Souldiery) Of These, in their Order.

Mutinies may be Caus'd by Want of Pay;⁴⁵³ some defect of Discipline; by New-Modelling; Disbanding; Disgrace, &c.—And all These Disorders may be procur'd by the Artifice of some Particular Persons that aime at an Advantage by them.

That Prince that Rayses an Army which he can not Pay Himself, raises it (in effect) for somebody else that can. In short, a very great Hazzard it is, to have the Souldiery Dependent upon any Other Interest then That of the Monarch. Where it so falls out, that a Prince lies subjected to the Double Inconvenience, both of Having an Army, and of Wanting Mony; Let him be sure of a most Exquisite Choyce of Officers, both for Honesty, and Ability: That the Body likewise may be well Chosen, and well Govern'd. For he has enough to do, that undertakes to keep his Troupes in Order, without Pay; but if they want Affection too,⁴⁵⁴ the Point is Desperate. This is the Nick of Danger, and Temptation; for a Necessitous Army, of This Mixture, is any mans Mony that will offer for it: Wherefore in such a Juncture, a Monarch cannot be too wary, of all Popular and suspected Practices. Let him be sparing also, even in his Personall, and Private Expenses, at such a time as This: For Military Spirits are apter to take fire then Other People; and to distrust the Kindnesse of their Master, if they observe that he has Mony for his Pleasures, and none for his Servants. An Observation, possibly neither Fit, nor True: However, when men are discontented, they look upon small kindnesses as Nothing, and they see Injuries Double.

451 The Ill-principled Courtier.

452 Dangers from the Camp.

453 How Mutinies may be caused.

454 #

The next hazzard is,⁴⁵⁵ upon the Point of Discipline; which, in an unpaid Army, can very hardly be Preserv'd, but by the Exceeding Worthinesse, and Prudence of the Officers. Nor by That neither, beyond their Interest and Credit of Persuading; for Punishment were Tyranny without Wages.

The New-Modelling of an Army is also a tickle Undertaking:⁴⁵⁶ and so is the Dis-banding. The Former is the sharper Disobligation; but 'tis but Personall: The Latter is the more Dangerous, for it Destroyes the Trade: And the Perill is either from the Influence of some Chief Officers in the One; or from a Disposition common to all Military, as well as Naturall bodies, in the Other: that is, an Aversenesse to Dissolution. Both the One and the Other, are a work to be dispatch'd with as much Care, and with as little Noise, as possible: very Tenderly, and by Degrees.

If any Trouble be Apprehended from the Displacing of some Particulars,⁴⁵⁷ (as he may possibly resent the Losse of Power; or the Disgrace of being singled out to lose it after such a Maner) 'tis but Casting out to him the Lure of a Better Office, or of a Higher Preferment: wherein he may be more Serviceable to Himself, and lesse Dangerous to the Publique. Or if he be too Crafty to stoop to That; the way is to begin with his Dependencies. This leaves him Naked; and the Other, Satisfy'd: At least in shew, since to the World he appears rather Exalted, then Ejected.

Dis-banding is a nicer piece of Business:⁴⁵⁸ The very Word is scarce to be Mention'd, till the Thing is Done. For 'though the State may be Iudg when 'tis Convenient to Raise an Army; the Souldiery are commonly the Iudges when 'tis time to lay it down again. A Good Preparatory to This, is Modelling, and Dispersing, before they have the wind of the Design; to prevent their uniting against it. And by Degrees; One Regiment at a time; to keep the Rest Quiet, in hope of Continuing. Let That be done by Lot too; for the Losing Party will sooner forgive a Mischance, then an Unkindnesse. Touching Mutinies that proceed either from opinion of Disgrace; dispute concerning Precedency, Command, Provision, Quarter, &c. they may be referr'd to want of Discipline.

The Causes of Revolts,⁴⁵⁹ may be as many as of Discontents: But the Principal, are either Fear, Despaire, Revenge, or Inconstancy in the Common-Souldiery. And they may likewise be Procur'd, either by the Ambition, or Corruption of the Chief Officers.

The best Security against These General Defections,⁴⁶⁰ is in the Original Election, and Constitution of the Army. Wherefore let Heed be taken (as near as may be) even to the fitnessse of the meanest Private Souldiour: which in a fair degree may be attein'd, be good choyce of Valiant, Prudent, Vigilant, and Faithful Officers. Why should a Kingdome be hazzarded for a Trifle? How small a matter added to either side carryes an Equall Ballance! A Word, a Thought, an Imagination, a Mistake turns the Fortune of the Day, and Decides the Battle. Is any thing more ordinary then a Panique Terrour, in a Croud of People? which, as Mr. Hobbs hints in his Leviathan; is only an Apprehension of Danger, in

455 Good Pay will bear good Discipline.

456 Modelling and Disbanding are dangerous.

457 How to New-Modell an Army.

458 How to Dis-band.

459 The Causes of Revolts.

460 A good Choice is the best Security against a Revolt.

the first man that Runs; the Rest, Fearing, and Running by example, every man supposing his Fellow to know why. At This Rate, Ten Cowards may destroy Twenty Thousand Valiant men.

Against Despair; Arguments are best upon the Place; Revenge may be Prevented by a Generous, and Military Severity. So that they shall neither have any Provocation to the Attempt, nor Security in the Execution: But against Their Inconstancy there is no Remedy.

The mischieves which may arrive upon the accompt of Ambition, or Corruption, are scarce to be Prevented, but by chusing Persons of an Impregnable Fidelity; or Otherwise, the Fairest Bidder carries it. And against Popular Risings, nothing better then a Strict Discipline; and an Impartiall Justice betwixt the Souldiery and the Country. It does well also, to Interesse Both Parties, (Civill, and Military) as fairly as possible, in the Common Care of the Publique: For a Pure Military Force has the Face rather of an Enemy, then of a Guard: But where Persons of Eminent Repute, and Integrity in the Country are joyned in Commission with others as eminent for Martial Affaires, Both sides are satisfy'd, and the Common Good better Provided for.

Sect. V.

How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditious arising from the CITY.

Where the Metropolis is not well Season'd,⁴⁶¹ and in good Order, Many, and Great are the Advantages it has to Disturbe a Government. It has Men, Mony, and Armes alwayes at hand. But yet let a Prince, in his Greatest Distresse, have a Care how he Abandons it; for 'tis by much a more dangerous Enemy at a Distance, then at Home.

The Ordinary Pretenses of a Troubled City, are either concerning Religion, Oppression, Privileges, or Poverty, but still 'tis Ambition that sets the Wheel going;⁴⁶² and it is the Monarch's yielding at first, that destroyes him in the End. For while the Party is Tender, and Wavering; the Humour Corrigible, and the Authority of the Prince, not as yet either exposed by Patience, or Prophan'd by Popular Contempt, and the Insolencies of the Rabble; Then is #1 page duplicate##1 page duplicate# the time, to cut off all Possibility of Sedition. Murmurings are but the Sm•ak of Rebellion; the Fire's already in the Straw, but easily smother'd: That is, if seasonably look'd after: for if it break forth into a Blaze, All the Buckets in the Town will hardly Quench it. The very first Mutterings against the Government, are but a pretty way of putting the Question; as who should say, Sir, May we Rebel? And the Forbearance of the Prince, seems to Answer them: Yes; Ye may. And Then, to work they go.

First,⁴⁶³ upon Religion: the most Dangerous, and the most wicked Quarrell in Nature. Is there a God? Or, Is there None? Let any Reasonable Rebel, whether Atheistique, or Religious, answer me. If a God there be;⁴⁶⁴ Upon what Nation will he powre out the fiercenesse of his Wrath; Upon what

461 The Danger of an Ill•order'd City.

462 #

463 Pretext of Religion is a danger•us and wicked Quarrell.

464 Is there a God?

Heads will he employ his Thunder? If not upon That Nation, where his Divinity is made a Stale; His Majesty Affronted in all his Attributes: And upon Those Heads, that entitle the Basest of Corruptions to his Immaculate Purity; and the Dictates of the Devill, to the Inspirations of the Blessed Spirit.

Now to Those that say in their Heart,⁴⁶⁵ There is No God: They'll yet allow the Political Convenience of persuading the People otherwise. So that where This Freedom in Matters of Religion is permit•ed to the Multitude: Either the Abuse drawes down a Vengeance from Heaven, or the Superstitious League among the People unites a Party against the Sovereign.

To deal frankly;⁴⁶⁶ All Seditious are to be imputed to Misgovernment: To the want of Early Care in the Magistrate. One Man begins; He Imparts himself to Others; They Conferr with Their Interests, and so the Mischief Branches it self, till it comes to Overspread a Nation. How easie a matter is it, to Smother a Spark in the Tinder-Box? A little Harder, to blow out a Candle: Harder yet, to put out the Fire. In short, when the Town is in a Flame, thank Him that neglected the first Spark.

