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THE AUGUSTAN REPRINT SOCIETY

SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE

**CITT  
AND BUMPKIN**

(1680)

*INTRODUCTION*

BY

**B. J. RAHN**



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## **INTRODUCTION**

According to discoveries made by Titus Oates in the autumn of 1678, England was threatened by a Roman Catholic conspiracy headed by the Pope and the King of France, whose objectives were: 1) to murder the King, 2) to overthrow the government, and 3) to destroy the Protestant religion. Although Oates was subsequently exposed as a charlatan, in 1678-81 a panic held the nation in an iron grip, and belief in the Plot fostered irrational and reprehensible excesses. The Popish Plot was not so much a religious fraud as a political *cause célèbre*, the significance of which can be assessed only in the context of the republican movement of the seventeenth century to redistribute power within the state. The conflict which developed between Charles II and the Parliament during the 1670's reflects the struggle for ascendance of two opposing theories of government: absolute versus limited monarchy. Charles, supported by the Tories and the Anglican clergy, was determined to maintain all the hereditary privileges and powers of an English monarch, while the Whig coalition in Parliament, led by the Earl of Shaftesbury, was intent upon subordinating the power of the Crown to the will of Parliament. The Opposition realized almost immediately that in the Popish Plot lay means for furthering their schemes of political reform. Under the guise of counteracting the Plot, they hoped to enact legislation to: 1) increase parliamentary power, 2) limit the prerogatives of the King, 3) control the succession, and 4) curtail the influence of the prelate. Published in 1680 when the Plot crisis was at its peak, *Citt and Bumpkin* is one of a series of pamphlets by Sir Roger L'Estrange written to support the policies of Charles II and to defend the government from attacks by the Whig Opposition.

Since James, Duke of York, had given the Whigs every reason to believe that he would oppose their policies vehemently after he came to the throne, they decided to take advantage of the public resentment against him as a Roman Catholic to try to pass a bill in Parliament to exclude him from the succession. James had already been accused of conspiring with the French King to overthrow Protestantism in England and institute Roman Catholicism as the state religion. In addition to reiterating this charge, the Whigs enlarged upon the awkwardness and danger bound to arise in a Protestant nation with a Roman Catholic ruler. The question of a Popish successor soon came to be the principal concern of Parliament, and the battle over the Exclusion Bill dominated the political scene in 1679-81. While the Exclusion crisis was at its height, Charles II circumvented this plan to deprive the Duke of York of his hereditary title by repeatedly proroguing and dissolving Parliament so that the bill could not be brought to a final vote. This series of adjournments began when Charles dissolved the Parliament soon after the Exclusion Bill was first introduced in the spring of 1679. After a bitterly fought election contest during the summer of 1679, the newly constituted Parliament assembled in October only to be prorogued once again until 26 January 1680. The Whigs were furious and began to fear that the King had no intention of permitting the Parliament to meet even in January. Powerless to act legally out of Parliament, the Whigs realized that a long series of postponements would lead to the defeat of all their carefully drafted legislative plans. To combat Charles' delaying tactics, the Opposition hit upon the expedient of petitioning him to allow Parliament to sit. By a strong demonstration of popular will, they hoped to force the King to comply with their demands.

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Under the leadership of Shaftesbury and his followers in the Green Ribbon Club, the Whigs achieved a degree of party organization and efficiency in the autumn and winter of 1679-80 which remained unrivalled during the seventeenth century.<sup>[1]</sup> While petitions were being printed in London, the country was divided into districts; then petitions were distributed to party agents everywhere who systematically canvassed for signatures. In London, blank petitions were

conveniently placed in coffee houses and taverns; pens and inkstands appeared in the Strand and at the Royal Exchange. Since these petitions were designed as instruments to convey the will of the masses, emphasis was placed on collecting large numbers of signatures with scant concern for the political, economic, or social status of the subscribers. According to the Tory historian Roger North, the people were warned by the promoters of the petitions that, if the King were allowed to govern without a Parliament, despotism would inevitably ensue, followed by a resurgence of Popery.<sup>[2]</sup> Frightened, and in some cases confused by these formidable predictions and threats, many people (especially in the country) subscribed. After the canvassing had been completed, the petitions were sent to London for presentation to the King.

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The petitions themselves were phrased inoffensively enough, stressing the fact that the Popish Plot had created a state of national emergency and requesting that Parliament be called to deal with this danger. The first petition, *The Humble Address and Advice of several of the Peeres of this Realm For the Sitting of the Parliament*, was presented to the King at Whitehall on 7 December by ten Whig peers. Charles accepted the petition and dismissed them. But he could not dismiss the rumors of countless other petitions in preparation and the unavoidable disturbance such an onslaught would produce. Since the petitions were not promoted through official channels, and since there was evidence that they were designed to create tumult for seditious ends, Charles denounced them as illegal. Moreover, on 11 December the King issued a Royal Proclamation forbidding seditious and tumultuous petitioning. The effects of the Proclamation were twofold. The Tories, who objected to petitioning as a popular movement carried on by men without substance or position, received the Proclamation everywhere as an expression of the King's disapproval, and cited it as an authority to discourage others from promoting and subscribing to petitions. The Whigs, on the other hand, protested that petitioning was the legal right of the subject and resumed their petitioning activities with added vigor.

In order to demonstrate his firm resolve not to be intimidated in the exercise of his prerogative to call and dismiss Parliament, and in order to rob the petitioning movement of its impetus by destroying its immediate objective, Charles issued a second Proclamation on 11 December proroguing Parliament from 26 January to 11 November 1680. Spurred on by the realization that so long a recess would utterly ruin their hopes, the Whigs directed considerable effort toward promoting an official petition from the City of London.<sup>[3]</sup> Because of the power and prestige of the City, the Whigs felt that such a petition would lend encouragement to those being prepared in the country. Accordingly, they arranged to present a petition from the City of London for a vote in the Common Council on 20 January. The King deliberately attempted to frustrate the London petition by purging the City Council of disaffected members through enforcement of the Act for Regulating Corporations. This Act disqualified all Dissenters, who usually held Whig principles. Consequently, by the time the petition was brought to a vote, the Tories had gained enough support to defeat the referendum by a small margin. Although this ballot was won in effect only by the votes of the Court of Aldermen, it was accounted a great victory for the Court Party and left the Whigs sorely disappointed.

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The peak of petitioning activity occurred during the month of January, and the atmosphere became increasingly more tense as the day approached upon which Parliament was supposed to meet. The week following the Common Council's rejection of the London petition was the most strained. Petitions continued to appear daily, though the King received them with marked disfavor and sharply rebuked the delegates who delivered them. When Monday, 26 January, finally arrived, the air was charged with excitement; everyone crowded to Westminster to see what would happen. But Charles had no intention of capitulating. As soon as the Lords and Commons were assembled, the King addressed them, reaffirming his determination to prorogue them and implying that the recent petitions had served only to strengthen his resolve. The Whigs complained bitterly but offered no open resistance. Charles had won the day and emerged with his prerogative untarnished but not unchallenged. Shortly after this *coup*, a counter reaction to petitioning set in, and a wave of loyalty gained momentum and found expression in the form of abhorrence addresses which poured in from all over the kingdom condemning the practice of petitioning and professing loyalty to King and Court.

A fortnight after the prorogation of Parliament, just before the tide of abhorrence addresses began to inundate the capital, on 10 February, Narcissus Luttrell (indefatigable collector of Popish Plot ephemera) recorded possession of the most important pamphlet written about petitioning—Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Citt and Bumpkin*. Whether the date which Luttrell gives represents the day of publication as well as the day of purchase is a matter of conjecture, but his note does establish the fact that the pamphlet was available to the public and in Luttrell's hands by 10 February. Corroboration that the pamphlet was in circulation before the end of February comes also from L'Estrange's bookseller Henry Brome, who first advertised *Citt and Bumpkin* for sale as already published in a list of pamphlets dated 27 February. On 5 March in the *Popish Courant*, a companion sheet to *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, a violently anti-Papist newspaper in which L'Estrange was frequently traduced, Henry Care condemned *Citt and Bumpkin* in a list of Catholic libels, "All publisht within little more than this fortnight." Although less precise than Luttrell's note, the references by Brome and Care help confirm the hypothesis that *Citt and Bumpkin* was published by mid-February. Further evidence which helps to define the date of publication occurs within the text of the pamphlet itself. On page 24, L'Estrange mentions Henry Care's *History of the Damnable Popish Plot* and says it appeared on 26 January. This date in turn is verified by two advertisements for the work in Care's own journal—one on 23 January announcing its impending release, and another on 30 January commenting on its recent publication. Since *Citt and Bumpkin* obviously appeared after Care's tract was released and

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before Luttrell's entry was made, it must have been published during the fortnight between 26 January and 10 February.

*Citt and Bumpkin* was not only the best written pamphlet on petitioning, it was also the most ambitious in scope. Arranging his material artfully, L'Estrange presented it with the wit and skill that demonstrate unequivocally his mastery of the polemic medium. Unlike most other party writers who confined their efforts to a few folio pages, L'Estrange sustained his performance through 38 quarto leaves of readable, entertaining prose. Moreover, his objectives and arguments were much more comprehensive and sophisticated than those of the other pamphleteers engaged in the controversy over petitioning. Most Tory writers treated petitioning as an isolated issue and directed their attack accordingly, failing to relate any of their arguments to each other or to a larger scheme. Many authors attempted to defeat petitioning by identifying the petitions of 1680 with those of the 1640's leading up to the Civil War. In addition, some insisted that petitioning was illegal and defended the Proclamation against it, while others tried to discredit the organizers and promoters of petitions as disaffected persons motivated by hopes of preferment and profit. At the same time, they launched a collateral attack upon those members of Parliament who actively encouraged petitioning. There was even a general indictment of Parliament as a whole, suggesting that it intended to usurp the King's prerogatives and take sovereignty upon itself. But there was no definite, direct statement that a plot led by the petition managers was actually underway to subvert the government. In *Citt and Bumpkin* L'Estrange accused the republicans and Dissenters of actively promoting a Protestant Plot more insidious than the Popish Plot but with identical goals: 1) to kill the King, 2) to undermine the government, and 3) to destroy the established Church of England. Throughout the pamphlet, which is an *exposé* of this alleged conspiracy, L'Estrange supplied a great deal of specific factual detail upholding his claims. His objective was not merely to discredit petitioning, but to lessen belief in the Popish Plot and to launch a counterattack against the enemies of the Court. By indicating that petitioning was not an end in itself but an integral part of a larger plan, L'Estrange managed to censure petitioning *per se*, to increase its odium by linking it with the greater disaster of rebellion and civil war, and yet to preserve a sense of proportion by directing the brunt of his attack against the Protestant Plot as a whole.

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Although it is cast in the form of an ironic dialogue, *Citt and Bumpkin* has much in common with a dramatic skit. L'Estrange sketches the setting, develops the characterization, provides realistic conversation, and builds dramatic tension to a climax (or turning point in the action), which is followed by a falling off of tension or *dénouement*. As if to make the reading of parts easier, the speeches of the characters are set in different type faces. L'Estrange even provides stage directions and indicates action in the speeches of the characters. Like many dramas, *Citt and Bumpkin* begins *in medias res* and draws the reader immediately into the action. In a very natural fashion, the subject of the conversation is defined and the scene is set within the first four lines. The sense of setting is never destroyed, for L'Estrange unobtrusively sustains it by occasional specific but natural references to it in the course of the conversation.

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The dialogue between Citt and Bumpkin takes place during a casual encounter in a tavern, where the two fall to discussing religion and politics over a cup of ale. As their names suggest, Citt and Bumpkin represent a sophisticated London citizen and a naive country bumpkin. While they are not fully realized dramatic characters, neither are they mere bloodless stick figures. During the course of their conversation, they reveal information about their personalities, their social and economic status, their political affiliations, their religious sympathies, their moral values, and their occupations. One learns from Citt that he is an ex-felon who is employed as a party agent by a political organization plotting to overthrow the government and undermine the Church of England. Motivated only by ambition and avarice, Citt is a completely immoral man who openly endorses a policy of expediency, and who condones any act—no matter how evil—because he believes that the end always justifies the means. As befits a partner in crime, Bumpkin is Citt's *Doppelgänger* in many ways. The essential differences are those of experience and intelligence. Bumpkin is only slightly less immoral and unscrupulous than Citt, but he is just as hypocritical, lawless, and untruthful. As the two discuss how they promoted petitions in the city and the country, Citt and Bumpkin admit to all sorts of treacherous and fraudulent practices. In addition, they reveal the goals, the methods, the leaders, the strength, and the immorality of the Protestant Plot. Ironically, they unintentionally expose themselves and the Plot to the reader's censure; for, although the characters seem to be oblivious to the immorality of their behavior, the reader is not so insensitive. The reader contrasts their ethics and conduct with ideal values, rejects their code as immoral, and carries his judgment of the characters over into the real world to condemn the petitioners as republican plotters.

To reinforce this ironic self-indictment by Citt and Bumpkin, L'Estrange introduces a third character, Trueman, who enters like a *deus ex machina* to represent the abstract forces of truth, justice, and morality—albeit with a Tory bias. Because he functions as an abstract symbol in contrast with Citt and Bumpkin, who are very much of this world, Trueman has a personality uncomplicated by any psychological subtleties or idiosyncrasies which would emphasize his humanity. The entrance of Trueman may well be regarded as the climax of this little drama, for the plot unfolds gradually and dramatic tension builds to the point of his intrusion, when the course of action is interrupted and diverted in another direction by his arguments. Taking up the topics previously discussed by Citt and Bumpkin while he was concealed in a nearby closet, Trueman confronts them with their confessed treachery, denounces their chicanery and folly, and refutes their political views with Tory arguments. The fact that Trueman symbolizes extrahuman moral forces lends authority to his defense of absolute monarchy and the established Church.

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Couched in an authentic colloquial style, the dialogue between Citty and Bumpkin progresses in an entirely natural, credible manner. Their conversation is animated, colorful, humorous, informative, and purposeful. The direction of the conversation is logically dictated by its substance; there is nothing artificial, contrived, or foreordained about it. The interaction of personality is reflected in the verbal exchange. As in a play, the development of the action depends upon each character's immediate and genuine response to the statements made by the other *dramatis personae*. Again, as in the theater, dramatic tension is created as the plot unfolds and the reader waits to see what will happen next. Except for one passage of extended quotation (pp. 32-33), the dramatic realism is sustained effortlessly.

