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THE *In Barton*
Poore Mans
ADVOCATE,
OR,
ENGLANDS SAMARITAN.

POURING
Oyle and VVyne into the wounds
of the Nation.

By making present Provision for the
Souldier and the Poor, by reconciling
all Parties. By paying all Arreares to the Par-
liament Army. All publique Debts, and all
the late Kings, Queenes, and Princes
Debts due before this Session.

Bonum quo Communius eo melius.

Truth needes no Corners, nor faithfull
Counsels, the dark *Scarf-Skinne* of secrecy.

London, Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-spred Eagle,
at the West end of Pauls.



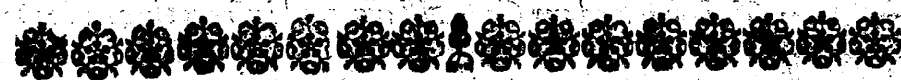
THE PRAYER

DEDICATORY.

MY Lord, and my God. All my good is from thee, all my Dedications are to thee. For thou only art able to defend me from wicked men, and cause me to find favour with good men. O thou that savest sinners, magnifie thy mercies in my transgressions, And by how much I am unworthy, by so much let thy goodnesse abound. Cause my face to shine with wisdom, and my heart to overflowe with love unto thy people. Make this lease a healing to the Nation, cast us not of in thy displeasure. It is true (Lord) we have despised mercies, and hardned under judgements. And the Deceiver is powerfull amongst us. The Devill rageth because his time is short. Lord rebuke him, and defend us from this houre of temptation which is over all the World. Thy Vial is powred out upon the Governing and splendid Sun of the world, so that men are scorched with great heat of rage and madnesse, and do blasphemee thy most Holy Name. But is not the Lord at hand to save all those that trust in him? Inform the zealous in the true way. least they smite their fellow-Servants: and let the Mocker cease. Let them be consumed that eat thy people up as it were bread: and put an end to the Egyptian Bondage of Taxes. That the spirit of this Nation

The Prayer Dedicatory.

*be once more calm'd, and young men may follow the Lamb with
palmes in their hands, whilst the Gospel-example of the Com-
munion of Saints breaks forth as a glorious beame of
the presence of God, that the whole Earth may be
enlightened with the brightnesse of the
comming of Jesus Christ into
his Kingdom,
Amen.*



The



The Epistle, to the Representatives of all the Authority, and Power of England. The High and Honourable House of Commons Assembled in Parliament.

Ye choyce men of England.

I Cannot but honour, whom the Lord hath been pleased to honour. I am commanded to love you: give me then leave to be jealous of you. Love lyeth not in flattery: for the Law saith, thou shalt not hate thy Brother, but freely tell him of his faults. If any man say he hath none, he deceiveth himself, and the truth is not in him.

Ye are many, and there was one Judas amongst the Apostles. I know him not: but he that beareth the bagg will certainly betray you. He that perswadeth you to sell that precious oyntment, which cost so much blood, whose Odor might perfume all the Nation with the sweet savour of charity, doth he do it that he loveth you, or because he hath the bagg? Such you have declared have been amongst you. If any yet remain, give him this sop, and discover him.

Note the man that dippeth with you in the Dish, whose Lips still ready for the guilty sop of new Assesments, or sanc't with Birdlime Gelly of DELAY, kisseth you with the seeming tendernessee of Bul-begger caution, and blindeth your wayes with a prudential Forehead of politick Diversion.

That is, he that doth and will betray you, give him the power of DELAY, and you shall yeild your selves to staves and Clubmen; to the rabble of multitudes and Tumults. Your Antidote is to refuse no reasonable Proposition offered to you because.

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cause the Person hath a name, or the thing a defect: but separate the good from the bad, and amend what is amisse: so shall you gather up the Wisdom of the Nation, and have the blessing of a multitude of Councellers. (Safety.) Wisdom cryeth out in the streetes: she is not lockt up in Cabinets.

I confesse you are all above me, and see over me: but I am under you, and see under you. Yea, I see you are supplanted and blown up, if you prevent it not.

Taxes will eat up the grasse under your feete. How came the Son of Solomon to lose his Kingdom.

None more fond of a King then the English, yet they departed from him to ease their purses, and their Consciencs. If they forsooke their King (I spake it to some of your House in the beginning of this Session) Will they not forsake their fellow Subjects for the same Causes?

Few honest men will engage to be Taxers, and knaves will tax none (willingly) but your friends: nor will Collectors gather from others, unlesse compell'd: nor Clarke discharge any but your bribing Enemies. So you still spurre the free horse, and necessitate your friends against you. Will your Enemies then be for you? I Write this feelingly, as not only cloyd with Taxes, but overcome with the infinite abuses in them. Now when no more Taxes are to be had, must not the Souldier fall upon his Masters?

But What is the end of Taxes? Are you not still advanc't into a Debt? For which you are perswaded to sell all you have? And when you have sold all, and are in Debt, shall you not then be banckrupt?

Keep your Lands and keep your Credit.

Sell your Lands and sell your Credit.

Be pleased to remember the first occasions for money. Was it any more then an Army of 30000. which afterwards grew to 50000? Were not the free mil- Offerings of the Times sufficient for the day? With new Occasions, were not new Taxes and Delinquencies to above 40. Millions? most of which might have been spared, might but the Giver and Receiver, the Borrower, and the Lender have clapt hand in hand, (as was Petitioned,) or the Souldier have been suffered to have been of Age to receive his

own

The Epistle.

own money without standing at the end of a long Shuffle-board Table of Committees, or a Committee of Gurdians? But Hocus Pocus. All is gone. The Souldier still in Arreare, so as to set publique faith for 4 s. in the pound, debts still unpaid, and you are kept so bare, that you may not have present Credit for your own money without apaw, nor that without new Taxes. Yet the Jugler saith, you have the Crownes in your pockets.

Had the Army been all this while as great as at present for England and Ireland at 1.560.000 l. per An. And all Subsidies, Loanes, Taxes, Revenues, & Contributions, &c put into a bottomles bagg. We could not be in 8 years time more indebted then 12.480.000 l. and we pay interest for half so much, besides the debt that payes no interest.

Some men can eat their Cake and have their Cake. Your Debts are nigh as many, as if you never had had Taxes, nor they received interest. I am sure I speak the complaint of many of your Members, and I think I speak the sence, grievance, and vindication of the whole House. And if money be thus made the great Lord o' the Lund, shall not you and we all be tyed up at last in a Usurers bag, and sold to Ishmalites, to Pharaos, the Pope, the Spaniard, the Turk, or any that will give most money for us.

It is high time you should find a Remedy, and this it is. Keep whol the publique stock. Provide for the poor, and they will provide for you. Destroy the poor, and they will destroy you. And if you provide not for the poor, they will provide for themselves.

The businesse sounded well, in the late Kings eares, about 16. yeares past. Then was not such a stock to begin the work. Nor such a Debt as now to clog it. All difficulties are in beginnings. The King liked it, and (not knowing our distance) recommended it to Bishop Laud, which I took as a providence to delist from it.

This is the best Elixir: The Philosophers stone, that is so cheap, yet multiplies such Treasure.

Though you would pardon all, and take the debts upon you, proclaiming (with the Apostles.) Let him that stole, steale no more. Set but 200000. Poor at work, and if they clear but 20 l. a head, (as that's the least the meanest Hine can do that payes his Rent.) The year will bring about 4000.000 l. to the publique Treasury, beside all other profits herein mencioned. Hasten this work

of

The Epistle Dedicatory.

God, and establish the Honour of your memories in the hearts of all men. They are not weary of you, but of your Taxes and Delays. Nor care they to change faces, but conditions.

And with this joyfull work proclaim a jubile of Conscience, but let it not usher in a babel of sin.

How much blood and expences had been saved, had honest men distinguish between Libertie of sin and Libertie of Conscience, between punishment of sin and punishment of Conscience? Tye up sin, leave Conscience free. Let no man here presume above his senses, God only judgeth the heart.

He that breaketh the Law, is judged by the Law, and there the senses are sufficient. He that despiseth the Gospel, is judged by the Gospel; but that discerned by the spirit. God loves not linsay molsay. He appoints no Gospel Censures for legal Transgressions, nor legal Censures for Gospel sins: The Magistrate for the Law, the Church for the Gospel.

Herein if we are guided by the supream Authority and Pomer of all the world, and the fundamentall Lawes of Nature written to Moses by God, we may all agree concerning the Authority, Pomer, and Lawes of England, unlesse we must ever continue penitus toto divisus, ab orbe, out of the World. Verbum sapienti. I am not tedious, unlesse displeasing, And can there be displeasure in love? the Christian love of him that is,

3. April,
1649.

Your Honours

In all humble Christian Duty.

PETER CHAMBERLEN.

THE

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THE
POORE MANS
ADVOCATE,

OR

England's Samaritan, Powring Oyle, and
Wine into the wounds of the Nation.



He most necessary work of mankind, is to provide for the poore.

Reasons.

1. The rich can help themselves.
2. The rich are provided for, in providing for the poore; For if the poorest of all want nothing, the care of the rich is at an end, since the end of riches is but to be further off from poverty. *Quis tandem finis querendi? Ut cum*

quis habeat plus pauperiem metuat minus.

3. The wealth and strength of all Countries are in the poore; for they do all the great and necessary workes, and they make up the maine body and strength of Armies.

4. The poore have a right unto the creature as well as the rich, and to this purpose, men are entrusted with riches, that (as Gods Stewards) they might reward the laborious industries of the poor.

5. It is the worke of God, and of men that will be like God; which

WE

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we are taught by Nature, Reason and Christianity; that thereby our love to God may appeare: For if we love not our brother whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen?

6 It is the very depth of all pretences in all Kingdomes, States, Council and Corporations, the due execution whereof, is the *Sibboleth* and *Shibboleth* to distinguish true Patriots and Wise-men from dishonest, unprofitable, self-ended and tyrannicall Politicians

This work is at this time necessary. 1 In regard of the Poore. 2. Of the State. 3, Of the Opportunity. And 4. Of the danger to the contrary.

Reasons I.

In regard of the Poore.

1. Their great increase, and urgent necessity, many starving dayly for want of bread.

2. To Reward and employ the Souldier when out of duty.

II.

In regard of the State.

1. Because the Government is new.

2. It is unsettled.

3. It hath many enemies.

4. It hath need of Freinds.

5. There are many thousand poore, who, according to what is done herein, cannot but prove, either freinds or enemies.

6. The report of it alone hath already inclined the hearts of many, whose expectations (if frustrate) will aggravate the contrary.

7. This may free the people from Taxes.

8. It may pay all Debts.

9. It may procure the love of all the people, and of all parties.

10. It may be an honour, and vindication to the present Members of Parliament, from imputations of self-ends, combinations with kindred, or Usurers, or from doing the Worke of Justice with an eye to *Nabobs* Vineyard: but neglecting the works of Mercy.

III.

In regard of the Opportunity.

1. A Parliament sitting.

2. That Parliament unpestered from an opposite Party.

3. Assisted with the concurrence (especially in these just and mercifull things) of a victorious Army.

4. It is the proper work of a Parliament, to impower the poore, to recover, and possesse what the Lawes have given them, or what Charity hath, or shall give them.

5. The present laps of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and the Kings Monies, Lands, Moveables and Perquisites.

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IIII

In regard of the great danger of the contrary.

1. Necessity (which hath no Law) will break the bonds of all civility and Government, and so bring in confusion.

2. Hunger (which breaketh Stone-walls) will force the hungry through all fortifications upon all that have bread.

3. Oppression (which maketh a wise-man mad) will, by necessary, and continued Taxes, contrive the Councells of wisemen against the oppressors.

4. Patience (which many sober men have had) if abused, will turne into fury.

This being so. The meanes of doing this great worke, will follow to be considered; Which is, 1. By a joynt stock to be made.

1. Of all that remains of the Kings, Bishops, Deanes and Chapters, and Delinquents Estates, after satisfaction given to the Members of Parliament and Army, not otherwise, honourably rewarded in monies, moveables, or Offices, according to their fidelity and valour.

2. Of what remains due upon all publick accompts.

3. Of all *Commons, Wafts, Forests, Heards, Moores, Fennes, Chases, Boggs, Mountaines, Hills, Woods, Coppes, Leeser, Leucons, High-Wayes, Marshes, Lands*, left out of all Perambulations, or whatsoever else the poore hath an interest in, (they compounding with the rest that shall not joyne in this designe) and either to inclose what they compound for, or make the best advantage, in common, as formerly.