The Prince that would prevent Schismaticall Seditious,⁴⁶⁷ in a City, must begin with the Clergy, and assure himself of the Pulpit. To say 'tis Dangerous; may in some Cases be a Truth. But Dangerous as it is; If it be more so, to let them Alone, What signifies That Objection? Suppose the Hazzard almost desperate, on the One side: But there's a never-failing Certainty on the Other: Here 'tis Hard; There 'tis Impossible. It is Necessary also to Suppress Conventicles, Pamphlets, and all other Irregularities, which either Draw People together, or Unite them, in Order to a Separation.

In a Particular maner,⁴⁶⁸ let heed be taken, that the Magistracy of the City, consist of Persons Well-affected to the Government of the Church: And if they Struggle, let them be timely Taught, That the Liberty of their Charter, does not discharge the Bond of their Allegiance. This Strictnesse ought to be indispensable; for it is not to be Expected, that One Schismaticque should Punish Another.

The Second Grievous Compleint is Oppression; and whether it be True or False, let it be strongly Urg'd, and Credited, 'tis the same thing.

Some Oppressions are Procur'd at the Instance of certain Ill Instruments about the Sovereign;⁴⁶⁹ on purpose to stir up the People against him. And This is done, by shewing how Other Princes hamper Their Capitall Cities: Never considering, that the same manner of Governing will no more sit all Varieties of Custome, Temper, and Scituation, then the same Doublet and Hose will sit all Bodies. And then they Cry, This Damn'd City must be Humbled, and Taken down. 'Tis very Right; but This must be spoken sof•ly, and done warily. For to Levell the Menace at the City, in stead of the Delinquent, is a great Mistake. In such a Heat as This, a Prince needs no more then Three or Four Churlish, and Rash Officers;⁴⁷⁰ Two or Three spitefull, and Illegall Actions, to bring his Royalty in danger. Briefly; a Mean there is, betwixt Fury, and Slumber; and equally ruinous to Princes, are Those Counsels that lead to either of These Extremes.

465 Or •s there None?

466 All Seditious proceed from Misgovernment.

467 Begin with the Clergy to prevent Schisme.

468 Let the Magistracy be well-affected.

469 Oppression procur'd by Ill Instruments.

470 #

May not That very thing which These people pretend they aime at, be done by Gentle, Legall, and Familiar means? Let them Chuse their own Officers; That pleases the City: But 'tis the Publique Care to see the Choice be Honest: and that secures the Prince. On the One side, no Clemency can be too great, that stands with the Rule of Government: On the Other side, no Severity too strict, in Case of a Contumacy that Crosses it.

Burthensome Taxes are many times a Great Compleint, and sometimes a Iust one. Lighter, o•Heavyer they are, according to the various Humours of the Prince; and the different Exigencies of Times, and Occasions; Nay, and according to the differing Disposition in the People at severall times, to understand them Publique Necessities must be Supply'd; and the Supreme Magistrate is the Iudg of Publique Necessities.⁴⁷¹ Yet still where a more then Ordinary Levy is Necessary, the Ordinary way of Raysing it may be Convenient: for the One way, they only stumble at the Present Burthen; but the Other, they are startled with an Apprehension of the Perpetuity of it. In which Case, it fares with Rulers, as it does with Racking Landlords, in Comparison with Those that Let better Penny-worths. The One has more in his Rentall, but the Other has more in his Pocket: and the reason is; the Tenants run away with the Rent.

Sir Francis Bacon is of opinion that [Taxes, and Imposts upon Merchants, do seldome good to the King's Revenew; for that he wins in the Hundred, he loses in the Shire; the Particular Rates being Encreased, but the Totall Bulk of Trading rather Decreased.]

Some Oppressions again there are, that proceed only from the violence of Extorting and Corrupt Officers. To Compliants against Abuses of This Quality, a Prince his Eare is to be ever Open; for it is in a Peculiar maner, his Duty, to Relieve the Oppressed. A Prince that Invades the Privileges of a City, Breaks his Word:⁴⁷² If they are Forfeited, he may resume, or Remit at Pleasure: otherwise, let them stand Sacred. It can never be safe to Govern ad Libitum: for when People find no Security in Obedience,⁴⁷³ it puts them upon the Experiment of Sedition. If a Monarch has an overgrown Subject, that he would be quit of; that he would Sacrifice to his proper Advantage; let him but give him a Temptation to Encroche upon the Rights, or Customes, of his Imperial City: and if he take the Ba•t, let him Discover him, and bring him upon the Stage for a Publique Oppressour. Such an Action layes That City at his •eet. To Finish; That Prince that would have his Subjects firme to Him, in Danger; must be Kind to Them# in Peace.

The Fourth and Last motive to Sedition,⁴⁷⁴ is Poverty: A Terrible Enemy to a Great and Populous City; nor is such a City, in Extreme Want, a lesse For•dable Enemy to the Monarch# for Hunger is neither to be Aw'd, nor Flatter'd.

The Causes of it are so many, and so incertain, 'tis hard to assign particular Remedies. In some Cases, Restreint of Bu•lding i• convenient; In others, ### Laws; the Regulation and Emprovement of Trade; The calling of Corr•t Ministers to Accompt, &c.—For fear of the worst, it is good, if the

471 Though the Levy be Extraordinary, let the way be Ordinary.

472 Privileges are Sacred.

473 #

474 Poverty is a terrible Enemy.

Necessito•• Party grow Numerous, for the Prince rather to make Warr with Them abroad, then to stay, till They make it upon Him, at Home; by That means, exchanging a Civil War, for a Forreign.

If the Mischief be too far gone,⁴⁷⁵ and that it breaks forth into a Direct Sedition; yet can it very hardly happen, that a Prince can warrant the forsaking of his Metropolis.

First, with Five Hundred men he keeps a Million in Awe; That is, if He Himself, and his whole Party, be not Coup'd up under the same Roof. They can Destroy Him, by Number; and Hee, Them, by Fire.

Next; Let the Prince but carry the First Scu••le, and (the World to nothing) the Town is his own. Whereas, let Him withdraw; so great is the Advantage he leaves to the Rebels, both as to the Readinesse, and Proportion, of Men, and Provisions for Warr; that (at a Distance) he may get the B•tter of Fi•e or Six Pitch'd Battles, and yet Lose all at Last. For They shall sooner Re-enforce a Broken Army, then Hee Recruit a Shatter'd Regiment.

A Third Reason may be, that it Lessens the Reputation of his Power, to give Ground.

We shall conclude with the Fourth; which is, That Citizens will stand better, far from Home, then under their own Walls: for what with th•Impo•tunities of their Relations: Their Interests in vie••• and the Convenience of a Near Retrea•; They Fight in Distraction. We speak here of a Civill Warr, for against a Forreign Force; These Reasons transport them into a more Determinate Obstin•tion. •rom the City, now for the Country,

Sect. VI.

How to Prevent Seditious from the COUNTRY.

IT is very rarely seen that the Country begins a Seditious Quarrell, unlesse in case of some Barbarous, and Depopulating Tyranny, or for pure want of Bread. In Truth, their Businesse is too Innocent, and They're so full on't too, they have scarce Leisure from their Sleep, and Labour, to Think of Wrangling; and when they do, they dread it. The hurt They do, is by Siding, and Seconding, and That Unwillingly too: So that to keep Them Quiet, no more is Necessary, than to have an Eye upon their Patrons, and to allow the Common Sort only to live upon their Labours.

Sect. VII.

Certain Cautions directing how to prevent and avoid dangers arising from the BODY REPRESENTATIVE.

THere are Three grand Hazzards which occur in the Consideration of a Body Representative. The Choice of the Persons; The Menage of Affaires; And the Subject Matter of their Consultations.

475 The Prince not to forsake his Metropoli•.

Touching the Choice;⁴⁷⁶ Regard must be first had to the Legality; and Then, to the Prudence of it: That the Candidate may be of such Age, and Quality; and Chosen in such Maner, as the Law of the Place requires: And moreover, that he be a Person of Moral Integrity; A Lover of his Prince, and Countrey; and one that Understands his Duty, and Employment. There is a Duty also Incumbent upon the Electours; That they be not Corrupted by Mony,⁴⁷⁷ Overborn by Importunity, or Transported by Fear, or Favour, to an Unworthy and Unsuitable Choyce. From the want of This Care and Fidelity, proceed many times the Ruine of Princes, and the Subversion of Kingdomes.

Before the Sovereign Summons This Grand Convention,; he may consider how the Last Ended; The Present Temper of his People; and hold a Strict Intelligence concerning such Persons, and Fellowships, as are likely to Crosse him.

