

A Short  
HISTORY  
OF  
Standing Armies  
IN  
ENGLAND.

---

—Captiq; dolis, donisq; coacti,  
*Quos neq; Tydides, nec Larissæus Achilles,  
Non anni domuere decem, non mille Carina.*  
Virg. Æn. li.

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed in the Year MDCXCVIII.

# The PREFACE.

**T**HERE is nothing in which the generality of Mankind are so much mistaken as when they talk of Government. The different Effects of it are obvious to every one, but few can trace its Causes. Most Men having indigested Ideas of the Nature of it, attribute all public Miscarriages to the corruption of Mankind. They think the whole Mass is infected, that it's impossible to make any Reformation, and so submit patiently to their Countries Calamities, or else share in the Spoil: whereas Complaints of this kind are as old as the World, and every Age has thought their own the worst. We have not only our own Experience, but the Example of all Times, to prove that Men in the same Circumstances will do the same things, call them by what names of distinction you please. A Government is a mere piece of Clockwork; and having such Springs and Wheels, must act after such a manner: and therefore the Art is to constitute it so that it must move to the public Advantage. It is certain that every Man will act for his own Interest; and all wise Governments are founded upon that Principle: So that this whole Mystery is only to make the Interest of the Governors and Governed the same. In an absolute Monarchy, where the whole Power is in one Man, his Interest will be only regarded: In an Aristocracy the Interest of a few; and in a free Government the Interest of every one. This would be the Case of England if som Abuses that have lately crept into our Constitution were remov'd. The freedom of this Kingdom depends upon the Peoples chusing the House of Commons, who are a part of the Legislature, and have the sole power of giving Money. Were this a true Representative, and free from external Force or privat

*Bribery, nothing could pass there but what they thought was for the public Advantage. For their own Interest is so interwoven with the Peoples, that if they act for themselves (which every one of them will do as near as he can) they must act for the common Interest of England. And if a few among them should find it their Interest to abuse their Power, it will be the Interest of all the rest to punish them for it: and then our Government would act mechanically, and a Rogue will as naturally be hang'd as a Clock strike twelve when the Hour is com. This is the Fountain-Head from whence the People expect all their Happiness, and the redress of their Grievances; and if we can preserve them free from Corruption, they will take care to keep every body else so. Our Constitution seems to have provided for it, by never suffering the King (till Charles the Second's Reign) to have a Mercenary Army to frighten them into a Compliance, nor Places or Revenues great enough to bribe them into it. The Places in the King's Gift were but few, and most of them Patent Places for Life, and the rest great Offices of State enjoy'd by single Persons, which seldom fell to the share of the Commons, such as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Privy-Seal, Lord High-Admiral, &c. and when these Offices were possess'd by the Lords, the Commons were severe Inquisitors into their Actions. Thus the Government of England continu'd from the time that the Romans quitted the Island, to the time of Charles the First, who was the first I have read of that made an Opposition to himself in the House of Commons the road to Preferment; of which the Earl of Strafford and Noy were the most remarkable Instances, who from great Patriots became the chief Assertors of Despotic Power. But this serv'd only to exasperat the rest; for he had not Places enough for all that expected them, nor Money enough to bribe them. 'Tis true, he rais'd great Sums of Money upon the People; but it being without Authority of Parliament, and having no Army to back him, it met with such Difficulties*