4. Of all drowned Lands, and Lands deserted of the Sea, upon other, or the like composition.

5. Of all Mines not wrought on at present, agreeing first with the Owner.

6. Of all Parish Collections, and all concealed, abused, or Free charities.

7. Of 3 yeares Tiths (with Arrears) from all that scruple it to their Parsons, after which to be for ever freed.

8. Of all improvements of the same by the severall employments, and industries of all that shall joyne with the Subscribers.

As, 1. By Husbandry.

2. By severall Trades and Manufactures.

3. By new Engines, Inventions, Trades and Manufactures, by them brought into use in *England*.

4. By increase of Poultry and Cattell, &c.

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5. By

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5. By adventures in new Colonies and Plantations.
6. By Treasures, and many things found in Sea or land by them.
7. By Fishings, and Fowlings &c.
8. By the erecting and managing of a publick Banck.
9. By erecting of an *Academy* for the education of youth in severall exercises.

*Reasons follow.*1. *Reasons.*

1. Why there should be a joynt or publick stock?
2. Why out of these particulars?
3. Why desired by Souldiers, and the poore?

Of a joynt stock.

1. That there might be a publick purse, for publick expences, and publick uses.

2. That there might be a purse answerable to the expences, and great undertakings.

3. Because privat purses can issue no more into the publick Treasury, but if drawn further, (in all probability) will bleed.

4. That the Taxes may by this mean be taken off, and so the cry of the poore, and the clamour and animosity of all men, together with the aspersions on the Parliament and Army quite extinguished: and Peace and Unity procured.

5. That the people may be sensible of some benefit from this Representative above others.

6. For the benefit of the whole Nation, by improving of Lands that were never improved, by imploying of men that were not onely useless, but a burthen, through idlenesse, or want of imployment, and by converting them into good Common-wealths-men.

7. For the Honour of the Nation: for, nothing that is joyned to trouble and poverty, can have honour in this world.

8. For the strength of the Nation, by an Army alwaies ready of honest men, & men made so by imployment, and government, without further charge; to the great terrour of our enemies, and our firmer peace at home, so as we may beate our swords into Ploughshares, when once Ireland (by Gods assistance) is reduced.

9. To bespeak victory to the Army whithersoever they are sent; The plat-forme being an invitation to all Nations to follow.

2. *Reasons.*

Why out of these particulars? And that will appeare in the Reasons for the particulars themselves, as first of Kings, Bishops, Deanes, and Chapters Lands. &c.

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1. They ever were supposed to be publike in being entrusted into those Hands who were supposed publique persons, for publique Uses.

2. They are by judgement false to the publike.

3. They are purchased to the publike by Conquest.

4. They are now no mans propriety.

5. Being made poor by their Warres, they ought from their Estates to have Reparation, and satisfaction; the poor as Creditors, Souldiers as Conquerors, and Creditors.

6. The Kings and Bishops Courts, and theirs, and Dean and Chapters splendid Livings were occasions of employing above 100000. poor: which, if it be all converted into the possession of private thrifty men must all famish for want of employment.

7. The Houses cannot be otherwise well employed, but to be *Collegiat Habitations*, for all that joyne in the execution of this Design, and for their *Work-houses, Schooles, Hospitalls, &c.* and so save so much money to the State in building others. But if they be disposed of to private persons, they must either be with much cost demolished, or with much more kept up, unlesse they ruine themselves, or their Tenants and Neighbours in striving to keepe a Port answerable thereunto: or run into everlasting futes, whereunto they will be provok't for want of such magnificence.

Of the second particular concerning Accompts.

1. Because it is the very use for which those moneys were pretended (*i. e.*) the payment of the Souldiers. And that in the nature of it is before publique Debts, since it was the only end why publique Debts were made; Men use not to pay bonds where the Conditions are not performed.

2. The work being great, every thing ought to help.

3. The clamours of Accompts will be taken off, and the honest Committee-men vindicated from the scandalls which are only due unto the contrary. Some having complained of having monies in their hands, and could not find a ready way to come to an Accompt.

Of the third particular of Commons.

They are & ever were used as comon & publique & the poor have an interest in them already, and where any reasonable composition may be had, the enclosures and improvements will abundantly satisfy all

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parties; but where it cannot, the old Customes and inconveniences are to remaine.

Of the fourth and fifth particulars of drownd Lands, and Mines.

1. These generally belonged to the King; and howsoever, being compounded for, there can be no injury.

2. If owners or pretenders will not compound, yet they will work them themselves, and so a benefit will accrew that way to the Common-wealth, though not to the publique stock. But if the Dog in the manger be there, that he neither will compound for them, nor work them, it can be no injustice to work them, without either his leave or profit, since the publique is to be prefer'd before private, and Generalls before Particulars.

Of the 6. particular.

Is it not lawfull to demand their own? and is it not some injustice not to be trusted with their own? This particular is properly their own.

Of the 7. particular of Tythes.

1. Tithes are more than the 10. part of the profits and Labours of all men, because there is no deduction for Rent, nor stock, nor labor. And the Tithe amongst the Jewes served to maintain the 12. part of the people, and amongst the Papists, they help to maintain whole Companies of Religious Orders: But here, amongst pretended Christians, not one amongst 100. or 1000. therefore seem disproportion- nable and unreasonablen.

2. The Conscience of many are troubled at it.

3. The laborious Countrey men is not able to bear.

4. Why should men pay for what they receive no use nor benefit, and be disabled to pay those from whom they receive both?

5. This will be a better employing of the Tithe.

6. Men will be willing at that rate to purchase their freedom.

7. Stipends are more fit for Gospel Ministers. Or else the benevo- lence of their own flock, which is not small where God hath given Gifts and they employ them.

Of the 8. particular.

For it is all but the fertil womb of their own labour and Industry.

Of a publique Banck.

1. This will be the most firm and visible Basis for a Banck in Europe, &c.

2. This will cause a great quicknesse of Trade.

3. A

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3. A great plenty of money, so as in 3. or 4. years to bring money to 3 per cent.

4. It will settle peace in the Land, and take off the occasion and expences of an Army.

5. It will invite forraigne Nations to secure their money here, rather then *Amsterdam* or *Venice*.

Of an Academy.

1. To prevent youth from going abroad, in the blossome of their years, to be corrupted in Religion and Manners, to exchange good- nesse and harmlesse simplicity, for a Complement.

2. The fame of it, will invite youth over hither from other Nations, as well as we have gone over to other Nations for education, especi- ally if more civilly and orderly governed then other Academies.

Of this joynt stocke to the Petitioners. In respect of themselves, of the Par- liament, of the Common-wealth.

Of themselves, being Souldiers and poore.

1. They are to be maintained by the publick.

2. They are most concerned in it.

3. They can best feed themselves, for their provisions else come through so long a Pipe, that most sticks by the way. 4. That they may be sure of a Stock to be set on work, and not as under the *Egypt- ian Task-master*, to be taxed and punished for Idlenesse, when no man will give them employment. 5. Because they are engaged (as o- thers) by Duty, Declarations, Covenant, and the very ground of the Warre, to those ends for which these are propounded.

2. *Of the Parliament.*

1. That all occasion of bad aspersions may be taken away. 2. And they freed from a multiplicity of troublesome and intricate busines- ses of Accompts and Momes, so as not able to intend the Care of o- ther publique affaires. That so they may be secured and established in their proceedings to other great Affaires.

3. *Of the Common-wealth.*

1. That timely succour may yet recover it at the last gaspe. For whilst much time is spent in bare consultations, debating, and determi- ning of so great a businesse, the thing will be acted and done. It may be performed in two months, so as to be effectually set in order, both for the provision of the Army, and relieving the poor. It cannot be debated and concluded in Parliament or Committees in 2. years.

2. The

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3. The Stock remains not only whole, but much improved, and is but in a manner lent or rented for 2 or 3 years.

In all these particulars, no mans Right is invaded; nor Government wrested out of any hands, unlesse from Constables and Bedles, and the like, who will be glad to be rid of so thanklesse an Office; Nor any Lawes disputed, but away for the regulating of many, who yet were but troubles to a Justice, and no fit clyents for a Lawyer. But every man is left free to enjoy his own possessions, his own opinion, his own conscience, and his own ambition also if he be ambitious; with the voice in the *Revelation*. *He that will be righteous, let him be righteous still, and he that will be wicked, let him be wicked still.*

Objections concerning the publique or joynt Stocke.

1. *Object.* *It is too great a businesse.*

Answ. Not, if as good, unlesse in their esteem, who will think it too good to be great.

2. By how much it is good; by how much it is great; by so much it is the work of God; by so much may we presume the greater blessing and assistance of God.

3. By how much it is great, by so much the greater effects may be expected: for the providing for an Army both for *England* and *Ireland*, the payment of all Debts, and the maintaining of all sorts of poor whatsoever, cannot be done with trifles.

4. The greater it is, the better it doth dispatch the Designe undertaken; for one defect cannot but produce another.

2. *Object.* *It is not fit to be granted.* Both in respect of the State, and in respect of the poor. 1. In respect of the State. It is not fit for them to part with so great a Trust.

Why do they then part with it?

1. *Answ.* For 1. what they never had, now might have, & wil not, they part from: But they never had, yet might have, and will not have these particulars: therefore, they part from them.

2. *Answ.* 2 The very Desire is, that the State should not part from them: It being the summe of all the Petition, that it might be a publique joynt Stock. Unlesse Statesmen mean themselves, when they speak of the State; as every Bishop was talk'd the Church, and every cunning Lawyer

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yers Title or Plea, the Kings: but this juggling Trade hath been so much discovered, and so severely punisht, that nothing but a high Doom of destruction, (*quos vult perdere deus*) can precipitate any wiseman into it.

It is not so much as desired, that the present States-men, or Common-wealths-men, (who have the Trust of the publike, which very Trust either to them, or any body else, makes them to be so) should part from this Trust, but rather that themselves would be pleased to engage in the Design, and undertake the Work: but if they will not, that others may.

It is the onely Way to reconcile all people to the Parliament, and all our States Men, and to secure their Persons and Estates.

To vindicate divers of our present States-men from Jealousies and imputations concerning this matter. It is most fit the world should know their integrity and self-deniall herein: For this very Work as it hath been the study of some (though different in some particulars) so it hath been well relished and encouraged by others, to publike view, and speedy Progresse. Nevertheless, it is not without some assistance, to see how *Diurnals* relate their zeale in taking away Deans, and Chapters, and Forrest Lands.

In respect of the Souldiers, It is not fit to be granted, lest they grow idle and neglect their duty of warre; or stout, and Rebell against their present Commanders, or such as the State shall employ. And so the Army be dissolved, Ireland lost, and we lye open to all invasions, either from Scotland, or any other Parts.

1. It is so farre from making them idle, that it takes them off from the idleness they corrupt with, in the intervalls of service. For now (through want of employment) they become unprofitable and dishonourable, so as to be tedious and irksome to themselves, and offensive and burthensome to the Common-wealth; many of them doing unworthy things, because they have nothing yet else to doe.

2. This is a Proposition of employment, and not of Idleness.

3. This employment civilizeth them, so as to become as usefull as necessary, and become more tractable to all duties and commands.

1. It is certain, that employment & competencies do civilize all men, and makes them tractable & obedient to Superiors commands, though otherwise ill natured: none more untractable, then idle Beggars.

2. It is as certain, that civill men are best Souldiers: We never had successe, till sufficient men of the City, and godly men undertook the Warre in their own persons.

3. For their obedience to Commanders. It is fitting that they who adventure their lives, and by consequence their soules, (for as tree falls so it lies) should know what they engage for; and then the Commanders cannot so freely command, as they will be ready and zealous to obey.

4. For change of Commanders: It can be neither profitable nor safe. 1. It cannot be profitable, nor to the State, nor to the Souldier: For new Men, new Salaries: and the Common-wealth is not in condition, to multiply new gratuities. 2. Not safe: for Jealousies might grow betweene old and new Commanders, and between the Souldiers in their behalfe, (as by much experience is at this day felt) the occasion of so much Animosity in Parliament, and elsewhere: The Souldiers might also disaffect new Faces. And lastly, new Commanders (as Hazael) know not their own hearts. New Fortunes, new Manners: new Occasions, new Tempers. Most men know, what these have been; they know not, what others will be.

Answ. to Desertion. The feare of Deserting the Employment is so farre taken off; That it will be a greater speeding of it. 1. Because they engage to obey all Civill commands of State. 2. Others become their Security, which now is not. 3. Their Security also promise to engage, (if occasion be,) for suppressing Insurrections at Home, or opposing Forces from abroad. So their number and expedition, by that meanes, will be much greater.