Although *Citty and Bumpkin* was the first of L'Estrange's Popish Plot pamphlets written in dialogue, he was thoroughly familiar with the form and had often employed it in his polemic skirmishes during the Civil War. In fact, L'Estrange found the genre so congenial that he chose to write his famous newspaper *The Observer* (1681-87) in dialogue. This literary device, employed by hack writers, controversialists, and eminent *littérateurs*, was extremely popular in England between 1660 and 1700 and was used to conspicuous advantage for discussing issues of momentary importance as well as serious philosophical questions. According to Eugene R. Purpus in his study of the "Dialogue in English Literature, 1660-1725," few other literary forms had such universal and continual appeal.<sup>[4]</sup> In an age when the drama was the reigning literary fashion, the dialogue naturally enough had a concomitant vogue. Its popularity is attested to by the large number of dialoguists as well as by the bulk of their writing. As Purpus notes, party writers quickly discovered that this genre was an excellent vehicle for presenting highly controversial ideas and forceful arguments.

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During the Restoration, there were no rigid conventions governing the genre, and any work passed as a dialogue which represented a conversation between two or more persons or which was organized in a question-and-answer manner.<sup>[5]</sup> Frequently, dialogues resembled an interrogation or a catechism rather than natural discourse between real human beings. Often writers of such artificial dialogues abandoned any attempt at characterization or conversational verisimilitude, merely substituting "Q." and "A." to indicate a series of queries and responses. Sometimes authors identified the speakers with proper names but made no effort at actual characterization. Concern for dramatic realism varied from writer to writer; and all too often, improbable puppet-like creatures were represented in illogical, unbelievable, and contrived conversations. The artistic integrity of a successful dialogue, however, lies in the dramatic exchange of differing points of view or the interplay of opposing arguments in realistic conversation between credible characters with clearly differentiated personalities.

The stilted, artificial quality of some dialogues is in part attributable to the fact that many writers turned to the genre as a facile means of expressing a particular point of view.<sup>[6]</sup> As Purpus observes, the inherent dramatic quality of the form is lost if: 1) the writer substitutes invective, prejudice, and railing for realistic conversation, and/or 2) the author obviously contrives the dialogue merely to reflect his particular bias on a given question. On the other hand, although some writers used the form as a convenient frame on which to display their opinions, other writers erred by including too much dramatic machinery. Dialogues of this sort almost became short dramas.

No matter what the content or objective purpose of dialogues, however, they were uniformly written in what became known after the Restoration as the "plain, easy, and familiar" style.<sup>[7]</sup> Sentences were more conveniently broken up than heretofore, and there was increased lightness of tone. Though there was still a great deal of invective, Hugh Macdonald notes in "Banter in English Controversial Prose after the Restoration," that banter became prominent in the literature of disputation after 1660. On the other hand, "No one would expect to find a clear-cut division between banter, satire, sarcasm, burlesque, and abuse in every passage of a book written in the seventeenth century."<sup>[8]</sup> As Mr. Macdonald states, it is largely a question of emphasis. Employing a great deal of banter, Marvell reintroduced a tradition forgotten since the Marprelate tracts—that of treating a grave subject lightly yet with serious intention of reinforcing the argument. Restoration polemicists, with L'Estrange in the vanguard, quickly realized the advantages of this technique and claimed it as their own.

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*Citty and Bumpkin* survives close scrutiny according to the critical criteria for evaluating dialogues suggested by Purpus and Macdonald. Although L'Estrange does use the genre for a specific controversial end, he does not lapse into a barren question-and-answer type of organization nor into that of an artificial didactic catechism. While he sketches a setting, develops characterization, and creates believable conversation, L'Estrange does not err in the direction of over-dramatization either. He provides all the requisite machinery to support the dramatic realism necessary in a successful dialogue, but he goes no further. Throughout *Citty and Bumpkin*, L'Estrange maintains the appropriate "plain, easy and familiar" style. The sentence structure is simple, and clauses are well punctuated. Abounding with colloquial expressions, contractions, and slang, the vocabulary is common and especially suited to the low characters. A bantering tone predominates, accompanied by passages employing irony, satire, and invective. There is not enough invective, however, to destroy the mood. If L'Estrange's Tory bias is perfectly evident, it is not aggressive enough to prevent the accomplishment of his polemic objectives. Although the republican political theories of the Whigs are attacked satirically in the first part of *Citty and Bumpkin*, they are stated and refuted in proper controversial style in the final pages of the pamphlet. On the whole, *Citty and Bumpkin* conforms to the conventions of a successful

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dialogue; where it does not, the infringements are not great enough to destroy its artistic integrity.

*Citt and Bumpkin's* popularity was indisputable. Of all the pamphlets about petitioning, it was by far the most widely read. It went into four editions by June 1680 and a fifth in 1681. Although there were no substantive changes in the various editions, the type was reset each time, so implying a continuing demand for the pamphlet. Indeed, the contemporary response was so overwhelming that within six weeks L'Estrange wrote a sequel entitled, *Citt and Bumpkin, The Second Part; Or, A Learned Discourse upon Swearing and Lying*. In addition, there were many references in the Whig press denigrating L'Estrange and his pamphlet; derogatory remarks appeared in newspapers, ballads, and poems. In particular, three pamphlets were issued, replying directly to *Citt and Bumpkin* and attacking L'Estrange personally. The first and most considerable of these rejoinders appeared on 16 March, a month after the publication of *Citt and Bumpkin*, when its effect was being fully realized and the need felt to combat it.

*A Dialogue Between Tom and Dick Over a Dish of Coffee Concerning Matters of Religion and Government*, issued also as *Crack-fart and Tony; Or, Knave and Fool*,<sup>[9]</sup> is a parody following closely the format and arguments of *Citt and Bumpkin*. Having appropriated the framework employed by L'Estrange, the author of *Tom and Dick* adjusted it by a series of simple substitutions from an attack on the Protestant Plot, Dissenters, Schism, and republicans, to an assault on the Popish Plot, Papists, Roman Catholicism, and loyalists. The parallels in setting and characterization are established immediately, when Tom and Dick meet in a coffee house and agree to hold a conversation in which Tom will speak, write, invent, and hold forth as Citt had done, while Dick will hear, believe, and speak in his turn (but to little purpose) like Bumpkin. The parody breaks down, however, when one compares Trueman with Goodman, who endorses Trueman's arguments rather than misrepresenting or opposing them. Nor does Goodman observe Trueman's scrupulous care in replying to all the issues raised by the other two characters. Throughout the dialogue, the author manages to maintain dramatic realism and to sustain a mock-serious tone in the absurd-but-credible verbal exchange between his two buffoons.

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The second rebuttal was released three months later on 14 June. Signed E. P. (possibly Edward Phillips), *The Dialogue Betwixt Cit and Bumpkin Answered* replies not only to *Citt and Bumpkin*, but reflects upon several other polemic tracts by L'Estrange, and attacks him *ad hominem* from beginning to end. A long prefatory letter discussing the powers and privileges of city corporations and the faults of L'Estrange's *Popery in Masquerade* precedes the dialogue, which preserves the same general format and style of its target. The roles of the characters are only roughly analogous, however, and the development of the argument is retarded and obscured by the abuse of L'Estrange. All too often, the argument is neither pertinent nor incisive. Unfortunately, E. P. lacks all the vitality, wit, and imagination of his polemic adversary. Incensed by E. P.'s scurrility, L'Estrange replied within three days to all of his charges in *A Short Answer to a Whole Litter of Libels*.

Although it does not appear in Luttrell's *Popish Plot Catalogues*, the third reply to *Citt and Bumpkin*, *Crack upon Crack: Or, Crack-Fart Whipt with his own Rod, by Citt and Bumpkin*, can be dated approximately upon the basis of internal evidence. References to L'Estrange's flight to escape a sham plot against him in October, 1680, imply a late autumn publication date. Purporting to answer both parts of *Citt and Bumpkin*, this pamphlet does not deal with any of the arguments raised in either work. The author abandons any attempt at parody, and instead borrows details of setting from the popular *Letter from Legorn* pamphlets which appeared that year. The characters pursue the absconded Trueman (*i.e.*, L'Estrange) aboard a Mahometan (*i.e.*, Papist) ship and lure him ashore in order to seek revenge for their recent humiliation at his hands. The dialogue contains four pages of unimaginative abuse of Trueman which culminates in his drubbing by Citt and Bumpkin. Largely scatological, this uninspired attack upon L'Estrange does not strike a single telling blow against *Citt and Bumpkin*.

In fact, *Citt and Bumpkin* enjoyed unqualified success despite the best efforts of its various detractors. And its popularity was well deserved. Appearing just when the unrest over petitioning was at its height, *Citt and Bumpkin* captured the interest and imagination of the public with its cogent argument and witty satire.

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## NOTES

[1] J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs* (London, 1961), p. 117; Roger North, *Examen, or an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Complete History* (London, 1740), p. 542.

[2] North, p. 542.

[3] Jones, pp. 119-20.

[4] Eugene R. Purpus, "The Dialogue in English Literature, 1660-1725," *ELH*, XVII (1950), II, 58.

[5] The information on the dialogue in this paragraph is taken from Purpus, pp. 48-49.

[6] Purpus, pp. 50-52.

[7] Purpus, p. 48; Hugh Macdonald, "Banter in English Controversial Prose after the Restoration," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XXXII (1946), 21-22.

[8] Macdonald, p. 23.

[9] One of L'Estrange's opponents nicknamed him the "Crack-fart of the Nation" and the epithet stuck to him for years.

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## Text

The text of *Citt and Bumpkin* here reprinted is the copy in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.

## CITT

AND

## BUMPKIN.

IN A

## DIALOGUE

OVER

## A Pot of Ale,

CONCERNING

## MATTERS

OF

## RELIGION

AND

## GOVERNMENT.

---

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in S. Pauls

Church-yard, 1680.

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### *Citt and Bumkin,*

### In a DIALOGUE, &c.

*Citt.* So that you would know, *First*, how we *manag'd* the *Petition*; and *Secondly*, how it came to *miscarry*.

*Bum.* *Those are the two Points*, *Citt*, *but first take off your Pot*, and then tell your Story; you shall have mine afterward.

*Citt.* There was no way, you must know, to carry the business clear, without getting a *Vote of Common-Council* for the *Petition*; and so making it an Act of the *City*: And in order to this End, we planted our *Committees* every where up and down, from *Algate* to *Temple-barr*, at convenient distances; some few of them in *Taverns* but most at *Coffee-houses*; as less liable to suspicion. Now we did not call these *Meetings*, *Committees*, but *Clubs*; and *there* we had all Freedom both for *Privacy* and *Debate*: while the *Borough of Southwark*, *Westminster*, and the *Suburbs*, proceeded according to our Method.

Committees to promote the Petitions.

*Bum.* *And what were these Committees now to do?*

*Citt.* Their *Commission* was to procure *Subscriptions*, to justify the Right of *Petitioning*, and to gain *Intelligence*: And then every *Committee* had one man at least in it that wrote *short-hand*.

Their Powers and Instructions.

Bum. *Well, and what was he to do?*

*Citt.* It was his part to go smoking up and down from One Company to another, to see who was *for* us, and who *against* us: and to take Notes of what people said of the *Plot*, or of the *Kings Witnesses*, or against [this](#) way of *Petitioning*.

Bum. *But how came those Committees (as ye call 'um) by their Commissions?*

*Citt.* For that, let me tell you, we had *two Grand Committees*, that adjourn'd from place to place, as they saw occasion: But they met most commonly at *Two Coffee-houses*; the *One* near *Guild-Hall*, the *Other* in the *Strand*; for you must take notice that we went on, hand in hand with our *Neighbours* in the *Main Design*.

Two Grand Committees.

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Bum. *But you do not tell me yet who set up the Other Committees.*

*Citt.* These two *Grand Committees*, I tell you, nominated and appointed the *Sub-Committees*, gave them their *Orders*, and received their *Reports*: It was their Office moreover to digest *Discoveries*, and *Informations*; to instruct *Articles*, improve *Accusations*, manage *Controversies*, defray the charge of *Intelligencers*, and *Gatherers of hands*, to dispose of *Collections*; to influence the *Anglicus's* and *Domesticks*, and fortify those that were weak in the Faith; to furnish matter sometimes for *Narratives*.—

The Office of the Grand Committees.

Bum. *What dost thou mean by Narratives, Citt?*

*Citt.* They are only *Strange Storys*; as that of the *Dragon* in *Essex*; *Earth-quakes*, *Sights in the Air*, *Prodigies*, and the like.

Bum. *One would think it should not be worth their while, to busy their heads about such Fooleries as these.*

*Citt.* Now this is thy simplicity *Bumpkin*, for there is not any thing that moves the hearts of the People so effectually toward *the Work of the Lord*, especially when the *Narrative* carries some *Historical Remarque* in the Tayl of it: As for the purpose, *this or that happen'd in such a Kings Reign, and soon after such and such troubles befell the Church and State*: such a *Civil War*, such or such a *Persecution*, or *Invasion* follow'd upon it. When the People perceive once that the Lord hath declared himself against the Nation, in these tokens of his

Stories of Prodigies startle the Common People.

Displeasure, the

Bum. *I don't know what ye call your Committees, but Our Gentry had their Meetings too; and there was a great Lord or two among 'um that shall be Nameless.*

*Citt.* We could shew you *othergates Lords* among *Us*, I'll assure you, then any you have; but let that passe.

