38

THE ASSOCIATORS CASHIER'D

PROVING

By undeniable Arguments, as well as by the Testimony of their own Mouthes,

That the late Endeavours of some Restless Spirits

WERE,

1. *To enervate MONARCHY.*

2. *To subvert the Institution of* English-Parliaments, *and usher in the Power of the* Sword.

LONDON,
Printed for *Walter Davis.* 1683.

SIR,

SEEING they have publiſhed an *Exact Collection* of their *Debates* in the Houſe of *Commons*, I hope the Gentlemen will give us leave to make our Judgment on them. And I cannot but obſerve, that they thought themſelves concern'd to be provided of ſuch an *Army* as is deſign'd by the former *Aſſociation*.

To this purpoſe, conſider what is ſaid, *p.* 244. by Sir *H. C. Jan.* 7. 1681. *Things are ſo out of order* (Mr. Speaker) *and ſuch prevalent endeavours are uſed to unſettle them more, that I am afraid, not onely of our Religion, but of the very Government and* Being *of the* Engliſh *Nation: For if theſe things ſhould occaſion* BLOOD, *while the* French *is ſo powerful, He may eaſily have the Caſting Voice; and without that, onely God knows what may be the end of ſuch Confuſions as ſome men endeavour to occaſion.*

But *J. B.* is more expreſs and poſitive. *Sir*, ſaith he, *Will not all the Expedients that have been talked of, or can be imagined, leave us to* conteſt *with our* Lawful Prince; *and that aſſiſtance which he is well aſſured of, not onely from the* Papiſts *here, but in* Ireland, *and from* France *and* Scotland, *I am afraid enough to make it a Meaſuring Caſt. And is the Proteſtant Intereſt ſo low, that though our dangers be ſo great, that inſtead of a* Sword *to defend our ſelves, we muſt be content with a* Sheath? *I am not for cheating thoſe that ſent me here, I think it much more for the Intereſt of the Nation, that we ſhould have no Laws, than ſuch as will but* Trepan *us, by failing us like rotten Crutches when we have occaſion to depend on them. I had rather loſe my Life and my Religion, becauſe I were not able to defend it, than be* fool'd *out of it by depending on ſuch Laws. I take it for granted, that ſeeing the* Exclu-ſion-Bill *is thought too much for us, and ſuch great endeavours are uſed to preſerve the ſtrength and Intereſt of that Party, that we muſt either ſubmit, or defend our Religion by a* ſharp Conteſt; *and therefore I hope we ſhall not depend upon Laws that will tend to weaken us.*

And (2.) That the *ASSOCIATION* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* would not ſerve their turn, is clear; *p.* 183. 184. by the Speech of Sir *W. J.* in theſe words; *But I am perſwaded, Sir, if this* Aſſociation-Bill *be made* as it ſhould be, *that we ſhall have no better Succeſs with it than we had with the* Exclnſion-Bill. *For I am afraid, that though we are ſuffered to* brandiſh our Weapons,

yet that we shall not be allowed to wound Popery; *but rather do believe, that they which advised the throwing out of that Bill, will also do the same by this, or dissolve the House before it come to Perfection: For* this Bill *must be* much stronger *than that in Queen* Elizabeth's *dayes; That was for an* Association *onely after her Death, but I cannot tell if such a* Bill *will secure us now, the circumstances we are under being very different. In* Q. Elizabeth's *dayes the Privy Councellors were all for the* Queens *Interest, and none for the* Successor's; *now* most *of the Privy Councellors are for the* Successor's, *and* few *for the* King's. *Then the Ministers unanimously agreed to keep out* Popery, *now we have too much reason to fear,* there are many that are for bringing it in. *In those days they all agreed to keep the* Popish Successor *in* Scotland, *now the* major part *agreed to keep the* Successor *here; All which must be considered in drawing up the Bill.* Hereupon,

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the House be moved, that a Bill be brought in for an *Association* of all his Majesties Protestant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majesties Person, the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and the Preservation of his Majesties Protestant Subjects, against all Invasions and oppositions; and for preventing the *D.* of *York* or any other Papist from succeeding to the Crown.

What *Alliance* this *Resolution* has to the fore-mentioned *Association*, let the Reader judge.

Nay, I have observed something farther, out of the Arraignment of the *E.* of *Shaftsb. p.* 34. which makes me highly confident, that Seditious and Treasonable Piece was drawn up by a Club of Commoners, or a close Committee of the H. of C. Headed by that Lord. I shall (for proof) transcribe a few particulars, *viz:*

The Arraignment of the E. *of* Shaftsbury, *p.* 34.

Foreman. Mr. Secretary, I would ask you some questions. If you did not know of a Debate in the Parliament of an *Association?*

Mr. Secret. I was not present at the Debate; but there was a talk in Town of an Association.

Foreman. Did not you hear of it in Parliament?

Mr. Secret. Indeed there was an Answer to a Message from the House of Commons that had something in it that did strangely imply an Association; but this particular Association I do not remember to have heard propos'd.

Foreman. Don't you remember in the House of Commons, Sir, it was read upon occasion of that Bill?

Mr. Secret. I heard such a thing spoke of, but at the reading of I was not present, to the best of my remembrance.

The Paper which was Seized in the E. of *Shaftsbury*'s Closet, by *Fran. Gwin*, Esq; one of the Clerks of His Majesties Most Honourable Privy Council, and Read *Novemb.* 24. 1681. at the *Old Baily*, before His Majesties Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*.

WE the Knights, &c. Finding to the grief of our Hearts, the Popish Priests and Jesuits, with the Papists, and their Adherents and Abettors, have for several years last past pursued a most pernicious and hellish Plot, to root out the true Protestant Religion as a pestilent heresie, to take away the Life of our Gracious King, to subvert our Laws and Liberties, and to set up Arbitrary power and Popery.