2. They may have the further encouragement of Ransome and Prizes from their Enemies. And in *Ireland*, or any other Country wheresoever they should make a Conquest, to have all the Kings, Bishops, Deanes, and Chapters Lands, Houses and Revenues, for the Publique Stock in common, to the use of themselves, and the poore of each respective Nation. The Stock being alwaies kept whole with the increase, for all other Publick uses and designs of that Nation. And this very thing, publikely known, will halfe bespeake their Conquest, whithersoever they shall goe.

3. Lastly, It is fit to be granted to the Souldiers, that they may have a Home, and an Employment to returne to for their owne livelihood, and the livelihood of their Wives and Children; both in the Intervals of War, and after the Warre is done. And not to be forever necessitated to kill men: or (having done) to be cast off into the number of Rogues and Beggars, Vagabonds and Theeves, for want

want of any dwelling or employment. For, few Men will employ Souldiers, when out of service.

In respect of the Poore, it is not fit to be granted.

4. Object.

1. They are unworthy so great a Trust.

2. They are ignorant how to mannage it.

3. They are of dishonest and evill conversation.

4. They will become more idle and lazy.

5. They will be too Rich.

6. They will grow insolent and unruly, and become our Masters, as in the Proverbe, *Set a Begger on Horseback, and he will ride, &c.*

That they are unworthy.

Answer

1. Who art thou, that despisest the poore? saith the Lord? Knowest thou not, that the Lord hath chosen the Poor of this world, Rich in Faith? *to the 1. Article.*

2. Doth Poverty make them unworthy; when one poor Wise-man, not regarded by any, may save a whole City?

Of the Poores ignorance.

Answer

1. May not a Man be poore, and Wise? The greatest Philosophers generally, were not onely poore, but contemned Riches. *to the 2. Article.*

2. If they be Ignorant, they have the more need of such supplies of necessities and education, as may make them otherwise

3. Doe not the Rich many things as ill, yea rather worse? Rich men are not alwaies Wise.

4. The poore are not likely to be trusted, especially in the beginning, because of the conditions of Security. But when things are settled; as there will be no need of question, so the Question will be out of doores.

That they are dishonest, and of wicked conversation.

Answer

1. There can be no greater Argument to hasten this Remedie to civilize them. *to the 3. Article.*

2. Nor povertie and honesty, nor povertie and godlineffe are alwaies at odds: else in vain were the Gospel preached to the poore, and it were false that the poor receive it.

But Christ, when the Sonne of man had not a place to hide his head, and his Apostles when they hungred and thirsted, and were naked, and were buffeted, had no certain dwelling place. The Primitive Christians, when they wandred in sheeps skins and goat skins. And the Prophets, when *Elijah* fed with a Raven, and *Elisha* by a poor

a poor Widdow, were all poor, yet they were honest and godly.

3. Yea rather honest because poor, when charity, and the tenderneffe of Conscience, suffers them not to use the means of being rich. And therefore dishonest oftentimes, because rich; since most become rich through dishonesty: making honest men poor by exacting upon them, and withholding their dues from them for their just labours. Yea like *Pharaoh's* Task-masters, not affording them a stock to work when they would, but so long as their work may bring them in a certain and ample gaine. Whilest the poor make them rich, by affording them the sweat of their Browes, at low despicable rates.

4. It is reported that the poor should not be poor, were the rich but so honest, as to let the poor have their own.

5. The riches of the rich are oftentimes but Trophies of their dishonestie, of having rob'd the poor, or couzen'd the Common-wealth.

6. Yet it is not denyed, but *Necessitas cogit ad Turpia*. Therefore, take away the cause, and the effect ceaseth.

Answer
to the 4.
Article.

That they will by this meanes become idle and lazy.

1. If wealth makes idlenesse, and be a reason why the poor should be kept poor: then it is a reason, why rich men should not be rich, since *Edel-Men* cannot but be, (according to the Serving-mans mistake) Idle-men.

2. This will not occasion their idlenesse, but employment: for, by their order of Decades, 9. men will not work to maintain one of their own Ranke idle, but they will be diligent Task-masters (for that little which they shall need to work) to each other, and every single man will have 9. Overseers, besides their Governours.

3. There are both faire and foul meanes provided against idlenesse, as examples and perswasions both Morall and Divine, Phisick to cure any naturall cause of it: and punishment, for any worser disposition. So, as he that can, and will not labour, shall not eate. And the rod is provided for the Fobles back, when as easie Taskes discover their lazinesse.

Answer
to the 5.
Article.

That the poor will be too rich.

1. Is there a necessity in Nature, Reason, or Religion, that they that are rich must be continued so, and they that are poore must alwayes be so?

2. Is ought of thine taken from thee? O envious man!

3. Is thine eye evill, because the Lord is good in a seasonable providence unto the poor?

4. If

4. If they be too rich, bring in thy stock, joyn with them, and be as rich as they.

5. Their Demands are but Food and Rayment, and to be disposed into such an order, as their posterity may be sure (in the same way of industry) never to want, nor to be exposed to slavish labour.

But for the superfluity called Riches, they will be no whit benefited hereby: All that goes to the publique stock, and their own labour too, excepting only such interest as from time to time may grow due for their severall stocks brought into the publique banke.

6. Since then the publique stock makes not them rich, (but on the contrary) they make the publique stock so (as all riches whatsoever proceed from the labour and industrie of the poor.) It will follow, that the more poor, the more hands, the more work, the more wealth. So that, whereas now our feare is, of having too many poor, it will then be, of having too few.

That the poor will grow insolent and unruly, and become our Masters.

Answer
to the 6.
Article.

1. Nothing so insolent and unruly, as Poverty. Cure them of poverty, you take away their unruly insolency.

2. They are no longer poore, if this go on.

3. They are to be under a more immediate order, instruction and government, then ever they were under.

4. Comperency and government, civilize the rudest men.

5. This is but an Assertion of future Contingencies. Like City prophecies concerning the Army.

6. They that make these Objections, forget that it is the work of God, and hastning a way unto his Kingdome, which we daily pray for.

Concerning the Kings, Bishops, Deanes and Chapters, Houses, Lands, &c

They cannot be put into the Soldiers or poores hands, nor none for them: But must be sold.

Object.

1. For present provision for the Army.

2. To pay Debts, and take off Interest.

3. To distribute it into many hands, to prevent the return of former inconveniencies in Government, and establish this.

1. To be sold, is a question how it can.

Answer
to
For, the whole

For 1. It is to take the publique stock, and make it the inheritance of private men.

2. It strikes so deep in this very juncture of time, as it shakes the very being of the Nation. The Common wealth being already poore, and this making it far poorer.

3. How can it be well done without an especiall agreement of the people by each Member, gathering the Votes, at least of the well affected to the Common-Wealth in each respective County, lest it prove as illegall and punishable by the next Representative, in behalf of the Common-wealth, as (formerly) the sale of Crown Land by the King and his Council in respect of Parliaments?

4. The clamours of the People, is already very great, and layes a deep foundation of danger. This will make it greater.

Ans. to the 1. they must be sold.

Reason. 1. So there is a present necessity of providing for the poor.

2. They cannot be provided for, out of the sale of those Lands, &c. Because the provision must be immediat. The sale must wait upon the pleasure of the griping purchaser. *Whilst the grasse growes, the Steed starves.*

Reply. Provision for the poor, is not so considerable a thing as the Army, or the Common-wealth.

Answer. 1. The poor (excepting some Officers) are the Army: and if there be such havock made of the publique Treasure, as hath been hitherto: The Army will be still poore, being ever necessitated to live upon Plunder and Taxes, and curses of the people.

2. The poore are by far, the greatest part of the Common-wealth, and the whole Common-wealth for want of such provisions cannot but become poore; For the only riches of a Common-wealth is, by employing the poore, and making such industrious as are not.

3. If the poore of the Army and the Common-wealth (though they were not the greater part) were provided for, then were the necessity (spoken of) absolutely taken off, and all clamours, disorders, and mutinies would cease.

4. If there must needs be a distinction between the Army, and the poore: yet being there is a necessity in both, each of them should be considered.

The poore may be considered in his place; But the debts of the Army are very

very great, and must be satisfied, or else the Army will sinck. And there is not enough to pay those debts, and maintaine the poore.

But there is enough to maintaine the poore, and pay those debts, by considering the poore in the first place. Because, 1. The poore will help to pay the debts?

2. The poore diminish nothing of the stock, but improve and encrease it.

3. By preferring the poore. 1. Those poores debts are paid, or at least suspended, and they taken off from clamour. 2. They themselves become from creditors, to be debtors both to themselves and others.

4. The poore have no other hopes of a sufficient stock, and so (remaining a burthen) cannot but make the debt the greater.

5. Though there were not enough, would there be more by discharging the Rich, and owing still unto the Souldier and the poor?

1. Were it not rather better, to pinch on the Usurer. 2. If there should not be enough, let those men who have made it greater by DE-LAY & unnecessary treaties, and prolonged Wars, or by casting in their own private debts into the publick. Or by employing the publick treasure to their private ends, be compelled (as in Justice and equity) to make the supplies of payment out of their own estate (or their freinds for them) so gotten.

6. If there should not be enough at least, let all creditors be summoned into a proportionable distribution of what is, whether it be in land or mony; And rather in land then mony, because the poor know best what to do with it, and the great charge of selling may be saved.

7. We must take heed, lest the great delaying pretence of paying this Army, raise not up a greater to be paid.

By exposing them to sale, men will advance monies, and so the present Reply necessities will be supplied.

This opens a gap to the remembrance, and discovery of all our debts and engagements; For, when for want of timely and impartiall Justice (through fear and flattery) discords began: Necessities were imminent, Monies wanting, The credit of the publick faith flew open. Here cordiall men bled freely, (even as Arteries do) all they had. Whilst the bad livers of the Common-wealth had many obstructions, and slugg'd upon advantages; and if their veines yeelded any liquor, it was but serious water (scarce tinged with bloud, being but pretended loanes, whilst they reserved both what they lent, and twice as much

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of the Common-wealths for what they so lent. *The Covetous never having enough, nor never security enough, for their too much.*

These by their pretended ayd of advance, got (many of them) into trust, and involved some godly men to shelter their designs; and whether occasion made the pretenders thieves, or they followed the Parliament for loaves, many began to like the trade, having meanes in their hands, both to please the one, and bribe the other party.

The enemies of the republick in Parliament, and elsewhere, seeing the cure mistaken, prest forward the mistake (to bleed instead of purging) and were ever hastning the Parliament into new necessities, to invent new engagements and so new Loanes; wherein, they confederated with the wary Money-masters, and they with their suble Crafts-masters, till they were incorporated into one Common guilt. And they that were but half wicked at first, were insensibly drawn on, to share with each other in all adventures, having the temptations of gold before them, and the Idoll covetousnes within them. *They must needs goe whom the Devill drives.*

These, having gotten the precious Jewell of *Publick Faith* in pawne into their custody, by being trusted with the stock that should discharge it; Undervalue it, at what rates they please, so as to be sometimes worth half, sometimes worth but a quarter, and even at that rate swallow up the Free loanes of the first lenders; who are forced to remember, that, *halfe a loafe is better then no bread.* Sometimes making it worth nothing at all: and therefore cry to their confederates in Parliament for new pawns; which rather then they shall be wanting, they themselves will occasion, by withholding the due from the Soldier, maintenance from the poore, setting of many inventions on work for the decay of trade, causing divisions in the House, the City, and the whole Kingdom; raising up parties, countenancing incendiaries, withholding all succour from *Ireland*, provoking and inviting forraign Nations. Yea, with-drawing all comfort from Sea-men, and evermore distasting what is left in design, or action. That thus they might Fish in troubled waters, and yet keep faire with all parties.

It were well therefore, if our present Patriots, who have borne the heat of the day, and are but scarce yet arrived to the discovery of these invisible mysteries of iniquity, would in time keep off from these Rocks, least when they are in the Gulf, they either suffer a wrack, or ride with the torrent without power of recovering the Rudder. *The wise*

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wise man hath his eyes in his head. The wise man suffers reproof and amendment.

2. It is confest, that men will advance monies: but who are they but such who have monies? and who are they, but such who either all this while have hoarded it up, whilst the Nation lay struggling for life. Or else, such who have already made a prey of the Common-wealth, and have (like Flies) fed fat upon the soares and vlcers of it. Some few (perchance) excepted, who having freely given up their lives for the common good, have received some part of their gratuities. And for these, whether in Army or Parliament; if the hire of mens labours ought not to be withheld, much lesse the hire of mens Lives and blood. But certainly, this is the readiest way, to give up the wealth and strength of this Nation, and the purchase of all these victories into the hands of covetous men, if not unsatiable, and mercilesse usurers, that cry evermore, give, give.

