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Plain English:

Humbly offered to the

CONSIDERATION

OF HIS

MAJESTY,

And his GREAT COUNCIL,

THE

Lords and Commons

In PARLIAMENT Affembled.

Obſequium amicos, Veritas odium parit.

London, Printed in the Year, 1670.

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mong themſelves may often proceed to great Heights, they never fail in joining againſt Proteſtancy.

Nor is it now to be doubted, but the Papiſts animated the Epiſcopal Party againſt *Scotland*, and againſt the Moderate of their own Members here. And inſinuating themſelves into the Leaders on the contrary Side, perſwaded them to break off all Treaty with a Prince, who would gladly then have yielded very far, and was not of a Religion which could diſpenſe with the breach of Oaths or Promiſes.

I find no Reaſon to disbelieve Biſhop *Bramhal* and Dr. *Du-Moulin*, vvho offer Proofs, That that King's Death was but in purſuance of Popiſh Reſolutions.

The Anarchy which followed is a large Blot in our Annals. The wiſeſt of *Cromwel*'s Counſellors ſaw, that this Government could not ſubſiſt without Kingly Power. And though his Reputation and Policy, for a while, kept up the *Protectorſhip*, or *Regency*, 'tis a Queſtion whether the then King of *Scots* would not have turn'd him out, if he had lived a little longer. However, the determination of his Power, or any lucky Accident to the King, naturally made way for the other's reaſſuming the Regal Authority.

Yet while he was out of Poſſeſſion, many of thoſe, who upon his Return made the greateſt boaſts of Loyalty, had either drawn their Swords againſt him, or ſervilely flattered the Uſurpers. Nor were the Papiſts the moſt backward in ſuch Submiſſions.

No Prince ever came to the Crown with greater Opportunities of making this Nation Happy, and the Proteſtant Religion the prevailing Intereſt over Chriſtendom, than K. *C.* 2. But

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But the ground of our Misfortunes, next to the vow'd Revenge for the Death of the Father, was, That he had renounced the Protestant Religion abroad. The Proof of which is but too strong.

Sir *Allen Brotherick*, who was with that King beyond Sea at the time of his first professing the Popish Religion, has been often heard to lament the burning of his Journal, wherein the very Day and Circumstances of it were entred. And I am assured that one of his present Majesty's Chaplains, (Minister of the Place where Sir *Allen* died) can give an account of his Deathbed-Declaration of what he knew in it; with this additional Circumstance, that it was done in the Absence of the old L. *Culpeper*, who knowing of it at his Return, fell into great Passion, and told the King, he must never expect to see *England* again, if it should be known there.

That Lord knew too much for a Protestant; and it was thought fatal to him to have had no more Jealousy of a Venison-Pasty, than he had entertained of his Master.

The Lord *Bristol*, who pretended, not to be of the Court of *Rome*, though he professed himself of that Church, if he may be believed in what he protested to the House of Commons, had given King *Charles* the same Advice which had been given to *Henry* the Fourth, *If he would be truly Great, to be more a Protestant than he was.* And perhaps this kept that Lord from receiving those Advantages, which otherwise his Religion and great Parts would have intitled him to.

But I never heard that it fared the worse with Cardinal *de Rhetz*, for advising that *King* in point of Prudence to keep to the Religion of his Country.

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out-voted the confiding Men who wiſh'd well to the general eaſe of the Proteſtant Subject: and underſtood not their Art, who were forward for it, to get an opportunity to betray it.

The King finding he could not help his beloved Papiſts that Way, again fell in with the Church; and great were the Endearments which paſt between them. The Duke of *York*, who acted with a pretended Compaſſion for thoſe Proteſtants which were oppreſt, was ſeemingly diſcountenanced. The Miniſters of State, even *Clifford* himſelf, (who profeſt himſelf a Papiſt at his Death) were zealous Sons of the Church of *England*. The Church and the Crown vied with each other in Complements; The Crown made every Ceremony ſacred, and the Church fetch every abuſe and enlargement of Power from Heaven.