And it being Notorious that they have bæn highly encouraged by the Countenance and Protection given and procured for them by J. D. of Y. and by their Expectations of his succeeding to the Crown, and that through crafty Popish Councils, his Designs have so far prevailed that he hath created many and great Dependents upon him by his bestowing Offices and Preferments both in Church and State.

It appearing also to us, That by his Influence, Mercenary Forces have been levied and kept on Foot for his secret Designs contrary to our Laws; the Officers thereof having been named and appointed by him, to the appparent hazard of his Majesties Person, our Religion and Government, if the danger had not been timely foreseen by several Parliaments, and part of those Forces with great difficulty, caused by them to be Disbanded at the Kingdoms great Expence: And it being evident, that notwithstanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majesty from the Councils, and out of the power of the said D. yet his Interest in the Ministry of State and others have been so prevalent, that Parliaments have been unreasonably Prorogued, and Dissolved when they have been in hot pursuit of the Popish Conspiracies, and ill Ministers of State their Assistants.

And that the said D. in order to reduce all into his own power, hath procured the Garrisons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the power of the Seas and Souldiery, and Lands belonging to these three Kingdoms, to be put into the hands of his party and their Adherents, even in opposition to the Advice and Order of the last Parliament.

And as we considering with heavy hearts how greatly the Strength, Reputation and Treasure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Wasted and Consumed, and lost by the intricate expensive management of these wicked destructive Designs; and finding the same Councils after exemplary Justice upon some of the Conspirators, to be still pursued with the utmost devilish malice, and desire of Revenge;

venge; whereby his Majesty is in continual hazard of being Murdered to make way for the said D's Advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in such case is destitute of all security of their Religion, Laws, Estates, and Liberty, sad experience in the Case, Queen Mary having proved the wisest Laws to be of little force to keep out Popery and Tyranny under a Popish Prince.

We have therefore endeavoured in a Parliamentary way by a Bill for the purpose to Bar and Exclude the said Duke from the Succession to the Crown, and to Banish him for ever out of these Kingdoms of England and Ireland. But the first Means of the King and Kingdoms Safety being utterly rejected, and we left almost in Despair of obtaining any real and effectual security, and knowing our selves to be intrusted to Advise and Act for the preservation of his Majesty and the Kingdom, and being perswaded in our Consciences that the dangers aforesaid are so eminent and pressing, that there ought to be no delay of the best means that are in our power to secure the Kingdom against them. We have thought fit to propose to all true Protestants an Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred promise of mutual Defence and Assistance in the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person and Royal State, and our Laws, Liberties and Properties, and we hold it our bounden Duty to joyn our selves for the same intent in a Declaration of our United Affections and Resolutions in the Form insuing,

I A.B. Do in the presence of God Solemnly Promise, Vow, and Protest to maintain and defend to the utmost of my Power, with my Person and Estate, the true Protestant Religion against Popery and all Popish superstition, Idolatry, or Innovation, and all those who do or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this Kingdom.

I will also as far as in me lies, maintain and defend his Majesties Royal Person and Estate; as also the power and priviledge of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, against all Incroachments and Usurpation of Arbitrary power whatsoever, and endeavour intirely to Disband all such mercenary Forces as we have reason to believe, were raised to Advance it, and are still kept up in and about the City of London to the great Amazement and Terrour of all the good people of the Land.

Moreover J. D. of Y. having publickly professed and owned the Popish Religion, and notoriously given Life and Birth to the Damnable and hellish Plots of the Papists against his Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom; I will never consent that the said J. D of Y. or any other, who is or hath been a Papist, or any ways adher'd to the Papists in their wicked Designs be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of England. But by all lawful means and by force of Arms, if need so require, according to my Abilities, will oppose him, and endeavour to Subdue, Expel and Destroy him, if he come into England, or the Dominions thereof; and seek by force to set up his pretended Title, and all such as shall Adhere

unto

unto him, or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command, as publick Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Country.

To this end we, and every one of us whose hands are here under-written, do most willingly bind our selves and every one of us unto the other, joyntly and severally, in the bond of one firm and loyal Society or Association, and do promise and vow before God, That with our joynt and particular Forces we will oppose and pursue unto Destruction all such as upon any Title whatsoever shall oppose the Just and Righteous ends of this Association; and Maintain, Protect and Defend all such as shall enter into it, and the just performance of the true intent and meaning of it. And lest this just and pious work should be any ways obstructed or hindered for want of Discipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded persons under pretence of raising Forces for the service of this Association, should attempt or commit Disorders, we will follow such Orders as we shall from time to time receive from this present Parliament, whilest it shall be sitting, or the major part of the Members of both Houses subscribing this Association when it shall be Prorogued or Dissolved, and obey such Officers as shall by them be set over us in the several Countries, Cities, and Burroughs, until the next meeting of this or another Parliament, and will then shew the same Obedience and Submission unto it, and those who shall be of it.

Neither will we for any respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear, or Reward separate our selves from this Association, or fail in the Prosecution thereof during our Lives, upon pain of being by the rest of

us

us prosecuted, and suppressed as perjur'd persons, and publick Enemies to God, the King, and our Native Countrey.

To which pains and punishments we do voluntarily submit our selves, and every one of us, without benefit of any Colour or Pretence to excuse us.

In Witnesses of all which Premisses to be inviolably kept, we do to this present Writing put our Hands and Seals, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this Society and Association.

