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by Sir Roger L'Estrange**

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(1681-1687) ***

THE AUGUSTAN REPRINT SOCIETY

SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE

SELECTIONS FROM
THE
OBSERVATOR

(1681-1687)

Introduction by

VIOLET JORDAIN

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THE OBSERVATOR. In QUESTION and ANSWER. Wednesday, April 13, 1681. Q. What is the cause of the... A. What is the cause of the... Q. What is the cause of the... A. What is the cause of the... Q. What is the cause of the... A. What is the cause of the...

[Note: For full text go to Page 9]

INTRODUCTION

I fancy, Trimmer, that if You and I could but get leave to peep out of our Graves again a matter of a hundred and fifty year hence, we should find these Papers in Bodlies Library, among the Memorials of State; and Celebrated for the Only Warrantable Remains concerning this Juncture of Affairs.

(Observator No. 259, 16 December 1682)

When the first of 931 single, folio sheets of the Observator appeared on 13 April 1681, the sixty-five-year-old Roger L'Estrange, their sole author, had been a controversial London Royalist for over twenty years. As Crown protégé, he had served intermittently as Surveyor of the Press, Chief Licensor, and Justice of the King's Peace Commission; as a writer, he had produced two newspapers, the Intelligencer and the Newes (1663-1666), dozens of political pamphlets, and

seven translations from Spanish, Latin, and French.^[1] Rightly nicknamed "bloodhound of the press," L'Estrange was notorious for his ruthless ferreting out of illegal presses and seditious publishers, as well as for his tireless warfare against the powerful Stationers' Company.^[2] No less well known were his intransigent reactionary views, for we can estimate that some 64,000 copies of pamphlets bearing his name were circulating in the City during the two years preceding the *Observer*.^[3] Thus the *Observer* papers represent not only the official propaganda of the restored monarchy, but also the intellectual temper of a powerful, influential man whose London fame was sufficiently demonstrated in the winter of 1680, when he was publicly burned in effigy during that year's Pope-burning festivities.

In the muddy torrent of "Intelligences," "Mercuries," "Courants," "Pacquets," and sundry newsheets, the *Observer* marks the beginnings of a new sort of journalism, one which was to shape the development of the English periodical. Although *Heraclitus Ridens* and its opponent *Democritus Ridens* initiated the dialogue form for the newspaper seventy-two days before the *Observer*; their relatively short run relegates these pioneers to a shadowy background, as it does the even earlier trade paper in dialogue, the *City and Country Mercury* (1667).^[4] The eighty-two issues of *Heraclitus Ridens* and thirteen of *Democritus Ridens* cannot be compared in quantity to the 931 issues of the *Observer* published three or four times a week from 13 April 1681 to 9 March 1687, nor can their stiff dialogues be compared in importance to L'Estrange's much fuller exploitation of the form. Consequently, even though he did not initiate the newspaper in dialogue form, L'Estrange is unanimously given the honor of having popularized the form, or, in the words of Richmond P. Bond, of having "borrowed the dialogue and fastened it on English journalism for a generation as a factional procedure."^[5]

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Imitators did not wait long. Nine days after the first *Observer*, L'Estrange's arch-enemy, Harry Care, changed to dialogue the *Popish Courant* section of his *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, relinquishing the expository format which he had followed since 1678. Later, after the Glorious Revolution, the popularity of L'Estrange's paper is evident in the spate of imitative "Observers" that ensued: *The English Spy; Or, the Critical Observer* (1693); *The Poetical Observer* (1702); Tutchin's *Observer* (1702—a Whig organ) and Leslie's *Observer* (1704—a Tory organ); *The Comicall Observer* (1704); *The Observer Reviv'd* (1707), and more. As late as 1716 there was created a *Weekly Observer*. By the turn of the century, the very term "Observer" had come to signify a controversy *in dialogue*.^[6] Interestingly enough, even the typography of L'Estrange's *Observer* may have left its mark on succeeding journals. A brief comparison of Interregnum newspapers (such as *Newes Out of Ireland* in 1642, *The Scotch Mercury* in 1643, *The Commonwealth Mercury* in 1658) with John Dunton's *The Athenian Mercury* (1693) and Charles Leslie's *Observer* (1704) reveals a marked difference in typography. In the earlier papers the typography is generally uniform, with italics used for proper names and quotations, whereas L'Estrange's and Leslie's papers exhibit the whole range of typeface available to the seventeenth-century printer. Dissenter Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*, on the other hand, shows much less eccentricity in its typography, limiting itself to generous use of italics only, while Defoe's *Review* goes back to the earlier restraint and presents a neat, uniform page. Whether these typographical differences are attributable to particular political views or merely to "schools" of printing is difficult to say.

In addition to this obvious sort of superficial imitation, there are many indications that L'Estrange's *Observer* had a more permanent influence on posterity. It has been suggested that the periodical specializing in query and answer between reader and editor, which was initiated by John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury* and which we still have today, may have been inspired by the *Observer's* habitual retorts to opponents.^[7] James Sutherland isolates in Defoe certain qualities of prose style which he attributes to Defoe's extensive reading of L'Estrange; and he sees L'Estrange's natural colloquial manner as setting a pattern for journalists who followed him.^[8] Far-fetched as it may seem at first glance, even Addison's *Spectator* shows a certain similarity to the *Observer*. Although the manner, tone, language, and political views of the two are antithetical, the *Spectator's* peculiar blend of moralizing and diversion is reminiscent of L'Estrange's work. In both papers we notice a serious didactic purpose tempered by literary techniques and imaginative handling of material. Decades before Addison's famous credo—"to make their Instruction Agreeable, and their Diversion useful ... to enliven Morality with Wit, and to temper Wit with Morality"^[9]—L'Estrange had formulated a similar theory:

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Obs.: Where there has been Any thing of That which you call Raillery, or Farce; It has amounted to no more then a Speaking to the Common People in their Own Way.... He that Talks Dry Reason to them, does as good as treat 'em in an Unknown Tongue; and there's no Other way of Conveying the True Sense, & Notion of Things, either to their Affections, or to their Understandings, then by the Palate....

(II, No. 15)

And as a link between L'Estrange and Addison we have Defoe's analogous promise in "the Introduction" to the *Review*: "After our Serious Matters are over, we shall at the end of every Paper, Present you with a little Diversion, as any thing occurs to make the World Merry."^[10] These notions rest, of course, on the ancient *dulce et utile*, though modified in various ways in each of the three papers to suit the temperaments of their writers, the tastes of their mass-

audiences, and different times. It is perhaps not irresponsible, then, to say that the synonymous titles of Addison's and L'Estrange's periodicals symbolize an affinity of purpose and technique. Indeed, the *Observer* can, in many ways, be considered a rather crude and primitive ancestor of the *Spectator*.^[11]

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The purpose of the *Observer* and its main targets are clearly formulated in *Observer* No. 1, as well as in the prefatory "To the Reader," which was written in 1683 for the publication of Volume 1 of the collected papers. The "faction" which L'Estrange proposes to reprove consists at first (1681-1682) of Shaftesbury's republican-minded followers and of the perpetrators of the Popish Plot. In his evaluation of the Plot, L'Estrange agrees with some modern historians,^[12] for he never doubted that it was a Whig fabrication, an invented cause around which the party members could rally and which neatly veiled the parliamentary power-struggle behind the scenes. Titus Oates is consequently the *Observer's* *bête noire*, and Andrew Marvell's pamphlet, *The Growth of Popery*, is for L'Estrange the odious origin of the Plot:

Obs.: I do not know Any man throughout the whole Tract of the Controversy that has held a Candle to the Devil with a Better Grace then the Author of that Pamphlet ... that Furnishes so Clear a Light toward the Opening of the Roots, Springs, and Causes of our Late Miserable Disorders, and Confusions.... Prethee let Otes'es Popish Plot, Stand, or Fall, to it's Own Master; provided that Marvels may be Allow'd to be the Elder Brother....

(II, No. 16)

Toward the end of 1682, when the Whigs had ceased being an imminent threat to the government and all but one of the Whig newspapers had been silenced, L'Estrange turned his attack against the more moderate Trimmers, as illustrated in *Observer* III, No. 88. But whether the offensive is against Whigs or Trimmers, Dissenters and advocates of toleration are always in the line of L'Estrange's fire as chief subverters of absolute monarchy and of the Church of England, as is evident in the satire of *Observer* Nos. 13 and 110. On the eve of the Glorious Revolution, this rigid stand lost him the support of both the Anglican clergy and the universities, support of which he was so proud in his "To the Reader." Finally, *Observer* No. 1 singles out the Whig press as one of its chief targets. The "Smith" referred to in that first number is Anabaptist Francis "Elephant" Smith, publisher of the outrageous *Mirabilis Annus* books, the inflammatory pamphlet *Vox Populi*, and the offensive paper *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*; "Harris" is Benjamin Harris, publisher of the Whig paper, *Domestic Intelligence*. These, together with Harry Care (*Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* and *Popish Courant*), Richard Janeway (*Impartial Protestant Mercury*), Langley Curtis (*The Protestant Mercury*), and hordes of anti-Royalist authors or publications are habitually quoted or referred to in L'Estrange's counterpropaganda. His untiring countering of Whig publications earned him Nahum Tate's hyperbolic praise in *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel*:

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Than *Sheva*, none more loyal Zeal have shown, Wakefull, as *Judah's* Lion for the Crown, Who for that Cause still combats in his Age, For which his Youth with danger did engage. In vain our factious Priests the Cant revive, In vain seditious Scribes with Libels strive T'enflame the Crow'd, while He with watchfull Eye Observes, and shoots their Treasons as they fly. Their weekly Frauds his keen Replies detect, He undeceives more fast than they infect. So *Moses* when the Pest on *Legions* prey'd, Advanc'd his Signal and the Plague was stay'd.^[13]

Parochial as these concerns seem today, the *Observer* in its totality goes far beyond the Harry Cares and "Elephant" Smiths in its exhortation to greater rationality in areas ancillary to but transcending politics proper. Its assiduous ridicule of Enthusiasm, following in the steps of Meric Casaubon and Henry More,^[14] its analyses of political manipulation of the naive populace, its explanations of psychological appeals, its Orwellian warnings against the snares of loaded diction and the dangers of affective political rhetoric—all these efforts evident in the few *Observers* represented here are an important step in the direction of a less superstitious, less hysterical century. Paradoxically, L'Estrange mobilized progressive ideas in the service of an archaic political and religious administration, thereby familiarizing the man on the street with notions and attitudes commonly known as Enlightened.

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The sugar coating in the *Observer* is, however, as significant as the pill, and distinguishes L'Estrange's journalism from his predecessors'. Apart from the traditional satiric blend of verbal banter and polemic, which has received ample commentary,^[15] his use of established literary modes further enhances the colloquies, making them especially diverting for his audience and interesting for us. As dialogues, the papers belong to a genre whose popularity has remained constant from Plato onward. The appeal of the form lies in its pleasurable verisimilitude, immediacy, adaptability to differing points of view, and, especially after the Restoration, in its potentiality for humorous repartee.^[16] As *satiric* dialogues, L'Estrange's sheets satisfy what seems to be a universal love of ridicule, an innate trait of the human mind, although there is no agreement among students of satire as to its exact psychological operations. In addition to adopting this form, which belongs to imaginative literature rather than to journalism, L'Estrange spices his *Observer* with a number of other devices designed to provide variety, change in

speed, and amusement for his reader, who is in turn bullied, joshed, castigated, reasoned, or laughed into accepting L'Estrange's views.

Frequently, for example, the dialogue gives way to a pointed anecdote (old or current, invented or factual), such as the story of Jack of Leyden in *Observer* No. 1, or the following from a later dialogue, humorously satirizing the dour William Prynne and the Puritans' strange concepts of sin:

Trimmer: A Gentleman that had Cut-off his own hair on the Saturday, came the next day to Church in his first Perriwig. The Parson (that was already Enter'd into his Sermon) turn'd his Discourse presently, from his Text in the Holy Bible, to the Subject of Prynnes *Unloveliness of Lovelocks*; and Thrash'd for a matter of a Quarter of an hour, upon the Mortal Sin of Wearing False Hair. The Gentleman, finding that he would never give him over, 'till he had Preach'd him into a Flat State of Reprobation, fairly took off his Perriwig, and Clapt it upon One of the Buttons at the Corner of the Pew. The Poor Man had not One word more to say to the Perriwig; and was run so far from his Text, that he could not for his heart find the way home again: So that to make short on't; He gave the People his Blessing, and Dismiss'd the Congregation.

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(II, No. 21)

Frequently, also, L'Estrange satirizes by means of parody or ludicrous examples of his enemies' rhetoric or behavior, as in the case of the "Dissenting Academies" in *Observer* No. 110. But most important of the techniques for entertaining are his creation of carefully delineated speaker-*personae* and his "Characters," again both borrowed from the literary tradition.