in the raising, that it did him little good, and ended at last in his ruin, tho by the means of a long and miserable War, which brought us from one Tyranny to another; for the Army had got all things into their Power, and govern'd the Nation by a Council of War, which made all Parties join in calling in Charles the Second: So that he came in with the general applause of the People, who in a kind fit gave him a vast Revenue for Life. By this he was enabled to raise an Army, and bribe the Parliament, which he did to the purpose: but being a luxurious Prince, he could not part with great Sums at once. He only fed them from hand to mouth: So that they found it as necessary to keep him in a constant Dependence upon them, as they had upon him. They knew he would give them ready Mony no longer than he had absolute necessity for them, and he had not Places enough in his disposal to secure a Majority in the House: for in those early days the art was not found out of splitting and multiplying Places; as instead of a Lord Tr——r to have Five Lords of the Tr——ry; instead of a Lord Ad——l to have Seven Lords of the Ad——ty; to have Seven Commissioners of the C——ms, Nine of the Ex——ze, Fourteen of the N——vy Office, Ten of the St——mp Office, Eight of the Pr——ze Office, Sixteen of the Commissioners of Tr——de, Two of the P——st Office, Four of the Transports, Four for Hackny Coaches, Four for Wine-Licenses, Four for the Victualling Office, and multitudes of other Offices which are endless to enumerat. I believe the Gentlemen who have the good Fortune to be in som of these Employments, will think I complement them, if I should say they have not bin better executed since they were in so many hands, than when in fewer: and I must confess, I see no reason why they may not be made twice as many, and so ad infinitum, unless the number be ascertain'd by Parliament: and what danger this may be to our Constitution, I think of with Horror. For if in Ages to come they should be all given to Parliament Men, what will be-

com of our so much boasted Liberty? what shall be done when the Criminal becomes the Judg, and the Malefactors are left to try themselves? We may be sure their common danger will unite them, and they will all stand by one another. I do not speak this by gues; for I have read of a Country where there was a constant Series of mismanagement for many Years together, and yet no body was punish'd: and even in our own Country I believe, som Men now alive can remember the time, when if the King had but twenty more Places in his disposal, or disposed of those he had to the best advantage, the Liberty of England had bin at an end. I would not be understood quite to exclude Parliament-men from having Places; for a Man may serve his Country in two Capacities: but I would not have it to be a Qualification for a Place; because a poor Borough thinks a Man fit to represent them, that therefore he must be a Statesman, a Lawyer, a Soldier, an Admiral, and what not? If this method should be taken in a future Reign, the People must not expect to see Men of Ability or Integrity in any Places, while they hold them by no other tenure than the disservice they do their Country in the House of Commons, and are sure to be turned out upon every prevalent Faction on the other side. They must then never expect to see the House of Commons act vigorously for the Interest either of King or People; but som will servilely comply with the Court to keep their Places, others will oppose it as unreasonably to get them: and those Gentlemen whose designs are for their Countries Interest, will grow weary of the best form of Government in the World, thinking by mistake the fault is in our Constitution. I have heard of a Country, where the Disputes about Offices to the value of thirty thousand Pounds per Annum, have made six Millions ineffectual; what by som Mens prostitute compliance, and others openly clogging the Wheels, it has caus'd Want and Necessity in all kinds of Men, Bribery, Treachery, Profaneness, Atheism, Prodigality, Luxury, and  
all

all the Vices that attend a remiss and corrupt Administration, and a universal neglect of the Public. It is natural to run from one extreme to another; and this Policy will at last turn upon any Court that uses it: for if they should be resolv'd to give all Offices to Parliament-Men, the People will think themselves under a necessity to obtain a Law that they shall give none, which has bin more than once attempted in our own time. Indeed, tho there may be no great inconvenience in suffering a few Men that have Places to be in that House, such as com in naturally, without any indireet Means, yet it will be fatal to us to have many: for all wise Governments endeavor as much as possible to keep the Legislative and Executive Parts asunder, that they may be a check upon one another. Our Government trusts the King with no part of the Legislative but a Negative Voice, which is absolutely necessary to preserve the Executive. One part of the Duty of the House of Commons is to punish Offenders, and redress the Grievances occasion'd by the Executive part of the Government; and how can that be don if they should happen to be the same Persons, unless they would be public spirited enough to hang or drown themselves?