SIR,

SIR,

YOU have turned me to a hard Chapter; for so it is, to give you my opinion of the *Association*, that lyes under so great debate. I must tell you, 'tis a *Riddle* not easie to be deciphered; The *Assertors* of it call themselves a *Society* *, and twice for failing. This, Sir, is the *Distinctive Character* of the *Jesuites*, and you must imagine an Instrument of such a *Make*, is full of *Mental Reserves* and *Equivocations*; for seeing they have so auspiciously assumed *their Title* and *Appellative*, 'twill be hard if you will not allow them to imitate something of their *Practice*.

* *The Bond of one Firm and Loyal Society*, after the Protest: And *This Society* at the end.

The *Body* of this Monster has already been most accurately dissected by skilful hands, and ingenious Lectures read upon every *Member*, *Vein* and *Muscle* of it. If you think there may be something yet in the Belly of this *Trojan* Horse, that is worthy of your notice, at your command, I shall venture in to search it.

We the Knights: They were influenced (it seems) by one of *the other House*, in whose *Custody* this Instrument

 was

was found, if he were not rather the crafty *Contriver* of it. A person so well known, there's no need of any new Character to describe him: How he has play'd *fast and loose* both with King and Subject, needs no other instance to demonstrate than the shutting up of the *Exchequer*. Having been at the head of so many Seditious *Juncto*'s, Trayterous *Cabals*, *Councils of State*, usurped and Tyrannical Jurisdictions, you may very well conclude, though he hath learn'd the Art of *shifting* sides, he is not over-stockt with *Loyalty*. If any insolency in his carriage has made him *jealous* that he is obnoxious to a *high* displeasure, no wonder the discontents arising from such *Reflections*, should prompt him to the courses he has taken; 'Tis natural for the wounded *Deer* to run into the common *Herd* for shelter. And such is the Spirit of our little *Heroe*, whatever stands in the way of his Ambition, he'll leave nothing unattempted to remove it. Let Religion sink or swim among the States General, *Delenda Carthago* is his *Motto*.

But let's proceed: **We the Knights**, &c.] This [&c.] is a fatal *Character*, if we can remember that *Et cætera-Oath* which made such a hideous noise in the year 40.

Thou art the curled lock of Antichrist;
Rubbish of Babel; *for who will not say,*
Tongues are confounded in Et cætera?
Who views it well, with the same eye beholds
The old false Serpent in his numerous folds.
The Banes are ask'd, and now the times give way,
Betwixt Smectymnus *and* Et cætera.

Cleaveland.

Some-

Something certainly is involved in the subtile twirl of this *Dragons* Tayl: If they be *True Protestants*, in the sense of these *Associates*, they must be such as Protest against the *present* Church of *England*, the *Succession* of the Crown, and the *Brittish* Monarchy. Here we have the very *Spawn* of the *Presbyterian* fruitfulness, *Independents*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, with the rest of the *Fanaticks* (which proceed from the *Presbyterian*, by an *equivocal* Generation,) and without all doubt, are comprehended within the bowels of this prodigious Character, all *Schismaticks*, *Rebels*, *Traytors*, *Regicides*, *Tyrants* and *Usurpers*, (who, by their own *proper* Names and Titles, were by no means fit to be *dignified* or *distinguished*, in such a *Pious* and *Politick* Association) were cunningly and closely tyed up together with those *Knights* in the *Gordian* Knot of this *&c.*

And they say, **Finding to the grief of our hearts, the Popish Priests and Jesuites, with the Papists, and their Adherents and Abettors, have, for several years last past, pursued a most pernicious and hellish Plot, to root out the True Protestant Religion, as a pestilent heresie, to take away the life of our Gracious King, to subvert our Laws and Liberties, and to set up Arbitrary Power and Popery.**

Here we have a Mask of zeal made up of a double pretence, *Pro* and *Con*. (1.) For *The Protestant Religion, with the preservation of the Kings Life, our Laws and Liberties.* (2.) Against *The Popish party, and their Abettors.*

But that we may not be perpetually bewitcht with these delusions, it has been made apparent by a person of unquestionable knowledge and integrity *,

"That these great pretended Cham-
"pions for *the Protestant Religion*,

* A short view of the Troubles, *c.* 44. *p.* 588.

"*the*

"*the Laws of the Land, the liberty of the Subject, and* "*priviledges of Parliament*, (for these are taken in, too, "in this *Association*) made use of those specious pretences, "for no other end, than to captivate the People, and by "that means get the power of the Sword into their own "merciless hands. And (as that Worthy Author expostulates) "were not there certain *Propositions* read "in their House of Commons, (where this *Association* was first spawn'd,) which were found in Mr. *Saltmarsh* his Trunk, near *Hull*; First, That all means "should be used *to keep the King and his People from a sudden Union*. Secondly, *To cherish the War, under the notion of Popery, as the surest means to engage the People*. "Thirdly, If the King would not grant their demands, "then *to root him out of the Royal line*, and collate the "Crown upon some body else.

P. 590.

So that they served themselves of *Popery* for a pretence, and made the *Priests* and *Jesuites* but their stalking Horse, while they aim'd at other Game. If the *Popish Priests and Jesuites* have a Design to retrieve what has been taken from the *Pope* and *that* Church that depends upon him, are not these *Associators* equally intent and zealous to make a spoyl and *booty* of those Church Revenues which are left? Is not their Religion and *keenest* zeal fed upon the Church-lands, which they have got into their possession? And why do they stickle so earnestly against the *Pope*, but to maintain that interest? If you could secure their fears and jealousies in this point, assure your self, for the most part of them, their Consciences are not so squeamish, but the *Mass* would go down with them as easily as the *Directory*.