If the Last Assembly Acted and Concluded to the Satisfaction of Himself and the Kingdome, He may Hope well of the Next: but if the Contrary, let him expect a Faction: Unlesse in the Intervall, he take off That Animosity: which may be attain'd by doing That Himself, as of his own meer Grace, and Motion, which may bear some Proportion with what they would have done by Their Deputies. There's a great Difference,⁴⁷⁸ betwixt a King's Reforming of Abuses by Himself, and by his Counsell: In the One Case, it looks as if the People help'd Themselves: and makes them think better of their Own Authority, then they ought to do: In the Other, they find Themselves Dependent upon the Grace of the Sovereign, and ascribe the Relief to his Bounty. In fine# it is not amisse for a Prince still to usher in, the Call of his Great Assembly with some Particular Obligation upon his Subjects.

As to the Rest; if the Prince finds The Temper of the People Peevish, and Factions Boyling; such as no Clemency, and Goodnesse can Engage; the lesse Subject for Clamour he leaves them, 'tis the Better; and if upon Convening, he finds the Mixture Petulant, and Soure; he may with the lesse noise Dismiss them.

According to the Choyce of Persons,⁴⁷⁹ will be the Menage of Affaires: The Publique Good; Particular Justice, and the Dignity of the Assembly, will be the Chief Care of a good Choyce: but if the Choyce be Bad;⁴⁸⁰ These Noble Offices, and Regards, will be the Least part of their Business. They fall then into Partialities, and Sidings; Helpe mee to day, and I'll helpe you to morrow. Acts of State will be Biass'd by Particular Interests: Matters Concluded by Surprize, rather then by any formal Determination; and the Reverence of Order, and Reason will be dash'd out of Countenance, by the Voicings of Faction, and Clamour.

As Politique Bodies have no Souls, so Publique Persons should have no Bodies: but leave those Impediments of Iustice, and Distractions of Counsell; (Project, and Passion) at the Dore of the Senate# In short;⁴⁸¹ where such a Partiality happens, as we here Imagine, the Two main Mischieves are These: The Iniquity of the end, or the Disorder of the Means. The Former may in some Measure be Prevented,

476 Let the Choice be Legall, and Prudent.

477 #

478 Better the Sovereign Reforme, then the Counsell.

479 The effects of a Good Choyce,

480 and of a Bad.

481 The Mischieves of Partiality.

by an Oath to deal •prightly. (but the Grand Failing was in the Election) The Latter may be Regulated by such a Clearnesse of Rule, and Methode; together with such a Strictnesse in the Observation of That Rule, that both Every man may know his Duty, and no man dare to Transgresse it.

But Concerning the Subject Matter now of their Consultations, There lies the Perill, when they come to reach at Affairs Forreign to their Congnissance. The Hazzard is This; stepp by stepp,⁴⁸² They Encroche upon the Sovereign# Clayming a Right to One Encrochement, from the President of another. So that Meeting with an unwary Prince, they Steal away his Prerogative by Inches; and when perchance#His Successour comes to resume his Right; That Pilfery is call'd the Liberty of the Subject, and There's a Quarrell started betwixt the King and his Subjects. Then comes the Doctrine in Play, that#Kings are Chosen for the Good of the People, and that the Discharge of that Trust and Care is the Condition of his Royalty. The very Truth is, All Government may be Tyranny. A King has not the Means of Governing, if he has not the Power of Tyrannizing, Here's the short of the Matter. We are certainly Destroy'd without a Government, and we may be Destroy'd with one:⁴⁸³ So that in Prudence, we are rather to chuse the Hazzard of a Tyranny, then the Certainty of being worry'd by One-another. Without more words, The Vulgar End of Government is, to keep the Multitude from Cutting one anothers Throats: which they have ever found to be the Consequence of Casting off their Governours.

When Popular Conventions have once found This Trick of gaining Ground upon the Sovereign; they catch their Princes, commonly as they do their Horses, with a Sive, and a Bridle: (a Subsidy, and a Perpetuall Parliament) If they'll take the Bit, they shall have Oates. But These are the Dictates of Ignorance, and Malice: for such is the Mutuall Tie and Interest of Correspondency betwixt a Monarch, and his People; that Neither of them can be safe, or Happy, without the Safety and Felicity of the Other.

The best way to prevent the Ill Consequence of the Peoples Deputies acting beyond their Crbe, is Clearly, and Particularly, to State Those Reserves of the Prerogative, with which they are not to Meddle. And so wee'll put an End to This Section, and Chapter.

CAP. XI.

Certain Reflections upon the Felicity and Advantages of the Government of England; with some Observations upon The present Juncture.

IN the Two last Chapters next antecedent to This, we have at Volly discours'd the Rise, Progresse, and (in some sort) the Remedies of Seditions, without particular Application to Times, Persons, or Places. It is our Present Purpose, to bring the Question nearer Home; by Looking a little into the Providence, and Wisdome, of our Forefathers; The Happy Constitution of the English Government:

482 #

483 ### a •yranny, then ### Anarchy.

And Then, we must not passe This Late Degenerate Race of Cannibal-Christians, without a Word or Two; From Whence, to the Distracted Iuncture we now live in; and There wee'll Finish.

Very Prudent,⁴⁸⁴ and Effectuall, both for the Preventing, and Suppressing of Seditious, was the Provision of This Nation, till the Authority of the Prince was shoulder'd out by the Insolency of the People: who of the Happiest Subjects in Nature, as well in Respect of the Prince, as of the Government, worthily became the most Prostitute Slaves, to the Basest of Tyrannies, and of Tyrants.

The Principall Courses employ'd for the Prevention, and Discovery of Practices against the State, were These.

First, the Custome of Fridborghes; (so call'd, before the Conquest; and Frank-pledges since) which was beyond Doubt, an Incomparable Expedient. (an Invention I dare not call it, for it's Originall may be ascribed rather to a Necessity, then Contrivance.)

This was a Custome,⁴⁸⁵ that obliged every Free-man, at the Age of Fourteen years, either to find a Surety for his fidelity to the Publique, or to suffer Imprisonment. Whereupon, so many Neighbours (to the Number of Ten or a Dozein) became Bound one for another: and each Particular, both for Himself and his Fellows: which Combination they call'd a Pledge.⁴⁸⁶ The Condition was This. If any man Offended, and Run away, The •est stood engaged either to bring him forth within 31 dayes, or else to answer for his Offence. And that none might scape, it was imposed upon the Sheriff, at every County Court, to take the Oath of Persons as they grew up to the age of Fourteen; and to see that they were all entred in some Pledge, or Other. So that upon any misdemeaneer, and escape; the Magistrate had but to enquire into what Pledge the Offender was entred.

Oathes of Allegiance were also to be given in the Court-Leets to all Males of above Sixteen:⁴⁸⁷ And Enquiries twice a year in the same Courts.

A Charge was given by Judges of the Kings Bench, to the Grand Jury Impannell'd at Westminster; as also by Them and other Judges of Assize in their Circuits,⁴⁸⁸ twice a Year in every County, to enquire of Treasons, Seditious, and Conspiracies.

Add to These, the Care of the Statutes of 2 E. 3. cap. 3. 7 R. 2. cap. 13. 20 R. 2. cap. 1. that no man should come or go Armed, before the Justices. By the 17 of R. 2. cap. 8. and 14 •. 4. cap. 7. The Iustices of Peace shall enquire of Riots, and Unlawfull Assemblies, and arrest the Offenders. Beside the Dreadfull Penalties in case of Treason, and the Severity of the Law in cases of Misprision of Treason.

Were but This Vigilance duly employ'd, who would venture his Head upon so desperate a Hazzard?

Nor was This Watchfulness to Prevent Mischief, any hinderance to the Readinesse of the Nation to Suppress it.

484 The Antient Prudence of England, for the Preventing of Seditious.

485 The Custome of ### or Frank-Pledges.

486 The Condition of it.

487 Oathes of Allegiance.

488 The Judges Charge concerning Treasons, &c.

The Nobility and Gentry,⁴⁸⁹ that held by Knights-Service, were still to be Ready with Horse and Armes, at any Summons; and upon pain of Forfeiture, to attend the King, or his Lieutenant Generall, either at Home or Abroad, for Forty Dayes, at their proper Charge.

If That were not sufficient, the King had the whole Body of the Common People for his Infantry:⁴⁹⁰ and an unquestionable Right, by his Commissions of Array, to put the Nation in a Posture, from Eighteen to Threescore. Beside his Navall Guards# to cleere the Seas and watch the Coast; And This without any Dispute (in those blessed days) who should be judg of the Danger.

As Nothing was here wanting to the Security of the Nation, which good Lawes could Contribute; so was there as little wanting to the Felicity of the People, in regard of the Constitution of the Government.

If it be True,⁴⁹¹ (as Salust says) that the Desire of Rule is the Cause of Warr: Where there's no place for such Desire, there can be consequently no Cause of Quarrell. (At least, there can be no Ambitious Cause; (the Canker of Great Minds, and deadly Enemy of all Politique Settlements) This is the Happy case betwixt the King of England, and the People.