But in my opinion, in another thing of no less importance, we deviated in Charles the Second's time from our Constitution: for tho we were in a Capacity of punishing Offenders, yet we did not know legally who they were. The Law has bin always very tender of the Person of the King, and therefore has dispos'd the Executive part of the Government in such proper Channels, that whatsoever lesser Excesses are committed, they are not imputed to him, but his Ministers are accountable for them: his Great Seal is kept by his Chancellor, his Revenue by his Treasurer, his Laws are executed by his Judges, his Fleet is manag'd by his Lord High Admiral, who are all accountable for their Misbehavior. Formerly all matters of State and Discretion were debated and resolv'd in the Privy Council, where every

Man

*Man subscrib'd his Opinion, and was answerable for it. The late King Charles was the first who broke this most excellent part of our Constitution, by settling a Cabal or Cabinet Council, where all matters of Consequence were debated and resolv'd, and then brought to the Privy Council to be confirm'd. The first footsteps we have of this Council in any European Government were in Charles the Ninth's time of France, when resolving to massacre the Protestants, he durst not trust his Council with it, but chose a few Men whom he call'd his Cabinet Council: and considering what a Genealogy it had, 'tis no wonder it has bin so fatal both to King and People. To the King: for whereas our Constitution has provided Ministers in the several parts of the Government to answer for Miscarriages, and to skreen him from the hatred of the People; this on the contrary protects the Ministers, and exposes the King to all the Complaints of his Subjects. And 'tis as dangerous to the People: for whatever Miscarriages there are, no Body can be punish'd for them; for they justify themselves by a Sign Manual, or perhaps a privat Direction from the King: and then we have run it so far, that we can't follow it. The consequence of this must be continual Heartburnings between King and People; and no one can see the Event.*

---

---

A Short  
**HISTORY**  
OF  
**Standing Armies**  
IN  
**ENGLAND.**

**I**F any Man doubts whether a Standing Army is Slavery, Popery, Mahometism, Paganism, Atheism, or any thing which they please, let him read,

*First*, The Story of *Matho* and *Spendius* at *Carthage*, and the *Mamalukes* of *Egypt*.

*Secondly*, The History of *Strada* and *Bentivolio*, where he will find what work nine thousand *Spaniards* made in the 17 *Provinces*, tho the Country was full of fortified Towns, possessed by the Low Country Lords, and they had assistance from *Germany*, *England* and *France*.

*Thirdly*, The History of *Philip de Commines*, where he will find that *Lewis* the 11<sup>th</sup> invaded the vast Country of *France* with 25000

B

Men,



Men, and that the raising 500 Horse by *Philip of Burgundy* firnamed the Good, was the ruin of those Provinces.

*Fourthly*, *Ludlow's Memoirs*, where he will find that an Army raised to defend our Liberties, made footballs of that Parliament, at whose Actions all *Europe* stood amazed, and in a few Years set up ten several sorts of Government contrary to the Genius of the whole Nation, and the opinion of half their own Body: such is the influence of a General over an Army, that he can make them act like a piece of Mechanism, whatever their privat Opinions are.

*Lastly*, Let him read the *Arguments against a Standing Army*, the *Discourse concerning Militias*, the *Militia Reform'd*, and the Answers to them: but lest all this should not satisfy him, I will here give a short History of Standing Armies in *England*, I will trace this mystery of Iniquity from the beginning, and show the several steps by which it has crept upon us.

The first footsteps I find of a Standing Army in *England* since the *Romans* left the Island, were in *Richard the 2d's* time, who raised four thousand Archers in *Cheshire*, and suffered them to plunder, live upon free Quarter, beat, wound, ravish and kill wherever they went; and afterwards he called a Parliament, encompassed them with his Archers, forced them to give up the whole power of Parliaments, and make it Treason to endeavour to repeal any of the Arbitrary Constitutions that were then made: but being afterwards obliged to go to *Ireland* to suppress a Rebellion there, the People took advantage of it, and dethron'd him.

