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A
LETTER

FROM
A TRUE AND LAWFULL
MEMBER

OF
PARLIAMENTS;

AND

One faithfully engaged with it, from
the beginning of the **V**Var
to the end.

*To one of the Lords of his Highness's Council, upon occasion of the
last Declaration, shewing the Reasons of their pro-
ceedings for securing the Peace of the Com-
monwealth published, on the 31th
of October, 1655.*



Printed in the year 1656.

G. Pamph. 2817 (1)

LETTERS

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*A Letter from a True and Lawfull
Member of Parliament, and
one faithfully engaged with it from
the beginning of the War to the
end.*

S I R,

BEcause you accuse me so much of want of temper, and say that I am angry with you, when I cannot answer your arguments, and so that instead of finding a way to be of one mind, we lose our selves in passion, and love each other worse than when we came first together: I have taken this uncholerique way of discoursing with you, and to inform you (since you enjoyn me to use the same freedom with you, as if you were a private person) why I am so far from approving your Declaration of the 31th of October, as an Act agreeable to any rules of Right and Justice, or an Expedient to promote the Peace and Security of the Publique, that I take it to be inconsistent with the Elements of Law, Equity and Religion, and even destructive to the private Interest of those, for whose preservation it seems to be intended; And in the doing hereof, I shall first answer your *Argumenta ad hominem*; those Reasons by which you thought to have wrought upon my passions and infirmities, and to have induced me not to

have found fault with that, which could do no harm to any body I care for, and which I might in some degree be obliged to defend, in order to the support of somewhat else, which I my self have done and countenanced.

You tell me, *that none are concerned in this Declaration, or in the most rigorous execution of it, but the Cavaliers, a people towards whose reduction to the law, and wretched condition they are now in, you say, no man hath contributed more than myself, and that I do confess myself to have been much deceived, and to have deceived others, to have been in the wrong, nay, to be guilty of all the innocent Blood that hath been spilt in this quarrel, if I, as well as you, do not prosecute those people to the utmost, upon whom we have layd all that guilt; and who will shew little favour toward us, if once they grow to have no need of ours.*

I shall have so much occasion, upon several parts of your Declaration, to speak of the Case of the Cavaliers, and how necessary it is that Justice be observed even towards them, and of the consequence, and the concernment that all sorts of men have in the administration of that which is right and equitable, and how unsafe it is for the Publique, if the due Current of Law and Justice in respect of any persons be perverted, that I shall in this place only put you in mind of the Inhibition given in the Parable of the Sowers, to those over-good Husbonds, who would make such haste to free the Field from Weeds; the Master said, *Nay, lest whilst you gather up the Tares, you rtot up also the Wheat with them.* There is no man who reads your Declaration, and considers

siders it, but discerns plainly, that under pretence of gathering those Taxes, vexing the poor Cavaliers, whom you do not find to grow so fast, as much to disturb your Corn, and which you intend at last but to gather, according to your several Appetites and Passions of loving and hating this or that man, or as you covet their Estates, not as they are dangerous to the publique Peace, you root up the pretious Wheat, all the Laws and foundations of Right, which are the only security of every honest and free-born Englishman; and that in truth no person of the Royal party is more concerned in this arbitrary, extravagant and unparallel'd Act of Tyranny, than every man, who hath served the Parliament with the most fidelity throughout that war against the late King, if he do not submit to the present Power, and endeavour to reform and suppress that, which you cannot but believe involves a very considerable number of Men, who have deserved as well of their Country, and have been and are as great Assertors of the Liberty thereof, as any person, who consented to the publishing that Declaration; and therefore it is no wonder if you find me, and I suppose many more, who are not suspected to be over-inclined to the Cavaliers, no less offended at your resolution and proceedings, than they have good reason to be.

To your tenderness of my reputation, lest I suffer in my credit, by differing now with you, which you say is no less than to confess that I have been deceived heretofore, and that I have deceived others, who were engaged in the quarrel by my advise, or

my example, though I will not answer you in the language of a much wiser man, even the excellent *Philip de Comines*, *That a Prince or any other man, who hath never been deceived, can be but a Beast, because he understands not the difference between good and evil*; yet I may tell you, that whosoever hath not been deceived in the Current of these last fifteen years, hath been preserved from being so, by such an absence of friendship, confidence and Charity in and to Mankind, by such a measure of distrust, jealousie and villany in his Nature, that I had rather be a Dog than that man: For my self I am not ashamed to confesse before God and the world, that I have been much deceived, miserably, and wretchedly deceived, but not half so much, nor so inexcusably as I shall be, if ever I trust those again, who have so much deceived me, or if I believe that my ruine and destruction is not as much designed by this Declaration, as any Cavaliers whatsoever; And that I may not hereafter trouble you in this discourse concerning my self, or with my own story, I will very ingenuously confesse to you in this place, my part in the warre that was carried on between the last King and Parliament, and then you will see how like I am to be immoderately inclined to the Royal party, and yet how unsecure I am from being buried in the same ruine, that is prepared to overwhelm them, and consequently, whether I have not reason to protest and prepare against those, who threaten me with that ruine.

When

When I was returned by vertue of the Kings Writ to serve my Country in Parliament, I brought with me all that affection to the Liberty and benefit of my Country, as the condition of it required, and all that Reverence and duty to the King, that was agreeable to the Oaths I and every man there took, before we could sit in that Convention; and truly I had no more desire to alter the fundamental Government of Church and State, than you have to restore it: I will not deny to you, that after a short time of sitting there, the continual Feaver of the House made my pulse beat higher too, and the prejudice I had to some persons in power, and authority, from whom, as I thought, I had received some hard measure, lessened my esteem and opinion of the Court; Then, the Lords free concurrence in whatsoever we proposed, and the Kings as ready granting whatsoever we desired, made me think my self in the number of those, who were to govern all the World, and insensibly I found my self a greater man, than I had before imagined I was: I chose the conversation of those who were believed most intent and solicitous to free the subject from the vexations and pressures he had been made liable to, and I thought them the most competent Judges of the remedies, which were to be applyed to those diseases, which they had so exactly discovered: in a word, I believed all they said, and out of the innate Reverence I had for Parliaments, I concluded it impossible for any thing to flow from thence, that could bring damage or inconvenience to King
or

or People, wherein how much I have been deceived, the world knows, and I am not ashamed to acknowledge: And this opinion and resignation of my self to that infallible Guide, made me neither strictly weigh what they did, nor patiently hear those Objections, which I could not answer; thinking worse of the persons who objected, than of the things they objected against.

When the matter of the *Militia* was first handled, I had no other understanding of it, than as I had observed it had been exercised very unequally by the Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies, and therefore I hearkned willingly to those Lawyers, who confidently averr'd, it was not in the Crown; yet the greatest reason that perswaded me to joyn with those, who would press the King in it, was, that I thought and was assured, that he who had till then granted all we asked, would not then begin to deny; besides that I saw most of his Council and Servants, who were of both Houses engaged in the same party and importunity. When so many Members of both Houses left the Parliament and went to the King I could not deny that very many of them were persons of great Integrity and eminent lovers of their Country; yet I thought their condition so desperate, that a Serjeant at Arms would have reduced them all, and was resolved not to imbarck my self in so hopeless a dependence; the Parliament being to common understanding possessed of the whole strength of the kingdom: Nor had I ever the least apprehension of a war, til we heard that some of our Troops were defeated by *Worcester*;

ster; and th at the King began to gather an Army about *Shrewsbury*, which yet I thought would never have looked ours in the face; but that the King would upon some Treaty have given my Lord of *Essex* leave to have guarded him to *Westminster*; and that all, who had obeyed the Parliament, should have had offices, preferments, and rewards; and this perswasion never departed from me, till we saw the Kings Army drawing down *Edghill* towards us the morning before that battel.

From that time I wished we had been to begin again, and that we had left off to ask, when the King was resolved to grant no more; I remember three nights after I was quartered near *Warwick* at the House of a Minister, whom I had known long before, and who was then fled, being reckoned one of the Prelatical party, and so not taking himself to be secure among our Troops, which were not eminent for civility towards that part of the Clergy; I understood he was hid amongst his Neighbours, and thereupon sent to him to return home, assuring him he should be very safe. He came very willingly, and told me he could not fear the receiving any injury where I commanded, and so entertained me with much cheerfullness during the time I staid there: sitting with him one evening, I told him, I believed the los of blood on both sides, had so much allayed all distempers, that there would be no need of drawing more, but that the King and the Parliament would easily come to Treaty, and compose all differences, and extinguish

all jealousies, that had been between them. He smiled, and said, he had read a story in *Ælian*, that when in one of the States of Greece, *Nicipus* his sheep brought forth a Lyon, it was generally and justly concluded, that it portended a Tyranny, and change of the State from a peaceable to a bloody Government, and it fell out accordingly : Truly Sir, said he, when the two Houses of Parliament produced a Sovereign power, to make a General, raise an Army, and to declare war, after that mild and innocent Sheep, that legal Venerable Councell had once brought forth that Lyon, which seeks whom he may devour, I gave over all my hopes of the continuance of that blessed, calm and temperate State of Government, by which every man eat the fruit of his own vine; and I expect nothing but rapine, blood and desolation; and if you have those hopes you mention, you will find your self disappointed; and that they, who you think are of the same mind with you, have nothing less in their purposes than Peace, or to perform one promise they have made to the People; but they resolve to change the whole frame of Government, and to sacrifice the wealth and tranquillity of their Country to their own Ambition, Covetousness and Revenge; and when once they discern that you will not pursue their most violent courses, they will more endeavour your destruction, than of them against whom you are both now so unanimously engaged.