Ambition presses forward still;⁴⁹² and he that's Uppermost already, is above it. The Object of it is Conquest, not Tyranny; and in a Monarch, (as I have said else-where) rather Enlargement of Empire, then of Prerogative.

The People on the Other side;⁴⁹³ They are as much Below it. For the Nobility stands betwixt Them and Home: and 'tis not for a Faction to take Two Stairs at a step. So that Their Businesse, is but Freedome from Oppression, without the least Thought of Dominion.

Yet Differences break out, and Bloody ones; which by a Grosse Mistake, we are too subject to assign unto Wrong Causes. If ye would know the Right:⁴⁹⁴ Cui prodest Scelus, ille fecit. The Gayners by a Publique Ruine, are commonly the Contrivers of it: and in all Wrangles betwixt the Royall, and the Popular Interest, we may observe, that a Third Party reaps the Fruit of Their Division, and seizes the Booty: The People only giving in Exchange, for the Name of Liberty, the Substance of it; sinking a Monarchy into an Oligarchy; and slipping the Nooze of One Government, to be Halter'd in another.

Were not the Multitude directly Mad,⁴⁹⁵ they would understand, that Their Well-beeing is so Inseparable from the King's, and His from Theirs, that the One cannot long survive the Ruines of the Other: And that when ever They Divide, the Factious part of the Nobility deceives them Both. Therefore why should They either design upon the King, or suspect His designing upon Them?

489 Knights Service.

490 Commission of Array.

491 Libido Dominandi Causa B•lli. Sal.

492 The King is above Ambition.

493 And the Commons Below it.

494 #

495 The Interests of the King and Commons are Inseperable.

Touching the Peerage,⁴⁹⁶ I think we may consider them under this Note of Participation; either as Petty Kings, or Powerfull Subjects. In the One Capacity, they may seem Dangerous to the People, in the Other to the King. If they presume on This hand, The Commons are to Assist the King: If They bear hard on the Other, the King is to help the Commons: by virtue of which Mediating mixture, of Power in the Nobility as to the People; and of Subjection, as to the King: together with the mutuall Need, and Interest of a Fair Understanding betwixt King, and Commons, All Parties are Secur'd: to the utmost possibility of Safety, and Satisfaction. Yet after all This, There may be Danger of an Aristocracy. But concerning Government, and the severall Formes of it, in all their Latitudes, and Limitations; the Rights and Interests of Kings, and the Bounds of Subjects, more then enough is said already, and the Ball toss'd so long till both the Gamesters, and By-standers are sick of the Dispute.

This Constitution which we have here represented so Eminent,⁴⁹⁷ both for Defence, and Comfort, was nevertheesse by a Mean, Wretched Faction undermin'd; and yet no Age could ever boast greater examples of Love# Faith, and Duty; of Christian, Civill, or of Military Virtues then were among the Assertours of That Government. But all This stresse of Armes and Arguments, was not sufficient to uphold the King, the Church, the Law, the Freedome, and the Honour of the Nation. Their Actings were enough to Cleere the Cause,⁴⁹⁸ but not to carry it: for they Began too Late; The Storme was Gather'd, and the Shipp of the Publique engag'd among a Thousand Rocks, before the Mariners would believe the Danger: Accom•ting it, in Truth, too Little to be Consider'd, till it was too Great to be Resisted. But reserving the more Particular Accompt of the Late Kings Fate for the next Chapter: Let us at present, look about us where we are; yes, and Above us too; for we have cause of Fear, both from Divinity, and Reason.

In This Place now do I expect Observatours in Abundance. Here, a Marginall Note for Taxing the Government. There a⁴⁹⁹ for a Scandalum Magnatum. And in fine, Twenty Peevish Glosses upon my plain and harmlesse Meaning. But let no man clap a false Bias upon my Bowle, and carry That to the Wall, that was Intended to the Hedg. Yet let every man take his course: I shall not begg so much as a Favourable Construction; but readily submit every Syllable, and Action of my Life, (in what concerns my Duty to my Prince, and Countrey) to the Extremest Rigour. Only a Page or Two of good Advice to my Back-friends, and I Proceed.

Good People,⁵⁰⁰ (of what Sort, or Quality soever ye are) Pray'e do not spare Me, if you can do me any mischief; but spare your selves, if you cannot.

You that have formerly abus'd Me to the King; do so no more: For when he comes to find himself Betray'd by your Mis-enformations; and Distress'd for want of Those plain, honest Offices, which (so God save me) I have ever Meant and Pay'd him, with the strict Faith, and Reverence of a Subject: Will not his Sacred Majesty abhorr you f•r it?

496 The Peerage are either as Petty Kings, ### Subj•cts.

497 The Excellent Government of England was subver•ed by a mean •action.

498 Security lost us.

499 #

500 A word to my Back f•iends.

Or if ye are Resolved to Try the utmost force of Power, and Calumny, upon a Poor and Single Innocent; be sure, ye be no Advocates for the Kings Murtherers, at the same time that ye are of Counsel against his Friends; •he People will suspect you to be of the wrong side else.

Again, since Proofs in Matters of Fact, are so Easie, and in Poynts of Honour, so Necessary; Prove what ye say; or say Nothing: for wherein I am Faultlesse, I am a Fool if I cannot clear my self; and a Slave, if I do not.

Consider next; What if ye crush me? May not the Consequence of That Injustice prove Dangerous to your Selves? Beside; I am not now Now to Learn, what 'tis to Suffer for my Duty.

But above all, Remember, There's a God; that knows your Souls, and Mine; And at the worst, to his Infallible Decision shall I remit my Innocence.

Now must I arm my self against These Objections.

Whom does This Sawcy Fellow mean?⁵⁰¹ Who meddles with him? He must be Directing the Church, and Modelling the State: What has he to do with the Government?

This Sawcy Fellow means,⁵⁰² Those Worthy Persons, that have endeavour'd to make him odious to the King: and for no other Reason, (as in his Name, I swear) that he imagines, but because he is too Honest, for Their Interest. If there be any such; Those are the Men, he Means; If There be None, He has Offended no body; His Bolt is Shot, and the Exception Vanishes. But Then who meddles with Him?

The Right Honourable the Earl of Anglesyes Chaplain meddles with him. The Bishop of Worsters Animadverter meddles with him. My Lord BRADSHAW (Lord Chief•Iustice of Chester) his most obliged,⁵⁰³ most Thankful, and most humble Devoted Servant meddles with him. He that would have Ravish'd the Ioyners Wife, neer the Blew Bore in Oxford meddles with him. He that (in effect) Read Aretine to his School-boyes meddles with him. He that Betray'd, and would have Ruin'd his Master, that both Taught and Fed him, meddles with him. He that hath written against the Government both of Church and State, and commended the Putting of the Late King to Death, meddles with him. He that thinks himself Free to use any Posture in the Church, which he may in his Chamber, meddles with him. He that wrote the Answer to all that L'S. intends to say,⁵⁰⁴ meddles with him. And in fine, EDWARD BAGSHAWE, St. of Ch. Ch. meddles with him.

But alas! These are a Pittyfull Meddler, and below the Honour of a Title to my least Concern.

There are that do Ill Offices, betwixt the Best of Princes, and the most Loyall of Subjects: And These men Meddle with Mee among the Rest, though the unworthiest of Them. Further; concerning my Directing of the Church, and State: I have been hitherto only upon the Defensive; and, I hope, it is as lawfull for Me to Assert the Cause, as for Others to Oppose it.

501 Object.

502 Answ.

503 Ask Doctor Owen, and #...# That was?

504 Anglic•e D. •.

Nor have I stickled more about the Government, then belongs to a Private Person.⁵⁰⁵ If I have discover'd Traytours, 'twas but my Duty, and I had been a Perjur'd Villein, if I had done Lesse. That They are Winck'd at, Protected, or Brought off; is none of My Fault. If I have dealt in Presbyterian Prognostications; and represented Dangers, such as I thought them. First, 'twas well Meant; for I have kept my self within my Bounds; I had no Interest in't; and, I have got Nothing by it. Next, 'twas not ill Guess'd; and they that compare Times, will easily Acknowledg it.

I am come now, within a Little, of my Purpose; and that This formall Preamble, may not raise Expectations of a larger Liberty then I think either Safe, or Warrantable; within These Limits, I resolve Strictly to Confine my self: That is, within the Limits of what I ow to the Office,⁵⁰⁶ Person, and Government of his Sacred Majesty; Within the Compasse of my Duty to the Establish'd Law; and within the Termes of a befitting Reverence to the Actions, and Authority, both of the Parliament now sitting, and of the Counsell.