After the first twenty-nine *Observers*, which are experimental in that "Q" and "A" have shifting personalities (as in Nos. 1 and 13), L'Estrange manipulates "Whig" and "Tory" for 171 papers, changes to "Whig" and "Observer" for 33 papers, briefly (six papers) shifts to "Whig" and "Courantier," and finally settles down to "Trimmer" and "Observer" for the remaining 692 papers. In all these, the Tory satirist (whether he be "Tory" or "Observer") is presented as the conventional "snarling dog" described by Robert C. Elliott,^[17] with appropriate outbursts of polemic, invective, bitter irony, and railing humor. Even the traditional crudity is there, although compared to, say, the *Popish Courant*, L'Estrange manifests a Victorian restraint. "Whig," on the other hand, is presented as a naive, credulous, not-too-bright individual whose main fault is not so much that he is a Whig but that he is a Whig because he has no mental capacity for discrimination. The "A" speaker of No. 13 (apparently a humorous thrust at John Eachard, author of *Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy*) with his preference for Prynne, Baxter, and Smith over Tacitus, Livy, and Caesar, is typical of the later "Whig" *persona*. Humorless, misguided, and chronically given to believing even the most outrageous gossip, "Whig" cuts a foolish and therefore amusing figure when pitted against the sophisticated, trenchant-minded "Tory." "Trimmer" is quite different. L'Estrange here creates a much more intelligent opponent, one who is given the liberty of satirizing "Observer" himself and even patronizing him with the nickname "Nobs." Instead of naivete and obvious stupidity, "Trimmer" has the guile and surface morality of the perfect hypocrite, a "pretending friend" as "Observer" notes in *Observer* III, Nos. 88 and 202. The humor in these later dialogues does not emerge from the "Trimmer" personality but from the frequent self-satire and criticism on the part of L'Estrange. "Trimmer," for example, is allowed to mock the prose style, figures of speech, stubbornness and repetitiveness of "Observer," as "Trimmer's" chiding tone in *Observer* III, No. 88 suggests. To borrow a term from Robert C. Elliott, the entertainment of these later colloquies resides primarily in the technique of the "satirist satirized."^[18] L'Estrange, in short, creates both *adversariuses* as *dramatis personae* rather than as simple straw men, a departure from the run-of-the-mill Restoration dialogue evident in the following interruption of his artfully built illusion:

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Obs.: For Varieties sake then, we'le to work another way. Do You keep up your Part of Trimmer still: Do Just as you use to do; and be sure to maintain your Character; Leave the Whig and the Tory to Me.

Trimmer: For the Dialogue sake it shall be done.

Obs.: But then you must Consider that there are Several sort of Trimmers: as your State-Trimmer, Your Law-Trimmer....

Trimmer: And You shall Suppose Mee to be a Statesman.

Obs.: But of what Magnitude? A Lord? A Knight?...

Trimmer: Why truly Nobs, if they be all of a Price, I don't care if I be a Lord.

Obs.: We are over that Point then; And so I am your Lordships most Humble Servant.

But this role playing within role playing is discarded at the end of the paper, the role of Lord being apparently too cumbersome:

Trimmer: No more of your Lordships, as you love me, Nobs; for I am e'en as weary as a Dog of my Dignity.

(No. 242)

The "Character," however, is not only L'Estrange's favorite satiric tool but perhaps the literary form most frequently used in the *Observer*. L'Estrange himself attests to his partiality in his parting comment at the close of the *Observer*:

Obs.: For my Fancy lyes more to Character, then to Dialogue; and whoever will be so Kind as to Furnish me with Spitefull Materials, shall get his Own again with Interest, in an Essay upon Humane Nature.

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(III, No. 246)

The Character was, of course, still highly popular in the latter half of the century, as Chester Noyes Greenough's listings show,^[19] so that in indulging his own taste, L'Estrange was also catering to the tastes of his public. Of whatever other value the *Observer* may be to the modern student, it is invaluable as a fine example of the state-of-the-Character toward the end of the century. Practically every type of Character analyzed by Benjamin Boyce in his two studies can be found repeatedly in L'Estrange's dialogues.^[20] the earlier imitations of Theophrastan Characters, with their parallelisms and antitheses; the Overburian Character, with its extravagant metaphors; the externally dramatized; the subjective; the sprung. There are Characters of ideologies, of political parties, of virtues, of vices, of Whigs and Dissenters (vices), of Tories and Anglicans (virtues). There are several "Credo-Characters" (confessions or manifestoes), and finally there is the habitually dramatized self-exposing Character which becomes indistinguishable from the *dramatis persona*, as is the Character of the Modern Whig in Nos. 13 and 110. Among the *Observers* included here, the definition of "Dissenter" in No. 1 is based on Character techniques, as is the conceit of the Protestant as "Adjective Noun-Substantive" in the same number. So is also the lengthy exposure of "Leaders" in III, No. 202, beginning with "They Talk, to the Ears, and to the Passions of their Hearers."

A final comment about L'Estrange's prose, which has been variously labeled "colloquial," "idiomatic," "vulgar," "coarse"—all vaguely descriptive terms suggesting value judgment, and none precise enough to give an intelligible account of what L'Estrange actually does. In addition to the obvious device of choppy syntax and deliberately careless constructions simulating extemporaneous speech, L'Estrange's figures and proverbial material demonstrate his meticulous shaping of an "applied prose"^[21] particularly suitable for the audience whose opinions he tried to sway. His metaphors and analogies tend to rely on commonly known objects or experiences, and because of rhetorical necessity they are almost always unpleasantly graphic. A random sampling yielded the following results: about twenty-five percent of the figures in the *Observer* deal with some specific part of the human body (nails, spleen, mouth, eyes, ears, knees, heels, flesh, guts, belly) or physiological processes (ulcerating, itching, chewing, digesting, spitting, reeking, seeing, crouching, sweating, gobbling). There is no euphemistic delicacy in these figures; L'Estrange carefully selects the most earthy, common vehicles, thus achieving what James Sutherland has termed "racy" and "vigorous" prose.^[22] Another twenty-four percent of the figures are based on common occupations, daily activities, or objects familiar to the simpler citizen of London. These figures ordinarily pivot on barter or trade (horse traders, hagglers, fishwives, car men); on activities such as cooking, gambling, or glass-making; and on such objects as clothing, bagpipes, paper-pellets, bonnets, and chamber-pots. The rest derive from the animal kingdom, the Scriptures, street-entertainment (jugglers, puppets, high-rope walkers) and folk medicine (glysters and plasters). It is obvious that these figures—their concreteness, sensuousness, and closeness to the daily experience of the ordinary reader—are a main ingredient in the richly colloquial texture of L'Estrange's prose, as is the proverbial material which he incorporates unsparingly.

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In L'Estrange's language the law of the land cannot be misunderstood, for it calls *a spade a spade* (No. 106; T-S699).^[23] The factions win their objectives *by hook or crook* (No. 100; T-H588) even though they are as *mad as March Hares* (No. 15; T-H148) and as *Blind as Beetles* (No. 15; T-B219). Certain things are *as clear as the Day* (No. 25; T-D56) or *as plain as the nose o'my face* (No. 40; T-N215), whereas others are so confused that one can *make neither Head nor tayl on't* (No. 35; T-H258). When *noses are put out of joint* (No. 38; T-N219) and Tories are given a *bone to pick* (No. 55; T-B522), there will obviously be *no love lost betwixt Whigs and Tories* (No. 97; T-L544).

Thus L'Estrange's Characters, together with the fanciful anecdotes, self-satire, parodies, and *personae*, provide the satire and humor in the *Observer*, the whole being couched in familiar, pungent language. As L'Estrange counters the faction, propagandizes, and exhorts to rational behavior, he also amuses and delights, always hoping that the laughter provoked by his satiric treatment will cure what he saw as follies of his age, always appealing to the common reader whose sense of humor, he believed, was probably more developed than his sense.

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California State College,

Dominguez Hills

- [1] The translations before 1681 are *The Visions of Dom Francisco de Quevedo* (1667); *A Guide to Eternity* (1672); *Five Love-letters from a Nun* (1677); *The Gentleman-Apothecary* (1678); *Seneca's Morals* (1678); *Twenty Select Colloquies of Erasmus* (1679); and *Tully's Offices* (1680).
- [2] Various perspectives on L'Estrange's life and works can be found in the following: George Kitchin, *Sir Roger L'Estrange* (London, 1913) for L'Estrange's life and impact on the Restoration press; J. G. Muddiman, *The King's Journalist* (London, 1923) for L'Estrange's rivalry with Henry Muddiman, editor of the *Oxford [London] Gazette*; David J. Littlefield, "The Polemic Art of Sir Roger L'Estrange: A Study of His Political Writings, 1659-1688" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1961) for an overview of L'Estrange as a political pamphleteer.
- [3] In 1679 L'Estrange wrote six new pamphlets and reprinted three old ones; in 1680 eleven new and seventeen old; at the start of 1681, ten new and seventeen old. A probable norm of 1000-1500 copies per pamphlet edition has been estimated by Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 314; two orders of 1500 pamphlets each were given to the Restoration printer Nathaniel Thompson, as noted by Leona Rostenberg, "Nathaniel Thompson, Catholic Printer and Publisher of the Restoration," *The Library*, 3rd ser., X (1955), 195.
- [4] *Heraclitus Ridens* was considered by generations of historians as the first newspaper in dialogue; most recently, James Sutherland (*English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1969, p. 241) has given precedence to *The City and Country Mercury*.
- [5] *Studies in the Early English Periodical* (Chapel Hill, 1957), p. 38.
- [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
- [7] Walter Graham, *English Literary Periodicals* (New York, 1930), pp. 38, 63, 168.
- [8] *On English Prose* (Toronto, 1965), pp. 72-74.
- [9] *The Spectator*, No. 10, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1965), I, 44.
- [10] *The Review*, ed. Arthur Wellesley Secord (Facsimile Text Society, New York, 1938), I, 4.
- [11] Several of the literary techniques in the *Spectator* had been introduced into journalism by L'Estrange. *Spectator* No. 1, for example, presents a *persona* in the character of "Mr. Spectator"; No. 2 contains a dream-allegory; Nos. 11 and 34 present indirect discourse between *dramatis personae*; No. 19 sketches a Character of the Envious Man—all literary modes abundant in the *Observator*. [Pg xiii]
- [12] See especially J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs; The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (London, 1961), pp. 20, 24, 50-51, 56, 94, 112, 123-124.
- [13] For attribution and identification of Sheva, see G. R. Noyes, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Dryden* (Boston, 1909), pp. 137, 966.
- [14] The works that are echoed in the *Observator* are Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise Concerning Enthusiasme ...* (London, 1655) and Henry More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus ...* (London, 1656).
- [15] The mixture of tones is discussed in Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse* (New Haven, 1959), pp. 68, 76; Leonard Feinberg, *Introduction to Satire* (Ames, Iowa, 1967), pp. 124-125; Gilbert Highet, *The Anatomy of Satire* (Princeton, 1962), p. 18.
- [16] Hugh Macdonald, "Banter in English Controversial Prose After the Restoration," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XXXII (1946), 22, 26, 38.
- [17] *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art* (Princeton, 1960), pp. 133-136, 164-165.
- [18] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-222 (*passim*).
- [19] *A Bibliography of the Theophrastan Character in English, With Several Portrait Characters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947).
- [20] *The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947) and *The Polemic Character, 1640-1661* (Lincoln, Neb., 1955).
- [21] The term is suggested by Ian Gordon (*The Movement of English Prose*, London, 1966, p. 136) in his discussion of the simple, clear, journalistic style practiced by L'Estrange, Defoe, and Swift in their political writings.
- [22] *On English Prose*, p. 70.
- [23] The symbol "T" and accompanying numbers refer to the entries in Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverb in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The sources for the parts of the *Observator* in *Dialogue* reprinted here

are Volume I of the first collected edition published in 1684, and Volume III, published and bound together with Volume II in 1687, both in the collection of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. The pieces reprinted from Volume I consist of the prefatory "To the Reader," and *Observer* Nos. 1, 13, and 110; the papers reprinted from Volume III consist of *Observer* Nos. 88 and 202. In this edition the following editorial changes have been made: black letter type is indicated by underlining; inverted letters have been corrected; obvious compositor's errors have been corrected; and inconsistencies in font due to compositors' carelessness have been normalized. The frontispiece to this facsimile reprint is reproduced from the Clark copy and measures approximately 13-7/16" x 8-5/8" in the original.

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THE OBSERVATOR

To the *READER*.

Most *Prefaces* are, (Effectually) *Apologies*; and neither the *Book*, nor the *Author*, one Jot the *Better* for them. If the *Book* be *Good*, it will not *Need* an *Apology*; If *Bad*, it will not *Bear* One: For where a man thinks, by *Calling* himself *Noddy*, in the *Epistle*, to *Atone*, for *Shewing* himself to be one, in the *Text*; He does (with Respect to the Dignity of an *Author*) but *Bind up Two Fools* in *One Cover*: But there's no more Trusting some People with *Pen, Ink, and Paper*, then the Maddest Extravagants in *Bedlam*, with *Fire, Sword, or Poyson*. He that *Writes Ill*, and *Sees* it, why does he *Write on*? And, with a kind of *Malice Prepense*, Murder the *Ingenious* part of *Mankind*? He that *Really Believes* he *Writes Well*; why does he pretend to *Think* Otherwise? Now take it which way you please, a man runs a *Risque* of his *Reputation*, for want, either of *Skill*, and *Judgment*, the *One* way; Or of *Good Faith*, and *Candor* the *Other*. Beside a *Mighty Oversight*, in *Imagining* to bring himself off, from an *Ill* Thing, *Done*, or *Said*, by Telling the World that he did it for *This* or *That Reason*. When a *Book* has once past the *Press* into the *Publique*; there's no more *Recalling* of it, then of a *Word Spoken*, out of the *Air* again. And a man may as well hope to Reverse the *Decree* of his *Mortality*, as the *Fate* of his *Writings*. In short: When the *Dice* are *Cast*, the *Author* must stand his *Chance*.

Now that I may not be thought to Enterfere with my self, by *Declaiming* against *One Preface* in *Another*: I do here previously Renounce to All the Little Arts and Forms of Bespeaking the *Good Will* of the *Reader*; As a *Practice*, not only *Mean, Light, and Unprofitable*; but wholly *Contrary* to the *Bent* of *My Inclination*; as well as *Inconsistent* with the very *Drift*, and *Quality* of my *Design*. For These *Papers* were *Written*, Indifferently, for the *Enformation* of the *Multitude*; and for the *Reproof* of a *Faction*: *Two Interests* that I am not much *Sollicitous*, or *Ambitious*, to *Oblige*: And upon *This Consideration* it is, that I have *Address'd* them to the *Reader* in *Generall*; as a *Calculation* that will serve for *All Meridians*: But if I could have Resolved upon a *Dedication*, with any *Particular Mark*, or *Epithete* of *Distinction*; it should have been, *To the IGNORANT, the SEDITIOUS, or the SCHISMATICAL Reader*; for *There*, properly, lies *my Bus'ness*.