'Tis

'Tis very well observed, "That the *Rule* for Doctrine, "Worship and Discipline in the "Church of *England*, at the Reformation, was at first received with "universal joy and approbation, none but *Papists* opposing "it; But some time after, some few discontented men, under pretence of zeal against *Popery*, took the part of the "*Papists* against this *Rule*; and it is observable (saith that "Author) that as one faction grew up and gathered "strength, so did the other; that ones right and left hand "can hardly grow in evener proportion; so that one would "fancy, that either they advanced by some secret *Consent*, "or were nourished from the same common *Stomach*; It "may be (saith he) from him that *Patavicini* calls the *Stomach*, as well as the *Head* of the Church, the Pope.

A Vindication of the Primitive Church, *p.* 275.

Have not these pretended Protestants and *Et cætera*'s been eager (even to *Sedition* and *Blood*) to throw down the *Enclosure*, to *Repeal* those Laws, and *subvert* that Church-Government which have kept out Popery ever since the *Reformation*? Have they not given their *Emissaries* advantage by their Projected *Toleration* and *Indulgence*, and shelter'd the *Priests* and *Jesuites* (whom they pretend to *Associate* against) in their own *Conventicles*? Nay, to come home to the business, have not these men *Rivall'd* the Papists in their Treasons? Have they not *emulated* them in their practices of *Conspiracy*, and taken the *Hellish* work of Destruction out of their Hands, and subverted both *Church* and *State*, while they pretended the *Popish* party did pursue it?

For, if we put in *Fanaticism* instead of *Popery*, and change the *Popish Priests* and *Jesuites*, into *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, with their *Adherents* and *Abettors*, the design (they set on foot) has not only been, for several years pursued, but

but effectually *performed* and really *executed*, as we very well remember by sad and woful experience. For did they not *root out* the True Protestant Religion, establisht here by the *Authority* of pious *Princes*, as well as the *Blood* of Holy *Martyrs*? Did they not take away the *Life* of our most *Gracious King*, the most incomparable Prince of Christendome? Did they not subvert our *Laws* and *Liberties*, and set up *Arbitrary Power* amongst us? All this they did most accursedly accomplish to the astonishment of all Christendome: And yet we have reason to believe, that such of these *Associators* as were ingaged in it (and perhaps they were not a few) never lookt upon't as such a pernicious and Hellish *Plot*, nor were toucht with such *Remorse and grief of Heart*, for that *actual Guilt and Notorious Crime*, as they pretend to have upon the account of this, which is but their own *jealousie* and *surmise*.

That the most prudent and faithful *Ministers* of *State* cannot escape their *Malicious* Insinuations, we are not at all to wonder at: 'Tis the frequent practice of all *Malecontents*, when they become *Seditious*: For though it be the *Majesty* of the Government they aim at, yet they think they can no way wound *That*, with so much safety, and to so great effect, as through the sides of such Worthy *Ministers*.

To traduce the *Duke* is the main Design of this *Association*. And indeed, if we well observe it, 'tis an unusual strain of Modesty in them, that they do not positively, as well as by implication, impute it to *the Devilish Malice, and desire of Revenge* in his *Royal Highness*, that his *Majesty* is *in continual hazard of being Murdered, to make way for his own advancement to the Crown.* For they say expressly, *That by his Influence, Mercenary forces have been levied, and kept on foot for his secret Designs:*

Which,

Which, it seems, are not so *secret* but they can, if not penetrate, yet conjecture and imagine them. But as the King is most concerned herein, so hath he best opportunity to examine it and find it out, if there were any truth in't, or colour for it.

Whereas it is suggested, that *the levying of those Forces was unaccountable*, their *Disbanding difficult, and at the Kingdoms great expence* : There's not a little Malice coucht in that allegation. To what purpose *those* Forces were raised, is not unknown to such as have a mind to understand; and the Service which some of them perform'd, was not *secret*, but in the open *Field*, and so *eminent*, that Foreign States and Princes will remember it to their Honour.

But let them ask themselves this question, were *Cromwel's* Forces Levied, or kept up, or Disbanded, without the Kingdoms great expence? Or will the Forces design'd by these *Associators* be raised without money? and will not their *Officers* and *Conductors* expect their Pay? and at whose charge must all this be? and how shall they be Disbanded? do they Promise and Vow here, that *They will never Separate themselves from this Association, or fail in the prosecution thereof during their lives?* And (if they were once in Arms) we might believe them, though they were not engag'd upon such *Temporal* and *Eternal pain* as is due to *Perjur'd* persons.

This *Party* hath sometimes been very earnest to *embroil* his Majesty in a War with the *French* King, but without any *fond* or considerable *Subsidy* to maintain it. To what end this was projected, wise men will judge, but I shall forbear to mention.

But

But becauſe they cannot ſo eaſily embroil his Majeſty *abroad*, they reſolve to do it *at home*. To this effect, ſeveral *Plots* have been ſet a foot, and they have made their utmoſt advantage of them. And becauſe the great *obſtacle* (which is their greateſt *Grievance* too) is, *The* Militia *in the Kings hand*; They deſign very dutifully (no doubt) to ſeize it without his leave, that they may have it once again in their Power, to ſet up *Committees* of *Publicans* in every County, to make *Delinquents*, and then to *Tax*, *Decimate* and *Sequeſter*, or make them *Compound* for their *own* Eſtates at their pleaſure: And what will follow but a *High Court of Juſtice*, to bring *whom* they pleaſe, to (what they pleaſe to call) *Condign puniſhment*, and at laſt to extinguiſh (as much as in them lyes) the *Royal Family*, and the *Church* of *England*, root and branch. And this ſhall be voted the *Defence* of the *Proteſtant Religion* and our *Liberties*, without our *Properties*, the *Laws* and *Government*, againſt the encroachments of an *Arbitrary Power*. Yea, and the *Janizaries* they employ, ſhall not wear the name of *Mercenary Souldiers*, but be rewarded, as *Cromwel's* were (for their good ſervice) and be *honour*'d with the Character and Title of *Engliſh* Freemen, and the *Godly Party*. Theſe are the *Priviledges* of the Saints.