The Nation had such a Specimen in this Reign of a Standing Army, that I don't find any King from him to *Charles the 1st*, that attempted keeping up any Forces in time of Peace, except the Yeomen of the Guard, who were constituted by *Henry the 7th*: and tho there were several Armies raised in that time for *French*, *Scotch*, *Irish*, other foren and domestic Wars; yet they were constantly disbanded as soon as the occasion was over. And in all the Wars of *York* and *Lancaster*, whatever party prevail'd, we don't find they ever attempted to keep up a Standing Army. Such was the virtue of those times, that they would rather run the hazard of forfeiting their Heads and Estates to the rage  
of

of the opposit Party, than certainly inflave their Country, tho they themselves were to be the Tyrants.

Nor would they suffer our Kings to keep up an Army in *Ireland*, tho there were frequent Rebellions there, and by that means their Subjection very precarious; as well knowing they would be in *England* when called for. In the first three hundred Years that the *English* had possession of that Country, there were no Armies there but in times of War. The first Force that was establish'd was in the 14<sup>th</sup> of *Edward* the fourth, when 120 Archers on Horseback, 40 Horsemen, and 40 Pages were establish'd by Parliament there; which six Years after were reduc'd to 80 Archers, and 20 Spear-men on Horseback. Afterwards in *Henry* the Eighth's time, in the Year 1535, the Army in *Ireland* was 300; and in 1543, they were increased to 380 Horse and 160 Foot, which was the Establishment then. I speak this of times of Peace: for when the *Irish* were in Rebellion, which was very frequent, the Armies were much more considerable. In Queen *Mary's* time the Standing Forces were about 1200. In most of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign the *Irish* were in open Rebellion; but when they were all suppress'd, the Army establish'd was between 1500 and 2000: about which number they continued till the Army rais'd by *Strafford* the 15<sup>th</sup> of *Charles* the 1<sup>st</sup>.

In the Year 1602 dy'd Queen *Elizabeth*, and with her all the Virtue of the *Plantagenets*, and the *Tudors*. She made the *English* Glory sound thro the whole Earth: She first taught her Country the advantages of Trade; set bounds to the Ambition of *France* and *Spain*; assisted the *Dutch*, but would neither permit them or *France* to build any great Ships; kept the Keys of the Rivers *Maes* and *Scheld* in her own hands; and died with an uncontrol'd Dominion of the Seas, and Arbitres of Christendom. All this she did with a Revenue not exceeding 300000 pounds per Annum; and had but inconsiderable Taxes from her People.

No sooner was King *James* come to the Crown, but all the Reputation we had acquir'd in her glorious Reign was eclips'd, and we became the scorn of all Nations about us, contemned even by that State we had created, who insulted us at Sea, seiz'd *Ambonyna*, *Poleeroon*, *Seran*, and other Places in the *East-Indies*, by which they ingross'd that most profitable Trade of Spices; fish'd up-

on our Coasts without paying the customary Tribute, and at the same time prevail'd with the King to deliver up the Cautionary Towns of *Brill*, *Ramekins*, and *Flushing*, for a very small Consideration, tho there were near six Millions Arrears. He squandered the public Treasure, discountenanc'd all the great Men who were rais'd in the glorious Reign of his Predecessor, cut off Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Head, advanc'd Favorites of his own, Men of no Merit, to the highest Preferment; and to maintain their Profuseness, he granted them Monopolies, insinuat Projects, prostituted Honors for Money, rais'd Benevolences and Loans without Authority of Parliament. And when these Grievances were complain'd of there, he committed many of the principal Members without Bail or Mainprise, as he did afterwards for presuming to address him against the *Spanish Match*. He pardon'd the Earl of *Somerset* and his Wife for Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Murder, after he had imprecated all the Curses of Heaven upon himself and his Posterity; and it was generally thought, because the Earl was Accessary to the poisoning Prince *Henry*. He permitted his Son-in-law to be ejected out of his Principalities, and the Protestant Interest to be run down in *Germany* and *France*, while he was bubbled nine Years together with the hopes of the *Spanish Match*, and a great Fortune. Afterwards he made a dishonorable Treaty of Marriage with *France*, giving the Papists Liberty of Conscience: and indeed, as he often declared, he was no otherwise an Enemy to Popery, than for their deposing of Kings, and King-killing Doctrin. In *Ireland* he gave them all the Incouragement he durst; which Policy has bin follow'd by all his Successors since to this present Reign, and has serv'd 'em to two purposes: One is, by this they have had a pretence to keep up Standing Armies there to aw the Natives; and the other, that they might make use of the Natives against their English Subjects. In this Reign that ridiculous Doctrin of Kings being *Jure Divino* was coin'd, never before heard of even in the Eastern Tyrannies. The other parts of his Government had such a mixture of *Scharamuchi* and *Harlequin*, that they ought not to be spoken of seriously, as Proclamations upon every Trifle, som against talking of News; Letters to the Parliament, telling them he was an old and wise King; that State Affairs were above their reach, and therefore

