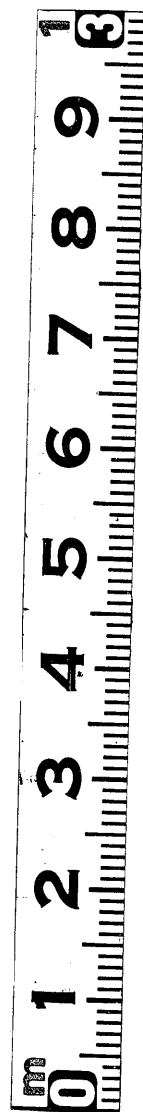


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A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
RISE & POWER
OF
Parliaments,

OF
Law's, of Courts of Judica-
ture, of Liberty, Property, and
Religion, of the Interest of *England* in
reference to the *Desines of France*; of Taxes
and of Trade.

In a Letter from a Gentleman in the
Country to a Member in *Parliament*.

Salus Populi Suprema lex esto.

Printed in the Year, 1677.

The following PREFACE
newly writ by the Book-seller's
Friend.

WHoever buyes this Tract, will do
a small Kindness to the Book-
seller; but he that reads it, will
do a greater to himself. The
Title alone is a temptation to invite one to
look into it, in this time of Disorder; But,
if Wit and Learning, Reason and Piety,
the knowlege of Men and deep considera-
tion of Government signifie any thing, the
Discourse is a perfect snare to captivate the
Reader. And it hath one advantage pe-
culiar to it self to detain him, That he will
meet with many things there, which no man
ever writ or perhaps thought on before.
The Novelty alone will gratifie the men
of Pleasure and Curiosity; And as for the
Grave and the Wise, that Chain of Reason,
(*) and

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and good Nature which runs through it, will make them scratch and think twice, before they condemn it.

It was written to a Member of the last Parliament about Christmas last was Twelve-month, and since that time has crept abroad into the World, and is now made more Publick, as well for the General, as the Book-seller's particular good. But a great Chang of Affairs happning in this Interval, 'tis fit to acquaint you, That the Author never dream't of the Horrid Plot, which has bin lately discover'd, when he pleaded for Toleration to honest and peaceable Dissenters. He measur'd other persons by his own Candid Temper, and did not think there cou'd be found a Sect of men, who wou'd endeavor the advancement of their Religion by shedding the Blood of their Prince, in an Age, when Rebellious Principles and their Abettors, have receiv'd such Confutations, as they have in this, both by God and Man.

But Truth doth not vary with Time, how much soever some persons may abuse it. I cannot persuade my self, but that Liberty
of

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of Conscience is a Natural Right, which all men bring with them into the World; For we must all give an account of our selves to God, and stand or fall by our own Faith and Practice, and not by the Religion of the State or Countrey where we happen to be dropt.

'Tis impossible for men to believe what they list, or what others wou'd have them, tho it shou'd be beaten into their heads with Beetles. Persecution makes some men obstinate, and some men Hypocrites; but Evidence only governs our Understandings, and that has the prerogative to govern our Actions.

The design of Christianity is to make men happy in the other World; and in order thereunto, it teaches them to regulate their Passions, and behave themselves with all sobriety, righteousness and piety in this. The Doctrines whereby this is enforc'd, are so few and so plainly deliver'd, that they are at this day acknowledg'd by all the severall sorts of Christians that make a number, or are fit to be consider'd under a name

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in the World. For how many are there, who do not profess the Apostles Creed? which was the Old Rule and Measure of Christian Faith, unalterable, unreformable, from which nothing ought to be taken, to which nothing need to be added; as Irenæus and Tertullian declare. And if men wou'd be persuaded to preserve these Ancient Boundaries of Christianity inviolate, and suffer the Primitive Simplicity to be restor'd; the great occasion of Squabble and Contentions wou'd be cut off; and they wou'd not dispute for ever, about a lock of wooll, or the knots of a bulrush; but instead of being extremely learned in trifles, and extremely zealous for Moonshine, they wou'd grow kind and charitable, and lay aside their unreasonable Censures of one another.

Aquinas and Bellarmine, and the Synopsis purioris Theologiæ, wou'd not be studied so much, but the Sermon on the Mount a great deal more; and upon casting up the Account, it wou'd be found, that what we lost in subtilty thereby, we shou'd gain in Religion.

St.

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St. Hilary, the Famous Bishop of Poictiers, has an Excellent saying to this purpose, Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæstiones vocat, nec multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere sollicitat; in absoluto nobis & facili est æternitas; Jesum suscitatum à mortuis per Deum credere, et ipsum esse Dominum confiteri. God doth not call us to Heaven by understanding abstruse and difficult Questions, nor invite us by the power of Eloquence and Rhetorical Discourses; but the way to Eternal Happiness is plain, easy, and unintricate; To believe that God rais'd up Jesus from the dead, and to confess him to be the Lord of all. The sense of this will soften the Minds of men, and dispose them to mutual Compliances and Forbearances; and then we shall not think it needful, by severities and penalties, to compel others to go to Heaven, in our way, with great uneasiness, when we are resolv'd, they may with safety and pleasure get thither in their own.

De Trinitate
Lib. 10. circa finem.

Upon these grounds, the Wisest Emperors

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perors in Christendom have allow'd Liberty to Dissenters, as Theodosius did to the Novatians, who had separate Churches at Constantinople, and Bishops of their own persuasion to Govern them, and enjoy'd all the Privileges of Catholic Christians.

And the Opinion of King James sent to

Epist. Isaac. Casaub. epist. 316. pag. 385.

Cardinal Perron in the words of Isaac Casaubon, will be remembered to his honour, whilst his name shall

be known in the World, as the best resolution which was ever given of this question.

Rex arbitratur rerum ad salutem necessariarum non magnum esse Numerum, quare existimet ejus Majestas nullam ad ineundam concordiam brevioram viam fore, quam si diligenter separentur necessaria à non necessariis, & ut de necessariis conveniat omnia opera insumatur, in non necessariis, libertati Christianæ locus detur. *The King is persuaded, that there is no great number of things necessary to salvation; wherefore his Majesty believes there will not be met with a shorter way to peace, than that distinction be carefully made*

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made, between necessary things, and those that are not so; and that all pains be taken for agreement in necessaries, but that allowance be granted for Christian liberty in those things that are not necessary.

This is not a demand which has been only made of late, since the Christian name has been so scandalously divided as it is at this day; but 'tis that which the Primitive Christians pleaded for as their right and due, that they ought to be tolerated, though they were mistaken, so long as they were peaceable.

To this end Tertullian made an Address to Scapula, the Governour of Africa, and tells him, *Tertull. ad Scap. cap. 2.* humani juris & naturalis

est potestatis unicuique quod putaverit colere, nec alii obest aut prodest alterius Religio. Sed nec Religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat non vi. Cum & hostiæ ab animo libenti expostulentur. Ita etsi nos compuleritis ad sacrificandum, nihil præstabitis Diis vestris; ab invitis enim sacrificia non desiderabunt, nisi contentiosi

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tiosi sint ; contentiosus autem Deus non est. *It is the right of Mankind and a Natural privilege to Worship according to what he believes. One man's Religion doth neither good nor harm to another ; 'tis no part of any one's Religion to compel another man to be of the same with him, which ought to be undertaken freely, not by compulsion, even as the sacrifices are required to be offered with a willing mind ; and therefore tho you compel us to sacrifice, you will do no service to your own Gods : for they desire no offerings from the unwilling, unless they be quarrelsome ; but God is not contentious.*

Lactant. Chapter to shew the unreasonableness of persecuting men for Religion, and that violence is an incompetent argument to propagate truth. *St. Chry-*

Chrysoft. homil. 19. in Matth. *stostome makes it a mark of Heresie, and argues thus ; doth the Sheep persecute the Wolf? no, but the Wolf does the*

Sheep. *So Cain persecuted Abel, not Abel Cain. Ismael persecuted Isaac, not Isaac Ismael. So the Jews persecuted Christ,*

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Christ, not Christ the Jews ; So the Heretics do to the Orthodox, not the Orthodox to the Heretics ; therefore by their fruits you shall know them.

The truth is, The persecuting practice was first introduc'd among the Christians by the fiery and turbulent spirits of the Arian Heretics, who had corrupted the Emperor Constantius, and brought him to their party, and then made use of this power to confute the Catholic Bishops and their Adherents, by banishment, imprisonment and confiscation of goods.

Sulpit. Sever. Lib. 2. C. 54, 55, &c.

Against which unworthy proceeding, Athanasius inveighs with great reason, and vehemence, as a preparation for the coming of Antichrist. But when this poison was once cast into the Church, 'twas but a short time before the sounder and sincerer part of Christians was infected with it ; and as their Interest grew at Court, so they made use of it, to baffle their Adversaries, and retort their own Arguments upon them ; obtaining Lawes to be

Athanas. Epist. ad Solitarios

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made

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made against several Heretics, with very severe penalties, the loss of goods, of liberty, the power of making a Will, and in some Cases, the loss of life. Which Law's are yet upon Record in both the Codes of Justinian and Theodosius. But tho by this means they prevail'd at last to suppress the Heresies which troubled the Church, yet the best and wisest men amongst them disapprov'd the Expedient, and thought it unreasonable, to purchase the establishment of truth, by such rigours and by the shedding of blood.

The first instance which I remember of any Capital Sentence formally pronounc'd against any Dissenters, was against Priscillian and some of his Followers; But then St. Martin the Bishop of Tours interceded with all his might to hinder the proceeding;

and Sulpitius Severus gives an ill Character of the fact, when he sayes, Homines luce indignissimi, pessimo exemplo necati, aut exiliis necati. 'Twas of ill example and a scandal to Christianity, that they were banish'd

Cod. Just. l. 1.
tit. 5. de Hæreticis &c.
Cod. Theod. 2. 5.

Sulpit. Sever.
Lib. 2. C. 65.

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ish'd or put to death, tho they did not deserve to live. And when a Band of Soldiers was sent to suppress a Conventicle of the Donatists (who were very numerous and extremely troublesome in Africa.) and bring them to Church; Parmenian object-ed the Armatum Militem, and the Oprarios Unitatis, to the Catholics, as an un-seemly and an unworthy practice. And it cost Optatus a great deal of pains, to write almost a whole Book to wipe off the Imputation; which he could not do, but by denying the fact as a Calumny, where-of the Catholics were not guilty, and disagreeable to the Doctrines of their meek and peaceable Master.

St. Austin has declared his Opinion how the Manichees were to be treated in such favourable and gentle words, as shew he was not pleased with the Law in force against them.

Cod. Just. l. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis: leg. Manichæos: Illi in vos sæviant qui nesciunt, quo cum labore verum inve-niatur, &c. Let them be rigorous against you,

Optat. Cont.
Parmen. l. 1.
C. 3.

Aug. contra
Epist. C. 1, 2.

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you, that do not understand what pains is requir'd in the discovery of truth; and with what difficulty errors are avoided: Let them be severe against you, that know not, how rare and hard a thing it is to conquer carnal representations by the serenity of a devout mind. Let them rage against you, that are ignorant with what labor the eye of the Inward man is cur'd, that it may be able to behold its own Sun; Let them be cruel towards you, that know not what sighs and groans are necessary to the understanding of God in any degree: In fine, let them be angry with you, that are free from all such mistakes as they see you deceiv'd with. But for my self, I can in no wise be severe against you, for I ought to bear with you as with my self, who was once one of you; and treat you with that patience and meekness as was shewn to me by my Neighbours, when I was furiously and blindly engag'd in your erroneous doctrines.

Salvian a Priest, and as some think a Bishop of Marselles, has manifested the like candor and meekness towards

De Gubernat. Dei,
lib. 5. pag. 142.

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wards the Arrians. Hæretici sunt, sed non scientes: deniq; apud nos sunt hæretici, apud se non sunt. &c. They are Heretics, but they are ignorantly so; they are Heretics in our esteem, but they do not think themselves so; nay, they so firmly believe themselves Catholics, that they defame us with the title of Heresy. What they are to us, the same we are to them; we are certain they injure the divine Generation, by saying the Son is inferior to the Father; they think us injurious to the Father, because we believe them equal; the honor of God is on our side, but they believe it on theirs; They are undutiful, but they think this the great office of Religion; They are ungodly, but this they believe is true Godliness; they err therefore, but they err with an honest good mind; not out of hatred but affection to God, beleeving that they both love and honor the Lord. Altho they want a right Faith, yet they are of opinion, That this is the perfect Love of God; and none but the Judge can tell how they are to be punish'd, for the mistake of their false doctrine in the day of Judgment.

This

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This was the soft and charitable spirit which breath'd in those eminent Defenders of Christianity, who were so zealous for their Religion, as to suffer for it themselves; but not so furious as to make others suffer to promote it. They had another method of propagating the truth; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves. For indeed the only proper punishment of the erroneous, is to be taught.

Having discours'd thus far concerning Indulgence towards Dissenters; i. e. for Charity, Righteousness and Peace; and that every one has a Right, by the great Charter of Nature, to make the best provision he can for his own happiness; I foresee the envy to which this way of reasoning will be expos'd; as if it open'd a gate to All sorts of Sects and foolish Opiniators, even to Atheists themselves; and stript the Magistrate of that power, whereby he is enabled to attain the End of Government, that the people under him, may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all Godliness and Honesty.

*I know so much of human nature, and
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the extravagant follies of Mankind left to the conduct of their own passions, that these would be the certain consequences of unlimited Liberty to all persons; and therefore I plead not for it. My notion of Liberty precludes all the inconveniences in this Objection. 'Tis not a natural Law which is unchangable, but a natural Right only for a man to chuse what Religion he will profess. And there is no Right of Nature, which I know of, but what is limitable to the Public Good, and forfeitable by the abuse of it.

*A man may forfeit the Right which he has to life, which he holds by Nature, as well as to his Estate, which he holds by Law. An Atheist, a Murderer, &c. may as justly be kill'd as a Viper, or a Wolf, or any other noxious Animals; because they have don irreparable mischief to the Commonwealth already, and to prevent doing more for the time to come. The natures of such persons are greatly degenerated, and tis but reasonable, that they who have lost the common Virtues, shou'd likewise lose the Privileges of Mankind: And I judge the like concern-
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ing the liberty which every man has to inquire into the truth of several Systems of Religion, and publicly to maintain that which appears to him establish'd upon the surest foundations.

When 'tis apparent, that Religion it self is damnified, the safety of the Government endangered, and the peace of the Commonwealth broken by any sort of doctrines, the persons professing those doctrines have forfeited their natural freedom, and ought to be restrain'd.

Accordingly, First, No man is to be allow'd to publish impieties, which evidently tend to the dishonor of God and wicked life; as, That God doth not take care of the affairs of this World; and, That there are no rewards and punishments in the other; That there is an indifferency in human actions, and no good or evil antecedently to the Civil constitution, &c. For the truth in these cases is so plain by the light of Nature, and by the manifold discoveries which God hath made, that no man who seeks for

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for it with an honest mind, but may discern it; and accordingly errors of this nature are not to be ascrib'd to weakness of Judgment, which is to be pitied, but consider'd as proceeding from malicious Principles, and tending to base Ends, and so are punishable as corruptions in manners. This sort of men indeed are not within the limits of this question, for they have no Conscience, and therefore can challenge no privilege from it; and no Government can have security from men of no Conscience, and therefore cannot be blam'd, if it do not protect them. And, seeing they oppose the consent of Mankind in such momentous affairs, why shou'd they not forfeit the benefit of human society? and if the Sword were oftner drawn and sharpn'd against them, it might possibly reconcile some persons to the Authority, who are now no great Friends to it, nor altogether of St. Paul's mind, That the Minister of God bears not the Sword in vain, but is a punisher of evil Doers, and a praile to them that do well.

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Secondly,

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Secondly, No man can claim any Right to freedom, whose doctrines tend to the destruction of Government in general, or the dissolution of that which is establish'd. For the benefits of Government are so great, (tho like those of health, they are not so sensibly discern'd by any thing so much as by their absence) that all Mankind have bin contented to purchase them, by parting with something out of every ones stock, to maintain a common Arbitrator of differences, and a common defence from injuries. And the Alterations of any particular Form, or the removal of any particular Person, in whom the Government is fix'd, is always attended with so many certain inconveniencies, and, if with any, such uncertain advantages, that ordinary Prudence ought not to trust such persons whose Religion leads them to Anarchy or to Change. Nay, submission to Government is so incorporated into all Religions of the World, Natural, Pagan, Jewish and Christian, that 'tis impossible any one can reconcile Religion with the opposition

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sition to the present Government: Therefore all such doctrines as these, That Dominion is founded in Grace; That 'tis lawful to depose Heretical Princes, or vindicate the true Religion by the Sword; That an Idolatrous King may be cut off; That the Original of Power is in the People, and upon male Administration and Tyrannical Government, they may resume their first Grant; are to be discountenanc'd in every Common-wealth, and the Abettors of them to be restrain'd and punish'd; unless the Rebels of England have some peculiar privilege; and they that ought to be hang'd in every other Nation under Heaven, have a particular Charter to be indulg'd as the Godly Party here.

Thirdly, He that will not allow the same liberty which he asks, destroys the Right to his own demands; he is of a narrow persecuting spirit; in love with his own dear self, proud, conceited, and an enemy to the Rest of the World.

For,

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For, I pray, are we not all equal by Nature, have you more of the Image of God, or a less share of Original Sin than I? You tell me, that I am an Idolater; and cannot I say, that you are a Heretick? You are certain, if God's Word be true, and the Spirit of God do not deceive, you are in the right; I say you are very confident, and Solomon tells us, The Fool rageth and is confident. I took not up my Religion upon trust, I have read the Bible and the Ancient Writers, the most indifferent Arbitrators of differences in Religion; I have consulted the Wisest men, and heard all Parties speak; I have pray'd to God for his Assistance, that he wou'd guide me into all truth, and I verily think God has answer'd my Prayers; and 'tis You, not I, that are in the mistake: But because there may be no Contention between us, I am contented to compromise the Quarrel, and we will dwell together charitably with united Affections, tho with different Judgments.

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ments. But You cannot in Conscience accept of this fair offer; you have a Command to the contrary: Come out from among them and I will receive you; Be not unequally yoked with Unbelievers: have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. You have a Promise to depend on, and you look up to God to perform it. Behold, I will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, for they lye; I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and know that I have loved thee. Well Sir, I am sorry my Tender of peace is so scornfully rejected, upon the misapplication of such Texts of Scripture, as equally and indifferently serve all Parties, or are nothing to the present purpose; You must not be angry, if I strike the first blow, rather than suffer you to take your own opportunity to knock me o th head.

When

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When the cause comes to be tryed, before equal Umpires, you will be judg'd out of your own mouth, that challeng'd Liberty, which you wou'd not grant: For you have transgress'd the great Rule of Righteousness, not to do to others, what you wou'd have done unto your self. Upon these terms, the pretences to Liberty are destroy'd. But if the Wisdom of any State shall confine their Indulgencies to Pious, Obedient, and Charitable Dissenters, I cannot perceive the prejudice, which difference in speculations and disputable Points can do in Religion, or the Power of the Magistrate.

But at the same time I cannot but admire the admirable Temper and Moderation which is shew'n in the Church and Government of England; That requires nothing necessary to Salvation, but the acknowledgement of the Ancient Creeds; That teaches nothing, but what is Pious and Charitable; Whose Lyturgy is Grave, Wise and Holy; whose Rites
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are few and material; Whose Laws are full of Candor and Compliance, allowing freedom to any Five Dissenters together to worship God, in their own way: Whose true Sons and Subjects, are the greatest Favorers of Christian Liberty, which are in the World; And I pray God, to give all people that disown it, Wisdom to understand it.

THE
 PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

HAVING, I must own, not without Pleasure, read the following Papers; and believing they might in several Instances (I do not say all) give some Satisfaction to others, and contribute to the Public Good, for which, I perswade my self, even those Notions that seem most odd and impracticable, were intended; I resolved to make them public; But was check't again, by calling to mind, That he from whom I in some sort extorted them, oblig'd me not to discover him: Nevertheless, considering I might do the One without the Other, I pursued my former Resolutions; yet taking this further care, That even the Printer should not know from whence they came. And now let me tell you, whatever you shall think of this Discourse, 'Tis the Issu of a sober Brain,
 tho

The Publisher

tho perhaps a little too much inclin'd to Humor, and rigid Vertu; and not so agreeable or smooth, as you would have had it, if my Friend had dressed it for the eyes of any other besides my self, to whom he sent it Sheet by Sheet; and having writ it in less than eight of the last Holy-dayes, you may believe, had I allowed more time, it would have come, even to me, reviewed. As it is, I make it yours; and assure you, what ever Censure you pass upon Him or Me, we shall both be unconcern'd: As Complaisance made it mine, so a good Intention, of serving my Country, makes it yours. For my self, I do not aim at being Richer or Greater; The Patrimony left me, satisfyed and invited my unambitious Mind, to the Retirements of a privat Life; which I have made easie by innocent Recreations, Company, and Books: It was not my own seeking, that I am now plac'd in a more public Station; wherein, tho perhaps I have done no Good, yet, I am pleas'd, I never did any Hurt; having alwayes pursu'd, without Passion or Interest, what ever my Conscience (the best Rule and severest Judge of Men's Actions) convinced me was best. As

to the Reader.

As to my Friend, he is one has read some Books, and more Men; thanks God he is, that, which the World calls a Fool, a Good-natur'd Man, one that heartily loves all Mankind; and has so particular a Zeal for the good of his Country, that I believe he would sacrifice his Life to serve it. But almost despairing, That ever Things will be better than they are; and finding, by what he has seen abroad, That a Man may live more happily in England, than in any part of Europe; and now grown old, by Temper, more than Years, he has resolv'd, chiefly to mind himself; whom, to enjoy more fully, he has bid adieu to all Thoughts of Business; to which, having never been bred by any Calling, he has had the more Opportunities of considering all, of improving himself, and observing most sorts of Men; and, as a speculative Philosopher, to the Entertainment of Himself and Friends, he passes very free Remarks on all Actions and Things he judges amiss; and, being byass'd by no manner of Interest, I am perswaded he speaks his Conscience: And he has the good Fortune, to make others often conclude, He do's not only speak a great deal of Truth;

The Publisher to the Reader.

Truth; but also further satisfies them, That it is much easier to find Faults, than mend them; That there ever were, and ever will be, Disorders in all Human Societies; That there are fewer in that of England, than in any other, and that they are there more curable.

Thus much I thought fit to tell you, to prevent any Misapprehensions concerning the Persons who are the occasion of this Trouble, or Diversion, call it what you please.

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The Introduction.

S I R,

HAd you only commanded me to have given you an account of the Laws and Customs of another *Utopia, an Isle of Pines, or of O. Brazil,* (tho unfit even for such a Task) I wou'd not have disputed it: But finding you have impos'd upon me, who am neither States-man nor Merchant, a necessity of playing the Fool, by treating of *England's Policies and Trade*; I confess I cou'd not without great reluctance comply with so severe an injunction.

I have always been averse to discourses of this kind; which in Privat men are no farther tolerable, than as idle Philosophers, to pass away their vacant hours

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in such otherwise useles speculations; And in them too, I have heard 'um oftner condemn'd than commended, the Authors esteemed foolish, and impertinent, troublesom or dangerous; And som we know by indulging themselves too much in this vanity, have straitned, if not wholly lost their Liberty and Fortunes. We live not in *Plato's Commonwealth*, but in *ſæce Romuli*, where a ſul Reformation of Laws and Manners, ſeems only to be wiſh'd, not to be obtain'd without a Miracle. Why then ſhou'd any, eſpecially the unconcern'd, buſy their heads with what they cannot mend? 'Tis much more pleaſant and ſafer far, to let the World take its courſe, to believe that in the regular, ſtated, motion of Nature, things are ſo order'd by Divine Providence, that they wil not, cannot, ſuffer themſelves to be il manag'd. Nature, if we hearkn'd to her Dictates, as well as Religion (which we equally deſpiſe) would convince us, it were our Duty (I am certain it wou'd be our Intereſt, our Happineſs even in
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this life) to ſubmit quietly to the Powers above, and their Ordinances, becauſe *All Powers are of God.*

Thus I acknowledge every privat man ought to think and do; But public perſons, that is to ſay, Law-makers are to conſider they were born not only for themſelves, but for the good of others, and therefore are oblig'd to exert that power with which they are intruſted, for the joint common good of the People, without partial regards or privat ends.

If they wou'd ſincerely mind this; and if our hot-braind State-Mountebanks, who being but privat men, yet quarrel at every thing that is not conformable to the Capricio's of their own wild fancies, wou'd ceaſe to intermeddle in their Superiors Province, *England* might be the happieſt Kingdom of the World; whereas the contrary Practiſe rendred her not long ſince the Seat of Civil Wars, Tyranny and Confuſion, and has at preſent ſo filled Her with Murmurings, and Repinings, Jealouſies, and Fears, that She
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which formerly gave Law to others, and was a Terror to more than *Europe*, is now in danger, to become weak and contemptible in the Eys and Opinions of her Neighbors.

These, and such like, were the Considerations, that made me so long resist your command; to which I had never yielded, but to prevent the loss of your Friendship, with which you so solemnly threatn'd me in your last. Take then in the same order you prescribe, the best account I am able in so short a time to give to your several following Particulars *Of the Rise and Power of Parliaments, Of Laws; Of Courts of Judicature; Of Liberty, Property and Religion; Of the Interest of England in reference to the Desires of France; Of Taxes and of Trade.* But you are to observe, That what I write is with as much liberty, and little care, as people discourse in Coffee houses, where we hear the State-affairs of all Nations adjusted, and from thence guess at the Humor of the People and at the Times.

In this therefore, you are not to expect,
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any studied Phrases, or Elaborate connexions, close neat Transitions, &c. Your servant (whom I conjure you by the strictest ties of Friendship, not to discover) has neither will, nor leisure for such a work, which being intended only for your Closet, you may be content to take in a plain English dress.

The great and many Revolutions and Changes, which in all Places have attended Human Affairs; and the particular Inundations of the

Of the Rise and Power of Parliaments.

Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, into this Kingdom; together, with the ignorance and carelessness of former Ages, have left us, in so much darkness and uncertainty, that I think it not only difficult, but morally impossible, to trace out exactly the Beginnings of things. If it be so then in all affairs, we may cease to wonder, why men are so much at a loss, in their Enquiries into, and Debates of the present matter, *viz. Of the Rise and Power of Parliaments;* which has received very different formes and shapes,
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according to the Interest and Power of the several contending Parties; this makes me think, its tru face can never be fully discover'd, tho perhaps it may be uncertainly guess'd at, by som Lines, faint Shadows, and stronger Probalities gather'd from the scatter'd *Memoires of Monks*, who cannot well be suppos'd impartial, especially in Ecclesiastical, nor full in the relations of State-affairs; in the Accounts of which they did not hold themselves concern'd: But yet they are the best guides we have; For from the Ancient Rolls in the Tower, one cannot believe, there was any exact Diary of things; or if he do, must conclude, many are spoyl'd by the injury of Time, omitted thro negligence, or made away for privat Ends. However we may yet pick out of both this Truth, That tho *the Rise of Parliaments*, like the Head of *Nilus*, be unknown, yet they have bin of long standing and of great Power.

And we shall find it reasonable they shou'd be so, if we look back into the grounds

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grounds and *Origin of Government*; which we may suppose to have bin introduc'd by the general *Origin of Government.* consent and agreement of as many Families, as upon the encrease of Mankind, joyned in one common Society, divided the Earth into particular proportions, and distinguished between *Meum* and *Tuum*; To this they were induc'd by Love, not Fear, which is but the consequent of that, Reason convincing that the enjoyments of life were thus best serv'd and promoted. And because that *Being* and *well-Being*, cou'd not be continued or enjoyed, but by the Society of Women, and the Products of Labor; and that, if some wou'd be idle, and many covet the same Woman, the great Defect of Nature, Happiness, founded on Living well, and in Peace, might be perverted into the state of Misery, War; To prevent the two necessary Consequences, Poverty and Death, they entred into mutual Compacts, Articles, or Laws, agreeable to that great and fundamental Law of Nature, rivited into their Beings,
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To do as they wou'd be done unto; That is, They resolv'd, agreed, and promis'd one another, to be guided by the Rules of Reason; or, which is one and the same, To continu Men. But, because it was probable, som yielding too much to their Passions, might swerve from this great Rule, and so, wrong Others as well as Themselves; Therefore, that no man might be Judge and Party, they unanimously confirmed to the *Elder* person, the continuance of that Right, which Nature had given him over the Fruit of his Loynes during its Minority, To determin what ever Differences shou'd happen; Believing Him, as the common Father of the Family, to be most impartial, and as the longer Experienced, the Wisest Man.