The *Reader* will find in the *First Number* of This Collection, the *True Intent*, and *Design* of the *Undertaking*; And he will likewise find, in the very *Date* of it, (April 13. 1681.) the *Absolute Necessity* of some Such *Application*, to Encounter the *Notorious Falshoods*; the *Malicious Scandals*, and the *Poysonous Doctrines* of *That Season*.

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Whether I had *Sufficient Ground, or Reason*, for the Warmth I have Express in These *Papers*, upon Several Occasions, (out of an Affectionate Sense of my *Duty*, and a *Zeal* for the *Peace, Welfare, and Safety* of my *Country*;) I *Dare*, and I *Do Appeal* to the *King*, and his *Ministers*; to the *Consciences* of as many of his *Majesties Subjects*, as are not *Stark Blind* because they *WILL* not *See*; and to the Justice of the Nation. I do *Appeal*, I say, to his *Majesties Proclamations*; to his *Royal Declaration*; Several *Orders of Council*; the *Examinations*, and *Confessions* of *Unquestionable Witnesses*; The *Solemnity* of so many *Tryals, Sentences, and Executions*; and the *Criminals*, Every Man of 'em, Either *Acknowledging the Crime*, or *Justifying the Treason*: But the *FACT*, however made as *Clear* as the *Day*. There's the *Flight* of the *Conspirators*; Their *Arms Seiz'd*; Their *Councils Laid Open*; *Men Listed*; The *Methods* of the *Confederacy Detected*, to the very *Time*, and *Place* for the *Perpetration* of the *Villany*; to the very *Circumstance* of the *Providential Fire* at *Newmarket*, that *Disappointed* it. I have All These *Demonstrative Proofs*, and *Convincing Evidences*, to *Warrant* me in the most *Violent Presumptions* of a *Rebellion* in *Agitation*: And the *Phanatiques Themselves* made good the *Worst* Things that ever I said of the *Party*: In *Vindication* of the *Importunity* of All my *Foreboding*, if not *Prophetical Suspicions*: Nay, they were come to the very *Point*, and *Crisis* of the *Operation*, of That *Unaccountable, and Amazing Vote*. [If his Majesty shall come by Any *Violent Death* (which God Forbid) it shall be *Reveng'd* to the *Utmost* upon the *Papists*.] The *King*, and the *Duke* were to be *Murder'd* by *Republican, and Fanatical Rebels*: There's your *VIOLENT DEATH*. And *Then*, [Revenge it upon the *Papists*:] For [the *Thing* (says *Keeling*) was to be laid upon the *Papists* as a *Branch* of the

Popish Plot. Walcots Tryal. Fol.9.] And the *Next Step* was, for the *Traytors to Unriddle the Mystery*, and to *Expound*, Who were the *Papists*. [*The Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs*] were Three of 'em. *They*, were to be Kill'd; And [*as many of the Lieutenancy as they could get; And the Principal Ministers of State; My Lord Halifax, My Lord Rochester, and my Lord Keeper: (They were Three Papists more.) My Lord Keeper was to have been Hang'd upon the same Post that Colledge had hung. Sir John Moor to be Hung-up in Guildhall, as a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the City. And the Judges Lordships to be Flay'd, and Stuff'd, and Hung-up in Westminster Hall: And a great many of the Pensionary Parliament Hang'd-up, as Betrayers of the Rights of the People.* Walcots Tryal, p. 15.] You have here, a *Practical Explanation of the True-Protestant Way*, (in case of the *King's Violent Death*) of *Revenging it to the Utmost upon the Papists*. And This Intended *Assassination* (says *Ferguson* (in the same Page)) [*Is a Glorious Action, and such an Action as I HOPE TO SEE PUBLICLY GRATIFY'D BY PARLIAMENT; And Question not but you will be Fam'd for it, and Statues Erected for you, with the Title of LIBERATORES PATRIAE. Ibid.*] Now when Matters were come to *This Pass* once, I think it was High Time to Write *Observers*.

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I might Enlarge my self, upon the *Inducements* that Mov'd me to Enter upon This *Province*; The *Needfulness* of some *Popular Medium* for the *Rectifying of Vulgar Mistakes*, and for *Instilling of Dutyfull, and Honest Principles* into the *Common People*, upon That *Turbulent, and Seditious Juncture*: But I am not Willing to *Clogg my Preface*, with the *Repetition* of what I have spoken so *Expressly* to, in the *Book*.

I am now to Advertise the *Reader*, in the next Place; That as I have not Strain'd, so much as *One Syllable*, in the *Whole Course of These Papers*, beyond the *Line of Truth*, Nor let fall *One Word*, *Contrary* to my *Conscience*; Nor *Layd-on* so much as *One False Colour*, for a *Blind*, or a *Disguise*: As I have not done any Thing of All This, I say; Nor *Gratify'd* so much as *One Passion* to the *Prejudice*, of any *MAN*, or *THING*; or of *Common Justice it Self*: So neither, on the *Other* hand, was I less *Cautious*, and *Considerate*, in the *Undertaking* of This *Duty*, then I have been *Clear*, and *Impartial*, in the *Discharge*, and *Manage* of it.

I was no sooner Possess't, of the *Reason*, and the *Expedience* of the *Thing*; but I fell presently to *Deliberate* upon the *Invidious Difficulties*; The *Scandals, Reproches*, and a Thousand Other *Mischiefs*, and *Inconveniencies*, that would probably *Attend* it. I laid them All *before* me; And upon a *Full Computation* of the *Matter, Pro and Con*; I Resolv'd, at last, to Put *pen to paper*; not without some *Vanity* perhaps, in *Affecting* the *Honour* of being *Revil'd*, by the *Blasphemers of God*, and the *King*. I shall say Nothing of the *Traytors*; The *Papists*; The *Fidlers*; The *All-manner-of-Rogues*, and *Debauchees* that they have *made* me: For their *Cause* is *Founded* upon a *Sacrilegious Hypocrisy*; *Maintain'd* by *Fraud, Scandal, and Imposture*. And when they have a mind to *Blacken* a man, 'tis not a *Straw* matter, for any *Foundation of Fact, or History*: But *Paint* him as like the *Devil* as they *Can*; and to make short Work on't, *One Fanatique Sits to Another*, for the *Picture*. But *These Scurrilities* have more of *Noise* in 'em, then of *Weight*: And Those People that had the face to *Calumniate Charles the First*, for a *TYRANT*, and a *PAPIST*; And the *Confidence*, at This very day, to do as much for *Charles the Second*; They that *Preach REBELLION* out of the *GOSPEL*; Give it the *Name of GOD'S TRUTH, GOD'S CAUSE*; And offer up the *Bloud of Kings* as an *Acceptable Sacrifice* to *Jesus Christ*: What *Christian* will not *Value* himself, upon the *Reputation* of lying under the *Scourge* of *Those Tongues, and Pens*, that Offer these *Outrages* to their *Maker*, and their *Saviour*? So that these *Clamours, and Maledictions*, I look upon, as *Matter*, rather of *Advantage*, then *Discredit*; Where *Loyalty* to the *King*, and to the *Church*, is made the *Crime*: But yet I must Confess, I had *Some Other Mortifications* in my *Thought*, that went a little *Nearer* me.

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As first, the *Indecency* of a *Gentlemans* Entring into a *Street-Brawl*, (and *Bare-fac'd* too) with the *Sink of Mankind*, both for *Quality*, and *Wickedness*. 21y. The *Disproportion*, and the *Indecorum* of the *Thing*, for an *Old Fellow* that now Writes *Sixty Eight*, to run about, a *Masquerading*, and *Dialoguing* of it, in *Twenty Fantastical Shapes*, only to furnish a *Popular Entertainment*, and *Diversion*. 31y. The *Scandalous Appearance* of it, for Me to take up the *Profession*, and *Bus'ness* of a *Pamphleteer*; And (almost) to Lose the *Name* of my *Family*, by it, in *Exchange* for That of the *Observer*. 41y. I had This Prospect before me too. What *Construction* would be made upon't; (If I may speak it with *Modesty*) even to the *Lessening* of my *Character*; And Consequently, to my *Detriment*, Every way, as well in Respect of *Fortune*, as *Esteem*: For men are apt, in such Cases as This, to *Mistake*, the *Intent*, as well as the *Reason* of the *Office*; and to Impute the most *Sacred*, and *Consciencious Zeal* of an *Upright Heart*, in the performance of the most *Important*, and *Necessary Duty*, only to a *Levity* of *Mind*, perchance; Or in Other Terms; to an *Over Officious*, and *Pragmatical Itch of Medling*: It makes a man to be lookt upon, as if a *Pamphlet* were his *Masterpiece*; and when he's once *Nail'd to That Post*, he may reckon upon't, that he's at the *Top* of his *Preferment*. Upon These *Four Difficulties*, I Reason'd with my self, after This Manner. To the *First*; What do I care, for having so much *Dirt* Thrown at me, that will *Wash off* again? And at the worst, the Engaging with such a *Rabble of Contaminated Varlets*, is no more then *Leaping* into the *Mud* to help my *Father*. *Secondly*. 'Tis not for a man in years, to do so and so. Well! And here's a *Reputative Circumstance*, on the *One* hand, against an *Indispensable Duty*, on the *Other*. The *Common people* are *Poyson'd*, and will run *Stark Mad*, if they be not *Cur'd*: Offer them *Reason*, without *Fooling*, and it will never *Down* with them: And give them *Fooling*, without *Argument*, they're never the *Better* for't. Let 'em *Alone*, and All's *Lost*. So that the *Mixture* is become as *Necessary*, as the *Office*; And it has been *My Part*, only to *Season* the *One* with the *Other*. *Thirdly*, I must Set the *Conscience* of the *Action*, against the *Reproch*. And *Lastly*; 'Tis nothing to me what *Other People* Think, so long as I am *Conscious to my Self* that I Do what I

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Ought.

All This I Computed upon, *before-hand*; And thus far, I have not been *Deceiv'd* in my *Account*. I have been *Baited* with *Thousands* upon *Thousands* of *Libells*. I have Created *Enemies* that do me the *Honour* to *Hate* me, perhaps, next to the *King Himself* (God Bless him) and the *Royal Family*. Their *Scandals* are *Blown over*: Their *Malice*, *Defeated*, And whenever *my Hour comes*, I am ready to Deliver up my *Soul*, with the *Conscience* of an *Honest Man*, as to what I have done, in *This Particular*: And I do here Declare, in the *Presence* of an *All-Seeing*, and an *All-Knowing God*, That as I have never yet receiv'd any *Answer*, more then *Cavil*, and *Shuffling*, to the *Doctrine*, and *Reasoning* of *These Papers*: So I never *made use* of Any *Sophism*, or *Double Meaning*, in Defence of the *Cause* that I have here taken upon me to *Assert*: But have dealt *Plainly*, and *Above-Bord*, without either *Fallacy*, or *Collusion*.

After This *View* of the *Worst side* of my *Case*; (And (in truth) a kind of *Abstract* of it, in *Minutes*) I should be Extremely wanting, both to *God* and *Man*, in not taking *This Occasion*, of making *known* to the *world*, the *Many Generous Instances* of *Affection*, and *Respect*, which I have received, not only from the most *Considerable* Part of his Majesties *Loyal Subjects* of *All Qualities*, and *Degrees*; But *Particularly* from the *Two Famous Universities Themselves*: And, in short, from the most *Eminent Persons* of the *Long Robe*, in their *Several Professions*: In *Testimony* of their *Favourable Acceptance* of my *Honest Endeavours* toward the *Service*, both of the *Church*, & the *State*. And This I am Obliged to leave behind me, upon *Record*; out of a *Double Right*, & *Regard*, as well to my *Friends*, as to my *Self*: For I reckon upon it, as an *Accumulation* of *Honour*, to *Me*, to be *Rescu'd* out of the hands of *Publique Enemies*, and *Apostates*, by Men of the *Clear Contrary Character*; That is to say; by Men of *Unquestionable Integrity*, and of *Unspotted Faith*.

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My *Back Friends* are as *Merry*, now, as a *Laugh on One side of the Mouth* can Make 'em; at the *Conceit* of calling the several *Presents* which have been made me (and they are very *Considerable*) by the name of a *Gathering*; and they do not Stick to put it about, That I was my *Own Solicitor* for the *Begging* of it. I have been Told of One, that *said* as much; *for whose sake*, I would Advise *All Parents* to take it for a *Warning*, not to *Stuff* their *Childrens Heads* so Damnably, with *Greek and Latin*, as to leave no *Room* for *Brains*, and *Good Manners*. But what if it *be a Gathering*? Are not All *Publique Benevolences*; *Publique Works*; *Publique Acknowledgments*; the *same Thing*? Neither do I find any more *Scandal*, in receiving a *Reward* for a *Service* in a *Common Cause*, then in a *Lawyers* taking a *Fee*, in a *Private* One: But be it what it *will*: I shall Transmit the *Acknowledgment* of it, with This Paper, as the *Glory of my Life*: And Value my self Incomparably more upon so *Eminent* a *Mark* of a *General Esteem*; then upon the *Advantage* of *Ten times a Greater Sum*, by *Any Other way*. But *Gatherings*, with some People, are only *Honourable*, when they are Apply'd to the *Maintaining* of *Conspirators*, and *Affidavit-Men*: And they Account *Money* much better *Bestow'd* upon the *Subversion* of the *Government*, then toward the *Defending* of it: But *That Orange is Squeez'd as far as 'twill Drop, already*.