therefore they must not meddle with them, and such like Trumpery. But our happiness was, that this Prince was a great Coward, and hated the sight of a Soldier; so that he could not do much against us by open force. At last he died (as many have believed) by Poison, to make room for his Son *Charles* the First.

This King was a great Bigot, which made him the Darling of the Clergy; but having no great reach of his own, and being govern'd by the Priests (who have bin always unfortunat when they have meddled with-Politics) with a true Ecclesiastic Fury he drove on to the destruction of all the Liberties of *England*. This King's whole Reign was one continued Act against the Laws. He dissolv'd his first Parliament for presuming to inquire into his Father's Death, tho he lost a great Sum of Mony by it, which they had voted him: He entred at the same time into a War with *France* and *Spain*, upon the privat Piques of *Buckingham*, who managed them to the eternal Dishonor and Reproach of the English Nation; witness the ridiculous Enterprizes upon *Cadiz* and the Isle of *Rhee*. He deliver'd *Pennington's* Fleet into the *French* hands, betray'd the poor *Rochellers*, and suffered the Protestant Interest in *France* to be quite extirpated. He rais'd Loans, Excises, Coat and Conduct-mony, Tunnage and Poundage, Knight-hood and Ship-mony, without Authority of Parliament; impos'd new Oaths on the Subjects, to discover the value of their Estates; imprison'd great numbers of the most considerable Gentry and Merchants for not paying his Arbitrary Taxes; som he sent beyond Sea, and the poorer sort he prest for Soldiers. He kept Soldiers upon free Quarter, and executed Martial Law upon them. He granted Monopolies without number, and broke the bounds of the Forests. He erected Arbitrary Courts, and enlarg'd others, as the High Commission-Court, the Star-Chamber, Court of Honor, Court of Requests, &c. and unspeakable Oppressions were committed in them, even to Men of the first Quality. He commanded the Earl of *Bristol* and Bishop of *Lincoln* not to com to Parliament; committed and prosecuted a great many of the most eminent Members of the House of Commons for what they did there, som for no cause at all, and would not let them have the benefit of *Habeas Corpus*; suspended and confin'd Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, because he would not license a Sermon

Sermon that asserted Despotic Power, whatever other cause was pretended. He suspended the Bishop of *Glocester*, for refusing to swear never to consent to alter the Government of the Church; supported all his Arbitrary Ministers against the Parliament, telling them he wondred at the foolish Impudence of any one to think he would part with the meanest of his Servants upon their account: and indeed in his Speeches, or rather Menaces, he treated them like his Footmen, calling them Undutiful, Seditious, and Vipers. He brought unheard of Innovations into the Church; preferred Men of Arbitrary Principles, and inclinable to Popery, especially those Firebrands, *Laud*, *Mountague*, and *Manwaring*, one of whom had bin complain'd of in Parliament, another impeach'd for advancing Popery, and the third condemn'd in the House of Lords. He dispensed with the Laws against Papists, and both encourag'd and prefer'd them. He called no Parliament for twelve years together, and in that time govern'd as arbitrarily as the Grand Seignior. He abetted the *Irish* Massacre, as appears by their producing a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, by the Letter of *Charles* the 2<sup>d</sup> in favor of the Marquess of *Antrim*, by his stopping the Succors that the Parliament sent to reduce *Ireland* six months under the Walls of *Chester*, by his entering into a Treaty with the Rebels after he had ingaged his Faith to the Parliament to the contrary, and bringing over many thousands of them to fight against his People. It is endless to enumerat all the Oppressions of his Reign; but having no Army to support him, his Tyranny was precarious, and at last his ruin. Tho he extorted great Sums from the People, yet it was with so much difficulty, that it did him little good. Besides, he spent so much in foolish Wars and Expeditions, that he was always behind-hand; yet he often attempted to raise an Army.