But we uſe to ſay, *The Burnt Child dreads the Fire*: And I hope this *Generous* and *Manly* Nation is not grown too *ſtupid* to be taught by *Proverbs*, nor yet become ſo infatuated as to forget ſo freſh and chargeable an experiment.

But

But they take it for granted, *'Tis notorious, that* "the Po-"pish Priests and Jesuits, with the Papists and their Adhe-"rents, *have been highly encouraged by the Countenance and Protection given and procured for them by* J.D. *of* Y. and that *He has publickly profess'd and own'd the Popish Religion.*

This they peremptorily averr: but it can hardly be imagined, that *Any* free Prince, at this time of day, should be so fast asleep, or ill advised, as to make himself the *Pope's* Vassal, to admit a *Supremacy* into his Realm *paramount* to his own; To have his own Royal Authority *confronted* by the *Check* of foreign *Bulls* from *Rome*, or the *Treasure* of his Kingdoms exhausted by such *Engines* of Extortion, as can serve him to no other end, but to endanger, impoverish, and inthrall him.

Consider but the Sense of the *Greek* Church, who will not brook that pretended Supremacy in the lowest state of their Declination; or the present Posture and Resentments of the *French*, who seem so weary of the *Pope's* Inchroachments and Usurpation, that they *kick* and *wince*, as if they were in pain and Travel, to throw his *Holiness* out of the *Saddle*, in those Dominions.

As for his *Royal Highness*, perhaps he may disdain to have his Integrity questioned by a common *Test*: many times *Great Spirits* are irritated by such Attempts, (which are therefore, for the most part, better let alone than put in practice;) they will not be forced by such *Screwed Engines* to gratifie their Adversaries with an open profession of that, which notwithstanding, in their Hearts they may most stedfastly believe.

Yet we cannot take it for a wonder, if his *Royal* Magnanimity, and the deep Resentments he has for his Blessed *Father's* Sufferings under the *bloody* hands of seditious Schismaticks, will not suffer him to be *hector'd* by them into an Approbation of their *Fanatical* Delusions.

 But

But his *Royal Highness* is so well satisfied with the Church of *England*, as by Law *established*, that he professeth a great Kindness and *Veneration* for it, for the very *Loyalty* remarkable in her Religion above all others; and for that Reason, upon all occasions he declares his Readiness to preserve and support it.

Nor have we only his *Highness*'s bare Word or Resolution to relye upon, his eminent *Deeds* are such a signal Exemplification hereof in *Scotland*, that the Bishops of that Kingdom have made their Profession to my Lords *Grace* of *Canterbury*, in these Words;

Edenburgh, *March* 9. 1682.

We should prove very defective in Duty and Gratitude, if upon this occasion we should forget to acknowledge to your Grace how much this poor Church and our Order do owe to his Princely Care and Goodness, that his Majesty and the worthy Bishops of England *may from you receive the just Accounts thereof.*

Since his Royal Highness's coming to this Kingdom, we find our Case much chang'd to the better, and our Church and Order (which through the cunning and power of their Adversaries, were exposed to extream hazard and contempt) sensibly relieved and rescued; which, next to the watchful Providence of God, (that mercifully superintends his Church) we can ascribe to nothing so much as to his Royal Highness's gracious owning and vigilant protection of us.

Upon all occasions he gives fresh Instances of his eminent Zeal against the most unreasonable Schism, which by renting, threatens the Subversion of our Church and Religion; and concerns himself, as a Patron to us in all our publick, and even personal Interests; so that all men take notice of his signal Kindness to us, and observe that he looks upon the Enemies of the Church, as Adversaries to the Monarchy it self: nor did we ever propose or offer to his Royal Highness any Rational Expedient which might conduce for the Relief or Security of the Church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate.

If

If *Officers* have been *named* and *appointed* by his *Royal Highness*, none can blame it, but such as have an Ambition to get *that* Power into their own hands. And, if it were lodged in the hands of these *Associates*, would the hazard of the King's Person, or of our Religion and Government be any whit less, or less apparent? Nay, we have learn'd by sad Experience, that the danger would be greater, if their Ruine would not be inevitable.

But they say, his Highness *has created many and great Dependents upon him, by his bestowing Offices and Preferments both in Church and State.* A great Crime doubtless, in a Person that stands in that Relation the D. has to his Majesty. The *Church* and *State* would be well served if all *Offices* and *Preferments* were at *their* Disposal, which is that *their* Avarice and Ambition thirst and aim at.

But we hope his *Highness* has created no *Dependents*; that is, neither made choice of any Servants for himself, nor recommended any Officers to the King, but such as are according to the *Standard* of his Wise and Renowned *Grandfather*; who adviseth his Son thus:

" Choose such as come of a true and honest Race, " and have not had the house whereof they are de- " scended, infected with Falshood; such as come " of a good and vertuous kind. For 'tis most cer- " tain, that Vertue or Vice will oftentimes with the Here- " tage be transferred from the Parents to the Posterity, and " run on a Blood, (as the Proverb is) the Sickness of the " Mind becoming as kindly to some Races as these Sicknesses " of the body that infect in the Seed. *The King advises further*; *Basilicon Doron.* p. 47. to 49.

" See they be of a good Fame and without Blemish, and " endued with such honest Qualities as are meet for such " Offices as ye ordain them to serve in; that your Judg-

 ment

" ment may be known in employing every Man according
" to his Gifts.