Bum. *You told me that your Committees were to procure Subscriptions; we were hard put to't, I'm sure, in the Country to get Hands.*

*Citt.* And so were we in the City *Bumpkin*; and if it had not been to advance the *Protestant Interest*, I'de have been torn to pieces by wild Horses, before I'de have done what I did. But *extraordinary Cases* must have *extraordinary allowances*. There was hardly a *Register* about the Town that scap'd us for *Names: Bedlam, Bridewell*, all the *Parish-books*, nay the very *Goals*, and *Hospitalls*; we had our *Agents* at all *Publick Meetings, Court, Church, Change*, all the *Schools* up and down; *Masters* underwrit for their *Children*, and *Servants, Women* for their *Husbands* in the *West-Indies*, nay we prevail'd upon some *Parsons*, to engage for their whole *Congregations*; we took in *Jack Straw, Wat Tyler*, and the whole Legend of *Poor Robins Saints* into our List of *Petitioners*; and the *same Names* serv'd us in four or five *several places*. And where's the hurt of all this now? So long as the Cause it self is Righteous.

The way of getting hands in and about London.

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Bum. *Nay, the thing was well enough Citt, if we could but have gone through with it: And you shall see now that we were put to our shifts in the Country, as well as you in the City. I was employ'd you must know, to get Names at four shillings a Hundred, and I had all my Real Subscriptions written at such a distance, one from another, that I could easily clap in a Name or two betwixt 'um; and then I got as many School-boys as I could, to underwrite after the same manner, and after this, fill'd up all those spaces with Names that I either Remember'd, or Invented my self, or could get out of two or three Christning-books. There are a World (ye know) of Smiths, Browns, Clarks, Walkers, Woods, so that I furnish'd my Catalogue with a matter of Fifty a piece of these Sir-names, which I Christen'd my self. And besides, we had all the Non-conformist Ministers in the Country for us, and they brought in a power of hands.*

Several ways of getting Hands in the Country.

*Citt.* What do you talk of *your Non-conformists*? They do but work *Journey-work* to *Ours*. We have the *Heads* of all the *Protestant Dissenters* in the *Nation* here in this Town, why, we have more [Religions](#), *Bumpkin*, in *this City*, then you have *People* in your whole *Country*.

The Protestant Dissenters great Promoters of the Petition.

Bum. *Ay, and 'tis a great blessing too, that when Professors are at so mighty*

Variance among themselves, there should be so wonderfull an Agreement in the Common Cause.

Citt. And that's notably observ'd, *Bumkin*; for so we found it here. The *Presbyterian* got hands of *His Party*; the *Independent* of *His*; the *Baptist* of *His*; the *Fifth-Monarchy* man of *His*; and so throughout all our Divisions: and we had still the most zealous man in *His* way, to gather the *Subscriptions*: And when they had completed their *Roll*, they discharg'd themselves as Naturally into the *Grand Committee*, as *Rivers* into the *Sea*. And then we were sure of all the *Republicans*.

Bum. *But after all this Care and Industry, how was it possible for the business to Miscarry?*

Citt. Why I know 'tis laid in our dish, that when we had set the whole Kingdome agog upon *Petitioning*, our hearts would not serve us to go through stitch, and so we drew our own necks out of the Collar, and left the Countries in the Lurch.

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Bum. *Nay that's the Truth on't, Citt; We stood all gaping for London to lead the way.*

Citt. The great work that we look't upon was the gaining of a *well-affected Common-Council*; which we secur'd upon the *Election*, with all the skill, and watchfullness imaginable.

Bum. *And that was a huge point Citt; but how were ye able to compass it?*

Citt. Why we had no more to do, then to mark those that we knew were not for our turns, either as *Courtiers*, or *Loose-livers*, or *half-Protestants*, and their business was done.

Tricks to defeat Elections.

Bum. *We went the same way to work too in the Country, at all our Elections; for it is a Lawfull Policy, you know, to lessen the Reputation of an Enemy.*

Citt. Nay we went further still; and set a *Report* a foot upon the *Exchange*, and all the *Coffee-houses* and *Publique Houses* thereabouts, which held from *Change-time*, till the very *Rising* of the *Common-Councill*, when the *Petition* was *laid aside*; that past so currant, that no mortall doubted the Truth on't.

Bum. *But you ha' not told me what that Report was yet.*

Citt. It was this, *that the King had sent a Message to the City to let them understand that he took notice how much they stood affected to the Petition; that he expected they would proceed upon it; and that his Majesty was ready to give them a gracious Answer.*

Bum. *But was this fair dealing, Brother?*

Citt. Did not *Abraham* say of *Sarah*, *She's my Sister?*

Bum. *Well thou'rt a heavenly man, Citt! but come to the Miscarriage it self.*

Citt. After as Hopefull a *Choice* as ever was made, we procur'd a *Common-Councill*: where the *Petition* was put to the *Vote*, and it was carry'd in the *Commons* by *two Voyces*, for the presenting it, and by *Fourteen*, or *Fifteen Votes* in the *Court of Aldermen*, on the *Negative*.

The Petition laid aside in the Common-Council.

Bum. *So that your Damn'd Aldermen, and our Damn'd Justices, have ruin'd us both in City and Country.*

Citt. Hang'um, they are most of them *Church-Papists*; but we should have dealt well enough with *them*, if it had not been for that confounded *Act for Regulating Corporations*.

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Bum. *Prethee let me understand that, for I know nothing on't.*

Citt. Take notice then that this Devillish Statute has provided, that *no man shall serve as a Common-Councill man, but upon condition of taking three Oaths, and subscribing one Declaration, therein mention'd; and having taken the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, according to the Rites of the Church of England, within one year next before his Election*. Now it so fell out, that what with this *Act*, and a *Court-Letter* for putting it in *Execution*, a matter of *thirty* of our *Friends* were put *by*, as not duly qualify'd; And upon this Pinch we lost it. Nay let me tell ye as a friend, there were at least *twenty* or *thirty* of the rest too, that would hardly have past Muster.

The Act for Corporations brake the neck on't.

Bum. *But is this certain?*

Citt. Why I am now in my Element, *Bumkin*; for thou know'st my Education has been toward the Law.

Bum. *This was a Plaguy jobb, Citt, but we must look better to our Hitts next bout.*

Citt. Nay my life for thine we'll have another touch for't yet. But tell me in short; how came you off with your *Petition* in the *Country*?

Bum. *It went on for a good while prettily well at the Quarter-Sessions; till at last one Cross-grain'd Curr there upon the Bench claw'd us all away to the Devill, and got an Order of Court against it, while you would say what's this.*

Citt. But what did he say?

Bum. *Oh there was a great deal of stuff on't; the King, and the Judges (he said) had declared it to be Seditious, and so they were to take it. That they sat there to keep the Kings Peace, not to countenance the Breaking of it; and then (says he) these fellows don't know what they would have. One Petitions for Chalk, and Another for Cheese; the Petition was at first for the meeting of the Parliament; and then they came to Twit the King with his Coronation-Oath, and then, Delinquents must be brought to Punishment; and then the Parliament was to Sit as long as they pleas'd, and at last, every man must be mark'd for a Common Enemy that would not Subscribe it. So that first they would have the Parliament Sit; and then they'd cut 'um out their work; and in fine, it was little other then a Petition against those that would not Petition. He said there were Ill practices in the getting of hands, and so they threw out the Petition, and order'd an Enquiry into the Abuses.*

The Petition baffled in the Country.

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Citt. Well, there's no remedy but Patience.

Bum. *I had need of Patience I'm sure, for they're Examining the Hands allready, as hard as they can drive; You'l see me in the Gazette next Thursday, as sure as a Gun.*

Citt. Why then we must play the *Domestique* against him, next Fryday.

Bum. *Nay, I'm sure to be trounc'd for't to some tune, if I be taken.*

Citt. Pre'thee what art affraid of? There's no *Treason* in getting hands to a *Petition* man.

Bum. *No, that's true; but I have put in such a Lurry of Dog-Rogues; they cry they're defam'd, with a Pox, they'le have their remedy; and they make such a Bawling.*

Citt. Come, come, set thy heart at rest: and know that in this City th'art in the very Sanctuary of the *Well-affected*. But 'tis good however to prepare for the *worst*, and the *best* (as they say) *will help its self*. But art thou really afraid of being *taken*?

Bum. *And so would you be too, if you were in my condition, without a penny, or a friend in the world to help ye.*

Citt. Thou art two great Owls, *Bumkin*, in a very few words. *First*, thou hast *great friends* and do'st not *know on't*, and *Secondly* thou do'st not understand the *Blessing*, of having neither *Friends*, nor *Money*. In one word, I'll see thee provided for; and in the mean time, give me thy answer to a few questions.

The blessing of having neither friends nor Mony.

I make no doubt but they that put thee into this *Trust*, and *Employment* of helping on the *Petition*, are men of *Estate*, and men *well-inclin'd* to the *Publique Cause*.

Bum. *O, their Landlords and Masters are men of huge Estates; but 'tis the Tenants, and the Stewards that I have to do withall. But then (do you mark me) those people are all in all with their Masters.*

Methods of Popularity.

Citt. I suppose you may be known to the *Landlords* and *Masters themselves* too. Do they ever take any notice of you?

Bum. *Yes, yes; I go often to their Houses man, and they speak mighty kindly to me; and there's nothing but Honest Obadiah, and Good Obadiah at every turn; and then the Men take me into the Kitchin, or into the Cellar, or so. And let me tell you Citt, if it had not been for them once, I had been plaguily paid off in the Spirituall Court upon a certain Occasion.*

Citt. That's a very good sign of *Affection* to the *Cause*, as I told thee: and it would be never the worse if they were under a *Cloud at Court*; for an *Honest Revenge*, ye know *goes a great way with a tender Conscience*.

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Bum. *I have hear'd some Inkling that way, but we'le scatter no words.*

Citt. They never speak any thing to you in private, do they? As of *Grievances*, (I mean) *Religion*, the *Liberty of the Subject*, and such like?

Bum. *No, no, but they talk as other people do, of the Plot, and the Jesuits, and Popery, and the French King, and so.*

Citt. And what is the reason now, do ye think, that you are not receiv'd into their *Bed-Chambers*, their *Closets*, into their *Arms*, and into their very *Hearts*, as well as some other people as we know?

Bum. *Alas! what should they do with me? I'm not a man fit to keep them Company.*

Citt. Why then *Honest Bumpkin*, here's a *Golden Sentence* for thee; *Be Taken, Sifted, Imprison'd, Pillory'd*, and stand true to thy *Principles*, and th'art company for the best *Lord in Christendom*. They'l never dare to trust thee till th' art *Jayl* and *Pillory-proof*; and the bringing of thee into a *Jayl* would be a greater kindness, then the fetching of *Another man Out*.

A Golden Sentence.

Bum. *Prethee Cit, tell me one thing by the way, hast thou ever made Tryal of this Experiment thy self?*

Citt. To tell thee as a friend, I have try'd it, and I'm the best part of a thousand pound the better for't. 'Tis certainly the high way to preferment.

A Jayl is the Highway to

Bum. *And yet for all this, Citty, I have no minde in the World to be taken.*

Preferment.

*Citt.* And that's because th' art an arrant buzzard; the Lord deliver me from a fellow that has neither *Mony*, nor *Friends*, and yet's afraid of being *Taken*. Why 'tis the very making of many a mans Fortune to be *Taken*. How many men are there that give mony to be *Taken*, and make a *Trade* on't; *Nay* happy is the man that can but get any body to *Take* him. Why I tell ye, there are people that will *quarrel* for't, and make *Friends* to be *Taken*. 'Tis a common thing in *Paris*, for a man in *One six Months*, to start out of a *Friendless*, and *Monyless* condition, into an Equipage of *Lacquays* and *Coaches*; and all this by nicking the blessed Opportunities of being *discreetly Taken*.

Bum. *I have heard indeed of a man that set fire to one Old House, and got as much Mony by a Brief for't, as built him two New ones.* [Pg 8]

*Citt.* Have not I my self heard it cast in a fellows Teeth, *I was the making of you, Sirrah, though y' are so high now a body must not speak to you: You had never been Taken and clapt up, Sirrah, but for me.*

Bum. *Father! what Simpletons we Country-folks are to you Citizens!*

*Citt.* Now put the case *Bumpkin*, that you were *Taken, Examin'd* and *Committed*, provided you *stand to your Tackle*, y'are a Made man already; but if you *shrink in the wetting*, y'are lost.

Bum. *Pray'e what do you mean by standing to my Tackle?*

*Citt.* You must be sure to keep your self upon a Guard, when y'are before the *Justice*; and not to be either *wheedled*, or *frighten'd* into any *Discovery*; for they'le be trying a thousand Tricks with you.

Bum. *But may I deny any thing that's charg'd upon me, point-blank, if I be guilty of it?*

*Citt.* Yes, in the case of *self-preservation*, you may; but you must be sure then that no body can *disprove* you; for if it be *known*, 'tis a *Scandall*, and no longer *Lawfull*: Your best way will be not to answer any Questions against your self.

A Salvo for a Lye.

Bum. *But now you have brought me into a Goal, you would do well to tell me how I shall get out again.*

*Citt.* Why before you turn your self thrice in your *Kennell*, (if *Baylable*) Y'are out again, upon a *Habeas Corpus*: But in the mean time, the Town rings of your *Commitment*, the *Cause* of it, and how bravely you carry'd it upon your *Examination*; all which shall be Reported to your Advantage; and by this time, y'are Celebrated for the *Peoples Martyr*. And now come in the *Bottles*, the *Cold-Pies*, and the *Gynnies*: But you must lay your finger upon your Mouth, and keep all as close as if the *Fayries* had brought it.

The Benefits of a Prison.

Bum. *Pre'thee, Citty, wert thou ever bound Prentice to a Statesman?*

*Citt.* No, not altogether so neither; but I serv'd a Convenient time in two of his Majesties Houses; and there I learnt *My Politiques*; that is to say, in *Newgate*, and the *Gate-house*; *Two schools* (says one) *that send more wise men into the World, then the four Inns of Court*. Now let your suffering be what it will, the *Merit* of it will be rated according to the *Difficulty* and *hazzard* of the *Encounter*: For there's a great difference betwixt the Venture of a *Pillory*, and of a *Gibbet*. But in what case soever; if you stand fast, and keep your Tongue in your head, you shall want neither *Mony*, nor *Law*; nor *Countenance*, nor *Friends* in the *Court*, nor *Friends* in the *Jury*.

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Bum. *Hold, hold, Citty; what if all my great Friends should deceive me at last?*

*Citt.* They'le never dare to do that, for fear you should deceive *them*. I have found the Experiment of it my self, and every *Term* yields us fresh Instances of *people that make their Fortunes in a trice, by a generous contempt of Principalities, and Powers*.