Now to the *Calumny* of *My Setting This Bus'ness afoot*; *First*, I thank God, that neither my *Mind*, nor my *Condition* were ever Sunk so Low, yet, as to *Descend* to *That way of Application*. 21y, As I hope to be Sav'd, the Matter was Proceeded upon, in *Several Places*, and a *Long Time*, before ever I had the Least *Inkling*, or *Imagination* of it; And when it was so far *Advanc'd*, without my *Privity*, I must Certainly have been both a *Great Fool*, and a *Great Clown*, either to have *Oppos'd*, or *Refus'd*, a Token of so *Obliging*, and so *Generous* a *Respect*. To Conclude; If any man has been so *Misled*, as to *Intend* That for a *Personal Charity*; which I cannot *Honourably Own* the *Receiving* of, under *That Notion*; I am ready to Return him his Proportion, with a Thousand Acknowledgments: But This shall not Hinder me yet, from *Cherishing* in my *Thoughts*, the *Remembrance* of what *Honour* soever has been done me for the sake of the *Publique*.

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The Reflexions that have been Pass'd upon my *Quality*, and *Conversation*, need no Further Answer, then to Appeal to my very *Name*, and my *Acquaintance*: But for the *Charge* of being a *Papist*, it is as *False*, as it is *Malicious*.

I am to say One Word more now, concerning my *L. Shaftsbury*; whose *Name*, and *Title*, I have often Occasion to make mention of, in This Book. The *Reader* is to take Notice, that it is Intended of the *Late Earl of Shaftsbury*, who Dy'd at *Amsterdam, Jan. 168-2/3*. *The Surviving Heir of That Honour, and Family, having ever Demean'd himself with a Remarkable Loyalty, and Respect, toward the King, and his Government*.

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Numb. 1.

THE OBSERVATOR.

In *QUESTION* and *ANSWER*.

WEDNESDAY, April 13. 1681.

Q. *WELL! They are so. But do you think now to bring'um to their Wits again with a Pamphlet?*

A. Come, Come; 'Tis the *Press* that has made'um *Mad*, and the *Press* must set'um *Right* again. The Distemper is *Epidemical*; and there's no way in the world, but by *Printing*, to convey the *Remedy* to the *Disease*.

Q. *But what is it that you call a Remedy?*

A. The *Removing* of the *Cause*. That is to say, the *Undeceiving* of the *People*: for they are well enough Disposed, of themselves, to be *Orderly*, and *Obedient*; if they were not misled by *Ill Principles*, and Hair'd and Juggled out of their Senses with so many *Frightful Stories* and *Impostures*.

Q. *Well! to be Plain and Short; You call your self the Observator: What is it now that you intend for the Subject of your Observations?*

A. Take it in few words then. My business is, to encounter the *Faction*, and to Vindicate the *Government*; to detect their *Forgeries*; to lay open the Rankness of their *Calumnies*, and *Malice*; to Refute their *Seditious Doctrines*; to expose their *Hypocrisy*, and the *bloudy Design* that is carry'd on, under the Name, and Semblance, of *Religion*; And, in short, to lift up the Cloke of the *True Protestant* (as he Christens himself) and to shew the *People*, the *Jesuite* that lies skulking under it.

Q. *Shall the Observator be a Weekly Paper, or How?*

A. No, No; but oftner, or seldomer, as I see Occasion.

Q. *Pray favour me a word; When you speak of a True Protestant, don't you mean a Dissenting Protestant?*

A. Yes, I do: For your *Assenting* and *Consenting Protestant* (you must know) is a *Christian*.

Q. *And is not a Dissenting Protestant a Christian too?*

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A. Peradventure, he *is* one; peradventure, *not*: For a *Dissenter* has his Name from his *Disagreement*, not from his *Perswasion*.

Q. *What is a Dissenter then?*

A. 'Tis Impossible to say either what a *Dissenter IS*, or what he is *NOT*. For he's a *NOTHING*; that may yet come to be *ANY thing*. He may be a *Christian*; or he may be a *Turk*; But you'll find the best account of him in his *Name*. A *DISSENTER*, is one that thinks *OTHERWISE*. That is to say, let the *Magistrate* think what he pleases, the *Dissenter* will be sure to be of *another Opinion*. A *Dissenter* is not of *This*, or of *That*, or of *Any Religion*; but A *Member Politique* of an *Incorporate Faction*: or Otherwise; A *Protestant-Fault-Finder* in a *Christian Commonwealth*.

Q. *Well! but tho' a Dissenter may be any thing; A Dissenting Protestant yet tells ye what he Is.*

A. He does so, he tells ye that he *is* a *Negative*: an *Anti-Protester*; One that *Protests AGAINST*, but not *FOR* any thing.

Q. *Ay; but so long as he opposes the Corruptions of the Church of Rome.*

A. Well: And so he does the *Rites*, and *Constitutions* of the Church of *England* too. As a *Protestant*, he does the *former*; and the *Other* as a *Dissenter*.

Q. *But is there no Uniting of These Dissenters?*

A. You shall as soon make the Winds blow the same way, from all the Poynts of the Compass.

Q. *There are Good and Bad, of all Opinions, there's no doubt on't: But do you think it fayr, to Condemn a whole Party for some Ill men in't?*

A. No, by no means: The *Party* is neither the *Worse*, for having *Ill* men in it, nor the *Better*, for *Good*. For whatever the *Members* are, the *Party* is a *Confederacy*; as being a *Combination*, against the *Law*.

Q. *But a man may Mean honestly, and yet perhaps ly under some Mistake. Can any man help his Opinion?*

A. A man may *Mean well*, and *Do Ill*; he may shed *Innocent Bloud*, and *think he does God good Service*. 'Tis True: A man cannot help *Thinking*; but he may help *Doing*: He is *Excusable* for a *Private Mistake*, for *That's* an Error only to *himself*; but when it comes once to an *Overt Act*, 'tis an *Usurpation* upon the *Magistrate*, and there's no Plea for't.

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Q. *You have no kindness, I perceive, for a Dissenting Protestant; but what do you think of a bare Protestant without any Adjunct?*

A. I do look upon *Such* a *Protestant* to be a kind of an *Adjective Noun-Substantive*; It requires something to be joyn'd with it, to shew its Signification. By *Protestancy* in *General* is commonly understood a *Separation* of Christians from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*: But to *Oppose Errors*, on the *One hand*, is not *Sufficient*, without keeping our selves *Clear* of Corruptions, on the *Other*. Now it was the *Reformation*, not the *Protestation*, that Settled us upon a *true Medium* betwixt the two *Extreams*.

Q. So that you look upon the Protestation, and the Reformation, it seems, as two several things.

A. Very right; But in such a manner only, that the *Former*, by Gods Providence, made way for the *Other*.

Q. But are not all Protestants Members of the Reformed Religion?

A. Take notice, *First*, that the *Name* came Originally from the *Protestation* in 1529. against the *Decree of Spires*; and that the *Lutheran Protestants* and *Ours* of the *Church of England*, are not of the *Sam Communion*. Now *Secondly*; If you take *Protestants* in the *Latitude* with our *Dissenters*, they are not so much a *Religion*, as a *Party*; and whoever takes this *Body of Dissenters* for *Members* of the *Reformed Religion* sets up a *Reformation* of a *hundred and fifty Colours* and as may [sic] *Heresies*. The *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Antinomians*, *Familists*, &c. do all of them set up for *Dissenting Protestants*; but God forbid we should ever enter these *People* upon the *Roll* of the *Reformation*.

Q. Well! but what do you think of Protestant Smith and Protestant Harris?

A. Just as I do of *Protestant Muncer*, and *Protestant Phifer*; a *Brace* of *Protestants* that cost the *Empire* 150000 *Lives*: and our own *Pretended Protestants* too, of *Later Date*, have cost *This Nation* little lesse.

Q. Ay: But these are men of quite another Temper: Do not you see how zealous they are for the Preservation of the King's Person, the Government, and the Protestant Religion?

A. I See well enough what they Say, and I know what they do. Consider, *First*, that they are Profess'd *Anabaptists*: *Smith* no less then a *pretended Prophet*; and the *Other*, a kind of a *Wet Enthusiast*. *Secondly*; 'tis the very *Doctrine* of the *Sect* to root out *Magistracy*, Cancel *Humane Laws*; Kill, and take *Possession*; and wash their Feet with the *Bloud* of the *Ungodly*; and where ever they have set *Footing*, they have *Practic'd* what they *Taught*. Are not these likely men now, to help out a *King*, and a *Religion*, at a dead lift? If you would be further satisfy'd in the *Truth* of things, reade *Sleidan*, *Spanhemius*, *Gastius*, *Hortensius*, *Bullinger*, *Pontanus*, *The Dipper dipp'd*, *Bayly's Disswasive*, *Pagets Heresiography*, &c. *Hortensius* tells ye, how *Jack of Leydens Successor* murthered his *Wife*, to make way to his *Daughter*, *P. 74.* and after that, cut a girls throat, for fear she should tell *Tales*. *Gastius* tells us of a *Fellow* that cut off his brothers *Head*, as by *Impulse*, and then cry'd, *The Will of God is fulfilled, lib. I. Pa. 12.* *Jack of Leyden* started up from *Supper*, to do some *business* (he said) which the *Father* had commanded him, and cut off a *Soldiers Head*; and afterwards cut off his *Wives head* in the *Market-place*. *Sleydans Comment. Lib. 10.*

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Q. You will not make the Protestant-Mercury to be an Anabaptist too, will ye?

A. If you do make him *any thing*, I'll make him *That*. But in one word, they are *Factious* and *Necessitous*; and consequently, the fittest *Instruments* in the world, for the *Promoting* of a *Sedition*. *First*, as they are *Principled* for't; and then, in respect of their *Condition*; for they are every man of them under the *Lash* of the *Law*, and *Retainers* to *Prisons*; So that in their *Fortunes* they can hardly be *worse*. Insomuch, that it is a common thing for them to lend a *Name* to the countenancing of a *Libel* which no body else dares own.

Q. Well! but let them be as poor, and malicious as Devils, so long as they have neither Brains, nor Interest, what hurt can their Papers do?

A. The *Intelligences*, you must know, that bear their *Names*, are not of their *Composing*, but the *Dictates* of a *Faction*, and the *Venom* of a *Club* of *Common-wealths-men* instill'd into those *Papers*.

Q. These are Words, all this while, without Proofs; Can you shew us particularly where the *Venom* lies?

A. It is the business of every *Sheet* they *Publish*, to *Affront* the *Government*, the *Kings Authority*, and *Administration*; the *Privy-Council*; the *Church*, *Bench*, *Juries*, *Witnesses*; All *Officers*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Military*, and *Civil*: and no matter for *Truth* or *Honesty*, when a *Forg'd Relation* will serve their turn. 'Tis a common thing with them, to get half a dozen *Schismaticall* *Hands* to a *Petition*, or *Address* in a corner, and then call it, the *sense* of the *Nation*: and when all's done, they are not above twenty *Persons*, that make all this *Clutter* in the *Kingdom*.

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Q. But to what End do they all this?

A. To make the *Government* *Odious*, and *Contemptible*; to magnifie their own *Party*; and fright the *People* out of their *Allegeance*, by *Counterfeit Letters*, *Reports*, and *false Musters*, as if the sober and considerable part of the *Nation* were all on their side.

Q. We are in *Common Charity* to allow, for *Errors*, and *Mis-reports*, and not presently to make an *Act* of *Malice*, and *Design*, out of every *Mistake*. Can you shew me any of these *Counterfeits*, and *Impostures* that you speak of? These *Cheats* upon the *People*, and *Affronts* upon the *Government*?

A. Yes, yes; *Abundantly*. And I'll give you *Instances* immediately upon every *poynt* you'll ask me: Only *This* note, by the way; That let them be *mistakes*, or *Contrivances*, or what you will, they all run *Unanimously* against the *Government*, without so much as one *Syllable* in *favour* of it: Which makes the matter desperately *suspicious*.

Q. Let me see then, in the First place, where any Affront is put upon the Government.

A. Some Persons (Says Smiths Prot. Int. N. 7.) in Norwich, &c. who have a greater stock of Confidence, and Malice, than Wisdom, and Honesty, are so far transported with Zeal to serve the Devil, or his Emissaries the Papists, that they are now Prosecuting several Dissenting Protestants upon Stat. 35. Eliz. &c. (And so the Protestant-Mercury, N. 15.) Some People at Norwich, are playing the Devil for Godsake: several honest, peaceable, Protestant Dissenters, having been troubled for not coming to Church, or having been Present at Religious Meetings &c. Now what greater Affront can there be to Government, then This language, First, from an Anabaptist that is a Professed Enemy to all Government; and Secondly, from a Private Person, Bare-fac'd, to arraign a Solemn Law: A Law of this Antiquity; a Law of Queen Elizabeth's, (a Princesse so much Celebrated by our Dissenters themselves for her Piety, Good Government, and Moderation;) a Law which, upon Experience, has been found so Necessary, that the bare Relaxing of it, cost the Life of a Prince, the Blood of two or three hundred thousand of his Subjects, and a Twenty-years-Rebellion? To say nothing of the dangerous Consequence of making it Unsafe for Magistrates to discharge their Dutyes, for fear of Outrages, and Libells.

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Q. Well! but what have you to say now to the Kings Authority, his Administration, and his Privy Council.