" But here I muſt not forget to remember, and accord-
" ing to my Fatherly Authority to charge you, to prefer
" ſpecially to your Service ſo many as have truly ſerved me,
" and are able for it:---- truſting and advancing thoſe far-
" theſt whom I found faithfulleſt.---- So ſhall ye not only
" be beſt ſerved, but ye ſhall kyth your thankful Memo-
" ry of your Father, and procure the Bleſſing of theſe
" old Servants, in not miſſing their old Maſter in you.
" And as I with you to kyth your conſtant Love to-
" wards them that I loved, ſo to kyth in the ſame meaſure
" your conſtant Hatred to them that I hated; I mean,
" bring not home, nor reſtore not ſuch as ye find ſtanding
" baniſhed or fore-faulted by me:--- for *how can they be true*
" *to the Son that were falſe to the Father?*

I hope, that both his *Majeſty* and his *Royal Highneſs* may follow this grave and ſage Advice in the Choice of their *Officers* and *Dependents*, whether deſign'd to ſerve in Church or State; and then I am well aſſured, that few of theſe *Aſſociators* will hereafter be *Candidates* for Court-Preferments.

We ſhall ſee the *Duke*'s great Fault at laſt will be only this, That he is *wiſe* and *valiant*, *juſt* and *well-beloved*, *ſteady* to his Word, and *faithful* to his Adherents; but that which is worſt of all in the Opinion of theſe *Aſſociates*, is, That he is *Preſumptive Heir* to the *Crown*, and will ſuffer no *Republican* to pick out the *Jewels*, or pluck off the *Feathers* of it. But ſo long as he has ſo high an *Affection* and *Reſpect* for the King's Perſon, and gives Countenance and Encouragement to none but ſuch as are truly loyal and ſerviceable to his *Majeſty*, I hope 'twill be no Crime in His *Royal* Highneſs to make much of ſuch

as

as own and espouse his *Hereditary* Interest, after the King's Example.

While these men boast of their *continual Endeavours to deliver his Majesty from the Councils and out of the Power of the Duke*, they do but upbraid the King (as they did his Father of ever Blessed Memory) of *Weakness*, as not able to discern what belongs to his *own* Interest and Safety, nor to distinguish betwixt his Friends and Enemies.

Under favour, this is but a course Complement to his Majesty; the Wise Man hath taught us a better Lesson, *That a Divine Sentence is in the Lips of the King*; (and) *his Mouth erreth not in Judgment.* Had it not been for this Holy Oracle, we should have been many times surprised at the celebrated Prudence of his Majesties Conduct (when the Case has been most difficult) in turning our Disappointments into a Satisfaction. *Prov.* 16. 10.

Has not his Wisdom appeared to Admiration, in stemming the *Tyde*, and checking the *Waves* of Popular Rage and Fury, when they seemed to threaten us with an Inundation? Has he not taken the Seditious in their own Craftiness, and made their own Tongues and Pens to fall upon themselves, till they have been glad to take Sanctuary in an *Ignoramus* Jury?

That *Parliaments* have been unreasonably *Prorogued* and *Dissolved*, is another of their *specious* Allegations: but herein his *Majesty* has given such ample Satisfaction, as supersedes all attempts of the like Nature; For, *What can the Man do who cometh after the King?* He that cannot acquiesce with great Contentment in such a *Gracious Declaration*, let him understand the Sense of all *Loyal* Subjects in their solemn *Addresses* of Thankfulness upon that account. Do they not own it as an undoubted *Copy* of that *Original* *Eccles.* 2. 12.

and

and transcendent Goodness which the Finger of God has impress'd upon his *Royal* Bosom? A *Declaration* so full of *Princely Grace* and *Wisdom*, and generally so suitable to their Wishes, that it did but *anticipate* what of Duty (as well as Interest and Inclination) should have been their own *Petition*? and that it left them no room, but for the lively Expressions of their Joy and Gratitude? And he that has not joyn'd his *Suffrage* with his Fellow-Subjects in such a dutiful Acknowledgment, must certainly be a Member of this *Society*, or a well-Wisher to it.

Though we have as great a Reverence for *Parliaments* as we ought, yet we cannot but reflect upon't with Grief, that the Composition of those Assemblies have not of late proved so *harmonious* as the state of Affairs required: which puts me in mind of what the Author of that ingenious *Essay* upon the Reign of *Henry* the *Third* has observed, of such a Convention of those Times.

Compendium politicum. pa. 36.

Thus (saith he) *Parliaments, that were ever be-* "*fore the most infallible Medicine to heal up any Distempers* "*or Malignities, are now grown worse, and almost less desi-* "*rous than the Maladies themselves, since malevolent Humours* "*and factious Spirits did most of all sway in them, and the* "*well composed Tempers had the least share and prevalency in* "*all their Consultations.* The Fruits and Effects of their unlimited *Session*, who were call'd to Parliament in *Forty One*, we cannot but with bleeding Hearts remember. And whatever respect they pretend to have for *Parliaments*, 'tis (as formerly) but to serve their own ends: for, (if they may have their own Will) according to the *Project* and Design laid in this *Association*, all *Parliaments* for the future (as they were once already in my own Memory) will be reduced (without a *King* or *a House of Lords*) to a *select Pack* of well-flesh'd *Rumpers*, to do the *Drudgery* of their *Army*.