Bum. *Thou'rt a brave fellow Citty; but pre'thee what may thy Employment be at present, if a body may ask thee?*

*Citt.* I am at this present, *Bumpkin, under the Rose, a Secretary-Extraordinary* to one of the *Grand Committees* I told thee of; and my business is to draw up *Impeachments, Informations, Articles*; to lick over now and then a *Narrative*; and to deal with the *Mercuries* to publish nothing against the Interest of that Party: and *in fine*, there's hardly any thing stirs, but I have a finger in't. Mine is a business I can tell you, that brings in *Money*.

The Secretary to a Grand Committee.

Bum. *I make no doubt on't Citty: But could ye put me in a way to get a little money too?*

*Citt.* We'l talk of that presently. You may think perhaps now the *City-Petition's* blown off, that our *Committee* will have nothing to do. But, I do assure you, businesse comes in so fast, upon us, that I shall never be able to go through it without an *Assistant*; and if I find you fit for't, you shall be the man.—*Nay* hold, let Me speak, First; do you continue the use of your *Short-hand*?

Bum. *Yes, I do; and I have mended my Bastard-Secretary very much since you saw it.*

*Citt.* Will you be *Just, Diligent, and Secret*?

Bum. *I'll give you what security you'll ask, for my Truth and Diligence; and for my Secrecy, I could almost forget to speak.*

Citt. That Figure pleases me; but I must shrift you further. How stands your appetite to *Wine and Women*?

Bum. *Why truly at the rate of other flesh and blood.*

Citt. 'Tis not to barr ye neither; but what Liberties ye take, let them be *Private*; and either to advance the *Common-cause*, or at *spare hours*.

Bum. *You cannot ask or wish more then I'll do.*

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Citt. Only a word or two more, and then I'll let you into my affairs. What course did you propound to your self, in case your *Petition* had succeeded? I ask this, because you seem so much troubl'd at the Disappointment.

Bum. *Why if this Petition had gone on, and the Parliament had met, I was promis'd four or five Petitions more; One against Danby, and the Lords in the Tower, another for the Sitting of this Parliament, till they had gone through all they had to do; a Third, for taking away the Bishops Votes, a Fourth for the Remove of Evill Counsellours; and a Fifth for putting the Militia into Safe hands.*

Other Petitions upon the Anvill.

Citt. These points you must know, have been a long time upon the Anvill; and our Friends have Instructions all over the Kingdom, to proceed upon them to shew the Miraculous *Union* of the Nation. But do you think because the *First Petition* has receiv'd a *checque*, and the *Parliament* is *Prorogu'd*, that therefore *the other Petitions must fall to the ground*?

Bum. *I cannot well see how it should be otherwise.*

Citt. Why then let me tell you, *Bumpkin*, We'll bring the whole business about again, and carry it on, in spite of Fate: for we have better *heads* at work perhaps then you are aware of.

Bum. *Ay, but what Hands have we Citt? for it will come to that at last.*

Citt. Those *Heads* will find *Hands*, never trouble your self, if there should be occasion; but 'tis too early-days for that sport yet. 'Twas an unlucky thing however to be so surpriz'd; For our Friends did no more dream of the *Sacrament*, then of their *Dying day*.

Bum. *Well there's no recalling of what's past: But the Question is how we shall avoid it for the time to come.*

Citt. Nay *Bumpkin*, there's a Trick worth two of *avoiding* it, we'll *Take* it next bout, and then we're safe; we'll carry it; I'll undertake by *fifty Voices*.

Bum. *But cannot the Aldermen hinder you from putting it to the Vote?*

Citt. 'Tis the custom of the City I confess, for the *Lord Mayor* to *Summon* and *dissolve Common-Councils*, and to put all points to the *Question*; but we'll finde a cure for that too. 'Tis a thing we've been a good while about already; the bringing down the *Authority* of the *City* into the *Major part* of the *Commons*.

A Designe upon the Common-Council.

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Bum. *Now if the Mayor and Aldermen should be aware of this, they'll never endure it; but we must leave that to time. But hark ye Citt. I thought our Friends refusing of the Sacrament had been matter of Conscience.*

Citt. Why so it is man, but take notice then, that you are to distinguish of *Consciences*: There is, *First*, a *plain, simple Conscience*, and that's a Conscience that will serve well enough to keep a man *Right*, if he meet with nothing else to put him *out of the way*. And then there's a *Conscience of State*, or *Profit*; and *that Conscience* yields, as a *Less Weight* does to a *Greater*; an *Ounce* turns the *Scale*, but a *Pound* carries the *Ounce*, and no body blames the *Weaker* for being over-power'd by the *stronger*. There is a *Conscience of Profession* too; which is a *Conscience* that does not so much regard the *Reason* of the *thing*, as the being *True* to a *Party*, when a man has past his *Word*: and this is the *Conscience* of a man of *Honour*, that fights for his *Whore*. There is likewise a *Conscience of Religion*, and that's a *quiet peaceable Conscience*, that rests in the Affections of the *Heart*, in submission to *Lawfull Institutions*; and in serving *God*, and doing Good to our *Nighbour*, without *Noise* or *Ostentation*.

Distinctions of Consciences.

Bum. *Well, but I see a great many very Consciencious men that love to Pray and Sing Psalms next the Street, that their Neighbours may hear 'um; and go up and down shaking of their Heads, and wringing of their Hands, crying out of the Calves of Bethel, and the High places, Popery, Prelacy, and the Common-Prayer, in such a manner, that 'twould grieve a bodies heart to see 'um.*

Consciences of State or Interest.

Citt. These are *Consciencious men Bumpkin*, and this is the *Conscience of State* or *Profit*, that I told ye of.

Bum. *Ay, but I have seen some men in Fits of the Spirit, Jump, and fling about a Pulpit so desperately, that they set the children a crying to have 'um let out. One while they'd raise themselves upon their Tip-toes, and Roar out upon a suddain, you'd have thought they had been pinch'd with Hot Irons; and then all in an Instant, they'd Dop down again, that ye could hardly*

see 'um; And so fall into a faint, lamenting Voice, like the Grone of a poor woman three quarters spent in Labour. Nay there was One of 'um that gap'd, and held his mouth open so long, that People cry'd out, The man has a Bone in his Throat. Those must needs be very Consciencious Men, Citt.

Citt. They are so *Bumpkin*, but 'tis the *same Conscience* still; for it works all manner of ways. We took up this Mode I suppose, from the *Transports*, and *Grimaces* of the *Pagan Priests*, in the Ceremony of their *Sacrifices*, which had a very effectual operation upon the People.

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Bum. Nay Citt, *these Men have a Holy way of Language too, as well as of Behaviour, for all their Talk is of Heaven, and Heavenly things, the Saints and the New Jerusalem; they deal mightily, in Expositions upon the Viols, and the Little Horn: and then they are bitterly severe against Wicked Magistrates, and those that Lord it over Gods Heritage. They are in fine a very Consciencious sort of People.*

Citt. Oh beyond question so they are: But this is still a Branch of the *same Conscience*. I have known indeed some people so Transported with this same *Talkative Holiness*, that it has been a kind of *Spiritual Salivation* to 'um, they continue *spitting* when they have not one drop of *Moisture* left 'um in their *Bodies*.

Bum. Prethee Citt, *tell me in Honest English, where shall a body finde the simple, and the Religious Consciencences thou told'st me of?*

Citt. Why every man living has the *Former* of 'um, but takes no notice on't: But for the *Latter* sort, 'tis very scarce; and you shall find more of it perhaps in *one Jayle*, or in *one Hospital*, then in all the *Courts of Christendom*. It is commonly *the Blessing of men in years, in sicknesse, or in adversity.*

Not many Religious Consciencences.

Bum. Ah Citt, *that I were but as capable of Learning as thou art of Teaching! Pre'thee explain thy self a little upon the Conscience of Profession too.*

Citt. Observe me what I say then, *Bumpkin*; There is a *Profession, Particular, and General: Particular*, as when *One Cavalier* serves another in a *Duell*, he's oblig'd to't by the *Profession* of a *Sword-man*, without Formalizing upon the *Cause*. There's a *Conscience of Profession* even among the *Banditi* themselves. What is it but the *Profession of Presbytery*, that makes the whole Party oppose *Episcopacy*; as the *Independents* do *Presbytery*, the *Republicans*, *Monarchy*, and the like.

A Conscience of Profession.

Bum. Now I thought that there might have been *Conscience of State, as well as of Profession in These Cases.*

Citt. Thou sayst very well, *Bumpkin*, and so there is, and of *Profit* too; and it was much the same Case too, throughout the Circle of our Late Revolutions, when we *Swore* and *Vow'd* from the *Oaths of Allegiance*, and *Canonical Obedience*, to the *Protestation*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the *Engagement*, the *Negative Oath*, the *Oath of Abjuration*, and so till we swore round, into the *Oath of Allegiance* again.

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Bum. What do you mean now by your **Generall Profession**?

Citt. I mean the *Subordination* of a *Partiall* to a *Generall*, of a *Private Profession* to a *Publick*; as thou seest in the Late Times, *Bumpkin*, how strictly the *Divided Reformers* kept themselves to This Rule, so long as the *Common Enemy* was upon his Legs.

Bum. But who do you mean by the **Common Enemy**?

Citt. I mean, the *Court*, and the *Church-Party*. So long (I say) all our Brethren of the Separation joyn'd as one man, against that *Inordinate Power*; and herein we were *Conscienciously True* to our *General Profession*; but so soon as ever we had subdu'd that *Popish* and *Tyrannical Interest*, through the *Conscience* of our *General Profession*, we then consulted our *Particular*; and every man did Conscienciously labour for the Establishment of *his own* way. But now we come to the great Nicety of all; that is to say, the *Conscience* of making a *Conscience* of using *any Conscience at all*: There's a Riddle for ye, *Bumpkin*.

Bum. I must confess I do not understand one Bitt on't.

Citt. That's for want of a Discerning Spirit *Bumpkin*. What does *Conscience* signifie to the *Saints*, that are deliver'd from the Fetters of *Moral Obligations*, by so many *Extraordinary* and *Over-riding Priviledges*, which are granted in a peculiar manner to the *People of the Lord*? What's he the *better*, or the *worse*, for *keeping* or for *breaking* the *Ten Commandments*, that lies under the *Predestinarian Fate* of an *Unchangeable Necessity* and *Decree*? What needs he care for any *other Guide*, that carries within himself an *Infallible Light*? Or He for *any Rule at all* that cannot *sin*? For the *same thing* may be *sin* in *another man*, which in *Him* is *None*.

A Conscience of using no Conscience at all.

Bum. Really this is admirable: So that we that are the **Elect** are bound up by no **Laws** at all, either of **God** or of **Man**.

Citt. Why look you now for that; we *Are*, and we are *Not*. If it so happens that the *Inward* and *Invisible Spirit* move us to do *the same thing*, which the *Outward*, and *Visible Law* requires of us; in *That Case* we are *Bound*; but so, as to the *Spirit*, not to the *Law*: and therefore we are bid to *stand fast in our Christian Liberty*.

Bum. *That's extremely well said, for if **We Christians** should be Shackled with **Human Laws**, which can only reach the **Outward Man**, then are **the Heritage of the Lord**, in no better Condition then the **Wicked**, and the **Heathen**.*

Of Christian Liberty.

*Citt. Oh! th'art infinitely in the Right: for if it were not for this **Christian Liberty**, we could never have **Justify'd** our Selves in our **Late Transactions**: the **Designe of Overturning the Government** had been **Treason**; taking up **Arms** against the **King**, **Rebellion**; **Dividing from the Communion of the Church** had been **Schism**; appropriating the **Church Plate**, and **Revenues to Private Uses**, had been **Sacrilege**; Entering upon **Sequester'd Livings** had been **Oppression**: taking away mens **Estates** had been **Robbery**; **Imprisoning** of their **Persons** had been **Tyranny**; using the name of **God** to all This, would have been **Hypocrisy**, forcing of **Contradictory Oaths** had been **Impiety**, and **Shedding the Blood** both of the **King**, and his **People**, had been **Murther**: And all This would have appear'd so to be, if the **Cause** had come to be **Try'd** by the **Known Laws** either of **God**, or of **Man**.*

The Extent of it.

Bum. *Make us thankfull now! What a blessed State are we in, that **Walk up to our Calling**, in **Simplicity** and **Truth**, whose **Yea is Yea**, and whose **Nay is Nay**. 'Tis a strange way thou hast, **Citt**, of making things out to a man. Thou wert saying but now, that the **same thing** may be a **Sin in One Man**, and **not in Another**. I'm thinking now of the **Jesuites**.*

*Citt. Oh That's a **Jugling**, **Equivocating**, **Hellish** sort of **People**; 'tis a thousand pitties that they're suffer'd to live upon the Earth; They value an **Oath** no more then they do a **Rush**. Those are the **Heads of the Plot** now upon the Life of the **King**, the **Protestant Religion**, and the **Subversion of the Government**.*

Bum. *Ay, Ay, **Citt**, they're a **damn'd Generation of Hell-hounds**. But, as I was thinking just now; we have so many things among **Us**, like some things among **Them**, that I have been run down some times almost, as if **We our selves** were **Jesuites**; though I know there's as much difference, as betwixt **Light**, and **Darknesse**: and for my part, **I defie them as I do the Devill**.*

Jesuites and Phanatiques compar'd.

*But **Citt** thou hast so wonderfull a way of making matters plain, I'de give any thing in the world thou'dst but teach me what to say in some Cases, when I'm put to't. One told me t'other day, **You are rather worse then the Jesuites**; (says he) **for when They break an Oath, they have some mental Reservation or other for a Come-off**: But You Swallow your **Perjures**, just as **Cormorants** do **Eeles**; an **Oath's** no sooner **In at One End**, then **Out at t'other**.*

A vast Difference betwixt them.