A. Smith (in his Vox Populi, P. 13.) saith, that the King is oblig'd to pass or Confirm those Laws his People shall Chuse, at which rate, if they shall tender him a Bill for the Depositing of himself, he is bound to agree to't. Secondly, in the same Page, he Denies the Kings Power of Proroguing, or Dissolving Parliaments; which is an Essential of Government it self, under what Form soever, and he's no longer a King, without it. And then for his Administration, P. 1. the Anabaptist charges upon his Majesty [those many surprizing and astonishing Prorogations, and Dissolutions (as he has worded his Meaning) to be procur'd by the Papists.] And then, P. 15. he wounds both the King, and his Council, at a Blow; in falling upon those that make the King break his Coronation-Oath; arraigning his Council in the First place, and the King himself in the Second; and that for no less then the breach of Oath, and Faith.—Wee'l talk out the Rest at our next Meeting.

London, Printed for H. Brome, at the Gun in S. Pauls Church-yard.

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Numb. 13.

THE OBSERVATOR.

In QUESTION and ANSWER.

SATURDAY, May 14. 1681.

Q. But which way lies your Humour then?

A. My way (you must know) lies more to History, and Books, and Politicks, and Religion, and such as That, But take this along with you too; that I am for turning over of Men, as well as Books; for that's the Profitable Study when all's done.

Q. Pre' thee commend me to the Common Hangman then, If He that turns over the most men be the Greatest Philosopher. But how turning over of Men?

A. That is to say, I Read Them; I Study them; I speak of turning over their Actions, not their Bodys. And Pray observe my Simile. Every Action of a mans Life resembles a Page in a Book. D'ye Mark me?

Q. I were to Blame else, But what are the Authors that you would recommend to a bodys Reading?

A. Why thereafter as the Subject is, As for History; ye have Clarks Lives, and Examples; Lloyd's Memoirs; the Popes Warehouse, &c. For Politicks; There's Mr. Baxters Holy Commonwealth, the Assemblys Catechism, The Letter about the Black Box, &c. For Law, ye have Mr. Prinn's Sovereign Power of Parliaments; Smiths Vox Populi, &c. For Morals, There's Youth's Behaviour; And then For Deep Knowledge, ye have Brightman's Revelations Reveal'd; Lilly's Hieroglyphicks; the Northern Star, Jones of the Heart: All Excellent Pieces in their kinds, and not Inferior (perhaps) to any of the Ancients.

Q. I was never so happy as to meet with any of these Authors. But what d'ye think of Cornelius Tacitus?

A. A Talking, Tedious, Empty Fellow.

Q. Well but is not Titus Livius a pretty Good Historian?

A. Ha Ha Ha. That Same *Titus* is an Errant *Puppy*, A *Damn'd*, *Inspid*, *Lying Coxcomb*. *Titus Livius* a good *Historian* sayst thou? Why if I had a *Schoolboy* that writ such *Latin* I'de tickle his *Toby* for him.

Q. *But what's your Opinion of Caesars Commentaries then? I mean, for a Narrative?*

A. A *Narrative* d'ye say? Deliver me from such *Narratives*! Why 'tis no more to be compar'd to the *Narratives* that are written *now adays*, then an *Apple* is to an *Oyster*.

Q. *But however He was a very Brave Fellow, was he not?*

A. He was an *Arbitrary*, *Oppressing*, *Tyrannical Fellow*. And then for his *Bravery*, he did pretty well at the *Battel of Leipsick*, and after that, at *Lepanto*; and when you have said that, you have said all.

Q. *You have read all these Authors, have you not?*

A. Why verily I *have*, and I have *not*. They are a company of *Lying*, *Ridiculing Rascals*; They do not *AFFECT* me at all: they are below me, they are not worth my notice.

Q. *What would I give to be as well vers'd in History, as you are?*

A. And that's Impossible, let me tell ye; Utterly Impossible: For I reade just six times as much as any other Man. I have Read more *Folio's* then ever *Tostatus* read *Pages*. In one Word; I reade as much in *one hour*, as any other man reads in *six*.

Q. *Why how can that be?*

A. Why you must know I have a notable Faculty that way. I read ye *two Pages* at a *view*: the *Right-hand Page* with *one eye*, and the *Left* with *t'other*, and then I carry *three Lines* before me at a time with *each eye*.

Q. *But can ye Keep what ye Reade, at this rate?*

A. I *remember* six times more then I *reade*; for I supply all that was left out, and yet 'tis a wonderfull thing, I cannot for my heart's blood remember *Faces*. I dare swear I have taken one man for another twenty times; but I am altogether for *Things*, and *Notions*, d'ye see, and such like; *Countenances*, let me tell ye, don't *AFFECT* me; And yet I have a strange aversion for the two *Faces* I saw with you t'other day.

Q. *What D'ye mean, Kings-man and Church-man?*

A. *Devil's-man* and *Damms-man*: A couple of *Canary-Birds*, I'le warrant 'em: But *Kings-man* is better yet then *Duke's-man*.

Q. *Why do ye talk thus of men of Quality, and Considerable Families?*

A. Well! but I may live to see their Honours laid in the dust tho' for all that. Prethee why is not *Circingle-man*, *Lawn-sleeve-man*, *Mitre-man*, as good a name as *Church-man*? Pray what Family is this same *Church-man* of, for I know a world of the *Name*? He's of the *Prelatical House*, I suppose, Is he not?

Q. *Well, and is he ever the worse for that?*

A. Only *Antichrist* is the *Head* of the *Family*. Come let me talk a little roundly to ye. How many sound *Protestant Divines* may there be of that House now, d'ye think, in *England*, and *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*? not above *Six*, if I be a *Christian*, and all the rest are *Tantivy's*, and worshippers of the *Beast*: But I may live yet to have the scowring of some of their *Frocks* for 'em.

Q. *Prethee when didst thou see Mr. Sancroft?*

A. Not a good while; but *Harry* and I had a *Crash* t'other day yonder at *Greenwich*.

Q. *What's become of L'Estrange I wonder?*

A. Who! *Towzer*? that *Impudent Dog*; That *Tory-Rascal*; That *Fidling Curr*. He's in the *Plot* with *Celiers*, and young *Tong*, as sure as thou'rt alive, and as Rank a *Papist* (let him swear what he will) as ever *Piss't*.

Q. *But has he not taken the Sacrament to the contrary?*

A. A *Popish Proselyte* is no more to be believ'd, upon his *Oath*, than the *Devil himself* if he were to *Expound* upon the *Gospel*. Why they have *Dispensations* to swear any thing.

Q. *What and continue Papists still?*

A. Yes: And go on still with the *Hellish Popish Plot*, as heartily as ever they did before. Why don't you see how the *Toad Brazens* it out still that he was not at *Somerset-House*? tho' *Prance* and *Mowbray* swear they saw him there?

Q. *Well, But who knows best? He Himself, or the Witnesses?*

A. Not a fart matter; For whether 'twas so or not; It were better *Forty* such *Rogues* were *Hang'd* then one *Kings-Evidence* *Disparag'd*.

Q. But did they not swear a little short, think ye?

A. Nay, they might have sworn *homer*, I must confess.

Q. But now you mind me of Somerset-House; Do'nt you remember a young Fellow of Cambridge that Refus'd to receive the Sacrament, because (as he told his Master) he was reconcil'd to the Church, of Rome, and Converted, and Baptiz'd at Somerset-House? This is an old story ye must know. Why might not this be Towzer?

A. Nay as like as not, for the *Universitys* are the very *Seminariys* of *Popery*, and it will never be well with *England* till *those Calves* be turn'd a *grazing*.

Q. But is there no believing of a Converted Papist upon his Oath? Why does the Law receive 'em then (upon such and such Certain Tests) for statutable Protestants?

A. The *Law* never was among 'em as *I* have been. There's no such thing (I tell ye) as a *Converted Papist*, and he shall sooner change his *shape*, then his *Nature: Kiss a Book, Kiss mine Arse*.

Q. Why d'ye talk thus at random?

A. Come, come, the *Outlandish Doctor* for my mony: that told one of the *Macks* t'other day in the face of the *Bench*, that *he would let down his Breeches and shite upon him. Plain-dealing's a Jewell*.

Q. Thou'rt e'en as busy with a Backside as a Glyster-Pipe. But (sluttery a part) Pray have a care what ye say; for if a Proselyted Papist be not to be trusted upon his Oath, what becomes of the Kings Evidence that swear under the same Circumstances? But here's enough of this; and Pre'thee tell us now, how go squares in the State all this while?

A. Oh very bad, very bad, nothing but *Tory-Rorys*, from top to bottom. *Tory-Judges; Tory-Jurys; Tory-Justices; Tory-Officers; Tory-Crackfarts; Tory-Pamphlets*. All, *Certiorari-men*, and *Yorkists*. But I rattled up some of 'em there at the—*What d'ye call't-House*—Oh they'r grown strangely Insolent since these *Bawling Addresses*.

Q. Why what do they do?

A. Why they set every *Rascally Squire* and *Doctor* above me: Nay, they'l scarce put off their hats to me unless I begin; and then they stand grinning at Me and my *Train*. Would you think now that a fellow should have the *Impudence* to call Me to an account, for nothing in the world, but saying, that *he had a Bitch to his Wife, and she a Rogue to her Husband*. And then to be call'd *Sirrah* for my pains, only for telling a *Court-Kinsman* of his that *I should Lace the Rogue, his Cozens Coat for him*. Well If I had not sent a *Fool* o'my errant I had had the *Rascal* in *Lob's Pound* before this time.

Q. And how came ye to miss?

A. Why the *Agent* that I employ'd was so set upon his *Guts*, that he never minded the discourse at the *Table*. We had had him else. Or if he could but have got him to ha' met me, we'd ha' done his business.

Q. But d'ye take this to be fair dealing now; to set any man at work to betray his Host; or to give such language to people of Condition?

A. What not when the *Protestant Religion* lies at *stake*? Why Pre'thee I tell the *Proudest* of 'em all to their *Teeth*, that they are *Villains* and *Scoundrells*. What do I care for their *Graces* and *Reverences*, they *Pimp* for *Preferment*, and some of 'em shall hear on't too *next Parliament*. But Hark ye I have a great deal of work upon my hands, and I want an *Ammanuensis* out of all *Cry*.

Q. Why ye had a Pretty Fellow to'ther day, what's become of him?

A. I'l tell ye then. A *Taylor* had made him a *Garment*: and afterwards coming to him for the *mony*, he deny'd the *Receit* on't and being prest upon it, he offer'd to purge himself upon *Oath*, that he never had any such *Garment*. Upon this, the matter rested for a while; but at length, it was prov'd where he had *Sold* it, and so the *Taylor* had satisfaction. In short, I turn'd him away upon't, for he is no servant for me that's *taken* in a false *Oath*.

Q. How is it possible for you to go thorough with all your Writing-work?

A. Nay that's true; considering what a deal of other business I have; for really there would be no Justice done, if I did not look after *Witnesses, Jurys, Choice of City-Officers, Election of Members* to serve in *Parliament*, both for *Town*, and *Country*; the disposing of *Ecclesiastical Dignitys*; the *Jurisdiction of Courts*; the *Government of Prisons*; the *Regulation of Messengers Fees*: In one word, the stress of the whole *Government* lyes in a manner upon my shoulders; And I am so *Harrass'd* with it, that I profess I was e'en thinking, a little before the Meeting of the last *Parliament*, to lay out a matter of *Twenty or Thirty Thousand Pound* upon some *Pretty Seat* in the *Country*, and *Retire*.

Q. Why truly for a man that has seen the world as you have done, what can he do better?

A. Yes, I have seen the world to my *Cost*. 'Twas a sad thing for me, you must think, that never went to bed in my *Mothers House* without four or five *Servants* to wait upon me, (and if I had a mind to a *Tart*, a *Custard*, or a *Cheesecake* at any time, I had 'em all at command:) to be *Hackny'd*,

and *Jolted* up and down in a Forreign Country like a *Common Body*.

Q. But what was it that put you upon Travel?

A. The Desire I had to see Religions, and Fashions: And now it comes in my head. Did you ever see my Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy?

Q. Was That Yours then?

A. Mum; betwixt friends. But I shall have a touch ere long at the Creed-making Rascal there.

Q. Who's that? Athanasius?

A. The very same. What a Declaration is there?

Q. But how d'ye like the Kings Declaration?

A. Not at all. Not at all. It runs so much upon the Arbitrary, and the Prelatick? Yes, and upon something else too.

Q. Come, 'Faith we should not part with dry lips, What d'ye think of one Roomer now to the Health of? (Hark, and I'll tell ye.)

A. I'll drink no Traitors Health.

Q. Why prethee what is Civilly-Drinking his Health, more then Dutifully Praying for't?

A. No: I am of the mans mind that said, I hope the Devil will have him; and if there be any punishment in Hell greater then another, I hope the Devil will tear his soul to pieces. So Farewell.

Q. What a Blessed sort of Subjects and Christians are these, that value themselves in the One Capacity, for their Contempt of Authority: And in the other, for the Zeal of Flying out into Blasphemys, and Execrations, instead of Prayers? But what shall I call this at last? A Romantique, or an Historical Observator?

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THE OBSERVATOR.

In DIALOGUE.

SATURDAY, March 11. 1681.

WHIG. Come; I'll shew ye my *study, Tory.*

TORY. Why you have got a Brave *Library* here.

Wh. For a *Choice Collection*, let me tell ye, as any is in *Christendom*.

To. You have all the *Greek* and *Latin Fathers*, I suppose; the *Councells*, the *Schoolmen*, and those *People*.

Wh. I had'em all; but there's a great deal of *Trash*; and so I e'en rid my hands of'em; though some of'em did pretty well too; considering those *Dark Times*. Now here can I sit as *Snug* as a *Hare* in her *Form*, and Chat away a Winters Evening with a *Good Fire*, a *Pipe*, and a *Friend*, and never feel how the time spends.

To. Well! And why should not You and I keep our *Conferences* here too?

Wh. Best of all: There's no body within hearing; and then we have our *Books* and *Papers* about us, and all in such Order, that I'll lay my Finger, Blindfold, upon any book you'll call for.