This Power, tho Great, exceeded not the Limits of their then-enacted Laws, in their tru and natural Meaning, which they took care to make very few and plain, That all Disputes and Intricacies (not only the Disturbers, but Destroyers, of Justice) might be avoided.

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And finding they were not only lyable to Danger at Home, but from Abroad; from such other Societies, as had already, or might afterwards set up for themselves; and that it was not possible for all, to watch against these Dangers, they therefore resolv'd to put that Care into the Hands of one Man; (for which great Undertaking, the Coward, as the Fool, if those two really differ, were equally unfit, Inconsideration in the One, being what Fear is in the Other, (a *Betraying of the succors which Reason offers*) Nature then, by giving their Judge most Authority, Wisdom, and Conduct, which with tru Courage (the Effect also in a great measure, of Experience) are the great Qualifications of a General, defin'd him for that Honor; which the People readily confirm'd, promising Obedience, and investing him with the Power of making War and Peace: But (at his Instance) reserving to themselves, the Liberty of Examining and approving the Reasons: Which the Great and Wise Captain judg'd convenient; knowing, that

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that without the Consent of All, he cou'd not but want the Assistance of Som, which might dis-able him to defend himself or them; whereupon, the Ruin of the Whole must inevitably follow.

And, because the Prince his whole time must be employed in this great Work; part of which, was the preparing his Son for the Succession, by infilling into him the necessary Seeds, the Principles of Vertu, Religion, Wisdom, Courage, Munificence, and Justice: The People willingly agree'd to entail upon Him, and his Successors, a certain *Excisum*, or Proportion of every Man's Labor, answerable to the Occasions of the Public; and to the particular State and Grandeur, necessary for the Support and Maintenance of his Authority and Reputation.

But because a greater proportion was needful for extraordinary accidents, as of War, &c. They set apart annually another *Quota*, to remain for such Uses in a kind of public Bank, so to be order'd, as might greatly increase their common
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Treasure, and do good to the poorer sort of Laborers and Trades-men, and maintain in Hospitals, such Impotents or aged Persons, as shoud be disabled, to make Provisions for themselves.

The Revenu they made Great enoff, as wel as Certain, that the Prince might not ly under any necessity of contriving from time to time, new Artifices and Wayes of raising Money, that great Rock of Offence, on which they foresaw no Prince could stumble without Vexation, Animofities, and Hatred; not only discomposing the Happiness, but occasioning the Overthrow of any State. And so the People, being sure of the Remainder, they proportion'd their Expence to their Gettings; The former they moderated, not only by prudent Sumptuary Laws, but by the hazard of their Reputations, esteeming it infamous, not to lay up yearly somthing of their Labors; by which Course, the Public *Taxes* became *easie*. Which they made *perpetual*; that their Children shoud be under a necessity of following their Examples of Thrift, and
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so might likewise be insensible of the Burden; Fore-seeing that *Taxes* impos'd upon People, who are so far from saving ought, that they account themselves good Husbands, if they do but yearly make both Ends meet, beget il Blood, murmuring and discontent; crying, that the Bread is taken out of their Mouths, or the Cloths from their Backs, which are often followed by the evil Consequences of Rebellions, and the Subversion of the Common-wealth. For such never consider, That their own Extravance made those imaginary Needs; which, when they happen, are no otherwise to be removed, but by moderating former Expences.

Thus, they wisely contriv'd, and interwove the perpetuating the Subjects Safety, and the Princes Dominion; never secure, but when founded on mutual Love and Confidence: I do not find the practice of this Policy any where so well continued, as in the States of *Venice* and *Holland*; which has preserved the first a-

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bout 12 Centuries, and made the later increase so prodigiously in less than one.

Now, because they foresaw, the products of their Labor wou'd exceed their Expences, and that the remainder wou'd be useful, for commutations with their Neighbor for som of their Commodities, but that in driving this *Trade* they wou'd be expos'd on Sea to Pyracies, &c. To make their Navigation safe, they agreed, that the public for securing them, shoud receive by way of *premium* or *insurance*, a certain *Excisum* out of all things Exported or imported, which we now cal *Customes*.

And, lest the too great desire of Wealth, shou'd make them forgetful of their Duty to God, their Parents, and their Country, that is to one another, They ordain'd, that a sufficient number of the Elders of the People, grave, sober, discreet persons, shou'd at certain times, set apart for that purpose, remind them of their Duty, in every of those particulars, and also instruct their Children in the Laws of God, and of their Country.

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And, because the tending of this work wou'd take up a considerable portion of their time, they allowed Salaries to these public Officers, out of the common stock. In those days of Innocence, when Art was not interwoven with Religion, nor Knavery with Policy, it was an easy matter to be pious and just: And if the higher Powers were pleas'd to remove these two, we shou'd soon again see that golden Age; The Duty of both Tables was compris'd in few Articles, That to their Neighbors, consist'd as now, *in doing as you would be don unto*; That towards God, (of whose Being they were convinced by the strongest of Demonstations, the consideration of the visible things of the World,) in Thankgivings, and Adorations, the effect of Gratitude to the Author of their being, and of all good things, in believing the Immortality of the Soul, and of its being susceptible of Rewards, and Punishments in another Life, and in the consequence, That Sin is to be repented of. These were their common sentiments, the Dictates of Nature; The substance of which was
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acknowledg'd by al, even the most barbarous of Nations; And therefore cou'd not be the inventions of Policy, the Dreams of melancholy men, or the Effects of Education: These are the Opinions of the unthinking, and therefore wild and loose, and were the wishes formerly of the few debauch'd; But the great, sober and wise Philosophers of all Ages, upon the exactest Scrutiny, finding them to be the Impresses of Nature, as essential to our Being as light to the Sun, pronounced the *speculative Atheist* an impossible thing. And because they were sensible that a *Lyer* as destructive of the very being of human Society, ought to be banished the Commonwealth, the first of their Laws, and the Cement of the rest was, That *every man shou'd not only speak Truth to his Neighbor, but stand firm to his Promises*. And knowing that Laws, tho never so good, wou'd prove insignificant, if not duly observed; And that som men wou'd never be wise, that is, wou'd never consider, and consequently wou'd not easily be restrain'd from folly, from offending; to deter the slavish and in-

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considerat, they did, not only annex certain Penalties to the breach of the Laws, but unalterably decreed, That no *Offender* tho never so powerful, *shou'd escape the punishment.*

These Penalties were *Pecuniary Muets, loss of Liberty, bodily Labor to the Public, or Banishment*; The power of *Life and Death*, they wou'd not give; because they cou'd not transfer that to another which was wanting in them selves; the taking away of *Life* was peculiarly reserv'd by Nature, as its own indispensable right, as most reasonable, because she alone cou'd give it: They consider'd, That *Terrors* are but affrightments to Duty, That *Corrections* are for Amendment not Destruction, which course shou'd they have pursu'd, they might accidentally have run themselves, into a state of War: Since Nature had told them, it was not only lawful, but necessary, if they cou'd not otherwise preserve their own, to take away the beings of any that attempted theirs; That it wou'd be against *the End of Society, mutual*
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Happiness; This rendering the sufferer uncapable of all, to which therefore he neither cou'd nor wou'd have consented. This or something not unlike it was I perswade my self, the form & substance of the first Commonwealths, which if you narrowly look into, you may perhaps find som Lines, that drawn out fully, might be no il Model, for any Common-wealth.

And to come nearer home; It has some resemblance to what, for several past Ages, this Kingdom did, and does now enjoy. To omit the *Brittish* times, of which we have but very thin gleanings of the *Druids* their Oracles of Learning, Law and Religion; And to skip over that of the *Romans*, who were never able perfectly to introduce their manner of Commonwealth; We shal find that in the time of the *Saxons* (a people of *westfrizland*, so called from the shape of their Sword, a kind of Cymeter,) and in that of the *Danes*, the manner of *Government* was, as now in substance, tho not in form or name, by *King and Parliament*: But whether the *Commons* were called to this
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great Assenby or no, I cannot find, from the imperfect Registers of Elder times; One may guess, they were originally Members of it, because the same people in *westfrizland*, from whence they descended, do at this day continu, a Form of Government, different from all the rest of the Provinces, not unlike this. There are sufficient proofs, that the *Peers*, that is, the chief of the Clergy, and best estated Gentry, were as often as the King pleas'd (for it was originally *Edicto Principis*) Summon'd to consult with him of the great affairs of State: Which Council was before the Conquerors time, call'd by several Names; as *Concilium* absolutely, sometimes the Epithets of *Magnum*, *Generale* or *Commune* were added: It was often known by the name of *Curca Magna* and others, and was compos'd *ex Episcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibus, Satrapis & Sapientibus Regni*; among which, if any wil say the *Commons* had place, I will not dispute, because in those times when Titles of Honor were not the Arguments of good Fortune or the mark's of the Prince's favor, the
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King cal'd to this great Council, such as large Possessions, Courage, or Wisdom recommended as fit: For we find that the Fathers having sat there, gave no Right to such Sons, as did not with their Estates, inherit their Vertues.

It appears farther, that the *great Council* in the later end of the *Saxons* Reign, and til the beginning of King *Johns*, had, by the grace of Kings, accustomed themselves, without any summons to meet thrice every year, at *Christmas*, *Easter* and *whitsontide*; which course was not interrupted by any particular Summons, but when in other seasons of the year, the public occasions required their meeting. The long continuance of the *Barons Wars*, made the before stated meetings, of the great Council, return to the uncertain pleasure of the Prince.

What ever the power of the *Commons* was before the *Conquest*, it plainly appears, that for somtim afterward, their Advice was seldom desired, and as things were then ordered, their Consent was not thought necessary, being always included

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cluded, in that of the *Lords*: For the Conqueror having subjected the Natives to an intire vassalage, seiz'd upon all their Possessions, reserved to the Crown larg proportions, in every County, gave part to the Church in *Francalmoine*, and the residu to his fellow adventurers in the War, to be held by *Knight service*. These subdivided part of theirs to their Followers, on such conditions as render'd them perfect Slaves to their Masters, rather than their Lords: By the possession of so much Power, these *Barons* or *Freeholders* (for the word signifi'd no more) did what they pleas'd with their vassals, became very terrible to the Conqueror and his Successors: To curb whose Extravagance, tho all were willing, King *John* was the first that made the attempt; but by his over hastiness, he gave birth to the lasting broyles of the *Barons wars*. He with designe to suppress the too great power of the *Lords* in the sixth year of his Reign, about a War with *France*, call'd for the *Commons* Advice and Council with the *Lords*; which had bin don above one hundred

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dred years before by *Henry* the first, who in his Reign summon'd them twice, at his Coronation, and in his eighteenth year. The next time after King *John* that we find them summoned, was in the forty ninth year of *Henry* the thirds Reign; whose Summons appears upon Record: So that he may be said to have perfected, what *Henry* the first, and King *John* design'd, making the *Commons* a part of that great *Judicature*, which they have ever since continu'd, and for some time after, in one and the same *House*.

It was usual in those days to mention in the Writ, the *Cause of assembling this Council*; In a Summons of *Edward* the first a wise, just, and therefore a fortunate Prince, concerning a War with *France*, in the seventh year of his Reign, these words are observable, *Lex justissima provida circumspeditione stabilita, ut quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur*, much better sense than 'Latin.

Succeeding Kings have bin pleased to consult in *Parliament*, of all the high and great Concerns of the State, of what nature
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ture or kind soever. The consulting thus with the whole Body of the People, was first the grace & Policy of Kings, & the practise was always succesful to those that us'd it, as the contrary prov'd destructive: for the Kings having by this course gain'd their Subjects Hearts, found it easy, to command their Purfes, and their Hands.

This *great representative* of the Commonwealth, the *Parliament*, consisting of *three Estates, viz. the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons* with the King at Head, you wil with me easily conclude, may do any thing, within the reach of Human Power.

You must pardon me, if I wave Anatomizing the distinct Powers of the several parts of this great Body; whosoever first attempted that, desin'd the overthrow, of the best constituted Government in the World, where the King wants no Enfines of Monarchy or Majesty; where the People have not only al the Freedom, Liberty and Power, that in reason can be wished, but more than any of their Neighbors enjoy, even than those

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those, in the so much more cry'd up, but little understood Commonwealth of *Holland*, where they have liberty in name, but in reality are very Slaves, and beasts of Burden.

Now, whether the way of convening Parliaments, might not be alter'd into the this following (or, som other more equal than the present seems to be) I leave to themselves to determin, *viz.* That every *Parish*, Freeholders and others, if they please, shoud meet and choose Two honest knowing men, on whom their power of Electing Members shoud be devolved; This don in every Parish, the several *Two's* to meet and choose Two for the *Hundred*; That agreed, the respective *Two's* of every *Hundred*, at the time and place appointed to choose the *Members*, out of such, as are resident in the Country, both *Knights* and *Burgeses*: Nor does it seem very reasonable, that the latter shoud exceed the former, especially considering that many of the antient *Burrow's* are decay'd, and yet the number rays'd by the additions of new ones, beyond

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yond what it was before: But by this manner of Election that inconvenience, if any, will not be considerable. To every two Members a *sides-man* to be chosen, who shoud duly attend, at the place of Sessions; and that he might be prepar'd in the absence of both, or either of the Members, they shoud make him master of al that pass'd from time to time in the House. And that every person Elect-ed, might serve the public without privat consideration, the Electors, or a Justice of Peace in their presence, to administer an Oath fram'd to this Effect, *That in al proceedings, they endeavor to inform themselves, fully of the state of the matter, and therein Act according to Conscience, without particular interest or desire; That directly, or indirectly, on the account of their Vote or serving, they shal not receive by themselves, or others, any Reward, or Gratuity whatsoever. On breach of this Oath to be lyable to al the Penalties of Perjury.* It is not to be doubted, but the honor of promoting their Countries good (That giving a sort of Immortality which
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al men covet) wil invite Gentlemen enow sufficiently qualified, to undertake this work on these conditions, how hard soever they appear. 'Tis not reasonable, that *Parliament Men* shoud be maintained, or rewarded (unless in Praise and Statues) at the Countries charge: To do it *gratis* is al the real good they do the Commonwealth, in which as privat men, their Interest, and consequently their Gain is greater, than that, of the meaner sort. The Elections to be by the Ballotting box, to avoid heat, and secret grudges.

Nor woud it be usefess to ad, That al things be carried, fairly and openly in the House; That the Debate of any thing propos'd, be adjourn'd to the next days Meeting; *For in the time of Rest upon our Bed, Our nights sleep does change our Knowledge, and qualify the Effect or cause of Passion, Inconsideration:* That every Member by himself, or Sides-Man, be constantly present, under severe penalties to the Public: That nothing be put to the vote, but in a full House, not of
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Forty (who cannot be the Major part of above Four Hundred, and therefore at first was sure a trick) but of all the Members; nor then carried by Majority, till the reasons of every single Dissenter be examined, the dissenting person convinc'd, and in case of obstinacy after Conviction (of which in so wise an Assembly, none can be suppos'd guilty) expell'd the House; The question not to be reassum'd, till after the Election of a new Member, unless his Sides-Man be of a contrary opinion in the Debate. 'Tis possible the swaying argument, was at first, but one Mans, whose credit and authority might prevail upon the rest, without examining his Reasons, which makes it prudent, to weigh the force of what is offer'd against it: By the contrary course, they may, by this they cannot suffer; since Reason or Truth is always one and the same, and however disguis'd, by the sophistry of Wit, it must at last overcome. Thus by *proving all things, and holding fast that which is best*, they will acquit themselves to
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the present and succeeding Ages. Such manner of proceeding would silence all murmurings and clamors, "*That the Parliament is divided into Factions; a Court and a Country Party; Tho the interest of the one, be not directly opposit, to that of the other, Yet the members, for ends of their own, Honor or Rewards, do make them so; of this they are convinc'd, by seeing some turn Cat in Pan, appearing strongly, in one Session, for that which in a former, they as vigorously oppos'd. And by observing others to compass Elections by Faction and Interest, by Purchase or covinous Freeholds: That, contrary to several Acts of Parliament, Members living in the South are chosen for the North; and therefore are, to the injury of the People, as much strangers to the affairs of the Places, for which they serve, as those two points, are distant from each other: That they pass Laws, witness that against Irish Cattel, &c. not for the common good, but to shew their interest and power, to mischief a man they hate, or to revenge some*"
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"receiv'd, or supposed Injuries or Af-
 "fronts: That therefore, it is neces-
 "sary to dissolve *This*, as not being
 "a free Parliament, and to cal a new one;
 "That to do so frequently, is most agreeable
 "to Reason, and to former Statutes; And
 "to that end several Causes are prepared
 "to put a Difference between the two Hou-
 "ses, in point of Jurisdiction, &c. .

But such as more seriously weigh
 things; may I hope be convinc'd,
 These are the groundless surmises of
 som, and false suggestions of others, dis-
 contented and il dispos'd persons, the old
 disturbers of our *Israel's Peace*, who de-
 lighting, to *Fish in troubled waters*, en-
 deavour once more, to put al into a
 flame of tyranny and confusion, to see
 what *Fish* they may, by that treacherous
Light, bring to their own *Nets*. That it
 is idle to imagin, the *Court*, the best re-
 finer of wit and Languag, shoud not have
 as piercing a fore-sight, as the *Country*;
 That being allow'd, they must be sensi-
 ble of the fatal consequence of a *divided*
Hous or *Kingdom*; their los is at least
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as great as any others, their Al is at
 Stake: 'Tis therefore contrary to their
 Interest, which never lies, consequently to
 their practice, to endeavor Parties. 'Tis
 irrational, no less than scandalous, to
 conclud, Because som mens sense, by se-
 cond thoughts, and fuller consideration
 of things, is alter'd, that therefore they
 are brib'd; as if personages, of so much
 Honor, Wisdom, and public spiritedness,
 could be induc'd, by any sinister practi-
 ces, or by-respects, to betray their Coun-
 try, and intail upon themselves, and their
 posterities, more lastingly, than they
 can their Estates, great and inexpressi-
 ble Calamities. And can it be supposed,
 the *Ministers* have so little understand-
 ing, as not to foresee, that the taking off
 violent Members, any other way, than
 by conviction of their Errors, were end-
 lessly to encrease their Numbers, and *Hy-*
dra-like, by cutting off one Head, to
 give occasion, to the iprouting up of
 many. Nor is it less absur'd, to beleive,
 the Parliament, when they find the
 conveniences, the reason of Statutes cea-
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fed, wil not repeal them: 'Tis no affront to their Judgments, nor to their Loyalties, so to *alter with the times*; an obstinacy in the contrary resolution, woud indeed be a disparagement, to their Understandings. That it is to be hop'd, the Wisdom of the Parliament is such, as not to quarrel for trifles, after the manner of Women or Children; That they wil lay aside al partial regards, and without heats, or personal reflections, intend the great Work, the common safety; recollecting that they were the home-bred Divisions, more than the Conqueror's Forces, that occasion'd *Harold's* Overthrow, and *England's* intire Subjection to the *French*; even those very Men, who invited *William*, suffer'd in the Ruin; So just and natural it is, *To love the Treason, and hate the Traytor*. Does not every Man know, That the Power of whol *France* is greater, than that of a part, that of *Normandy*, could be? That *William* can't be suppos'd, to have been more watchful, to seize the Prey, than *Lewis* is? who per-

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perhaps has set those very Men, at least their Leaders on work, that openly pretend most, to oppose his Desires; while, in the mean time, by sowing underhand, Discords and Fears, among the People, they best promote his Purposes. 'Tis no unheard-of Practice, for Politicians, as well as Water-men, *To look one way, and Row another*: But I hope, no cunning *Achithophel* will be able to divert the Parliament, from the great Business of this Conjunction.

When they have don That; I wish they woud think it worth their Labor, *To look into the Laws, and Of Laws*, and observe what of them, are fit to be repeal'd and what continued. The Happiness of a State, consists in a regular Form of Government, by just and equal Laws, few and plain, fitted to the most ordinary Capacities: These Qualifications, are as necessary to the well-being of the People, as that of Promulgation was ever accounted to the essence of a Law. But such is the Fate of *England*, that the *Laws* are almost *numberless*, which makes them

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them unpossible to be remembred; and what is worse, are so very *intricat*, that they may more reasonably be looked upon, as the devices of cunning men, to entrap the simple, than as the Rule, by which al are to square their Actions and their Lives: And what is yet worse, They were never promulgated, tho provided for, by those Statutes, that enact the reading of som of them in Cathedrals at least once a year, and of others four times. Is it fit or just, Men shoud be punished by Laws they neither *know*, nor can *remember*? There is no one intire *Body of Laws*; That of the *Statutes* is so tedious (and som yet remain in the Parliament Rolls not printed) that it can hardly be read over in a months time; tho an hundred times reading, wil not enable a man, to remember them, and yet he may suffer, for not observing what he has not, or if he had, could not remember: But what is the greatest Evil, If they could remember, they could not *understand*; since the very Judges, who have not only been *bred at*
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the Feet, but are themselves the *Gamaliels* of the Law, and much more, are wont to spend whol Terms in the reconciling and expounding of particular Statutes. And it often happens, That after these long Adviselements, they being divided, in their Opinions, the Parties concern'd, wearied in those Toyles, endeavor after all their Cost and Labor, to quit their Right, or impatiently expect the making of new, and more intelligible Laws.

These great disorders have bin occasion'd by several conspiring accidents, length and warping of Time, crooked Interests of some Lawyers, and the continual Wars, Forreine or Domestick, with which this Country has bin harassed, I might say, since the Invasion of the *Romans*, &c. But to com nearer our own times, since the Conquest, since the first making of these Acts, *England* has not enjoyed, one half Century, an intire Peace: To which unhappiness, I know not whether, the vexation of the Law, or Bigottre of Religion,
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have contributed most. I do not doubt but in other Ages, they were as sensible of the Evil, as we are in this, But the same Accidents continuing, rendered it remediless. *Edward the Confessor* regulated the *Saxon Laws*, but his care prov'd of little advantage after the coming in of the Conqueror; who desining to set up a new Form more agreeable to the *Customs of Normandy*, or his own Will, made himself deaf to the peoples desires, of being govern'd by the Rules of that holy Prince, who was deservedly *Sainted*, no less for his Zeal, and love of Justice, in matters of Law, than for his strictness of Life, in those of Religion. From the Conquerors time downwards, there have bin attemp's of this kind, almost in every Kings Reign; But the Wars, and Divisions (and consequently Dissolutions) that often happend between the Kings & their Parliaments, sometimes Lords, sometimes Commons, about the *Liberty of the Subject*, or, *Prerogative of the Crown*, (not without good reason concluded to have bin set on foot by the crafty

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crafty Lawyers, by this time grown considerable) prevented bringing to pass, the intended Reformation of the Law. I will not insist upon al the Kings Reigns, where this was defin'd, nor go farther back than *Henry the Eight's* time, when ingenious *Sir Thomas More*, was by him set on work, to fram a *Model*: But the succeeding accidents frustrated that attempt: the Troubles and Revolutions that continued, during the Reigns of *Edward the sixth*, *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*, hindred this work, which at wife *Burleigh's* advise was resolved on, by the latter Queen. The learned *King James*, determined to finish it; and the knowing *Sir Francis Bacon* was pitched upon, to fram a Schem of new Laws, or model the old; But the discontents about Religion, with the greater artifice of the Lawyers, then more numerous, diverted that glorious Enterprize.

Some living were Actors, others Spectators, of the Troubles that have since happen'd, which gave way not to a Reformation, but Confusion of the Laws;
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and yet the *Long-Parliament* (or rather Conventicle) knowing their great, and good Master purpos'd it, resolv'd upon a new Method of Laws. But the *Idol* themselves, had set up, as a just reward of their Treason, prevented this, by turning them out of doors, with their beloved *Magna Charta*, calling it in Contempt *Magna f*——. Too many in other Countries, no less than this, have wholly lost their Freedom, by endeavoring to enlarge it, beyond Law and Reason; as it has also somtimes befallen ambitious Princes, who, striving to augment their Power, and Dominions, beyond the boundaries of Justice, have, instead of new Acquests, forfeited their antient and lawful possessions. The *Gardiners As* in the *Apologue* desiring to mend himself by changing Masters, found at a dear-bought experience, none so kind as the first; The Observation of the Evil of those days has given us reason, to believe, That wisdom best, which is learnt at the cost of others, and to remember the Wise mans advice, *Meddle not with those who*
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are given to change. This I speak as to the *Fundamental* of the Government, which can never be alter'd by the Wit of Man, but for the worse: But the *Superstructures* of *Hay* and *Stubble* are grown so cumberfom and rotten, that they are fit for nothing but the Fire.

Though I am far from giving credit, to any prediction, or *Prophecy*, but those of Holy Writ, yet I can't but remember you, of that old Latin one, *Rex albus*, &c. on which you know, our wishes taught us, to fix a pleasing interpretation. This hint wil bring to your mind, what perhaps has not been there almost these thirty Years, That both for his Innocence, and the accidental Snow, that fel on his Herse, the *late King Charles* was that *white King*, who for some time, was to be the last in England: That afterwards his Son, shoud from beyond the Seas, return to the possession of his Crown, and that in his dayes, Religion and Laws shoud be reform'd, and setl'd, upon the eternal Foundations of Truth and Justice. The fulfilling of this *Prophesie*

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phesie now, wil seem as miraculous an Effect of Providence, as that of our Sovereain's Restauration, and wil as much eternize the Wisdom of the Parliament, as the other their Loyalty. What remains of this undon, we might hope to see finisht, as old as we are, if they woud be pleas'd to espouse it heartily, and defend themselves against the noyse, wranglings, and opposition of the Lawyers and Clergy, who are no more to be consulted in this Case, than Merchants concerning Exchange, &c. because, as the Wise *Syracides* observ'd, their Interest woud byass them: "*There is (saith he) that counselleth for himself; beware therefore of a Counsellor; and know before what need he hath, for he wil counsel for himself.*"

There was Law before Lawyers; there was a time when the *Common Customs* of the Land were sufficient to secure *Meum* and *Tuum*; What has made it since so difficult? nothing but the Comments of Lawyers, confounding the Text, and writhing the Laws like a Nose of Wax,

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to what Figure best serves their purpose. Thus the great *Cook*, bribed perhaps by Interest, or Ambition, pronounced that *in the Interpretation of Laws, the Judges are to be believed before the Parliament*: But others, and with better Reason, affirm, That 'tis one of the great Ends of the Parliaments Assembling, To determin such causes, as ordinary Courts of Justice coud not decide.

The Laws of *England*, are divided into Common and Statute Law; the Common are antient Customes, which by the unanimous and continued usage of this Kingdom, have worn themselves into Law; Statutes are the positive Laws of the Land, founded on particular accidents and conveniences not provided for by the Common Law; Civil and Canon Law, are of no force, but as they are incorporated, into the body of one or other of these Laws, if either may be call'd a body which has neither head nor foot; For they lye scatter'd in som few books, *Bracton, Littleton, Glanvil, Fleta, Cook,*

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Cook, Plouden, Dier, Crook, &c. their Commentaries or Reports; or rather in the arbitrary Opinion of the Judges, or som celebrated Lawyers; For nothing is in this Trade certain or regular; what one gives under his hand for Law, another gives the direct contrary; Judgments and Decrees revert, as if that could be just one day, that is unjust another: and why in *England* must Law and Equity be two things? Since Reason & Conscience in all other parts of the World are one and the same; and why cannot Laws be so plainly worded, as that men of common sense, may without an interpreter, discover the meaning? if they be not so order'd, speedy and exact justice wil at best be retarded. But you'l tel me there woud be no need to complain, if men woud follow Christ's advice, *If any man wil sue thee at the Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak also; the Reason was so plain, that it was needless to express it, viz. least the Lawyer, shoud com between, and strip you naked, even of your shirt. This*
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you see is prudence as wel as Religion, as indeed al Christs precepts are in the very affairs of this World. Whatsoever was true of the Jewish Lawyers, the present practise of some of ours, renders them Obnoxious, to the censures of the sober, & the curses of the passionate; most men agreeing, that to go to Law, is like a Lottery, or playing at Dice, where if the game be obstinately pursu'd, the Box-keeper is commonly the greatest Winner. But since som men wil be fools or knaves, why shoud not the few honest be as much secured as possible?