In the mean while the Court were under-hand carrying on a deep Deſign againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the true Conſtitution of the Government. But *Rome* more ſubtile, gave ſo many ſeveral Parts, and it's Emiſſaries were ſo faithful to their helliſh Sacraments of Secrecy, that Plotters juſtled Plotters in the dark. And the King, who thought himſelf worthy to be truſted with the whole Secret, began to ſtart from them, at the diſcovery of their Deſign to take him off, as not having obſtinacy or blindneſs enough to run over all the rubs which lay in the way to the publick Profeſſion of their Religion: for which the Jeſuits thought all things Ripe.

The *King*, like one rouz'd from a Lethargy, ſeemed to have a new Life, and to infuſe Spirits into the Nation; the generality of which diſtruſted as little as they were Guilty. But when day-light was

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let into their Deſigns, almoſt all profeſſing themſelves Proteſtants, join'd in proſecuting the Plot, till ſome tracing it to *Whitehal* and St. *James's*, durſt not move further.

Others fearing the Effects of that general Union among Proteſtants, dangerous to Arbitrary Power, and to Engroſſers of Preferments in Church and State, which that was likely to occaſion, uſed all their Art and Induſtry to ſtifle or baffle the Diſcoveries, till at the laſt they turn'd the Plot upon them who ventur'd furtheſt in unmasking the Plotters.

'Tis well known who oppos'd bringing them to Juſtice; Nor is it to be doubted who were at that time moſt Friends to the Liberties of the Subject. The *Habeas Corpus* and Teſt-Acts, which King *Charles* his Fright obliged him to Paſs, were yielded to the importunity of the *Whiggs*, vvho vvere known to have the far greateſt Majority in Parliament, vvhile the others, tho vvith unequal Numbers, fought it out vvith their vvonted obſtinacy againſt vvhat vvas ſo diſpleaſing to the Court, and vvith great Solicitation, they got their beloved Duke, (vvhom they knew to be a Papiſt) excepted out of that noble Act, vvhich otherwiſe vvould have turned him out of the Houſe of Lords.

Being got rid of theſe Liberty and Property-Men, they fell to Fining, Impriſoning, Murdering, and Aſſaſſinating thoſe vvho durſt be honeſt at the hazard of their Fame, their Fortune and their Lives. And had King *Charles* liv'd but one Year longer, giving countenance to the barbarous Inſolencies of thoſe vvho deſervedly have been called *Tories*, *England* had been as a great Slaughter-houſe, and the Quarters of its beſt Patriots had been hung

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Ends, than the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown could countenance, or the Courage of his Party otherwiſe attempt.

And while the nobleſt Patriots were ſingled out for Deſtruction, the People, like the hardned Jews, headed by their Prieſts, were taught to cry, *Crucify, Crucify.*

During which Ferment, the Fundamental Rights of the Nation were, with Safety to the Managers, ſhatter'd and betrayed by unpreſidented Judgments, for the Diſſolution of Corporations, and diſpenſing with Laws; treacherous Surrenders of Charters, contrary to Oaths to maintain their Priviledges to their Powers: which had certainly obliged Men to load the Courts of pretended Juſtice with the extorting them all, and not to commit that Ill themſelves, which they might fear from others.

I know they will ſay that many of them had not Money to make Defences: which could be no Pretence for giving greater Countenance to the Deſigns of the Court by a Surrender, than they could have had by Judgment by Default.

The moſt would extenuate their Guilt, as if it would have been to no Purpoſe to hold out, but dangerous to provoke a Court reſolved upon having them one way or other.

Theſe Men ought to conſider that the Succeſs the Court had in this Enterprize, was owing to the Encouragement many of themſelves gave in Practice as well as avowed Principle. And if all had given what Delays they could, in all Probability it had defeated the Deſign: However they ought to have expected God's Bleſſing in doing their Duty; and whoever omitted it out of Fear of provoking Men in Power, may, with Mr. *Hobs*, make the outward

Acts

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Acts even of God's Worſhip, to depend upon the Pleaſure of the Prince.