He must be Deaf, that does not hear almost a Generall Compleint: And Blind too, that does not perceive a great part of the Reason of it. There is a Party that Designs it should be so: wherefore let them be wary,⁵⁰⁷ how they impute the Malice, and Contrivance of a Faction, to any Disorder in the Government. Their way is first, to Disoblige the Nation, in the King's Name, as far as possible; for in the End, they are sure that all His Enemies, will be Their Friends. The Subject wants; so does the King; (They should not want that Serv'd him else) There are that doe not. But let That Passe.

Another main Prop of their Interest,⁵⁰⁸ is that they have got the means of Upholding, both in Power, and Credit, That Party which Oppos'd the King; which, in the Consequence, Reproches and Sterves those that were for him. While the Lay-Faction are in this maner upon Modelling the State; the Ministers (in good time) are moving their Scruples, in the Church. Wherein, beside the Amusement, that it gives even to Those in Authority; the Doubtfulnesse of the Right betwixt Them, which it suggests to the People; and the Reputation which it gives the Faction, when they appear in the Ballance against the Law, and the Government: there is yet one further Mischief which transcends all These; That is, it Intimates, and Colours, to the Multitude, the Right of the Last Warr; and by Iustifying the Pretenses of That Rebellion, subministers the Reason, Allowance, and Encouragement of Another. Let it be observ'd; If These People should Strike again to morrow, upon the old Score, whether they might not safely say, that they have been True to their Principles;⁵⁰⁹ for they have never as yet renounc'd them. When by These Artisices herein mention'd, they shall have Cast the Body of the People into a deep Disquiet; Confirm'd their own Party; and either by Forreign Employments, or Domestique Injuries, and Necessities, when they shall have Dissipated, Suppressed; nay, actually Fa••ish'd, and totally Extirpat'd the Try'd Servants of the King; where they'll be Next, I leave the Reader to Imagine.

Nor will any man think Me Uncharitable, that Considers but their Dayly Actings, for the Project is as cleer as the Light. Does not every body see what Art and Industry is employ'd to Retard the

505 A Private Person may discover a Publique Enemy.

506 The King, the Law, the Parliment, and the Counsell are Sacred.

507 Beware of Imputing the faults of a Faction to the Government.

508 The Faction has a great Advantage.

509 The Presbyterians are True to their Principles, but not to their Profession.

Settlement of the Kingdome,⁵¹⁰ and with what Vigorous Diligence they prosecute the Contrary? Nor will they want any thing that is to be had, either for Mony, or Fair words: The One Costs them Nothing, and if they can do any thing by the Other, they have good Security however: the Interest of the Three Kingdomes standing Engag'd for the Repayment of it. Marke Me; I say, IF they can; I do not say, either that they CAN, or DOE. To This Damn'd Cunning, observe now but the Luck they have.

How many Persons have I my self Deliver'd up,⁵¹¹ and Discover'd, for Publishing This King to be a Tyrant; his Father to have been a Traytour, and lawfully put to Death? for Defending the Covenant, &c.—(and all This since the Act of Indemnity) These People had the good hap to be fetch'd off, and the Discovery render'd more Dangerous then the Treason.

Of Late,⁵¹² there came forth Two Libels, (bearing the Title of Letters of Animadversion) from the same hand: The One, against the Bishop of Worcester, the Other against Mee. The Authour of These Libels, has the fortune to be Chaplain to a Privy-Counsellour, and The Printer has Confessed upon Examination, that he deliver'd Five Hundred Copies of each, to Bradshaw's own hand (for that's his Name) in the Earl of Anglesyes house. His Lord must be suppos'd a Stranger to These Papers, for They are Treasonous; and Seditious; beside the Forgery in them, which alone renders the Contriver fitter for a Pillory, then a Pillory.

It is further to be Presum'd,⁵¹³ that his Lordship is not well acquainted with his Character: for otherwise, he would not Entertain a Person of so Insolent, and Ungratefull a Nature; so Seditious, and Turbulent in his Practises; Schismatical, if not Heretical in his Opinions. A professed Enemy, not only to the King, but also to Monarchy; Doctor Owen's Dear Friend; and Bradshaw's Slave, to the base degree of Fawning Servility. (I write but what I'll justify).

Let any man Consider now, if This goes on a while, what will become of the True, Legal, and Honourable Interest of This Nation. And (God in his Mercy preserve his Majesty) what will become even of His Sacred Person when his Friends and Loyalty it self shall be Extirpated?

But 'tis our own Fault,⁵¹⁴ that the King is not more fully, and particularly inform'd of the Calamities of his Languishing and Faithful Servants; and of the true State and Department of the Faction. His Majesty is no God, and knows what's done at a Distance, only as other Mortals do, by Information. Nay, Kings know commonly lesse, concerning Affairs of This Nature, then Ordinary Persons. First, as they lesse Frequent Places that afford matter for Observation: And Then, People doe not love to be the Reporters of Ill Tidings to their Sovereign. 'Tis commonly a Thanklesse and Unwelcome Office.

Did but his Majesty walk the Streets, as we doe; to Over-hear the Whisperings, and the Murmurs: to Observe the various Passions, and Disquiets of the People: to see the Stands they make; Their Wondrings, Gazings, Poyntings: and at What I Pray'e?

510 Their Industry.

511 #

512 Two Libels.

513 The Libellers Character.

514 Kings had need to be well inform'd.

That's He (says one) that brought me to a Counsel⁵¹⁵ of Warr, because I would not march against the King at Worcester; and now hee's so or so. There goes Another, that Condemned Me upon the Kings Accompt, and hee's in such or such an Office. These are brave Iolly Fellows; but before This Wonder is Over, up comes Two or Three perhaps, of the saddest Spectacles a mans eye can Look upon: They have scarce strength enough to move: nor Cloth enough to hide the scars they have received in the Kings service. Do ye see That Sickly man?⁵¹⁶ (cryes one) He is a Gentleman that has spent his Fortune for his Majesty; That very Colonel that goes before, was He that Sequestred, and Blundr'd him.

In fine, Their other Mutterings are not fit for the Publique; but infinitely necessary for his Majesties Knowledge; whose Piety to his Fathers Ashes; Love to his People; Prudential regards to his own Safety; whose Iustice to his Honour and his Friends, need but the Notice of these Ills, to remedy them. Or if his Royal Inclination needed any other motive, beyond his native proneness to an Act of Mercy; The Pious Presidents, and Practices of former Times might furnish him.

Amongst certain Articles Established by the King, Bishops, and Lords, It was Ordained,

That such as have belonged to the Kings Ancestors,⁵¹⁷ his Father, Grandfather, or belonging to himself, shall be preferred to all benefits or Offices belonging to the Kings disposition, so that there be found among them persons able thereto.

Amongst certain Articles proposed by Iohn Duke of Bedford, the Kings first Uncle, It was Ordained,

That forasmuch as there be many old Servants,⁵¹⁸ and feeble, that have dispended their youth in the service of my Lords, my Grandfather, Father, and Brother, whose souls God assoile; and also with my Lord that now in, whom God given good life and long, some without any livelihood or Guerdon, so that they be now in great Mischiefe, and necessity, and some but eastly Guerdoned, and nought like to their desert and service: wherefore I desire that there may be a hook made of all the names of such as have so served, and been unguerdoned, or nought guerdoned like to their desert, to the intent, when Offices, and Corodies fall, that they might be given to such persons; they having Consideration to the Ability of them, and to the time that they have served, in the same wise as of benefices unto Clerks.

Henry the Fourth of France; (his Majesties Grandfather) did for the Relief of such as had been Maym'd, Wounded, or Begger'd in his Service, grant by an Irrevocable Edict;

The Royall House of Christian Charity,⁵¹⁹ and the mony growing upon the Remainder of Accompts of Hospitals, Alms-Houses, Leprous-Houses, and other such Companies, and of the Usurpations, and Alienations of the Revenues thereof, revillions of the Accompts, and Abuses, and Disorders committed in the Government, and Administration of the said Places, together with the Mony which should arise of the Places, and Pensions of Religious Laymen, in every Abby, and Pryory of his Realm, being in his Ma•esties Nomination.

515 #

516 #

517 8 H. 6. 11.

518 11 H. 6. 6.

519 Edict Iuly 7. 1606.

The Consideration of the Horse was referr'd to the Duke of Montmorency; and of the Foot, to the Duke of Espernon, who were to make a List of the Persons, and to Note in the Margent, what Annuall Pension every man might merit, according to his Quality, Valour, and Wounds.

I may the better justify a Sense of Danger, since the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, has Publicly Declar'd several Formalities of a Regular Plot: Though I confesse, my Apprehensions look'd another Way. But These ill-boding Concurrences, are without Question, more then Casual; and to These, may be added divers other Circumstances of as un-promising an Appearance.