3. Monies may be advanced, but at what rates? As *Esau* sold his Birth-right, for a messe of pottage. And as young Inns of Court gentlemen, take up sattins and other vanities, for themselves and their Mistresses, at 30. 40. 50. per Cent. Men that have been Bankrupts themselves, know best how to make others so. Men that have made young Prodigalls, know the trade, & can the better do it again. They have well studyed, *Rablais encomium Dos enkebtés. Et de manger leur bled en herbe.* Such are as dangerous as Usurers and more, by the addition of prodigality. It is hop't none that are godly can be under any of these lashes: and it is fit to be spoken to others that they might amend.

4. When all is done, they will not advance enough, but that the State must yet be at interest, & the people at certainty of taxes, though uncertaine to what extremity of proportion multiplied, and the Parliament shall still be beholding to these Harpies, by what names or titles soever they be called. *They that have an care to hear, let them hear. Liberari Animam meam.*

They must be sold, to pay debts, and free the State from interest.

1. It is well that any have a care in these daies, to pay debts that are at interest; but who hath the conscience, to pay debts that are not upon interest? The covering of the naked, the food of the hungry, and the wages of the hireling? The poorer sort that spilt their blood for the Nation? Many perishing for want of Aymeas, and Widdowes for what is due to their husbands? Necessary, is above interest, and

D

Answ. to the 2 Article.

if

if the Rich, ought to be so considered for the use of their money: How ought others, whether of Parliament Army, or poor to be considered, for hazard and use of their lives?

2. Interest is an eating creature, with which some unnaturall sonnes of England, have Viper like, endeavoured, to gnaw out the bowells of their Mother, forgetting the *Law of God*, that forbiddeth to take the covering of the poor, or interest from a Brother. But these have not spared to uncover the Common-wealth even to nakednes. Of whom may be said, (as Christ to *Peter*) Of whom do men take tribute? His answer was, Of Strangers. Then are the children Free. They have truly made us strangers to them: It were justice to make them so to us, and so use them. But if we must sell, to pay Interest: What shall be sold to pay the Principall of theirs and all other debts?

3. Is the way to pay debts to loose credit? For so the publick, and all doe that sell Land, especially, if they have further occasion to borrow money.

4. If they be sold, it may be feared, they may neither pay debts, nor interest: this having been like the *Tinkers Song*, to stop one whole, and make two. *An troosum video vestigia, nulla retrorsum. Ab inferis nulla redemptio.* When once they are condemned for advance and sale, they lessen, above the flight of a *Falcon* or *Eagle*, til they appear just nothing.

How else could it be, that we find so small Ease by the sale of *Bishops Lands*, *Delinquents Estates*, *Goldsmiths Hall*, &c.

How else could we come to pay, 3 or 400000 li. per Annum, Interest, and so many vast summes of Millions gathered, and no occasion of Debt visible nor declared, but the Army, and in order thereunto. For if there have bin but the hundreth part of men in Armes, for the *Parliament* at one time, (as there never was so many at one time in pay,) Then, the hundreth part of all mens gaines and Revenues, ought to have been sufficient: And let an *Arithmetician* of halfe a yeare be judge. How much more the 20th part of all Mens whole Estates, (which if duely gathered, as of some) amounts to 20 times more then five times so much. And the fifth part which is 20 more then 20 times so much?

What then is become of the *Royall Subsidie*, *Pole Money*, *Cole Money*, *Free Loans & Contributions*, *Two Irish Adventures*, *Weekly Meals*, *Old Clothes*, *Hose and Shooes* (for which many gave Money for Ireland) *The City Loans of 50 Subsidies*, *Assessments for the Scots*, *Weekly As-*

Assessments for the Lord Generals Army, for the *Scottish Army*, for the *Brittish Army in Ireland*, For the *Earle of Manchesters Army*. For *Sir William Waller*, *Sir William Brerton*, *Sir Thomas Middleton*, *Sir Will. Middleton*, *Major Generall Brown*, &c. *Free Quarter*, *Plunder*, the *Kings Revenues*, *Sequestrations*, *Compositions*, *Bed-Money*, *Delinquents Estates*, *Great Offices*, *Excise*, *Customs*, *Bishops Lands*, *Deanes and Chapters Revenues*, And all their severall Goods, Chattels, and Moveables: So that as it is a wonder, how all this Wealth could be gathered, So it is no lesse wonder, how it could All be consum'd, and the Souldier (the onely pretence of All) yet in Arreare, the Publique Faith unpaid, if not more and more in Debt, and most of the remaining Members in *Parliament*, (who have been most constant) no way satisfied: Notwithstanding the *Excise*, *Customs*, *Taxes*, and *Assessments* yet running on? Can it be expected, that what remains, should not be wasted through the same Leak, if it run in the same Channell.

This cannot but be so, in severall respects. 1. The few Buyers and many Sellers, all in the time of Warre, and under the Notion of Damage and Ruine, cannot but make all Estates cheap. Together with the advantage that Tenants take during that time, to ruine all things more, and make them lesse worth. 2. The many Commissioners, Overseers, Treasurers, Clerks, Surveyors, Receivers, that must be all maintained to doe this Work. 3. The long time it takes up in doing, till the Interest, Charges, and Wages, (like a Horse in the stable) eat out the Purchase. 4. And lastly, The low Purchase which the Money-Master will have it at, or will refuse it; And the Commissioners, in conscience, must not receive eternall Salary for nothing. So it is at last sold, for ready Money; which, by that time, All things are Sealed, is repaid with the Bargaine of the Woods. So the Advance Money is where it was, (excepting of some few) The Commissioners and all the Officers barely paid, and ready after New Employments; unlesse any shared with the Purchasers.

5. They may be sold when they will; They cannot be recovered when one please. Were it not better then, to lend them to the Poore, to be improved, or Rent them forth unto them, that afterwards they might be sold with advantage.

6. Lands, may be for ever fixed to the publick, money takes wings and flies away, and is subject to infinite casualties of Losse, Theft, Deceit,

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Deceit, what not? Besides the, Feare, Jealousie, Contention, and costly carking Care that attends it.

7. This very President will flye like Fame through the World. And fill the eares and hearts of all men, with newes and expectation of the like, and prepare the *Trophies* of your Victory, whersoever you shall spread your Army.

8. If they must needs be sold: How shall the Money be disposed off? To grease the fat Sow? Must it alwaies be *Habenti dabitur, & non habenti accipietur*? Shall the Rich still be paid, and the Poore taxed? When shall the Mountaines be made low, and the Valleys exalted? The Poore is a Creditor, as well as the rich. If any precedency, Is there not more reason, it should be to the Souldier, Handicrafts-man, and poore Labourer, who freely, without constrain, have adventured (like the poore Widdow) themselves and all they had (besides what they lent:) then to the Rich, who (through the Poore mans hazard) have remained in safety and plenty, and onely lent, (upon great security) their superfluities; and that (oftentimes) upon Compulsion, Feare, designe of Gaine, and unreasonablen Exortion. 2. The Rich may stay, the Poore cannot. 3. Many poore are paid at the rate of one rich Man. 4. The very occasion of increasing the Poore, is the great increase of riches to the Rich, by their becomming so rich, as to be able to live, without employing of the poore as formerly: By which many Chapmen forbear trading, for want of former correspondencies; And so both the poore that He and his Chapmen set at work, perish for want of employment. And Chapmen oftentimes upon such sudden cessations break, and inshure many more into want and poverty. The onely cry of honest poore men is that they want employment. But let not the honest rich man think himself any whit concerned in any of all these just Accusations of the covetous dishonest Misers; For, they themselves will not offer to justifie All that have been dabling in Contracts with this Parliament. Nor let the poore Man, that continueth in wickednesse, intereste himselfe in these *Poore Mens Plea*, unlesse he alter from his evill courses.

Ans. to the 3. Article. They are, therefore to be sold, that being in the possession of many hands, might there be no hope of gathering it again into former inconveniences of monarchicall Government, to the abolishing of what is now resolved on, and established.

1. Rich

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1. Rich men are none of the greatest enemies to monarchy. Titles Threats, Promises, will quickly re-purchase all those Lands again.

2. If the Scope bee to put it into many hands; how can it be done better then putting it into the hands of the Souldier and the poor, who will be 100. if not 1000. for one of the rich purchasers.

3. If it be still kept for all publique uses: then, both Souldier, poor and publique, will be engaged to maintain it so.

But they are already sold, or pre-engaged.

1. What is not yet sold may be prevented from sale, and disposed of to the publique. *Reply. Answ.*

2. That which is sold, (if there be sufficient to perform all publique businesses without it) may be confirmed: If not; it may be re-purchase, and that in such a way, as not to do the buyer any injury, in respect of what could possibly be called formerly his due, even to a farthing, with an overplus: for if they have not been given instead of being sold. They may have their purchase changed into some Lands of Delinquents, or have their monies returned with interest and an overplus. And he that owneth the name of a Christian, cannot but be content to do so great a good to the publique at so cheap a rate to himself. But he that will not do it, deserveth the notion of a Malignant, in being such an enemy to the publique, as to preferre his Avarice unto the common good.

3. *Pre-engagements*, are no more, then a publique Debt, and may very well be under that Series.

But it will be dishonourable for the Parliament to go from their Engagement. *Reply.*

1. Honour consists not so much in the promise, as in the thing promised. For if men promise dishonourable things: It is more honour to depart from such promise. *Answ.*

2. When 2. promises thwart each other; that ought to be kept to, wherein there is more justice, mercy, or necessity. Or else where there is greatest dishonour in the breach of it. But the providing for the Army & the poor, to take of all Taxes, & to remedie all the grievances of England, have more justice, mercy, necessity & honour in them, then to satisfie the importunities of rich men, or pay Vsurers upon interest.

3. Duties are above promises, if different or contrary. And it is the very duty of publique men, to preferre the publique before private.

4. To persist in any unreasonable or unconscionable way, is obstinacy.

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nacy, and not honesty nor honour: but where greater Reason is offered to persist in the lesse, and where most charitie is propounded, to neglect it, is both unreasonable and unconscionable.

5. The Orders and Designs of Parliament, have not been like the Lawes of *Meedes* and *Persians*. For many urgent necessities have put alterations upon them sundry times during this Session.

6. This was the very point so frequently argued for the Kings obstinacy, which was as often retorted with this Quare, whether it were not better to receive a little supposed dishonour, then certainly to undergoe a greater? Beside, that Kings and States-men, (as Statesmen) receive no dishonour, but where the State or Common-Wealth suffer.

Thus much concerning the Kings, Bishops, Deanes and Chapters, Houses, Lands.

Object. Now follow the Arreares of Accompts, against which, none will object, but such who are not willing their Accompts should come to Light.

Answer. For, 1. there is none thirsts after this, more then the honest Accountant or Committee-man; who till then, lyes under the guilt of others, and lyable to severall grievous Aspersions and Odiums. And many have monies in their hands, and know not where to pay it.

2. By this they have their *Quistus est*, for ever: For even reckoning makes long Friends.

Object. But many of the Parliament and Army, who have deserved nobly of the common Wealib, have received great sums, of which they can give no Accompt.

1. God forbid but the Members of Parliament and Army, who have deserved well, may have whatsoever they can demand, and whatsoever is fitting for a gratuity over and above. No Common-wealth was ever a base pay-master to their publique servants.

2. Great summes were never so inconsiderable to any, as to be either received or parted from, without notice of accompt.

3. This is certainly the desire also of all the honest Members of Parliament and Army, that by the clearing hereof (according to their Declarations) they might be justified in their dealings both concerning themselves, and towards others whom they have accused for this very fault. For if they have their due (as none can grudge it to so great desert) it can be no contemptible sum. And then what needs a rich man be a Theefe? Yet it is most certain, that some must be in fault, as hath been declared by the Army, or else the publique could never have been so indebted as they are for the Army onely. And for a few inconsiderable gratuities to others.

The

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The third particular of Commons, meets with jealousies under these 3. Particular. Objections.

The poor will have the right of commonage away from Free-holders, or the Owners.

No such matter: for there is nothing more to be enjoyed, then what they enjoy already, and in such manner as now enjoyed or ought to enjoy, unlesse by contract. 2. Many Free-holders do bring in their Stock into this publique banke, and are joyned with the Souldier, and the poor in this undertaking.