To. But what Subject are they mostly of?

Wh. Matters of *State*, *History*, *Travells*, The Rights and Power of the *People*, *Reformation*, *Religion*, *Discipline*, *Admonitions*, *Remonstrances*, *Petitions*, *Appeals*; as ye see'em mark'd upon the Shelves. But all this is nothing, you'll say, when y've seen my *Gallery*. Open that same Door before ye.

To. Bless me! What a Treasure's here?

Wh. Look ye now. That side is all *News-Books*, and *Political Divinity*.

To. You mean *Polemical Divinity* I suppose.

Wh. Ay Ay; 'Tis all one for that. Now all to'ther side is *Dissenting Protestants*; as *Cartwright, Brown, Barrow, Robinson, Hetherington, Trask, Naylor, Best, Biddle, Muggleton*. And here are your *Muncerians, Apostoliques, Separatists, Catharists, Enthusiasts, Adamits, Huttites, Augustinians, Libertines, Georgites, Familists, Ranters Seekers, Sweet-Singers, Antinomians, Arrians, Socinians, Millenaryes, Quakers*: And in Two words; all the *Godly Party*. They make Fourteen Folio's of Catalogue.

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To. But ha'ye no *Manuscripts*?

Wh. Yes I have Three cases there beyond the Chimny, that I wou'd not change for *Bodlies Library* three times over.

To. What do they treat of?

Wh. Two of 'em are altogether upon the *Art of Government*, and the *Third* is Cramm'd with *Lampoon* and *Satyr*. You sha'not name me any one Copy that has scap'd me; nor any Exigent of State; but I'll furnish ye out of these Papers with an Expedient for't.

To. And wherein does this *Art of Government* Consist?

Wh. In *Foresight, Experience, Presence of Thought, Prudence of Direction, and Vigour of Execution*. To be short; Every Motion of the *Head, the Eye, the Hand, the Foot, the Body*. Contributes a part to this Great Work.

To. Is it a Science that may be Convey'd by *Instruction*?

Wh. With as much Ease as *Fencing, or Dancing*. There are Three or Four *Dissenting Academies* here about the Town, where People are taught to *Nod, Wink, Gape, Cough, Spit*; Nay the very *Tuning* of their *Hum's* and *Haw's*, by *Rule and Method*; when to *Smite the Breast*, and when to *Dust the Cushion*; when to *Leap* in the *Pulpit*, and when to *Swim*; when to be *Serene*, and when to *Thunder*: Nay the *Faces* they are to make at every *Period*; and the very *Measure* of their *pauses*; that the *Parenthesis* may be large enough for the *Groans, & Ejaculations* of the *Secret ones* to *Play* in; they are taught to Pray for the *King* with *One Tone* and *Countenance*, and for the *Parliament* with *another*.

To. I have Observ'd them indeed to Cry with a Loud Voice, *Lord! strengthen the Hands of the One*, & then to drop the Note into a kinde of a Piping whisper, with a *Lord! Turn the Heart of the Other*, which is as much as to say, *Alas! the Poor Gentleman is out of his way, and we must set all hands at work to bring him to comply with his Parliament, though that Handy work, at last, bring his Royall Head to the Scaffold*.

Wh. If you wou'd not be a *Rogue* now and tell tales, I could let ye in to the whole *Popular Mystery*; and shew ye the *Folly*, and the *Vanity* of any other Claim to *Sovereign Power*. And then I have all the *Prints* brought me as soon as ever they come out.

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To. Pre'thee let's fall to work then.

Wh. Come, I'll give you a sight of one of my *Boxes* first; but I must be gone in a quarter of an hour upon absolute Necessity.

To. Well! And whether in such hast?

Wh. There's One at *Newington* has promis'd me an *Answer* to the *Dissenters Sayings*; and then I am told of a *Godly Divine* at *Clapham*, that has a *Reply* ready to the *Notes upon College*.

To. Let's make the best of our time then. Stay a little; what have we here?

Wh. Every thing is *Titled*, ye see, ready to your hand; so that you may Pick and Chuse.

To. Let me see then. *Pious Frauds; Mentall Reservations; Infallibility of the Assembly; Baxters Saints; Cases of Conscience; Dispensations, Contributions, Maxims, Intelligence, Orders, Committees, Juryes, Caballs, Religion, Property, Demands, Proposals, Grievances, Pretences, Salvo's, Distinctions, Explanations, Projects, Directions, Advices, Resolutions, Invectives, Fictions, Forms of Reproaches*, suited to *All Persons, Orders, and Qualities; True-Protestant Privileges; The Doctrine of Probabilities, and Implicit Obedience*.

Wh. Now upon all these Heads, ye have *Authoritys, Precedents*; and all the *Colours, Arguments, and Elucidations* that the matter will bear.

To. But your *Pious Frauds, Mentall Reservations, Infallibility, Dispensations, Salvo's, Distinctions, Probabilities, Implicit Faith*; These are all *Popish Points*.

Wh. They are so, when they are apply'd to the service of the Church of *Rome*: but the *True Protestant-Cause Sanctifies the Principle*. As there's a great difference betwixt the *Popes Excommunicating* of an *Hereticall Prince*; and the *General Assemblys Excommunicating* of an *Antichristian, Episcopall Prince*; betwixt a *Popish Gunpowder-Treason*, in the *Cellers, under the Parliament-House*; and a *Gunpowder Commission to Kill and Slay* within the *walls of the Same House, above ground*; though to Carnal Eyes they may both appear to *Center* in the same *Point*: And so in like manner, betwixt a *Conspiracy of Papists to cut off the King, and Subvert the Government*; and a *True-Protestant-Association*, to the very same *Effect*: Nay with this Advantage too; that the Latter Propounds the Accomplishing of that, in a matter of a *month* or *six weeks*, which the Zeal of their Fore-fathers was at least *Ten, or a dozen years* a doing.

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To. 'Tis a Great Ease for a man to have all these Subjects *Common-Plac'd* to his hand.

Wh. Right. And where you may turn to any thing you have a mind to see, with a *wet Finger*.

To. But Pray'e How do you approve (in many of our *Seisures*) of the *Application of Popish Trinkets to Prophane Uses*, which were by them Dedicated to the service of a *Superstitious Religion*?

Wh. You cannot Imagine, though an *Embroder'd Cope* may be an *Abomination*, what a *Cordial the Pearl* of it is to a *True-Protestant Professor*. *Lambs-Wool* drinks no way better then out of a *Chalice*. Or in other Cases; 'Tis but Destroying the *Popish Form* of an *Idolatrous Vessell*, and the *Intrinsick Value* is never the less *Current* according to the *Standard* of the *Reformation*. The *Picture* of the *Blessed Virgin*, with our *Saviour* in her Arms, is never a jot the worse for *sale* to a *Painter*; for being an object of *Idolatry* about the *Altar*.

To. And yet I have seen it Committed to the *Flames*, but it has been an Oversight, betwixt the *Zeal* and the *Ignorance* of the *Magistrate*. How many *Curious Crucifixes*, and *Reliques*, with *Delicate Inlayings*, and *Carvings* have I seen Expos'd at *Gill* the *Constables* in *Westminster*; truly, at very *Reasonable Rates*?

Wh. Not unlikely; but then ye must know, they were *Seiz'd* in *One Capacity*, and *sold* in *Another*; for they were *vended* in the Contemplation of the *Workmanship*, though they were *taken* as the *Fooleries* of a *False Religion*. We have in our days seen the *Representation* of the *Trinity*, Demolish'd in a *Church-Window*, with Extraordinary *Zeal* and *Approbation*.

To. Why truly I am as much against the making of any *Image* or *Figure* of *God the Father* under the *Form* of a *Man*, as any body; for *Twenty Mistakes* and *Inconveniencies* that may arise upon the Consideration of such an *Object*; but I know no hurt in the world in the Representing of our *Saviour* under a *Human shape*; or of the *Holy Ghost* under the shadow of a *Dove*: beside that the thing is presum'd to have been done by *Authority*; for otherwise, the same *Zeal* that Destroys but the *Window* of the *Church*, would not stick at the Destroying perhaps of every thing else that belongs to't. But prethee tell me One thing, suppose the *Blessed Trinity*, so Represented, should be the *Seal* of an *Ancient Community*, or *Society* of men, what's the difference betwixt that *Figure*, in *Graving*, or in *Nealing*; in *Silver*, or in *Glass*? Would not you as much *scruple* the putting of that *Seal* to a *Lease*, as the *seeing* of that *Figure* in a *Church-Window*?

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Wh. No; by no means; for the *One* is Purely a *Civil Act*; and the *Other* has a Regard to *Religious Worship*.

To. And yet this *Image*, or *Pretended Resemblance*, is the *same thing* in the *One*, as it is in the *Other*. Well! I am Extremely pleas'd with this Private Corner for Liberty of Discourse.

Wh. Here you may have all the *Papers* as they come out, *Fresh and Fresh*: All the *Arguments*, and *Politiques* of the *Dissenting Party*; Chuse *your own Theme*, Take *your own Time*, and Treat upon *your own Conditions*.

To. That's as fair as any Mortall can wish; So that when the day does not afford other matter to work upon, we may Look a little more narrowly into the *Merits* of the *Cause*. And so much for that. But here let me ask ye a Question: Do you know a *Little Cause-Jobber* yonder somewhere about *Kings-street*, in *Covent Garden*?

Wh. Does he not use the *Christian Coffee-House*?

To. The very same. He was saying t'other day that *L'Estrange* was a *Pensioner of Cromwels*; a *Papist*; and that he durst not bring his *Action* against any man for *Calling* him so: That he was a *Rogue*; a *Fidler*; Liv'd in *Covent-Garden* a good while, and got his *Living* by his *Trade*; And that a *Magistrate*, not far from that place, would *Justify* it. The Two first Points, I suppose, will be Disputed in another place: And for the *Fidler*: 'Tis well known that *L'Estrange* liv'd Eight or Nine years in one of the *Piazza-Houses* there; and kept *Servants* that would have Scorn'd to have Sorted themselves with any thing so mean as this *Paltry Varlet*. But to the Business. How far will the *Privilege* of a *True-Protestant-Whig* Justify a *Villain* in so many *Scandalous Lyes*?

Wh. So far as the *Common Good* of the *Cause* is more Valuable then the *single Credit* of a *Private Person*. But what say ye now to *Curtis's Advertisement* (in his Last *Mercury*) of *Tong's Narrative*, and *Case*; concerning *L'Estrange*, Printed for C W?

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To. I say, 'tis *first*, a *Cheat*; for 'tis none of *Tong's Writing*; 2ly, 'Tis *Another Cheat*; for 'twas Printed for *Langley Curtis*, with his Name to *Tongs Appointment* for the Printing of it: Only he has Fobb'd a *New*, and a *False Title-Page* to't. But what says Mr. *Oates*, all this while, to *L'Estranges Enformation* against *Tonge*, in the *Shammer Shamm'd*? where that young Fellow has the Impudence to declare under his hand, the very *Foundation* of *Oates's Plot* to be a *Cheat*: And I appeal to all Good Protestants for Justice upon that *Scandalous Wretch*.

Wh. Nay, 'tis a horrible Abuse, and really the man stands in's own light: What was't? 500 or a 1000 Pound that he recover'd of One that did not say the Hundredth part of what this comes to? The Lord Deliver me! I knew the Time when 'twas *half a Hanging-matter* to have made the least doubt of any Branch of the Hellish Plot: But for this Audacious Fool to say in Expresse Terms, that [*the Four Jesuites Letters, wherein Oates pretended was the whole Discovery, were Counterfeits*] is utterly Intolerable. I'l'e e'en go my ways immediately, and talk with the Doctor about it.

Vol. 3.

Numb. 88

THE OBSERVATOR,

A Schism a Greater Judgment then a Pestilence. The Natural Rhetorique of the Non-Cons. The Danger of them. Several Sorts and Degrees of Danger. Of Coming About, or Coming Over. The Cause Transferr'd from Government to Religion.

Munday, September 28. 1685.

OBSERVATOR. If I were the *Master* of a *Territory*, I would as soon *Trust* so many *Spirits* in my *Pulpits*, to *Blow a Pestilence thorough my Dominions*, as so many of our *Non-Conforming Divines*; and reckon my *People* much *Safer* too, under the *Danger* of a *Plague*, then under the *Consequences* of a *Schism*: For the *One Taints* but the *Bodies* of *Men*; the *Other Destroys* their very *Souls*; the *One* takes them *Promiscuously*, the *Good*, and the *Bad*, *One* with *Another*: But the *Tother Marks*, and *Singles-out* the *Best Men* for *Ruine*, with a *Privilege* of *Exemption*, to those that neither fear *God*, nor *Man*. The *One* Sweeps away a *Number* of *Single Persons*; the *Other* Tears to pieces the *Sinews* of a *Community*. The *One* does, in *some Degree*, Conduce to the *Purging* of a *Wicked Nation*, when the *Wrath* of *Heaven* is *Appeas'd* by the *Discharge* of some *Dreadfull Judgment* upon't; (as the *Air* is *Clear'd* by *Thunder*) The *Other* does All that is *Possible* to the *Filling-up* of the *Measure* of a *Publique Iniquity*; and the making of a *Land Ripe* for *Vengeance*.

TRIMMER. Prethee what *Danger*? Or what needs this *Lashing*, when they are All *Tongue-Ty'd*; and Driven into *Holes*, and *Hiding-Places*, to keep out of the way of *Messengers*, and *Constables*, and out of the *Clutches* of the *Corporation-Act*, and *Other Penal Laws* against their *Private Meetings*?