This discourse, which I then considered only as proceeding from the spirit of a man, who I knew approved nothing that we did, afterwards made impression upon me, and I discerned every day men recede from the grounds they had

had before seemed to consent to, and to be less inclined to overtures of Peace, than they had formerly appeared to have been; yet upon those specious Reasons, That our only security consisted in keeping so much power in our own hands, that it might not be in the Kings power to do us hurt; That if we receded from those Propositions, which we had pressed the King to grant, we should shortly be bereaved of those good Laws he had already granted; at least, it would be necessary in all Treaties to insert, and in some degree to insist upon those Propositions (how extravagant soever) that by departing from them, we might pretend to pay a valuable consideration for those Concessions, which we must still require from the King for our own indemnity; and by these means our Treaties came to nothing, the Treators being never left at liberty to recede from those unreasonable Propositions, which were therefore made unreasonable (as was pretended) that they might be receded from. I will not deny to you, that when upon the Kings successes, Commissioners were sent to invite the Scots to our assistance, and I saw a great Army of that Nation ready to enter the Kingdome upon those unworthy Conditions on our part, that ought never to have been submitted to, I was in that perplexity, that I thought of nothing but casting myself at the Kings feet; I was ashamed, that having so long reproached the King with designs of calling over forein Forces, as if the affections of his people should fail in any thing that was

just for him to attempt; and having prevailed so far upon the People by those reproaches, we our selves should call in a forein Army to help us, and after we had pretended to ask nothing of the King but what the People would not be contented without, and therefore because the Kingdome generally did desire and expect it, that we our selves should draw in an Army of Strangers, of which there could be no need, if it were not to impose that upon the Kingdome, which it did not desire: I called to mind, that *Plutarch* seemed to commend *Lysander*, for having thought it *less dishonor and reproach unto the Grecians to be overcome by other Grecians, than to go flatter the barbarous people, and seek to them that had gold and silver enough, but otherwise no goodness or honesty.* I remember what a costly Visit they had made to us two years before, and did truly believe, that what we could suffer from one another, could be nothing to the lasting calamity they would bring upon us, who (I was confident) could never be a means of restoring Peace and happiness to the Kingdom. In a word, I thought of nothing more, than of renouncing those who had so apparently renounced their Professions, and of cordially joining with the King's Party.

Whil'st I was thus resolved, I heard of the cold reception they had, who were already gone to *Oxford*, and that the Court there carried it self, as if it could do its business without help, and thought themselves losers, by passing by any thing that had been done amiss. The anger and
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indignation I contracted hereupon, made me change my purpose, and to revolve, that if others should be of the same mind I had been, and desert the Parliament, there would be none left to make reasonable conditions for them, who had been engaged in the Quarrel, which I perswaded my self would at some time be done. And I was sure, that though we might have exceeded our Jurisdiction, and done many unlawfull things, our being together was still lawfull; and whil'st it was so, we should at last, upon good or ill fortune, be Parties to such an Agreement, as would secure our selves who staid, which was more than they could promise themselves who went away: Hereupon I was fixed, never more to think of quitting the Parliament, but to run its fortune; and accordingly I proceeded to the end of the VVar, and never left the House, notwithstanding the several Factions and Animosities, and the Violence and Tumults which I much disliked, untill I was with the major part of the House of Commons, kept from thence by the Army, and used in that scornfull manner, as is notorious enough, because after the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight*, I desired that an Agreement should be made with the King.

I have troubled you with this short recollection of my part in this business, that you may see how far I have been from favouring Cavaliers, by whom I had the the honor to be thought so considerable, that I was alwaies excepted from pardon in thole Proclamations and Declarations,

clarations, which then issued out. Whil'st there was a War carried on by the Parliament, I ventured my life, and lost my blood in that war; and whil'st there was a Parliament, I continued in the service of it; and since that time, I have enjoyed my self in as much peace and tranquillity as the Calamities of the time would suffer me, and without further opposing the present power, than in my heart not submitting to it, or taking it to have any colour of Law, or Justice, or Religion, or Reason to support it. And as I do heartily ask God forgiveness for the ill I have been guilty of during the War, so I do humbly thank his Divine Majesty for preserving me from the guilt of the ill that hath been don since; and I hope the remembrance of the former, or apprehension of any thing that may be the consequence of it self, shall never work upon me to approve the latter. And so I come to your Declaration it self, the several parts whereof I shall speak to, without observing precisely the order they are in, but taking the liberty to marshal them according to my own way and method.

Let me then begin with complaining, that you assume to your selves throughout the Declaration, the stile of the Best Affected of the Nation, of those with whom the Honor and Interest of the English Nation is deposited, and indeed of the Nation it self; and reckon all, who are not pleased with the Government you have so manifestly usurped, Enemies to the Nation; which you must give us leave, who have sweated and bled more than any of you, for the
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interest and liberty of the Nation, and are sure a more considerable part of it, both in weight and measure, to take very ill of you. We cannot, we must not, endure to have it believed, that the *English* Nation is shrunk into my Lord Protector and his Highnesses Council, who all together had not the interest of one common Village when these Troubles began; you may be such a Nation as God threatned his chosen people withall in *Deuteronomy*, *A Nation of fierce Countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young.* The Latine Translation renders it, *Gentem impudentem*, an insolent sort of people, that cared neither for God nor Man. The Gramarians give the stile usually to Sects, or Professions of Men, *Natio Philosophorum*, *Natio Poetarum*; and among the Jews, the Sect of the Pharisees was frequently called the Nation of the Pharisees; you will find in *Josephus* a very lively description of them, who, he says, were so much addicted to self-opinion, and boasted themselves to be the exactest Observers of the Law in all the Country, to whom the women were very much addicted, as to those who were much beloved of God, as in outward appearance they made shew to be; These were such as durst oppose themselves against Kings, full of fraud, arrogancy and rebellion, presuming to raise War upon their motions of spirit, and to rebel and offend their Princes at their pleasure; and whereas all the Nation of the Jews had sworn to be faithfull to Cæsar, and to the Estate of the King, those only refused to take the Oath: so far he. And if you please, this Nation, you may be, except you choose

Deut. 21. 50.

Joseph. lib. 17. c. 3.

Choose rather (for you bear great love and affection to the Jews) to be of their fourth Sect ; which the same Author tells you was founded by Judas of Galilee , and accorded in all things with the Pharisees , *but that they were so extremely zealous for, and jealous of their liberty , that they only acknowledged one God to be Lord and Master of all things, and had rather themselves, with their dearest children and kinsfolk , endure the most grievous and bitter torments that could be imagined , than call any mortal man their Lord.* And this is the antientest Record , I think , can be produced for those Friends of yours , who have lifted you up to the height you are now at, though it is plain, your selves are retired enough from those inconvenient scruples. Be what other Nation you will, how far you are from being the English Nation , or that part of it which is tender of , and like to advance its interests, must appear in the further examination of the Principles of your Declaration.

Since you would have it believed, that no part of the English Nation can be concerned in, or hurt by this destroying Act, but only the Royal Party ; you should so clearly have set down the guilt of those you punish, and the rules by which you punish , that no innocent man could have thought himself involved in the one , or in the reach of the other: it had been to be wished, that since you take upon you to execute Justice and Judgement for the Nation, you had , according to the good old Custom always observed in those Judicatories , plainly set out the known
Laws

Laws of the Land, by which such and such Actions are declared to be Crimes, and by which those Crimes are to be punished in that degree; it being no more in the Judges power to exceed the punishment prescribed, than to declare that to be a Crime, which no Law hath declared to be so: whereas without quoting one judged Case in Law, or citing one Statute for your ground, or mentioning one precedent to justify your manner of proceeding, you wrap up your discourse in Metaphysical notions, and conclude by deductions from the Law, and Light of Nature, and from the dictates of Reason; a Reason so abstracted from practice, and so difficult to be understood, that we may well apprehend, that we shall hereafter be concluded guilty, and condemned, before we are accused, or able to accuse our selves, and therefore it is not out of kindness to them, that we now endeavour to state the true Case of the Royal Party, the Crime they are charged with in this Declaration, the Judgement that is inflicted upon them, and the Grounds of that Judgement, that we may from thence be able to conclude, how far we are from their Case, and consequently how secure we are from being liable to their punishments.