But herein lay that *King*'s Misfortune, notwithſtanding the voluntary Sacrifices made to his black Purpoſes, that though he might have made ſure Work of it, by going on in the former Methods, and ſtill playing the prevailing Party upon them, whom they were ready enough to cruſh under their Feet: Theſe Methods were likely to be ſlower than could conſiſt with that immediate Freedom from the Exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion, and imploying Popiſh Officers, which his Engagements to *France*, and to his own Prieſts, urg'd him to.

This prompted him to impute his Deliverance from the Duke to the Aſſiſtance of Papiſts, more than Truth, or the forward Merits of others would bear, and to declare that he would not be deprived of their Services by that Law which incapacited them. To give the Papiſts the Praiſe, and the reſt of the Loyal Men the Apprehenſion that their Services would but make way for others more acceptable, might well make them look about them: And yet they proffered Licence to as many Popiſh Officers as the King for their particular Merits ſhould name, in vvhich caſe he vvould be ſure not to have been ſparing, but he juſtly expected more from them who were not uſed to deny any thing which he deſired.

If the ſole Reaſon for refuſing the King's Propoſal, had been the Breach of Law implied in it, 'tis not unlikely but they vvould as vvell have taken Notice of the aſſuming a Revenue by Law, determined before it was reſettled.

But they differing upon Terms, from that time the Pulpits and Preſs began to change their Note; then the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience vvas to be evaded

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evaded and distinguish'd into nothing, and not concerning the Constitution of our Government; or a confessing that Clergy-Men had gone beyond their Sphere. And the asserting that no Laws can derogate from the Power of the Prince, was to dwindle into the Meaning of no more, than that the Prince does not forfeit his Power if he goes beyond them. And though all the Rights of the Soveraign Power which *makes*, *repeals*, and *dispenses* with *Laws*, was maintained to be so inseparable from his Person, that these his *most illegal Commands had the Authority of Soveraign Power*; Yet the *Dispensing Power* was denied to have been ever allowed by them: And indeed they did not expect to have had it so soon turned against them that gave it.

Yet all this while the Principles were not renounced, but lay like *Goliah*'s Sword, for the Use of the Sanctuary. And as without the Spirit of Prophecy, it was foreseen that it would be us'd again upon occasion, the present Use of it as a Spiritual Weapon of some, who would appropriate the Church of *England* to their Faction, even against this Government, may sufficiently justify the reminding them of the Service it did them in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and at the beginning of his Brother's.

And he who observes how proud some are of that Off-scouring which they seemed to cast away, will not condemn those Freedoms with such Men, which the Cause of our Country makes necessary.

It must be owned that some Dissenters, and others who had signalized themselves by their Sufferings for their Country, finding a Relaxation of those Severities under which they had laboured till they were spent, acted like Men newly come out of a

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dark Houſe. Their Eyes were dazled, and their Heads turn'd round at the ſurprizing Change.

Theſe fawn'd upon the late King, almoſt as groſly as their Oppreſſors had done. And they either baſely, or imprudently, promis'd to promote the Repeal of thoſe Laws which were the beſt Fence they then had againſt Popery, vvithout providing for any other Security.

Some, 'tis likely, thought to over-reach the Court by ſuch mental Reſervations as are ever to be condemned. Others being too far tranſported with Reſentment, were rather for putting themſelves into the Hands of Papiſts, whoſe Cruelties they had only read in Story, or heard of at a diſtance, than into theirs, who they were ſure would ſhew them no Mercy.

Theſe Men I muſt leave to inherit their own Shame. But I believe they are as few, as Men who deſerve the Name of *Regulators*, who went from Corporation to Corporation, to model them after the Humour of the Court. Whoſe Parts admit of but two Excuſes.

The Firſt is, That what they did was according to a Power given the King, by thoſe very Men who complain of it.