All Objections concerning drowned Lands and Mines, &c. may receive a proportionable answer, out of what was said to the former Particulars.

Concerning the 7. particular of Tith, *Vide supra*. They are but demanding, what is either their due or ought to be, and want but the Favour of the Parliament to make the Common-Wealth rich, the present Patriots of it happy, and all the poor of the Land usefull, and good Common-wealths men.

The next Section therefore afords a view of the severall Undertakings promised upon the said Joynt Stock.

The Undertakings are.

1. TO provide all necessaries for the Army, so long as the Army shall be thought necessary.

2. To joyne with the Army when occasion requires, and to obey all civill commands of State, either for suppressing of insurrections at home, or opposing forces from abroad.

3. To pay all Arreares of the Army in five yeares.

4. To maintain all publique Ministers of State, and to continue pay (during life) to so many of the Kings late Servants, as shall be thought fit.

5. To receive all the rest of the late Kings servants, and all sorts of persons that will. And likewise all the Poore of England, Prisoners or others, and to feed and cloath them, and set those that are able to work, those that are not able, into Hospitals, and little Children into Schools and Nuxseries.

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6. To receive all fraudulent persons, Theeves, and Robbers (not guilty of murder) into houses of labour, till they have earned and paid double the damage they have done.

7. To take off all taxes within one yeare, except Customes.

8. To pay all the debts of the publique Faith which remaine due at 6. per. Cent. within 10. yeares.

9. To pay all the Kings debts, due before this Parliament, within 20. yeares.

10. To erect a publick banke.

11. To erect an Academie.

12. If Maritime Revenues and profits be granted, then to maintaine a Fleet constantly at Sea, and to secure the Merchants in the narrow seas at 1. per cent a moneth. 2. To take off Customes from materialls imported, and lay them upon materialls exported. 3. To take off Customes from Manufactures exported, and lay them upon Manufactures imported.

These bring with them the sweet favour and glad tidings of peace and reconciliation. Offering in a prospective the end of our discontents, jealousies, distractions, clamours, tumults, miseries, and war. Providing a remedie against the disquiet of all: taking all men whatsoever out of necessities, and paying all men (that despaired) their own.

Object. There are great things demanded, and greater undertaken. But how are the undertakings feasible, and who can give sufficient security?

Although it be the common custome in all designs of gaine, to propound the *Hocus Pocus* of it, (the things, and the securitie) but to conceale the Feasibility and the meanes. Here being no such end, both the *ut* & *si* of all is humbly offered to every judgement, that the convincings may either procure the effecting of so great a good, or be a witnessse against those that shall oppose it, untill the fulnesse of time shall perfect it into the Kingdom of Righteousnesse.

1. That all these things are Feasible, appeares in that. First, if they were not Feasible to be done, so many brave men as sate in council with the late King, and sit in Council now in Parliament, would not have undertaken (as they have) the most difficult of them, and if the most difficult are feasible, the lesse are more feasible.

If maintaining and paying of Armies and Navyes, and paying all Arrears and publique debts, and Publique Ministers, are feasible: then much more the maintaining of the poor, and all the rest who best maintain themselves.

2. What

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2. What is now in some measure done under many Imperfections, may better be performed, when the meanes are perfected. But the Army and publique Ministers are maintained, and many men made rich under the imperfections 1. Of bad Accompts of Rents, and other monneys. 2. Of letting houses and Lands run to ruine without improvement. 3. Of want of trading. 4. Of not onely not employing, but taking away the employment of the Poor. And 5. In the midst of Hurly Burlyes and disquiet. Therefore much more upon taking good order for the publique rents, of manuring and improving the Lands, of making trade free, quieting the spirits of people, and employing the poor.

3. By making a conjecturall computation of the rents and profits, charges and expences, and bringing them to a ballance.

Not calculating the Drie rents, and leaving out the profits, nor the lavish expences, upon a Prodigal accompt, supposing the Souldier must be evermore either killing of men, or wasting his brave and active spirits in the idlenesse of Nine pins, or the like in Garrison: And the poor with folded Armes, and watry eyes for want of employment: When as *Cæsars* Souldiers, and the Souldiers in *Moscovia* and Low Countries earne as much in Garrison, as in the field by fighting. And in *Holland* the poor that will work never want it. Therefore such idlenesse is not intended. For so the burthen quickly would be concluded on the Common-wealth. The charges of the Army at One Hundred and twenty Thousand pound per moneth, amounting to one Million, five hundred and sixty thousand pounds per annum. And all the Revenues of the Kings, Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands, &c. (as now impaired) girt in within lesse then three hundred thousand pound per annum. So that above a Million more remains to be squeezed out of the people yearly by Taxes, besides all Arrears, publique Debts, Kings Debts, and maintaining the Poor: yet no Provision for the Souldier when the work is done. But by calculating the improvement of these Industries at the lowest rate, and the husbanding of the expences, to a full magnificence, at the highest rate. And then setting in order the first undertakings, and so proceed till we arrive to the compleating of the work.

For the full disciding whereof, It will not be amisse to examine each by their particular parcells and estimates, as Debitor and Creditor, and bring

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bring them to a Ballance.

First, for the Army of *England and Ireland.* — *M. l. per annum* 1. 560. 000.
 2. For Interest of Debts, at 6. per. cent. the debts being supposed to have been the same charge, as the Army at present compleated, these eight yeares together, and imagine nothing to have been allowed them out of *Pole-Money, Coale-Money, Royall Subsidie, Free Loanes, and contributions, Irish Adventures, Severall Assesments for severall Armies, 50. Subsidies, 20. Part, 5. Part, Sequestrations, Compositions, Excise, Customs, Offices, Delinquents Estates,* Nor out of the Rents and Revenues of the King, the Bishops, or the Deans and Chapters. But that all that had been in better Prudence disposed by some Wise-men to the King and his Army to make their peace under hand, and some sent over Sea for a Refuge.

All this being thus supposed, the debt might *M. l.*
 amount to ————— 12. 480. 000.

Including all arreares without abatement for Reformationes, severall Cashinges or the like. The Interest of all which will amount at 6 per cent. (if it prove a due debt) to — *l. per an.* 748. 800.

3. Suppose the charge of publique Ministers of State both abroad and at home (which charge the Merchants and people, would gladly be content to bear on condition of this work to be done) and some of the Kings Servants *ls. per annum* wages to amount to ————— 200000.

For all the rest of the particulars beside the debts, will be so farre from charge, that they are to be put over to the other part for the discharge of all that is here mentioned, wherein much of the Souldiers will come in also. Wee *annual expen.* may therefore suppose the summe of annual expences, *M. l.* to amount. ————— 2. 508. 800.

Next follow the Arrears, to be paid (to all that have served the Parliament) within 5 yeares; which may be supposed 2 yeares pay, and is to be deducted out of the whole *M. l.* 8 yeares debt, and is ————— 3. 120. 000.

Then to be paid in full of the Usurers, and mony Masters debts, within 10 yeares. ————— 9. 360. 000.

After that, suppose the Kings debts, which are to be paid in 20 yeares, and were when the Parliament began but *M. l.* 400. 000. *ls.* to amount to, ————— 1. 000. 000.

All

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All these may be taken into consideration, and put to ballance the following particulars.

For the busines of the Navy if graunted, it will have more then sufficient number of Merchants to undertake it; who better know how to make a more exact ballance, then what is likely to be here presented; but if desired, shall be endeavoured.

To come therefore to the consideration of what stock we may find sufficient in this decayed Commonwealth, to perform these great works.

First, the Revenues of the Kings, Bishops, Deanes and Chapters Lands, will be proved to be 1000000. Yet suppose them but 200000.

2. The improvement of the rest of the same, and of all Commons, &c. by the Soldiers and the poor, at least, beside women and children, whose labour shall be made considerable in Houswifery (at an easy rate) to be worth their maintenance) at 20 l. per Head, if it were for others to reap a profit out of, and pay Rent; Much more when they improve all themselves, and pay no Rent, some of them being likely to earne 100 l. or more, per Head, in Hops, Liquorish, Flax, *M. l.* Ciders, Fruits, and the like. ————— 4000000.

This is easily proved by the Farmers rule, who makes account that a Farme of 100 l. must yeeld 300. Or else by the rule of letting out land at halves, Both which manifest, that every common Hine or husbandman, must be worth 20 l. beside his keeping, or else he could not pay his Rent, One Plough having plowed 200. Acres in one season.

Besides the intervals of Soldiers fightings (as under Julius Caesar and in Muscovia to this day) making the Kings Bishops, Deans and Chapters houses, &c. their habitations and Garrisons, with the comfort of their Wives and Children, will go nigh, if not altogether to be worth their necessary supplies.

Note also, that if we go not by the way of money, but fall upon present supplies of the Army with necessities: it is hard if 2 or 3 men cannot feed and cloath one, being they are at least 2 or 3 poor to one Souldier.

3. The benefit of inventions for improving of Lands, and of all Corne and fruit whatsoever, cannot but be twice as

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much worth as their labour; yet suppose but the fourth part which is, $\frac{1}{4}$ M $ls.$ per an. 100000.

4. The Engines and inventions for Sea and Land, and treasures gotten from thence, may be above the former, yet undervalued to $\frac{1}{2}$ M $ls.$ per an. 500000.

5. Mines and drowned Lands, to the value of $\frac{1}{4}$ M 100000.
The Trade of Herring buffes, will alone (in time) maintaine the Navy.

6. The benefit of a publick Banck which hath this advantage of all other Bancks in *Holland, Italy*, or elsewhere, as to have what they have, (*i.e.*) the Publick Faith of the place) and such a sufficient and Royall Stock, as none of them can boast of, in the least manner. This we will not at present estimate, only the present help of paying of the interest, that is at 6 per cent. and bringing it to 3 per cent. It being probable, that all Nations will rather desire their security out of this Banck then others, by reason of the Lands.

Yet the publick banck of *Amsterdam* hath so much credit, as to have allowance for the bare keeping of the principall entire, if the information of the place be true; which all passeth from one to another in paper, allowing great Rates for exchange.

7. The *Academy*, the Fame, novelty and vertuous ordering whereof (especially in these troubles of *France, Germany, &c.* will bring over the youth of those parts and from *Poland*, and all other parts, (beside the education of our own) to have their education here, as we have sent our youth to them, and bring in at least to this Commonwealth the profit of $\frac{1}{4}$ M $ls.$ 100000.

There may be added for the first 3 years (being for ever after quitted) the tith of all those who scruple to pay tiths; But that's not put into this account. So that, the Annual profits may probably amount to more then 6000000.

Deducting of the expences, 2508800.
Will rest cleare 3491200.

Of Profits that are not Annual.

1. All that remains due upon all accompts, if only printed

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Printed from hence forwards (without looking back) cannot probably be lesse in delinquents Estates, compositions, and Excise for a finall quiet, then $\frac{1}{4}$ M $ls.$ 2000000.

2. Concealed and abused charities, being allowed to compound in *Cerne, Flax, Hemp, Cowes, Sheep, Butter, Cheese, &c.* at 5 yeares purchase: Or else to pay the whole, with all the Arrears and Interest, if they come not in, within half a year, or some other time prefixed; And all other dues, and charities to the poor, will not be lesse then $\frac{1}{4}$ M $ls.$ 5000000.

The 5 years over-plus of 3491200. will be 17456000.
So that by that time the Arrears are to be paid, the first 5 years will be $\frac{1}{4}$ M $ls.$ 24456000.

Deduct then the Arrears, 3120000.
Rest cleare, 21336000.

Which may be traded with, and improved, till the tenth year, that all the publick debts may be paid.

Which, with the deduction that (no question) may be made by that time, of the occasions of warre. It being a ground to invite people, to so much liberty and happines, and such (as no doubt) would satisfy even most of those from whence these Revenues were taken, to see so excellent a use made of them to the poor, and some subsistence for themselves, if they can descend so low, as to joyn in equall easie labour with the rest, and a provision made for all posterity. The total running clear, that 5 years will amount to $\frac{1}{4}$ M $ls.$ 30000000.

Whereto adding the over-plus of the first 5 years --- 21336000.
Makes in all $\frac{1}{4}$ M 51336000.
Then deduct the publick debt 9360000.

Whereunto if you will allow Interest, at 8 per cent. for what is past. 8 years. Although the whole debt, could not be made at once. Nor all the Interest unpaid. Interest upon Interest being illegal, may be supposed $\frac{1}{4}$ M 5990400.