The Case then of the Royal Party is this. After a war waged for some years between the King and the Parliament, after several great Successes on the Parliaments side, the Kings Armies and Garrisons are reduced to those streights, that they thought fit to make Con-
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ditions;

ditions ; They do not confesse that they owe their admission to compound for their Estates , or the moderation that was used in it , to that excess of good nature you reproach them with in your Declaration. But they say it was upon a full Contract between the Parliament and them , and upon Articles of surrender on their part of those places of strength which remained then in their possession ; the which , together with their acquiescence from further opposing us , we of the Parliaments party (they say) then thought a valuable consideration for any Concessions we then made to them ; and that they had the Publick Faith of the Parliament for the punctual & exact performance of the Articles on our part. That by our thus treating with them , and their compounding with us , we raised a vast sum of money for the support of our Armies , without which we had been in many streights ; and if they had not totally declined any further thoughts of opposing us , amongst so many discontents which then raged in the Parliament , the Army , and amongst the Scots , it is not probable that we should have carried all before us with so little resistance as we did : so that the advantage we got by their Compounding , was not small or inconsiderable. That we were so far from requiring them to change their Principles (other than their no further assisting the King in a War against the Parliament , the which himself at the same time declined , and betook himself to Treaties) that there was a special provision in all Articles against any such
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pressure. That we of the Parliaments party were so far from urging them to wave their Allegiance to the King, that we professed the same with them in all our Professions, Declarations, and Protestations; and that the Crime we accused them of, and obliged them to compound for, was, for their offences against the King and Parliament, and therefore the pardon drawn by order of Parliament, was granted to them in the kings name, and passed under the Great Seal of *England*: so that they were, and are by that (according to the Fundamental Laws of *England*, which are the only security every Subject hath for the enjoying his propriety and his liberty) free and absolved from all manner of Offences committed before the Grant of that Pardon; and by it put into as full a possession of their Estates, and all the Rights of a Subject of *England*, as they before enjoyed; and as if they had committed no offence since that time against the Laws of the Land, they are and ought to be accounted in the same condition with us, and not in any degree to be troubled for more than what they have done since. And this is in truth the state of the Royal party, without strengthening it by any consideration of the Act of *Grace and Oblivion*, which was afterwards granted to them.

Whether those Articles have been so punctually performed as you say; whether that Court, which was purposely erected to do them Justice in that particular, was erected soon enough, and before they were broken with intolerable oppression; or whether that Court

hath since executed Justice so effectually on their behalf, as you declare, I leave to themselves to make manifest; being in truth (as I said before) no otherwise concerned for them, than as the equal administration of Justice to all sorts of people is, and must be the foundation of peace and happiness to any Commonwealth, according to the Ordinance of God himself, *He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.*

2. Sam. 23. 3. Where there is not exact and precise Justice, there can be no fear of God, pretend what you will; and you cannot but have heard, that very many learned and pious men have attributed the ill success which the Christians received in the several attempts which had been made, with so vast a consumption of men & treasure in the *Holy Land*, to that perfidious breach of faith made by the *Christians*, after the first taking of *Jerusalem*, in the year 1098. when after Mercy proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms, it was concluded necessary for their defence (upon the rumour or apprehension of the approach of a new Enemy, and the number of the Captives being very great) to put all the Turks to the sword, which was performed accordingly, without favour to age or sex, three dayes after their promise made, to the infinite reproach of Christian Religion; though (as my Author says) some slew them with the same zeal that Saul slew the Gibeonites, and thought it unfit that those Goats should live in the Sheeps pasture. But the noble Tancred was highly displeas'd at it, and knew that Christianity abhorred any such violation of

Full. Ho. war. fo. 41. Con-

Contract, and expected the miserable success that attended it. And it may be, that unjust proceeding might be one of the reasons that moved our *Robert of Normandy* to refuse that Crown which was then offered him, and afterwards conferred on *Godfrey of Bulloigne*.

We have set down the state and security they were in by that Agreement and Pardon; let us in the next place examin how they become Reprobate, & fallen from that state of Grace, and what the Crimes are which you now object to them. Before your opening the Design, you prepare us to be content with very slender evidence, by telling us, that Conspirators are a sly and secret generation of men, whose walks are ever in the dark, and the measure of all their feet cannot be exactly taken and compared. Truly if they walk so much in the dark, that they cannot be found out to be tried, they ought not to be found out to be executed: yet in the very Preliminaries to the Conspiracy, you charge them with matters as evident and manifestable in their nature, as any part of a Conspiracy can be. That persons were sent from hence to *Charles Stuart* with Letters of Credit, and a considerable sum of money. That a select number of persons were chosen by the name of a Scaled Knot, who were to reside about *London*, and to keep and maintain correspondence with those of their party beyond Sea; both which are particulars, if true, as easie to be made appear to be, as levying of War, or any other act of outrage. You have Ordinances severe enough

against those, who send mony to *Charles Steward*; or those, who correspond with them; produce the persons, make good the Charge, and we shall not think our selves in danger by your sentence upon them; but, if you will infer, that because he is not starved abroad, he is supported from hence: and that all, who do not wish you your hearts desire, conspire to promote his interest, we must not content to such consequences, in which we are no lesse involved, than they.

You speak of one *Fitz James*, who went from hence to the late Kings eldest son, then at *Paris*, to promote some design of Assassination of particular persons; of a Conjunction between him and *John Gerard*; of Major *Henshaws* going to *Paris* concerning the same design, and that *Charles Steward* refused to see him, but relyed on *Gerard* and *Fitz James*, to whom he gave precise directions, that they should not make their attempt, till all his friends were ready in *England*: Then you say, there was one *Boswell*, and also one *Pierce*, and severall other persons imployed at other times for those Assassinations, and had laid the place and manner of execution; and the means whereby to attempt it; *All the particulars whereof (you say) would be too large to set down; as it would the severall gracious Providences of God in the disappointing of them.* Truly, if this short Recollection of such important particulars be only to put you in mind in your devotions, to acknowledge to that Providence, those signal deliverances, you may be as reserved in the discovery as you please, but if you desire to engage us in the
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belief that such attempts have been real, and in a detestation of the Abettors of them, you ought to enlarge your selves in the relation, and to publish such evidence as may satisfy the world, that your deliverances have been more than from your own imaginations. What the other persons are you mention, I meet with no body that knows; and for *Fitz-James*, I hear, all those of the Royal party, who upon the publishing this Declaration have occasion enough to speak of him, say, that they always looked upon him, as a Spy of yours, and not of their party; and you may remember, when you and I were once walking in *James's* his Park, and he passing by, I asked you who he was, you told me that you hoped by the means of that Gentleman, that *Dunkirk* would be shortly put into your hands, it being then in the hands of the *French*; and that he was newly returned from thence, with some assurance to that purpose; how he came so soon after to be so dangerous an Enemy to you, and so much trusted by your enemies, I cannot imagine, and had need to be made manifest by some authentique testimony.

You proceed in hudling up another Design, of working upon discontented humours, which are observed to be stirring in the Nation upon pretences of liberty, and the Rights of the free-born people of England, which were supposed to be infringed by keeping up an Army, and by enforcing taxes from them, and by not calling free and equal Representatives, chosen by all the people; and then you accuse *John Wildeman*, and some others of the like Principles (whom you do

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do not name) as fitting Instruments for managing that part of crying for liberty: And these you say, were to carry on a design, which should in outward appearance be different from the other, although in truth it came from the same root, and was directed to the same end. And you say John Wildman had brought his part to such maturity, that he wanted very little, but the open declaring himself in armes, having in effect finished his declaration, which was to be published upon that occasion, and the time you say did fully answer the Rising designed by the Royal party, which fell out but a few days after: When you say, there was another Insurrection that was to keep company with this, and that part of your Army in Scotland should have mutined, surprized their Generals, thrown off their Officers, and marched up to London under the command of Major General Overton: Whereas you forget, that no longer ago than in page 15 of your Declaration, you say it was the principal business of those, who were sent with Letters of credit, and a considerable sum of money, to assure Charles Stuart, that the reason why the Nobility and Gentry, and bulk of the Kingdom of England, (which they said were Episcopal, and of his former party,) did not rise with him upon his late March from Scotland, was, because he was believed to have gon upon grounds disagreeable, both to their affections and interests, and also to the good of the Nation, and inconsistent with the antient Constitutions both of Church and State; but that if he would return to his former Principles, to wit, To cast himself totally up-

on his old party, they would venture both their lives and fortunes for his recovery. And in Page 27. after the affairs grew apace into a ripenes, and some were of opinion, that they should rake in some persons who had been for the Parliament, you say, *It was denied, upon this reason, that seeing they had no need of them, as their affairs then stood, it would be prejudicial to his Majesties service, and their common interest, to take in persons, whom they should afterwards be troubled to be rid of.* How comes it then to passe, that this severe Royal party, without regard to their principles, on a sudden should incorporate it self with *John wildman,* and Major General *Overton,* who in their several Stations, have most advanced that interest, which is most destructive to theirs, and who have never been suspected for inclination to Episcopacy; and your selves tell us, after you have amused us with the discourse of *John Wildeman,* and Major General *Overton,* that those, that were to be made use of to bring the design to pass, were the Levellers, who did not, as you hope, intend to serve the interest of *Charls Stuart.* What the merit of those two persons hath been towards the Commonwealth, is enough known to all lovers of their Country; nor can their reputation be blasted by such obscure insinuations. It is now many moneths since they have been in your hands, under a very strict restraint, and if you could prove any thing against them of adhering to the Royal Party, and promoting that interest, you would have used the same expedition in proceeding against them,

as you have done against those at *Salisbury* and *Exeter*, and therefore we have reason to conclude, that their being so honestly concerned for the Liberty and Rights of the Free-born people of *England*, their supposing it to be infringed by keeping up an Army and by enforcing Taxes from them, and by not calling a free and equal Representative chosen by all the people, is their Crime and Guilt, and if you cast in all those, who are of the same opinion with them, into the Royal party, and think to make them odious, under that imputation, you will indeed make a party strong enough to vindicate a very Royal quarrel and interest.

