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The English-Man's Complaint.

IF Kings were as wise and good as their Office requires them to be, *Monarchy*, certainly, would be the happiest Form of Government in the World; but since experience tells us they are like us in all things, *Kingship* excepted, and are for the most part but the worse for That, it has been the Wisdom of all Nations to take the best caution and security of them for their freedoms that they could get. This, I and many more expected at the hands of our *Senators*, after not only the harms of others, but our own might have taught them how to make use of so happy an opportunity; but as less than a years time has shown us the vanity of our hopes in them, I presume they are not less instructed of the vanity of their own in him, it being visible, to all the thinking World, that he is not able to support himself three Months longer, upon the measures he takes, between *King James* and a *Common-wealth*, for one of them will be quickly too hard for him; and only one of them can prevent the other. And because no man has had a greater Sence for this Providence then my self, and that I have been particularly conversant with those that went into this abdicating Interest, I find my self touch'd in duty and honour to be early and free with them upon the Jealousies that fill my Heart, and the Hearts of many good Men, about the present state of our affaires.

They have been guilty of sins, both of *Omission* and *Commission*; they have neglected the main things they ought to have made the *Object* and *advantage* of this change, and they have visibly acted the quite contrary; and last of all, several things have happened, both at home and abroad, that render the continuance of our present Government impracticable, therefore we must not onely suffer, but seek another state or change, and that speedily. The faults of *Omission* are these; they have made a King, but have not made it impossible for that King to be like the Kings that went before him, he having the same power over the Rights of the People, and they lying as open to the mercy and stroke of ambition, and arbitrary Power as before, which is only changing of Hands, and not Things; Men, and not Measures and Securities. That this is the case, let it be considered he is *unaccountable*, which contradicts their Principles they chose him upon; he has the *same Power over Parliaments* that his Predecessors had, which are accounted the *true Conservators* of the Peoples freedoms; their Elections are as *insecure* as ever; their Meetings as *uncertain*, being neither *Yearly*, *Duennially* nor *Triennially*: neither are they *Masters* of their own Sessions, to *Adjourn* and *Prerogue* as they please; And if they have prepared the most useful or necessary Law in the World, as the case now stands, *he may refuse to pass it*, by *Proroguing* or *dissolving* them, which renders the whole Constitution of Parliaments precarious, and at his *Will and Pleasure*. Much less does the Parliament *nominate his Council*, or is he oblig'd to act in the Intervals of Parliaments by the Advice and Approbation of a Council, but on the contrary to these Rights and Securities, he can *call, prorogue* and *dissolve Parliaments at pleasure*, whose very Elections lie as open to Fraud and Violence as ever, Charters and Corporations being no better condition then they were. He *picks and chuses his Council*, he *Names* all the great Officers of the *State, Navy, Army* and *Church*, as well as of his *Honshold*, and he absolutely commands the *Malitia* as yet; which is having the *whole* in his Power, for thereby he has a *Mortgage* upon every man, the *Gain* or *Honour* of this Office being a *Bribe* to byass him to the *pleasure* of the Prince,

that already they have not been able to keep themselves from the distinction of *Court* and *Counry* party, who the other day objected it to their Enemies, as a Vice in Government. This has something in it very absurd, and it reproaches the honesty or understanding of some People, that when they say they can *make Kings*, they either *can't* or *won't* take care to limit and regulate them to our Safety: by which means the King, that is made by the People; may rule *without them*, instead of ruling *for them*, and govern *jure divino*, though he be created *jure humano*, which renders his execution *Independent* of his Commission, and himself in all things *impunible*. We have herein *left the Principles* that lead us to leave *King James*; and *changed* the very measures upon which we chang'd the Government. We make use of *Republican* Reasons for our alteration, and for ought I see we go upon *Tory* methods to establish it, which renders our case much worse then it was in the time of *King Charles* and *King James*, in that then we had Kings that were suspected, to be sure not belov'd, and the first not feared from his humour, and the last, at last as little apprehended from his Interest: but this Gentleman enters upon the Reputation of *Protestancy*, and has our *own choice* and Religion both to blind us. Being then more popular, and not *more limited*, we are not *more safe*, but our Liberties must be exposed; and unless such a King has *irresistable Grace*, or stronger eyes upon him, the Reasons of our preferring him may be the Instances of our danger. Let these serve as brief hints of the pernicious *Omissions* we have made, about the Constitution of our Government, and give me leave now to point at our Sins of Commission.