The whole Summe to be deducted --- 15350400.
Rest --- 35985600.
E 3 Sup

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Suppose the Kings debts due 10 years after that to be *M. 1s.*
immediatly deducted of ----- 1000'000.

There will remaine ----- 34'985'600.

So that in ten years, all debts will be paid with interest, and this stock cleared, beside the infinite treasure, by that time hoarded up into the publick with all the Particulars not valued; which will be needlesse to conjecture at. The maine scope being, but to prove the probability, and that there will be benefit in this way. Whereas else, the Common-wealth will be engaged into everlasting debts and taxations, and most certain, and most dangerous disorders, Necessity, hunger and overcome-patience, leading on, not only the poorest of all; but men of as good repute, credit, and Estate, of as great parts, and as good principles in Religion, in all Counties, as others (made poor by losses and taxes in these times) into one common calamity & engagement with the poor, who already begin to rise in some Counties, and when some more have perished through Famine in the City, are as likely to joyn with the discontented Army, and rise here also. So that the busines presents (as *Moses to Israel*) Life or Death unto the Nation.

1. Object.

These are honest Chimeraes of a weake distempered Braine: for the foundation of these hopes, chiefly lye on the Poores hands. And it is not likely that the Poore, who are such a constant Grievance and Burthen to the Common-wealth, should become such a vast support.

Answer

1. This doth but deny Conclusions, unlesse there be a sufficient Answer to all the Reasons and Arguments Pleaded all along this forerunning Discourse.

2. We may see an Example in the difference of a Gentleman living upon his Rents of 100 or 200 li. per Annum, and a Tradesman, or Handicraftsman, having but a 100 or 200 li. stock in all. The first, often growing into Debt, and the latter into Wealth; Yea, many of the richest Aldermen never having so much to begin, and this may be a Note to all men, especially to Statesmen, to looke no more upon the Poore as a Burthen, but as the richest Treasure of a Nation, if orderly and well employed. Which is more manifest, if we consider, First, that though they multiply more then the Rich, yet they doe not only Feed and Cloath themselves, but the Rich men are Fedde and Cloathed, and grow Rich, by what they get out of the poores labour, over and above their Maintenance. Secondly, That the poore beare the great Burthen of Taxes in the City, if not elsewhere. For (beside the

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the unjust Assessments) the Rich either abate what they get not out of the poores Labour, or (which is worse) permit them to starve for want of employment.

But if they grow Rich, they will fall upon Trade and Merchandize, Reply. and so hinder the Trade of others.

1. There will be many Tradesmen and Merchants in the Designe, Answer. (it being free for all that will to bring in their Stocks, and joyned on such Conditions as the Rest.) And shall it not be lawfull for them to use their own Vocations?

2. This is but the suggestion of the Devill, Covetousnesse and Jealousie. For,

1. The more Merchants, the more Trading, and the more flourishing of Merchants. All Rich places of the World, are Instances.

2. If paucity of Merchants must be pleaded for: We may by the same Reason plead, to destroy all Merchants but One, that that One may be Rich enough. And by the same Reason, We must endeavour, to destroy and subvert the State of Venice, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Genoa, and the rest.

3. They doe not consider, that as Merchants increase, so doe Gaines and Industrie: Those things being now at 12 d. which in former Ages were at a 1 d.

4. By this very meanes of increase of Trade in England, if it faile any where, it will not be in England, but in other Countries, who will want the Support and industry which we shall have.

5. When Merchants are driven to the worst of all, they bring in that little Stock they have, and shelter it, at the Rate of the Times under the Publick, and support themselves and their Children with their Labour, and the Publick Stock.

The Souldiers will not stay so long for their Arreares, the Creditors for their Pay, nor the Kings Servants for their Wages, but doe expect, and are promised, out of the Kings Lands, and Deanes and Chapters.

1. The Lands are not so soone sold: More words goe to a Bargaine. Answer.

2. We see the way of Selling, is first by Engageing them upon an Advance. And how this Trick hath Delaid, and Plunder'd the Common-wealth, and made Havock of All the ready Money's, so freely Bled into the Publique purse at first, We feele, since to this very

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very day, both *Debts* and *Taxes* have increased, as if no former *Moneys* or *Assessments* had issued forth, and as if the great *Money-Masters* of the Land had done us a great *Courtesie*, to let us be *Indebted* for our own *Money*. What *Charges* we shall be at, to be quit of this Land (as if it were a great *Burthen* to have any) is yet unknown: but in all probability, by that time it is all sold, it will be so farre from satisfying, either *Souldier*, *honest Creditor*, or the *Kings Debts*, as that

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the *Common-wealth*, by the *Rule of proportion*, may be 20.000.000 more in *Debt* for the *Sale* of them. So that the whole *Burthen*, must be upon more *Taxes* gnawing a leane consumed desperate *Common-wealth*.

3. In particular for the *Army*. It is their owne *Desire*, to have these *Things* granted, as answering all the *Deep* and *Honest Engagements*. And it were well, if after all their *Trialls*, by sundry *Prove-ations* to the *Contrary*, (what ever some may deserve amongst them) they were not lookt upon in that base *Character*, of *Mercenary*, and dishonest minded Men, and so used, till they are almost forced to become so. Some rich men have been so practised on by *Combinations* for their *Estate*, in miscalling *Patience*, *Supidity*, and frequently-provoked *Anger*, *Madnesse*, till they have at last *Pool'd* them into a *Real Supidity*, or angred them into a *Real Madnesse*.

4. It were a good *Caveat*, to order *Payments* of this *Army* so discreetly, as whilst we endeavour to pay this, we have not an other *Army* of farre worse *Discipline* and principles to pay, if all the *Poore* Rise.

5. *Concerning Creditors*. They are either *Rich*, or are not. If they be *Rich*, What can they desire better, then to have their *Moneys* at *Interest*, on so good *Security*? If they be not, How can they do better then to joyne in this publique *Designe*, to have maintenance, as the rest, for them and theirs, untill their *Stock* grow due with all their *Interest*, Receiving their *Interest* in the meane time (if they desire it) yearely, and employing it againe into the *Publick Stock*, or which way they like best.

6. Both they and all the rest that expect present *Moneys*, may perchance so precipitate the *Businesse*, as whilst they hasten a present *Payment*, they kill *Asops* Goose, that lay them every day a golden *Egge*: but being dead, they scarce finde one in the *Belly*. It were no

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new thing to have long expectation of money ever prolonged. A State can never want new *Emergencies*. new *Agitations*, new *Occasions*, and so either just or new *Excuses*, and new pleas for *DELAY*.

III. Section. So much for the *Feasability*. Now follows the *Security*. And that relates first to the thing secured. 2. The manner of it, 3. the persons giving and receiving security.

The thing to be secured being so great,

1. None can give sufficient security without the trust it self.
2. The trust it self is sufficient security, and makes a *States-man* as an *Heir* that comes to his Land.
2. The trust it self with the *Bonds*, and articles of the securers, is as sufficient, as a *Pawne* with an *Obligation*.
3. Where there is a valuable *Forfeiture*, there is a sufficient security, but here will be a valuable *Forfeiture* of the labour and improvements of so many mens industries and stocks, upon the Land it self, therefore there will be sufficient security.
4. The *Expences* being summed up at the most to be 3. Millions, per annum, and the *Rents* and *Improvemenss*, with all particulars summed up, to be at least 7. millions, per annum; both the security and encouragement cannot but be great, as well to the securer as to the secured, is rightly understood.

2. The manner of securing.

1. That being under so many *Keyes* and accompts, and the conditions of each *Trustee* so strict, cannot but be a great meanes of security. We may trust *Strangers* with our *Treasure*, if we keep one *Key*.
2. The frequent accounting never leaves much trust behind, if the occasion of that confidence (by faithfull dealing) be not sufficient to leave more.

3. The persons concerned.

1. It is better for the State to intrust those that give some security, then those that give no security at all.
2. If they that give security be as sufficient as they that take security, it ought to be sufficient.
3. If the people that trust those to take security, will trust these to give security, or chuse 2. out of every *Regiment* and *County*, then the security is sufficient. For they that take security are entrusted, why not these? They are entrusted with more, why not these with lesse?
4. They themselves (having gotten this trust) may undertake the work, and make void the *Objection*, F. 10. 11. 5. The

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5. The Souldier, the Poor, and the Creditor are themselves undertakers in this businesse, which chiefly concerneth themselves, and so best able to be Securers.

Object. But the Parliament have all this while endeavoured the things here propounded, and have faithfully laboured herein, and find all their endeavours frustrated, and the sole furnishing of the Army so difficult, that it hath bred all these Debts, Divisions, and Encombrances.

Answ. Plus vident oculi quam oculus. The Stander by, sees more sometime then the Gamester.

2. They never tryed this way. When therefore other wayes have often failed, it is safe to quit them and try new.

3. They have ever been so pestred with multitude of affaires of so vast and different natures, that they never could intend this well. *Chi troppo Abbraccia, nulla stringe.* For from the beginning of this Parliament, it hath been the designe of the Enemy to clog and oppresse them with multitude of businesse.

4. They never were yet in that Eucrasie, and Harmonious unity as not to be free from that Proverb. *Physician heale thy self.*

5. Nothing is here propounded without reason and demonstration to back it.

6. The daily experience and examples in all other things throughout the world applyed to this particular Designe, confirme the Proposition. For where there is sufficient employment for the poor, there ever is a superabundance of wealth.

The Meanes.

It were good therefore, that the Parliament would immediately embrace this way of regaining their credits by this publick Stock, and employing the poor. And that they would to that purpose 1. Stop the sale of Bishops Lands, or Kings and Deanes and Chapters Lands, or if they will be so prodigall, let them also be generous: and rather give them to the Souldier (who would be glad of half in specie for all their pay) than pay for selling them for a song. *Fa buon dar quello che no si puo vendere* 2. To stop that Issue of civill blood in Excise, Customes, Goldsmiths Hall, or else where, from drayning the Publick Faith and credit into private pockets, and exalting every underhand composition above the honour and honestie of the Nation.

2. Being, ought to be prefer'd before well being.

3. The generall good of the Nation, before the private good of the Creditor or Usurer.

But

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But many Creditors have lent much money are necessitated and cannot stay.

1. It is for such that this Petition is contrived, and it is the case of the Petitioners. Therefore they that cannot stay, have the more need to joyne with the Petitioners.

They are already secured upon the Excises, Customes, and Delinquents Estates, and therefore will not depart from their security.

Such as preferre their own voluptuousnesse before the being of the Common-wealth wherein they live, what can they be but covetous and secret Enemies to the State? And being thus discovered, ought rather to be proceeded against than otherwise.

2. If they stand upon it, it were a fit occasion to inquire how the Debt they demand came to be due, since it may be made apparent,

that there hath been above 20000000. Abuse unto the State.

3. What injury is done to them, so long as lawfull Interest allowed them, and (if their Necessities be great) to joyne and be contented with a Competency, as the Petitioners?

But their Creditors will not stay, nor will they accept of the security which they themselves have.

The Honour and Honesty of the Parliament is at stake, to force and compell their Security to be good, by the same reason that they cause Money to be current, and to cause their Security to be as good as Money, by a constant Paying either of Debts or Interest to all.

The truth is, it were not Honesty, nor Policie, to pay some All, and some never a whit. Making the Rich so proud that they would scorn them, and think to Curb them. And the Poore so desperate, that they would disobey, and revile them, & think to be revenged on them.

OF THE PERSONS.

The next will be to elect, by Vote or Ballot, a Trustee or Auditor General, well qualified, and on such conditions as hereafter follow.

Well qualified.

1. With some visible estate. *Asie on his Engagement.*

2. Discreet and active: for so great a work.

3. Of good education: for accounts and correspondencies.

4. Of honest and faithfull conversation: Because of his great trust.

5. Humble: For the freer access and reliefe of the poor.

6. Courageous: To overcome the insolencies of those brought in for Misdemeanours.

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7. Reputed

1. Object.

Answ.

2. Object.

Answ.

Reply.

Answ.

II.

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7. Reputed (at least) godly: *that a blessing may be hoped for on his undertakings.*

8. To be under such conditions, as may put him beyond all hope, or jealousie of betraying his Trust.

The Conditions.