*Citt. Let your Answer be This, **Bumpkin**, That the **Lawmaker** is **Master of his own Laws**; and that the **Spirits dictating** of a **New Law**, is the **Superseding** of an **Old one**.*

Bum. *These are hard words, **Citt**; but he told me further, don't You Justifie **King-Killing** (says he) as well as the **Jesuits**? Only **They** do't with **Pistol**, **Dagger**, and **Poyson**; and **You** come with Your **Horse**, **Foot**, and **Cannon**: **They** proceed by **Excommunicating**, and **Deposing**; by **dissolving** the **Character**, **first**, and **then destroying** the **Person**; and just so did **You**. **First**, ye **Depos'd** the **King**, and **Then** ye **Beheaded Charles Stuart**. And then you need never go to **Rome** for a **Pardon**, when every man among you is **his own Pope**.*

Their Practices compar'd.

*Citt. Now your Answer must be This; That we had, **First**, the **Warrant**, for what we did, of an **Extraordinary Dispensation**. (as appear'd in the providence of our Successes) **Secondly**, we had the **Laws of Necessity**, and **Self-preservation** to Support us. And **Thirdly**, the **Government** being **Coordinate**, and the **King** only **One** of the **Three Estates**; any **Two** of the **Three** might deal with the **Third** as **They** thought **Fit**: Beside the **Ultimate Sovereignty** of the **People**, over and above. And now take notice, that **the same Argument** holds in the **Subversion of the Government**.*

The Fanaticks Clear'd.

Bum. *Now you have Arm'd me Thus far, pray'e help me on, one step farther; for I was hard put to't not long Since, about the businesse of the Protestant Religion. What is That, I pray'e, that ye call the Protestant Religion?*

*Citt. You are to understand, that by the **Protestant Religion** is meant the **Religion** of the **Dissenters** in **England**, from the **Church of England**; As the **First Protestants** in **Germany** 1529. (from whom we denominate our Selves) were **Dissenters** from the **Church of Rome**: And So **Call'd** from the famous **Protestation** they enter'd against the **Decree** of the **Assembly at Spires**, against **Anabaptists**.*

Of Dissenting Protestants.

Bum. *So that I perceive We Set up the Protestant Religion; we did not Destroy it: But they prest it Then, that the **Church of England** was a Protestant Church, and that the **Jesuites** had only Design'd the Destruction of it, where as We did Actually Execute it.*

*Citt. Your Answer must be, that the **Church of England**, though it be a little **Protestantish**, it is not yet directly **Protestant**: As on the Other side, it is not altogether the **Whore of Babilon**, though a good deal **Whorish**; and therefore the Reply to That must be, that we did not **Destroy**, but only **Reform** it.*

Bum. *Why I have answer'd People out of my Own Mother-Wit, that we did but Reform it. And they*

told me again, the Cutting of it off Root and Branch, was a very Extraordinary way of Reforming.

Citt. The Answer to That is Obvious, that the *Cutting Off Root and Branch*, is only a *Throw*, or a *Higher degree of Reforming*. But upon the whole matter, it was with *Us* and the *Jesuites*, as it was with *Aaron* and the *Magicians*; we did *Both* of us, make *Froggs*, but *We alone* had the Power to quicken the *Dust of the Land*, and turn it into *Lice*.

The meaning of Root and Branch.

Thou art by this time, I presume, sufficiently instructed in the *Methods*, and *Fundamentals* of the *Holy Cause*. I shall now give you some necessary Hints, to fit, and qualify you for the Province that I intend you. But besure you mind your *Lesson*.

Bum. As I would do my Prayers, Citt, or I were Ungratefull, for you have made me for ever.

Citt. Come we'l take t'other Sup, first, and then to work. Who wayts there without? Two Potts more, and shut the door after Ye.

A great part of Your businesse, *Bumpkin*, will ly among *Parliament-Rolls* and *Records*; for it must be *Our Post* to furnish *Materialls* to a *Caball* only of *Three Persons*, that may be ready upon Occasion, to be made use of by the *Grand Committee*.

Bum. My *Old Master* would say that I had as good a guesse at a *Musty Record*, as any man; And 'twas my whole *Employment* almost, to hunt for *Presidents*. Nay the *People* would Trust me with Great *Bags* home to my *Lodging*; and leave me alone sometimes in the *Offices* for four and twenty hours together.

Rolls and Records hunted for Presidents.

Citt. But what kind of *Presidents* were they that Ye lookt for?

Bum. Concerning the *Kings Prerogative*, *Bishops Votes*, the *Liberty and Property of the Subject*; and the like: And such as They wanted, I writ out.

Citt. But did you Recite them *Whole*? or what did you *Take*, and what did you *Leave*?

Bum. We took what serv'd our *Turn*, and left out the *Rest*; and sometimes we were taken *Tripping*, and sometimes we *Scap'd*: But we never falsify'd any thing. There were some dogged *Passages*, indeed we durst not meddle with at all; but I can turn ye to any thing you have occasion for, with a *wet-finger*. [Pg 17]

Citt. So that here's One great point quickly over; in thy being *Train'd* to my hand: A man might lay thee down *Instructions*, now, for thy very *Words*, *Looks*, *Motions*, *Gestures*; nay thy very *Garments*; but we'l leave those matters to *Time*, and *Study*. It is a strange thing how *Nature* puts her self forth, in these *Externall Circumstances*. Ye shall Know a *Sanctifi'd Sister*, or a *Gifted Brother* more by the *Meene*, *Countenance*, and *Tone*, then by the *Tenour* of their *Lives*, and *Manners*. It is a Comely thing for *Persons* of the Same *Perswasion*, to agree in these *Outward Circumstances*, even to the *drawing* of the *same Tone*, and *making* of the *same Face*: Always provided, that there may be read in our *Appearances*, a *Singularity of Zeal*, a *Contempt of the World*, a *fore-boding of Evills to come*; a *dissatisfaction at the Present Times*; and a *Despair of Better*.

Lessons of behaviour for the Well-affected.

Bum. Why This is the very *Part*, that I was *Made for*; these *Humours* are to be put **On**, and **Off**, as a man would shift his **Gloves**; and you shall see me do't as *Easily* too; but the **Language** must be got, I Phansy, by *Conversing with Modern Authours*, and frequenting **Religious Exercises**.

Citt. Yes, yes, and for a help to your memory I would advise you to dispose of your *Observations* into these *Three Heads*, *Words*, *Phrases*, and *Metaphors*: Do you conceive me?

Bum. There's not a word you say, falls to the *Ground*. And I am the more sensible of the force of **Words**, **Looks**, **Tones**, and **Metaphors** (as ye call 'um) from what I finde in my self. **Ours** certainly may be well term'd a **Powerfull Ministry**, that makes a man cry like a *Child* at the very **Noyse** of a *Torrent* of **Words** that he does not **Understand One Syllable** of. Nay, when I have been out of reach of hearing the **Words**, the very **Tone** and **Look**, has **Melted** me.

The Force of Looks and Tones.

Citt. Thou canst not but have heard of *That Moving Metaphor* of the late Reverend *Mr. Fowler*: Lord Sowse us; (says he) Lord Dowse us, in the *Powdering-Tubb* of *Affliction*; that we may come forth *Tripes* worthy of thy *Holy Table*. Who can resist the *Inundation* of This *Rhetorique*? But let us now pass from the *Generall Ornaments* of our *Profession*, to the *Particular businesse* of our *present Case*.

A Moving Metaphor.

I need not tell you, *Bumpkin*, of the *Plott*, or that we are all running into *Popery*; and that the best *Service Englishman* can do his *Country*, would be the ripping up of This *Designe* to the *Bottom*. [Pg 18]

Bum. I am so much of Your *Opinion*, that you have *Spoken* my very *Thoughts*.

Citt. Bethink your self, *Bumpkin*; what *Papists* do you know?

Bum. Oh, hang 'um all, I never come near any of 'Um.

Citt. But yet you may have *Heard*, perhaps, of some people that are *Popishly affected*.

Bum. *Yes, yes; There are abundance of Them.*

Citt. Can you prove that ever they *Sayd*, or *Did* any thing, in favour of the *Papists*?

Bum. *Nay there's enough of That I believe; but then there are such Huge Great men among 'um.*

Citt. Pluck up a good heart *Bumpkin*; the *Greater*, the *Better*; We fear 'um not. Rub up your Memory, and call to minde what you can say upon *Your own Knowledge*, and what you have *Heard*; either about *Sir Edmond-Bury Godfrey*, *The Plott*; *The Traytors* that Suffer'd, or the *Kings Evidence*.

Bum. *I have seen people shrug sometimes, and lift up their Hands and Eyes, and shake their Heads, and then they would clutch their Fists, look sour, make Mouths, and bite their Nails, and so: And I dare swear I know what they thought.*

Citt. Ah *Bumpkin*, if they had but so much as mutter'd, they'd been our own.

Bum. *Well but hark ye Citt, I hear People swear, or in WORDS to this Effect; why may not a Man as well swear, in SIGNS to this Effect? and that they lifted up their Eyes, and hands, bent their Fists, knit their Brows, and made Mouths, to this or that Effect?*

Signs in Evidence.

Citt. No, that will never do *Bumpkin*, but if thou could'st but phansy that thou heard'st them *speak*.

Bum. *Why truly I never thought on't, but I saw a Parson once, the Tears flood in his Eyes, as one of 'um went by to Execution. But your Surcingle-men, (as our Doctor told us last Lords day) are all of 'um Papists in their Hearts.*

Citt. Why what's the *Common-Prayer Book Bumpkin*, but a mess of *Parboyl'd Popery*?

Bum. *I'm a dog, if our Minister does not pray for the Queen still.*

Citt. Nay, we are e'en at a fine pass, when the *Pulpit* prays for the *Queen*, and the *Bench* Drinks the *Duke of Yorks Health*. But to the point, bethink your self well; a man may forget a thing to day, and recollect it to morrow. Take notice however, that it is another main point of your Instructions to procure *Informations* of this quality.

Sad Times.

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Bum. *I'll fit you to a hair for that matter: But then I must be running up and down ye know, into Taverns, and Coffee-houses, and thrusting myself into Meetings, and Clubs. That licks mony.*

Citt. Never trouble your self for that, you shall be well paid and your expences born: Beside so much a head from the State, for every Priest that you discover.

Bum. *Well! these Priests and Jesuites are damn'd fellows.*

Citt. And yet let me tell you *Bumpkin*, a *bare fac'd Papist* is not half so bad as a *Papist* in *Masquerade*.

Bum. *Why what are those I prethee?*

Citt. They are your *Will-worship-men*, your *Prelates Brats*: Take the whole Litter of 'um, and you'll finde *never a barrel better Herring*. Let me tell thee in Love *Bumpkin*, *these Curs* are forty times worse to *Us* then the *Jesuits themselves*; for the *One* is an *Open Enemy*, the *Other* lies gnawing like a Canker in our *Bowells*. And then being train'd up to *Latin* and *Greek*, there's no opposing of the *Power of Godliness* to the *Sophistry of Human Reason*: Beside that, the *Law* is *For* us in the *One Case*, and *Against* us in the *Other*.

Church worse to Dissenters then Jesuites.

Bum. *Which way shall we go to work then, to deal with this Generation of Men?*

Citt. We must joyn the *Wisdom* of the *Serpent*, to the *Innocence* of the *Dove*; and endeavour to compass that by *stratagem*, which we cannot gain by *Argument*. But now am I going to open a *Mystery* to thee, that's *worth*—

Bum. *Prethee the Worth on't* Citt: *For talk is but talk, the Worth is the Main point.*

Citt. Why then let me tell thee *Bumpkin*, the *Mystery* that I am about to disclose to thee, was *worth* to our Predecessours not long since, no less then *Three Kingdoms*, and a *better penny*. But I'll seal your Lips up, before I stir one step further.

Bum. *Why look ye Citt*, may this Drink never go thorough me, if ever blab one Syllable of any thing thou tell'st me as a Secret.

Citt. Hold, hold, *Bumkin*, and *may it never come up again if thou do'st*; for we'll have no shifting.

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Bum. And may it never come up again neither if I do.

Citt. Well, I'm satisfy'd, and now give attention; thou seest how unanimously fierce all the several Parties of the *Protestant Dissenters* are against the *Papists*. Whence comes this *Conjunction*, I prethee, of so many *separate Congregations*, that are many of them worse then *Papists*, *One to Another*?

The strange agreement of Dissenters.

There must be in it, either *Conscience*, or *Interest*: If it were *Conscience*, we should fall foul *One* upon *Another*; and for matter of *Interest*; when the *Papists* are *destroy'd*, we are but still where we were.

Bum. *This is a crotchet, Citty, that did not fall under my Night-Cap.*

*Citt.* Be enlighten'd then. It is not the Destruction of those that are *Really Papists*, that will do our Work; for there's nothing to be got by't. But it must be our business to make *those people* pass for *Papists*, that are *not* so, but only have *Places* to Lose: such as we our selves, by the removal of them, may be the better for; and *This, Bumpkin* must be *our Master-piece*.

The scope of that Agreement.

Bum. *I had this very phansy my self, Citty; but it stuck betwixt my Teeth, and would not out.*

*Citt.* You hear now in General, what is to be done; You must be next instructed in the Acts of *Raising, Cherishing, and Fomenting* such *Opinions*; in what Cases to *Improve* them, and where to *apply* them.

Bum. *I'm perswaded my Masters Brother had this very thing in his Head, though he never made any words on't to me, He had got a List of all the considerable Offices and Employments in the Kingdom: And I remember he was us'd to say, that most of the respective Officers were either Corrupt, or Popishly affected. If they were Publick Ministers; either the Kings Councillors were betray'd, or they put him upon Governing in an Arbitrary way, and without Parliaments: As for the Judges there was either Bribery, Absolute Power, or Oppression laid to their Charge; and so all the rest were branded for Frauds, Imbezilments, and the like, according to the Quality of their businesse: All the Governours of Towns, Castles, and Forts, were Popishly Inclind; and not to be Trusted. And then all Ecclesiasticall Officers, whatsoever, within four or five, were half way at Rome already.*

Who are Popishly affected in the first place.

*Citt.* This is well remembred, *Bumpkin*; Now 'tis worth a bodies while to make *these Blades* passe for *Papists*, and *Traitors*, that leave *Good Offices* behinde 'um. Nay, we must not suffer so much as any man, either of *Brains*, or *Fortune* (that does not joyn with *Us*) to passe untainted.