The clear matter of fact, which seems to have some manifestation is this, That some persons have been particularly trusted in this Kingdom by *Charles Stuart*, to dispose the people to a general rising, to provide money, to buy Armes and Munition, and if they could, to surprize some Sea-Town; that he himself was so pleased to hear how carefull and solicitous they were for him, that though out of the tenderness he had for his friends, he had deferrd to call upon them, till he could give them encouragement from abroad; yet since that came on so slowly, he would no longer restrain their aff. ctions; but if they were able to make any hand some appearance in any one place, he would be sure himself with them, and sent them word, that he would to that purpose keep himself within a reasonable distance; and this letter was writ in *July 1654.* near eight months before appearance of trouble,
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After this, to make good his promise, he removed himself from *Cologne* into *Zealand*, on purpose to attend the rising, and the Lord *Wilmot*, *Wagstaff*, and *Oneil* came over actually to conduct and lead the design, and agreed to make their attempt upon the twelfth of *March* 1654. An Insurrection accordingly was made in the *West*, and had in all probability encreased, if it had not been seasonably suppressed: That in *Yorkshire* separated, as soon or before they came together, and so in all other places: and thus by the goodness of God that bloody design was prevented; yet (you say) *some who run away from their Rendezvous, did it with a resolution to take a better opportunity, when the Government in confidence of the present success shall be secure, and less aware of them, and they are at this day at work upon other designs both here and in Scotland, to begin new troubles and rebellions amongst us; And this is the charge of what they have done.*

Let us now see the inferences that are drawn from hence, and the judgement that is given thereupon, and it will be then easily discerned, whether we (who are not accused of the guilt, for you say the design was general, and levelled against all those, who had upon any account whatsoever adhered to, and owned this Cause) are not by those inferences to be made lyable to the same Judgement, when ever you conclude it convenient to your affairs that we undergoe it. You infer from your own Narration (the truth whereof I have nothing to do to question) that their pretended King, who was ready to em-

barque for *England*, would never have put himself in the eye and face of the world, if those, who shewed themselves in arms, were to have no other seconds but what appeared; and you say, it cannot be imagined, that the Lord *Wilmot*, and *Wagstaff*, and others, would have run so great hazards upon so weak grounds; Or that those Gentlemen who did actually rise, could suppose that the Army would be so easily overrun, and therefore you conclude, that what was done by them, proceeded from the consent of the whole party, and upon this assumption, you adjudge their liberties & their fortunes to be at your mercy; and that all the pardons and Acts of Indempnity, which have been passed on their behalf, are void; and rather aggravations of their guilt, than security against any other judgement you will hereafter passe against, or upon them.

Is it possible, that you can satisfie your own Consciences with this kind of argumentation? or can you believe your Army strong enough to impose this tax upon mens understandings, that they shall think your proceeding consistent with Justice, or agreeable to reason? It had been more suitab'le to your greatness, and more respect to the Nation, to have shut up *Westminster-hall*, that old Conservatory of our Liberties, and to cause over the Gates thereof, and in the front of your Commissions to be engraven in letters of Steel, that short Adage of the Poet;

————— *Pro foedere, proq;*
Justitia est Ensis: —————

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Than to imagin that you could compose their minds with this Declaration. Can you think it a good Argument, that the whole party intended to rise, and so ground enough to judge them, because their pretended King, the Lord *wilmot* and some others believed they would; and do you not rather think their not rising, when if they had, they might have given us all trouble, an argument that they never intended it? You say, that the first of the three things which were chiefly designed by them in this businesse, was, *To prepare and engage every individual man of their own party, who had either been in the former wars, or had been a friend unto them, or was likely by reason of his alliance, breeding, or discontents, to engage therein, who being ingaged, were to bring all their Tenants, and those who depended upon them: and also to lay designs for possessing of Garrisons and strong Holds.* And is it not very manifest by no one mans appearing with all his Tenants, and very few mens appearing who had Tenants, by their not possessing one Garrison, or strong hold, or house, that what design soever some particular persons might have, the whole party did in no degree cherish or assist the design? Shall the presence of those who were there, though many probably might not know what they came about, be enough to condemn them, and shall not the absence of others, except you can prove they were at least privy to what was designed, absolve them? You say, that what *Major General Overton* designed was to be brought to pass by the *Levellers*, and some others, who did not (as you hope) intend to serve the interest

of *Charls Stuart*. And why have you not so much Charity for the Royal party, of which there did not appear enough at any Rendezvous (*Salisbury* only excepted) to put you to the trouble of dispersing them, to hope that whatever the Lord *Wilmot* and the rest intended, to bring to passe by them, they never thought to second them? It can neither be just in it self, nor prudent in you, to give the Royal Party cause to believe, that they hold their Liberties and Estates by no better a tenure, than the good behaviour of every man who keeps them company, or hath been heretofore engaged in the same quarrel with them; That the Earl of *Kingston*, who therefore compounded, because he had a great estate to enjoy, should lose his, when ever Major General *Wagstaffe* shall rebel against you, who never compounded, because he had nothing to save, and will be always venturing, because he hath nothing to lose. You have not reduced the Royal party into a Corporation, that by the misdemeanour of some of the Members, their Charter shall be avoided: They of them, who never had pardon have received no benefit by what the other procured for themselves, and there is no reason they who compounded with you, should without committing new faults, receive prejudice by the transgressions of other men. Can you imagin, that they who were admitted by you to compound, would ever have been at the charge and trouble of it, if they had thought they should incurre any danger, or pay the penalty for any attempts made by the Excepted Per-

Persons? As long as they, who are not suffered to live amongst you, are projecting against you (as they will always be) must not the rest, who dwell at home as much as you, enjoy what is their own? In a word, every man compounded for himself, sued out his own pardon, and can only be punished for his own offences: And it is expressly provided for by several Statutes of *Magna Charta*, that no man shall be condemned without being brought to his answer, and how the sworn Judges of the Law, who do not relieve those who demand protection from them for their Liberties or Estates, will answer the breach of their duty and their Oaths I cannot foresee; especially if they remember, what the Lord Chief Justice Cook puts them in mind of, in his Pleas of the Crown, printed by order of Parliament, *That it was Enacted in the first year of H. 4. that the Lords, nor the Judges shall never be admitted to say, That they durst not for fear of death to speak the truth.* For my own part, I am content, that I was one of that party, which reduced them to a necessity of compounding, and admitted them to compound upon such terms, that they might enjoy their Country with some satisfaction and comfort: Let it be your glory to break and violate all those conditions, and to be recorded, as those were by the excellent Historian, in the declination of the Roman State from Justice and Honour: *Ignavissimi homines per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerunt;* That you have by transcendent wickedness and Tyranny, stripped them of all,

Cooks Pleas
of the Crown
fol. 23.

Salust:

all, whilst they lived as friends peaceably with you, and under you, which we were contented they should enjoy after we had conquered them as Enemies: and so let them stand or fall, as they can.

I come now to consider, how we, who are not yet accused by you, may expect upon the same inferences to have the same judgement let loose upon us, which for the present you intend shall immediatly destroy only the Royal partie: you will not suffer us to think it strange, that so many persons are secured, although they were not visibly in armes, upon the late insurrection, or that you have laid a burthen upon their Estates, beyond what is imposed upon the rest of the Nation, towards the defraying that charge, of which they are the occasion: you have at present in custody under the same general reproach persons, who from the beginning to the end of the war, served the Parliament as faithfully and as eminently, as any who were Members of it: now it is not probable, that they would have engaged themselves in so unequal an enterprize, if they had not expected to be seconded by their friends, why should not we therefore look to be involved under the same judgement? You say, *John wildman, and others of the like Principles, were most fitting Instruments for the carrying on the design, and that Major General Overton, was to make use of the Levellers, and it cannot be supposed, that they would have proceeded so far, without having some assurance of assistance from their party, and I pray then where is the difference between the Levellers, those*
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who insist upon the Rights and Liberties of the free-born people of *England*, who would have Taxes taken off, and a free and equal Representative (those are their Crimes) and the Royal party which is condemned, because some of their friends appeared in the insurrection? It is plain enough, what *they* are in due time to expect at your hands, who in the last Parliament, *Insisted to have part of the Army disbanded*, which you insinuate, was done upon no less than Combination with that party you have condemned: But We need not take such pains by such inferences to discover your good purposes towards us, you have ingenuously declared, That your quarrel is against all, who retain their old Principles, and still adhere to their former interest in direct opposition to the Government established: Let the old Principles retained be what they will, and the Interest adhered to what it will, Parliamentary Principles, & Parliamentary Interest, Presbyterian Principles, & Presbyterian Interest, Independent Principles and Independ. Interest, if it be in direct opposition to the Government established, the same measure of persecution must be their portion, which you would have us think is only now assigned to the Cavaliers. Alas, it is not their Principles you are angry with, but their obstinate adhering to their obligations, and their interest; Let them depart from those, and no longer oppose the Government established, and you will like them the better for their Principles: the truth is, you think none worthy of their estates, but they

who have their Principles, and therefore you resolve to take both Estates and Principles to your selves: No other Principles will serve your turn, witness the weekly Sermons preached by your Profelytes, of obedience, and subjection to Government; so diametrically contrary to what the same men preached in the beginning of these troubles, that if their Sermons of the year 1641 were bound up in the same volume with those they preached in 1654 and 1655, they might be taken to be *Vincent* and *Torke* bound together, by their *Invectives*, *Contradictions* and *Positions*; and *Prin* and *Mountague* are not more unlike, than this Off-spring begotten by the same Parents; witness the Principles and Grounds of this Declaration and Judgement, which are more arbitrary and tyrannical than ever were vented or laid down, and owned by the most exorbitant person of the Royal Party, which pulls up all Property and Liberty by the roots, reduces all our Law, Common and Statute, to the dictates of your own will, and all reason to that which you, and you alone will call reason of State, and which we are obliged in the next place to examine, as our *Parva Charta*, and the Funeral Oration upon Parliaments, Law, Conscience and Equity, and we shall then see how near our condition is to that of the poor *Sicilians*, which *Plutarch* tells us of, when the two Captains, *Calippus* and *Pharax*, professed they would set *Sicily* at liberty, and drive out the Tyrants, but did in truth exercise so much cruelty upon the people, and brought them to such calamity
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and misery, that (he says) all that they had ever suffered under all the Tyrants, seemed to be pleasure and delight, Plut vitâ Timol. to the insupportable yoke of servitude they were forced to submit to under those Reformers; and they desired nothing more, than to exchange the liberty they had so dearly purchased, for the Government they had so foolishly wished to be freed from.