As the Reports we have of Forreign Alliances;⁵²⁰ the Recourse of Disaffected English into Those Quarters abroad which are most to be suspected: The dead Stilnesse, and Silence of the Dis-banded Souldiours, notwithstanding so many Opportunities for Forreign Employment: (which looks as if they lay upon a Reserve) The Unsettled State of the Kingdome: The Seditious Freedom of the Presse and Pulpit; and which is more then All, A generall Scarcity of Mony. Moreover, it is no despicable evill, the Corrupt Mixture that yet remains in the Universities: And what are Those Hospitals, and Petty Schooles that still continue unpurg'd, but Nourceries of Sedition? In a Particular maner, the Danger is Great, nay and the Number too, of ill-chosen Iustices.

This is in fine, the Prospect of our Condition; which however handled by a Fool, may yet afford Matter for Wisser men to work upon; and the providing of Expedients for These Mischieves, does properly belong to the Wisdome, and Authority of a King in Parliament. The summe of all may be Comprehended in Little. There is a present Danger, which is in Probability to encrease; and the Faction has done their work, if they can but disable That Party, from Serving the Son, which hinder'd Them so long from Destroying the Father.

For want of a better Security against Seditions of what-kind-soever,⁵²¹ the Revivall of the Custome of Frank-pledges might be thought upon: to be Imposed upon all Persons, evidently disaffected to the Government, either of Church or State. For beyond question, the Tyes of Interest are Safer, if not stronger too, upon the Generality, then Those of Conscience. They may give an Oath the slip, with some pretty Salvo, or Reserve; but there's no evading the Intention of a Bond. When Ten Men stand Engag'd;⁵²² every Particular, for the whole Ten, and All, for each Particular; Every single Person, has Nine Spies upon him.

Another means (which as I hear is now in Agitation) may be,⁵²³ the Assurance both of Reward, and Pardon, to the First Discoverer of a Conspiracy, though one of the Complotters, and This by Proclamation. Sir Francis Bacon's advice is, that the King, either by himself, (which were the Best) or by his Chancellour, should make use of the Iudges in their Circuits;⁵²⁴ Charging them, at their Going forth, according to Occurrences, and receiving from them a Particular Accompt at their Return home; They would Then (sayes he) be the best Intelligencers of the True State of the Kingdome, and the surest means to prevent, or remove all growing Mischieves within the Body of the Realm.

520 Ill Appearances.

521 The Custome of Frank-Pledges revived.

522 #

523 Discoveries Rewarded.

524 Judges in their circuits are good Intelligencerg.

To These Generall excogitations of Prudence, somewhat of more Particular relation to the matter in Question might be admitted; as ••rst, an Expresse Abrenunciation of Their Cause, and Covenant: They do not Deserve their Lives sure, that refuse to confesse their Fault. As to the Relief of Distressed Royallists; (I speak of such as want, almost to the Degree of Perishing, and there are many such) 'Tis but time Lost, to Hunt for new wayes of Device, and Project, when every Bush is Beat already. If it migh but now seem as Reasonable,⁵²⁵ to allow them the Benefit of Forfeitures made since the Act of Indemnity, as it did erewhile seem Convenient to debar them of all Remedy for Injuries suffered before it: That might in some Proportion, stay their Barking stomacks; or at least yield them This spiteful Comfort, not to fall Alone: But possibly, if This Course were Experimented, it would afford more then the World Imagines.

I should End this Chapter here; but that before I break off This Discourse, I think 'tis •it to give some Reasons why I undertook it.

First,⁵²⁶ it may serve (to Those in Power) as a Memorial, or Note of certain Particulars, which deserve not to be Neglected, or Forgotten.

Next, it may serve to instruct the People, concerning the true Cause of some Miscariages, which Popular, and Licentious Ignorance is but too apt to place elsewhere. (for in Truth, there are many peevish Circumstances, which the Discreet, Pause upon; and the Vulgar neither like, nor understand)

In the Last Place, I reckon my self bound by my Duty to the King, and Nation, not to conceal, what I have here Declar'd.⁵²⁷ And Particularly; That Treasons are Encouraged by Impunity. The Offenders Countenanced, and brought off. The Prosecutours Menaced; and the most Pestilent Enemies of the last King, as good as Protected in their Seditious Practises against This. If This falls into a Good hand, good use may be made of it; for I doe not speak at Guesse.

However, at the worst, Our Cause is the same; Our Duty the same and our Affections ought to be the same. The Sun is not lesse kind, because his Influence may be intercepted by a Fogge, which Time will certainly dissolve: Nay and perchance Discover, (over and above that some of Those Blazes which the Common People take for Stars of the first Magnitude, are in Effect but Comets:⁵²⁸Portents of That Mischief, which they seldome live to see Accomplish'd,

But enough, of These ungratefull, and Seditious Machinatours against Their Prince, and their Preserver. And so from These Indignities against the Son, wee'll passe to Those Fatalities that made way to the Ruine of the most Pious, Patient, Mercifull, and yet Murther'd Father.

525 #

526 How This Discourse may become usefull.

527 Treasons Encouraged.

528 #

CAP. XII.

What it was Principally, that Ruin'd King CHARLES the MARTYR.

TO see an Imperial Prince Unking'd, Arraign'd, and Beheaded; with all Formalities of Law, and Justice;⁵²⁹ by his own Subjects, and Those too, People of sworn Faith, and Holinesse! Can any man forbear Demanding, For what Prodigious Reasons so horrible an Action was Committed?

Was it for Religion?⁵³⁰ No: Hee Dy'd a Martyr for that Cause, which to maintein, They Sware they Fought.

Was it for Tyranny of Government?⁵³¹ Neither; for ere the Warr began, he had granted more in Favour of the Subject, then all his Ancestours, put them together.

Was it for Cruelty of Nature:⁵³² No, nor That; I can scarce call to Mind where ever he deny'd his Grace to any man that besought him for it; unlesse where Mercy had been a sinne; and where his Power was stinted by his Conscience.

Was it for want of skill to Rule,⁵³³ or Courage to Protect his People? For That, his very Murtherers acknowledg'd him a Prince of singular Abilities, and Valour.⁵³⁴ And touching his Morals, or Devotions; Malice it self could never deny That King, to be a Person of a most Regular Piety, and restrain'd Appetite.

How came it then, that a Prince, Authorized by his Birth; Sacred by his Office; Guarded by his Laws; Religious in his Practice; Gracious in his Nature; Temperate in his Likings; and lastly, Accomplish'd in his Person, should come to Fall; in the Heart of his Dominions; before the Gates of his own Palace; and by the Hands of his own People? (But Christ himself was Crucify'd.)

Ambition drives Furiously, and in the way to a Crown, Those Christian Rubbs of Conscience, or Humanity, are not so much as Bulrushes. In fine, That Blessed Martyr's Actions were so Innocent,⁵³⁵ they were fain to Quarrell with his Thoughts, and for want of Faults to ruine him, by abusing his Virtues. This we shall manifest to have been Their Practice; But wee'll first take a short View of their Approches.

529 Why was Late King Murther'd?

530 Not for Religion.

531 Nor Tyranny.

532 Nor Cruelty.

533 Nor for want of Abilities and Valour.

534 Nor for Impiety or Intemperance.

535 The Kings Indulgence was his Ruine.

Never since Calvin bound the Head of the Holy Discipline,⁵³⁶ was ever any Monarch Quiet that admitted it: 'Tis a Specificque Poyson to Monarchy. And the Ground it gets, is not so much by working upon the Iudgment, as upon the Good Nature of Princes: It Looks so Sillily, and Beggs so Heartily; 'tis a hard matter to resist so great an earnestnesse, accompanied with so little shew of Danger. If They are Repuls'd; Good God! they cry; That any man should go about to Damne so many Thousand Souls for such a Trifle: when 'tis come to That once, 'tis gone too far; for such an Exclamation is enough to raise a Tumult. King Iames his Answer to Knewstubb upon the Conference at HamptonCourt, was as it should be; (and no Prince ever had a Truer measure of Sir Iohns Foot, then himself) Knewstubb desir'd to know how far an Ordinance of the Church was binding, without offence to Christian Liberty? The King turns quick upon him; Le Roy s' avisera,⁵³⁷ says he, Wee'll no more of Those Questions, How far you are bound to Obey, what the Church has once Ordeyn'd? Had he dealt otherwise, his Majesty had given the Presbyterian the first Hold.

At the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth, brake forth Those Broyles in Scotland, wherein the Lords of the Congregation (so was the Faction distinguish'd) Deprived the Queen-Regent, by the Approbation and Advise of Willock and Knox, to whom the Case was Refer'd. The French assisted the Queen D•wager, and the Lords of the Revolt, were (for some Reasons of State) assisted by Queen Elizabeth. At That Time it was Principally, that the English took the Scotch D•s•ase, and upon the Peace, brought it with them into England, whereof we have abundantly tasted the blessed Fruits, ever since. Let such as are curious of Particulars, look into the 11. 16. 31. and 36. of that Queens Reign; and see what Prodigious Haeresies, what Seditious Opinions and Practices: what desperate Libels and Sermons proceeded from That Schismaticall Separation.⁵³⁸ At length, by an Exemplary Severity, upon Hackett, and Barrow, she gave her self some Quiet.