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Bum. *Thou say'st Right, Citty; for whosoever is not With us, is Against us.*

*Citt.* Thou hast spoken patt to This point, *Bumpkin*, but yet thou begin'st at the wrong End; For you must first get the skill of *Raising, and Improving a Report*, before ye come to the *Fixing* of it: For that's a Nicety not to be medled with, till we come to the taking out of the very Pins, and the Unhinging of the Government; So that the *First Clamour* must be Level'd point-blank at some *Known, and Eminent Papists*.

Bum. *Well, but what shall we Charge 'um with?*

*Citt.* Why, if we were Once at the bottom of *This Plot* (which, upon my soul, *Bumpkin*, is a most hideous one) and wanted *matter* for *Another*, I would charge them with a designe of betraying us to a *Foreign Enemy*.

Bum. *As how a Foreign Enemy pre'thee?*

*Citt.* As Thus: I would charge 'um with holding an Intelligence with the Emperor of *Morocco*, for the Landing of *five and thirty thousand Light-horse men* upon *Salisbury Plain*.

A Heavy Charge.

Bum. *Pre'thee, Citty, don't Romance.*

*Citt.* Pre'thee do not *Balderno*, ye should say; Speak *Statutable English*, ye Fool you. Thou think'st perhaps that the people will not believe it: Observe but what I say to thee; let it but be put into the *Protestant Domestique*, that his *Imperiall Majesty* is to hold up his hand at the *Kings Bench-barr* for't, and let me be Dogs-meat if they do not swallow That too. Why pre'thee, *Bumkin*, we must make 'um believe stranger Things than This, or we shall never do our businesse. They must be made to believe that the *King* intends to play the *Tyrant*; that all his *Counsellors* are *Pensioners* to the *French King*; that all his *Enemies* are turn'd his *Friends*, o'th sodain, and all his *Friends*, his *Enemies*; That *Prelacy* is *Anti-Christian*; all our *Clergy-men, Papists, the Liturgy the Masse-Book, and that the Ten Commandments* are to be read *backward*.

Nothing Incredible.

Bum. *Blesse me, Citty, what do I hear?*

*Citt.* Come, come, Sirrah; y'are under an Oath; and This is the plain Truth on'. What is it to Thee and Me, I pre'thee, whether the *Great Ministers* be *True, or False*; Or what *Religion, the Clergy* are of, so long as their *Livings* ye Rogue, are *Orthodox, and their Offices well-Affected*.

Popish Ministers may have Orthodox Offices.

Bum. *This does Qualifie, I must confess. But you were saying, that the First Clamour should be levell'd at some Known and Eminent Papists: Now what comes after That, I beseech you?*

*Citt.* You may safely Mark all Their Friends then for *Popishly-Affected*; and so consequently [on to all](#) that *Love them*, and all that *They Love*. When this Opinion is once started, 'tis an Easy matter, by the help of *Invention, and Story*, to improve it; and by this means we shall come, in a short time to secure all the *Councils* of the Nation to *our Party*, that are chosen by *Suffrage*. If you

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were read in History you would finde, that still *as the* Papists *set the House on fire, the* Non-conformists *took the Opportunity of roasting their own Eggs.*

Bum. *Yes, yes, I understand ye. As for Example now, One goes to the Lords in the Tower, another (as you were saying) drinks the Dukes Health, a Third prays for the Queen: a Fourth Phansies Two Plots; a Fifth refuses the Petition, a Sixth speaks well of my Lord Chief Justice, or calls the Protestant Domestick a Libel. All these now are Popishly-Affected.*

Who are Popishly affected.

Citt. Save your breath *Bumpkin*, and take all in one word: whosoever will not do as we would have him shall be *made* so.

But now to the matter of *Invention*, and *Story*; I hate the over-hearing of Discourses, in Blinde Allyes, and such ordinary *Shams*: I'm rather for coming downright to the *Man*, and to the *Poynt*; after the way of the Protestant Domestique.

Bum. *Ay, ay: There's your free Speaker. Well* Citt, the King wants such men about him. *But pre'thee hear me; Is it certain his Majesty has Lent the King of France Three Millions?*

Matters of Moment.

Citt. No, no; some Two and a half; or thereabouts.

Bum. *Why, if the King would but make a League now with the Swiss to keep the Turk off, That way; and another with the Protestants in Hungary, to keep off the French, the whole world could never hurt us.*

Citt. Nay that's true enough, but then the *Pole* lies so damnably betwixt *Us* and the *Baltique*.

Bum. *I'de not value that a Half-penny, so long as we have the Waldenses to Friend.*

Citt. And then *New-England* lies so conveniently for *Provisions*. But what do you think of drawing *Nova Scotia*, and *Geneva* into the *Alliance*? [Pg 23]

Bum. *Ay, but there's no hope of that: so long at the King follows these Counsells.*

Citt. Thou art a great Read man I perceive in the *Interests of States*.

Bum. *I have always had a phansy to Stows Survey of London, and those kinde of Books.*

Citt. But Good *Bumpkin*, what's thy Opinion of the *Bishops Votes*, in Case of *Life and Death*?

Bum. *Ay, or in Cases of Heaven and Hell either. Why as true as thou art a man Citt, we have but three Protestant Bishops in the Nation; and I am told they are warping too.*

Citt. Prethee why should we look for any *Protestant Bishops* in the *Kingdom*, when there's no *Protestant Episcopacy* in the *World*? but for all this, we may yet live to see the *Ruffling* of their *Lawn sleeves*.

Bum. *Oh, now I think on't; dist thou ever reade the Story of Moses and the Ten Tables?*

Citt. The *Two Tables* in the *Mount* thou mean'st.

Bum. Gad *I think 'tis the Two Tables. I read it in Print t'other day, in a very good Book, that as sure as thou art alive now, the Bishops in Henry the 8th. made the Ten Commandments.*

Citt. Why that was the reason, *Bumpkin*, when the *Lords and Commons* put down *Bishops*, they put down the *Ten Commandments too*; and made *New ones* of their *Own*. And dost not thou take notice that they put down the *Lords Prayer* too, because 'twas akinn to the *Popish Pater-Noster*? and then for the *Creed*, they cast it quite out of the *Directory*.

Bum. *Now as thou lay'st it down to me, the Case is as clear as Christal. And yet when I'm by my self sometime, I'm so affraid methinks of being Damn'd.*

Citt. What for, ye Fop you?

Bum. *Why for Swearing, Lying, Dissembling, Cheating, Betraying, Defaming, and the like.*

Citt. Put it at worst, do not you know that every man must have his *Dos* of *Iniquity*? And that what you take out in *One way* you abate for in *another*, as in *Profaning, Whoring, Drinking*, and so forth. Suppose you should see *P O Y S O N* set in Capital Letters, upon *seaven Vials* in a *Laboratory*; 'twere a madness I know, for any man to venture his Life upon 'um, without a *Taster*. But having before your Eyes so many instances, of men that by drinking of these Poysonous Liquors, out of a *Consumptive, half-starv'd, and Heart-broken* Condition, grow *Merry, Fat, and Lusty*, would not you venture too? Imagine These *Seven Waters* to be the *Seven Deadly Sins*, and then make your *Application*.

The Brethren are only for Profitable Sins.

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Bum. *Nay, the Case is plain enough, and I cannot see why that should be a Poyson to me, that's a Preservative to Another: Only our Adversaries twit us with Objections of Law forsooth, and Religion.*

Citt. Wherefore the Discipline of the Late Times sav'd a great deal of puzzle. Mr. *Prynn* sent *His Clients* to Mr. *Case* for *Religion*; and Mr. *Case*, in requital, sent *His* to Mr. *Pryn* for *Law*; which kept up a concord among the *Well-affected*. But your Lesson in both these Cases, falls into a very

Narrow compass.

Bum. *Pray'e let it be Plain that I may understand it; and short that I may Remember it.*

Citt. Keep close only to these *Three Positions: First, that the King is One of the Three Estates; Secondly, that the Sovereign Power is in the People; and Thirdly, that it is better to obey God, then Man.* These Fundamentals will serve to guide ye in almost any dispute upon this Matter, that can occur to you.

Three Positions.

Bum. *But what becomes of me, if my Adversaries should turn the question another way?*

Citt. I'll fortify you there too. And let me tell you that he'll have much ado to keep himself Clear of one of these Two Rocks: Either of Dashing upon the *Plott*, or upon the *Liberty of the Subject*. As for Example,

There's *L'Estrange*; as wary a Dog perhaps, as ever pist; and yet ye shall see how we have hamper'd Him. I writ the thing my self, ye must know, though it comes out in the Name of *the Authour of the Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*. 'Tis Dedicated to *Both Houses of Parliament*; and Design'd just for the 26th. of *January*: So that if the Parliament had Set, there would have been means us'd to have had him Question'd for't.

L'Estrange  
Confuted.

Bum. *Gad, I know where y'are now. 'Tis in the Preface to the History of the Damnable Popish Plott.*

Citt. Ay, that's it. I'll give ye First, the *Words* in't that concern *L'Estrange*, and you shall *Then* see the *Writings* of *His* that I have reflected upon.

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Bum. *Oh, 'Tis a devilish witty Thing, Citt; I have seen it. Methinks the Rogue, should hang himself out of the way. I'll go to Mans Coffee-house and see how he Looks on't.*

Citt. No, no, Pox on him; he's an Impudent Curr; nothing less than a Pillory will ever put Him out of Countenance. This Toad was in *Newgate*, I know not how long; and yet he'll take no warning.

Bum. *You must consider, Citt, that he writes for Money; O my Soul, they say, the Bishops have given him five hundred Guynnyes. But pre'thee Citt; hast not thou seen the Answer to the Appeal, Expounded.*

Citt. Yes, but I ha' not read it.

Bum. *Why then take it from me, Citt, 'tis one of the shrewdest Pieces that ever came in Print. L'Estrange, you must know, wrote an Answer to the Appeal.*

Citt. We've a sweet Government the while, that any man should dare to fall foul upon *That Appeal*.

Bum. *Well, but so it is; and Another has written Notes upon Him: You can't imagine Citt, how he windes him about's Finger; And calls him Fidler, Impudent, Clod-pate; and proves him to be a Jesuite, and a Papist, as plain as the Nose of a mans Face: he shews ye how he accuses the Kings Evidence; and that he is in Both Plots, in I know not how many places.*

Citt. I have known the man a great while; and let me tell ye in Private, I am to draw up *Articles* against him. But I have been so busy about my *Lord Chief Justices Articles*, and *Other Articles* against a *Great Woman*, that lay upon my hand, that I could not get leisure; and yet I should have met with him long e're this too, for all That, but that the *Committee* Sits so cursedly Late: And then they have cut me out such a deal of work about the *Succession*. Well I heard a great Lord say, that *That History of his deserv'd to be burnt by the hand of the Common Hang-man*.

Citt drawing up  
Articles.

Bum. *Bravely sayd, Citt, I Faith: who knows but we two may come to be Pillars of the Nation? Thou shalt stand up for the City, and I for the Country.*

*Enter Trueman out of a Closet.*

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Citt. Trepan'd, by the Lord, in our own way.

*Trueman*. Nay hold, my Masters; we'll have no flinching. Sit down, ye had best, without putting me to the Trouble of a Constable.

Enter Trueman.

Citt. Why we have said nothing, sir, that we care who hears; but because you seem to be a Civill Gentleman, my Service to you, Sir.

Bum. *Ay, Sir; and if you'll be pleased to sit down and Chirp over a Pot of Ale as we do, y're wellcome.*

*True*. Very-good; And *You* are the *Representative* (forsooth) of the City, and *You*, of the *Country*. Two of the *Pillars of the Nation*, with a Horse-Pox; A man would not let down his Breeches in a House of Office that had but *Two such Supporters*. Do not I know you, *Citt*, to be a little *Grubstreet-Insect*, that but t'other day scribled Handy-dandy for some *Eighteen-pence a Job, Pro and Con*, and glad on't too? And now, as it pleases the stars, you are advanc'd from the *Obort*, the *Miscarriage*, I mean, of a

Citt's Faculty and  
Employment.

*Cause-splitter*, to a *Drawer-up of Articles*: and for your skill in *Counterfeiting hands*, preferr'd to be a *Sollicitor for Fobb'd Petitions*: You'l do the *Bishops bus'nesse*, and You'l do the *Dukes bus'nesse*; And who but *You*, to tell the *King* when he shall make *War*, or *Peace*; call *Parliaments*, and *whom* to *Commit*, and *whom* to *let go*? And then in your *Fuddle*, up comes all; what such a *Lord* told you, and what you told him; and all this *Pudder* against your *Conscience* too, even by your own *Confession*.

*Citt.* Y'are very much *Mis-inform'd* of Me, Sir.

*True.* Come, I know ye too well to be mistaken in you; and for your part, *Bumpkin*, I look upon you only as a simple *Fellow* drawn in.

*Bum.* *Not so simple neither, it may be, as you take me for. I was a Justices Clerk in the Countrey, till the bus'nesse of the Petitions; and my Master was an Honest Gentleman too, though he's now put out of Commission: And to shew ye that I am none of your simple Fellows (do ye mark) if ye have a minde to dispute upon Three Points, I'm for you. First, the King is One of the Three Estates; Secondly, the Sovereign Power is in the People. And Thirdly, 'Tis better to Obey God then Man.*

Bumpkins  
account of  
himself.

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*Citt.* Always provided, *Bumpkin*, that the *Gentleman* take no advantage of what's spoken in *Discourse*.

*True.* No, there's my hand I will not; and now let's fall to work. If the *King of England* be *One* of the *Three Estates*, then the *Lords* and *Commons* are *two Thirds* of the *King of England*.

*Bum.* *Oh pox, you've a minde to put a sham upon the Plot, I perceive.*

*True.* Nay, if y'are thereabouts:—Well; If the *Sovereignty* be in the *People*, why does not the *Law* run In the Name of our *Sovereign Lords* the *People*?

Bumpkin's way of  
Argument.

*Bum.* *This is a meer Jesuitical Trick, to disparage the Kings Witnesses; for They are part of the People. Now do you take up the Cudgels, Citt.*

*True.* Do so, and we'l make it a short business, and let's have no shifting.