Of this sort the *Suspension of the Habeas Corpus* well challanges the preference. It is what can never be answer'd by us *Whiggs*, to stab such a Law, nay, our own Law three times successively: In this the *Tories* outwitted us, for they have humoured us into a *contradiction* of your own Principles; next, it has been a dangerous Error, that so many *Members* of both Houses have so fast and so firmly got into *Places of Profit*: this is a Scandal to the Cause, our old Clamours and Prentions considered; and all the World sees the Influence it has had to stifle this Reformation in its very birth, suffering so many *Foreign Troops* that are the *Mercinaries* of this Prince, to continue amongst us, and more come in upon us; when there are so many moderate Church-men and Dissenters, of unquestionable valour and sincerity, ready to serve in their Station, purely for the sake of the *Protestant Religion* and a *National Interest*, is both unjust, unwise and unsafe. It was likewise a fatal Error to be busie in sending ten or twelve Thousand men into *Holland*, before we sent twelve Hundred into *Ireland*, which shews some Body's heart is as *Foreign* as his Birth; just so we have done by *Sea*; been busie about a Fleet, and careless of our Trade, that as a witty Member of the House of Commons said, *The Dutch have run away with our Trade, and the French with our Ships, notwithstanding our Fleet*. It is certain they left *Brest* when they should have staid there (by which means the *French* joynted their Fleets) & are come home, when there is most use of them abroad, whereby the *French* are left to scour our Seas. Many are employed that either do not understand their business, or are not in our Interest, because they can give most Money, *Soldiers* especially, the *Dutch*, have been quarter'd upon private Houses, and Gentlemen's Seats have not escaped them. *Martial Law* has been executed to *Death*, before the



the Act passed. *Schambergh* sent too soon, since he went so late, unless he had carried his *Horse* and *Provisions* with him, and while we have entertain'd the World with an Opinion that the *Irish* will not fight, we at last decline to fight the *Irish*.

But these are little Errors, and lie remotely, in comparison of some that affect the very center or head of our Affairs; the *King* himself shews us he is infected with *Domimon*, and that by two broad instances, *Scotland* and his *Ministers at home*; for he has not only already violated the very Fundamentals of the Constitution of that Kingdom he swore to maintain, when he received that Crown, but *buffs* those men of Quality that came up from that Nation to represent the breach of those Conditions upon which he took the Crown, and for the present *Ministers* of his Government here, the very naming of them, is giving the Reason, both for the Sins of *Omission* and *Commission*; and indeed how should we hope to have our Liberties establish'd under them, who in the late Reigns were the Authors of the Miseries we call'd in this *Prince* in hopes to be deliver'd from, and by what we have already seen of their management, we must conclude they have either a *King James* in their Belly, or in their Hearts, the Principles of making more than a *King James* of *King William*, and truly they have carried him a good way towards it, when they have made him afraid of protecting that gallant Gentleman, *Lieutenant General Ludlow*, because forsooth, he was a *Common-wealths-man*, & one of the *Judges* of *King Charles the first*, though upon his Principles, we have *abdicated* the Son, which is to refuse him the benefit of the Reasons, upon which we pretend to save our selves. This makes me believe a Story of this *King*, which I was even sorry to hear, that upon some Bodies telling him t'other day, the *Common-wealths-men* began to be very busy, he should say, *Let me alone with them, for after I came into the Government of Holland, they never could do any thing*. And it is certain, his party were the *Tories* of that State.