The other is, That if the chief Rule was to take in Men of the Intereſt oppoſite to them who had been in Power, in all probability it was the Occaſion of having the Corporations in much better Hands than they had been in. And that they would be more regardful of their Oaths than the Surrenderers had been.

The moſt of them who have gone under the Character of *Whigs*, were ſuch, whom no conſideration whatever could draw an Hair's breadth from what they

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they conceiv'd to be the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of this Nation. But knowing how eaſy and natural it was for the old Fondneſs between the Court and Pulpit, to return upon the leaſt yeilding on either ſide; to prevent that Ravage which muſt have been the Conſequence of new Acts of Love between them, when each muſt have given proof of their Sincerity, by Sacrificing to the others Humours and Paſſions, they took Commiſſions and other Offices, from which the former Poſſeſſors were lawfully diſplaced, either as their Grants had been at the firſt, only during Pleaſure, or as their own treacherous Surrenders had made thoſe which they had by Election as precarious. Though they could not give up the Rights of others, they no doubt diveſted themſelves.

Many therefore very honeſtly and legally ſucceeded into their Places, hoping thereby to be in Poſts which might give them ſome Advantage of Authority to ſerve their Country upon Emergencies. But ſtill they qualify'd themſelves as the Law requir'd.

They were aſſur'd that it was in the Power of the Court to lure their old Friends when it pleas'd. And upon a Reconciliation, totally to enſlave the Nation, notwithſtanding the continuance of Penal Laws and Teſts, by renewing ſome Commiſſions every three Months, taking in Papiſts, who might have Diſpenſations for all manner of Oaths, or others who would regard no ties of Religion: Or elſe by acting to ſuch height, as might remove all Dangers of the Execution of the Law.

Upon which Conſiderations, ſeveral who had appear'd the forwardeſt in the Cauſe of God and their Country, declar'd a readineſs to conſent to the quit-

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allovv'd at all times, vvhen all confidence betw een Prince and People vvas broken, could it be imagin'd that in this Age of Light, Popery could have made ſuch advances as it did, vvith that ſtraining of Prerogative, to vvhich the Court had been encouraged, even vvhen it vvas as evident that it was intended, as when it raſhly appear'd bare-fac'd.

Nor can they who were for Expedients to ſecure the Succeſſion to a Papiſt in Reverſion, juſtly condemn ſuch points of Liberty as have often been obtain'd of Poſſeſſors, as Matters of meer Right; or elſe, as ſuch, left to the People undiſputed.

The particulars I forbear to mention, not becauſe I cannot ſhew and prove them; but becauſe ſome of them have long lain buried in the venerable Ruins of Antiquity, and ought not to receive Prejudice in being named, when one cannot ſtay to clear the Honour of their Deſcent.

Much leſs can they, who were or are for Receiving the *abdicated King*, with or without Terms, upbraid thoſe who were for Treating, before they knew of his *preſent Majeſties* generous undertaking our Reſcue.

And when it was to be apprehended, that if the late King could have the Advantage of taxing all Parties with an obſtinate Refuſal, to liſten to Terms for their Security, the Numbers of Iriſh which were actually here ſhould have been follow'd by French Dragoons: and he might have gain'd the ſame advantage over thoſe who would liſten to no Equivolents or Expedients, which it is but too viſible that his Brother did.

Nothing more expoſes a Party, than to find thoſe very things in which they ſeem'd to place the eſſen-

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tial Difference from all others, to be quitted by them, as ſoon as Intereſt changes. Who therefore could chuſe but ſmile to obſerve, that ſome who had urg'd, that Princes ought to be obey'd in all their Commands, not contrary to God's Law, ſhould refuſe to read the Declaration for Liberty to Diſſenters?

That they who blam'd Men for undutifully ſettring Princes, ſhould, when they were well-back'd, make Overtures little ſhort of the nineteen Propoſitions to *C.* I?

Or that they, who muſt admit that our Diſſenting Biſhops did not ſcruple inviting the Prince of *Orange* to take the Government upon him, before the late King left the Kingdom, ſhould contend, that they are the only true Sons of the Church, who left all things to God's Providence, without interpoſing themſelves till he was actually gone?