Now to shew ye that I gave good heed to your *Discourse*, I'le run over the *Heads* of it as you deliver'd them. First, for *Committees*, and *Grand Committees*, what are they compounded of, but *Republicans*, and *Separatists*, a *Medly* of *People* disaffected both to *Church* and *State*? This you cannot deny; and that they would not suffer any man otherwise affected, to mingle with them. Now beside the *scandal*, and *Ill Example* of such *Irregular Conventions*, whoever considers their *Principles*, may reasonably conclude upon their *Designs*: For they are wiser, I hope, then to lay their *Heads* together to destroy themselves.

The Composition  
of the  
Committees.

*Citt.* But it is hard, if *Protestants* may not meet as well as *Other People*.

*True.* Yes, *Protestants* may meet, but not in the quality of *Conspirators*, no more then *Conspirators*, may meet under the *Cloak*, and *colour* of *Protestants*. The intent of the *Meeting* is matter of *State*, and you turn it off, to a point of *Religion*.

*Citt.* But is it not matter of *Religion* to joyn in a *Petition* for the meeting of a *Parliament*, to bring *Malefactors* to a *Tryall*, and to *extirpate Popery*?

*True.* Such a *Petition* as you Instance in, is in the appearance of it, not only *Lawfull*, but *Commendable*; But then it must be promoted by *Lawfull means*, and under *Decent Circumstances*. 'Tis a good thing to *Preach*, or *Catechize*, but it is not for a *Lay-man* presently to pluck the *Parson* out of the *Desk*, or *Pulpit*, that he himself may do the *Office*. It is a Good thing to execute *Justice*, but yet a *private man* must not invade the *Judgment-Seat*, though it were to passe even the most *Righteous Sentence*.

What Petitions  
warrantable and  
what not.

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*Citt.* The *King* may chuse whether he'l *Grant* or no; So that without invading *His Right* we only claim the *Liberty* of *Presenting* the *Request*.

*True.* That may be well enough at *First*; but still, after *One Refusal*, and That with a *Publick Interdict* on the *Neck* on't, forbidding the pursuance of it; such a *Petition* is not by any means to be *Repeated*. *First*, out of *Respect* to *Regal Authority*: *Secondly*, as the *King* is the *Sole Judge* of the matter: *Thirdly*, upon the *Importunity*, it is not so properly *Desiring* of a thing, as *Tugging* for it. *Fourthly*, It tends many ways to the *Diminution* of his *Majesties Honour*, in case it be Obtain'd: For it implys, either *Levity*, or *Fear*; or (to make the best on't) the *King* confers the *Obligation*, and the *Heads of the Petition* receive the *Thanks*. Now adde to all this, the *suborning* of *Subscriptions*, and the *Inflaming* of *Parties*, what can be more *Undutifull* or *Dangerous*?

No Petition to be  
press'd after  
Prohibition.

*Citt.* But do not you find many *Honest* and *Considerable men* concern'd in these *Petitions*?

*True.* Yes, in several of them I do; and the main reason is This. There's no man under *Five and Fifty*, at Least, that is able to give any *Account*, of the *Designe*, and *Effects* of this way of *Petitioning* in *Forty* and *Forty One*, but by *Hear-say*: so that This *Nation* proceeds mostly upon the *Maxims*, and *Politiques*, which

The Nation  
poyson'd with  
False Principles.

That *Republican* Humour deliver'd over to us: But yet let the *Thing*, or the *Manner* of it be as it will, Those that *disarm'd*, and *turn'd back* the *Kentish* *Petitioners* at *London-bridg*. Those that *Wounded*, and *Murther'd* the *Surry-Petitioneres* in the *Palace Yard*, only for desiring a *Peace*, and in order to the *Preservation* of his *late Majesty: Those People* methinks, that were so *Outrageous* *Against Those* *Petitions* (and Several others of the same kind) should not have the *Face* now to be so *Violent*, for *This*. And whoever examines the *present Roll*, will find the *Old Republicans* to be the *Ring-leaders*.

The Injustice of our Common Wealthsmen.

Bum. Really, *Citt*, the man speaks Reason.

*True*. Consider then the *Mean ways* ye have of advancing your *Pretensions*, by *Falshoods*, and *Scandals*, to disappoint *Honest men* of *Elections*; The use ye make of the most *Servile Instruments*, to promote your *Ends*; your *fawning Methods* of *Popularity* toward the *Rabble*; your ways of undermining the *Government* of the *City*, as well as of the *Nation*; your worse then *Jesuitical Evasions* in matter of *Conscience*; your *Non-sensical Salvo's*, and *Expositions* of *Christian Liberty*; your putting out the *Church of Englands Colours*, and calling your selves *Protestants*, when you are effectually no better then *Algerines*, and *Pyrating* even upon *Christianity it self*; your *Beating* of the wood, in the *History* of our most *Seditious Times*, to start *Presidents* and *Records* in favour of your own *Disloyal Purposes*. The *Pharisaical* Distinguishing of your selves from the *Profane* (as you are pleas'd to stile all others,) even in your *Dresse*, *Tone*, *Language*, &c. Your *Uncharitable Bitternesse of Spirit*; your *lying in wait* for *Blood*; and laying of *Snares* for the *Unwary* and the *Innocent*; and still vouching an *Inspiration* for all your *Wickednesse*; your gathering of *all Winds* toward the raising of a *Storm*; Your *Unity* in *Opposition*, and in *nothing Else*: your *Clamours*, and *Invectives* against *Priests*, and *Jesuits*, when it is the *Church of England* yet, that feels the *Last effect* of your *Sacrilegious Rage*. 'Tis not so much the *Officers* of the *Church*, and *State*, that are *Popishly Affected*, but the *Offices* Themselves; and Those in the first place (as you chuse your *Sins* too) that are most *Beneficiall*. To say nothing of your wild *Impostures* upon the *Multitude*.

The mean ways of promoting their Designs.

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*Citt*. Now you talk of *Impostures*, what do you think of *L'Estrange's History of the P L O T*, and his *Answer to the A P P E A L*? Whether are Those *Pamphlets*, *Impostures* upon the *Multitude*, or *Not*?

*True*. You were saying e'en now, That *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot* was of your *Writing*; Answer me That *Question*, First; Was it so, or not?

*Citt*. No, it was not of my *Writing*; It was done by a *Protestant-Club*.

*True*. Why then let me tell ye, if a man may believe the *Preface* to That *Club-History*, or the *Notes* upon the *Answer to the Appeal* (for I have read them all:) *L'Estrange's Pamphlets* are great abuses upon the *People*: But if you had the *Books* about ye, the matter were easily clear'd by comparing them.

*Citt*. By good luck we have 'um all about us, that can any way concern this *Question*. And look ye here now.

First, *He calls his* *Abridgement of the Tryals, The History of the Plot, without mentioning one word of the Original Contrivance, the Preparatives, manner of Discovery, and other Remarkables essential to a History.*

Reflexions upon L'Estrange.

2. *He omits* *Staly's and Reading's Tryals, which yet sure had Relation to the Plot.*

3. *In his Epistle, he seems to drown the Popish Plot with suggestions of an Imaginary One of the Protestants.*

4. *The amusing People with such Stories, is notoriously a Part of the Grand Popish Designe.*

5. *Whereas he tells us, that not one Material Point is omitted, most Readers cannot finde the substantial part of Mr. Bedloes Evidence against Wakeman, (P. 46 of the Tryall) So much as hinted at: Not to mention the gross shuffles, and Omissions in Pag. 77, and elsewhere.*

6. *He charges the Printed Tryals (in his FREEBORN SUBJECT P. 15.) with many Gross Incoherences, and very Material mistakes; yet Instances but One, and corrected too, as an Erratum.*

7. *When Our Posterity shall urge these Tryals for proof against Papists, how easily may the subtle Villains stop their Mouths, by alledging from this Authour that no heed is to be given to the said Tryals; (being so publickly own'd by a Person of his Note, and Late Qualification) to be guilty of so many, and such very Material Mistakes.*

*True*. Observe here, *First L'Estrange* expounds his *History* in the *Title Page*, by restraining it to the *Charge* and *Defence* of the *Persons there mentioned*: Beside that he calls it an *Historical Abstract*, and a *Summary*, in his *Epistle*.

The Fore going Reflexions Answer'd.

2. *Staleys Trial* had no *Relation* at all to the *Plot*, and *Reading* was not *Try'd* for's *Life*; and so not within the *Compass* of his intention exprest in the *Preface*.

3. The *Epistle* acknowledges a *Detestable Plot*, and a *Conspiracy*: but advises *Moderation*, and that the *Rabble* may not dictate Laws to *Authority*; for *that Licence* was the Cause of the *Late Rebellion*.

4. It was more then a *Story*, the *Murther* of the *Late King*, and the *Subversion* of the Government, and the *suppressing* of these *Necessary Hints*, and *Cautions* is notoriously a part of the *Grand Phanatical Design*.

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5. In *L'Estranges History* here *Pag. 79* and *80*. there's every particular of Mr. *Bedloes* Evidence in *Sir George Wakemans Tryal, Pag. 46*. with many other passages over and above: whereas your *Damnab History* here *Pag. 295*. falls short at least by One Half. And then for the *shuffles*, and *Omissions* reflected upon, *Pag. 77*. see *L'Estranges Words, Pag. 88*. *The Lord Chief Justice* (says he) *after some Remarkes upon the Romish Principles, summ'd up the Evidence, and gave Directions to the Jury*: which is the substance of the *Page* cited in the *Preface*. Touching your *Elsewhere*, it is in plain *English, No where*.

6. Look ye, here's more Juggling. He says *S E V E R A L Gross Incoherences*, and you have made them *M A N Y*: and then you have left out the *Parenthesis, (especially in the Latter of them)* which varies the Case too. And I remember again, that the *Erratum* was supply'd after *L'Estrange* had *corrected* it: And sure it was a *Gross* one too, to expose a *Protestant Gentleman* for a *Papist, Nine times in two Pages*. I could shew ye several other *Material Mistakes*, but One shall serve for *all. Pag. 45*. (as I take it) of *Irelands Tryal*; which you will finde charg'd upon the *Press*, in *L'Estranges History, Pag. 18*.

7. Pray'e mark me now: *L'Estrange* findes *Errours* of the *Press* in the *Other Tryals* and *Rectifies* them, in his *Own*: Now if *Posterity* shall finde in the *Right*, that the *Other* are *wrong*, they are in no danger of being *Misled* by the *One*, in what is *Corrected* by the *Other*: And if they do not read the *Right Copy* at all, there's no harm done to the *Other*, but they must take it as they finde it. So that this *Remark* is so far from *Disparaging* the *Proceedings*, that a greater *Right* can hardly be done to *Publick Justice* by a *Pamphlet*. But now let the *Epistle* speak for it *self*.

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## To the READER.

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There has not been any point, perhaps, in the whole Tract of *English Story*, either so dangerous to be mistaken in, or so difficult, and yet so necessary to be understood, as the *Mystery* of this *detestable Plot* now in *Agitation*. (A *Judgement* for our *Sins*, augmented by our *Follies*.) But the world is so miserably divided betwixt some that will believe every thing, and others nothing that not only *Truth*, but *Christianity* it self is almost lost between them; and no place left for *Sobriety* and *Moderation*. We are come to govern our selves by *Dreams* and *Imaginations*; We make every *Coffee-house Tale* an *Article* of our *Faith*; and from *Incredible Fables* we raise *Invincible Arguments*. A man must be fierce and violent to get the *Reputation* of being *Well-affected*; as if the calling of one another *Damned Heretique*, and *Popish Dog*, were the whole *Sum* of the *Controversie*. And what's all this, but the effect of a *Popular Licence* and *Appeal*? When every *Mercenary Scribler* shall take upon him to handle matters of *Faith*, and *State*; give *Laws* to *Princes*; and every *Mechanic* sit *Judge* upon the *Government*! Were not these the very *Circumstances* of the late *Times*? When the *Religious Jugglers* from all *Quarters* fell in with the *Rabble*, and managed them, as it were, by a certain *sleight of hand*: The *Rods* were turned into *Serpents* on both sides, and the *Multitude* not able to say, which was *Aaron*, and which the *Enchanter*: Let us have a *Care* of the same *Incantation* over again, Are we not under the *protection* of a *Lawfull Authority*? Nor was there ever any thing more narrowly *Sifted*, or more vigorously discouraged, then this *Conspiracy. Reformation* is the proper business of *Government* and *Council*, but when it comes to work once at the *wrong End*, there is nothing to be expected from it, but *Tumult* and *Convulsion*. A *Legal* and *Effectual* provision against the *Danger* of *Romish Practices* and *Errours*, will never serve Their *Turn*, whose *Quarrel* is barely to the *Name* of *Popery*, without understanding the *Thing* it self. And if there were not a *Roman Catholick* left in the three *Kingdoms*, they would be never the better satisfied, for where they cannot find *Popery*, they will make it: nay and be troubled too that they could not *find* it. It is no new thing for a *Popular Outcry*, in the matter of *Religion*, to have a *State-Faction* in the belly of it. The first late *Clamour* was against *Downright Popery*; and then came on *Popishly Affected*; (*That sweeps all*.) The *Order of Bishops*, and the *Discipline of the Church* took their *Turns* next; and the next blow was at the *Crown* it self; when every *Man* was made a *Papist* that would not play the *Knave* and the *Fool*, for *Company*, with the *Common People*.

The Epistle to  
L'Estrange's  
History of the  
Plot.

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These things duly weighed, and considering the *Ground* of our present *Distempers*; the *Compiler* of this *Abridgment* reckoned that he could not do his *Countrymen* a better *Office*, than (by laying before them the *naked state* of things) to give them at one view, a *Prospect*, both of the *subject matter* of their *Apprehensions*, and of the *Vigilance, Zeal*, and *needful severity* of the *Government* on their behalf. To which end, he hath here drawn up an *Historical Abstract* of the whole matter of *Fact* concerning those *Persons* who have hitherto been *Tried* for their *Lives*, either upon the *Plot* it self, or in *Relation* to it: opposing *Authentick Records* to *wandring Rumours*; and delivering the *Truth* in all *Simplicity*. He hath not omitted any one *material Point*: There is not so much as one *Partial Stroke* in it; not a *flourish*, nor any thing but a bare and plain *Collection*, without any *Tincture* either of *Credulity*, or *Passion*. And it is brought into so narrow a *Compass* too, that it will ease the *Readers head*, as well as his *purse*; by clearing him of the *puzzle* of

*Forms, and Interlocutories.* that serve only to amuse and mislead a man, by breaking the Order, and confounding the Relative parts of the *Proceeding*.