Obs. What dost thou Talk of *Tongue-Ty'd*? Why I will undertake it; (and in *Serious Good Earnest* too) *Gagg* the Whole Set of'em; Give Every man his *Pulpit*, or his *Chair*, and only a *Bare Standing* in't; and if they do not *Wink*, and *Nod*, and *Cuff* any *Prince* in *Christendom* out of his *Dominions*, without a *Word Speaking*, I'll be thy *Bond-slave*. Why they do not do their *Bus'ness*, man, by the Force of *Logique*, *Grammar*, or by the *Dint* of *Theology*: But by *Groans*, *Pangs*, *Tragical Ululations*, *Silent Interjections*, *Whining Apostrophes*, *Melting Epiphonemas*; and in a word; by the Helps of *Natural Rhetorick*, without *Need*, of either *Sense*, or *Syllables*.

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Trim. They *Preach*, and *Pray*, without *Speaking* then.

Obs. No No. They do Talk for *Fashion-sake*: But *Observe* it while you will; They move the *Passions* of their *Auditory*, in the *Belfry*, or the *Church-Porch*, *Forty times more* then *Directly* under the *Pulpit*: For the *Emphasis* of an *Action*; a *Motion*, *Tone*, or *Countenance*, makes a much *Deeper Impression*, than that of a *Naked*, *Empty*, *Sound*: And for *My Part*, I fancy, it might do as well for 'em to Whistle their *Preachments* as to *Articulate* them: For the *Masterpiece*, or the All in All of it, lies *Mainly*, in *Hitting* the *Tune*.

Trim. D'ye call this *Reasoning*, or *Ridiculing*?

Obs. 'Tis *Both* in *One*: For it is the *Ridiculous Truth*, and the *Just Reason*, *Method*, and *State* of the *Matter*: And when *People* are once *Juggled Out of their Wits*, they must be *Fool'd* Into 'em *again*. Now there needs no more to the doing of *That Work*, then the bare *Drawing* of the *Curtain*, and letting *People* into the *Tyring-Room*. For the *Cause*, is all over, *Theatrical*: The *Actors* are *Hypocrites*, in their *Manners*, as well as in the *Etymon*; and the whole *Manage*, fitter for a *Stage*, then a *Pulpit*. So that the most *Certain Way* in *Nature*, for the making of the *Practice*, *Odious*; and the *Disabusing* of the *Undiscerning Multitude*, is to *lay Open* their *False Colours*, *Shapes*, & *Disguises*; and *Expose* Every thing in its *Naked Simplicity* to the *Light*.

Trim. And what if a man should Allow This sort of *People* now, to be the most *Uncouth*, *Hideous Monsters* of the *Creation*? To have the *Teeth*, the *Nails*, the *Fierceness*, the *Strength*, & the *Appetite* of the most *Ravenous* of *Wild Beasts*? This *Discourse*, of *Caution*, and *Description*, might do well enough in the *Countrys* of *Lyons*, and *Tygers*: But what's All This, to *his Majesties Dominions*, where there are either *None* of These *Creatures*, *at all*, or *No Other*, at least, then such as have their *Nails Par'd*, and their *Chops Muzzled*: And no more *Danger* of them, at present, then of our *Beeves*, and *Muttons*.

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Obs. Dost not thou know that there are *Several Sorts*, & *Degrees* of *Danger*? A man may be *Wheedled* into a *Precipice*, as well as *Thrown* into't: A man may be *Hugg'd* or *Suck'd* to *Death*, without any *Biting*, or *Scratching* in the *Case*: A man may be *Poyson'd* in his *Porridge*, as well as *Strangl'd* in his *Bed*: A man may have *False Opinions Impos'd* upon him by a *Fallacy*, or *Fraud* in

Argument, as well as Extorted from him, by the Force of *Menace*, and *Torment*. And his Bus'ness, at last, is *done*, as *Dead*, *One way as T'other*: And so for the Degrees of *Danger*; There's *Danger at Hand*; there's *Danger at a Distance*; *Danger in Design*, and *Danger in Practice*; And *Danger*, in fine, through All the *Preparatory*, and *Mediate Tendencies to Mischief*, to the *Last Effect* that *Pushes* it self forth to *Execution*.

Trim. Very Good! And what are All These *Sorts*, and *Degrees of Danger* to the *Instances* we have now *Before* us?

Obs. 'Tis true; The *Faction* is not in Condition to *Attacque* the *Government* by *Force*: Their *Armies* are *Scatter'd*, and their *Squadrons Defeated*; the *Whole Party* put to their *Shifts*; and the very *Best* of 'em, has enough to do to *save his Own Bacon*. Their *Teeth* are *Drawn*, I'll Allow ye, All but here and there a *Stump*; And yet they'l *Pinch*, *Plaguily*, though they cannot *Worry*, and *Tear*: And with *Time*, and *Good Discipline*, they'l come to *Grow again*. They have the *Same Principles* to friend, that *ever* they had: Only they must be *Manag'd Another Way*: And there can never Want *Matter*, for *Artificial Flattery*, *Wheedling*, *Imposture* and *Hypocrisy*, to *Work* upon. They are not in Condition to *Advance*, at this time of the *Day*, in the face of the *Sun*, and of the *Government*, with their *Petticoats Flying*, under the *Auspicious Direction* of their *Tutelary Angel*, *Ferguson*; and [Fear Nothing but God] for their *Motto*. But they must Supply want of *Strength*, by *Stratagem*; and *Carry-on* their *Approches*, out of sight. 'Tis only a little more *Patience*, and the *Work* will be brought about, as sure at the *Long-Run*, by a *Mine*, as by a *Battery*: And the *Certifying* of a *Hundred and Fifty Perrots* into the *Service*, and *Protection Of the Government*, will be of *Greater Effect*, then the *Drawing-up* of *Ten Thousand men in Arms*, Against it. Now *These Methods* lye All *Open* still, only they are somewhat more *About*. Now as to *Dangers Remote*, or *Nearer hand*; *Dangers of Design*, or *Dangers of Practice*: All the *Preparatories*, & *Dispositions to Mischief*, in their *Secret Impulses*, and *Causes*, are as *Vigorous* Now, as *Ever* they were, that is to say, within *Two or Three Motions* of a *Publique Violence*: Only This *Difference* in the *Case*, that we have *Hitherto*, been in the *Greatest Danger* of our *Profess'd*, & *Open Enemies*: And *Now*, God bless us from our *Pretending Friends*: For all on a *Sudden*, the *Trimmers* are come-up to be *Stark Church-of-England-men*; And the *Phanatiques*, gotten a *Form Higher*, into the *Seat* or *Classes* of the *Trimmers*.

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Trim. Thou art *Well*, neither *Full nor Fasting*. Neither *Fanatique*, nor *Trimmer*, nor *Church-of-England-man* I perceive, will please ye; The *Controversy* of a *New King*; or a *Common-Wealth*, is *Out of Doors*; The *Question* of *Liberty of Conscience*; The *Privilege* of *Private Meetings* for *Religious Worship*; And a *Challenge* of *Dispensation* from the *Rites*, *Ceremonies*, and *Discipline of the Church*, are All layd aside. And All This will not serve the *Turn* yet. Now if Men go to *Church*; Take *Tests*, make *Declarations*; And *Do* and *Perform* All that the *Law Requires* of'em; where's the *Danger* of These *People* I beseech ye?

Obs. Not in their *coming over* with their *Bodies*, but in *Staying behind*, in their *Good Wills*, and *Affections*: Nay, and in their *Communicating* with the *Church* in the *Morning*, and in the *Afternoon*, with the *Schism*: And pray will you *Note* in them, *One Thing More* too. 'Tis worth the while, when they *Ramble* from their *Own Parish*, to *Observe* whither they go: For I have known the very *Streets Throng'd*, out of *Distance* of *Hearing One Word* that the *Minister says*, with the *Same Superstition*, that the *Quakers Flock* to the *Door*, when they are *Lock'd-out* of the *Meeting-House*: In which *Case*, It has yet the *Semblance* of a *Private Meeting*; And in *Truth*, looks liker a *Political Muster*, then a *Religious Exercise*: But Heark ye for *One Word*, before we go any further; Suppose a *Man* should have sayd about the *Beginning of July Last*, in a *Brisk Reply* to a *Reflexion* made upon the *Western-Rebells*; (at that time in their *Pride and Glory*) [The *King* has as *Loyal Subjects* in That *Army* as *Any* are in *T'other*.] Wouldst thou have me, in *Construction* of *Common Sense*, and *Honesty*, look upon *That Person*, to be, *Effectually Come over*, and in the *State* of a *True Church-of-England-man*; only for *Keeping the Law*, with his *Heels*, when he *Breaks* it, with his *Tongue*, and *Doctrine*? Now this is more then I *Owe* ye, upon the *Matter* in hand: For you have *Carry'd* the *Question* quite *back* again, from the *Non-Con-Ministers*, to the *Generality*, and the *Multitude* of the *Dissenters*: which is a *Point Wholly Excepted*, and out of the *Limits of Our Debate*: For All their *Conventicles* without a *Mouth*, are *Monsters*; Meer *Nullities*, & *Bilks*, without a *Teacher*: So that I have *Restrain'd* my *Applications*, Singly, to the *Rabbi's* of the *Faction*, as *Including*, and *Implying* the *Sense*, and the *Intent* of their *Disciples*: Nay and *so far Including* it, that they are *Barely*, the *Passive Instruments* of their *Leaders*. Now *These Heads* of the *Divided Parties*, are a sort of *People*, that do not, by any *Means*, fall within the *Charitable Prospect* of *Your Qualifications*: For they *Stand-off*, in *Contempt*, and *Defyance* of the *Orders*, & *Censures* of the *Church*, and of the *Law*, as much at *This Instant*, as *ever* they did. Their *Followers Maintain*, and *Support* them in That *Stubbornness* of *Disobedience*; And so the *Opposition* stands yet *Firm*, in *Effect*, though with *Less Noise* of *Menace*, and *Tumult*. The *Branches*, 'tis *True*, are *Lopt*; but the *Root*, not so much as *Touch'd*; Nay, and in such a *Condition* of *Vegetative Virtue*, and *Vigour*, that it wants nothing but *Time*, and a *Favourable Season* to make it *Sprout* again. And This you may *Assure* your self of, that *Nothing* less then an *Utter*, an *Open*, a *Solemn*, and an *Irrevocable Divorce*, betwixt *These Libertine-Seducers*, and Those that have been *Trepann'd*, and *Inveigled*, out of the *Bosom* of the *Church*, into the *Arms* of the *Schism*: Nothing I say, less then *Some such Unalterable Act*, or *Decree of Separation*, can ever *Secure*, either the *Church*, or the *State* from the *Pernicious Consequences* of this *Intelligence*: For betwixt *Blind Pity*, and *Foolish Zeal*, on the *One* hand, and all the *Arts*, of *Moving*, and *Provoking* Those *Passions*, and *Affections*, on the *Other*, there is *kept-up*, and *Cherish'd*, a *Communication* of *Reciprocal Kindness*, between them, that keeps the *Fire alive* still in the *Embers*, 'till by *Degrees*, it *Blows-up* All at last into a *Common Flame*. Now take away *These Bellows*, and *T'other*

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Sparks, and a man may *Sleep* in his *Bed*, without *Dreaming of Conflagrations*, or the *Dread* of Rising with his *Throat Cut*.

Trim. I will not Excuse some *Hot-Headed Blades*, that let their *Tongues* run before their *Wits*; And make it a *Point of Honour*, to *Brave* All the *Terrors of Death*, and *Dungeons*, in defence of the *Cause* that they have *Undertaken*. The *Less said*, the *Better*; Though a *Body* cannot, in *Generosity*, but have some sort of *Compassion*, for a *Man* that *Suffers Death*, with *Constancy of Mind*, Even in a *Mistaken Cause*, if it be according to his *Conscience*.

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Obs. If these *Impressions* were *Inbred*, and the *Errors* purely their *Own*, it would be a *Point*, not only of *Good Nature*, but of *Common Justice*, and *Humanity*, to have a *Tenderness* for *People* under an *Invincible Mistake*: But you have Started the *Strongest Argument* in the *World*, against your *self* here, by *Enforcing* the *Necessity* of Clearing the *Stage* of the *Seditious Oracles*, that *Inspire These Desperate Resolutions*.

Trim. Why All matter of *Violence*, *Heat of Dispute*, and *Clamour of Argument*, is at an *End*. You hear no more of your *Scottish*, and *Western Declarations*; No more *Competitors* for the *Crown*; or *Confederates* for a *Republique*: And therefore prethee, *let us be at Peace* while we *May* be at *Peace*; and do not stand *Puzzling* the *People* with *Danger*, where *No Danger is*.

Obs. Soft and Fair, *Trimmer*; those *Declarations*, *Practices*, and *Attempts*, are not to be *Repeated* again in the *same Age*: But there are *more ways to the Wood than One*: And 'tis All a case, to a man that's *Robb'd*, whether the *Thieves* came in at the *Door*, or at the *Window*. 'Tis very Right, That, since the *Breaking of the Rebellion*, the *Non-Cons* lay their *Fingers* upon their *Mouths*; and not *One Word of Late*, upon the *Subject of Liberties*, and *Properties*; or of the *Danger of Tyranny*, and of *Arbitrary Power*: But All other *Grievances* are Now *Swallow'd-up* in *One*: They are All in *Tears* for fear of the *Protestant Religion*; and *That's the Topique that's now Carry'd-on, through All Shapes, Figures, and Disguises*.

Trim. We shall have fine *Work*, Next *Bout*!

London, Printed for *Charles Brome*, at the *Gun* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

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Vol. 3.

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THE OBSERVATOR.

The way of Promoting Fears, and Jelousies. The People meerly Passive in the Bus'ness. Both Parts seem to Contend for the

Same Common Principles. *The Rise of Jelousies.*

Saturday, August 21. 1686.