But it is not only *Domestick* Errors that make me dispond, though they are enough to sink this Government, but the very Nation is in hazard, in reference to our Affairs abroad, more then ever; and I would not, while we reproach the Governments that went before us, that we should do worse for the Common Safety. What condition we are in as to *France* and *Ireland*, the charge it has been to the People, and how much greater it is like to be, and that we have now a more Melancholly prospect of the Conclusion of the War then we had six Months ago, is felt as well as seen. I need not tell my Country-men, that our Interest is grounded upon Trade, and that whatever lessens that, lessens us; and that, that Country that rivals us in that point, is our *Enemy* by Interest, and we can hardly have a greater: but perhaps it may surprize them, to tell them at this time, that *Holland* is that Country; but so it is, and the indifferent World sees it, and even the Partial amongst us, begin to feel it. It would have been the Wisdom of this *King* as soon as he became so, to have consider'd his Interest changed upon his being so; Instead of that, we have ever since had our *English* Interest govern'd by *Dutch Councils*, and we have felt the effects of it; which our Enemies are sure to improve to our dishonour and danger; as if we had deliver'd up the *Wealth* and *Glory* of *England* to

Holland, instead of making that Country an *Hand-maid*, to her greatness; and truly, it is a scurvy Dilemma, that we are brought into, that we cannot hope for peace with *France*, nor to be long at Peace with *Holland*; and keep our Trade, nor to support a War with both; if to out-live our own Factions: and this the *Dutch* know as well as we, and therefore, you see, they Loose no time, but make the War their great gain: For as we let them manage it, they add *Our share*, to their own: It is the language of all Ports, both abroad and at home. Sink therefore we must, when our Friends help to do it, and the *King* we have made, will not see it. If this partiality proceeded only from the sence he has of the kindness the *States* have shown him, one would hope it were but to be once done; but I am told there is more in it; that he intends to purchase them to himself, at our Cost, for a worse purpose, viz, an *unreasonable greatness*: and it falls pat with the *Dutch* interest, for with them, it is a Maxim, *the less we are free, the less they have to fear*; nothing being more cavileer in *England* then a *Dutch Republican*. This, if I know any thing compleats our misery, that we are got into a War, for the sake of a Country, that is, *in reason of State*, the most firm enemy to our Liberties at home and our Traffick abroad, and that he will only be of our side as long as we let them go away with our Trade; but the hour we show, we understand them, we may depend upon it, they will make up with *France*, and leave us in the lurch. It is not enough that the *Parliament* will give money; I do not doubt that; but that may be our misery, as it may be given: let us first consider, for what we give it? it will be said, to put down *France*; but that is the *Emperors* work, whose Competitioner he is, and not ours. But as things now move, shall not we set up *Holland*, that is our Competitor every where, and in every thing. Taxes must rise heavily upon such prospects of our Affairs. There is in my Opinion a nearer way to the Mill then all this, and I think the only one; Let the *Parliament* but make it plain to the People, that they have the benefit of the Change, and I will pass my word for them, they will be at the charge of it; But that they should assist such a Revolution, and oppose their Persons to all hazards, and their Estates to the Consumption that will follow it, and at last sit down with a less Trade abroad, and with something worse then the worst part of *King Charles* the second's Reign at home, is I hope, too gross to pass upon the Nation. They that long since owed their Heads to the Publick, must not now think to set up for the *Guides* of it. The reflection of a *Common-wealth* is too stale a Calumny to put a zealous & just claim of Rights out of countenance.

It was sung at my *Lord Russel*, and at all the *Patroons* and *Martyrs* of the People, but in vain are their *Attainders* reversed, while their *Endeavours* are impeached. That a *Common-wealth* should be an *Objection* now, to such a settlement of our Freedoms as can only save us, is a most severe One against the Government, especially when the same Gentlemen have the Power of making it, that made it once before. We can go upon no other Principles, except we will set up that *Arbitrary Power* we have ventur'd all to oppose: which Nick-names must not scare us, nor vain Flatteries abuse us: We must have our Liberties, or shift for our selves; and that quickly, before he brings in more Foreign Forces upon us. A Reproach we can never wipe off; that what we objected again *King James*, should be endured from a Stranger in so distrustful a manner, and a *Parliament* sitting unconsulted. I will end with this Question;

Is it not a breach of publick Faith and Safety, for a Prince of his own Head to call in Foreign Force to rule a People, that called him in but t'other day to rule and protect them by their own Laws & Arms? It shows a plain dissolution of Trust and Confidence in the People, that trusted him, as well as a Violation of the Conditions of the relation: And if so, are not the Obligations of the People discharged, nay, are they not obliged before God and Man, to take speedy care of their own future Safety one way or other.