When the Parliament have setled the Laws, I wish they woud think of som more fitting restraint of Offences, than what the penal Statutes direct almost for every crime, *The Loss of Life*. If we examin the severity of this practice, we shall find it contrary to the Law of nature, the positive Law of God, *Thou shalt not Kill*, and ineffective of the intent of Laws, Amendment. Self preservation is the chief design of Nature; To better which, and not to destroy it, was the
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ground and end of Government and Laws; which makes it contrary to Reason, That any Means should be made or declared such, which were destructive of the end, for which they were made.

If then the loss of life, as it most certainly do's, puts an end, to all earthly happiness, 'tis evident, that it never was, nor ever could be, judg'd an Instrument productive of that end; perhaps it may be said, that this may be true, of every single man, as such; and yet may be false, when consider'd, with respect to the whole, as a Member of the Society: I answer, It can't be true, in the later, if false in the former; Because we must believe, that at first, every man consider'd what was absolutely best for himself, without any respect to another, on whom, he cannot be suppos'd otherwise to look, than as he was, or might be subservient, to his own particular and immediate happiness. And since the whole is made up but of several individuals, it must be granted, that every of them had the same considerations: and
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since it was not in the power of any, to transfer that right to another, which nature had deny'd to himself, we may then safely conclude, it is against the Law of nature *i. e.* against reason, to believe, that the power, of Life or Death by consent of all, without which there was no law, could at first be vested in any supreme power; and that the using of it, does naturally put us into a state of war, the Evil because directly destructive of Happiness, design'd to be avoided. This is a truth imply'd in the Law of England, not only by binding the Criminals to restrain their Warring, but also by the punishment inflicted on *Felo's de se*, which supposes no man to have power over his own life, as certainly he must have had if he could have given it to another. Nor will the difficulty be remov'd whether we derive government either of the other two ways, Paternal right, or the immediate gift of God; for Parents had no such Power by nature, in the state whereof we are all equal. We are little more oblig'd to them
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for our being, than to the influence of the Sun, both as to us are involuntary causes; that which binds children to an indispensable duty of gratitude, is the parents care in providing for their wel-being, when they are unable to shift for themselves, and their giving them virtuous education, (that which is of all, the truest obligation,) than which nothing is among us more neglected; which has made some at the gallows, not without cause, take up the advice of *Jobs* Wife against God, first curse their parents, and then dye; Children may indeed be ungrateful, which is the worst, or the All of crimes, but parents cannot revenge this by death without being unjust; because there ought to be a proportion between the crime, and the Punishment, and a warrantable Authority in him that inflicts it, which in this case are all wanting; for Ingratitude, Theft, Rapin, and what ever else is practis'd by the wicked, are in themselves repairable, and the sufferer may in an equal measure be compensated for his loss, for *bona fortuna*

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ne or the goods of Fortune are exterior to us, and consequently accidental, and when we are despoil'd of them by any, we have full satisfaction by a restitution in specie, or in value; this course is the measure and square of all Civil contracts; for if I detain wrongfully the money you lent me, I am compellable but to repay you. Why then should it be Capital, to take your Horse without consent, when either restitution, or a punishment more commensurate to the Offence may be had? As for the authority of the punisher which must be warrantable, it is plain the Father has no such over the Children who in the state of Nature are equal with him; for since he gave not the Being, he cannot legally take it away, and for the Act destroy the Agent; punishment being design'd, not only for the terror of others, but for the amendment of the Offender: To destroy then the last, that such as are guiltless may continue so, is to my apprehension, a piece of the highest Injustice. Besides, no Prince

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claims a right over the Subjects Life, what ever he does to his Crown, otherwise than by the positive Laws of the Land, which suppose the man himself to have given that power by his consent, which is already prov'd impossible; Therefore we may conclude, the inflicting of Death is against the positive Law of God, who has reserv'd this to himself, as a peculiar Prerogative, and altho he has allow'd the Rulers of the Earth to share in his Titles, yet least they should intrench on his Honor (of which he is very jealous) by exceeding the bounds of Reason, he immediatly subjoyns, *but ye shall dy like men*, to put them in mind that they were to act as such. It cannot then be suppos'd, that human constitution can make that just which the Almighty declares unlawful. He that does so, sets himself up above al that is called God, destroys moral good and evil, makes Vertue and Vice but only names, which if allow'd, we may bid farwel to the People and Princes security; for this, roots up the very Foundations

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dations of Peace on Earth, as wel as joy in Heaven.

Nor will it serve to say, This was practis'd in the *Jewish* Commonwealth; That was God's own peculiar Province; and He that was sole Author of Life, might dispose on't at his pleasure; and tho every part of that Oeconomy be not accountable, yet 'tis not without good Grounds suppos'd, because the *Jews* Happiness or Misery seems to have consisted in the enjoyment or want of Temporal Blessings, that the taking away Life here, was in lieu of that punishment, which Sinners under the Gospe^l, are to receive in another Life: And unless Human Laws might as immediatly be call'd His, and that every Magistrat were a *Moses*, I could not believe it lawful for them to follow that Example; especially considering, that they do not write after this Copy, in the punishment of al Crimes: I will not make Comparifon in many, yet I can't but take notice, that Idolaters, and Inciters to it, were there punisht with Death,

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while among us Atheism and Irreligion do not only go free, but the Professors of those admirable good Qualities, pass for Wits and *Virtuoso's*: Drunkenness, and Gluttony, are esteem'd as Marks of good Breeding; computing the Abilities of our Brains, by the number of Bottles our Stomacs can hold: This Vice, among the *Jews*, was accounted so ridiculously silly, that they could not believe, it was possible for Men grown to the ordinary years of Understanding to be guilty of it; and therefore we find no Punishment allotted, but for Children, *viz.* That if drunken or gluttonous Children did not by the Parent's Admonition and Correction learn more Wit, that then their Parents were oblig'd to bring them forth, and testify their Folly, and with the Congregation stone them to Death.

But this abominable childish Crime, the Mother of all imaginable wickedness, has among us no Punishment, or what is the same, if not worse, none inflicted.

As to the third part of the Assertion,
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viz. That the loss of Life is inefficive of the Intent of the Law, Amendment; This will appear true, by observing, that Men, whose loose Education has made it their Interest, to wish there were no other Life, by often wishing, and never considering, come at last to be Fools; and with them, *to say in their Hearts, there is no God*: we have no way to live, thanks to our *good Parents, or our Country*, but to rob, or steal; as for the next Life, if there be any such thing, let that look to it self; let us provide for this; a short one, and a merry; who knows, but we may escape seven years? and that's the Age of a Man: If we are taken, and can't get a Pardon, 'tis but a few Minutes Pain, and there's an end: Thus these foolish Wretches discourse themselves to the Gallows; on which, did you but know, the vast numbers hang'd, for some years last past, you would quickly believe, that sort of Punishment rather makes more, than frightens any, from being Thieves, Robbers, or other Criminals. In the *Eastern Monarchies*,

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the greatest *Emperors*, the *Turk* himself tho' always in War, fancy some kind of Art or Trade; and by this do not only divert themselves, but by their Examples more powerful than any precept, oblige the People to so necessary a Practice. The Ladies, even the greatest, of all other Countries, have *callings* too, and spend not their whole dayes, in making and receiving Visits, or in Preparations for them, exquisit Dressings. If by such a Course, or any other, People were induc'd not to live in Idleness, none would be under a necessity of starving, or breaking the Laws, as many now are. And if afterwards, any were still found guilty, a Punishment likely to prevent others, and do a farther Good to the Public, would be to take away the Names of all Criminals, that *They may be no more had in Remembrance*; put them into a common Livery, a Fools-coat, red and yellow; keep their Heads continually shav'd, their Fore-heads stigmatiz'd with Marks distinguishing their Crimes, and their Estates forfeited to increase the Princes

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Princes Revenu; condemn them to public Work-houses, Mines, or Gallies: The Labor and Toyl, the hard Fare, and the Disgrace, would deter more than Death; and, as some believe, be more agreeable to the dictates of Nature, to the Law of God, and to the profit of the Common-wealth. In Cases of Murther, the Public loses too much by the Slain; It will not fetch him back, to send another after him: Why then, should they think themselves satisfy'd for one Loss, to have it doubled upon them by another? But supposing (which I never can allow) that Reason requires Life for Life, can it think it equal, to set the Life of a Man but at a Shilling? Is a Horse, or a Cow, a Sheep or a Deer, or a less thing, a Cock or a Hen, an equal price for a Man's Life?

And yet for Perjury, he suffers but a pecuniary Mulf, or loss of ears. Why should not he that swears falsely at least have his Tongue cut out? In the Jewish Law, the Perjurer was to suffer the same kind of Evil, that he brought upon his Neighbor,

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Neighbor; and at this day among the Persians and Indians, a lyer is not only depriv'd of Honor, but of al further speech: had it bin thus enacted among Christians, the false Tongue, and the lying lips, woud not have destroy'd so many mens lives and fortunes. But if we wil not, after the *Jewish*, and Roman manner, bring in reparation or the *lex talionis*, which with them was practis'd in other cases besides that of felony; Let us at least, make some further provision for the security of mans Life, let it be put out of the Power of one Witness, observing that great Law that said, *at the mouth of two witnesses or three, shal he that is worthy of Death, be put to Death, but at the mouth of one witness, he shal not be put to Death.* What I seem to say paradoxically on this subject, I woud have you understand, as I intend it, of the first societies of mankind; and you may likewise further observe, that tho custom and the positive Laws have made punishment by Death, the practise of al Nations, yet with humble submission,

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sion to my superiours, I perswade my self, it was introduc'd by absolute power among the Heathens, and since continued among Christians, because they did not fully consider, that a better way might be found for correcting and avoiding crimes.

Having now provided against Death, upon the account of any Crime, it may wel enuff consist with the Kings Mercy and goodness (which invite him to be tender of the Lives of his Subjects) to determin positively, *never to grant a Pardon* or remittal of the punishment to any Criminal, tho never so great a Person. In *Edward the thirds* time it was enacted That *no Pardon shoud be granted out of Parliament*; I wish it might graciously please his Majesty with his Parliament, To enact further, That no Pardon shoud at any time be granted; Then which I am sure nothing woud more contribute to the perfect observance of the Laws.

Tho our *Laws* cannot, yet an intire *execution* of them in their utmost severity,

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verity, may be as unalterable, as those of the *Meads* and *Persians*; which cours woud prevent the many il effects the *hope of Pardon* does now daily occasion, tho there never were fewer granted, yet so long as there is any ground of hope, the Debauchee is encouraged to go on in his folly, and none being particularly excluded, he reckons himself not incapable of that Grace.

But now admitting, that the *Laws* were never so good, if they be not *duly and equally Administred* by the several *Courts of Judicature*, the Evils do stil remain. To prevent which great Inconvenience, such has been the happy Contrivance of *England's* Constitutions, that the same Power that gives the Law, cannot only pronounce it (in spite of *Cok's* Assertion to the contray) but has also determined, That it shoud be a part of its own Power, To cal al inferior Courts, and Officers, Justices of the Peace, and others, to a strict examination, How they have squared their Actions and Proceedings, to the Rule

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Rule they have given them; From which, when they are found to deviat, it woud be for the advantage of al, That the Parliament woud exert its antient Power, In regulating the many *Abuses* crept into *inferior Courts*: Into which if there was ever need of looking, there is now at this day, when the complaints are loud; By which, tho perhaps *Mole-hills* may be made *Mountains*, Yet al this *Smoak* cannot be without som *Fire*. This I have bin told for certain, That their Judgments are founded as much upon Rules or interpretations of Statutes of their own pleasure, introduc'd by the intrest of Lawyers, and Officers, as upon the strict letter of the Lawes, in which your Education, tho not your Practice, and your long Observation, has made it superfluous for me, to particularise the many Irregularities in the administration of Justice, which woud fil a larg Volum.

But to begin with the *Courts*, I think it were convenient that each of the *Four at westminster* shoud be reduced to their ancient

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antient Practice, and not suffered to *Encroach upon one another*, to the Subjects great vexation, who often quits his Cause rather than follow it thro al the mazes of the severall Courts, where at last after som years tossing by *Writs of Error*, &c. from *Post* to *Pillar*, if his mony does but hold out, to make the Lawyers that sport, he may sit down by his loss, or have recours to the *Arbitriment* of two honest Neighbors, which at first had bin the speediest, and cheapest way of justice.

In antient days, the *Kings Bench* intermedled only, with the *Pleas of the Crown*; But now an *Ac Etiam*, ushered in by a feignd assertion of *Force and Arms*, and by supposing the *Defendant* to be in *Custodia Marescalli*, or the *Plaintiffe* privileg'd som other way in that Court, robs the *Common Bench*, whose jurisdiction even by *Magna Charta* is of al *Common Pleas between Party and Party*. The *Common Bench*, by practice of Attorneys not to be behind hand, has likewise of late days introduced an *Ac Etiam*, and several Debts or
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Promises are suppos'd, with intent to bind the Subject to *special Bail*, whereas I am confident, it cannot either by Common or Statute Law be evinced, that antiently *special Bail* or a *Capias*, before Summons was in any action required; and that therefore it is a meer invention to get mony, and to vex and impoverish the Subject.

The *Exchequer* was only to hold Plea, of such Actions, where the *Plaintiff* was really *indebted to the King*, (and perhaps too, not able otherwise to pay it) or where the Parties were by their Priviledg to plead or to be impleaded in that Court. But now, by falsly suggesting, *They are indebted to the King*, and not able to pay him but out of the thing in demand, they are suffered to su in that Court, alleadging a *Quo minus*, &c. in their Declaration: But before such Irregularities were introduced, it was not so much Law, as Honesty, Prudence, and skil in Arithmetick, that were the necessary Qualifications of the *Barons*: In which Court, a *Chancery* was erected,
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to moderate the Rigor of the Fines and Amerciaments estreated into that Court, and to extend to the Kings Debtors, those favors which the Barons could not shew. The Causes then remaining for the *High Court of Chancery*, were the *Penalties and Forfeitures between man and man*, which at Common Law were due, and al other Causes, that for want of Evidence were no where els tryable. But such have bin the mighty contrivance of the Practisers in that Court, that they have found out a way for the Trial of al Causes there, where notwithstanding a mans pretence in his Bil, *That he wants witnesses* (tho that be but a tric to intitle the Court to the action) after he has Obliged the Defendant to swear against himself, contrary to the Common Law, that of Nature *Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*, which seems to be the positive intent of *Magna Charta*, he takes out a *Commission to Examin witnesses*. In the *Civil Law* the *Complainant*, if required, is obliged, as well as the Defendant, to *swear the Truth*
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of the Bill; and sure, that is as fitting to be don, in the King's great Court of Equity and Conscience, as in the ordinary Courts of Justice in other Nations. Nor woud it be amiss, That al *witnesses* shoud in that Court, as well as others, give their *Testimony, Viva voce*, and that there shoud be som unalterable *Rules* both for the Officers of the Court, and the Clients; since Conscience, and right Reason, are alwayes the same and unalterable; which woud prevent the *Reversing of Decrees*, (a tacit Confession They were unjust) and other Inconveniences, too many to be recounted; only One is so notorious, I cannot pass it by, The assuming a Power of *Impeaching Judgements at Common-Law*, which the Statute declares to be *Premunire*.

Another Practice as inconvenient as any, is, The Judges giving too great an Authority to a *former Judges Report or Opinion*: It were to be wish'd, That in the rest of the Courts, the present Practice of the wise *Lord Chancellor Finch* were observed; who considering That

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a Report is founded upon such Reasons, as are not with the Report convey'd to us, that only stating in brief the matter of Fact; and that the Case is alterable by any one Accident, rightly infers, *That no Report, but the Reason of the present Case squared to the Rules of the Law, ought to guide his Judgment.*

To this may be added, That in every Court there should be a settled *Number of Clerks, Attorneys, & Lawyers* as well as *Judges*: That these how just soever, should not continue above *three Years* in any one Court. Whatever the Sherifs Power was formerly, sure I am, That exercised by the *Judges* exceeds what now they are possess'd of; and yet the Wisdom, of former Ages, thought not fit, to intrust the former two years together. That they should be oblig'd to give an Account in public of all their proceedings, at the expiration of the said time. That they be under a pecuniary Mulct, besides an Oath, to administer justice impartially, in imitation of God, who to mind them of their great Duty, graces them with his
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own Title, saying, *Ye are all Gods*, and therefore must do as I do, ye shall not regard *in judgment the Power of the Mighty, nor the Distress of the Poor*. That the Judges, Lawyers, Attorneys and Clerks, should have out of the public Revenue, sufficient establish'd *Salaries*; To take no *Fees*, or *Gratuity* whatsoever directly or indirectly; It not seeming reasonable that the people should pay any thing for Justice, But as that Charge may be included in the public Taxes; That *no Offices* whatsoever be *Sold*, and nothing but Merit to intitle any man; For if Offices be purchased by the interest of Friends, or Money, it is unreasonable, to expect, That Justice too, may not be bought and sold; And for this Reason, it is as fit to make Laws, against this practice in others, as against *Simony* in the Clergy. No man to have *two Offices*, or to act by *Deputy*, but on extraordinary occasions. That all *Causes* be determin'd, at farthest in *six months*; And that such, as thro difficulty, or other accidents, can't be determin'd with-

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in that time, the *Parliament* at next Sessions should decide them. To oblige the Judges to proceed exactly according to the strict Rules of the Law made by Parliaments: For notwithstanding what the Lord *Coke* says, 'Tis their duty, only *Legem Dicere*, not *Legem dare*; And therefore, where ever any thing comes to be disputed, of the meaning of the Statutes, or that any Cause happens, for which there is not exact and sufficient provision made, they are to have recourse to the *Parliament*, whose Power is not only *Legem dare*, but *dicere*: For it appears, That in antient times, when Justice was more speedy, and Statutes fewer, or rather none at all, the great business of the *Parliament*, was to give Sentence in all difficult Causes, and to correct the miscarriages, or sinister Practise of all inferior Courts and Officers, and therefore was commonly known by the name of *Curia Magna*. Before the Conquerors time, there was no such thing, as *Courts at Westminster-Hal*; The manner then, of distributing Justice, was

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was both speedy and cheap: the County being divided into several Portions, there was in every *Manner* a *Court*, where all the Causes, arriving within that Precinct, were determined by the *Thane* and his assistants; but if too hard, they were removed by Appeal to the higher *Court* of the *Hundred*, where all the chief and Wise Men within that Territory with the *Hundreder* or *Aldermanus* gave Judgment; And if any Cause proved too difficult for this Court, then they appeal'd to the *County Court*, where all the several *Thanes* and *Hundreders* with the chief of the County call'd *Comes*, and sometimes *Vicecomes*, judged it: But such Causes as were too intricate for them, were remov'd to the *great Court* or *Parliament*, then known by several other Names: Which jurisdiction was exercised, some Ages after the Conquest; Whence *Sir Edward Coke* may be well suspected a greater Lawyer than an Antiquary; or els the liberty they took, was the occasion of his exalting the Judges Power, in expounding Statutes,

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tutes, above that of the Parliament.

Having now made it plain That the *Parliament* has this *Power*, and always had, it were to be wished, they woud make use of it, in strictly *regulating* the *Disorders* of al *inferior Courts*, as wel Ecclesiastical as Civil: Which perhaps can never be better don, than after the manner of the famous *Venetian Commonwealth*, by erecting a new Magistracy, or Court of Inspection, *public Censors*, men of great Candor and Integrity, whose Power shoud extend, to the Cognizance of al manner of Actions in Courts great and smal; Of the demeanor of al Officers of the State of what degree or quality soever, who taking care thus of the Execution of the Laws, shoud be oblig'd from time to time, to give a ful and impartial *Information to the Parliament*, in whose Power alone it shoud be, upon Conviction of the Criminal, to Suspend, Degrade, or otherwise Punish, according to the Provisions they themselves make in such cases. That it may be lawful for all Persons to
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address themselves immediatly to these *Censors*, whose Information shall by them be fully Examined, and neither their Informers, nor themselves, lyable to any Actions or Sutes, upon account of their Proceedings; to be accountable, to the grand and supreme Court of Judicature: That their Number be such, as may serve to go Circuits round the Kingdom. These, as the other Judges to be altered, every 3 *Years*.

And because nothing does more conduce, to the good of man-kind, next to wholsom Laws, and the practice of piety, than the *Knowledge of things past*: not any thing being truer, then that *what is, has bin, and there's nothing new under the Sun*; a perfect relation of which begets a great Understanding and deep Judgment; the sence whereof made a Wise King say, *None were so faithful Counsellors, as the Dead*: That therefore the Parliament woud appoint two of the most learned of those Censors (acquainted with al the most secret affairs of state; which if not as Counsellors, yet as Hearers, under the same obligation of secrecy, as

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Secretaries or Clerks of the Counsel, they may understand) to *write* especially the *matters of fact of all affairs and occurrences*. The *Annals* not to be made public, till the Writers, and all concern'd, were gone off the Stage. The fear of Offending, and the advantage of Flattery, being remov'd, future ages would in the truth of *History* find that great Rule of Judgment and Prudence, the World has hitherto been deprived of: There being (a man may safely say) no true profane *History* in the World, save that of the Wise *Chineses*, who have observ'd this practice, for several Thousands of Years; keeping the *Records*, as an *Arcanum* for their Princes, who by these means, have gain'd a steady judgment, in their own state-affairs; which is the reason given, for the long and prosperous continuance of that great Monarchy.

When the Laws, and Execution of them, are thus established, every Man will be sufficiently secur'd in the Enjoyment of his *Liberty* and *Property*; which,

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which, tho commonly taken for two, are in reality one and the same thing. I understand by *the first*, that Power, Man has reserv'd to himself when he enter'd into Society; that is, a Liberty of doing any thing, except what the Law forbids; or of living conformably to the Laws; not of speaking contemptuously, of the *Rulers of the People*, nor of doing what he please, tho the Law restrain it. By *Property*, I conceive meant, the right of Enjoying peaceably private Possessions as bounded by Law: *Liberty* then respects the *Person*, and *Property* the *Estate*. These two, I perceive, you have joyn'd with *Religion*, as the three great Abstracts of Human Concerns; For, I presume, you consider *Religion* as it is part of that Policy, by which the State is govern'd, and as such I shall chiefly take notice of it; leaving it, as it refers to the Soul, and a future Life, to *Divines*, whose proper Office it is. Taking it then for granted, That every wise Man will study that which neereft concerns him; and, That

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That the Interest of the Soul, and eternal Life, do's far exceed the valu of this our transitory Being; That all Human Laws, are therefore binding, because agreeable to Nature or Reason, that is, to the Signatures of the Divine Will: That *true Religion* was the Law of God, and its end, the Happiness of Man in this Life, as well as in that which is to Come: That it was divided into two Parts, *Duty to God*, and *to One another*; which later to the thinking Man resolves into *Love of himself*, who must find, that his Happiness consisting in the Enjoyment of himself, cannot be without the mutual Offices and Endearments of Love; which obliges him, in spite of all his Passions, when he fully considers things, *To do to all Men, as he would be don unto*: This then being Human Happiness, and the End and Foundation of the Laws of God and Man, it was Wisdom to annex this great motive of Obedience, *Religion*, or the *Consideration of future Rewards and Punishments*, to invite us the more powerfully, to the Obedience of Laws; without,

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out which, even in this Life, we could not be Happy, they being subbordinat to one another; that as our Duty in one, makes us happy here, so that of the other superadds a farther Blessing, and makes us happy hereafter; which later in the connexion of Things, thus ordered by Providence, was not attainable without the other: And which indeed do's declare *Religion* not to be a part of *Policy*, but tru *Policy* to be a part of it; or, in plainer words, That Human Laws are so much better, that is, so much more binding, as they com nearer to the Laws of Religion; contrary to which nothing in any Human Institution, can be obligatory; that is, no Society of Men can make that just, which the Law of Religion, or Reason, has made unjust: If then the Interest of State, and Religion, be so intermixt, it is no wonder, That Men shoud be very sollicitous not to be mistaken, in that which comprehends *Both*, the *Human*, and the *Divine*, or among us, the *Christian Law*: And because it is as natural for Men, to have different

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ferent Understandings, consequently different Opinions (which are the necessary Effects of the former, or of Education, and both equally out of our Power) as 'tis to have different Complexions: It is impossible, that all Men should exactly agree, in the meaning of any difficult Matter. If then the Meaning of the Law be not to be had, 'tis not our Fault if we do not obey it, which we must do, or be miserable. Now, because many evil Consequences, if not prevented, woud issu from hence, we must consider farther, That al wise Law-givers impose nothing beyond the Power of the Person under the Law; For, Law being the Rule of Actions, if I do not or cannot know it, 'tis no Rule to me. Therefore, to understand this great Affair aright, let us examin, whether these following Positions, and their Consequences, be not natural Truths.