Or who could have expected that that Biſhop, who but a little while before, had rebuk'd a very worthy and prudent Divine for preaching againſt Popery, ſhould have been one of the Seven?

Or that he who mightily applauded the late King's League with *France*, as a proper means to curb the Fanaticks, ſhould have been another?

Or that he who maintained the *Real Preſence*, in ſuch a manner, as gave offence to the greateſt Admirers of his Monkiſh Sanctity and Geſticulations, and gave countenance to the praying to Saints, by what he publiſh'd of their Interceſſion for us, while we celebrate their Memories, ſhould have been a Third?

Or that the Duke of *York*'s Chaplain in *Scotland*, whoſe Depth was fathom'd by Mr. *Marvel* in his *Parſon Smirk*, ſhould have been a Fourth?

I would by no means derogate from the Action,

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or rather Suffering, it was great for the Perſons, lucky in the time, and crown'd with an Event, which it appears that ſome of them neither deſired nor deſerved.

But methinks it is not to be indured, that Ages of Sufferings in others, greater in Birth, and in all things truly praiſe-worthy, ſhould be nothing in compariſon with what befel them. The fulſom Praiſes which are given them for the firſt Act of that kind, would make one think, it was admir'd only for the Rarity, or extolled beyond meaſure out of a pious Deſign of encouraging Men too backward in the Cauſe of their Country, to go on in the right Path to Fame.

But they muſt not expect that it will be as popular for them to ſtand off from this Government, as it was to have contributed towards it.

Some who have been great Loſers and Sufferers from the Violence of former Times, take a liberty of ſaying, That ſome Men deſerve a Reputation for the oppoſition which they gave to a Popiſh *King*, no otherwiſe than ſuch as herd with, or connive at Robbers, till they come to divide the Spoil, and then fall from them and make Diſcoveries, becauſe they are not allowed that ſhare which they merited.

However I think they are much more to be prais'd than they who either make ſome expreſs *Salvo* at the taking of the Oath of Allegiance to Their Majeſties, or declare that 'tis implied; and that notwithſtanding their Oaths, they may rebel without incurring Damnation. Nor are they obliged to aſſiſt with their Perſons or their Arms, to keep this King in his Station.

Which may deſervedly give a Jealouſy of many who promiſe *Fidelity* to the King, according to their

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their Oaths, in which ſome are guilty of as notorious Equivocations as the Jeſuits: and this is the rather to be ſuſpected, becauſe ſome of them abſolutely refuſe to thank His Majeſty for the Deliverance which he has vouchſafed us. If it be ſaid, that the Church of *England* is not concerned in this. I would gladly know how it could otherwiſe have ſubſiſted, and how long it could ſtand upon an Intereſt divided from all other Proteſtants; I ſay not meerly Proteſtant Churches, becauſe ſome will allow of no Church where there is no Biſhop, as appears plainly enough in the zealous Author of *Vox Cleri*. Some of theſe, contrary to what our *Saviour* tells us of his *Kingdom*, would have it to be of *this World*, and fear leſt if the Terms of Church-Communion ſhould be more comprehenſive of Proteſtants, they whom they call the only true Sons of the *Church* ſhould be out-voted, or of leſs Eſteem. Certain it is that the *lax* Interpretation of the Oath of Allegiance, which ſome of them make and publiſh, gives ſuch an advantage to the Enemies of the *State* to betray it, as no wiſe Government will ſuffer.

Two Queſtions may ariſe upon this tranſient view of Affairs paſt and preſent.

1. Which of the divided Parties, either *Whig* or *Tory*, have all along been trueſt to the Intereſt of *England?*

2. Which is moſt likely to be firm to this Goverment?

It muſt be admitted that each Party will reject ſome of their own ſide, as Reproaches to them.