TRIMMER. The *Accommodating* of *Words*, *Phrases*, and *Texts* to the *Matter* in hand, with the *Interjecting*, here and there, of Certain *Emphatical Winks*, and *Innuendo's*, to the *Common People*, will do the *Bus'ness of Fears and Jelousies*, you need never *Doubt* it, without any more *Ceremony*.

OBSERVATOR. I do no more *Doubt* it, then I do, that a *Proper Remedy*; *Rightly Prepar'd*; and *Administer'd* in the *Due Time* and *Proportion*, will *Work* such or such an *Effect*. But the *Skill* lyes, in the *Judgment* of the *Distemper*; The *Constitution* of the *Patient*; The *Choice* of the *Physick*; The *Prescription* of the *Composition*, the *Preparation*, and the *Dos*. Now *Your way of Operating*, is only the *Mechanicall Part of the Bus'ness*; and no more, then the giving of a *Box*, a *Gally-pot*, or a *Glass*, with a *Note of Directions*, out of *One hand* into *Another*: which Any *Porter* that *Plyes* at the *Next Corner*, would do as *Dext'rously*, as ever a *Doctor* of the *College*. The *Difficulty*, and the *Mystery*, is *Over*, before *You* have any thing to *Do* with it: The *Poysonous*, and *Intoxicating Draught*, *Prepar'd*; The *Multitude* set a-*Gaping* for't, and *Your Office*, is only at last, to *Pour it down their Throats*. There's *Matter of History*, and *Fact*, enough, 'tis true, to *Satisfy any man*, that *People* may be made as *Mad* with *Cant*, and *Gibberish*, as if they had taken *Henbane*; and that *the Sting of Jelousy*, will put them out of their *Wits* as soon as *the Biting of a Mad-Dog*: But we are in the *Dark* all this while, for the *Rise*, the *Progress*, and the *Methods of Enflaming Jelousies*, to bring'em up to that *Pitch*. Prethee let me *Understand* a little of their *Birth*, *Growth*, *Discipline*, and *Education*; How they are *Fed*, *Nourish'd*, and *Entertain'd*? What's the *End*, and *Use* of them? What *Language* do they *Speak*; or how comes it to pass, that the *Same Words*, and *Phrases*, without *Any Intelligence* with *Grammar*, *Logique*, *Common Usage*, or *Propriety*, should *Transport Some Men* into *Outrages*, *Palpitations of the Heart*, *Horrors*, and *Tremblings*, both of *Mind*, and of *Body*; and yet *Work* no more upon *Others*, then they *did*, before the very *Letters* of'em were taken out of the *Alphabet*? I do not call ye to a *Strict Shrift* upon *Every Point*, but I *Expect* you shall say something to the *Whole Matter*; for a *Few Words*, in *Order*, will give a man

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more *Light* to the *Reason* of a Thing, then as many *Volumes*, in Confusion.

Trim. You are in the *Right*; that the *Craft* lies in the Project, and the Preparatory *Manage* of this Affair, and that the *Danger* is gone too *Far*, when the *Mine* is already *Wrought*; the *Powder Dispos'd*, and nothing wanting to the *Final Execution* of the *Mischief*, but the *Lighting* of the *Match*, and the Applying of the *Coal* to the *Train*. You have *Well* and *Truly* enough *Observed*, the *Wonderfull Force*, that *Some Certain Words*, and Phrases have; upon the *Affections* of the *Multitude*; without the Least *Shadow* of any Logical, Grammatical, or Philosophical *Reason* for the *Operation* of them. Now you must know, that *These Words*, and Phrases, are made *Use* of, and *Understood*, in the way of a Cypher, or a Jargon, and not according to the *Ordinary Acceptation* of them, in a *Regular* way of *Writing*, or of *Speaking*; So that, Effectually, the *Efficacy* of such *Words*, and *Phrases*, is given for *Granted*; and how they come to *Obtain that Force*, remains the *Single Question*.

Now towards the *Understanding* of this Matter, you must Consider, that no *State* can be *Supplanted*, but by *Turning* the *Peoples Hearts*, against the *Persons*, & the *Actions* of their *Superiors*: So that in *All Conspiracies* to *Destroy* a *Government*, Fears & Jealousies, are the *Corner Stone of the Babel*. Their Hearts are no sooner *Lost*, but they withdraw their Bodies too, and so, by *Degrees*, *Erect* Laws, and Religions of their Own; and look upon themselves, by This time, as in *Another Commonwealth*.

Obs. 'Tis most *Certainly True*; and that in this *Separation*, they set-up an *Interest* of *Direct* Spite, as well as *Opposition*, to That of the *Church*, and of the *State*.

Trim. This is the very Course, and Progress of a *Popular Jealousy*: But pray take Notice as we go, that the *People*, are thus far, *Meerly* Passive; and *Contribute No Otherwise*, to the *Ruine* of the *Publique*, then a Snapping Sea does, to the *Sinking* of a *Vessell*, when the *Billows* are *Hurry'd-on* by the *Violence* of an Irresistible Tempest: if the *Winds* would but let the *Waves alone*, they'd be *Quiet*. When they come once to Gather into [Private Meetings,] (or as you call them, Conventicles) you may *Then* accompt upon it, that they are as good as put to *School*, to *Learn* the *Mystery* of their *Profession*. For there are Canting-Schools, as well as Reading-Schools: and under This *Discipline*, they come by *Insensible Degrees*, to part with their *English* Tongue, as well as with their *English* Principles, and Manners. Nay, and Effectually, to take up such *Uncouth*, *Novel*, and *Strange* Thoughts, Opinions, and Practices, that it looks, as if the English-Man, the Christian, and the Subject, were all lost in a Disguise. They are now, you must know, under New Lords, and Consequently, under New Laws; where they are *Train'd-up* to *New Ways* of Understanding Things, and to a *New Idiom* of Expressing them. Religion, Law, Government, Conscience, Good Manners, are so *Sacred* in Themselves, that the *Worst* of Men cannot but *Pretend* a *Veneration* for them; but how to *Baffle*, or to *Elude* the *Force*, the *Obligation*, and the *Authority* of them; and, at the Same Time, to set-up for the *Asserters*, and *Supporters* of *These Publique Rights, Privileges, and Duties*, There lies the *Difficulty* of the *Undertaking*.

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Obs. That is to say, how to *Resolve* Religion, into an *Empty* Notion: To Talk Christianity into a Paradox; and, with Christ in our *Mouths*, at *London*, to *fall down*, and *Worship* Mahomet, in *Buda*: How to *Confound* Gods, and the Governments Friends and Enemies, so as to make the *Common People* take *One* for *T'other*. Now This can be no way done, but by setting-up the Counterfeit of Religion, Law, and Conscience, against the *Genuine*, and *Authentique* Original; and by making Evil, to be Good, and Good, to be Evil.

Trim. You must *Note*, further, that in This *Opposition*, the Main Cause appears to be the *very Same*, on *Both sides*; and *Both Parts* seem to *Contend*, for the Same Common Principles, of *Divine Worship*, and of *Civil Obedience*.

Obs. Only the *One* Flies to the *Invisible Lights* and *Dictates* of the *Spirit*, in Matter of Religion; (taking Fancy for Revelation) and, in the Matter of Government, has Recourse to Certain *Unaccountable Whimsies*, of [Powers Reserv'd,] where there *never was any Power at all*; & *These Fooleries*, they *Trump* upon the *Little People*, under the *Pompous Name* of [FUNDAMENTALS;] while the *Rulers*, on the *Other* hand, Stick to the Law, to the Text, and to the *Approved Sense* of the Best Interpreters of Both, for their *Guide*.

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Trim. Very Good! And after they have *Departed* from the Common Rule, and *Divided* themselves from the Common Interest; it is but Reasonable to *Expect*, that they will Set-up Another Interest, and Another Rule to *Themselves*.

Obs. Well! But how do they *Manage That Province* all this while, as to the *Subject*, I mean, that we were *Speaking* of?

Trim. Why their way is, only to put *Religion*, and *Government* in *Another Dress*; but under the Name, of [Religion,] and [Government,] *Still*; and then to lay on a *Superstructure*, Answerable to the *Foundation*; I speak of the Leaders only; for their Disciples are *Blanck Paper*; and ready for *any Impression*. They *Talk*, to the Ears, and to the Passions of their *Hearers*, not to their Understandings: and their *Auditors* gather more of their *Meaning*, from their *Gestures, Actions, Countenances*, and from *Pathetical Tones*, then from the *Words Themselves*. As for *Sense*, or *No Sense*, 'tis *all a Case*; for 'tis the *Jingle*, not the *Matter*, that does *Their Bus'ness*. The *Less* the People Understand, the *More* they are Edify'd; for they take the *Congruities* of Carnal Reason, for Vain Philosophy; and Incomprehensible Nonsense, passes for *the Work of the Light* Within. Their *Religion* lies altogether in Groan, and Rapture: *They Sacrifice* to the Unknown God; and in One Word; They *Supply* the *Want* of Knowledge, with an *Excess* of Zeal; and when they cannot

Understand the Plain English of a *Discourse*, they Wrap Themselves up in the Mystery. The making of a *Party*, & the Saving of their own *Skins*, are the *Two Main Points* of the *Leaders*; and therefore, they *Cover* themselves under Ambiguity, & Riddle; & Compass those Matters, by *Theatrical Gesticulations*, & *Actions*, which they dare not *Venture* upon, in *Words* at *Length*, or by the *Dint* of *Argument*; for there is no *Law* against *making* of Faces, and *Dusting* of Cushions, They are told *Mightily*, and *Plainly*, of *Heaven*, and *Hell*; but in such a *Manner*, that they will *Never Allow* God, and the Government to be *Both of a side*. *Schism* is Dignified with the *Name* of Conscience; the Story of their *Grievances*, is the *Bitterest* of Satyrs; Their very Petitions have the force of *Invectives*; and the *Smoother*, the *Softer*, you find the *Surface* of them, the *Falsar*, and the more *Dangerous* they are at the *Bottom*: For betwixt the Persecution that is *Insinuated*, on the part of the *Government*, & the Innocence, the Piety, and the Modesty, on that of the Sufferers, Nothing can more Provoke, a *Horror*, and *Indignation* for the *One*, or a *Tenderness*, & *Compassion*, for the *Other*.

[Pg 37]

Obs. That is to say, among Those that are not *Well Enform'd*, in the *Reason*, and *Equity* of the *Cause* in *Question*.

Trim. Come Come. I tell ye *Nakedly* how things Are, and not how they Ought to be: and I speak of *Those Men* too, that neither Do, nor Will, nor Can make a *Right Judgment* upon the Matter in *Issue*. They do not take down *Reasons* in Connexion; neither do their *Teachers* so much as Offer at'em; But *their Work* is, only to *Feed* Itching Ears, and Humours, with *New-Quoyn'd Words*, *Affectate Phrases*: And briefly, to *Instruct* their *Disciples*, by *Signs* and *Tokens*, like so many *Dancing Horses* to fall Lame upon all Four, for the *Pope*; to come-over, for the *Grand Vizier*; and at the very *Sound* of Babylon, Anti-Christ, or Absolute Power, to Snort, and Boggle, as if they *Smelt Fire*. If I may tell ye the *Arrant Truth*, and *Simplicity* of my *Heart*; This is the very Train of a Popular Institution. They are Tutor'd, and Inur'd, to the Assuming of such and such *Passions*, upon such and such *Occasions*; and they do All their *Ayres*, and *Tricks*, by the Direction of the *Hand*, or *Eye*. They *Dance* to *Sounds*, *Hints*, *Nodds*, *Forms*, and *Syllables*; not to the force of *Fair Reasonings*, and *Natural Conclusions*; Nay, they are Taught, when to be *Angry*; when to be *Pleas'd*; and their very *Inclinations*, and *Aversions*, are none of their *Own*, *Neither*: The *Whole Bus'ness*, in short, is Artifice, Manage, and Practice; for *All their Mistakes*, and Misunderstandings, *take the Same Biass*.

Obs. I do *Observe*, indeed, that they Shelter themselves under the *Dark Prophets*, and the *Revelation*. The *Number of the Beast*, they have all at their *Fingers Ends*; the *Geneva-Bibles* are *Thumm'd* over and over, at the *Same Texts*: As upon the Subject of the *Groves*, & the *High Places*, *Christian Liberty*, *Will-Worship*, *Humane Inventions*, *Idolatry*, *Superstition*, &c. There's not a *Verse* in the whole *Bible*, against *Persecution*, but makes them Shake their Heads at the *Government*. Popery by *Interpretation*, is Episcopacy: The *Liberty* of the Subject, has an *Aking Tooth* at the *Prerogative* of the Prince: But finally; such and such Terms, and Forms of Speaking, are, by Common Consent, to pass for *Current*, under such or such a Sense, and Meaning, how *Contrary* soever, to their *Proper*, and *Genuine Signification*, or *Import*. But this speaks only to the Propagating of *Jelousies*, not to the Rise of them.

[Pg 38]

Trim. If you Ask me the [Rise] of *Jelousies*, I must *Answer* ye, that they are *Begotten* betwixt Ambition, Avarice, Hypocrisy, Craft, Malice, and Disloyalty, on the *One* side; and Ignorance, Obstinacy, Blind Zeal, and an Impetuous Temerity, on the *Other*.

London, Printed for *Charles Brome*, at the Gun in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

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The closing square brackets have been removed from the end of the following as no opening bracket was found in the text.

1. Page 13 - *Some People at Norwich, are playing the Devil for Godsake: several honest, peaceable, Protestant Dissenters, having been troubled for not coming to Church, or having been Present at Religious Meetings &c.*]
2. Page 14 - *A. Smith* (in his *Vox Populi*, P. 13.) saith, that *the King is oblig'd to pass or Confirm those Laws his People shall Chuse.*]

On Page 14 the fullstop after Chuse has been changed to a comma.

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