That God did really purpose the Happiness of al Mankind: That therefore, the way, or means, by which that was to be attained, was to be plain and easy,
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no matter of doubt or dispute: That this way, is no where delivered unerringly, but in the Scriptures, which al Christians allow, to be the Word of God: That al the Disputes, are pretended to be proved by Scripture, that is, by Consequences from thence: And since al the Parts of that Holy Writing must agree with one another, 'tis plain, that the Consequences are not natural, because contradictory, of which, both parts can't be tru; and therefore, the Matter in dispute concerns us not: That, since al our Duty is compriz'd in Scripture, the Rule for the Ignorant, as well as the Learned, Comments do amuse, and confound, rather than expound the Text: That Disputes, begetting Heat and Passion, are not only impertinent to our Duty, but uncharitable and destructive of Christianity: That only the Fundamentals can be tru, or necessary, because in them alone al agree. That Christ has told us, the sum of al is, *To love one another*, a pleasing and a natural Command: That he is *the way*,
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the *Truth*, and the *Life*: That whofoever *Believeth in Him*, shall never perish: That Happiness is not attainable here, nor hereafter, but by following his Example, and believing his Doctrine, *viz.* what is positively affirm'd in Scripture, without examining, how or why; if those had bin necessary, he woud not have left them to the uncertain Disputes of after Ages. That al Ceremonies are in themselves indifferent, but when commanded, are necessary in their use and practice; but alterable, at the pleasure of the Imposers: That no Man can be a Christian, that hates his Brother, *i. e.* He obeys not *Christ's* Command, gives not up himself to the new Commandment, that of *Loving one another*: That no Man can avoid Differences in Opinion; and since they are not the Effects of our Choyce, they are not sinful; therefore, he that condemns another, for not being of his Opinion, after he has endeavour'd, without Prejudice or Interest, to examin and *hold fast* that which is best, considers not what he says, or if
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he do, he is proud and foolish, because he says, by an implicit Consequence, none is Wise but himself: That Faith is the Gift of God, but considered in Man, 'tis a necessary Act; for when a Man is convinc'd, that is, has no doubts of the Credibility of the Proposition, its conformity to Reason, nor of the Person that he can neither deceive, as having no Interest, nor be deceiv'd, as wanting no knowledg, 'tis impossible for him, not to give up his Assent, Whether Morality or Christianity be (which is much doubted) really different, they can never be asunder; for the man that is not honest, is not, nor cannot be if he continues so, a Christian; that what is tru in Philosophy, can't be false in Divinity; and both Affirm, He that does al he can do, is not to be blam'd, he has don his Duty. That different Opinions not being avoidable, are in themselves, as harmless and tolerable in a Society, as men can be; because, til the Man be convinced, his sense of things can't possibly be alter'd, after Conviction, he that
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continues in an Error, *i. e.* that perseveres, in spreading such Opinions, as are destructive of good life, and of public Peace, is a lyer or a mad man; the first, if he do not repent, ought to be expell'd the Commonwealth; the other, if he will not grow sober, must be sent to *Bedlam*. From all which, it plainly follows, that our Opinions are not free, that no man has liberty of Opinion, and that he who desires liberty of speaking what he pleases, is unreasonable, if he intends to say any thing, that shal disturb the Peace, and Quiet of his Country; if he may be restrain'd from that, his Errors can mischief no other than himself: If the case then be thus, how comes it to pass, that men fall out, and wrangle about nothing? seek knots in Bulrushes, make difficulties where God and Nature never made any, puzzle themselves and others? Let them fool on that have nothing else to do, and follow the Heathens advice, *'Tis better to do nothing than be idle.* This I confess woud not be very Tragical, if they woud be content

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tent to be idle themselves, and not make work, and sad work too, for others: But, Alas, they rob their Master of his Power; and dogmatically pronounce; we must believe more than Christ tels us is required, or else we cannot be sav'd in the next Life, nor happy in this; and many of us are such silly Fools, that we believe them; and acting accordingly, too great a number, I fear, make their Assertions good, as those ignorant People do, who giving Credit to Astrologers, by squaring their Actings to the Predictions, and therefore sometimes finding these things com to pass, are not only deluded themselves, but encourage others to be so by such Nonsensical Impostors. But since all Men have not Understanding, you'l ask, How the Evil shal be cur'd? The Remedies are only two: First, a right Education; and next, a removal of all Interest: For, since the Foundations of Religion are Eternal Truths, were Men rightly instructed, of which all are capable, because all desin'd for Happiness, and Men got

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nothing by lying; we should have as much Truth, and as little Disputing in matters of Christianity, as in the Mathematical sciences: Or, at least, if men defin'd nothing really but the true Ends of it, Eternal Happiness, it might be lawful for every Man, even in the way which another calls Heresie, to worship the God of his Fathers; for, tho' one thinks his a clearer or a shorter way, than that of another, so long as he still goes on; that is, treads in the Paths of a sober and virtuous Life; tho' he may be more dabb'd, or longer on the Road, what's that to him? He that finds fault, may miss his own way, by looking towards his Brother; his particular Duty requires all his care: Besides, *Every Man stands or falls to his own Master.* But you will say, 'Tis Charity to teach my Brother, and not to suffer sin upon him: 'Tis very true; but first, 'tis not prov'd, that difference in Opinion is a sin, but the contrary; next, Charity is not express'd in Thunder and Lightning, sending him head-long to the Devil, because he will not

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not be presently, whether he can or no, of your Opinion; which, perhaps, is not truer than his own, tho' your greater Confidence assert it: But Charity is express'd by Meekness, Gentleness, and Love; by Instruction and Pity, not by Hatred and Revilings; nay, not by Death, the too often Consequence of Differences in Opinions: From which Considerations, 'tis plain, that 'tis not Reason nor Charity, that divides us; but Interest and Policy. How far it will consist with the safety of the Public, to suffer such dangerous Causes of fatal Effects, as are brought in by these Clashes of Religionists, not Religion, I leave to the Wisdom of the Parliament: Only, to satisfy that part of your Question, I will give you some short Account, how these Tares have so sprung up, as to choak almost wholly, all the good Seed sown; afterwards, you may judge *if they may not now the Harvest is com, be cut down gather'd a-part, and thrown into the Fire.*

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And surely if these Quarrels were only design'd for the Good of the Soul, (which yet if they were the Promoters, must be Men of wrong Understanding or Notions, *forgetting that Faith is the Gift of God*) they woud not hate and dam one another for different, tho false Opinions: Nothing can have that Effect, but the Committal of Sins; of which holy Scripture pronounces Death, the Wages, or necessary Consequence: but these we see pass over silently, few Excommunicated for Whoredom, Adulteries, Atheism, and Profaness; many other Crimes are openly committed without Punishment, which (perhaps) was the end of instituting Ecclesiastical Courts.

The great define of Christianity, was in a higher and more refin'd way the same with that which *Hierocles* tells us of Philosophy, *The Perfection of human Life*: Therefore, the Primitive Christians knowing the end of their Doctrin was to make men good, to fill their Hearts with purity of intention productive of good Works, not to make them Wise (if

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stuffing their Heads with empty and idle Notions may be call'd so) avoided all such with great care, pressing only upon men the Reformation of their Lives, by the plainness of their Precepts and their agreeableness to Reason; being well assur'd, the contrary Practise could bring forth nothing, but endless Janglings, and frivolous Disputes, which woud (at last) not only loosen, but destroy Religion, by taking away Charity, the Bond and Cement of that and all Perfections. But when the Piety of succeeding Ages had endowed the Church with Temporalities, and with rich Possessions, the Church-men altered their Doctrin, with their way of living; For now, (*kicking like the Calfs of Jefferon grown fat*) the former practised severity was turn'd into Wantonness; The plainness of the Precepts, into intricat Niceties; This, they judg'd necessary; For, if according to the Promise, the Gospel was to be so plain, *i. e.* so agreeable to Nature, and Reason, *that a Man might running see to*

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Read, i. e. a Man that made never so little use of his Reason, that did but keep his Eyes open against the false Alurements of sense, could not but perceive the Lines of his Duty written in very large and plain Characters: perceiving every Man thus enabled to Teach his Brother, and that Miracles were ceas'd, they found themselves under a necessity to make *Godliness* a *Mystery*, that it might become *gain* to 'um in an ill sense, and that they might secure to themselves that Veneration and Respect, which otherwise were now like to fail.

Religion, by this means degenerating from its innocence and simplicity, into a Trade of Policy and Subtilty, an Art to live by, Tent-makers and Fisher-men became too dull and ignorant; The preaching of Christ Crucified was fit only for the Witty, and the Learned: No wonder then, that being now so much taken up in refining the Cobweb inventions of their Heads, they wanted leisure to look to their Feet, *to order their steps aright,*
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and therefore went astray, not only from the Precepts of the Gospel, but the Imitation of the Life of the Holy *Jesus*, which was the greater Duty of the two; as the End, for which his Doctrine, the Means was given. And to make themselves the more admired, they mix'd *That* with the vain Philosophy of the *Greeks*, especially *Platonism*, with an Addition of many absurd Heathenish, and obsolete *Jewish* Rites and Ceremonies. When the Bishops became Princes, the number of Candidats increasing faster than Preferments could fall, the Ambitious were induc'd to Court them by indirect ways, The Pretence of an extraordinary Knowledge or Piety, to gain the Interest, and the Favor of great men, and by those steps to mount the Spiritual Throne of Carnal Pride. Thus when *Arius* fail'd of a Bishopric, enrag'd that a less learned man should deprive him of the Miter, he resolv'd upon a malicious Revenge; and to make himself more famous, than the Crosier could, under pretence of discovering the falsi-
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ties crept into Religion, he alleagd one of the great Mysteries to have more of *Platoes* Fancy, than of Christs Truth in it; This Mother-Heresie by him introduc'd brought forth many others, and (which was the greater Evil) has been the parent of uncharitable Disputes, The certain occasions of much confusion in Life and Doctrin, of Assassinations and Massacres, of Wars and Desolations.

The Christians now, contrary to Christs positive Command, *Cal no man on Earth Master*, i. e. *If an Angel from Heaven*, (much less, a man) *shoud Preach any other Doctrin* to you, than what I (your only Lord and Master) who am now ascending thither injoyn you to obey, *viz. To love one another*, hearken not to him, for, he is a Murderer and a Lyar, a Cheat and an Impostor. Neglecting this, and having the Persons of Men in Honor, they readily imbraced their Opinions; and changing the name of Christians, took up that of the Fathers of their Sects, as of *Arians*, &c. These Divisions and Factions, and the consequent

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quent Bloody Wars woud perswade us, that Christ came not indeed, *to send peace on Earth, but a Sword*; for, these Ring-leaders imposed upon the credulous Multitude, that al those superinduced new Fangles, Diabolical Inventions, unreasonable Whimsies, and childish Fopperies were the great Pillars and Truths of Religion; and therefore, *to be contended for unto Death*; While in the meantime, they themselves were conscious, that they disputed not for Truth, but Victory, for the sensual Gratifications of Ambition and vain glory, of pride and Interest: and, if you wil but give your self leisure to look into the Controversies of former Heretics, or into those of later date, between the Reformed, and the Church of *Rome*, &c. you wil find them al on one and the same bottom. The Church of *Rome* has good Reason, as to this World, not to yield to any Truth in the point of Transubstantiation; of which, certainly, 'tis enuff to believe simply Christ's own words, *This is my Body*, because no more is warranted,

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ted, and therefore not necessary, and that indeed none of the Expositions are free from unanswerable Objections, tho none appear so opposit to sense, and absurd, as that of the *Romanists* and *Lutherans*: For if this Power, of working Miracles be taken from the Priest, it may be thought he has nothing left to make him *Jure Divino*; which if allowed, he is quick enuff to foresee that other Princes may follow the Example of *Henry the Eight*. Those mistaken, or wilful Apprehensions have involved the several Kingdoms of *Europe*, in blood and confusion, intestine Commotions, and Wars; and wil imbroil them yet further, if the Causes be not remov'd: This, has long been the wishes of some, and the endeavors of others; but by the success, seeing the Disease is not cur'd, but that its venom does daily spread more and more, we may safely conclude, That Disputing is as incompetent a way to resettle the Truth of Religion, as the Sword is to propagate it. Every Man naturally hates to be accounted a Fool, or a Lyar;

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Lyar; and therefore, when worsted by the force of Arguments, (which may be to him unanswerable, tho not convincing), he falls into Heat and Passion, which the other returning with equal warmth, at length both lose the Question, and fall from Words to Blows, from Disputing to Fighting; and not satisfy'd pedantically (for most commonly the Contention is only about Words) to lash one another, they further make Parties and Factions. These hurried on with the Fury of a perverse Zeal, the effect of Ignorance, espouse the Quarrel, and pursue the Folly, and the Malice to the fatal Destruction of thousands, of Millions; as if there was no getting to the *Heavenly-Canaan*, the *New-Jerusalem*, but by wading, or rather by swimming thro the *Red-Sea* of Christian Blood; while, in the meantime, the first Disputants stand looking on, or like sneaking Cowards steal away from the Rencounter as soon as they have engag'd others more generous, but withal more foolish than themselves. This *England* has to its Cost experimented, and,

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and, 'tis to be fear'd, if not timely prevented, wil agen.

Others, finding the way of Dispute insufficient, believed that the Allowance of a Toleration to the several contending Sects woud do the work; and that in truth, the denial of it so far as it might consist with the Peace of the Common-wealth, seem'd to be a kind of Persecution not unequal to that of the Heathen Emperors in the beginning of Christianity: This Opinion being by the Ring - Leaders infused into the Peoples Minds, who being apt to pitty al in distress, from Pitty are induced to Liking, and from liking to Love, they at length espouse the Party, and with so much the more Violence, by how much the more it is oppos'd; nothing being more natural, than to resist Force, and covet earnestly those things we are forbid. The Consideration of this, and his own observation, that the more the Christians were put to Death, the more they increased, made the wise *Pliny* write to the Emperor

Trajan,

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Trajan to forbear Persecution; telling him, *That shedding Christians Blood, was sowing the Seed of the Church*; every Man's Death giving to the Multitude a sufficient proof of the Truth of his Profession, and gaining more Profelites than Preaching coud. By the Emperor's following this good advice the Christians gain'd their Liberty, and he an Accession to his Army; and the great increase of Converts was thereby much restrained.

The sense of this great Prudence joyn'd with his Majesties great natural Clemency, has with good reason prevail'd upon his Ministers rarely to execute the Severity of the Sanguinary and penal Laws upon Dissenters; and I am well assur'd, that did they not believe by those Statutes remaining stil in force, That they are under Persecution or the dread of it; instead of increasing much within these few years, they woud certainly have decreased: I am therefore perswaded, that Toleration with convenient Restrictions woud lessen the Evil,

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and remove most of its inconveniencies; tho al can never be taken away without another sort of Education. And if the Parliament that give it, find it hereafter inconvenient, they may alter or annul it, how they please. In this Toleration al Opinions are to be provided against that are destructive of good Life, together with the consequences rather than occasions, Atheism and Irreligion. As the *Venetians* once excluded, so must we for ever prohibit the Jesuits and other Regulars: The number of secular Priests, and Non-conforming Ministers or Teachers are to be limited; They with their Flocks Registred, and to be incapable of any Office in the Commonwealth, and the Teacher to be maintain'd by themselves; The richest of the Congregations to be security for their Preachers, That they shal preach no Sedition, nor have privat Conventicles. That, besides the State may send two to hear al taught; That the use of al Controversial Catechismes, and

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and Polemical Discourses as wel out as in the Pulpit under strict Penalties be forbid: Such things, no less in their natures, than their names signifying and begetting Distractions, Rebellions, and Wars. Tho it be as impossible by Laws or Penalties to alter mens Opinions, from what either their Temper, or their Education has occasion'd, as it is to change their Complexions; Yet if men pursu'd nothing but Godliness and Honesty, they woud find their Differences in Opinion, are no more hurtful than restrainable: And to make them less so, all names of hatred and division are to be taken away, and the Parable of Christs seamless Coat to be really fulfil'd again. That al, whatever their single Opinions be, be call'd by no other Name than that of Christians, for indeed as such they al agree, that is, in the Fundamentals of Religion; (as for the disputed things they are already shewn not certain, therefore not necessary, consequently (to us) impertinent which of the assertions be true,) and only differ by

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by the considerations of Pride, or interest, as they are *Trinitarians* or *Antitrinitarians*, *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Papists* or *Protestants*, *Remonstrants* or *Antiremonstrants*, *Jansenists* or *Molinists*, *Franciscans* or *Dominicans*, *Lutherans* or *Calvinists*, *Presbyterians* or *Independants*, &c. But for my own part I am of opinion, That we shal never arrive at the tru state of Christianity either by Disputing without Toleration, or by Toleration with Disputing *i. e.* we shal not come to live *Righteously*, *Soberly*, and *Godly* in this present World: For, disputing destroys al, and Toleration alone wil not take away those wrong Notions, with which the present Age is prepossess'd; tho some of the *prejudices* may be lessen'd by softness and gentleness, by Love and Perswasions; this I confess wil not do in al, because al have not understanding, and such as want it must inevitably run into Error; For, whatever the Philsophers Dispute whether the Wil and the Understanding be distinct Faculties, or distinct Operations of the same Soul, it
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plainly appears in al our actions, that we wil or nil things according to our Understandings, which as wel or il inform'd make us do things good or evil; so that, til our Notions are rectifi'd, we are to be pityed and instructed, not hated or condemned. When by an excellent Education and a good Example we are taught not only to know, but to practise our Duty, it wil then be almost morally impossible for us to offend; wheras, on the contrary while both are now neglected, 'tis a wonder we are not worse: Pursuant to this, *Salomon* gives a wise Direction, *Train up a Child in the way thou woud'st have him to go, and when he is old, he wil not depart from it.* The great Business, then, not only to assuage the pain, (which in the present Circumstances cannot be don without Toleration) but wholly to remove the Distemper, is to introduce such a fixt Method of Education, as may imprint on our Minds, tru and early Notions of Virtue and Religion.

The Parliament have lately begun to
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look into the Practice of Piety, and to prevent or lessen Prophanation and Debaucheries have enacted, That Hackney-Coaches (it had bin more equal if al had bin under the Penalty,) shal after the *Jewish* manner of Sabbath, rest from Labor: I wish, they woud now be pleased, to take care the People keep the Christian-Sabbath as they ought; Not so much in a Rest from bodily Labor, as from Sin, the greater toyl of the Soul; to which, they are oblig'd by every days Duty; The use of the *Seventh*, above the rest, seeming to be set apart for returning Thanks for Blessings, and for Exhortations effective of Holiness and a good Life: The Duty of that day is not fulfilled, by hearing a quaint-Man preach himself, not Christ; Policy, not Morality; confute the *Pope*, the *Calvinist*, or the *Arminian*, the *Presbyterian* or the *Episcopal*— Such Discourses engender nothing but Strife, and tend not to Edification; they are the vain Traditions of Men, in which we shoud quicly find, did we but seriously consider, that there
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was nothing of that *Faith*, without which we cannot please, nor of that *Holyness*, without which *no man shal see God*:

And, since the Parliament by that last mention'd Act, have begun to *tythe Mint and Commis*; tis to be hoped, they wil go on, and not leave the *weightier things of the Law undon*; that their Wisdoms and their Zeal wil be more imploy'd about the *Power, than the form of Godliness*, which may for ever be establisht by the following Method, or such other as they shal think more agreeable, *viz.* To make new Divisions of Parishes, which may with more convenience to the People be don, than as at present they stand, by limiting every Parish to the compass of about three Miles Square, and building a Church in the central - place, to hold about a thousand; and to apportion the Parishes in Cities at least to the like number of People: This wil reduce the Parishes from about ten to a little more than four Thousand. To erect Schools in every Parish, where al the Children shal be
G 2 instructed,

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instructed, in Reading, Writing, and the first Elements of Arithmetic and Geometry without charge to the Parents: Whence to the greater Schools, to be erected in the Dioceses, Counties, or Hundreds, after the manner of *Westminster, Eaton, or Winchester*, so many of the ripest and best Capacitated as shal suffice for the supply of al Callings that make Learning a Trade (as Divinity, Physic, and Law) may be yearly elected, to be train'd up in the further necessary Parts of Learning, and from thence yearly sent to the Universities; from the Universities upon al vacancies, Schoolmasters and Ministers to be chosen; the first, not under five and twenty years; the later, not under Thirty (the age allow'd among the *Jews* for Doctors or Teachers, and at which our Savior began to Preach); and both, to be Masters of Art, before the one be Licensed, or the other Ordain'd by the Bishop; and none to be Ordain'd, before they are secur'd of being Noble Mens Chaplains, or elected to Parishes. That the Bishoprics be

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be also divided according to Convenience and the number of Parishes; That the Ministers and School-masters be Celibats, not under a vow (as in the Church of *Rome*) but on condition of quitting their Benefices upon Marriage, and returning to a Lay-life; For, that of the priests being *jure Divino* being disputed, is therefore (to say no more) to our Salvation not necessary to be believed; For, unless they demonstrat the contrary by Scripture, the sufficient Rule of Faith, or by Miracles, men wil be apt to believe the Story of an *indelible Character*, to be a *Relic of Popery*, invented to aggrandize the Honor and Power of the Church, turn'd into a Court of *Rome*; But be it what it wil, 'tis plain they can't be greater than *St Paul*, who did not only for Convenience of the Church, *avoid leading about a wife, or a Sister*, but wrought at his Trade after he had Received the Holy-Ghost; of which it were to be wisht al Divines shew'd themselves possess, by a Life conformable to that of the Holy *Jesus*. But without doubt there wil be enuff found to undertake this calling,

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on these terms, tho seemingly difficult. By this course, there is a provision made for the Incontinency of such of the Priests as find themselves Flesh and Blood; which if don in the Church of *Rome*, woud free it from great Scandal.

That a book of Homilies be compil'd, for varietie four for every *Sunday*, and two for each festival or holy day. That nothing be inserted, but Dehortations from Vice and Exhortations to Virtu, neither Controversies nor State Affairs so much as oblicly glanc'd upon. That a Catechism adapted to the meanest Capacity be composed, shewing the Duty of Christians according to the express Words of the Text of Scripture, without straining or misapplying any one, (as is don in two many of those now extant), and without touching upon any one disputed point. That, al the Books of Controversial Divinity, as wel those in privat hands, as in Bookfellers, be bought up by the State, and plac'd in the Kings-Library, or burnt. That, al the Commentaries

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mentaries on the Bible be reviewed by sober, moderate and learned Men; and as many of them as contain more than what directly tends to the Illustration of the Text, by recounting the Language, Customs and Ceremonies of the Times and places it was writ in, follow the fate of the others. And because it is reasonable to believe, There is no such intire Work extant, in imitation of the *Septuagint* Translation, there may be seventy appointed for this to be in Latin, and for the Homilies and Catechism in *English*: which being don, let al the present Expositions be sent to the Library, or the Fire. That the same Persons or others be ordered to pick out of the Scripture al such Passages as tend to the encouragement of a Holy Life, and to put them into one piece in *English* for common use.

I have heard som sober Men wish, that *English* Bibles were not so common, that the ignorant and unwary might not wrest the hard texts to *their own destruction*, nor to that of the Public Peace: But you

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know, I have often told you, I look'd upon the variety of Translations out of the Original into the vulgar Languages, as the best Comment.

These things being don, To take the Printing of Books into the state; it is as necessary as the Mint; false Coy-nage of Books has don *England* more mischief, than ever that of Mony did, or wil do; The Licensing of Printing, or importing from beyond-Sea, wil not otherwise prevent great Evil to Church and State. That there be but a convenient number of book-sellers permitted; Those to be under obligation, to vend no other books, then such as are Printed in this allow'd Printing-House, where forrein books with advantage to the Public may be reprinted. The hindering forrein Coyn from being current, is not so useful and advantageous, as the care in this wil prove, to the Kingdom.

When Things are thus far settled, the Bishops (who are not to be chosen under forty) are to see, that al Ministers, School-masters and Church-wardens, do their respective Duties; going about, and
visiting

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visiting Parish by Parish, as was the Antient Practice, Confirming, after Examination, and exhorting al to continu obedient to the Laws of God and Man; reprehending and suspending such as they find faulty without favor or affection, the Ministers and School-Masters, from Office and benifice; the people from the Sacraments (which is every where monthly at least to be Administred) til after Repentance express'd in the reformation of their Lives.

As for the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts, because it is a kind of *imperium in imperio*, and that thro the greatness of the Bishops other Charge, they cannot officiat in this, to take away and prevent abuses it is to be laid aside; and other, or the same Punishments for the crimes there usually tryable, inflicted in the ordinary Courts, upon the Bishops, or the Minister and Church-Wardens Certificate of the Matter of Fact; in whom alone the Power of Examination shoud reside: And, because the office of Bishops, Ministers, and School-masters

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sters wil be of great Labor, none shoud continu in them beyond Sixty, nor so long unless they are found fitting: After that Age, al of um to have a handsome decent Retreat in Colleges purpose-ly built; where the superannuated of each province, the *emeriti* in the Christian warfare, may spend the Remnant of their days without Care, in quiet and Devotion.

To assist and ease the Bishop, there shou'd be, as formerly, Rural Deans over every ten or twenty Parishes. Part of the Ministers Business shou'd be to instruct the Boys every *Saturday* in the Schools, in al the Duties of Religion; To Catechize and read the Prayers and Homilies on *Sundays* in public; The rest of the Week, between the times of Prayer to be celebrated twice a-day, to go from House to House, exhorting and dehorting, as occasion requires, visiting the Sick, and examining the Needs of the Poor, reconciling Differences between the Neighbors, and taking care, that in every Family the Children, such as are found fit, by the Electors appointed, not by

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by the Parents' blind Fondness, be constantly sent to School.

After the continued Practice of this course, Christianity wil again flourish; The years of the Minister wil make him sober and grave, fit to give Counsel, which from young Men is now despis'd. There wil then be no need of spending time in writing Controversies, or studying Sermons, which as now Preach'd are rarely understandable or useful to the People; of whom it may be said, the one is always teaching to no purpose, and the other *ever learning, and never coming to the Knowledg of the Truth.*

The School-masters are not only to be learned, but sober and discreet Men; to be oblig'd never to whip, or beat the Boys; whose Faults are to be punished by Exercises, by standing mute or kneeling for certain spaces, or by fasting from their Victuals, &c. Those that are good, to be encouraged by Priority of Places, by commendatory Verses made by the higher Forms, &c. The
Boys

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Boyes that need beating, are as unfit to be taught, as the Man is to teach who uses that tyrannical way, which too much debases the Meek-spirited, and makes the Sullen more stubborn and ill-natur'd. That whatever any Persons bestow on the Masters be converted to publick Charitable Uses. The Method of Teaching to be drawn up by som of the Members, (who, 'tis presum'd, wil mix Things with Words) and approv'd by the whole Royal Society; that confirm'd and al others prohibited by Law.

That in the Univerfities, none be suffer'd to continu beyond the Age of forty-five, nor above two in any one House or Colledg after thirty-five. That a new Method be likewise fram'd by the same Persons for al the Liberal Arts and Sciences; and that new Academies be built for training up young Noblemen and Gentlemen in those Exercises, which to the shame and loss of *England* are now learnt in *France*.

That

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That handfom and sufficient Salaries be fixt, and paid out of the public Revenu, according to every Mans Quality: Bishops equal to one another, Deans to Deans, Ministers and School-masters to each other: and these to be chosen gradually, as the pure Consideration of Merit shall invite the Electors. And to inable the Public as wel in paying these Salaries, as in building of Schools, Churches, Colledges and Hospitals, the whole Revenues of the Church, Free-Schools, Univerfities, and Hospitals shoud at the highest valu be annex'd to the Crown, or sould to others that wil give more; The Overplus sav'd by this new Model, and the Mony they woud yield beyond any other Land of *England*, in regard the Annual Rent is not a Fourth of the real Valu, and yet may be ordered equally advantageous to the Tenants, as the Fines now make them, woud complete this Work. Thus converting the Patrimony of the Church woud be no Sacriledg, the Pious Use is carryed on to the good of Al; and perhaps as first desin'd
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by the Donors, when Provision for Wives and Children, not in being, could not be thought of; the Care of whom distract many from their Duty, and disable them from keeping in decent Repair the ancient Monuments of Piety built by our Ancestors. But all these things to be done, without the least prejudice to the present Incumbents.

When Education is thus settled, the Duty and Interest of Church-men, and their Care of Wives and Children removed, Plurality of Livings, and Simony prevented, as well that of Friendship, of the Smock, marrying of Cousins Nieces, crooked Sisters, or Ladies Women, as that of the Purse; all which in themselves are equally Criminous, none but good Men will undertake the Charge: And then the Objections will vanish which loose Education has infused into the wild and foolish, *viz.* That *Religion is a Cheat, a trick of State; that the Parson follows Christ for the Loaves; speaks as does the Lawyer in his Trade, not that there's any Truth in't, but be-*
cause

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cause he has bos in lingua, &c. To do this, is neither so strange, nor so difficult, as was the greater alteration made by *Henry the Eighth*; who had not in story bin so infamous tho he had seized on the whole temporalities of the Church, had he but thus disposed of some part. And by the way you may take notice, that the house of *Commons* in this point had been *Cromwells* in the sixth and eleventh Years of *Henry the Fourth*, who upon their advice had seized the Churches Patrimony, had they not by friends and many prevented the blow; and that *de facto*, several Bishoprics and livings were enjoyed by some of his predecessors, which appears not onely from History, but from printed Acts of Parliament.

That it will be no hard Matter, from *Graunts* Observations, and the *Bills of Mortality*, to make a Computation of the Numbers necessary to be sent Yearly to the *Universities*, for *Divinity, Law, and Physic*: The last of which ought so to be regulated, as not to suffer any to Kil (rather than Cure,) which is daily
done

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don in *London*, and other parts of the Kingdom, to the prejudice and scandal of that honorable and somtimes useful Profession, to the los of the peoples Mony and Lives, to the maintaining of many idle, and ignorant Mountebancs, and impostors, who to the greater advantage of the Common-wealth, might be employed, in more safe and beneficial Trades or ways of Living.