Your first Principle is, That as well the Articles of War, as the favour and grace granted by the Act of Oblivion, contained in them a reciprocation. As there did a real benefit accrew to the Grantees, so certainly there was a good intended and designed by them to the State; and if the State do not attain their end, neither ought the other to accomplish theirs: From hence you argue, That none have signed to Articles of War, that are not conditional; and that when those, who received those Articles, resolved to break the conditions, they had not then the consent of those that gave them. Let us speak first to the Articles of War; and if you had not a wonderfull delight to make easie things hard, and to perplex the common people with difficult words, you could not apply this discourse to your purpose: Nor do Articles of War contain any secret Conditions that are not expressed. The reciprocation is, that one delivers what he is in expresse terms obliged to deliver, and thereupon that he receives what was promised that he should receive; if he performs not his promise at the time he is irgaged, or imbezel any thing he promised to deliver, he hath forfeited the benefit that should accrew to him by the Articles. But when he hath performed his part (I speak purely of the Articles of War) he is not obliged to change his Party, nor to love those

with whom he hath capitulated, nor shall forfe the benefit due to him by those Articles, though he should seize the Town delivered by him within one moneth after, except he were by his Articles expressly restrained from any such attempt.

For the Act of Oblivion, you declare, *That must needs be meant as an Obligation upon the Enemy, and as a proper means to take away the Enmity contracted by the War, intending by Mercy to reform those who had opposed, &c. And that this doth imply such a condition in the nature of it.* Whereas in truth any Condition is contrary to, very inconsistent with the nature of it; nothing more absolute, nothing less conditional, than an Act of Oblivion, which wipes out all that is past, without the least prospect to come. Nor are they always granted out of mercy, but from conveniency, when they who give them usually receive as much benefit from them, as they to whom they are granted; when the number or power of the guilty is too great and too hard for the innocent, the latter are more concerned to give, than the other to receive the Act of Oblivion, in which of old there used to be this Clause, *Ne quis eam rem (whatsoever it was they had been guilty of) joco seriove cuiquam exprobraret*; which if it were an essential Clause, hath been very ill observed by you.

You heighten this Doctrine by a very notable Maxim, in the point of Pardons, which you say are always granted with Clauses of good behaviour, either *explicit* or *Implicit*, because else whosoever granted them, lets loose a Delinquent to future offence; and he that answers not the end and consideration of the Pardon, cannot in reason be said ever to accept it; For, you say,

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an Oblivion was not only intended of the offences, whereby they had rendered themselves obnoxious, but that this kindness should be answered with obedience on their part, and produce a real change in their Principles and Interest, as to the Common Cause. I have heard, that it is usual, that men, who plead their pardon for any capital offence, are obliged to find Sureties for their good behaviour: but I never heard, that for the breach of the good behaviour, they were proceeded against, and executed for their old offence, as if they had no pardon, that is sure against the nature of the Pardon. Nay, if a man be pardoned under the Great Seal of *England* for the highest Treason, and afterwards commit a new Treason, he shall not, without a new Proesse, be executed for the old, but must be formally convicted for the new, and can be punished only for that; nor can the former be any other aggravation, than to make him appear less worthy of a new mercy. But let us see now how far this new Law, and new Logic concerns our selves; and first, give me leave to put you a Case, which may or might have much concerned one of your own Body; and we find those instances illustrate most, which come nearest to our own interest. My Lord Commissioner *Fynes* (who they say was the sole Architect of this goodly Structure, your Declaration) was, you know, once Governour of *Bristol*, and for the base surrendring that City to the late King's Forces, out of want of Courage to defend, was adjudged by a Court of War at *Saint Albans*, to lose his head; my Lord of *Essex*, according to the authority he then had, gave him his pardon under his hand and seal, by which alone he was preserved from execution.

Now the intention of that Pardon was, that *this kindness should be answered with obedience on his part, and that he should not swerve from the Principles of that Cause, then in contest, nor from his affection to that General, who gave him his life.* How far he hath been from performing those Conditions, all the World knows, and yet he would not sure be willing to forfeit the benefit of his Pardon. Another intention of that Pardon, was, that he should have Courage and Magnanimity to discharge any Trust the State should confer upon him, without being corrupted with fear or hope, to betray it: If he shall by money or threats be wrought upon to do injustice in the place in which he is trusted, since *he that answers not the end and consideration of the Pardon, cannot in reason be said ever to accept it,* shall he forfeit the benefit thereof, and lose his head upon the former judgement? Have you forgotten how many persons stand secured by your Act of Oblivion and Pardon, besides the Royal Party? and will you, that you may elude the one, lay down those rules, which must cancel the peace and quiet of the other? What have many faithfull people of the City, and other good Patriots, to secure them for many things they did during the contest between and in the two houses of Parliament, and whilst one part went to the Army, and the other remained in their places, but Acts of Oblivion and Pardon? What have the Agitators of the Army, and indeed those parts of the Army it self not inconsiderable, who upon several occasions refused to obey their orders, and sometimes mutined against their Officers, to secure them that they should not lose their heads to mor-

morrow, but Acts of Oblivion and Pardon? And must they now be told of intentions in granting them, which they never heard of? And that if the State do not attain their end, in such an obedience on their part, as produces a real change in their Principles and Interest, *all is void that hath been done, and they liable to the same punishment, as if no such Acts had passed?* If this be their Case, they had need provide other security for themselves.

Your next Principle is worthy of your selves, and a fit Corner-stone for your foundation of Tyranny, *That forbearance from outward actions will not avail nor entitle to the benefit of the Pardon, if yet there be malice and revenge in the heart, and such a leaning and adhering to the old interest, that nothing is wanting for the discovery thereof, but a fitting opportunity: for (you say) as such men cannot in justice and ingenuity claim the benefit of an Act of Favour from that supream Magistrate, to whom they know themselves to be Enemies; so neither is that Magistrate bound in justice before God or Men, to give it to them, if he hath reason to believe from the course of their conversations, that they are such, and that their intentions toward the Government, under which they live, are the same as when they were in open Arms against it, and is at liberty to carry himself towards them, as if no such Act had been; nay, he may proceed against them with greater severity, &c.* Truly if this be so, the large bulk of our Laws and Records, which establish our liberty and our property, may be reduced into a very small Volume; and we are so much the worse for the Reformation you have wrought, that we have not only fought away our Arms, but all those Rights for which we took them up. And if after
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all our clamour against Oaths *ex Officio*, and mens being compelled to accuse themselves, against the Star-Chamber, and the High-Commission, we are now to be undone for the thoughts of our heart, and our intentions towards the Government, and that you wil take upon you to know those thoughts and intentions, and that not from any thing we know or do our selves, but from the course of our conversation, which may be from what others say or do, with whom we converse; it is more than time for us either to seek security in some other Climate, where this Day of Judgement is not yet come to pass, or so to purge our own, that we may be out of the danger of those, who with impious presumption take upon them to do that office, and make that inquisition into the hearts of men, which God Almighty hath reserved for himself, and who will then proceed with less rigour upon what he knows, than these terrible Inquisitors do, upon what they unreasonably say they have reason to believe. Let us revolve the vast treasure we have lost, and compare it with the Nothing we possess. The Law says, no man shall be punished, if his offence be not proved by credible Witnesses; this Declaration says, though we abstain from any unlawful action, we shall be punished for the malice & revenge in our heart. The Law says, that a Conspiracy to levy War, is no Treason, except there be a levying of War *in facto*; your Declaration says, If you have reason to believe that we have evil intentions against the Government, we are without any right or title to any thing we enjoy, and are at your mercy to dispose of us as you please, which

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is the lowest condition of Traitors. If this be Liberty, what Nation in *Europe* lives in Servitude ?

I have been longer than I meant to have been, and therefore I shall only mention one more of your Principles; which if *Machiavil's Prince*, *Hob's Leviathan*, and all other institutions of Tyranny were lost, would be sufficient to avoid all established Laws, and insensibly to bring the freest People into the most insupportable bondage, and to resolve all Obligations of Government into the good will and pleasure of the Governour. That if the *Supream Magistrate* were in these Cases tyed up to the ordinary Rules, and had not a liberty to proceed upon illustrations of reason, against those who are continually suspected, there would be wanting in such a State the means of common safety. The illustration of Reason is this; That when they who are peaceably minded in the Nation, are ready to say, These are the men of whom we go in danger, it is both just and necessary that all those, of whom the people have reason to be afraid, should pay for securing the State against that danger, which they are the Authors of. If you thought it *opera pretium*, to have given any satisfaction to the poor People of the Nation, for whose liberty you are so zealous, and that it were not below you to make your commands appear reasonable, to which you expect precise obedience, being able, as you say, to give many pregnant instances, That former times have held this way of proceeding just and reasonable, as well in this, as in other Nations, you would have vouchsafed to have given one, especially since you say, such have been in the memory of several persons now living. That which came nearest it, yet strayed at a great distance from it, seems the resolution

lution of the Judges in the case of Shipmony, which were with so great detestation condemned by the Parliament, and your selves, before you were in a posture of governing, and for which they paid so dearly: yet in that Case there was to be real necessity, an imminent danger that the Supream Authority might foresee, as the Sentinel discovers the Enemy first, and so was bound to provide against: but that your fears must be so complied with, that Armies must be raised to secure you, and whosoever you are pleased to be afraid of, must be compelled to defray the charge of those Armies, is a Doctrine never heard of before this Declaration; and your fear is so usefull to you, that no proportion of Courage would do your business half so well.