The

The *Bill* of *Exclusion* and *Banishment* is so unreasonable, and so *absolutely* unjust, that we cannot look upon't as *a means of the King and Kingdoms Safety.* And if the D. be of such a *vindictive* Spirit as they suggest, nay allow him but the *Magnanimity* that becomes his *Highness*, or the common *Resentments* of *Humanity*, and the *passing* such a *Bill* had been so great and just a *Provocation*, it must needs have exposed the King's *Person* to great *hazard*, and the Kingdom to the lamentable Fate of a *Civil War*, if not an *inevitable Invasion* thereupon. And when we reflect upon the *Rise* and *Progress* of our late Confusions, (so black and dismal in the Event, and so fresh in Memory) all good men cannot but be deeply sensible of his Majesties great Care and Princely Wisdom, in keeping us from the more dreadful Rage of such a *Rupture* as the restless Malice of ill men study to promote, whether for the Accomplishment of their own Ambition, or the setting up of their Darling *Commonwealth.*

Whereas they say, *They are persuaded in their Consciences, that the dangers they suggest are so eminent and pressing, that there ought to be no delay of the best means in their power, to secure the Kingdom against them:* We comfort our selves, that they are no Prophets, (though 'tis no hard matter to fore-tell what they do project, if it be in their Power to effect it,) and that this is not the first time they have attempted very ill things, (if not out of Malice, Ambition, and Design,) to make the best on't, upon the account of an *erroneous* Conscience.

And whereas they say, *They are intrusted to advise and act for the preservation of his Majesty and the Kingdom:* We are satisfied, that they are no farther intrusted by the Laws and Loyal Commons of *England*, than may consist with their Duty and Allegiance; that is, no farther than the King shall please to require their Advice, and allow them to act by his

his Direction or Consent. Whereupon, the so much Renowned Queen *Elizabeth* commanded the *Speaker* to tell the (then) House of *Commons* (thus) in her Majesties Name, *It is in me and my power to call* Parliaments; *and it is in my power to end and determine the same; it is in my power to assent or dissent to any thing done in* Parliament.

In the 35. of her Reign. 1592.

Townshend's Historical Collect. p. 63.

Consequently hereunto, though they call this *Association the best means that are in their power to secure the Kingdom*, we are well assured, that it is not in their Power at all when the King forbids it, and (as in Reason and Justice in this Case he may and ought) declares it a Design to subvert both his *Prerogative* and *Government*.

Sed tantum possumus quod jure possumus.

For to be plain with you, in this detestable Contrivance which is here recommended under the specious Title of an *Association*, every man of Sense may observe with half an Eye, what the Hypocrisie and Subtilty of those ill men have projected, *to set up themselves*, upon the Ruins of the *Royal* Family, the *English* Protestant Church and Nation. For,

1. To secure his Majesty's *Sacred Person*, they'll disband his *Guards*, and remove his Faithful *Ministers*.

2. To preserve his *Royal State* and Dignity, they'll cut off the *Succession*, and banish his dear and only *Brother* out of his Dominions.

3. To support his *Crown*, they'll *usurp* the Government into their own hands, and turn it into a *Military* State of *Safety*.

4. For

4. For the Honour of their *Country*, they'll ſubvert that which (to all *Loyal* Subjects, and in the Eſtimation of all wiſe and ſober perſons) is the happieſt *Monarchy* under Heaven.

5. That out *Properties*, *Laws*, and *Liberties* may be kept inviolable, they'll ſet up an *Arbitrary Power*, and ſome Regiments of *Janizaries*, to rule over us, and make us *Slaves* to our Fellow-Subjects.

6. To defend *Religion*, they'll not conſult a Legal and Learned *Convocation*; but they'll lay aſide the *decent* and *diſtinctive* Garment of the *Miniſter*, they'll take away the *Croſs* in Baptiſm, that ancient *Badge* of Catholick and Primitive Chriſtianity; they'll abandon *kneeling* at the *Sacrament*, with all *external Adoration*; they'll turn the *Reverend* Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords, and *repeal* thoſe *Acts* by which *Uniformity* in the Worſhip and Service of God, ſtands eſtabliſhed; and ſo deſtroy (the *Bulwark* of the *Reformation*) the beſt Proteſtant Church in *Chriſtendom*. All which Particulars, here enumerated, are the *viſible* and *avowed* Deſigns of this *Society* and their *Aſſociation*.

To effect all this, they'll *wreſt* the *Sword* out of the King's hands, and appoint *Officers* of their *own*, to *levy*, *diſcipline*, and *conduct* Forces (how far they'll be *Mercenary* we deſire not to make experiment) without his *Majeſty*'s Conſent, and to purſue to *Deſtruction* all ſuch as ſhall *oppoſe* them.

And for all this, we have not only their Lives and Fortunes engaged, under their *Hands* and *Seals*; but

 their

their solemn *Promise*, *Vow*, and *Protestation* in the Presence of Almighty God.

So that here is a *Design* and *Train* laid, to act over again the same *Scene* of *Treason* and *Rebellion* which has once already (and within our Memory) turn'd this our flourishing Kingdom into an *Aceldama*, and smothered the Glory of it in Confusion.

An *Association* this is, so *hypocritical* in the *Disguise*, so *devilish* in the *Design*, and so *destructive* in the *Tendency* of it, That what *Knights* or *Et Cætera's* soever they be, that pretend to give it Countenance (in the *Front* of it) we are sure it could no more be *subscrib'd* (or tendered to Subscription) by Subjects that have any *Sense* or *Conscience* of their *Duty*, than assented to by any *Prince* that has Regard to his own *Prerogative*, or the *Welfare* of his People and the Church of God.

In a sad Resentment whereof, we find that all *Loyal* Subjects do humbly *protest* their utter *Abhorrence* of the said *Association*, with all other *Plots*, *Designs*, and *Practices* of the like Nature; and we see also, they resolve not only to *deprecate* them in their *Litany*, (wherein we beg Deliverance from all *Sedition*, *Privy Conspiracy*, and *Rebellion*) but also to engage their *Lives* and *Fortunes* under his *Majesty* and his Lawful *Successors*, to suppress them.

'Tis true, as you observe, the pretences of *Zeal* and *Piety* (for *Religion*, *King*, and *Country*) are too apt to gratifie the good meaning of some, and to impose upon the weakness of others. And I am not ignorant, that such

Insinu-

Insinuations have prevailed so far with many, as to make them ready to submit their Necks to the same Yoke which gall'd us formerly, and to become Slaves a second time to the Designs of *Faction*, and the Lusts of their Fellow-Subjects.