This Course wil also prevent such evil consequences in Church and State, as formerly attended the *Superfations* of the *Clergy*, and the breeding up of *Servitors* and *poor Scholars* (as they wel cal them) in the Universities; who being generally of mean Birth, and no less mean Parts, and the attendance upon their Masters not suffering them so wel to attend their Studies; and their subsistence by Service failing them after they had staid at the University, no longer than to incapacitat and unfit them for any other way of Living, and yet not to qualify them for turning Preachers, However, having chopt a little *Logic*,

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Logic and disputed of *Ens Rationis*, and so fancying they coud *Build Castles in the Aire*, they assume the confidence to conclude, they cannot Miss of Habitations on the earth, and so from the *Lowest of the People*, getting to be put into the *Priests Office for a peece of Bread*, they becom a great cause of, as wel as they are in Effect, *The contempt of the Clergy*. And those for want of Knowledg, lay their foundations in *Erroneous Doctrines*, in which Nevertheless they coud not succeed, but by pretending an extraordinary mesure of *Saint-ship* or Holiness, Railing at the sins and abuses of the times, which themselves have occasion'd. Thus they *creep into houses*, and first lead silly Women, and then their Husbands *Captive*, as *Adam* by *Eves* persuasion eating the *forbidden fruit* til he Surfited and died, so these ignorant Zelots not content in *King James* his time and the beginning of *King Charles* the first, to rob the Kingdom of many Families, til at last, they made themselves the *boutefeus* of the late horrid Rebellion;

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lion; which tho it may be said, to have been principally occasion'd, by such as these, yet not without som *Episcopal mens* having a *Finger in the Pie*: For, to say truth, I know not whether the too great *Stifness* in the one, for their *Old*, or in the other, against *those Formes*, was most blameable. But This I know that by the Collision of both parties, as of Flints, a Fire was kindled not unlike that in the *Tayles of Samsons Foxes*, which proved as Destructive of the Expectations of profit each had of their own crop, as the other did to the *Philistines* corn; Yet had the evil of that, not extended to any others, but those of the Pulpit, we might now have talk'd on't without much regret. What ever such violent disputes, have formerly been able to do, 'tis my duty to wish, and Yours to endeavor, that England be no more the Stage of such Tragedies. *Refraine not Counsel when it may do good*, and be not backward in advising that *Toleration* is the *First step*, and *Education* the *next* that perfectly leads the way to peace

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peace and happiness. This Cours being taken, we shal have no cause to dispair, but that Religion wil again resume its *Naked Truth*, That the Doctrines of men wil be judged better or worse, as they more or less incline to holiness of living; and thus being reduced to a Calmness within our selves, we need not fear the *Designes of Forrainers*.

Of whom none, but *France*, can be supposed to have any upon *England*; and if that be granted, why may it not be prevented, by observing stil the same Rules of Policy, which this Crown formerly practised; that was, so holding the Balance between the then two contending Powers of *Spain* and *France*, that neither shoud be able to obtain their Aims, The universal Monarchy of the *west*? But now the Case is alter'd, in that *Spain* being much weakned by the accession of the *west-Indies*, and grasping more than it could wel hold in other Countries, has quitted the Field, and left *France*

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without a Rival: So that the present Interest of *England* seems to be the same with that of al *Europe*, viz. to oppose by al possible means the growing Greatness of *France*; and reduce that Crown to such a condition, as may not leave it in his Power to hurt his Neighbors. By what they have already compassed, one may guess they wil ere long bring about, if not timely stopt, their long design'd Ambitious Purposes: In the prosecution of which, they were in the late times of Usurpation, the under-hand Instrument of the War with *Holland*, as they were of the two following, in *sixty-five* and *seventy-one*, blowing up the Feuds on both sides, pretending to take part with each, but not really purposing it with either. Having the same Define of weakning both Parties, as the *Brittains* formerly had, in throwing a Bone of Contention between the *Picts* and *Scots*, that they might in the end be the better able to overcom both; In the mean time the *French* King gain'd an opportunity of building Ships of War,

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and training up Seamen, of which he was before destitute; so that had not these Quarrels, and our late Civil Wars given him a pretence of increasing his Maritin Power, we might stil, even by threats of burning the Ships upon the Stocks, or in the Harbors, as did *Queen Elizabeth*, have kept that People under, and our selves from fear: But since by unavoidable Accidents, the Dice are so thrown, as that the *Fore* is lost, let's use the best of our art and skill, to retrieve an *After-Game*. There is no need to attempt the proof of what is as evident as the Sun at Noon-day, That the *French* King has a Power great enuff, considering the present Circumstances of *Europe*, to make him hope, and al others dread his effecting that old Define, which has bin the end of al Actions of that Crown for many years past; which before he coud put in Execution, his great Obstacle and Rival the *Spaniard* was to be removed out of the way; in order to which he judg'd necessary to fortify himself with some Allyes, and engage

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others Newters; But foreseeing it was the interest of *England* and *Holland* to oppose the one and assist the other, and therefore despairing to prevail upon either, he contriv'd to make both fall out; not long after he took the advantage of unexpectedly invading the Spanish *Netherlands*, even while his Agent then in *Spain* was persuading that Crown of his Masters good intentions to continue in intire Peace and Amity with them. The consequence of which we wisely foreseeing, occasion'd our setting on Foot the Tripple League in the year 1668. by which a stop was put to his further Progress.

And now perceiving himself disappointed, he makes various Attempts in the Years 1669 and 1670, to invite *England* to break that Alliance; But finding his *fineness* Vain, he obliquely endeavors it, by renewing the old, and inventing new grounds of Quarrels, by such Agents and Pensioners in the State of *Holland*, as his wealth had purchas'd; which at last made them commit such insolence, against the Honor
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of this Crown, and the Interest of the People in point of Trade, as brought upon 'um the last fatal War, into which he no sooner drew the *Hollanders*, than he rush'd into the very Heart of their Country. This sudden event made them confess their Error, and our King the sooner to conclude a Peace. The Parliament was then and since very desirous His Majesty should ingage with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* against *France*; and without doubt he knew it would be his interest so to do; but not at that time; For tho the undoubted Prerogative of the Kings of *England* intitule them to make War and Peace, he did not wave the former, because the Parliament urged it, as the malicious suggest, but because he saw it not convenient. 'Tis tru the Kings of *England* have bin pleas'd, to advise in such matters with their Parliaments; But that was an Act of Grace, and condescension, and ought not now (if at al) to be insisted on, so as to deny the King that liberty, which as a Man he cannot want, that of exami-
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ning and approving or disapproving what his great Council should advise: For no man in his Wits wil dream, the Lords and Commons have a power of imposing what they please upon the King, when without his Assent, they have neither Power nor Right to make any Act. The King considered, That Peace is the happiness of a Kingdom; That War being a real evil, is never to be undertaken, but to avoid a greater; That his Treasures were exhausted by the War just finish'd; That his People had not recover'd their losses, by the Plague, Fire, and Wars, and therefore were unable to bear the Burden of heavy Taxes, which of necessity must have bin impos'd, to carry on a new one; for which great preparations ought to be made, both of Men, Money and Shipping; the former were no less wanting, than the last much impaired and diminish'd. He consider'd, That the French King had not only bin amassing great Treasure for many, but had also bin three years training up an Army in all the Disciplines of

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of War, That it was necessary, before one King entred into a War, to compare his own and the others strength, *whether with Ten he were able to meet him with Twenty Thousand*: That he ought to make Alliances, and to have cautionary Towns, before we declared ourselves Enemies; That so great a design was not to be made public, before things were Ripe, lest the *Dutch and French* might clap up a Peace, and that potent King turn against us the fury of his Arms, for whom certainly in those circumstances, we should have bin a very unequal match. I am perswaded, That these, with other much wiser considerations not obvious to every man, convinced the King A War was on no score at that time seasonable: And to this Opinion I am mov'd, by my sense, That the King could not but reflect, That when the French King had subjected all the rest of *Europe*, he would not fail to ad *England* to his Conquests, in which our Kings losse must needs be greater than his Subjects; For it is unreasonable

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reasonable to think, that tru Policy woud let the French King suffer any of the Royal Family, especially the King of *England* and *France* (at whose Title and Arms-bearing he is not a little offended) to outlive the los of the Crown; since he coud not but believe, they woud be perpetually endeavouring, the regaining their own Right: For tho subjection be unequal to al, 'tis not so intolerable to any, as to those us'd to govern: And therefore tis an idle and and senseless inconsiderat fancy, to imagin the King and Duke coud forget their own Interest, or be Frenchifi'd upon any promise or bargain, as is maliciously insinuated, that they might be more absolute, which can't possibly be in their thoughts or wishes. Who know that, between Kings or States, Covenants are binding no longer than convenient; that the *French* King has ever shewn, that his Interest only or his Wil is the Rule of convenience. That he that makes War for his *Glory*, has more ambition to put his Chains upon Princes, than

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than on the People: his thoughts are as large as any of the Roman Emperors, and they esteemd it a greater Glory to lead one King in Triumph, than many thousands Subjects of several Kingdoms. And it is not to be suppos'd that the natural strength and situation of *England*, can be a sufficient Defence against the Power of *France*, when to that he has already, is added that of all the rest of *Europe*, unless you can dream they may have a Fleet greater than all, and may at once resist, by those Walls, the Invasion of others, and defend their Merchant-men at Sea; which if not don, without an Invasion, by spoiling the Trade, *England* will be destroy'd, or which is altogether as bad, be render'd very poor and inconsiderable. And that this has bin his Majestyes sense, may be guess'd by the Progress he has made since the War, mediating a Peace as best became a good King, and giveing his Subjects an opportunity of enriching themselves, and inabling them to bear the necessary *Taxes*, by ingrossing most of

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of the Trade of *Europe*, and at length finding his endeavours ineffectivè, he prepar'd himself to resist the *French* designs by force, by providing a Fleet, and knowing that he that fights with another must have skill at the same Weapons, he suffer'd such of his Subjects as were willing (but on capitulations to return when he pleas'd) to serve either the *Confederates* or the *French*, not only to be fitted to lead others, but also to understand the new Arts of fighting, which are greatly alter'd from what they were in former times. The King having thus prepared things, I hear he is so far from being backward to declare War with *France*, that he wil gladly do it, if his Parliament wil but find out a sufficient means for carrying it on effectually: which I apprehend must not be ordinary, for that the War, if undertaken, is like to be of long continuance,

And you wil guess that 'tis no longer to be delay'd, if you wil but bring before your Eyes the danger we and all *Europe* are expos'd to, by comparing the pre-

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present Power of *France* with what it was in the Days of *Francis the First*, and observing what he was then able to do, when assaulted by *Charles the Fifth*, who was not only Emperor, but had all the Power of *Spain*, the *Seventeen Provinces*, of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the *Dukedom of Milan*, and the Riches of the *west-Indies*, who was as Wise, Couragious, and Fortunat a Captain, as most Ages of the World have known; one who manag'd his own Councils, & like *Alexander* in every Action appear'd at the Head of his Army; who had above a hundred Thousand wel disciplin'd Men, led by many great and experienc'd Commanders; who was able, by a mighty Naval Power, to begirt *France* on both sides, from *Flanders* and from *Spain*. Yet at that time *France* Courting the same *Mistriss*, the *universal Monarchy*, was so powerful a Rival, that he durst not attempt his removal out of the way of his Ambition, without the aid and assistance of *Henry the Eighth*, the *Pope*, and several Princes of *Italy*; nor even then

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then did he think himself secure, til he had drawn to a defection, *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, the most considerable *Prince of France*. And yet after all, he was forc'd to clap up an Accommodation, on Terms sufficiently advantageous to that Crown.

If so mighty a Power, and so united, could not prevail against *Francis the First*, How unlikely is it to resist *Lewis the Fourteenth*, a much greater Prince, when that Power is now so much lessen'd, by being broken and divided into several Hands? When the Emperor gives himself up more to Devotion, than *Martial* or *State-Affairs*? When the King of *Spain* is a Youth of Sixteen, and when the *Seventeen Provinces* are canton'd between the *Spaniards* and the *States General*? When these several Divisions and Interests occasion long Debates, different Opinions, and slowness in Preparation and Action? When all that was formerly manag'd by one single Head, is by these Accidents brought under the Conduct of several Governors, of whom, it's possible, som may prefer their privat
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Advantages to the Interests of their Masters? This has made som Conjecture, the *French King* has open'd more Gates with Silver Keys, than by Force of Arms; and has induc'd others to conclude, That the *Confederates* wil hardly be able to defend the Remainder of the *Spanish Netherlands*, another Campagne, if not assisted by the joynt Power of the rest of *Europe*: This you wil easily believe, not to be ill grounded, if you consider the present Greatness of *France*; *Lewis* has about four times the Revenu *Francis* had, and at least four times the Army: Nay rather, all his People are now in a manner Souldiers; 'Tis not only scandalous, but a vain attempt, for any Gentleman there to make Court for a Wife, before he has serv'd a Campaign or two, nor are any of the *Nobles* sufferd to live at ease in the Country, that do not go, or send som of their Sons to the War. These practises enabl'd him last summer, in fifteen days to send forty-five Thousand Gentlemen, with their Servants, at their own Charge to raise the
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Siege of *Charleroy*. And to make the Monarchy more absolute, Matters have bin so order'd, that their Parliaments are become ordinary Courts of Justice, and have no other Laws than the Edicts of the Prince's wil; And if at any time, he condescends in Formality to assemble the three Estates (who had in *Francis the First's* time the Power of Parliaments) 'tis but to tel them by his *Chancellor*, the King Wils you do thus or thus, you are not to advise or dispute, but immediatly ratify his Commands, which accordingly are obey'd, as the Effects of a Despotic Power.

In the beginning of the Year 1665, he was not able to man out twenty Ships of War, and now he has about two hundred; He has not only vast Treasures heaped together, but the Strings of all the Purfes of his *Slaves* rather than Subjects in his own hands. If without any Assistance he has already gain'd *Lorrain*, *Franche Comte*, a great part of *Flanders*, and no inconsiderable Footing in *Germany* and *Sicily*, and in the beginning

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ginning of the last Campaigne three such strong Holds, as *Valenciennes*, *St. Omer*, and *Cambrai*; the weakest of which, most men thought, woud at least have made him whole a Summers work, what wil he not be able to compass, against the rest of *Europe*, when he has got the accession of *Germany*, and all the *Low-countrys*, to that already too boundless Power by which he has fetter'd his own People, and subjected them to an absolute Vassalage? Wil other Nations expect better Terms, than he has given his own? 'Tis wel if he wil allow them even *Canvas* and *Saboms*. But above all, what can *England* hope, having for many years forc'd him to check the *Reins* of his Ambition, and is, I presume at this time ready to put on the *Cavefon*. Books have already bin printed shewing his pretentions to this Country, which, tho weak and filly, may help to spur him on in the pursuit of his Glory. Nor can less be expected from those, who by a Confederacy with the late Usurpers, gave an opportunity of taking away the Life of
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the first *Charles*, and of pursuing that of the *Second*, to whom his own Cousin German unhopitably deny'd the continuance of a retreat, when the vicissitudes of human affairs, to make him afterwards appear more glorious, veil'd him in Clouds of misfortunes. What can be hop'd from him who contriv'd that never to be forgotten affront of burning our ships at *Chattam*, and who is said to have had no smal hand in the firing of *London*: Who tho stil'd the most Christian, declares as an unalterable Maxim, no Treaty binding longer than it consists with his Interest, not founded on Religion, or Reason, but on *Glory*? The very Heathens were anciently, and the *Turks* at this day are more punctual to their Oaths and Promises, The falsifying of any thing confirm'd by the Adiuration of their Gods, or *Mahomet*, was, and is accounted infamous. But what Treaties, or Capitulations can be reckon'd which the *French* Ministers have not violatèd? Have they not broken the famous *Pyrenean Treaty*, confirm'd
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by Oaths and Sacraments? And contrary to a solemn Renunciation and the double Ties of Blood and Marriage, before a breach complain'd of, or a War declar'd, invaded the Territoryes of an Infant King? Have not they by address, and Cunning, by Bribes and Rewards, endeavored to corrupt most of the Ministers of *Europe*? Such practises amongst privat Christians woud be abominable, and much more so, between any Kings not stil'd the most Christian. Do they not publicly abet the proceedings of the Rebels in *Hungary* against their lawful Prince? And whatever the Pope may be induc'd to beleive, not for the Propagation of the Romish Religion (for they are Protestants) but to serve his own ambitious purposes of enslaving the World; of which, rather than fail, he has decreed to bring in the *Turk*, in whose Courts also he has found Arts to make his Coyn current. Nor is the *Infallible* Man whom he has already *Pillard* to scape him, at least as to the Temporal part of his Power, for

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not thinking that affront great enuff, and concluding, he has not as he ought, imploy'd it for the *French* Interest, he is said to have privatly vow'd not only the lessening, but the abrogating of that great Authority, in which his Predecessors *Pepin* and *Charlemain's* Charity had vested him. Nor is his Countenanceing the *Jansenists*, a Sect more dangerous to the See of *Rome*, than that of *Luther* or *Calvin*, a smal Argument, that he intends to pul down his spiritual Grandeur, by fixing it in a *Gallican* Patriarch. But to com nearer home, have not the *French* had a main hand in our Civil Wars, and were they not since the secret Instruments of spilling the Blood of many thousands of our fellow Subjects? To som of whom, tho now they pretend civility, 'tis not to give them a share in their Glory, so much as to hazard their Lives, making them steps to the Throne of an unjust Empire; in order to which, they have expos'd them on all occasions, in hopes by weakning us, to remove out of their way

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way the greatest block which has already given them *check*, and wil now I hope stop their Carreir and *mate* them. And is it not time think you, that all the Princes in Christendom, for their common safety, shoud unite, not only to Chase the *French* King out of his new Conquests, but confine him to his ancient Dominion and manner of Government? If this be not speedily put in Execution, I may without the spirit of Prophecy foretel, som of the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy* who now seem unconcern'd, wil when 'tis too late repent the oversight: The fire is already kindled in their Neighborhood, and if they do not help to quench the flame, they wil quicly see their own dwellings laid in Dust and Ashes. Every new acquist and accession of Power enlarges our desires, and makes the ambitious man think, that which before seem'd not only difficult, but impossible, to be very plain and feasible; The success of the *French* has already made them think no enterprize too hard, and

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and still prompts them to push on their good Fortune, which nothing can withstand but a general opposition of other Princes.

You see then, 'tis not so much honor nor friendship, nor a desire of succorring the injur'd and oppressed, that invites the rest of *Europe*, to the assistance of the *Netherlands*, but the care and preservation of their *Laws* and *Liberties*, their *Glorry*, and their *Fortunes*: And tho I am apt to believe on *Englands* entring into the League, the *French* King woud gladly conclude a Peace: Yet I can't but think the doing so, woud be against the common interest, on any other Terms, than quitting all his new Acquisitions, and even then the *Confederats* wil be out in Policy, if they do not still continue in a posture of defence, both by Sea and Land. The *Dutch* paid dear for the contrary practise, and their sufferings in 1672 wil convince them and others, that so long as *Lewis* the *fourteenth* lives, his Neighbors must not expect to sleep in quiet; they cannot prudently hope,

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his future Practises wil be more just, than his former; he that has already broke thro so many Obligations of Oaths and Treatyes, is likely to do so agen; whoever cannot be kept within bounds by the sense of Reason and Justice, wil despise the weaker tyes of forced Oaths; For he that avows Power to be the Rule, and *strength the Law of Justice*, wil not stick to say, This Peace was an imposition, an unjust restraint of the lawful pursuit of his *Greatness*. And therefore as soon as he gives his wearyed Armies a breathing time, and sees the Confederates dispers'd, and their Troops disbanded, he wil like an unexpected *Torrent* break-in upon som of his Neighbors. The Common Inscription of his Cannons *Ratio ultima Regum*, is by him inverted to a contrary sense, and made a public Warning to Mankind, that he defines, as God did of old, to give Law to the World in Thunder and Lightning, to scatter by the Flames of his Artillery al those Clouds of the Confederat Forces that intercept and eclipse the

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Rayes

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Rayes of his *Glory*. He makes the Power of his Arms his *first and last Reason*: He do's not only pursue, but commonly wounds his Adversary before he declares him such, or gives him leisure to *draw*. First invades a Prince's Territories, and after sets up his Title and Cause of the War; is not concern'd that all the World observes the Pretence is false and trifling, vain and unjust, warranted by no other Reason than that of *absolute and unbounded wil*, *That he wil do so, because he wil*; which is the Foundation and Conclusion of all his Actions and Wars abroad, as well as of his Laws and Edicts at Home, express'd in these imperious Words, *Tel est nostre plaisir*. He do's not only tread in the Steps, but out-go one of his Predecessors, who in a Quarrel with his *Holiness*, sent him word, That what he could not justify by *Cannon-Law*, he would by the *Law of the Cannon*.

His Device the *Sun* in its *Meridian* with his Motto *Non pluribus impar*, sufficiently shews his Intentions for the Universal Monarchy, and the haughty Opinion

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Opinion he conceives, of his being the only Person qualify'd for the Government of more Worlds than one, declares his Resolutions of admitting no Rivals in Sovereignty, looking upon all other Princes but as so many smaller Stars, or wandering Planets compar'd with him the *Sun*; from whom after the antiquated and justly exploded Opinion of some Philosophers, they are to receive their borrowed Light or Power, as it shall please his *Mightiness* to dispense: So that Crowned Heads, Princes and Republics, as well as their Subjects, are to expect the same *meat* that of *Slavery*; and tho' that be not *sweet*, yet the *sawce* wil be *sower, poyant* to all, tho' perhaps a little differenc'd; The former may be allow'd *Golden*, while the later are to be manacled with *Iron-Chains*. In order hereunto, his Ambition has made him resolve the Conquering of the World after the Example of *Alexander*, whose Title of *Great* as an *earnest* of his future Hopes, he has already assum'd. He has vow'd to make himself as Famous
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to Posterity, by his Sword, tho not by his Pen, as *Caesar* has don: That *Paris* shal give Law to the *Universe*, as *Rome* once did, and that the *Ocean* shal yield no less to the *Sene*, than formerly it did to *Tyber*. Now if *England*, which alone is able to do it, prevents the Execution of these vast Purposes, what can we expect, but that one time or other, he wil seek a Revenge; and notwithstanding his Promises and solem Confirmations of Peace, try against us the success of his Arms, and by numbers endeavour for this mighty Insolence, to chastise those, for whom even their own Histories wil convince them, they are Man to Man a very unequal Match.

The disbanding his Forces for the present, is far from being a security, since he may raise them again at his Pleasure. Nor indeed do I imagin, he wil discharge his Armies, since that were to give them an opportunity of Rebelling, for which he is sensible, his People are sufficiently prepar'd, and only want either Domestic Heads and Partisans, or
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Forrein Assistance, to rescu themselves from Tyranny and Oppression. And is it fit, while so potent and so near a Monarch is in Arms, that we shoud stand with our hands in our Pockets? No, I am perswaded, tho a present Peace shoud be concluded, that the King and his Ministers, wil think it for the common safety, and the particular Interest of *England*, not only to enter with the Confederats into a strict Alliance offensive and defensive, but also, to put themselves into a Posture of War both at Sea and Land. The end of *War* is *Peace*, but a *Peace* with *France* seems to me to be the beginning of *War*, or (at least) a Preparation for One; and I must ingenuously profess, tho War be a great Evil, yet from all Appearances, I dread the Consequences of a *Peace* more, for that without great care, it wil be of the two, the most fatal to *England*: But this Consideration, as most fit, I leave to my Superiors, and wil only ask You, whether before we engage in a War abroad, it be not fit, To secure a Peace at home?

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home? To reconcile by Toleration, our Differences in point of Religion, That the *French* Emiffaries, or others, may not be able to ftrike Fire into the Tinder already prepared for the leaft Spark. It muft not be forgot, That, to divert or difable *Queen Elizabeth* from affifting *France*, or defending *Holland*, *Phillip the Second* of *Spain* encouraged and affifted *Tyrone*, to Rebel in *Ireland*; That in the long War between *Us* and *France*, it was the frequent Practice of that Crown to incite the *Scots* to make Incurfions upon us; And I prefume, it will be confider'd, Whether fome ambitious Men of that Kingdom may not influence the People to favor or fide with a Prince who maintains great numbers of their Nation, by the Considerations *that they are now but a Province, that England denies them an equal Freedom in Traffick; That they may have better Terms from the French in that and Religion,* in which by denial of Liberty they feem dif-fatisfy'd.

Tho fuch perfons can't poffibly work
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on the Wife, the confiderative of the People, yet fure it were not improper to ftudy a courfe, to prevent the unthinking Croud, the Rabbles being deluded by fuch falfe and groundlefs pretentions; which in my Opinion are with more care to be provided againft in *Ireland*, where 'tis faid thofe and other Motives may be urged: For there are computed to be in that Kingdom about eleven hundred thoufand perfons, of which 800000 are *Irish*, and of them above 10000, born to Eftates, difpoffeft; thefe for their loffes, and others for restraint in matters of Religion, are difcontented, not confidering their own Rebellion occasion'd their Ruin: (by their Murmurings I perceive let the Sentence be never fo juft, it wil not hinder the condemn'd from railing againft the judg:) That, befides their fuffering in Eftate and Religion, they are yet further beyond the *Scots* renderd incapable of injoying any Office or Power Military, or Civil, either in their native, or any other, of their Princes Countreyes; Their folly ha-
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ving thus reduced them to a condition more like that of Slaves than Subjects, many of the Gentry go frequently into other Kingdoms, but most into *France*, who may possibly be encouraged to return to move the People to a new Sedition, especially if they can give them assurance of forreign Assistance. The King wisely foreseeing this, directed in 1673. his late vigilant and prudent Vicegerent the Earl of *Essex*, to disarm the *Irish* Papists, and notwithstanding the exact execution of that command, its said that his Majesty intends to put himself to the further Charge of increasing his Army in that Kingdom, beyond what now it is, and to appoint a considerable Squadron of *Ships* to guard and defend its Coasts from any *Attempts* of Invasion, without which there is not the least fear of any intestine Commotions.

This, with the charge he has bin at in Erecting a new Fort in the Harbor of *Kinsale*, the most likely place to prevent the entring of any Forreign Power into that Country, shews he has bin
watchful

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watchful to secure himself and People against the *French* designs. And now I touch upon *Ireland*, I have heard some say, that it is not only convenient but necessary, to unite that Kingdom to this, To make a new division of Shires, To send only so many Members to Parliament, as could no more join to out-Vote us, than *Cornwal* and *Devonshire* with two or three other Countyes: But I see not if they were thus made one, wherein their interest woud be different from ours; many rather think they woud be losers by the Bargain. Others fancy *Pointings* Act shoud be repeal'd, that at first, tho a trick, it was necessary; but now is not, all the power and almost all the Land, being devolved upon such as are mediatly or immediatly *English*, and Protestants; And that by an easy contrivance, they might be still oblig'd to a dependence on the Crown of *England*; by which, its said, if they are always so kept under, as to be no more than *hewers of wood* and *dramers of water*, they may in future Ages be encouraged
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to a *defection*; and either set up a Power of their own, or invite a forreiner, which might prove of ill consequence to *England*; For the harbours and situation of *Ireland* lying more convenient for Trade, makes it that way, or otherwise, a ready inlet to the conquest of *England*.

The People there, stomach the prejudice, in point of Commerce, designed, tho not effected, by the Acts against their Cattle, Navigation, and Plantation Trade; by the first they are said to have gaind vastly, by an increase in Woollen and Linnen Manufactures, in Shipping and forrain Traffic, to the great prejudice of *England*: And I have bin credibly inform'd, by a person who examin'd it, that they have gaind *Communibus annis*, forty thousand Pounds *Sterling* yearly, by the Exported Commodities of Beef, Tallow, Hides, Butter, and Wool, yeelding so much more, after the passing that Act, than they and the Cattle did before, when transported together. And if the *Irish*, of which there
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are few pure Families left, have some pretence to the Kings Favour, as he is lineally descended from *Fergutius*, second Son of the then Reigning King of *Ireland*, and first of *Scotland*, which was anciently peopled from thence, The *English* there claim greater share in his Majesties Grace, and say of Right, they ought to be accounted but the younger Brothers of *England*. I could wish with all my heart, the story were true, I had from an *Irish* Gentleman in *France*, that his Countrey-men were so pleased, that they were at last govern'd by a King descended from their own blood Royal, that they had resolved, to pay his Majesty and the Successors of his Line, the Allegiance due from natural born Subjects, not from a Conquer'd People, which they now no more esteem themselves, nor desire to be accounted by others: How much of this may be true you and I know not, but this I think, If all the Natives were oblig'd to speak *English*, and all call'd by the Name of the *English* of *Ireland*, and allow'd
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equal Privileges in Trade, the same usages and customs, begetting a Harmony in Humor, that Rancor might in time be remov'd, which from a sense of being Conquer'd renders them now troublesome and chargeable to this Kingdom.