Oportet neminem esse sapientio rem legibus, is a Maxim in the Law; and what is that Arbitrary Power we have so long inveighed against, made so many men odious with the reproach of, made, but the endeavour to set up an Arbitrary Government, the Abridgement of all Treason, against which we first took up Arms; and for the rooting out of which, we have shed and lost so much blood, what is it but the assuming (in what extraordinary Cases soever) upon discretion to require us to do that which the Law does not require us to do, to forbid that which the Law doth not forbid, and to punish us to a degree beyond what the Law directs us to be punished; to swerve from that rule, is to take it away; and being gone, we are no longer Subjects, but Slaves. In the Roman State, during the reign of the Kings, who whilst that Government lasted, were very absolute, the King himself could not do

an Act against the letter of the Law, in favour or disfavour of any person, be his merit or guilt what it would; but in such extraordinary Cases, the Appeal was to the People, who were to judge whether the rule was to be declined, or no. So *Horatius*, for the killing his Sister, was condemned by the *Duumviri*, who had no other power than to proceed upon the Letter of the Law, nor was it in the power of *Tullus Hostilius*, who was King, to alter it. But the Appeal was to the people, they considered the provocation, the tears of his Father, who said, if he had judged that his Daughter had suffered unjustly, *Se patrio jure in filium animadversurum fuisse*; they considered the great merit of the person, *absol-
veruntq; admiratione magis virtutis, quam jure causa:* Liv. lib. 1.
thus deviations from the known Law, whether in mercy, or in rigour, never extended farther than a particular person, never comprehended a multitude.

Our Ancestors were so vigilant on our behalf, that they would not have us accused without some witness, not condemned in matters of importance without the full evidence of two or three witnesses; Nor is the same person capable by the Law of being witness and Judge, if he saw the Malefactor commit the offence of which he stands accused, he cannot give his evidence as Witness, whilst he is Judge; every witness, how dejected soever of passion and affection, having in the wise jealousy of the Law, too much of a party, to be the Judge; Whereas your supream Magistrate, need no other evidence, but his own suspicion, and if he be afraid, we are undone, for it is plain enough, though out of

your abundant tenderness you impute all the fear to the people, reserving to your selves only the benefit of your suspicion, to suspect whom you please; you will not trust the people with the Prerogative of their own fear, that they may fear as much and as little as they see cause for, your Supreme Magistrate hath the Monopolie of that Commodity; and it is very observable, that you do not say these extraordinary payments for securing the State, shall be made by those of whom the people are afraid, you will not give them leave to tell you how much they are afraid, or of whom they are afraid, but by those of whom the people have reason to be afraid, & they are not reasonable enough to know that themselves, you will do it for them; and so you are the Law, the Witness, the Judge, and the Party, and therefore no doubt will proceed in that manner as you think best for your selves.

Jus meum metu tuo non tollitur, say the Civilians, and the incomparable Grotius, after he hath inveighed against that unreasonable opinion in Policy, That it is lawfull in Princes to take armes against a growing power, which being grown may be able to oppress their Neighbours, as disavowed by all sober Casuists, and looked upon as an extravagancy by all regular Judges of the *Jus Gentium*, concludes excellently, That we live upon those disadvantages in this world, *ut plena securitas nunquam nobis constet, adversus incertos metus, a Divina Providentia, & ab innoxia cautione, non vi praesidium petendum est*: It is very natural to fear those most, whom we have most injured, and it would be very unnatural that we should be thereby warranted to do

Grot. de Jure
Bel. & Pacis.

new injuries to them; And it is too great a privilege for the basest and most unworthy passion that can be harboured in the mind of man (*for fear is nothing else but a betraying of the succours which reason offereth* (says Solomon) instead of being a torment to the servile spirit that is possessed by it (as most other passions are) to torment and destroy those they are unreasonably afraid of. Besides, all other judgements are determined within some extent of time, whereas no period can be set to your fears, nor consequently to our punishments; And I remember *Salust* says of *Catiline*, that after he had caused his son to be killed, that he might persuade a Lady to be the more willing to marry him; *Animus impurus, Diis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedrari poterat, ita conscientia mentem excitam vexabat.* I know not how many of you are in that condition, and if that part of the Commonwealth must be at the charge of Armies to preserve you against all whom you will be afraid of, it must shortly raise new Armies to suppress the old, and to free you from the fears you have of one another. How strong your love is, few have had evidenc to discern, but your *Jealousie* is like in that the *Canticles*, *cruel as the grave, the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame*: In a word, your fears are grown so terrible, that we have no other security, than by being as much afraid as your selves, and providing for our selves accordingly.

You see now the reason that warranted that passion which I expressed to you, when I first read your Declaration, and that the judgement in it is come home to our own doors, and concernes the,

Plutar. vitã
Sol.

poor Royal party no more, than it doth our selves; and it may be, it is come the sooner home to our own doors, for the little consideration we had of any Acts of power, how exorbitant soever, that we thought only related to them. You know the wise answer given to him that asked what City he believed to be best governed, *Solon* said, *That City, where such as receive no wrong, do as earnestly defend others to whom wrong is offered, as if the wrong and injury had been offered to themselves.* And that General was worthily extolled, *qui aliquid esse crederet & in hostem nefas*; Our too little circumspection & tendernets of that, hath brought the Case to be our own; if the Royal party will change their interest, that is, keep their old Monarchical Principles, and apply them to the support of your interest, they shall be received, entertained and preferred by you; you have manifested it enough to them, by trusting none more than those who have done so. They are only in danger of whom you are afraid, in respect of their conversation, of their intentions towards the present Government, and of their interest not to submit to that Government, which you say is established, and they believe or know to be but usurped. And we shall the better find who they are, and make some discovery of the number of them, and consequently of the danger that is threatened from them, if we take a short view of the Government, by what degrees, and by what Authority it is imposed upon us, and how far the several interests of those, who have at least equally with your selves opposed the common Enemy, are secured & provided for, and we shall thereby the more easily judge, how

how far we are obliged in conscience or discretion to submit to it, of whom you are most like to be afraid : and so who are most probably in the end, to be charged with the maintenance of those forces , which you will find necessary to secure that government, & your fears that it will not be secure.

What is become of the Parliament, and the Parliament partie , that first undertook that War and pursued it till they were without an enemy, is too melancholick a question to expect an answer to. You cannot take it ill, that I say this is not the Government we then undertook and engaged to preserve and defend; and you will give me leave to observe , that there is not one Officer in all your Armies, that in the beginning of that war, was above the degree of a Captain; so far are you from being the People, who bore the heat of the day, or who deprived the enemy of their arms: Nor is there one person amongst you, who had then interest or reputation enough to engage I omen in the quare!; nor is one of those who had in any credit now with you, or trusted in any part of your Government : So that you may reasonably conclude , that as they cannot hold themselves obliged to submit to it , so much lesse engaged to support it, and consequently amongst that number of which you have reason to be afraid.

After you had by bringing your Army to *London*, and imprisoning the Major part of the Commons , and dissolving the House of Peeres , extinguished Kingly Government , erected your selves into a Commonwealth, and instead of one, set up as many Kings, as you had left members of your Parliament.

ment, all who were uncontrollable and above the reach of Justice, and exercised what power and Tyranny they pleased upon their fellow Subjects; The people were universally engaged to maintain and defend that Government of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*; All Princes and foreign States taught to make their addresses to it; War and Peace declared by it; The keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, the Judges and Ministers of Justice, appointed in the same manner, and the whole Administration of Justice throughout the kingdom was in the name of *the Keepers of the Liberty of England*; The Army professed it self entirely at the obedience of the Parliament, and absolutely to be disposed by it, and well it might do so, there being so many Officers of the Army, Members of Parliament, that they had reason to believe all Commands would be suitable to their own desires, if they desired no more than what they hitherto professed, the support of that Government, which not only every person who had the least trust, share or benefit in it, had sworn to defend but whosoever sued for favour or justice from it, were bound to subscribe to. In this manner all things were ordered; *Ireland* reduced to perfect obedience, and our Enemies there to perfect slavery; *Scotland* (as your own Poets sayes) was preferred by conquest to serve us: So that we were not only without any visible Enemy, and so sufficiently revenged of our Friends, that they could be of use to none but our selves. The Parliament now thought it high time, that they who were in truth the Conquerors, the People at whose charge a-