The *Whigs*, thoſe who truſted wholly to the late Court; or, whoever they are, if any ſuch can be found, who prefer a *Common-wealth* before a *Mo-*

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narchy, and are for altering this Form of Government, which the Wisdom of past Ages has moulded as equally, as perhaps ever any was; for some *Utopian* State, or other vain *Chimera's* of their own Brains.

The *Tories* will now at last reject the Guide to the inferiour Clergy, and numbers of his Followers.

But when the Bishops Imprisonment shall vie with the Deaths of the Lord *Russel*, Col. *Sydney*, Mr. *Cornish*, or even Mr. *Colledg*, (who wanted nothing but Quality to make him great living and dying): Then shall the coming into Offices by virtue of the Surrender of others, or declar'd readiness to quit some particular Laws of known benefit, for the sake of securing the Foundations, be a Crime equal to Surrenders of Charters, and the most outragious Violations of the Liberties of the Subject.

Neither Party must be judged of by the Extravagancies of some of them; and both will cast off them who have been sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other; and are to be found constant in neither.

But for a true Judgment of them both in relation to past Transactions, before his present Majesty's Landing, it is to be enquir'd,

1. Which vvas most zealous in prosecuting the Popish Plot, notwithstanding all the Terrors which encompass'd it?

2. Which made the most useful Laws? And, whether the *Habeas Corpus*, and *Test-Act*, or the Acts for unnecessary and burdensom Taxes, regulating or garbling Corporations, against the Religious Assemblies of numbers of good Protestants, for settling

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the *Militia* with ſuch Powers as are thereby given, and the Court-Oath, and that which repeals the Triennial Law, were moſt for the good of the People?

3. Which Party when in Power us'd it moſt according to Law? Or which ſtrain'd the Law, or the Prerogative for ſubverting the Fundamental Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government?

4. Which ſort of People, 'tis moſt for the honour of this Government to employ; They, who if admitted in, would raiſe a Jealouſy in the People, that the old Inſtruments of Oppreſſion are made uſe of, for the former ends? Or they, who always kept to the Laws, even while they were in Power, and while they lay under the Feet of Men without Mercy, ſuffer'd, though not with the Applauſe which the Biſhops met with, yet with the true courage of Confeſſors.

It may further deſerve Conſideration, Whether Men of thoſe Arbitrary Principles which the others profeſs at this Day, will ſuffer this Government to be defended, as it was founded upon the true Principles of Civil Right?

If their Principles are right, the late King could not act more arbitrarily than he had Divine Warrant for, and conſequently all the proceedings againſt him were groundleſs.

In relation to what has occur'd ſince his preſent Majeſty appear'd here, in vindication of the Cauſe and Rights of the good People of *England*,

It may be conſidered,

1. Who were for the Regency, *Whigs* or *Tories*?

2. Whether they who were for a *Regency*, were not ſo, upon the belief that the late King's Royal Power did remain?

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3. Whether ſuch muſt not, if they are true to their Principles, ſuppoſe the late King ſtill to be King *de Jure*, and conſequently look upon this as an Uſurper?

4. For a trial therefore which are for the Government; Suppoſe the late King ſhould land with *French* and *Iriſh* Forces; and his preſent Majeſty, as he certainly would, ſhould march to give him Battel.

Which is it to be preſum'd, if left to their Liberty, would venture all on his Side againſt the other? Would the Men for the Regency act againſt their inviolable Monarch, from whoſe Perſon the Soveraignty is inſeparable? No ſurely, *Touch not mine Anointed* would bind up their Hands as with a Sacred Spell.

'Tis the known perſwaſion of ſuch Men, *That People are made for Kings, as the Conveniencies of Life for the uſe of Men:* And therefore they have a Rule, That while a King is kept out of his Kingdom, his preſumable Intention is to Govern: And as it is to be preſum'd, that he would have his People preſerv'd till a good time for his Return, they ought to ſit ſtill while a Force is over them: But are to do nothing which may tend to his prejudice. How far that Rule has been obſerv'd, may be a proper Subject for a Second Paper.

FINIS.

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