Having this in Contemplation; and being at the same time possess'd of a most exact *Summary* of all passages here in Question; This Reporter was only to cast an Extract of these Notes into a Method: especially finding, that upon comparing the substance of his own papers, with the most warrantable Prints that have been published; his own *Abstract* proved to be not only every jot as Correct, but much more Intelligible, which being *short* and *full*; he thought might be useful, and find Credit in the world upon its own account, without need of a *Voucher*.

*True.* You have now the whole matter before you; the *Epistle*, ye see, justifies it self: And then for the *Narrative*, I dare undertake he shall yield up the Cause, if you can but produce any *One Material Point*, which he hath either *Falsify'd, Palliated, or Omitted*, in the whole *Proceeding*. But to be plain with you, *Citt*, One of the *Authours* of your *Preface* is a *Common setter, a Forger of Hands, a little spy* upon the *Swan* in *Fishstreet*; a *Hackny Sollicitor* against both *Church* and *State*: You know this to be true *Citt*; and that I do not speak upon Guess; so that *Calumny, and False Witnessing* is the best part of that *Authours Trade*. And then the *pretended History* is a direct *Arraignment* of the *Government*. He takes up the *King* and *Council, Pag. 381.* reflects upon the *Judges* in the very *Contents*, and elsewhere; he descants upon the *Duke of York* in opposition to the express sense and declaration of the *Bench, Pag. 145.* and has the confidence yet to Dedicate this *Gally-mawfry* of audacious *slanders* to the *Two Houses of Parliament*. There is little more in the whole, than what has been eaten and spew'd up again Thirty times over: and the intire work is only a *Medly of Rags, and Solacisms*, pick'd up out of *Rubbish*, and most suitably put together.

L'Estranges Narrative Justify'd.

His Adversary detected

A Bold and senceless libel

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*Citt.* You may take his part as ye please, But there's a Famous *Lecturer* charg'd him Publicly for *Popery*, in his *Answer* to the *Appeal*; and for falling upon Dr. *Lloyd*.

*True.* He did so; but at the same time that *Lecturer* found no fault with the *Appeal* it self; and the best on't is, his *Tongue's* no more a slander then his *Pen*: And whoever reads what he has written concerning the *Late King*, and the *Episcopal Church*, will think never the worse of *L'Estrange* for what he says. Now for the *Reverend Dean of Bangor*, I dare say he never *spake, or thought* of him, but with *Veneration*. Let me see the book.

L'Estrange charg'd as a Papist, by a Certain Lecturer.

Look, ye here, 'tis *pag. 18.* in *L'Estrange's Impression*, and 'tis *pag. 15.* in *this*; and here's the Point [*Their Loyalty and Good service paid to the King* (says the *Appealer* speaking of the *Papists*) *was meerly in their own Defence.*] Now see *L'Estrange's Reply* upon it, *If it lies* (says he) *as a Reproach upon them that they did then not serve the King out of Loyalty; that which they did, was yet better then not serving him at all; and better in a Higher degree still, then Fighting against him.* And a little after. *It is worth the Observation, that not a man drew his Sword in the opposite Cause who was not a Known Separatist; and that on the Other side, not one Schismatick ever struck stroke in the Kings Quarrell.*

The Ground of his Accusation.

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And now for your Notes upon his Answer, they are so silly, that it were Ridiculous to Reply upon 'um [*who knows* (says he) *but the Regicides were Papists in disguise, pag. 19.*] And a deal of such senselesse stuff; enough to turn a bodies Stomach. And if you'd inform your self of his Malice; look ye here *pag. 4. p. 9. and p. 33* how he *Palliates, if not Justifies, the Late Rebellion, the Murther of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, and the drawing of the Sword against the King.*

Briefly, 'tis an *Inspid Bawling* piece of *Foolery*, from One end to the Other. And it is not but that I highly approve of your *Zeal* for the Discovery of the *Plot*, and Suppressing of *Popery*, but we are not yet to Trample upon *Laws, and Publique Orders*, for the attaining even of those Glorious ends.

But now I think on't; deal freely with me; did you really go to the *Registers* ye spake of, to furnish *Names* for your *Subscriptions*?

*Citt.* No; That was but a *Flourish*: but all the Rest we *Literally* did.

*True.* Are not you Conscious to your selves of your Iniquities? who made *You* a *Commissioner* for the *Town*, or *You* for the *Country*? But we are like to have a fine business of it, when the *Dreggs* of the *People* set up for the *Representatives* of the *Nation*; to the Dishonour of the most *Considerable, and Sober* part of the *Kingdome*. Pre'thee *Bumpkin*, with thy *Poles, and Baltiques*, how shouldst thou come to understand the *Ballance* of *Empires*? who are *Delinquents*, and who *not*? the Right of *Bishops Votes*? And *You* (forsooth) are to Teach the *King* when to call a *Parliament*, and when to let it alone. And are not you a fine Fool i'the mean time, to Drudg for the Faction that Sets ye on, to be afterwards made a slave for your pains?

A gross Cheat upon the Nation.

And then for *You, Citt*, with your *Mouldy Records, your Coordinate Estates, and your Sovereign Power of the People*. Do not I know all your Fallacies, your Shifts, and Hiding-holes? There's not one step you set, but I can trace you in't: You have your *Spies* upon all *Libraries, as well as Conversations; your Agents* for the procuring of old *Manuscripts, and Records, and for the Falsifying of New ones, to make*

Lewd Practises of the Faction.

them look like *Old Ones*. Nay, the *Papers of State* themselves had much ado to scape ye. Those that assert the *Just Rights* of the *Crown*, you either *Bury* or *Conceal*; only Publishing the *Presidents of Seditious Times*, in Vindication of such Principles.

*Citt.* I must confess I take the *Government* to be *Coordinate*, and the *King One* of the *Three Estates*, with submission to be better inform'd.

*True.* If it be so, how comes it that the House of *Commons* even in their most Popular seasons, have still own'd the *Crown of England* to be *Imperial*? How comes it that all our *Laws* are call'd the *Kings Laws*: all our *Courts of Justice* his *Majesties Courts*, and all *Publick Causes* try'd in the *Kings Name*, and by the *Authority* of his *Majesty*?

Against  
Coordination.

*Citt.* But have not the *Two Houses* their share in the *Legislative Power*?

*True.* You must distinguish betwixt the *Consent*, and the *Sanction*; the *Preparatory Part* is *Their's*, the *Stamp* is the *Kings*: The *Two Houses* Consent to a *Bill*; It is only a *Bill*, when it is *presented*, and it remains yet a *Bill*, even when the King has *Consented* to it; and in this *Common Consent*, in Order to a *Law*, the *Two Houses* may be said to *share* with his *Majesty*: But then the *Fiat*, that superinduces an *Authority*, and is *Only*, and *Properly* the Act of *Legislation*, is *singly* in the *King*. So that though they *share* in the *Consent*, they have no pretence at all to the *Sanction*: which is an Act of *Authority*; the other but of *Agreement*.

It is the sanction  
makes the Law,  
not the Consent.

And yet again, admitting your *Coordination*; First, every King runs the hazzard of his *Crown* upon every Parliament he calls: For *That Third Estate* lies at the Mercy of the *Other Two*: And further, 'tis a kinde of Ringing the Changes with the Government, the *King* and *Lords* shall be Uppermost *One day*, the *King* and *Commons*, *Another*, and the *Lords* and *Commons*, the *Third*: For in this Scale of Constitution whatsoever the *One* will *not*, the *Other Two*, *may*.

The  
Inconveniences of  
a Coordination  
supposed.

*Citt.* Well, but Ours is a MIXT Government, and we are a *Free People*.

*True.* If ours be a *Mixt Government*, so as to any *Popular Participation* of Power with the *King*, then it is not a *Monarchy*: (which is the *Government Only* of *One*) but if you'll call it a *Qualifi'd Government*; so as to distinguish it from an *Absolute* and *Unlimited Government*, I'll agree with you. But let the *Government* be *what* it will, and *where* it will, let it do *Right* or *Wrong*, it is *Equally Unaccountable*, for there lies no *Appeal*, but to a *Superiour*, and the *Supreme* has *none* but *God Himself*.

Of a mixt  
Government and  
a Qualified.

*Citt.* But if we be a *Free People*, have not *We* as much *Right* to *Our Liberties*, as the *King* has to *his Crown*?

*True.* Yes, we have, but the King has this Advantage of us, that *We* may *Forfeit* our *Liberties* but *He* cannot forfeit his *Crown*.

*Citt.* What if a *King* will Transgresse all the *Laws* of *God* and *Man*? may not the *People* resume their *Trust*?

*True.* No, not unlesse you can produce an expresse *stipulation* to *That very purpose*. But let me shew you, First, the Error of taking That to be a *Trust* from the *People*, which, in truth, is an *Ordinance of Providence*, For *All Power is from God*; And Secondly, the *Absurdity* of the very *Supposition*, even in the Case of a *Trust* conferr'd by the *People*. If the *King breaks* his *Trust*, the *People Resume* it: but *who* are These *People*? If a *Representative*, they are but *Trustees Themselves*, and may incur a *Forfeiture* too, by the same Argument. Where are we next then? For if it devolves to the *Loose Multitude* of *Individuals*, (which you will have to be the *Fountain of Power*) you are Then in an *Anarchy*, without any Government at all; and There you must either Continue in a *Dissociated State*, or else agree upon *Uniting* into some Form of *Regiment*, or other: and whether it be *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*, it comes all to a Point. If you make the *Government Accountable* upon every Humour of the *People*, it lapses again into a *Confusion*. To say nothing of the ridiculous phansy of a *Sovereignty* in the *People* upon This Account; that they can never be so brought together either to *Establish* or to *Dissolve* a *Government*, as to authorize it to be the *Peoples Act*. For there must be, *First*, an *Agreement* to *Meet* and *Consult*. *Secondly*, an *Agreement* upon the *Result* of That *Debate*; and any *One Dissenter* spoils all, where every *Individual* has an *Equall Right*: So that unlesse the *People* be all of the same minde, This *Supposition* will be found wholly Impracticable and Idle.

Power is from  
God, not from the  
People.

Sovereignty of  
the People most  
ridiculous.

*Citt.* But is there no Fence then against *Tyranny*?

*True.* Only *Patience*, unless you run into *Anarchy*, and then into that which you call *Tyranny* again; and so tread Eternally that Circle of *Rigour* and *Confusion*. *In fine*, the Question is this, whether people had better run *Certainly* into *Confusion* to avoid a *Possible Tyranny*, or venture a *Possible Tyranny*, to avoid a *Certain Confusion*.

*Citt.* But where we finde *Positive Law* and *Provisions* to *fail* us, may we not in those Cases, betake our selves to the *Laws of Nature* and *Self-Preservation*?

*True.* No, ye may not; for many Reasons. First, it makes you *Judges*; not only *when* those Laws take Place, but also *what* they *are*. Secondly, the *Government* is *Dissolved*, if Subjects may go off or on at pleasure. Thirdly, *Self-Preservation* is the Plea only of *Individuals*; and there can be no Colour for the exposing of the *Publick* in favour of *Particulars*. What would ye think of a *Common Seaman* that in a *Storm* should throw the *Steers-man Overboard*, and set himself at the *Helm*? Or of a *Souldier* that shou'd refuse a *Dangerous Post* for fear of being knock'd on the Head, when the *whole Army*, depends upon the Maintaining of *That Pass*.

Self-preservation is no Plea for the People.

*Citt.* Pray'e tell me what it is that you call *Government*, and how far it *extends*? for you were saying even now, that the *Reason* of *all Governments* is *alike*.

*True.* *Government* is the Will, and Power of a Multitude, *United in some One Person, or More, for the Good, and safety of the whole.* You must not take it that *all Governments* are *alike*; but the *Ratio* of *all Governments* is the *same* in some Cases. As in the Instance of *Self-Preservation*; which is only Pleadable by the *Supream Magistrate*, in Bar to all *General Exceptions*; for he is First, presumed in Reason, to be vested with all *Powers necessary* for the *Defence*, and *Protection* of the *Community*: without which his Authority is Vain. He is Secondly, Oblig'd in *Duty* to exert those *Powers* for the *Common Good*: and he is Thirdly, entrusted with the Judgment of all *Exigences* of *State*, be they *Greater* or *Lesse*; wherein the Publick Good may be concern'd. Now put the Case that a Magistrate should make a wrong *Judgment* of Matters, and misemploy those *Powers*; it were an Infelicity in the *Administration*; but the *Sacredness* of *Authority* is still the same: And he is a Mad man, that plucks down his *House*, because it rains in at the *Window*. And in case of the *Magistrate*, it is not so much *He*, as *They*; for the *King* is (as I said before) the *United Power* and *Will* of the *People*. And so Fare ye well.

What Government is.

Certain Priviledges essential to Government.

*The End.*

## Transcribers Note

1. 'Fraudulant' changed to 'Fraudulent'. (Introduction)
2. 'deux ex machina' changed to 'deus ex machina'. (Introduction)
3. Closing bracket inserted. (The mean ways of promoting their Designs.)
4. Possibly this should be 'Gaols' rather than 'Goals'. (The way of getting hands in and about London.)
5. Possibly this should be 'Gaol' rather than 'Goal'. (A Salvo for a Lye.)
6. 'Dop' should read 'Drop'. (Consciences of State or Interest.)
7. 'original' changed to 'Origin'. (PUBLICATIONS IN PRINT 1964-1965- 109.)

Errata. (From the original, these errors have been corrected)

Page 1. line 24. for *his*, read [this](#).

p. 3. l. 27. for *Religion* r. [Religions](#);

p.11 l. 25. for *Hands*, r. [Heads](#).

p.22. l. 9. for *on all* r. [on to all](#).

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