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lone the war had been carried on, should receive
 some benefit from their Conquests; That when
 they had no enemy at all; they need not have so
 great an Army, and therefore they betook them-
 selves to counsels of good husbandry, and to think
 of preferring them, who had taken so much pains
 in their service, to ease and plenty; to give those E-
 states to them, which they had taken from others;
 & by these gratuities to disband some part of their
 Army; But that was a Jurisdiction, you never inten-
 ded they should exercise, you were well enough
 contented that they should have the Sovereign
 power to raise money, for the payment of the Armies,
 but when they presumed to speak of disbanding
 those Armies, you wisely remembered how insecure
 you should be without those forces, which had rais-
 ed you to the height you were at, you remembered
 how many former Orders you had disobeyed,
 how you had triumphed over the long Robe, and
 the Privileges of Parliament; and albeit Acts of
 Pardon and Oblivion had been passed for your
 Indemnity, you concluded, if the Government
 should once fall into those peaceable hands, they
 would find wayes enough to avoid the observance
 of any promises they had been compelled to make
 against their wills; and hereupon for the good of
 the people, you resolved to take the Government
 into your own hands; and according to the advice 1 Kings 20. 24.
 given by the Servants of the King of Syria, *Take the
 Kings away, every man out of his place, and put Captains
 in their rooms,* You brought armed men into the
 house of Parliament, forced the Members with
 many opprobrious speeches to leave their places,

locked up the doors, that there might be no more resort thither, and appointed a select number of the Officers of the Army to provide for all, that King or Parliament used to do; and here was an end of your Commonwealth, which Government all were so solemnly engaged to defend; nor is there any person, who adheres to the Principles of a Commonwealth in any trust or esteem with you: Nay, it is very observable and notorious, that of all that select number which helped you to be free from Monarchy, by sitting in that Court, and who dare no more look a Monarch in the face, than they dare justify what they have done at the day of Judgment, there is not one man in credit with you, nor of command in any of your Armies by Sea or Land; nay, whom you have not eminently affronted, dis-obliged and oppressed, except he hath such a relation of blood, as may render him unsuspected. And can you think these men friends to your present Government? and consequently can they but think themselves involved in this Declaration, and designed to maintain those additional forces, which are, or must be raised to defend you from those of whom you see reason that the people should be afraid?

Your next Government was entirely by the Army, which as if it had not fought to suppress all exorbitancy of power, but to possess it self of it, and was now sufficiently qualified to do all, that others had or would have done before, laid Taxes and impositions upon the Kingdom, repeated over all the ill things which had been complained of before, in most intollerable and insupportable degrees, and im-

improved the confusion to that height, that there was no shadow or formality of Justice left; and that distraction in Gods worship, that there were more Religions than Regiments, and all practised with equal licence and animosity against each other, when on the suddain the General of the Army (if he can be called a General whose Commission was determined, by the determination of that Body that granted it, the Parliament) takes upon him to assemble another number of People, every man man chosen by himself, and that Council of Officers of the Army, who were constituted by himself, and making their appearance before him, called them a Parliament, called himself their servant, and besought them to repair those breaches and ruines of the Common-wealth, which their wisdom could only do; most of them being men of no parts, no experience, no quality, no interest in the kingdom, serving only to render the venerable name of Parliament ridiculous by their frivolous and impertinent consultations, without doing any sober Act in order to the healing the wounds of the Common-wealth, as their Predecessors had made it odious by taking upon them so unlimited a power to vex and grieve, and devour their Brethren. And when these had brought themselves into a sufficient reproach and disestimation of the People, and yet could not be enough united amongst themselves, to serve the Generals turn, part of them went to him, confessed themselves too weak to sustain the great burthen he had laid upon their shoulders; and desired him to take the power again, which he had so graciously conferred on them, and that

he would take upon himself the ordering and repairing the Commonwealth, which they had not wisdom to do. The other part, that had a better opinion of their own abilities, and believed they might find some proper remedies for the publique grievances, were according to the late method turned out of doors by the Souldiers, that they might no more continue those unprofitable Consultations: And so by these few Bankrupts repaying the small money he had lent them, the General takes Livery and Seisin of the whole Treasure of the kingdom, and thinks this a sufficient delegation of the power, and interest of the Nation into his hands, of which he makes use within few daies after, and with a suddain and unexpected solerantity, the Lord Maior of *London*, the Judges and the keepers of the Great Seal, being summoned to attend, without knowing any part of the business, upon the advice and by the consent of half a score of his friends, who were like to look that he should receive no hurt, He degrades himself from the Office of General, and unlimited power thereof, as he sayes; and is contented under the stile of the Protector of the three kingdoms, of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, to be restrained within the limits he had prepared for himself, laid aside his Excellency to be his Highness, and contented himself with all the Crown-Lands which were left unfold, and a limited power as (he called it,) extending farther than ever king pretended to; and this was the rise and progress of your present Government, to which you expect such an obedience, as must produce a real change of all our Principles and interest; and if

we are but thought to have evil intentions towards this Government, we must be at the charge, of the Armies raised to secure it.

That which disposed the minds of the people to abstaine from a present Protestation against this Government, besides the Agony of the late confusions, and the astonishment upon the new wonderfull alteration, was, that it was but temporary, and that limited to a very short time; A free Parliament was to be called within so many moneths, which was entirely to consider and settle the Government of the Kingdom, to remove all those obstructions which hinder the Peace and happiness of the Nation, and to restore it to that tranquillity and quiet it had been so long deprived of: And the Protector was sworn to a due observation of all those Articles, which he had himself prescribed for his own rules and bounds, and therefore the more hope that he would be contented to be limited by them. It cannot be denied, that the Kingdom chose many worthy persons of fortune, interest and experience, as their Deputies to provide for the publique security, who entred upon a free disquisition of the state the Kingdom was in, according to the very Method prescribed by the Instrument of Government; and to enquire by what means and title, so vast and transcendent a power was gotten into the hands of one man; so contrary to what had been before determined; many men professing, that if after so much blood spilt and calamities undergone by the people, to free them from Monarchique Government, it should be now found most agreeable to the Nature and temper of

the Nation, to return to the same form of subjection, there could be little doubt, it would be much better to restore it to the Royall Person, to whom by the line of succession the unquestionable Right was derived, and whose being possessed of it would in a moment restore the whole Nation to a full and entire peace, from whose unblemished youth and gracious disposition, as much of happiness might be expected, as had been enjoyed in any former Kings Reign, than by continuing it in the hands of an Usurper, who had violated so many Oaths and Protestations already, and had ascended to this pitch only by the most bare-faced breach of several trusts, that ever Christian or Gentleman was guilty of, to expose the Kingdom to a war, that could have no end, but in the ruine and desolation of it. These grave, necessary and important debates, were no sooner entred into, than in contempt of all Privileges of Parliament, which will not allow matters in debate to be taken notice of, the Protector, like a King, *Nam impune qualibet facere, id est, Regem esse*, summons them into his presence, with the highest and sharpest language, reproaches them for disputing his Authority, by whom they were called together; requires them to renounce and disclaim that liberty, before they proceeded to further consultation, and to that purpose delivered an Instrument, without subscribing to which, the Band of Souldiers which guarded the door of the Parliament house, would not suffer any man to enter, whereupon a Major part of the Parliament departed to their houses, and they only went in who submitted to the Conditions, which many afterwards did,

did, who in detestation of the violence, at that time had forborn to subscribe. Thus he, who without the consent or privity of a dozen persons, had assumed to himself the title and stile of *Protector* of three Kingdoms, and therefore found a general submission, because he had bound himself within a short time to call a Parliament, that might settle the Government, when it was now met and possessed of the power it was to have, because they came together upon his call, would not suffer them to question any thing he had done, or what he should do hereafter, their submission (as he said) to his Authority of summoning them, being a tacit acknowledgement of his power, which he would not endure to be argued against, without calling to mind (besides the practice of these last ill years) that by the express letter of the Law, any restraint *Lo. Cook. Jurisd. of Co. fol. 42.* from altering or revoking an Ordinance or Act of Parliament it self, is void, being against the jurisdiction and power of Parliament.

When he had thus reformed his Parliament, he gave them leave to sit together, to consult how they might contribute to the support of that power they were not able to impair, and to lay new burthens on the people, the envy whereof they should rather bear than himself. But as the Pope (*Paul the 4th.*) complained in the Consistory of those who reported he could make but four Cardinals, in regard of that which he had sworn in the Conclave, and said, *That this was to bind the Pops Authority, which is absolute; That it is an Article of Faith, that the Pope cannot be bound, and much less can bind himself; and that to say otherwise, was a manifest Heresie.* *Hist. conc. Tr. fol. 396.* So he took

took it very ill , that they should believe upon any Articles in the Instrument of Government, to which he had so solemnly sworn before he assumed the Title, that they might lessen his Power, or the Army, by which it is supported ; and therefore when he saw they betook themselves to those Counsels, which might lessen the insupportable burthen the people undergo for the maintenance of as numerous Forces, and greater indeed, than were ever on foot when the Common Enemy had Towns and Armies to oppose, and that they presumed to speak of disbanding part of them, he sent for them, and after he had, *stilo Imperatorio*, reprehended their presumption, & checked them in sharper language than ever K. gave himself leave to use to his Subjects in Parl. contrary to his Oath, and before the time was expired which was assigned for their sitting, he dissolved them, and takes upon himself Authority, with the consent of such, whom he pleases to make of his Council, to make and repeal Laws, to lay Taxes and Impositions upon the People, and, which is the highest expression that can be made of his Tyranny, to publish this Declaration; whereas it is notorious in the Law, *That to commit the power of Parliament to a few, is against the dignity of Parliament, and no such Commission can be granted, even by the Parliament itself.*