1. To continue Trustee but one year,
2. To propound, nor consent to any Law but what himself must observe, that is not an impediment to the duty of his place.
3. To be liable to account to any 20 of the undertakers 4 times in a yeare.
4. To be answerable with Estate for matter of Account: with his own garments for want of clothing: with life or limbe for the like by way of injustice done, or neglected upon information given in writing, under the hands of two sufficient witnesses upon Oath. If the witnesse live without publicke Scandall, or knowne partiality, or Malice.
5. Not to be trusted alone with any Treasury or Store-house; but they to be under severall Lockes and Keyes; whereof he to keepe but one.
6. To be displac't at the pleasure of three parts of four of the undertakers.
7. To have no salary but his own expences, till all debts are paid, & undertakings performed, excepting what any other may have as well as he, out of the interest, or benefit of his own privat stock, or by the benefit of all new Trades, Ensignes or inventions set on foot by him for the publick good; and that benefit to be so moderated, as not to make him more wealthy than any other man in the Land.

The Reasons of these hard Conditions are,

1. That Government might have a sufficient Counterpois; and be (indeed) a burthen, as esteemed by the honest ancients, and so *Hieroglyphickt* in heavy and Pesterling-robcs.
2. That no aspiring or double dealing man be fond of it; but only such who intend it meereley in charity.
3. Because the Trustee; is properly the servant of servants, or cheif servant. (*Mat. 20. 27. 28. — 23. 11.*)
4. That which is intrusted to him, belongs not to him, but to them that entrusted him.

Why

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Why should all this great work be put upon one man?

1. So great a number cannot be unmoved together, nor can all hear, nor all their voyces be heard at once, nor in any reasonable time gathered, nor can they all unite in any one thing, or conclude without infinite losse of time, opportunities and businesses; Therefore one to be as an Attorney, Advocate, Solicitor, &c. to transact all things in their Name. For,

Though many are best for Counsell, yet not for Expedition, and Order. And it were well if each businesse in each Committee, were entrusted to some one of the Committee; for acting and ordering, The rest for over-seeing and Counsell.

2. This great work of the poor, neither hath, nor can be done by multitudes.

1. *Pluralities have not done it.*

Although it hath been the constant trouble, and care of all Parliaments, of all Sessions of Justices, Committees, Companies, and Officers in every parish, And many Lawes, Statutes and Ordinances, have been made, severall Commissions granted, and many godly zealous men employed about it. For 1. The Commissions have been, though very compulsory, yet nothing powerfull enough. So that, as the one occasioned enmity, the other produced contempt. And 2. They have been deficient, both in the matter, and extent. In the matter they meddled with some particulars of the Poore; but satisfied not their necessities. 2. In their extent, they have been limited to particular places, so that, if some have been executed in some few *Parishes*, or *Hospitalls*, they have been neglected in others. And the Lazy Beggar (who is not onely one himself, but maketh many by Example, Counsell, Theft, and his own generation, as an inheritance) shuns the Reformation of one place, and (having many) nestles in another.

2. *Pluralities cannot do it.*

1. It is hard for many to meet, because of each mans particular losse, of Time and busines; Every man having severall and different occasions. The Reason why so little or nothing is done in so many Committees.

(2.) It is not the proper and peculiar busines of any, so that men go about it as a work of superogation, as busines of leasure and impertinency.

2. None hath the credit though all have the burthen; And they that

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that

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Reasons.

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that do it meerly out of conscience, are of meeke and humble spirits, not having so much pride as to presse a hearing in a multitude, or contend with others for an employment.

4. Many men, many minds, which runne into difference and discord.

5. The poor can have no certain addresses where many are in commission.

Thus what is every mans, proves no mans work; But if it be wholly entrusted to some one man (though but of reasonable gifts and abilities) yet being engaged in conscience, honour, and estate upon a frequent account, he cannot but act somewhat above those, who have not had any of these visibly at stake.

Neverthelesse, if they that are in authority, will needs have it the trouble of many, it were fit they were joyntly, and severally bound, on the like conditions as one, to perform what that one should perform: else they will lye open to jealousies and obloquy. And the authority that employeth them, to the suspicion of a mercenary combination.

Object.
Answ.

It is too great a worke for one man.
So it is to Govern a Kingdom or Command an Army; but not by the help of under-Officers, good Counsell and good Order. It is Order makes all things honorable and easie.

Object.
Answ.

It is too great a Trust for one man.
Rather too great a Trust for many; For by their joyning together (as amongst some *Strat-men* of the World) they are better able to make preferences of expence where there is none. 2. To make more excuses and keepe of the Accounts. 3. To Tyrannize more uncontrollably over the poor. 4. To make more friends and partialities if called to account. 5. They can better shift of the fault from one to another. 6. It cannot be so well discerned who is particularly in fault. 7. All their *Accounts* cannot be so well Audited. 8. They cannot all be easily displac't, nor any one well, unlesse all. 9. If any abuse must be, it is better have one Thief than many, and easier to make one Rich than all.

But one man is easily called to Account, Overseen, Discovered, Overruled, Displac't, Punish't, &c.

1. *De facto*. One Man is not trusted. For. First he putteth in Security. 2. They that have undertaken and chosen him, whom it equally

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qually concerneth, doe alwayes keep a jealous eye over him. But being many equally trusted, it makes them Rely on each other, Conive at each other; and they, whom it concernes, doe thinke themselves safe, when they least are so.

Therefore, though many may be Security, yet One is best to be trusted at a time.

3. Security it selfe dependeth upon the Honesty, rather than the Wealth or Multitude of Securers. For an honest man without an Estate, is better to be trusted, then a Dishonest man with an Estate: since no Security can make a Man honest, that is not so; but the Honesty and Ability of a Man makes good the Security. And One Man may be as honest, and as able to discharge a Trust (where sufficient meanes are allowed) as a Thousand. Yea, it is far easier to finde one Man both Able and Honest than a Thousand. And it is the reason why we hope to finde better fruit of some Few that are left in Parliament, than we found of the Many that were at first.

But if a Man be able and not honest, it can be but the undertaking of a Knave; and if he be honest and not able, it can be but the undertaking of a Foole.

4. Many will not in point of Honour subscribe to such Conditions, and it cannot but be Honour for one to be left so uneapable of any Mercenary Aspersions. VI. Section.

The next will be to proceed to the like Election of the Sub-Trustees for each House One, on the like Conditions and Considerations. And then to sit in Council, and deliberate on affaires.

Prefering necessary things before convenient, the more necessary before the lesse, the necessities of many, or All before a few, and where many things concurr, which plead all necessity, many hands may make light worke. One wheele must not go and the rest stand still.

1. The Navy discovers 2 difficulties; The reducing of the Mariners, and their constant pay.

The reducing of the Mariners, will bring in the discourse of the other. And puts us first upon enquiry, how the Parliament lost them; since none more fond of, and zealous for the Parliament in the beginning.

No man loves another but in relation to himself; I love my selfe, therefore I love that man that hath the resemblance of my self, that hath part of my bloud by affinity, who is flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone.

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bone; And that either profiteth, or pleaseth me. Men affect not persons, but their qualities. Thus Kings and Idoll-Gods had their beginnings.

Mariners and their Merchants were therefore dis-affected, because Trade was invaded by Monopolies; Men were dis-franchised by Taxes, and monies were taken out of the very Mint, besides the intrusion into the *sanctum sanctorum* of mens Consciences.

All men expected ease by the Parliament, and many in Parliament, did as cordially intend it: But what? The Monkey put in the Cats claw, & the trade which was formerly invaded, was now altogether prohibited, Taxes multiplyed, and encreased from the Finger to the Loynes. Monies which then were rob'd from the Mint, were now ravish'd from the private Coffers. And all the burthens, which by both parties in Parliament were packt up, and which the honest party did simply intend for their enemies, were cunningly cast by the other parties Agents on themselves or their freinds.

Since that time, Parliaments have been vomitted, purged and re-purged. Armies have been formed Modellized and refined. In all which variations (as the sick turn for ease) men rolled and relied on every change, till now the Fabrick being wholly altered, the peevish consumed Nation can no longer endure with patience, to waite the benefit of Long-rob'd Counsellors: but all break forth like severall Apostemations. Hola, here we tack about from this Atlantick Ocean to our narrow Seas, where the Marriners turn Pyrats abroad, because they could not live honestly, nor comfortably at home, Nor having as yet found the benigne influence, of amendment by change of Government. Let this new Government indulge them a new pardon, take off, or stint all Taxes, provide them pay, encourage their Merchants in Trade, and no doubt they will know on which side their bread is buttered.

Quest.
Sol.

But how may this be done?

It is the glory of the Parliament, to be able to pardon: which they may either sweeten with an Amnestie of the faults upon a speedy return, promise of amendment, & security of future fidelity: or make the contempt of it terrible by proscription, and giving up their lives to the next violence they meet with, & such further prohibition of all correspondencies with them, &c. as may be advised.

2. Taxes may by the Undertakers, be stinted to a twelve moneth.

3. Pay

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3. Pay may be secured more immediatly from the Customs, which though now (through want of Trade, change of customers, disorder and ignorance therein, and continuall troubles, both at Sea and Land) are shrunk to half of what they were, and so to the half of what is at present sufficient, for this extraordinary Navy; yet may by the Publick Trustees, or the Commissioners for the Navy be so mannaged, or by Merchants & Marriners, be joyntly or severally undertaken, to be so ordered, as to bring the Customs to be more proportionable to the Navy & the Navy more proportionable to the Customs. And what should in any likelyhood, come short of such undertakings might be supplied by the setting up of Herring bussess, and other Fishings, and divers other Maritim profits, out of which, they should not only be able to perform that service to the State; but make a great benefit to themselves also.

4. For the future encouragement of Trade, as the entrusting of them with the Customs may contribute much unto it: so it would be well if from henceforth, they were no more debauched from their Trade & Commerce, by being made such chargeable Brokers to the State for present monies, or taken altogether from their employment into more full, though lesse profitable and idle Offices: Or (which is worst of all) by commuting their Publick usefull persons into private Lay-Bishops, and the publick Lands of Bishops into private possessions of Merchants; and that at a greater and more speedy return then ever the Seas made them (perhaps) before their monies were out of their owne pockets.

Lastly, For a perfect uniting of the affections and endeavours of Seamen for ever to the State; This priviledge may be granted unto them, that if at any time there be such a Commander put over them by the State, as shall be displeasing to three parts of foure of those over whom he hath Command, then it may be lawfull for them, to offer three others of their own choice for the State to nominate one of those three for the said Command. And on the other side, to the end that the State may from henceforth have the better affiance in such Commanders.

That no Commander whatsoever go to Sea, either in the States ships, or the Merchants, but such as shall be able to procure the security of sufficient Marchants for ther fidelity; For Merchants and Marriners are Relata like man and wife. Seamen cannot be faulty without connivings,

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connivings, or contrivings of Merchants. And those Commanders and Merchants, may receive counter security of the like nature, from all Officers and Marriners under them.

The 2. Branch is for the Army, and that wants nothing to compleat it but money and employment, untill their victories shall give them leisure, to sit with their wives and children under their own Vines; for they must be their own so long as they themselves are the Publicks, and engaged in these undertakings of the Publick Stock.

Their money for this year is the Assesments, which whilst they are growing due and gathering, may issue forth of the Excise & Compositions of Goldsmiths Hall, with all the Arrears of severall Committees. And if more hast be required, or the summes not compleated, the supplies may be by the undertakers out of the Commodities of the City. All which difficulty cannot last above 2 months, for by that time their Partners (the Poor & the undertakers) will have received some greater proportion of this and the Armies moneys, and made a good entrance into other more profitable wayes.

Obj. But Creditors will repine to have Excise or Goldsmiths Hall taken out of their mouths.

Ans. This is often answered, yet because it may stick in some of their stomachs. They are to take notice that (mauger all the malice of the enemies of this Common-wealth, the honour and publique faith of the Nation must be recovered from those hands that have ravishd and defiled it) and shal be instald into that splendor, that shal dazel all their designs to the contrary; yea though the abettors had bin still in Parliament: which whilst they strove too much to make a difficulty of, it might discover (perhaps) their own rottenness, and number them amongst the besome Vipers. But for them or others who would acquiesse in honest Propositions. The undertakers, should be bound to pay them 6. per Cent, till the severall termes of 5. 10. and 20. years, that the Respective Debts of publike Faith should grow due, and in the mean time it is the duty of Parliament to stand in defence of publique Faith, and Command that (the Undertakers behaving themselves as herein is exprest,) the severall Debentors and Bills of publique Faith, signed & sealed again by this representative & the undertakers be current as money. It being impossible to do a greater affront & injury to the Common-wealth & the whol Nation than to make the Credit of it invalid & contemptible. And that therefore if the dealings of the undertakers should not be apparently

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rently honest according to the candid wayes herein exprest, he should at least forfeit his Estate for so great a Treason to the publique.