This was design'd in part by Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*, and perhaps had bin effected for the whole, but that the *Irish* could not be said to have bin fully Conquer'd before the tenth year of his Reign, which was after the making of those Statutes. It would be, I confess, an advantage to *England*, to be freed from the Charge and necessity of keeping that Kingdom under by a constant Army; and considering the inconveniences this Nation has suffer'd, by their frequent Wars and Rebellions, Their gain would be more, if they had never Conquer'd the Countrey, in which the losses of the *English* could perhaps be never better compensated, than by sinking it, if possible under water. The accession of so much people unto *England*, might make som Reparation, for the

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the greater number which to our own impoverishment we have sent thither. I have dwelt the longer, upon the considerations of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to shew the *Frenchman* may be mistaken, who, about ten or twelve Years since, publisht a Book of *Politics*, Chalking out the way for the *French* Kings gaining the Universal Monarchy (in imitation of *Campanella* to *Philip* the second on the same subject) wherein, after several insufferable slights and indignities, intolerable base, false and malicious Characters thrown and fixt upon the *English*, he tells it will be an easy task to overcome them (but in the last place) by sowing divisions among the King of *Englands* Subjects, especially those of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; By false insinuations, jealousies and fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, &c. the prevention wherof wil be his Majestyes particular Care, and the Parliaments, to inable him to carry on this great Work of our common safety, against the common Enemy the disturber of the Peace of Christendom

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dom by finding out an easy and sufficient *fond*, which naturally brings me to the Consideration of *Taxes*, allow'd *Of Taxes*. by all understanding Men, as absolutely necessary for the support of the Body politic, as Meat and Drink for the natural: But what *kinds* are best, has been much disputed: Before I descend to particulars, it is not amiss to observe in general, That no *Taxes* can be *just* or *safe*, which are not *equal*. All Subjects, as wel the meanest, as the greatest, are alike concern'd in the common Safety; and therefore shoud, according to their respective Interests of Riches or Enjoyments, bear the Charge in equal Proportions: The contrary Practice must of necessity beget Murmurings and Discontents, which seldom ending in Words, proceed higher to Blows, dividing the Oppressed against the *others*, which wil certainly disquiet and disturb, and may probably ruin both.

That all *Taxes* shoud be *proportion'd* to the *necessities* of *State*; That in computing

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ing these, the Error, if any must be, is safer on the right hand, than in defect; because the Overplus may be order'd to other good Public Uses.

That when *Taxes* are made equal to the People, and proportionat to the Charges of the Public, 'Tis much more for the Subjects ease, and the common Safety, That they be made *Perpetual*, than *Temporary*: For, if the Means of securing our selves against all the Dangers to which we are expos'd, be not sufficient, we must undoubtedly yield our selves up to the Mercy of our Enemies, or suffer much Vexation, in parting with further Supplies from time to time, out of that Substance, which Nature or our own almost equally binding Customs, have made but just enuff for the support of our Selves and Families; either of which is very grievous: and because the Event is uncertain, 'tis hard to determin, which of the two is most Destructive to the Pleasures of Life; for he that says, The Choice is easy, in that your Enemies make take away your Life,

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the other Course does but render it Miserable; is in my opinion much mistaken, it being more eligible to have no Sense at all, than to have it only to endure Pain: For Life is in it self a thing indifferent, neither good nor bad, but as it is the Subject of pleasing or unpleasing Perceptions; and is then better or worse, as it has more or less of the one or the other: So that the proper Question is not, Whether it be better to live or not to live? but, Whether Misery be preferable to no Misery? To which, not only Reason but Sense is able to give a satisfactory Answer. You see then, that if the *Taxes* fall short of their end, we are expos'd to great Miseries; and therefore to exceed is safer, especially when things may be so order'd, that after the occasions are supply'd, the *surplusage* may be refunded, or employ'd in the way of a *Banc* or *Lombard*, or *public Trade*, as *Fishing* or *Cloathing*, &c.

The first as an unexpected Gift, wil be very grateful to the People, and the other wil not be less beneficial
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because it must encrease their Riches, and be a *fond* without new *Taxes* for any future Emergencies.

That *perpetuating the Revenue* is most easy for the People, and most convenient for Public Ends, wil farther appear from these following Considerations; That an equal *Tax* tho greater than is needful, so the Money be not hoarded up to hinder Trade, but issued as fast as it comes in, for necessaries within the Country, however it may for the present make som Alterations in particular Families, do's not impoverish the Whole: For Riches, as Power, consisting in comparison, All, equally retrenching som part of their Expences, remain as Rich as they were before. This Retrenchment may at first seem unpleasent and stomacful to those who think what they have little enuff for their privat Expence; But such ought to consider, if they refuse to part with som, they wil infallibly lose all; That instead of being a free People, they may becom *Slaves*, and wil not then have it in their Power to keep
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ought of what they call their own; have no Liberty or Property, but at the pleasure of their *conquering Tryumphant Lord and Master*: That then they will be dealt with like *Beasts*, now they have the Liberty of Rational Men, *i. e.* of *choosing with the wise Merchant in a Storm, to throw som of his Goods over-board, to secure his Life, and the rest of his Fortune.* When by prudent Rules of Oeconomy and Temperance, they have par'd off those great Extravagancies men are now given to, in Cloaths, in Meat and Drink, &c. to the decay of their Healths, and shortning of their Lives, and have proportion'd their Layings-out to their Comings-in, what for the present seems so hard, wil becom very easy, and be hereafter no more felt, than the payment of Tythes now; which without doubt wrought the same Effect at first, as this may be suppos'd to do. But what is yet much better, *they wil make us Rich*; for I am Convinced, that the great *Taxes* in the united *Netherlands* have bin the chiefest Cause of their great Wealth; and tho
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this be no smal Paradox, and perhaps a new one, I am fully perswaded it contains a great Truth; for their great *Taxes* necessitated great Industry and Frugality, and these becoming Habitual, could not but produce Wealth; especially considering that the Product of Labor is more valuable to the Kingdom than the Land, and all other Personal Estate, which I wil shew under the particular of *Trade*. When the *Taxes* are less than serve, or to last but for a time, those who do not make their Expences short of their In-comes, but think they may without prejudice make both Ends meet; or if they exceed so soon as that Proportion which now goes to the Public comes in, it wil make things even again; do not consider, how difficult it is to sal, and that in the mean time an Accident may happen, that not only requires the continuance of the Temporary, but also of imposing new and greater *Taxes*: Then, when perhaps it's too late, they cry out, *They are ruin'd, and undone*; and indeed, the Case seems hard,
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yet can't be avoided. Therefore to answer our present Needs, and prevent for the future such great Evils, the *Taxes* are to be made perpetual; So we being under a necessity of adjusting our Privat Affairs accordingly, a little time wil make them Habitual to us, and insensible to our Posterity: For, that if they be not perpetual, but to determin at certain or uncertain Periods of Time, they do not only becom uneasy to the Subject, but inconvenient for the Publick Security, which may suffer much at Home and Abroad in the interval, before new Supplies can be legally rais'd.

I do not doubt, but You and your Fellow-Members, have it in yout Thoughts, that all the Customs and half the Excise cease upon the death of our Soverain, for whose long Life every good Subject is bound by interest no less than duty, heartily to Pray; but is it not to be remembred, that the Period of humane Life is uncertain, tho that of our evil which may thereupon insue, be not; the occasions of our expence continuing, tho the means of sup-
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porting them fail; That before a Parliament can be conven'd, those others may be increas'd, because in the mean time the Merchants wil fil the Kingdom with goods, and sel them at the same rates they now do, reckoning that a lucky hit, and so anticipate the Markets for two three or more years, with all manner of Staple Commodities, Linnen, Silk, Salt, &c. which they have near at hand; and with what perishable Commodities, they can procure, for as long a term as they wil last, and perhaps covetously and foolishly for a longer; Thus the People wil pay and lose, and yet the State grow poor, as wel for the present, as future, while the Merchants only, the overhasty and immature, wil have the profit: And tho they talk loudest, the consumptioner stil pays the Duty, and that with Interest.

In proportioning of Taxes, we must have recourse to the necessities of the Charge, which in my sence of things ought to extend to all that relate to us as single persons, in matters of right or
wrong

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wrong, as Law, &c. as well as to what concerns us, with reference to the whole in our public occasions, as of Peace or War, forreign or Domestic; For I hold it altogether as reasonable, that the Public should pay all those Officers who promote and distribute Justice, as well as those others now paid by the State; In proportion to which, I hope our Governors will consider what will suffice, for the management of all Affairs that any way conduce to the joynt good of the whole Body Politic, and when that is known and fixt, leave the rest to our own particular disposal.

But in this proportioning of Taxes, we must rather look forward than backward. Our home occasions are easily judged, but those abroad must be taken by other measures, the former use of Money compar'd with its present, the ancient demans of the Crown with what they are now, and the strength and power of our Neighbours, especially the *French*; concerning whom we are not
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to forget, That that Crown is much more potent than it was heretofore, by the accession of large Territories, which, when *Englands*, gave it great Aid and Assistance in their War: That the expence of one years War in this Age, is greater than of twenty in former times; That then two pence a day would go further than twenty pence now; That six or ten thousand men were as considerable an Army, as forty or fifty thousand now; Then a small Castle, Moat, or ordinary Ditch, was a good Fortification; But mighty Bastions, large Curteines doubly fortified with Faubsbrais, Counter-scarps, half Moons, Redoubts and great variety of other Out-works, according to the Nature and Situation of Places, with exquisite skil, and vast expence made and defended, together with the strongest Cittadills, are now taken: Then the charges of Arms & Amunition, Bows and Arrows serving instead of fire Arms, were inconsiderable: That now *France* has in constant pay above a hundred and twenty thousand above two hundred thousand fighting
Men,

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Men, whose standing Army in former times exceeded not ten thousand, nor so many but on particular occasions; Then a single Battle, or at most a Summers expedition put an end to a War, no long nor formal sieges to spin out the Quarrel. Now the whole scene is changed, from what in those days it consisted in; Courage and Strength of body, into that where Patience in Fatigue, Dexterity in Wit, and Mony in Purse shal make the Coward and the Weak an equal Match at least, for finewy and gigantic force. There is no doubt but as many of the *English*, as luxury and idleness have not softned into Effeminacy, have stil as great Valour and Resolution: but they are to consider, that their old Enemys, the *French* are not the same they formerly were: That they finding their first *Sa Sa*, or brisk onset woud not do the Feat, and wanting Courage to rally, Nature having deny'd them bodily strength, but to supply that defect, having given them Wit to use Stratagem, have quite changed the Scene of War, and taken their

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their leave of the old way of venturing body to body.

That in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, thirty Ships, such as perhaps exceeded not our third and fourth rate Frigats, were the Fleet which gave Law to the biggeft part of the World, the Sea; and without the help of Storms, doubted not to have overcom the too arrogantly styl'd *Invincible Armada*. That in those days few besides the Kingdom of *Spain*, and State of *Venice*, had any Ships of War: That *France* and *Holland* were then very weak, and all four unable to contend with us: That now the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Ostenders*, and *Algerines*, &c. have considerable Fleets. That the States of the *united Provinces* have much more Shipping than the *French* King, who yet has upwards of two-hundred Men of War, and many larger than most in *Europe*, and is every day building more; and lest he shoud yet have further need, I have an account, he has lately countermanded about fifty Sail of *St. Maloes* and *Haven de Grace*, Merchant-Men, of

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of considerable Force, bound to *New-found-Land*. If then his Power be so vastly increas'd, that as he gives out, he has Cash for five years Charge, and Provisions and Forrage for two. That his ordinary Revenu in *France*, not to speak of his new Acquisitions, amounts by the most modest Computation to above nine Millions *sterling per annum*; and his Country being Rich, and the Power in his own Hands, he may at any time raise what more he pleases: Is it not then necessary to consider our own strength, and by sufficient supplies at Home, as well as Allies abroad, secure our Necks against that Yoke with which he threatens to enslave all *Europe*?

Nor wil it be amiss for the Subject to observe, That the *French* by fomenting our Quarrels forein and domestic, have bin the main occasions of the great Taxes and Impositions (necessary Appendages of the former) under which the *English* Nation has groand for these last forty Years, even the Ship-Mony had its Rise from the Affronts their Pride and Insolence

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lence threw up on us, and they wil yet oblige us to suffer more, unless by the joynt force of our Arms and Mony in a round and larg supply for the War, we speedily inable our selve's, to revenge our past injuries and their present desires, and so put it out of their power, either by this or any other of their crafty Practises, to disturb or hurt us for the future.

And 'tis to be consider'd, That as the Expences abroad are much greater, so they are likewise at home; That an hundred Pound before the eighteenth of *Edward the third*, was equivalent in intrinsic valu to three hundred Pound of our now current Mony; their Groat being rais'd to our Shilling. That our Expences are not only far greater than they were in those Days, but that our necessary Uses require ten times as much as they could be then suply'd for; perhaps no less occasion'd by the discovery of the *west Indy* Mines (the plenty of every Commodity making it cheap) than by our own much greater extravagance: Whence it is plain, that the present Re-

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venu of the State, even for necessary occasions, ought to exceed the ancient, as thirty does one. And since our great Intrest, no less than honor, lies in *securing the Dominion of the Seas*, and by that our *Trade*; our Fleet must be answerable to that of our Neighbours; It wil then, allowing the *English*, man to man, to be a third stronger than the *French*, seem reasonable, to have an Hundred and fifty Ships of War in constant readiness. And comparing the charge of the Admiralty, by taking an estimat of what it was in Queen *Elizabeths* time, 30000 and in the beginning of King *James's* 1604. 40000, with what it has bin since this Kings Raign, which if I mistake not, I have bin told by more than your self, was offerd to be made out in Parliament, to have bin 500000 *per annum*. But granting it was but 400000, it must follow, that our Fleet has bin ten times bigger, than that of King *James*, or that the Charge is now ten times more; That if it be yet necessary to inlarge it treble, to make it strong enuff, that wil increase

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increase the ordinary *Annual Charge* by the first Account to 1500000, by the last to 1200000. And if the Building of thirty Ships require near 600000 p. how much more wil be wanting to compleat the Fleet 150 Sail, and to continu building every Year, with an allowance of one third less, in proportion to the *French Kings*? By which we can not yet reckon our selves secure from the common Foe, without a strict Alliance with the *Germans, Dutch* and *Spaniards*. If then the ordinary occasions of our Fleet require thus much, and the extraordinary a vast addition, the common Expenses in every particular above thirty for one, more than in *Edward the Thirds* time, when the Crown had a large Revenu in Lands, what wil all need in the extraordinary Accidents of War, &c. now when these are almost dwindled into nothing? But these considerations I leave to the proper Persons; yet, by the by, give me leave to tel you, they were never thought of, by those Mal-contentes, who have

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talk'd loud of the great supplies this King has had: This alone Cancels the Obligation; he that brags of having don another good turns, pays himself, and does not only free but disoblige the Receiver: It woud have argued more ingenuity, not to have compared the Subsidies of this Kings Raign, with those of his Predecessors, without taking notice, that perhaps his occasions required more, than all theirs did. That dureing the eighteen Years He and his Father were kept out of their Rights, he must have contracted vast debts, for the support of himself, his Army and his followers; That the great Revenu of the Crown was in a manner gon; That other Kings had squees'd vast sums from their Subjects, by Loanes, Monopolies, &c. of which no mention was made in the computation; That the building of ships and above four years of such War at Sea consum'd more, than any one hundred years War at Land, since the Conquest. That the consideration of the vast Charge *Dunkirk* put the Crown to,

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at least three times more than it yeilded, occasiond the Advise of its Sale. That *Tangier* has stood the King in very great sums. That til of late, the supporting the Charge of *Ireland* helped to drein the *Exchequer* of *England*; That the intrinsic Valu of one Million formerly, was equal to that of three Millions now, and in real use to thirty millions; For the tru intrinsic Valu, or worth of Mony, is no otherwise to be computed, than according to what it wil purchase for our present Consumptions; which I have reckond to exceed those of old but by ten, tho I have heard others say much more. But that which has made these Complaints so loud, has not bin only inconsideration, or perhaps malice, but the inequallity of imposing the Taxes; Those great inconveniencies may be easily obviated for the future, by making and applying to particular Uses, such sufficient and equal Fonds as are necessary to be setled: I wil only instance in one, That of the Customs, which seems originally to have

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had its Rise for that *End*, & therefore ought to be appropriated to the Use of the Navy; I wish it were great enuff, for such as our safety requires.

And if this Course be taken in *apportioning the Revenu*, the Public and Privat Expences are to be generously computed; the doing so, wil remove Jealousies and Distrusts on all sides, the King wil be under no necessity of straining his Prerogative, by hearkning to the devices of Projectors, the People wil be quiet and at ease; and then every Man may safely *sit under his own Vine, and his own Fig-tree, and enjoy with pleasure the Fruits of his Labor*. If you look into the Histories of past Ages, you wil find the Disputes of the *Prerogative* on one hand, and of *Liberty* on the other, were alwayes founded on the want of Mony; and he that considers the Evils that have ensued, wil soon believe it very necessary, to prevent the like for the future, by applying to every use of the Crown or State, (I do not say to the Person of the King, whose greatest Share is the Trouble, while the Subjects is Security and

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and Ease) a *sufficient and perpetual Revenu*. This Act wil beget an intire Confidence and Love, and so unite us to one another, as wil make it impossible for any Storms without, or Commotions within, to shake this Kingdom, so founded on a Rock; against which, all, who make any attempts, must needs split themselves and Fortunes.

I have, according to my wonted Freedom, given you my Thoughts, why I think it more convenient, both for Public and Privat, That the Revenu were sufficient and perpetual: against which, I never met but with one Objection, to wit, *That if that were don, the King woud not so frequently, if at all, call his Parliament*: As if there were no use for this great Council, but raising of Mony: The altering or repealing the old, and making new Laws; the reforming of Errors and Abuses, in Inferior Courts of Justice; the deciding the Controversies, those Courts coud not, and many other things woud make their Meeting necessary; The King woud see 'twere his Advantage to cal

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them often, since besides that *there is safety in the multitude of Counsellors*, all that happens to be severe and harsh, woud light on them, and yet none could be offended, because the Act of the whole: Nor could His Majesty but be sensible that all Innovations are dangerous in a State; for it is like a Watch, out of which, any one peece lost woud disorder the whole; That the Parliament is the great Spring or Heart, without which, the Body of the Common-wealth, could enjoy neither Health nor Vigor, Life nor Motion; That while they mind their Duty, in proposing and advising what is best for King and People, without privat Respect, leaving him the undoubted Prerogative of Kings, of Nature and Reason, of Assenting or Dissenting, as he is convinc'd in his Conscience, is best for the *Common Good, which is to be his measure in all Actions, as the Laws are to be the Subjects Rule*; I see not why it should not be his interest, to call them frequently. That none can be suppos'd to advise the contrary, unless some few

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few great Men, to avoid, not so much perhaps the Justice, as the Passion, Envy and Prejudice of some, in that Judicature, to whom they may think themselves obnoxious: But granting this, 'tis unreasonable to think, so wise and so good a Prince, wil prefer the Privat Interest, of any single Man, tho never so Great, before the general Good and Satisfaction of his People: I should rather think, He wil in the Words of his Royal Father, in a Speech to his Parliament, give in this, a full Assurance, *I must conclude, that I seek my Peoples Happiness, for their flourishing is my greatest Glory, and their Affection my greatest Strength*. His Majesty wel knows, with what tenderness and Love his Subjects are to be treated; that 'tis more safe, more pleasing and more easy, to erect his Throne over their Hearts, than their Heads, to be obey'd for Love rather than Fear; the Dominion, founded on the later, often meets the same Fate, with a House built upon the Sands; while that establish'd on the former, continues firm and immovable

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movable as a Rock: He is not ignorant, That as *the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world*, so does the *Being and wel-Being of the English Nation, consist in the frequent Counsels, Deliberations and Acts of King and Parliament*; in which Providence has so blended the *King and People's Interests, that, like Husband and wife, they can never be sunder'd, without mutual inconvenience and unhappiness*. The sense and observation of this, makes our King's Reign prosperous, and gives *Him* a more Glorious Title than that of *King, viz. The Father of the Country, and the great God-like Preserver of his Children's Rights and Liberties*, who, out of a deep sense of Duty and Gratitude, must own and remember who tels them, *That a wise King is the upholding of his People*; and therefore, cannot but pay him eyen for their own Interest, all imaginable Loyalty, Deference, and Respect, giving up their Lives and Fortunes for His (or which is all one, their own) Safety, who studies nothing so much as their *Good and wel-fare*. Besides,
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the King has already past an Act, that a Parliament shal sit at least once in three Years, and in several Speeches he has declar'd himself ready to do what further we shal desire, for the better security of our Liberties, Properties, and Religion; why then shoud any think, He woud not esteem it his own, as well as People's Interest, to consult often, and upon all suddain occasions, with his Parliament? For my own part, I shoud rather believe, by continuing this so long, that he woud not be against their Assembling thrice a Year, as, by the Grace of former Kings, was accustom'd, for many Years, before and after the *Conquest*. But to put all Jealousies to silence, The Parliament, in settling and appropriating the Revenu, to particular Uses, may (as they have already begun to do, in the Act for building thirty Ships) Grant it under a kind of Condition, or Proviso, *viz. That the respective Officers, give a ful Account, of the Employment thereof, unto the Parliament, at least, once in every three Years*; O-
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therwise, all farther Leavies of the same to cease, &c.

Having said thus much, in general of *Taxes*, I com now to the *particular Branches*; I have already shew'd the Inconvenience of the *Customs*, &c. determining with the King's Life; I wil further add, That the *Book of Rates* ought to be Reviewed, and in the new one, a greater Consideration had of the Usefulness and Necessity of the Commodities, in placing the Imposition on them; *viz.* rating all the allow'd *Commodities* of *France*, much higher than they are, raising the Duty of their *wines*, to be at least equal, with that, on those of *Spain*: I never yet could be satisfy'd, what induc'd the Compilers of that Book, to rate *Spanish wines* higher, than those of *France*; since the height of Duty is a sort of Prohibition, which ought to be more taken care of, in the Trade with *France*, by which we are vast Loofers; than in that with *Spain*, which is a gainful one: The best Reason I could find, is, That they did it inconsiderately, taking

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king it as they found it left, by the long Parliament, who by the sense of Revenge for the War, were induced so to treat the *Spaniard*. One might have thought the last Impost on *French wines*, woud have lessen'd their Importation: which Colbert the Financer observing it had not don (I was assur'd at my Return in August by *Fontainebleau*, that) in his Measures for the next Years Charge, he valued his Master 100000 on that Account, not doubting but the Parliament woud take off that Duty of wine, which woud give him opportunity to put so much on; That at this, the French King smil'd and said, For such a kindness he shoud be oblig'd, and woud no more cal them *Petite maison*; But I hope notwithstanding his scornful quibble, he wil find such sober resolutions in that house, as wil set him a madding, and that, instead of taking off that duty, he may perceive more put on; which is indeed the only effectual way to prohibit the importation, of these vast quantities of *French goods*, by which *England* is greatly Impoverisht. To lessen

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sen the Trafic of his People, is the first step to lower him; which I am perswaded is best don, by imposing an excessive high duty, upon all the commodities, and contriving the Act so, that nothing should pass duty free; this course would be a better restraint, than absolute prohibition: And 'tis the method he himself has taken in the trade with us, which he had long since wholly forbid, but that upon examination, he found, it was driven to above 1600000 *l.* Advantage to his subjects, and loss to those of *England*; this, rather yearly increasing, than decreasing, will at length quite ruin us, if not prevented; and yet notwithstanding, he imposes upon our cloaths four shillings an Ell, as a sumptuary law, to oblige his Subjects, to the use of their own manufactures.

The next is the *Excise*, which, if equally imposed, were the best and easiest of all taxes; To make it so, after the manner of *Holland*, it ought to be laid upon all things ready to be consum'd. This puts it into the Power, of every
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Man to pay more or less, as he resolves to live loosely or thriftily; by this course no Man pays but according to his Enjoyment or actual Riches, of which none can be said to have more, than what he spends; true Riches consisting only in the use. But the present Excise is grievous, because heavier on the poor Laborers and meaner sort of People, than on the Rich and Great; who do not pay above a Tenth, of what the others do; and considering, that most of the Noble and Privat Families, out of *London*, Brew their own Drink, it falls yet heavier on the Poorer sort, and will at last on the State; for, the common Brewers do already complain, that they daily lose their Trade, many of their Customers, even in *London*, Brewing for themselves, to save the Imposition. To speak the Truth, In good Conscience, this Branch ought to have been imposed on the Nobles and Estated-Men, rather than on the Artificer and Laborers, who were very slenderly concern'd in the Grounds of it, *viz.* the
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taking away the *wardships* and *Purveyance*, which was so great an Advantage to the Public, especially the Richer, That that Act of Grace and Condescension in his Majesty, which freed us and our Posterity, from great Inconveniences and greater fines of Subjection, ought never to be forgotten.

This Act gave us a greater Propriety and Liberty, than ever we had before; and must the Poor chiefly pay, for the benefit of the Rich? Let it not be told to the Generations to com, that an Act so unequal was contriv'd by those who study only the public Interest; let it then be review'd, and either made general, on all public and privat Brewers, by which the Rich wil stil have advantage of the Poor, according to the difference between strong and smal Beer, (For to allow Public Brewers, and prohibit all privat ones, as is practis'd in the low Countries, woud never be endur'd in *England*;) Or rather let it be plac'd on *Malt*, or taken quite off, and laid on the *Land* as a perpetual Crown Rent:

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Rent; Or let there be a *general Excise* (the most equal Tax that possibly can be devis'd) on all *consum'd Commodities of our own growth, or imported*: which ought to be managed by proper Officers; the Farming of any part of the Revenue being of evil Consequence, as I coud shew at large, both to the State and People.

The *Hearth-Mony* is a sort of *Excise*, but a very unequal one too; the smoak on't has offended the eyes of many, and it were to be wisht, that it were quite taken away, and something in lieu thereof given to the Crown less offensive to the peoples senses; I have heard many say, That an imposition on *Licenses* for selling of Ale, Strong Waters, Coffee, Syder, Mum, and all other Liquors, and for Victualling-Houses, might be as beneficial to the Crown, and so order'd as might prevent or discover High-way-Men, &c. I have read among the *Irish Statutes* one to this purpose, obliging among other things the Inn-keepers, &c. to make good all Horses stolen out of their

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their Stables or Pastures. An Imposition on all Stage-Coaches, Carts, Waggon, and Carriers, set aside for the well ordering the Roads, would be of general Advantage; as would a Tax upon Periwigs, serving in part as a sumptuary Law. A year, or half a years Rent charg'd upon all the new Buildings since 1656, would not only much oblige the City of *London*, enabling them by the Difference of Rents to Let those many wast Houses, which now to the Ruin of Trade remains un-tenanted, & also gratify the Kingdom, by easing them from the common thredbare, *Land-Tax*.

I do not question but, in this Conjunction, the Wit of Men will be contriving new Ways to supply the present occasions of a War; for that a *Land-Tax* is slow and unequal; and I am apt to fancy, that of the *Poll-Money* will be pitcht upon, as the most speedy Levy, but must not be too great. As to my self, I am not solicitous what Course they take, but wish it such as may be equal, and so will be pleasing to most: But be it great or smal, the King, as formerly, will be
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agen defrauded, unless there be special care taken; The way I apprehend is, That for twenty-one Years to com, neither Plaintiff nor Defendant be allow'd the Benefit of the Law, without producing an authentic Acquittance or Discharge, that they have paid this *Poll-Money*, and averring the same in their Actions or Pleas. That the Ministers be forbid to Marry within that space any, who do not, Women as well as Men, produce such Certificats. That none be admitted to any Office or Command, *Civil* or *Military*, Administration or Executorship, Freedom or Privilege in Town, City, or Corporation, or receiv'd into any of the Public Schools, Inns, or Universities, if of the Age limited by the Act, except they make out the said Payment; which in three months after ought to be Registred, with the persons Names and Qualities.