Upon King Iames his coming to the Crown of England, they Try'd Him too: but when they fell to Scruplize about the Surplice, and the Crosse in Baptism; The King (having first Choak'd them in Points more Materiall) to make short work of it, tells them.⁵³⁹ 'Twas Obstinacy, not Tendernesse; bids them Conforme, at Perill. For the Perill-sake, They did Conforme, and so That Prince was Quiet. But though no Flame Appear'd, the Fire was not Extinct, but prudently Conceal'd, and Cover'd in the Embers.

And now Succeeds King Charles the Martyr,⁵⁴⁰ under the Disadvantages: First, of a Great Debt, and a present Necessity. Secondly, of a Natural, so void of Guile, as hardly to believe that there was such a thing in Nature. (which made him somewhat apt to Credit) And the Third Disadvantage was, his Inexperience of That Faction which he was now to Cope with.

Upon his coming to the Crown, Hee Calls a Parliament; Tells them his wants; which They knew of Themselves, to be exceeding Great and Pressing. Their Answer was, (in effect) that Petitions were to precede Subsidies: And thereupon, Two they presented; The One for Religion, the Other concerning Grievances: and to Both These, his Majesty gave ample and Particular Satisfaction: which, in stead of

536 Presbytery is a Specificque Poyson to Monarchy.

537 king Iames his Answer to a Presbyterian.

538 Queen Elizabeth •uited the Schismatiques by Severity.

539 S•r did King Iames.

540 Three Disadvantages of King Charles the martyr.

Thankfulness, and Supply, produced only Expostulation, and Boldnesse. So high already were they Flown, as to resolve upon a Remonstrance; foul upon the Memory and Government of the Father; and Imposing upon the Authority of the Son, which mov'd the King to Prevent That Affront, by Dissolving That Parliament. (This was in August 1625.) See but how Great a Confidence did This small yielding give them! And Thence, wee'll Date the History of his ensuing Troubles.⁵⁴¹ Marke forward, how they grow upon him; and abuse his aptnesse to comply with Them.

In Febr. following, meets a Second Parliament, wherein a matter of Three Moneths were spent in a Debate, betwixt the King and the Lords, concerning the Privileges of the House of Peers.⁵⁴² The Commons having in the Interim, a Committee for Religion at work, to spy Faults, where at last was Retriv'd, a Letter under the Signet, for the Reprieve of some Iesuites, &c.—and This Reported to the House by Mr. Bim. These Petulancies did not at all discompose the King, but he calmly again Sollicites them for Mony: The Fleet being in great distresse, and ready to Mutiny for want of Pay. In stead of being Supply'd,⁵⁴³ his Majesty is insufferably Affronted, Particularly by Mr. Clement Coke, and Doctor Turner; of whom he compleins, but without obtaining satisfaction, save upon such conditions, as were utterly inconsistent with his Royalty. In fine, This Parliament prepares another Declaration of the same Stamp with the Former; and so they are Dissolved too. These Disappointments, they knew, must needs put the King upon Extraordinary wayes to furnish himself for the Present; and that at the last, his recourse must be to a Parliament, into which they were sure to be Chosen, and easily foresaw, that the Greater his Majesties Necessities were, the more Argument would there be for Compleint.

In This Intervall,⁵⁴⁴ the King was left to his Choice of These Two Evills, whether he would hazzard the Revolt of his Navy, and the putting of his Kingdomes into a Flame, for want of Mony; or venture at some uncommon way of Raising it. This extremity puts him upon his Commissions of Loan: Privy Seals; A Project of Levy by Excize: Nay, such was his Necessity, that he was fain to Part with 21000 li. per Annum, of his own Lands, to the Common-Counsell of London,⁵⁴⁵ only for 120000 li. together with some other Debts of his Fathers; which they Hedg'd and bought in for little, and clapp'd upon his Majesties Accompt to the Uttermost Farthing. The Loan was much Opposed; and who but the Refusers of This Loan, were the Popular men for the Next Parliament? which was Summon'd to meet in March, 1627.

Accordingly they Meet; and the King minds them of their Past Faylings, and their Present Duties in a Speech worthy of the Prudence, and the Majesty of a Great Prince.⁵⁴⁶ [In This time (sayes the King) of Common Danger, I have taken the most Antient, Speedy, and Best way for Supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the Quality of my Occasions, you do not your Duty, it shall suffice, I have done mine; in the Conscience whereof, I shall rest Content, and take some other Course, for which God hath empowred Mee, to Save That which the Folly of Particular men might hazzard to Lose.

541 The Originall of his Troubles.

542 The Progresse of them.

543 The House of Commons Affronts him.

544 The King put to a sad Choice.

545 #

546 The Kings Speech.

Take not This as a Menace; (for I scorn to Threaten my Inferiours) but as an Admonition from him who is Ty'd both by Nature, and Duty, to provide for your Preservation.]

This Tast of the Kings Mettle, gave them to understand that Rufling would not do their work, and put them rather upon a semblance of Closing with him: But with Regard still to Their Trust, and that the People might be as well Eas'd, as his Majesty Supply'd. Which being formally resolv'd upon, and that the Kings Wants, and the Subjects Grievances should march hand in hand: By an Unanimous Vote, they granted his Majesty Five Subsidies:⁵⁴⁷ who being too syncere, to take That Bounty for a Bait, even Wept with Ioy, at the surprize of a Kindnesse so unexpected. But This is but the Guilding of the Pill, now comes the Poyson.

Upon the Motion of Sir Edward Coke,⁵⁴⁸ was fram'd# The Petition of Right, which Passes the House of Commons, but Sticks with the Peers, as utterly Destructive of the Prerogative Royall, without a Salvo: Whereupon they offer This Addition. [We present This our humble Petition to your Majesty, not only with Care to Preserve our own Liberties, but with regard to leave entire That Sovereign Power, wherewith pour Maiesty is trusted, for the Protection, Safety, and Happinesse of your People.] But this Addition was not for Their Turn, whose businesse was more to Depresse the King, and Advance Themselves, then to provide for the Freedome of the People: And in fine, the Commons adhering, after a long struggle, it pass'd the Lords House without Amendment. (In regard that we are now upon the very Crisis, of King or No King, we shall be a little the more Particular) After Five Dayes Consideration thereupon, the King returns This Answer.

The King willeth that Right be done according to the Laws,⁵⁴⁹ and Customes of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in Execution, that Subjects may have no Cause to Complein of any Wrong, or Oppressions, Contrary to their Iust Rights, and Liberties, To the Preservation whereof, he holds himself in Conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative.]

This Answer (though Clear,⁵⁵⁰ and Full as possible, to any just Intention) did not yet Relish; and the pretended Exception, was not to the Matter of it, but the Forme: So that a New Petition is agreed upon, for a more formal Answer: Which his Majesty taking notice of,⁵⁵¹ Prevents, with a *Le droit soit fait, comme il est Desirè*. This Grant finish'd Foundation of the Kings Ruine. Now see the Return they made him for This Goodnesse; how they Requited This Benignity, and Trust.

The Commissions Of Loan,⁵⁵² and Excize, are Instantly Cancell'd, and a Scandalous Remonstrance is Presented to his Majesty, with the Bill of Subsidies. Upon which the King reflects (as he had Cause) with some Displeasure: and drawes a Stinging and a Punctuall Answer to it. This puts the Commons upon Another Remonstrance against Tonnage, and Poundage, which Provok'd the King to give a sodain End to That Session; Declaring before his Assent to the Bills,⁵⁵³ The true Intent of what he

547 The Bounties of the Faction are Baites.

548 The Petition of Right.

549 His Majesties first Answer to the Petition of Right.

550 The Commons Cavill.

551 The King Passes the Bill.

552 The Commons Requittall.

553 His Majesty Explains himself.

Granted in That Petition: And that as it was the Profession of Both Houses, in the time of Hammering That Petition, no way to Trench upon his Prerogative; so he could not be conceiv'd to have Granted any New, but only to have Confirm'd the Antient Privileges of his Subjects. And here his Majesty Prorogues This Parliament.

In Jan. following they Meet again,⁵⁵⁴ and Appoint Two Committees: The One for Religion, the Other for Civill Affairs: And These are to Inspect Abuses, and lay open the Kings Misgovernments to the People. In the Heat of their haste, his Majesty sends Secretary Coke upon an Inter•eding Message to them, with all the Gentlenesse Imaginable. Whereat the House takes Snuffe, and calls to Adjourn. In short, the King Adjourns them from January, to the 2. of March: and Then being Met, Sir Iohn Eliot begins with a Bitter Invective against the Lord Treasurer: After which the Speaker acquaints the House with his Majesties Command, of their Adjournment till the 10th. They give him a Check for his Peins, and follow their Businesse. Up rises Sir Iohn again,⁵⁵⁵ and Offers a Remonstrance against Tonnage and Poundage, to their Reading; which both Speaker and Clerk Refusing, Hee Reads it Himself. When it should be put to the Vote, whether or no, to be Presented to the King, the Speaker excuses himself, as Comanded by the King, to Leave the House,⁵⁵⁶ and endeavouring to Rise, he was forcibly kept in his Chaire, till as the Protestation of the House was Read, as Follows.