VII. SECTION.

And now the poor (who least may) have waited long enough, worst may hold the Candle. They come in the 3. branch, yet in the actings of these Propositions are to be with the first.

To this end. 1. The Trustees are immediately disperst into each severall Kings, Bishops, or Deane and Chapters or Delinquents confiscated House.

2. They are to Communicate to each other their severall capacities of each House for receipt.

3. They are to communicate their severall Commodities and conveniences of each respective Countey; for what food and employment, and what persons fittest.

4. To correspond weekly or oftner, and give account of all Monies received, & upon what accounts whether of rents, charities or compositions and whatsoever else, by industries or otherwise, and whether in Cash, Stock or Provision.

During all this, each doth endeavour to gather Rents, and Arrears of Rents, and all present Charities in Wheat, Rye, Barley, Malt, Cheese, Butter, Hay, Oates, Straw, Wooll, Flax, Hempe, Tonn, Cloath Wollen or Linnen, Comes, Sheep, Hennes, Bees, &c. at such Rates as the then next Market, goes, according to the severall employment of each Tennant, which will be much for the ease of the Tennant and Commodity of the poor; so that the Market appear not to have been hoisted up by design, else they to pay their Rent in Money.

2. They lay up all in severall Barnes or Store-houses.

3. They Procure from London, or the Country all sorts of Instruments, for plowing, digging, delving, Harrowing. &c.

4. All Seeds and Trees for nourishment.

5. As many Instruments, as may be for each severall Trade, and Manufacture: especially Needles and Threed, Sawes, Hammers, Chisles, Nayles, Plaines, Loomes, Files, and all Smiths, Joyners, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Instruments, &c. Then,

1. The poor, and all that will joyne with them, are to be invited to bring in their Stocke at 5. per Cent. within one Weeke or 10 dayes after the Graunt.

2. They are to take their choice, whether they will work in Common or upon Rent.

If upon Rent, they are to have as much Land, as they in their own persons can imploy, and to pay 5 l. every Quarter *per Head*. And are to have it in any *Forests* or *Commons* enclosed.

If they work in Commons, they are to be received into one of the publick houses, and each is to be allotted his Chamber as he comes. *First come, first served*. If any contention be, the *Lot* is to decide it for the present.

3. Immediately the women are to be disposed of, some to Baking, some to Brewing, some to dresse Dinners, and Suppers of such things as can be had, or to be contented with bread and cheefe, and bread and Herbes boyled with salt, &c. Others to make clean all the Roomes, and all the Wardrobe; Others to make and mend Linnen, woollen, With Overseers of decads and centuries in each work.

4. The men are to provide Wood and Firing, others to seek out Fish, Fowle, Roots, Herbes, Conies and Beefe or Mutton, if the stock will reach it. Others to collect the daily charities in Carts for the Prisoners, and Beggars that were so when they came in, till their civilities and diligence, and the increase of the stock make them fit, and worthy for better meat. Others to milke the Cowes, a thing only used by women through the prevalency of Custome, but fitter for men, in regard of womens tenderneffe, and danger of going in the wet, besides the labour of bringing it home. For the driving of Cattell twice a day home is not convenient beside the losse of time. Others to doe the work of Husbandry. Others to keep all things clean, and in good order without doores, and set up all Instruments. Others to mend the Houses, &c. with Overseers of Decads and Centuries in each work.

VIII. SECT.

Being thus immediatly false upon daily necessities. The severall Books are next to be put in order.

1. The Book of *Subscriptions*; there each Subscribers name and stock is to be set down, even to a paire of Shoes, to be allowed him at departure. And for so much as is not immediately necessary for himself, to be allowed 5. *per cent.* yearly. Or interest upon Interest, till hee receive it, if the Interest fall not to 3. *per cent.* by reason of the great Banck of money which will be intrusted there.

2. Book, will be of Benefactors, All Gifts given to these Charitable Designs, with their Names and summes given.

3. Book, will be for Adventurers, of all Moneys lent upon the Banck at 5. *per Cent.*

4. Book

4. Book of *Debenturs*, to be paid within 5 years.

5. Book, of *Publick Debts* to be paid what is due, at 6. *per Cent.* within 10. yeares.

6. Book, of *the Kings Debts* before this Parliament, to be paid the Principall and Interest within 20. yeares.

But these 3. last may be perfected at leasure, and is not properly amongst the first Works.

7. Bookes of the present stock.

8. Bookes of *Domestick Accompts*.

9. Bookes of Cash.

10. Bookes of Market and Trade, and weekly or Annuall Profits.

6. These Books, are to be kept and signed with their Triplicates, by each severall Decad, in their severall Employments: whereof two are to be kept by each Decad, and the third by the *Trustee*, that each *Thursday* they may be compared, and mutually subscribed; and that what was wanting in the third Book one Weeke, should be written down the next, with the new Weeke added, so that at every meeting the Duplicats are ever compleat.

7. As the severall *Trustees* accompt every Weeke, so the *Trustee General* every Quarter, by Riding from House to House with so many men as are to be Chang'd from House to House. Of which Progresse he must keepe a constant order and time, because of Occurrences.

8. The Treasuries for Money, are to have three Keyes; one for the *Trustee*, or *Aumner General*, the other for the *Subtrustee*, and thurd kept by the *Particular accomptant* for the time being.

9. When any Considerable summe is in Banck to the value of above 10000. l. more then will drive on the stock of Employments: Then some one, is to be desired from the Parliament, or State, To be *Witnesse* of so much of the *Publicke Debt*, satisfied, and to subscribe his Name to the said Acquittance, as a *Witnesse*. For, though the Undertakings, be at 5. 10, and 20. yeares: yet it will be good Husbandry, to be out of Interest, and pay the Kings debts or others upon Rebate.

There must be no dealings between the *Trustees*, and any *Statesman*, in *Hugger Muggers*, for any of the *Treasure*. But such transactions ought to be done in the most publique Hall, as *Guild Hall*, *Westminster Hall*, with the sound of a *Trumpet*, and a *Guard* for the *Money*.

ney, till they are in full possession of it, to whom it is due. Yet there will be no feare of Theeves and Robbers. If this goe on. But that all men may know how the undertakings are discharged.

If the Parliament (notwithstanding what is said) shall be (without cause) so jealous of their Engagements or Honour, and confident of the event of Taxes, and the next Representative, as to proceed in the sale of the Kings, Bishops, and Deanes and Chapters Lands: And will still trouble themselves with the debts and accompts of the Nation: Supposing these humble Offers not to be intended as any service unto them or the State. Yet they may be pleased to reserve the Houses, (which are proper for nothing else, and will save Money to the State) with the Parke that belongs to each House, and to grant them, with the Commons, Mines, Drowned Lands, New Manufactures, Trades, Engines, and Inventions, their own fishings and Adventures, and all due charities in manner mentioned, together with the designe of a publique banke and Academie, (if the State do not otherwise set them up) to be a common joynt Stock for all the poore, and all that will joyn with them. And the Petitioners shall be engaged, to receive and maintaine all Poor, and pay off 1000000. l. of the publique debt within 7 yeares, in lieu of those Parkes and Houses.

It would runne out into too great a volume, should this whole matter be Exactly treated of. Or the severall Employments, and order of Governments Particularized. But this is enough to try the tempers of men, and provoke more able Pennes, and Capacities (who have lesse Interruption) to a more methodicall and mature Treatise. Who may allow so much as their Wisedoms shall consent to of this, and add to all the defects. And likewise alter what upon more serious deliberation may be found alterable. For, not the Method, nor the Language doth at all please the Author, not the indigested insertion of the Reasons. Onely, the present necessity and opportunity call'd loud upon him, which made him appeare thus undrest in publique.

This worke (certainly) is the Lords: Nor shall the gates of hell prevaile against it. And by how much the Author is contemptible amongst men, and unworthy amongst Saints; by so much is the Arme of the Lord made known; *Who hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty things. And vile things of the world, & things which are despised, hath God chosen, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, &c.* 1 Cor

1. 27. 28. Yea greater things and in more glorious manner, then here is exprest will shortly come to passe, which men cannot yet bear, but the fulnesse of time will manifest: This is but the dawning, the rich will pertake in it with the poore: but the ambitious, covetious, and licentious, will grow worse and worse, till that day wherein they will mourne and howle for their infidelity, and having endeavoured what they could to oppose this great, this good, this charitable, this Christian work, some will perish in their gainsaying. Yet it is the hearty Prayer of the Author, that all may timely repent and be Christians.

**To the Supream Authority of England.
The High and Honorable House of Commons**

Assembled in Parliament.

**The Humble Petition of Officers and Soldiers,
Citizens and Countrymen, Poor
and Rich: and all sorts, with all the
Distressed & Oppressed People
of England.**

Sheweth, That

IT being the work of Nature, Reason and Christianity, by which we shall be judged in the last Day, (Mat. 25.) And the very bottom of all Pretences in all States, Councels, and Corporations, *To Cloath the Naked, Feed the Hungry, Visit the Sick, and Relieve the Oppressed:* All former Laws, Statutes, Commissions and Consultations having been of small effect hitherto: Houses of Correction being more apt to make Men (from being poor) to become Vagabonds and Beggars, by taking from them the Repute of so much Honesty as to be trusted with Employment, and conveying into them a further Impudency, or desperation, (as by experience is manifest,) and many having of late years perished for want of Necessaries: The Lord having now put into your Hands a present Opportunity of adding this great work to all the mighty works which he hath done by you.

May your Honors be pleased (all due respects being first had to your great Losses, Damages, and constant Vigilancy, out of the Kings Revenues, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters Lands, and Moovables; Delinquents Estates, and Offices) to grant to your Petitioners (or so many of them as shall be thought fit) and to all the poor of *England*, the rest of all the Premises. 2. And all that remains due upon publick Accounts. 3. All, or so much of the Commons, Waits, Forests, Chaces, Heaths, Moors, &c. as is due unto the poor. 4. All Mines not wrought on at present, all drowned Land, Lands deserted of the Sea, or the like, they agreeing for what is due to any Owner. 5. The sole benefit of all Manufactures, Engines and Inventions either by Sea or Land, by your Petitioners brought into Use in *England*. 6. All parish-Collections, and concealed or abused Charities; with power to search all Records, Wills, Church-Books, and Books of Accounts, to that purpose, gratis: to be as a publique Treasure of the Land, for all publique Designs, in one common joynt Stock.

And some of your petitioners will put in sufficient security. 1. To provide all necessaries for the Army, so long as the Army shall be thought necessary. 2. To joyn with the Army when occasion requires, and to obey all civill Commands of the State, as well for suppressing of Insurrections at home, as opposing Forces from abroad. 3. To pay all the Arrears of the Army within 5. years. 4. To maintain all publick Ministers of State: And to continue pay (during life) to so many of the Kings Servants, as in your wisdoms shall be thought fit. 5. To receive all the rest (if they desire it) and all the poor of *England*. (prisoners and others,) and to feed and cloath them and set those that are able on work, those that are not able into Hospitals, and little Children into Schools and Nurseries. 6. To receive all Fraudulent persons, Theeves and Robbers (not guilty of murder) into houses of labor, till they have earned and paid double the Damage they have done. 7. To take off all Taxes within one year, except Customs. 8. To pay all the Debts of the publique Faith which remain due at 6. per Cent, within 10. years. 9. To pay all the Kings debts due before this Parliament, within 20. years. 10. To set up a publique Banck, as in *Amsterdam*, *Venice*, and other places. 11. To erect an Academy for all Exercises for the education of youth. And if your Honours shall think good, to grant the Fishings, Customs, and Revenues of the

the Navy, &c. then your Petitioners will undertake to maintain a constant Navy at Sea, and to secure the Merchants at 1. per Cent, a month, for the narrow Seas. 2. To take off the Customs from unwrought Materials and Commodities, and Food and Ammunition imported, and lay them upon unwrought materials and Commodities, and Food and Ammunition exported. 3. To take off all Customs from Manufactures Exported, and lay them upon Manufactures Imported.

Thus may your Honours be eased of great burthens and Molestations: Be free to other great Affaires: Vindicate the Integrity of your Proceedings above others: Stop the mouths of your Enemies: Take away all Taxes and Groanings of the People: Do all the great Works of Charity: Reconcile all Parties: Gain all the Peoples Love: Enfranchise their Spirits: Make Trade free: Establish the Peace of the Nation: Establish your own Peace before God and Man: And bring down the Blessings of God abundantly upon all your Faithfull Endeavors.

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