Now, in regard that *England* is already very much under-peopled, and will be more so if there be a War: To provide against those Evils, and to obviate

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in som measure the Loofness and Debauchery of the present Age, I have thought of a sort of Tax, which I believe is perfectly new to all the World, and under which 'tis probable, if it takes, I have made Provision for my own Paying the Crown no inconsiderable Sum, during my Life.

'Tis a Tax upon Cælibat, or upon unmarried People, *viz.* That the Eldest Sons of Gentlemen and other Degrees of Nobility upwards, shoud Marry by twenty-two compleat, all their Daughters by Eighteen, and Yonger Sons by Twenty-five: All Citizen's Eldest Sons (not Gentlemen) by Twenty-three, all other Men by Twenty-five. All the Daughters (not Servants) of all Men under the Degree of Gentlemen, to marry by Nineteen; all Maid-Servants by Twenty.

That all Widdowers under Fifty Marry within Twelve Months after the Death of their Wives; all Widdows under Thirty-five, within two Years after their Husband's Decease, unless the Widdowers or Widdows have Children alive. I allow the Women, as the softer
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and better natur'd, more time to lament their Loss. That no Man marry after Seventy, nor Widdow after Forty-five. That all Men cohabit with their Wives.

That the Eldest Sons of Gentlemen, and all other Degrees of Nobility upward, and all other Persons not Married by the times limited, as afore-said, shal pay *per annum* a peece these following Rates, *viz.*

Dukes, Marqueffes, and their Eldest Sons Forty pound, other Lords and their Eldest Sons twenty Pound, Knights, Barons, ten Pound, Esquires eight Pound, Gentlemen five Pound, Citizens three Pound, all other Retailing Trades-men two Pound. The Yonger Brothers or Sons of all the fore-going Persons (respectively) half so much; and likewise the Maiden Daughters, or rather their Fathers or Gardians for them. All Servants, Laborers, and others six Shillings eight Pence.

All the above-said Widdowers or Widdows, not marrying again under the Age afore-said half; but marrying again af-

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ter the Ages above limited, double according to their Qualities respectively; and all married Men not cohabiting with their Wives to pay quadruple.

You may perceive I do not forget, in this Scheme, to practice som of the Courtesy of *England* towards the Women; That in regard it is not fashionable for them to Court (an hardship Custom and their own Pride has foolishly brought upon them) they are Tax'd but at half what their Elder Brothers are.

These things I do not set down with a Design of giving People a Liberty of playing the Fool as now, in Matters of Fornication under those Penalties. For all single Persons that do so, I woud have oblig'd under an indispenfible Necessity, to Marry one another: And coud wish a further severity of Punishment were inflicted upon Adultery by the State, since 'tis so much neglected by the Church.

It woud also be of great and public Advantage, that all Marriages were Celebrated openly in the Church, according

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ding to the *Canon* or *Rubric*, and the *Banes* three severall Sundays or Holy-days first published; But if this must be still dispensed with, that then all Dukes and Marqueffes, and their Eldest Sons shoud pay twenty Pound, all Noblemen and their Eldest Sons fifteen Pound, every Knight and his Eldest Son seven Pound ten Shillings, every Gentleman or others five Pound, to the King as a *Public Tax* for such License, over and above the present establisht *Fee* in the *Consistory Court*. That if all Children may not be Baptized openly in the Church, the Births of all even of the *Non-conformists*, may be duly Registred; the knowing the exact Numbers of the People woud be of great Advantage to the *Public-weal*, and conduce to many good and noble Purposes, which (for Brevity sake) I omit to mention.

This Course may perhaps prevent many Inconveniencies that young Men and Women bring upon themselves and the Public: And since the *Concubitus Vagus* is acknowledged to hinder Procreation,

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the Restraint thereof will be one Means of advancing *Trade*, by adding more People to the Common-wealth, which perhaps in the following Particulars you will find to be the greatest occasion of its Decay : An Inconvenience by all possible means to be removed ; For that

Of Trade. *Trade* is the Support of any Kingdom, especially an Island, enabling the Subjects to bear the *Taxes*, and shewing them wayes of living more agreeable than those of the Savage *Indians in America*, whose condition is but few Degrees distant from that of *Brutes*. Since then it is so necessary, it deserves the *Parliaments* best Care, to restore it to what it has been, or make it what it shoud be. The first thing to be don is, The Erecting a *Council or Committee of Trade*, whose Work shoud be to observe all manner of things relating thereunto, to receive Informations of all Trades-men, Artificers and others ; and thereupon make their Observations ; To consider all the Statutes already made, and out of them form such *Bil* or *Bils* as
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shal be more convenient, and present them to the *Parliament* to be enacted.

There are already many Discourses published, som of them woud be worth their view, and did they Sit constantly, many woud bring their Remarks, and I myself shoud be able to give som Notions on this Subject, which for want of time I cannot now give you.

The two great Principles of Riches are *Land* and *Labor* ; as the later increases, the other grows dear ; which is no otherwise don, than by a greater Confluence of industrious People : For where many are coop'd into a narrow Spot of Ground, they are under a necessity of Laboring ; because in such Circumstances they cannot live upon the Products of Nature, and having so many Eyes upon them they are not suffer'd to steal ; Whatever they save of the Effects of their Labor, over and above their Consumption, is call'd Riches ; and the bartering or commuting those Products with others is call'd *Trade* : Whence it follows, that not only the greatness
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of Trade or Riches depends upon the Numbers of People, but also the Dearness or Cheapness of Land, upon their Labor and Thrift.

Now, if *Trade* be driven so, that the Imports exceed in value the Exports, the People must of necessity grow poor, *i. e.* consume the Fundamental Stock, *viz.* *Land* and *Labor*, both falling in their price. The contrary Course makes a Kingdom Rich. The Consequence is, That, to better the *Trade* of *England*, the People (which will force Labor) must be increas'd, and Thrift encouraged: For, to hope for a vast *Trade* where People are wanting, is not only to expect *Bric can be made without Straw, but without Hands.*

The great Advantage a Country gains by being fully peopled, you may find by the following Observation, *viz.* *That the value of the Labor is more than the Rent of the Land, and the Profit of all the Personal Estates of the Kingdom, which thus appears.* Suppose the People of *England* to be six Millions, their *annual* Expence at twenty

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ty Nobles, or six Pound thirteen and four Pence a Head, at a *Medium* for Rich and Poor, Young and Old, will amount to forty Millions; and, if well consider'd, cannot be estimated much less. The Land of *England* and *Wales* contain about twenty four Millions of *Acres*, worth one with another, about six and eight Pence *per Acre*, or third part of a Pound; consequently the Rent of the Land is eight Millions *per annum*. The yearly Profit of all the Peoples personal Estate is not computed above eight Millions more; both together make sixteen Millions *per annum*; this taken out of the forty Millions yearly Expence, there will remain twenty-four Millions, to be supply'd by the Labor of the People; Whence follows, that each Person, Man, Woman and Child must Earn four Pound a Year; and an *Adult* laboring Person double that Sum; because a third part or 2 Millions are Children, and Earn nothing; and a sixth part or one Million, by reason of their Estates, Qualities, Callings or Idleness, Earn

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Earn little; so that not above half the People working, must gain one with another, eight Pound *per annum* a peece; and at twenty Years Purchase, will be worth Eighty Pound *per Head*. For, tho an *Individuum* of Mankind be reckon'd, but about eight Years Purchase, the *Species* is as valuable as Land, being in its own nature perhaps as durable, and as improveable too, if not more, increasing stil faster by Generation, than decaying by Death; it being very evident, that there are much more yearly Born than Dye. Whence you may plainly perceive, how much it is the Interest of the State, and therefore ought to be their care and study, to fill the Country with People; the Profit woud not be greater in point of Riches, than in Strength and Power; for 'tis too obvious to be insisted on, that a City of one Miles circumference and ten Thousand Men, is four times stronger and easier defended, than one of four Miles with double the Number.

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Now, there are but two ordinary wayes of increasing the People; that of Generation, and that of drawing them from other Countries: The first is a Work of Time, and tho it wil not presently do our Business, yet is not to be neglected; I have shewn how it may be hasten'd by obliging to Marriage, and more might be added, by erecting *Hospitals for Foundlings*, after the manner now used in other Countries, and practised with great Advantage in *Paris*, by the Name of *L'hostel pour les enfants trouves*; where there are now reckon'd no less than Four Thousand. This in all parts of *England*, especially *London*, woud prevent the many Murders and contrived Abortions now used, not only to the prejudice of their Souls Health, but that of their Bodies also, and to the general Dammage of the Public; This woud likewise be an Encouragment to the poorer sort to Marry, who now abstain to prevent the Charge of Children.

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Strangers are no otherwise to be invited, than by allowing greater advantages than they have at home; and this they may with more ease, receive in *England* than in any part of *Europe*, where natural Riches do much abound, *viz.* Corn, Flesh, Fish, Wool, Mines, &c. and which Nature has bless'd with a temperature of healthful Air, exceeding all Northern, and not inferior to most Southern Countries; has given it commodious Ports, fair Rivers and safe Channels, with possibilities of more, for water carriage; these, with what follows, would soon make *England* the Richest and most powerful Country of the World. *Naturalization* without Charge, *plain Laws*, and *speedy Justice*, *Freedom in all Corporations*, *Immunities from Taxes and Tolls* for seven Years, and lastly, *Liberty of Conscience*; the Restraint of which has been the greatest Cause at first of unpeopling *England*, and of its not being since re-peopled; This drove Shoals away in *Queen Maries*, *King James*, and *King Charles the First's* Dayes; it has *lost* the Wealth of *England*
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many Millions, and bin the occasion of spilling the Blood of many Thousands of its People. 'Tis a sad Consideration, that Christians should be thus fool'd by obstinat Religionists, in whom too much Stiffness on one side, and Folly and Perverseness on the other, should have bin equally Condem'd, being indeed the Effects of Pride, Passion or privat Interest, and altogether Forrein to the Business of Religion; which, as I have already told you, consists not in a Belief of disputable things (of which if either part be tru, neither are to us necessary), but in the plain Practice of Piety, which is not incompatible with Errors in Judgment. I see not therefore, why the Clergy should be wholly heark'nd to in this Affair, since 'tis really impertinent to the Truth of Religion; and I dare appeal to all the sober understanding and considerative Men of the Church of *England*, Whether the Opposition of this be not wholly founded upon Interest, which being but of particular Men, ought not nor wil not (I hope) weigh more with
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the Parliament, than that of the Public, which is so highly concern'd in this matter.

And tho it may be objected, That as Affairs of Religion now stand, none need leave *England* for want of *Tolerati- on*; yet certain I am, without it none wil return or com in a-new. And if our Neighbors thrive, and increase in People, Trade and Wealth, we continuing at a stay, or growing stil poorer and poorer, by that means rendred unable to resist a Forrein Power, are like to fal into such Hands, as wil force us to *worship God after the way which almost all of us now cal Heresy, and many Idolatry.* Which induces me to conclude, That nothing, but Inconsideration, can move even the *Clergy* to oppose this thing, on which their own as wel as the safety of all others do's so very much depend.

But in regard the Defects of *Trade* can't presently be supply'd by bringing in more People, because a work of time, it is necessary to make those we have use- ful, by obliging the Idle and unwilling

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to a necessity of working, and by giving the Poor that want it a ful Imployment: This wil in effect be a great increasing of the People, and may be easily compass'd if Work-Houses be Erected, in several Parts of the Kingdom, and all Persons forc'd into 'um, who cannot give a satisfactory Account of their way of Living; This woud prevent Robbing, Burglary, and the Cheats of Gaming, Counterfeiting of Hands, Mony clipping, &c. by which our Lives and Fortunes woud be much better secur'd; This woud put Men's Wits upon the Rack, *Hunger which eats thro Stone-wals,* woud make them *ingetting their Livings by the Sweat of their Brows,* *Masters of Arts*; a Degree perhaps more useful to the Common - Wealth, than those of the Univerfity.

*Magister artis
ingeniq; lar-
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This woud put them upon the Invention of *Engines*, whereby their Labor woud not only becom more easy, but more productive of real Advantages to the Whole; rendring the *Poet's Fable*

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of *Briareus* his hundred Hands, a certain Truth; one Man doing more by an Instrument, than fifty or a hundred without it. *Wit* wil, thus in som measure, make amends for the want of People; Yet so dul and ignorant, so insensible of their own Good are the Vulgar, that generally instead of being pleas'd, they are at first almost implacably offended at such profitable Inventions. But it appears, the Parliament had another sense of Things, in that they allow'd the Advantage of fourteen Years to the Inventor: which Law, with Submission, might be alter'd to better purpose, if instead of a fourteen Years *Monopoly*, som Reward out of the Public Stock were given to the *Ingenious*. That the many Supernumeraries in *Divinity*, *Law* and *Physic* with which the Kingdom (especially *London*) swarms; all Mountebancs and pretenders to Astrology, together with the Supernumeraries in all manner of Retailing Trades (even the Trade of Merchandizing has too many Hands) especially all *Pedlers* or Wanderers, that
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carry their Shops on their Backs, *Lap-Women*, &c. who contribute little or nothing to the Charge of the *State*, be par'd off and made useful to the Public; to which, by the vast increase of These, and the great number of Idlers and Beggars, not above two Thirds even of the ordinary sort can be lookt upon as bringing in any real Advantage; the other Third, but like Droans, living on the Labor of the rest.

And to speak more freely, 'tis unreasonable and *impolitic*, especially in a great and over-grown City, to suffer any Retail-Trades to be manag'd by Men, when Women, with the help of a few Porters, about the most cumbersome things, may do it much better; They wil invite Customers more powerfully than Men can, and having nothing to do in the way of their Shop-Trades, wil not be idle, their *Needles* employing them; while the Men perhaps, from two, three or four, to seven lusty young Fellows, sit idle most part of their time, with their Hands in their Pockets, or blowing their
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Fingers; few of these sort of Trades finding one with another, above two Hours work in the whole Day: The Men woud study som more beneficial Employments; and the Women having by this means fomthing to do, woud not as now, induc'd by Idleness, more than Want, be occasions of so much Wick- edness and Debaucheries, to the general Prejudice of the Common-Wealth, and the particular Ruin of many good Families.

To set on foot the *Fishing Trade*, and to allow to all such as wil undertake it, Strangers or Natives, the same Benefits and Priviledges I have mention'd for the bringing in of the former; and I think, if beyond that, Houses were built for them in *Linn*, or *Yarmouth*, &c, at the Public Charge, Rent-free for seven Years, every Man woud say, it were for the general Good, who considers that this *Trade* is the only *basis* of the Grandeur and Power, that the *States* of *Holland* are no less Lords of, in *Europe*, than in the *East-Indies*; to which it has rais'd
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um in less than an Hundred Years, from the Poor and distressed States, to be one of the Richest and Mightiest of the known World: This I coud at large make appear, but that it having bin don already, with the want of time, hinders me. I wil only say, That *Holland* has not the tenth part of those Natural Conveniences for effecting this, *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland* have. That the same Encouragements be given to all such, whether Natives or Forreiners, that shal joyntly carry on the particular Manufactures of Iron, Tinn, Earthen- ware, and Linnen, &c. in the last, at three Shillings four Pence an Ell one with another, is reckon'd consum'd by us above six hundred thousand Pound; all which might be sav'd and the Poor set at work, by promoting that Trade within our selves. To restore the Woolen Manufactures almost decay'd, and to take the same Care in that, and all other, as the *Dutch* have don in that of the Herrings; The neglect in this has been a main Reason, that our Cloathing-
N 3 Trade

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Trade is much lessen'd; *Reputation in Commodities is as necessary*, as in the Venders: which makes the *Dutch*, even at this Day, put on *English* Marks, and thereby for the antient Credit (now in a manner lost) ours were in, they have gain'd for their own Manufactures the Markets we want. The Decay of our Cloathing-Traffic has been occasion'd by several Accidents; One, and no small one, is that of Companies, which indeed are as much Monopolies, as if in one single Person; They ruin Industry and Trade, and only to enrich themselves, have a Liberty, by which they impoverish the rest of the Commonwealth. Whatever Reason there was for first Erecting them, *viz.* to begin or carry on some great Undertaking, which exceeded the Power of particular Men, there appears less or none now for their Continuance. The Enjoyment of Liberty and Property requires that all Subjects have equal Benefit in Safety and Commerce; and if all Subjects pay Taxes equally, I see no Reason why they

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they should not have equal Privileges.

And if part of those *Taxes* be impos'd for guarding the Seas, I do really believe it would be more Advantage to the King, to send Convoys to the *East-Indies* and to *Guinea*, with any of his Subjects trading thither, than to allow these two Companies the sole Benefit of ingrossing those Trades; tho I think no others, but they, being at considerable Charge and Expence, ought to be continu'd.

And since the *East-India* and *African* Companies, especially the first, impose what Rates they please upon their Commodities, why should not they pay, for that Power of Taxing the Subject, a considerable present Proportion for carrying on the War, and a yearly round Sum to the State, to ease the rest of the People, who are debar'd those Advantages? In my opinion, Gratitude to the King, as well as Justice to the Subject, should invite them to give a considerable standing yearly Revenue to the Crown. This

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may be policy too ; for then perhaps, they need never fear their Dissolution, notwithstanding the clamors and many mouths now open against them.

But if it shal be not thought fit, to take away all Companies, why shoud it not be lawful once a Year for any one, that pleas'd, to be made a Member, paying in his *quota*? This, I confess, woud make it useful to the Public, because the Trade woud be manag'd by fewer Hands, consequently to more Profit, and every one being concern'd, there could be no Complaint.

But whatever is don in point of Trade, particular Corporations of Artificers ought to be broke ; they, as now manag'd, are Incouragements to Idleness, Impositions upon the rest of the People, and an unreasonable enslaving of Apprentices, who in three Years, for the most part, may be as wel Masters of their Trade, as in seven : But the Advantage is, that when they com to Set up for themselves, they commonly turn Gentlemen, and cannot afford to sel a
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Cabinet under fifteen Pound, because they must eat wel and drink Wine ; tho they own a *Dutch-man* or a *French-man*, that does not so, may afford as good a one for twelve Pound : This of the Cabinet is a late and a true Story, and to my own Experience, 'tis the same in most, if not all other Trades.

The *Fish-monger's* Company is of all others, the greatest Nufance to the Public, to the most useful Part thereof, the poor Artificers and Laborers ; I was credibly inform'd at my last being in *London*, by two substantial Citizens, That they throw part of their *Fish* away, to inhaunse the valu and price of the Remainder.

That for these, and many more Reasons I could give, it were convenient, that every City and Town corporate consisted but of one Company, into which, without Charge or Formalities of Freedom, every man Native or Alien, ought to be admitted, that payes his propotion of *Taxes* and *Assessments*.

And in order to the bringing in Forreiners,

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ers, our Native unmanufactur'd Commodities ought to be strictly prohibited to other Countries; more particularly that the Exportation of Wool from *England* and *Ireland* be restrain'd; which will be better don by imposing a vast Duty upon it, as of thirty or forty Shillings a *Stone* or *Tod*, than by making it Felony; adding over and above great Pecuniary Mulcts, if shipt without Payment of Duty; If this were Enacted, many woud turn Informers, who now out of tenderness of Mens Lives, forbear the discovering this injurious Practise; for prevention whereof, great Care ought to be taken; since the vast quantities of Wool exported from *England* and *Ireland* into *France* and *Holland*, have in a manner destroy'd the great Staple of *England*, the Woolen-Manufacture, lower'd the Rents of Land, and beggar'd thousands of People. By this the *Dutch* and *French* are inabled to make useful both *their own* and *Spanish* Wools, which woud otherwise be insignificant and ineffectiv of any considerable Purposes; one being too Fine, the other too

Course,

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Course, without Mixtures of *English* or *Irish* Wool.

Those, by greater labor and frugality, who heretofore were furnisht by us, do now not only supply themselves, but also undersel us abroad; and as if that injury were too little, we are content, by wearing their Stuffs, to give them an opportunity of undermining us at home. If you consider these things seriously, you wil with me be perswaded, 'tis not the great increase of Wool, in *England* and *Ireland*, that makes it a *Drug*, but the Practise of carrying it abroad; and our not being satisfi'd to *ape* and *Mimic* the *French* Modes, but further to wear their Stuffs, tho far inferior to our own.

I have heard it demonstrated, by knowing men, that it woud be *Englands* great interest, to work up all their own and *Irish* Wool, tho they shoud afterwards burn it when in Stuffs and Cloth; and I am convinc'd their doing so one year, woud not only maintain the Poor and habituat them to Labor, but be as

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great an advantage in the sale of that Manufacture, both at home and abroad, for the future, as the burning part of their Spices, is to the *Dutch*. But I am of Opinion there woud be no need to burn any, for that which is now useful in Wool, woud not be less so in Cloth. I have seen a computation by which it appears the working up all our own and *Irish* Wool, which *England* can do to better purposes than a part, while the remainder is Transported to other Countries, woud be many Millions in the Wealth of the People, and as many Hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* in the Kings Coffers. For if we kept this Commodity at home, we shoud not only give a full employment to our People, but necessitat those who now in *France* and *Holland* maintain themselves by this Manufacture, so soon as their stocks were spent, to find new Arts of living, or else convey themselves hither, which of the two, is certainly the most probable. Thus we shoud doubly increase our Wealth and our People; the latter

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latter by Consequence raising the Rents and valu of Lands, in duplicat proportion (as I coud demonstrat) to what they now yield. For a short instance observe, That if there be a thousand People in a Country, the Land whereof is worth a thousand pound *Per Annum*; and at twenty years purchase twenty thousand pound. If they be encreas'd half as many more, or to one thousand five Hundred People, the Rent of the Land wil likewise be half as much more *viz.* one Thousand five Hundred pound, and the number of years purchas not only twenty, but half as many more, *viz.* in all thirty; which makes the valu of the inheritance amount to thirty times one thousand five hundred or forty five Thousand Pound. The reason of which is founded on this undeniable Maxim, *That Land is more or less valuable, as it is more or less Peopl'd.* When heretofore all the Wool of *England* was Manufactur'd in *Flanders*, it yielded but six pence a pound; but soon after the restraint of it in *Edward* the *Thirds* time, the manufacturing all at

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at home, rais'd it to eighteen pence a Pound, and brought in to the Kingdom great numbers of *Flemmings* and *walloons*. To incourage this further, all persons whatsoever shoud wear nothing but Stuff and Cloath of our own make; the Ladies to have liberty to wear Silk but in Summer. I am told that within these six months, to encourage a Woollen Manufacture newly set up in *Portugal*, no man, Native or Stranger, is suffered to appear at Court in any other.

That useful neglected Act, of Burying in Woollen, shoud be strictly put in execution; not prohibiting the People, if they wil be so foolish (but probably a little time wil make them wiser, than) to throw away linnen too, which if they woud make at home, might be the more tolerable: The way I conceive by which it may be easily don, is, to injoyn the Minister under penalty of deprivation, with allowance of Mony to the Informers, not to bury any one, whose Corps or Coffin, they do not see cover'd with Flannel. And since *Death* is
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said to be the Sister of *Sleep*, or rather since *Sleep* is the representation of *Death* as our Beds are of our Grave, or indeed, that *Death* is but a very long Night, if we shoud not only Bury, but ly in Flannel Sheets, at least the long cold Winter Nights, I have bin assur'd by our old Friend — That this Practise, after a little use, woud be found no less for the health, if not som voluptuousness of our natural Bodies, than the other woud prove for the Body Politic; and I am the more induc'd to believe this assertion, because Physitians prescribe Flannel Shirts to som persons for their Health; I am certain the more ways are found for the Consumption of this Manufacture, the Richer our Country woud grow, by lessning the use of Forrein Linnen, so greatly advantageous to our Neighbors of *France*; whom we love so dearly, that we study how to serve and enrich them, tho to our own impoverishment and Ruin.

Besides this Course, not a lock of Wool shoud be permitted into the Islands of *Jerisy*,
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Guernsey, Alderney or Sark; under colour of what is allow'd, they are enabled, to supply their own occasions, and carry much more (of which I am well assur'd) to *France*; which reaps the benefit of the great industry of those populous Islands; to make them beneficial, at least not hurtful, to *England*, is to deny them Wool; if that woud bring the People thence into this Country, it will prove a double advantage. And lastly, I think the only certainty of keeping our Wool from Forreiners, is to erect a Company by the Name of *State Merchants*, or Oblige the *East-India* Company, whose Stock and Credit wil enable them with ease, to buy up at good rates yearly, all the Wool of *England* and *Ireland*; which manufactur'd at home, woud bring them in a little time, as profitable returns, as those from *Bantam, &c.* be many Millions in the Riches of the People, by raising the Rents, &c. and Hundred Thousands in the Kings *Exchequer*, employ Thousands of our Poor now starving, and invite in many of
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other Nations to the great encrease of our Strength and Wealth, and so prove no less a particular than an universal good.

That all Forefallers, Reqrators and Higlers be prevented, who now doe as much mischeif to the City of *London*, as formerly purveiance did the Kingdom.

That the present confus'd business of weights and measures, which appears by many statutes to have bin the care of our ancestors, be fully ascertain'd and adjusted. And because this does greatly tend to the regulation of trade and administration of Justice, it were convenient particular persons were empower'd, who shoud receive complaints and correct abuses, in those and all other penal statutes referring to trade, by some more speedy course than that of information or indictment, &c.

That no particular Person or Incorporations have any places priviledg'd against the Kings Writs.

That the Parliament woud be pleas'd to redress the great Obstruction of Justice
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tice by Protections, of which no less than sixteen Thousand are said to be given in and about *London*. I am perswaded that either the Report is a Mistake, or that the Member's Hands are Counterfeited; for 'tis very unreasonable to believe, the Makers of our Laws would prevent their Execution; But be the Case one way or other, the Evil may be easily remedied by the Members registering the Names of their servants in the House, at the beginning of the Sessions and upon the Alteration of any.

That all manner of Courts in Corporations, whether by Grant or Prescription, be taken away, because of the many Abuses daily committed: and in every Corporation a Court of Merchants Erected, for the quic dispatch and determination of all Controversies relating to Trade and Commerce; every Man to be oblig'd to tel his own Story, without Charge or the Assistance of Attorneys or Lawyers. The Judges to be annually chosen five in number, together

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gether with two Registers, one for the Plaintiff, the other for the Defendant, out of the most experienced and best reputed Citizens, or Tradesmen; no Salary or Fee to be paid to Judge or Officer.

To retrench, by Sumptuary Laws, the excessive wearing forrein Silks, Embroideries and Laces; to prohibit absolutely the use of Silver and Gold-Lace, Gilding or Lackering Coaches, &c. When Riches are thus not so much us'd as abus'd, 'tis no wonder they do not only moulder into Dust, but *take wing* (in *Solomon's* Phrase) *and fly away*: Our wiser Neighbors in *France* and *Holland* prevent this Evil: the First make a Shew, but at an easy and cheap Rate; the later leave off their Cloaths, because they are worn out, not that they are out of Fashion: Our contrary Practice in imported Commodities make us complain, *That Trade is decaying*; in which our Folly has made us a By-word among the *French*, *As a People that consume our All on the Back and the Belly*;

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and if none spent more, the Mischief were but particular ; But many are not contented to run out their own Estates, but resolve to have the Pleasure of undoing others for Company. So long as we indulge our selves in this Vanity, we may indeed have the satisfaction (if it be any) to talk of mending Trade: but in spite of our Chat, it wil stil decay, we shal Buy and Sel more and more, and yet live by the Loss, til at last we are wholly Broke. How long that wil be a doing, we may guess by the Fal of the Rents and Valu of Lands, not to be avoided while the Ballance of Trade is so much greater on the Imported side than the Exported. The way to make us Rich, is to manage our Trade in the same manner it was don in *Edward the Thirds* time ; To make the Proportion of our Exports, exceed our Imports, as much as they then did ; by an Account taken in the Seven and Twentyeth Year of that King (as *Cotton* sayes) our exported Commodities amounted to 294184 Pound, the Imported but 38970 Pound ; so that, the
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Kingdom got clear in that Year 255214 Pound: By which it appears, that our present Trade is about thirty times greater than it was then, tho we complain of its Fal: 'Tis our own Fault, we are so imprudent as to consume more of Forrein Goods, than we sel of our own ; this I am convinc'd we do in our *French* Trade, 'tis wel if we do not likewise play the Fool in others. By the way, you may observe, That if we woud but moderate our Expences, we might very wel bear our Taxes, tho they were near thirty times greater than in that Kings Reign, even with Allowance for the Alteration of Coyn.