You know, how strange soever it be, that all this is true ; and you may then easily compute, of what rank or kind of men they must be, who are delighted, or in their hearts not opposite, to your present Government : how very few there are in your Council or Army, who were for King and Parliament,

liament, and how those principles have been asserted by you, is known to all men; what affection they have for you, who with so much hazard and infamy served you in the extinguishing the Monarchy, and what indignities they receive at your hands, is likewise within your own view. What is become of those two swelling names, which for so long time filled our mouths, and under the shelter of one of which all men took Sanctuary, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*? Is there one man of either party, who without renouncing the principles of his party, is in credit or trust with you? and do they not both every day expect from you the exemplification of that memorable Judgement of *Philip of Macedon*, who upon the hearing a difference that was fallen out between two men of very seditious and turbulent natures, determined, *That the one of them should presently fly out of Macedon, and the other should run after him as fast as he could.* Vit. Phil. You see then how very few there can be in the three Kingdoms (except those who possess great Offices and Estates from you, (and even of those, many think themselves disobliged, by seeing others of less merit than they think themselves, more obliged) who are without malice and revenge in their heart, and such a leaning and adhering to their several old interests, that nothing is wanting for the discovery thereof, but a fitting opportunity; and you have declared that propension and disposition in them, to be Crime enough to forfeit all that they have; and you cannot wonder, if upon so fair warning, they prepare as well as they can, and at least good resolutions for their own security. Alas, Sir, we

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know how little confidence you have in any of your old Friends, who you believe will never heartily submit to a Government they never intended to erect, and who have not sacrificed their wealth, their blood, and their peace, to suppress a Royal Family, accustomed by a succession of so many hundred years to command, and to be obeyed; and to invest another inferiour to most of our selves, in the same interest and power, and so (to use your own expression) *to enail the quarrel, and prevent the means to reconcile Posterity.* You say, you will not in expresse terms lay to the charge of the Royal Party, the swarming of those Jesuits w^{ch} are now croaking amongst us, turning themselves into all forms and shapes, to deceive and seduce men from the Truth. I wish we had not all too much reason to charge you in expresse terms with what you will not, and no doubt cannot charge them. What liberty the Priests and Jesuits take, how far they prevail upon the people, what countenance they receive from this Government, is apparent enough, by not proceeding against them in Justice, as if no Laws were in force for their punishment. Your private Negotiations with the Pope, and your promises, that as soon as you can establish your own Greatness, you will protect the Catholicks; and the insinuations that you will countenance them much further, are sufficiently known and understood: And of their dependance upon, and devotion to you, there needs no evidence beyond the Book lately written by Mr. *White* a Romish Priest, and dedicated to your Favourite, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, entituled, *The Grounds of Obedience and Government*; in which he justifies all

all the Grounds and Maxims in your Declarations, and determines positively, That you ought to be so far from performing any promise, or observing any Oath you have taken, if you know that it is for the good of the People, that you break it, albeit they foreseeing all that you now see, did therefore bind you by Oath not to do it, *That you offend against* Pag. 89.
both your Oath and Fidelity to the People, if you maintain those limitations you are sworn to : and sure what you do, must be supported by such Casuists. Lastly, we know very well, how far you are from confiding in your own Army, how jealous you are of many of the Officers, and more of the Common Souldiers, and therefore that you raile those several little Armies in the several Counties, with which you hope to suppress or controul the standing Army upon any occasion, when the sense of their own and their Countries miserable condition, shall render it less devoted to you. And we likewise know, how in distrust of the whole English Nation, you are treating to bring over a Body of *Swisse* to serve you, as the Janizaries do the Turk, and in order to controul your own Army, as well as to reduce the People to an implicit obedience to your Government. That most of the Money which was collected amongst us for the poor Protestants of the Valley of *Lucern*, is returned and applyed to the carrying on those Levies; and that many are already landed in *England*, and are now about *London*, upon pretence that they are to be sent to plant in *Ireland*, whereas they are kept for the compleating those Regiments which are every day expected to arrive: and then you have compleated your work, and brought the on-

ly lasting calamity upon the Kingdom, which you have hitherto forbore to do, and with which odious reproach you charged the Counsels of the former times, only for intending to introduce forreign Forces.

I cannot end this Discourse, without taking notice of your so frequent mention throughout this Declaration, and indeed upon all occasions in your ordinary conversation, of the continued assistance and pretence of God in whatsoever you have gone about, of his gracious dispensations, and his visible hand manifested in your successes, and of his more than usual care and kindness towards you; whereas if you would soberly revolve what is passed, and dispassionately consider and weigh your present condition, it may be you would find your Case so rare and wonderfull, that there have seldom been a People in the World who have had more reason to believe themselves to lye under the signal and terrible displeasure of God Almighty, and against whom his vengeance is more manifestly threatened, than you at present have. You have had all the advantages, and all the successes, which you could ever propose & hope for, & some greater than you could hope for, and your perplexities and insecurity remains greater than before; you have not an Enemy in the three Kingdoms, who stands in opposition of your power, or who indeed is owner of a Sword to resist you, and yet you avow and discover such a proportion of fear, that new Armies must be raised for your defence; you have gotten all the wealth of the three Kingdoms into your hands, and enjoy none, your wants and necessities being so great; when

when you had little credit, and less interest to doe good or harm, you had many Friends, and few who hated you; and now it is in your power to make great whom you please, and to destroy all whom you are angry with, your Friends leave and forsake you; and you are grown so universally odious, that you may say to those who adhere to you, as *Catiline* did to his Army, *Neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint.* All your safety is in your Army, and yet you fear that little less than your Enemies. How many of those who bore parts with you in your darkest Designs, have laid violent hands upon themselves, out of the conscience of their own wickedness? And is not that Curse in *Leviticus* fallen upon the rest? And upon them that are left alive of you, I will send faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies, and the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them, and they shall flee, as fleeing from a sword, and they shall fall, when none pursues. Can there be a greater slavery, than to be afraid of those whom you have subdued? And hath not God delivered you, as he did those of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, to trouble, to astonishment, and to hissing, as you see with your eyes? So that in truth, letting aside the peace and tranquillity of mind, which must prepare the joys of the next World for us, and considering meerly the delight and pleasure in this, into which some degree of reputation, the affection of some Friends, and the fidelity of those we trust, are necessary Ingredients; I had rather be the most undone man that this Declaration had preyed upon, than my *Lord Protector*, or any one of his Council, in whose names it is published.

Salust.

Lev. 26. 36.

2 Chro. 29. 8.

To conclude, As it is manifestly destructive to all the liberty and property of the People, and to the Laws of the kingdome, by observation whereof alone those liberties, and that property can be preserved: so to common understanding it must be the most fatal Instrument against your own interest and security, and make all men see how inconsistent theirs is with the Government you have erected. You have pulled up the Parliaments by the roots, which are the only natural security the Nation can have against Oppressions and Tyranny, and which we thought we had exactly provided for by the Triennial Bill, and which will at present authorize the People to assemble and make their Elections. You have cancelled all Obligations of Trust, and taken away all possible confidence from all men that they can ever enjoy any thing that they can call their own during this Government; and having so little pleasure left them in life, they will prefer the losing it in some Noble Attempt to free their Country and themselves from the bondage and servitude they live under, to the dying ignobly in some loathsome Prison, when you please to be afraid of them. Do not value your selves upon the terror you infuse into the people, by your frequent Sacrifices of Blood, and exposing their friends to them on Scaffolds, and on Gallows. Remember that it is recorded of *Ann de Burg*, who was burnt in *France* in the year 1559. upon matter of Religion, That the death and constancy of a man so conspicuous, did make many curious to know, what Religion that was, for which he had so couragiously endured punishment, and made the numbers increase

crease exceedingly. Trust me, you have gotten nothing by those Spectacles, and men return from them more confirmed in their detestation of you, than terrified from any of their purposes towards you. And when the despair you have put them into shall make them consider, that as the misery, calamity, servitude and infamy under which the three Kingdoms suffer, proceed entirely from you, so, that they will be determined with you. That the general hatred and detestation of you is such, that it is very probable that those Noble Patriots, whose spirits shall be raised to destroy you, shall not only reap unutterable Honor from it, but find safety in it, either from the Confusion that must instantly attend, or from the abhorring your Memories in those that shall survive you. If they shall perish in or upon their attempt, what a Glorious Fame will they leave behind them? what a sweet Oudour will their Memories have with the present and succeeding Ages? Statues will be erected to them, and their names recorded in those Roles, which have preserved the *Bruti*, the *Horatii*, the *Fabii*, and all those who have dyed out of debt to their Country, by having paid the utmost that they owed to it; their Merits will be remembered, as those of the Primitive Martyrs, and their Children and Kinred will be alwaies looked upon as the Descendants from the Liberators of their Country, and esteemed accordingly; their Fate will be like his in the Son of *Syaach*, *If he dye, he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall increase it.* Ecclesiast. 59. 11.

And all the Peace, Tranquillity, Splendor and Glory which the kingdoms shall herafter enjoy, which will
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be the greatest that any Nation in *Europe* hath been possessed of, in the awe and dread their Enemies will have of them, in the reverence of their Friends, and the full veneration of all the World, will still be imputed and attributed to those Heroick Spirits, the Authors of this first deliverance. And besides the preventing that Deluge of Blood, with which the Land will be otherwise overwhelmed, by this means the Nation will be restored to the honour it hath lost, by freeing it self, without any forreign help, from that miserable Condition, into which we are fallen by our own meer folly and madness.

And they that come after him shall be astonished at his day, as they that went before were affrighted,
Iob 18. 20.

FINIS.