First,⁵⁵⁷ Whosoever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce Popery, or Arminianisme, or other Opinions disagreeing from the true Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capitall Enemy to this Kingdome and Common-wealth.

Secondly, Whosoever shall Counsell or Advise the Taking or Levying of the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being Granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor, or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capitall Enemy to this Common-wealth.

Thirdly, If any man shall voluntarily yield, or Pay the said Subsidies of Tonnage, or Poundage, not being Granted by Parliament; he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to this Common-wealth.

Upon Notice of These Distempers,⁵⁵⁸ the King sends for the Sergeant of the Mace, and the House refuses him: Whereupon, the Usher of the Black Rod is Dispatch'd, to Dissolve them; but finding no Entrance, at length, the Guard is call'd for, and Then the Members Vanish: After These Provocations, and Contempts, The King Himselfe Dissolves them.⁵⁵⁹ This was the Embryo of our late Rebellion: and the Indulgence of That Gracious Prince, to That Ungrateful Faction, was That which Ruin'd him. Whether Design'd, or not, may appear from the Sequel: Divers of the most Popular and Active persons in This Contest being found afterward, among his Mortal Enemies in the Warr.

Having Trac'd the Mischief to This Head; we may be shorter with the Rest: and taking for Granted, that neither Scotland would be out at a Godly Project, nor the English Faction upon any Terms reject

554 The Commons Inquisition,

555 and Insolence.

556 #

557 The Protestation of the Commons.

558 Their Contest,

559 and Dissolution.

their Brotherly Kindnesse, we may rationally presume that they were of Intelligence, in our succeeding Troubles; especially, if we observe what Time they kept in their motions towards one another.

In that which follows, we shall not so much apply our selves to the Order of the Story, as to the Noting of those Fatalities which had a most particular Influence upon the Life and Fortune of That Incomparable Prince.

In 1634. a Seditious Practise was discover'd in Scotland;⁵⁶⁰ and the Lord Balmerino detected to be one of the Prime Conspiratours: His Father, out of Nothing, became Chief Secretary to King Iames, whom he Betray'd; the Treachery was Prov'd, and the Traytour Condemn'd, but by the Mercy of the King, Restored, both in Bloud, and Estate. So was the Son found Guilty, and Pardon'd likewise, by the Successour of the Father's Master. Never in shew a more remors-ful Penitent: Yet in the next Conspiracy of 1637. who deeper In again, then this Presbyterian? It would be hard to find Two Persons of That Leaven,⁵⁶¹ to whom the Late King ever refused his Grace, or that did not abuse it.

How easily had the Scotch Rebellion been Crush'd in the First Tumult; had not his Majesty's Excessive Goodness,⁵⁶² ore-slipped the Time of Doing it by Force, expecting their Return by fairer means. He that would read the greatest Opposition that ever was in Nature; of Truth, and Falshood; Kindnesse, and Malice; Mercy, and Ingratitude; Piety, and Wickedness: Let him but Read the Story of the Scotch-Rebellion in 1638. drawn by his Majestie's expresse Command. The Perjuries, Insolencies, Forgeries,⁵⁶³ and Usurpations of the Holy Kirk at Glasgow: and then say, if ever such a Contest of Light, and Darkness, as betwixt That Saint, and Those Monsters.

Nor was his Majesty's Clemency abused, more then his Confidence betray'd; for to the Publick Mockery they made of his Indulgence,⁵⁶⁴ was added the Private Correspondence, and Treachery of a Presbyterian Faction in his Counsell. (His Majesty himself avers as much.)

This (says the King in his large Declaration) Our Commissioner did not adventure to communicate with the whole Counsell,⁵⁶⁵ because he did know that some of our Counsellours were Covenanters in Their Hearts, though for Dangerous ends, they had forborn the Subscribing of the Covenant with their Hands, and that They would acquaint the Covenanters with it, with whom they kept Private Meetings.]

The next Eminent Transaction was upon the Enterview of the Two Armies near Berwick, where his Sacred Majesty had the Rebels Effectually at his Mercy, and exhausted himself, and his Friends, to the Despair almost of ever Raising another Army.⁵⁶⁶ Yet even There also, was his Majesty persuaded (such was his Royall Charity, and Tendernesse for his People) upon the Supplication of the Rebels to admit a Treaty, and thereupon soon after to Conclude a Pacification: whereof the Covenanters

560 The Kings Mercy Abus'd.

561 #

562 Abus'd again.

563 #

564 The King Betray'd by his Counsell.

565 Scotch Declar. Pag. 124.

566 The Kings Mercy again abus'd.

kept# not One Article.⁵⁶⁷ Nay, after This, they Libell'd the Kings Proceedings, Broke forth into Fresh Insolencies, and Sollicited the Assistance of the French King against their Native Sovereign.

We see the Faith, and Loyalty of the Scotch Presbyterians;⁵⁶⁸ Marke now, if the English use him any Better: And That, but in a Word or Two; for 'tis a peevish Subject.

His Majesty calls a Parliament, that Meets Novemb. 3. 1640. Which by the violence of Tumults abroad, and the Artifice of Iuggles, within-doors, is with much adoe Modelled into a Faction. Observe now the Proportion, betwixt the Favours of the King, and the Returns of the Party: and see the Fruits of Clemency, here likewise.

His Majesty passes the Trienniall Bill,⁵⁶⁹ Abolishes the Star-chamber# and High-Commission Court: Passes an Act for the Continuance of the Parliament. Not to insist upon the several other Concessions, concerning Ship-mony, Forrests, and Stannary Courts; Tonnage and Poundage; Knighthood, &c.—

In Requital of these Benefits,⁵⁷⁰ The Presbyterians Clap up, and prosecute his Majesties Friends; Prefer, Enlarge his Enemies; Reward the Scots for a Rebellion; Entertain their Commissioners; Vote them Their Dear Brethren, for Invading us: Call in all Books and Proclamations against them. Take away the Bishops Votes. Impose a Protestation: Deny the Earl of Straffords Life to the Intercession of his Majesty. Present him with a Libellous Remonstrance to welcome him out of Scotland. Charge 12. Bishops of High Treason. Declare the Kings Proclamation to be False, Scandalous, and Illegall# Petition for the Militia. Keep the King out of his own Towns, and Seize his Armes and Ammunition. Send him 19. Propositions for the Delivery up of his Authority. Vote a Generall, and Raise an Army against him. They give the King Battle. Levy Monies. Vote the Queen a Traytour. Hang up the Kings Friends. Enter into a Rebellious League. Counterfeit a Great-Seal. Call in the Scots Again. Abolish the Common-Prayer. Seize and Imprison the King; Share the Revenues of the Church, and Crown. Sequester, Banish, Imprison his Majesties Adherents; Sell him, Depose him, and at last, call themselves his Majesties best Subjects because they did not MURDER him.⁵⁷¹

Upon the whole Matter, That Blessed Martyr's Transcendent Charity undid him. How many did he Oblige and Advance, in hopes to Win, and Reclaime them?⁵⁷² How many did he Pardon and Cherish, in Confidence of their Pretended Repentance? How long did his Patience forbear Others, in expectation of their Return? And how unwilling was He to call any thing Schism, which the Faction call'd Scruple? Till (Alas!) too Late, he found his Bounties Abus'd; His Mercies misplaced; His Waitings Frustrated; His Charity Deluded; and in short, no other use made of all his Pieties, and Virtues, then to his proper Ruine; For while his Sacred Majesty suspended the exercise of his Politicall Severity, under the amusement of a Religious Tendernesse; the Sectaries became Bold upon his Favour, and strong by the advantage they made of his Patience.

567 The Ingratitude of the Scotch Presbyterians.

568 Now see the English.

569 The Bounty and Grace of the King.

570 The Requital of the Presbyterians.

571 #

572 His Majesties Patience and Goodnesse Ruin'd him.

There were indeed some other praevious Encouragements to the Warr; as the Remissnesse of Diverse Bishops in Matter of Uniformity; The sufferance of Factious Meetings, &c.—But the Two Grand Fatalities were These.⁵⁷³The King WANTED MONY; and TRUSTED PRESBYTERIANS.

Dum Clementiam, quam praestiterat, expectat,

INCAUTUS ab INGRATIS Occupatus est.

Vell. Paterc. Hist. Lib. 2.

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573 The Kings grand Fatalities.

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