That the Exportation of Mony in *specie*, is so far from being a Loss to the Kingdom, that it may be gainful, as it is to *Legorn* and other places: That tho we did not export any Coyn, yet we shoud not be the Richer ; since the overballance woud stil lye as a Debt upon our Trade, which it must sometime or other pay in that or another Commodity, or otherwise Break.

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And that the Council or Committee of Trade may find out the Wealth of the Kingdom, which woud serve to many good Purposes, by making a yearly Account of the Goods imported and exported (best known by the Customs, and has been Calculated by a Friend of mine in another Country) These ought at least every seven Years to be reviewd, (supposing the Life of Commodities not longer than that of Man). And, according to their Alterations of usefulness or necessity, to our selves or others, the Impositions to be chang'd.

And here I must take leave to assert, That all imported Commodities are better restrain'd by the height of Imposition, than by an absolute Prohibition, if sufficient Care be taken to oblige the Importers to a full and strict Payment; for this woud be a kind of Sumptuary Law, putting a necessity upon the Consumer, by Labor to enlarge his Purse, or by Thrift to lessen his Expence. And I am the more induc'd to this, by my observation, that notwithstanding the several

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ral Acts, prohibiting the Importation of many forrein Commodities; yet nothing is more worn or us'd, especially the *French*, in which Trade, if the overballance (which is said to be above 1600000 Pound) were loaded with the Charge of eight Shillings in the Pound, it woud make the Consumption of those Commodities 640000 pound dearer; and if that woud not restrain our Folly, it woud help to ease us in the public Taxes; whereas now they are all imported without any other Charge, than what is paid for Smuckling, to tye up the Seamen's Tongues, and shut Officers Eyes. To prevent this, it were fit, that Men were undeceiv'd of the Notion they have taken up, That the Law do's allow 'um their Choice, either to pay the Duty, or the Penalty if taken; which sure cannot be the End of any Law, which designes Obedience and active Compliance with what it enjoins, not a Disobedience or breaking what it positively commands. If Penal Statutes be only conditional, then the Traitor, the

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Murderer or the Thief, when he suffers the Punishment of Disobedience, may be cal'd an honest Man, and in another Signification than that of the *Scotch* Phrase, *A justify'd Person*. But the *idle and unwarrantable Distinction of Active and Passive Obedience* has done *England* greater *Mischiefs*. The *Revenue Acts* give not the same Liberty that those *Acts* do, which oblige the People to go to Church, or to Watch and Ward under pecuniary Mulcts. In these a Power of Choosing was designedly left, which by many Circumstances appears otherwise intended by the other. And indeed, the Practice is not only unjust, but abusive to the whole Body of the People, who pay as dear for what they buy, as if the Duty had bin paid to the King, not put up in a few privat Mens Pockets. It may likewise hinder Trade; for if the Smuckler please, he may underfel his Neighbor, who honestly thinks, 'tis a Cheat and a Sin, not to *give Cæsar his Du*: Therefore, a Seal or som privat Mark shoud be contriv'd,

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triv'd, for all sorts of Commodities, and Power given to seize them when and where-ever met, in Merchants, Retailers or Consumptioners Hands. And to prevent the passing forrein Commodities, as if made at Home, for which lest any of these last shoud pass, they shoud in the Town where they are made, or expos'd to Sale, be first mark'd or seal'd, in an Office purposely erected, without any Delay or Charge to the People.

That, that part of the Act of Navigation be repeal'd, which appoints three fourths of the Mariners to be *English*: why not *Scots*, *Irish* or any of the Kings Subjects, or even *Forreiners*, so the Ships do really belong to owners resident in *England*? We want People, therefore ought to invite more, not restrain any. This Act is a Copy of that made by the *Long Parliament* and their General, the *Usurper*, who being in War with *Scotland* and *Ireland* in rebellion, thought fit to deny them equal privileges in commerce. But this *Loyal Parliament* wil, I hope, con-

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consider, that the three Kingdoms are not to be thus divided in Interests, while under one Monarch. That his Naval Power, their joint strength, is increas'd by the growth of shipping in any of 'um. If the sense of this wil not prevail upon them, to allow 'um the same freedoms, yet sure I am, they must from thence perceive, *England* wil have a great advantage by suffering all the Kings subjects of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, to enjoy the benefit of this Act.

That there be two *Free Ports* appointed; one in the *South*, another in the *North*, with convenient rules and limitations That the duty impos'd upon any of our exportations, whether of our own growth or manufacture of forrein materials, be not so high as may either wholly restrain those abroad from buying, or enable others to furnish them cheaper.

That education of Children in forrein parts in Colleges or Academies be prohibited, and Provision found or made at home for Teaching Languages and the exercises of Rideing, Fencing, &c.

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That *Banks* and *Lombards* be speedily Erected; this in a little time woud make a Hundred *pound* to be as useful to the *Public*, as two Hundred real Cash is now. But in order thereunto, let there be a voluntary Registry of Land, &c. which in a few years wil raise their valu considerably. By this way no man indebted or whose estate is incumbred is obliged to make discoveries. Yet if he has but half free, the Registering of that, wil the better enable him to discharge the other part. If a *Registry* must not be obtain'd, that, at least, the selling or mortgaging over and over, secret conveyances, Deeds of trust or any other Tricks, by which the Lender or Purchaser is defrauded and abus'd, be made Felony, without benefit of Clergy; and the cheating person oblig'd to pay the sufferer treble Dammage, and as much more to the Public. This, which certainly, all honest men judg as reasonable, as what is practis'd for far smaller evils or offences, wil, without any innovation

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novation in the Laws, or other alleg'd inconveniences to the People, secure us in our Rights, and perhaps answer all the ends of a *Registry*; of which, tho' very convenient, I am not so fond, as to think or believe, it wil so suddenly, or to that height, as is said, raise the Rents and Valu of Lands; To this it can contribute but by accident, as it invites Strangers into the Kingdom (for I have already told you, that the greater or smaller number of People is the only tru cause of the dearness or cheapness of Land and of Labor or Trade) yet even this it cannot do, without abolishing the Law, disabling *Aliens* to purchase and hold before *Naturalization*, necessary without dispute to be immediatly taken away.

Nor woud it a little contribute to the general good, that all Merchants and Tradesmen breaking shoud be made guilty of Felony, their goods to the Creditors, if they did not plainly make appear, by their true Books, their losses and discover what ever they have
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left, and without the unjust and cunning Artifices of composition, give way for an equal Divident among the Creditors. And that the many abuses of the Kings Bench Prison be reform'd, which, as now manag'd, is made a Sanctuary and place of Refuge and Privilege, for all Knaves that define their own privat Interest, to the ruin of others, whose confinement is no narrower than from the *East* to the *West Indies*.

'That all Bonds and Bills obligatory, statute Merchants and of the staple, Recognisances, Judgments, &c. be enacted transferable and by Indorsement to pass as current as Bills of Exchange, and made recoverable by a shorter course of Law, than now practis'd. That is to say, that upon actual proof of the perfecting and last assigning of the Deed, Judgment and Execution be obtaind. This wou'd wonderfully enliven trade, make a new *species* of Coyn, lower interest, secure in a great measure dealers from breaking, and find mony to carry
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on the trades of *Fishing, Linnen, woollens* &c.

That til the propos'd regulation of the Laws can be effected, to avoid the trouble and charge of *Juries* in many cases and other unjust vexations, the meets and bounds of the denominations of all Lands, Mannors, Parishes, Commons, Hundreds and Countyes, all prescriptions, usages and customs, and the Jurisdictions of all inferiour Courts be fully inquir'd into, and truely registred in one Book or Books; copies to be Printed and the Original to be and remain of Record, as the *Doomsday* book in the *Exchequer*: By which all disputes concerning the premises may be speedily and cheaply decided.

There are but two Objections against this public good, and were they unanswerable, yet since they are but particular and selfish considerations, they ought not to take place; The first is, That the useful and *laudable Calling* of the Lawyers, wil be prejudic'd. The next, that, the many, who now live up-

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on Credit, wil be undon. As to the first, by this work the present Lawyers wil be so far from suffering, that for ten years to com rather than lessen, it wil increase their business; which according to the ordinary computation of mens Lives, or their hopes of being promoted, wil be a greater advantage to them, than if things continu'd as they are: and for those, who propose to themselves this way of living, there wil be stil grounds enuff for the Practise of som and many new employments for others. So that if these Gentlemens present great Practise woud give them leave to look forwards, they woud find *they are more Scar'd than hurt*. As to the second sort, who likewise believe they may be damnifi'd, that fancy wil also vanish, if it be consider'd, That it wil enlarge rather than destroy Credit. For we wil suppose, that a young Merchant or Tradesman, who has 500. *pound* stock, does not trade for less than 2000. *pound*, the Merchant that sells him the Commoditys upon the belief of his being

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being honest, industrious, prudent and sober, gives him Credit, and takes his Bond payable at a certain day; this Person, that he may be able duly to discharge his obligation, in like manner, trusts another, whom he supposes able and honest; for all receive credit as they really are or appear such; as soon as his bond becomes due, he takes up his own, and gives that he receiv'd to his creditor, who perhaps gives it to another to whom he is indebted; At last the money is call'd for, from the Country Gentleman; the Country Gentleman gives him an assignment on his tenant, who either is or is not indebted; if the tenant owes the Money, he payes it in *specie*, or assigns him upon some Merchant, for the value of commodities sold him, the *fond* enabling him to pay his Land-lords Rent; and thus perhaps by a Circulation of traffic, for all Men from the highest to the lowest are one way or other Merchants or Traders, the first man is pay'd with his own paper: If the tenant does not owe the Land-lord
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the Money, and therefore will not pay, the Land-lord is immediately necessitated to sell or Mortgage some part of his estate; which if he refuse, the Law forces him, and the Credits of the rest are secur'd. The Consequences are plainly these; That Men must be careful, with whom they deal; That they must be punctual & thrifty, lest they first lose their Credit, and afterwards become Beggars: For, he that rightly considers, will be convinc'd, That every Man in a Society or Common-wealth, even from the King to the Peasant, is a Merchant, and therefore under a necessity of taking care of his Reputation, not seldom a better Patrimony, than what descends to us from our Parent's Care. That by this Practice, the Kingdom will gain an inexhaustible Treasure; and tho there were not a hundredth part of the Money, be able to drive ten times a greater Trade, than now it does. A Man thus enabl'd, to Live and Trade without Money, will be in no need of running-out

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his principal in Interest, by which too many for want of Consideration, are insensibly undon, involving many more in their Ruin. Without these, or som other new Courses, you may be assur'd, That our Trade, consequently our Power, wil every Day decay, and in a few Years com to nothing.

But som imagin, that we need not trouble our selves in this Matter, it wil shortly fal in of Course to our Country; for that as Learning took its Circuit thro several parts of the World, beginning at the *East*, so must Trade too: but who-ever believes this wil com to pass without Human Means, Labor and Art, entertains wrong Notions of Providence.

I do believe the great Wheel is always in Motion; and tho there be a constant Circumgyration of things, yet 'tis idle to fancy, that any thing, but Troubles or War, Oppression or Injustice, Wit or Industry makes Trade or Learning shift their Places in the same Country, or alter their abode from that to any other.

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If we look into Histories, we shal find these have bin the Causes of their Migration; and that Trade and Learning, usually go hand in hand together.

Having already asserted, that Trade and Commerce are to be improv'd and carry'd on, the more vigorously, by how much the more Labor and Thrift are increas'd; and that the making Idlers work, is in effect, an increasing the People: And that all such shoud be forc'd into several Work-houfes, which tho the Parliament has taken into consideration, yet for want of Stock, is not hitherto put in any forwardness, I wil now give you my Thoughts, how this may probably be brought about, with little or no Charge, but to such only, as upon prospect of Advantage, do change the Scenes of their Lives, as by Marriage, Employments, Callings, &c. or by assuming new Titles and Degrees of Honor; and consequently as their respective Proportions, or Payments are here propos'd, they cannot account them burdensom or grievous.

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To perfect this, I think it necessary, That all Hospitals, Almshouses and Lands for charitable uses, be sold; & more stately and convenient Ones erected; into which, none but diseased Persons, or others perfectly unable to Earn their Living, should be receiv'd. And to the end they might the sooner be Restor'd to Health, a convenient number of *Physitians, Nurses* and *Tenders* ought to be appointed, and sufficient Salaries establish'd; *England*, to Her great shame, is in this Instance, much behind Her Neighbors of *France* and *Holland*; in the Practice of which, I know not whether there be more of Charity, or of Policy, of Heavenly or of Earthly Interest.

That the several Directions of the Act, for raising a Stock, be strictly put in Execution. That all Fines for *Swearing, Drunkenness, Breaches of the Peace, Felons Goods, Deodands, &c.* for a certain number of Years be converted to this Use; This would bring in twenty times more, than is now receiv'd on these Accounts; and may perhaps prevent the late much practis'd

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practis'd *trick* of finding all *Felo's de se* mad. That all *Contributions* for maintenance of the Poor (which are so considerable, that I have bin told, in some single Parishes in *London*, they amount *communibus annis*, to Five thousand Pound a Year) be added to this *Stock*. And that it be further enacted, That every Man at his Admission to *Freedom*, pay one Shilling; upon *Marriage*, what he thinks fit above one Shilling. Every *Clergy-man* at *Ordination*, ten Shillings, at *Instalment* into any *Dignity*, twenty Shillings; *Arch-Deacons*, three Pound; *Deans*, five Pound; *Bishops*, ten Pound; *Arch-Bishops*, twenty Pound. *Gentlemen* upon Admittance into the *Inns of Court*, ten Shillings; upon their being call'd to the *Bar* forty Shillings; when made *Serjeants*, or *King's Council*, five Pound. Every Man upon Admission into the *Inns of Chancery*, three Shillings four Pence; when Sworn *Attorney*, ten Shillings. Lord *High Chancellor, Keeper*, Lord *High Treasurer*, and Lord *Privy Seal*, twenty Pound. *Chief Justice, Chief Baron, Chancellor*

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teller of the *Exchequer*, *Master* of the *Rolls* and *Attorney General*, twelve Pound a piece. Every of the other *Judges* and *Barons*, the *Sollicitor-General* and the *Six Clerks*, ten Pound a piece. The *Masters* of *Chancery* and other Officers not nam'd in that or other Courts, any Sum not exceeding six Pound a Man, as shal be thought convenient, by the respective *Judges*. All *Knights*, five Pound; *Baronets*, ten Pound; *Barons*, *Vice Counts*, *Earls*, twenty Pound; *Dukes* and *Marquesses*, fifty Pound. All *Aldermen* of *London*, twenty Pound; of other *Cities* and *Corporations*, three Pound. *Mayors*, ten Pound. All *Masters* of *Arts* in *Universities*, twenty Shillings. *Doctors* of *Law* and *Physic*, forty Shillings; of *Divinity*, four Pound. *Heads* and *Masters* of *Colleges*, five Pound. All *Executors* and *Administrators*, that undertake the Charge, two Shillings. All Persons entring into *Estates*, either by *Descent* or *Purchase*, one Shilling, over and above one Shilling, for every hundred Pounds *per annum* of such Estate. That every *Sunday*, there

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there be Collections in all Churches of the Kingdom, which with what shal be receiv'd at the *Communion*, are to be thus appropriated: And that all *Street*, *Door*, and other *Charitable Doles*, in broken Meat or Mony, as the great Encouragements and chief occasions of *Idleness* and *Vice*, be forbid under severe Penalties; That *Briefs* be issued thro the Kingdom, for voluntary Contributions; That the Names of such as shal be eminently Bountiful, be convey'd to *Posterity*, by placing their *Coats of Arms*, and registering their Munificence in the respective Workhouses of the City, Corporation or County, where they live. I do not doubt, but in a very short time, a Stock woud be thus rais'd, sufficient to imploy all the idle Hands in *England*. And tho I believe, that after a little while, there woud be no need of using Art, or Severity in bringing People into these *Nurseries* of Labor and Industry: The Sweets of gain and trouble of *Idleness*, which certainly is not the least of toyls to such as have bin inur'd to Labor or Business,

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being

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being of themselves strong Allurements; yet to lay the first Foundation with success, I conceive it necessary, That both Men and Women, who have no visible ways of Maintenance, Criminals of what Quality soever, punish'd as before in the *Discourse of Laws*, the Children taken out of the *Foundlings Hospital*, as soon as able to do any thing, be all sent to these Work-houses. That the great numbers of People going out of this Kingdom, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to other Parts of *Europe*, be restrain'd, and none be spirited into the *west-Indies*, or suffer'd to go abroad, unless to trade. That such as by Infirmary or Age are absolutely disabled, among which neither the Lame nor the Blind are to be reckon'd, be maintain'd and confin'd within the public Hospitals. That every Constable, in whose *ward* or *Precinct* any Beggar is found, forfeit twenty Pound; and the Person or Persons entertaining or lodging any, five Pound, to the Use of the Work-House.

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That those who are commonly sent to the *House of Correction*, or *Bridewel*, and those found Guilty of *Petty Larceny*, be sent to the Work-House; For that indeed Whipping, the Punishment intended for their Amendment, does but take away the sense of Shame and Honor, rendring them Impudent and Incorrigible in their Iniquities. But granting its operation so forcible, as to be able to reclaim them, yet certain it is, that its best effect is, but to hinder them from doing further Mischief; whereas by this Course, not only that will be avoided, but a considerable profit redound to the *Public*. To these also should be added all Prisoners for Criminal matters tho acquitted, if by Circumstances they appear suspicious; it being reasonable to conclude some Rogues and Vagabonds, tho the evidence required by strictness of Law, be not strong enuf to Convict them. Hither likewise are all to be sent, who for trivial inconsiderable causes, and sometimes out of pure Malice, are thrown into Prisons, and there forc'd to spend the remainder

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mainder of their miserable Lives ; the exorbitant extortion of Fees, and the merciless rage of their Enemies, swelling their Debts beyond the power, or hopes of Satisfaction ; whereby they becom not only useless, but a *burden* to the Common-wealth. And because the *Benefit of Clergy* was introduc'd, for the advancement of Learning in the ruder dayes of our Ancestors, and that there is now no such need, the Kingdom being so far from wanting, that it is rather Overstockt in every Faculty, with such as make Learning a *Trade*: and the intercourse of our Affairs almost necessitating all others to Read and Write, I hold it convenient to take it quite away ; not only because useless, but because it is an encouragement to many, to transgress the bounds of the Law. That all of what degree or condition soever, Men or Women, literat or illiterat, convicted of any of the Crimes for which *Clergy* is now allow'd, be condem'd to the Work-Houses for Seven Years, or pay to its Use sixty Pounds or more, according to their Qualities.

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By what I have already said, you see I am no friend to *Pardons* ; but if any must still be granted, that then any not a Gentleman obtaining one, pay *Twenty Pound*, a *Gentleman* Forty Pound, an *Esquire* Sixty Pound, a *Knight-Batchellor* Eighty Pound, a *Baronet* or other *Knight* One Hundred Pound, a *Lord* Two Hundred Pound, a *Marquess* or *Duke* Four Hundred Pound. The Eldest Sons of every of these to pay equal with the Fathers. And in case after all this People should be wanting, *Ireland* may furnish yearly, Hundreds or Thousands of its Children ; which will prove not only advantageous for Encreasing the Wealth of *England*, but also for securing the Peace and Quiet of that Kingdom ; by making so many of the *Natives* one and the same People with us, which they will soon be, if taken away so Young, as that they may forget their *Fathers House* and *Language*. And if, after seven, eight or nine Years, when Masters of their Trade, return'd into their own, or suffer'd to abide in this Country.

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I will not trouble you with recounting in particular, the many advantages that wou'd soon flow thro all the Tracts of this Land, from this source of Industry, if thus supply'd with Mony and Hands. All Trades and useful Manufactures of *Silks, Linnen, Canvass, Lace, Paper, Cordage for Ships, Iron, Tin, &c.* may be there set on foot, and carryed on to a far greater profit, than single men can drive them. In this Work-House shoud be Taught, the knowledg of *Arms*, and the *Arts of War*, on all *Festivals* and *Holy Dayes*; and the lusty young Fellows sent by turns to Sea, for a year or two of the Time of this their *State-Apprentiship*. By this means the King woud be enabled at any time without Pressing, to draw out of this great *Seminary* a sufficient Army, either for Land or Sea-service.

The wayes, methods and orders for Regulating the severall Work-Houses I coud fully demonstrat, did I not think it needless at present. 'Tis enuf that I here Promise to do it at any time when the *Great Council* shall think fit to take this

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matter into Consideration, or when you please to impose your further Commands. But give me leave to say, That laying aside all other Reformatations of the *State*, this alone woud secure our Lives and Fortunes, from Violence and Depredation, not only increase our Wealth and Power beyond what now it is, but make them far exceed, whatever any of our Neighbors are possess'd of; and consequently establish a firm and lasting Peace at Home, and make us terrible to the Nations abroad. This great Happiness is the Wish of every tru *English-man*, but can only be effected, by the Care and Wisdom of the King and Parliament; to whom I most passionately recommend and humbly submit it.

I have now at length run thro all the parts, of my uneasy *Task*; you wil say, I doubt not, very Slubberingly; to be before hand with you, I do confess it; I never undertook any thing more unwillingly, & therefore have perform'd it, not only il, but carelessly, studying nothing so much, as to com quicly to an end; which

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which indeed was my greatest Labor; the fields you commanded me to take a turn in, were so spacious, that being once enter'd, considering how short a while you oblig'd me to stay, I could not easily find my way out again; which put me to a necessity of running, and the hast not giving me leave to see the Rubbs in my way, forc'd me to stumble: What I have don can serve to no other purpose, than for hints to enlarge your better thoughts upon.

Had these Papers bin Worthy, I would have presented them by way of New-years Gift; but that was not my fault; most of what you meet with here, we have often discoursed with our — You must not read them to any other: For I am perswaded they woud tel you *the Man was Mad*: Perhaps I was so for Writing, but I am sure I have yet *madder* thoughts, For I do seriously believe all I have here said is tru; and this to boot, That, *the world is a great Cheat*; That *an honest man, or a good Christian is a greater wonder, than any of those strange*

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ones, with which Sir H. B. has often entertain'd us. This you are sure of, I have spoken nothing for Interest; I am but a bare stander by, no *Better*, and therefore neither win nor loofe, let the Game go how it wil. But to trifle no more, I am not concern'd what any think; I live to my self, not others, and build not my satisfaction, upon the empty and uncertain Vogue, or Opinion of men; If I did, I should put into their Power, to make me unhappy, when ever they please.

To conclude, The Result of all I have here said is, That *England might be the happiest Country in the World*, if the people woud be content to make a right use of their Power; that is, to Act by the Rules of Reason, on which their own Constitutions are founded: For since they have the power of Reforming the old and enacting new Laws, in which every man (the poorest that is worth but forty shillings *per annum*) has his Vote, no man can be offended, with his own Act; But if he be, the Remedy is at hand.

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hand. So that here every one living according to Reason, and that making every man a Judge, all must see to their great Comfort, That the Interest of the King and People is really one and the same; That the Common good is every single mans; And that who ever disturbs the Public, injures himself; which is to the whole the greatest security imaginable, and to every privat man a lasting Happiness.

That *the Laws are not exact*, because the Parliament harken to the Counsel that, not the Lawyers, but their Interest dictates; neglecting to follow that advice, which they may have for nothing, *“ viz. Let the Counsel of thine own Heart stand, for there is no Man more faithful unto thee than it: For, a Mans mind is wont to tell him more, than seven watch-men, that sit above in an high Tower. That is, consult with no Man who advises with regard to himself; which is plain from these Words. “ Every Counsellor extolleth Counsel; but there is that counselleth for himself; beware*

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“ ware therefore of a Counsellor, and know before what need he hath, for he wil Counsel for himself; lest he cast the Lot upon thee and say unto thee Thy way is good, and afterwards he stand on the other side to see what shal befall thee. Whether this be a Prophecy of what the Lawyers will do; or a bare Narration of matter of Fact, what they daily Practise, I leave to every discerning mans Judgment.

The Short of this, is to advise, That in making of New Laws, or in altering or repealing the Old, the Members trust not the Gentlemen of the long Robe, unless they promise to joyn the Law and the Gospel; To give their Advice without Mony, or the Hopes of Gain: And yet if their Charity or Generosity shoud perswade them to undertake the Cause thus in *forma Pauperis*, That they give sufficient security, not to starve it; That is, not to be back-ward in their giving Advice according to Conscience, not Interest.

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When this is don, we are not secur'd unless the Parliament provide That *no infringer of the Laws be Pardon'd*; that is to say, That equal Justice be distributed, making no distinction between the Persons of the highest and the lowest, when their Crimes have made them equal. Which can't probably be otherwise effected, than by constituting, as is don in *Venice*, a new Magistracy of *public Censors*, who shal have inspection into the actions of all the Courts of Judicature, and public Offices whatsoever; whose Account shal by the Parliament be receiv'd as Authentic, and make the Offenders Obnoxious to degradations and pecuniary Mulcts, to the satisfaction of the injur'd and a farther overplus to the Public, unless in their judgments the accused fairly acquit themselves.

That *Religion*, as now manag'd, is made an Art or Trade to live by, and to enable the Professors to abuse the Credulous and Unwary. That if Interest be not remov'd, and not Opinions,

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ons, but a *good Life* be the Character to distinguish real Christians, from those who pretend themselves such, we shal never have Peace here, nor assurance of Happiness hereafter. That in granting *Liberty of Conscience* Clergy Mens Advice is not to be harkn'd to, unless they wil refine their Livings and Dispute only for Truth. That *Toleration* is at this time, more especially, for three great Reasons absolutely convenient; *First*, to unite us at Home; *next* to enable us now and hereafter to resist the Power of *France*; This certainly requires all our Strength which without Union we cannot have: The *Third* and great Reason, To Advance our Trade.

That the *French* are to be stop't in their Career; That to do so, it is necessary, a large and sufficient *Revenue*, for ever (if it be don wisely) be fixt and setl'd on the *Crown*, on the *State*; I do not say, on the *Person* of the *King*, for He is indeed, if rightly consider'd, but God's Steward, and has so great a

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share in the trouble, that it is an unresolv'd Question, notwithstanding all his Glory and Power, Whether the Roses of the Crown make amends for its Thornes, and, Whether the Softness of any Lining can ease the weight of the Burden He undergoes; whose Nights and Dayes are made restless, by the Pressures of that mighty Care, to which, by the safety of three Kingdoms, He is continually sollicitated. *If half a Loaf* (as they say) *be better than no Bread*, 'tis more eligible to part with som, than to expose all to the Mercy of an Enemy and Conqueror; from whom the greatest Favor we can expect, is to becom, not a *subordinat Kingdom*, but an *enslav'd Province*.

That *Trade*, is to be promoted, by all possible Care and Diligence, because by that we must be enabled to pay our *Taxes*; without which, we cannot withstand Forrein Violence. That Trade is to be better'd, by inviting more People into the Kingdom and employing all the idle Hands we already have: That this is to be effected, by proposing Advantages and
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Rewards to Strangers; fit Employments, Threats and Punishments to Natives, by ascertaining all, Ease and Security in their Persons, Estates and Purchases, by an uninterrupted and speedy course of Justice, firmly establishing the three great satisfactory Desirables, *Liberty, Property* and *Religion*.

Salus Populi suprema Lex.

From—this 4th. of
January, 167 $\frac{7}{8}$.

S I R,

I am, &c.

F I N I S.

(2-2)
The Reader is desir'd, before he runs thro this
Discourse, to mend with his Pen, these few
Errata's, which are all that alter the Sense.

E R R A T A.

*The Reader is desir'd, before he runs thro this
Discourse, to mend with his Pen, these few
Errata's, which are all that alter the Sense.*

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Errata.

Errata.

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