But when a stupid *Infatuation* has prevailed with such *easie* men, to put on the like Chains with their own hands, we esteem it not the least of our happiness, that 'tis still in his *Majesty's* Power to knock them off, and reprieve us from that Thraldom.

I tell you not my own *single* Sense, but the Sense of all *Loyal* and *Sober* men, that being taught by so late Experience, that such as snatch at the *Jewels* of the Crown can never think themselves secure of that *Booty*, till our *Property* becomes their Prey too, (as it was in the late *Rebellion*, which began with an *Association*) we are highly obliged to his Majesties *Fatherly* Care and Tenderness, that he will not more suffer an *Arbitrary Power* to insult over his Subjects *Liberty* than to invade his own *Prerogative*.

And the Sense his Majesty is pleased to express of our sad Affliction or Bondage under the late *Tyranny* of *Hypocritical* Reformers, gives us an assured Confidence, that so *Divine* a Clemency (as shines in him) can never delight to hear us groan under the like oppressions.

And His *Royal* Word to secure us against the Attempts of it in *others*, as well as against the practice of it in his own *Dispensations*, is a *Supersedeas* to all our Doubts and Scruples upon that account.

And having the same Security for the full Fruition of our *Religion*, in this Church established, (the most steady and inflexible *Prop* and *Bulwark* of the *Throne*, which therefore makes it no less his Majesties *Interest* than his *Obligation* and *Piety* to support it) we cannot conceive it in any Danger unless betray'd by a *Latitudinarian Neutrality*, or our own froward *Schisms* and *Dissentions*. And we should be secure enough in this point too if we could be timely awakened to consult our own Safety, and *unanimously* agree to make the known Laws the *Standard* of our *Duty*, as his Majesty has graciously resolved to make them the *Rule* of his own Government.

After such Agonies as we have conflicted with through the neglect hereof, the concurrent Practise of this Rule would be the best Atonement of our Differences, and the Ensurance of our Concord. This would extinguish all our present *Plots*, and prevent the Emergency of the like *Projects* for the future; then the Kingdom would be setled in *Peace*, the Church in *Order*, and all sorts of men become *conformable* in a due Obedience. *Succession* would be no more disputed, the Government no more *libell'd*, Loyalty no more *defam'd*, nor the *Dutiful* persecuted by the Tongues or Pens of the *Malicious*, the Pillow of the Crown would be no longer stuff'd with *Thorns*, His Majesties *Throne* would become *safe* and *easie*, his *Sword* victorious, and his Royal *Scepter* had in Veneration.

Peruse His Majesties Gracious Declaration.

And seeing His Majesty has even prevented our most early *Addresses*, in professing that to be his *Royal* Will and Resolution, which should have been our Prayer and Option; and having his *Sacred* Word (published in the face

face of all *Congregations*, before the Presence of the Almighty) to secure *All* we can account *dear* to us; there remains nothing for us to Act but the part of *Loyal* and *Obedient* Subjects, to inable His Majesty to triumph in a *serene* Felicity, maugre the petulant frowardness and treachery of all undermining Factions.

To this end, our Gratitude and bounden Duty puts us under these several Obligations.

1. To abandon those *Fears* and *Jealousies* which crafty and Designing-men (whether out of *Avarice* or *Ambition*) are wont to suggest and raise, to poyson us with *Discontents*, and bewitch us into *Tumults*.

2. To reley upon His Majesties Royal *Word*, His Princely *Wisdom*, and Watchful *Conduct* to protect us in our *Persons*, in our *Laws*, in our *Religion* and *Liberties*.

3. To assist His Majesty with due Supplies, and the utmost Endeavours that the highest Loyalty and Affection can contribute to make his Reign Glorious.

4. To exalt His Majesties Esteem and *Grandeur*, that He may still be courted to hold the *Balance*, and to establish the General Peace of *Christendom*.

5. To make our Acknowledgments legible in our *Practice*, by a *Regular* and *Uniform Obedience*, and a hearty Compliance with all *emergent* Advantages, that may promote his Ease and Royal Satisfaction.

6. To

A MOST EXCELLENT

Eloquent Speech,

MADE, NOT BY

An *Irreligious*, *Rebellious*, *Improbous*, *Impious*, *Seditious*, *Pestiferous*, *Pernicious*, *Factious*, *Flagitious*, *Vicious*, *Vafritious*, *Mischievous*, *Malicious*, *Mutinous*, *Luxurious*, *Letcherous*, &c.

NOBLE PEER;

BUT BY

A most Noble and Wise, Pious and Vertuous EMPEROR, (*VIZ.*)

Alexander Severus,

To the *Common People* of *ROME*, Assembled before him in *POMPEY*'S THEATRE.

With the CAUSES, as likewise the EFFECTS thereof, which were an Humble and Real Cordial Verbal *ADDRESS*, to His Imperial Majesty, of all their *Lives* and *Fortunes*; Being a Rare Pattern of *Pagan* Piety and *Obedience*.

Made English out of the Greek.

With a few *Quintessential Queries* and *Remarques* thereupon. Calculated for the Meridian of the Famous City of *LONDON*, but may prove of singular Service and Infallible Use to all the *Atheistical*, *Dissenting*, *Disloyal*, and *Phanatical* Subjects of His Sacred Majesty of *Great-Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. without the least Preceptible Error or Mistake in the World.

Divisum Imperium cum Jove Cesar *habet.* Virgil.

Principilus summum rerum Arbitrium Dij dederunt; subditis obsequij Gloria vero relicta est. Tacit. 4. Annal.

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