Upon pretence of the *Spanish* and *French* War he rais'd many thousand Men, who liv'd upon free Quarter, and rob'd and destroy'd wherever they came. But being unsuccessful in his Wars abroad, and prest by the Clamors of the People at home, he was forc'd to disband them. In 1627 he sent over 30000 *l.* to *Holland* to raise 3000 *German* Horse, to force his arbitrary Taxes; but this matter taking wind, and being examin'd by the Parliament, Orders were sent to countermand them. In the 15<sup>th</sup> year  
of

of his Reign he gave a Commission to *Strafford* to raise 8000 *Irish* to be brought into *England*: but before they could get hither, the *Scots* were in Arms for the like Oppressions, and marched into *Northumberland*, which forcing him to call a Parliament, prevented that design, and so that Army was disbanded. Soon after he rais'd an Army in *England* to oppose the *Scots*, and tamper'd with them to march to *London*, and dissolve the Parliament: but this Army being compos'd for the most part of the Militia, and the matter being communicated to the House, who immediatly fell on the Officers that were Members, as *Ashburnham, Wilmot, Pollard, &c.* the design came to nothing. After this there was a Pacification between the King and the *Scots*; and in pursuance of it both Armies were disbanded. Then he went to *Scotland*, and endeavor'd to prevail with them to invade *England*; but that not doing, he sent a Message to the Parliament, desiring their concurrence in the raising 3000 *Irish* to be lent to the King of *Spain*; to which the Parliament refused to consent, believing he would make another use of them. When he came back to *London*, he pick'd out 3 or 400 dissolute Fellows out of Taverns, gaming and brothel-Houses, kept a Table for them; and with this goodly Guard all arm'd, he entred the House of Commons, sat down in the Speaker's Chair, demanding the delivery of 5 Members: But the Citizens coming down by Land and Water with Musquets upon their Shoulders to defend the Parliament, he attempted no further. This so inrag'd the House, that they chose a Guard to defend themselves against future Insults, and the King soon after left *London*. Som time before this began the *Irish* Rebellion, where the *Irish* pretended the King's Authority, and shew'd the Great Seal to justify themselves; which, whether true or false, raised such a jealousy in the People, that he was forced to consent to leave the management of that War to the Parliament: yet he afterwards sent a Message to them, telling them he would go to *Ireland* in Person; and acquainted them, that he had issued out Commissions for raising 2000 Foot and 200 Horse in *Cheshire* for his Guard, which they protested against, and prevented it. By this we may see what Force was thought sufficient in his Reign to inslave the Nation, and the frequent Attempts to get it.

Then the Civil Wars broke out between him and his People, in which many bloody Battels were fought; two of the most considerable

derable were those of *Newbury* and *Naseby*, both won by new Soldiers, the first by the *London* Militia, and the latter by an unexperienc'd Army, which the King used to call in derision the *New Nodel*. And som years after, the Battel of *Worcester* was in a great measure won by the Country Militia, for which *Cromwel* discharged them with anger and contemt, as knowing them Instruments unfit to promote his Tyrannical Designs. At last by the fate of the War the King became a Prisoner, and the Parliament treated with him while in that condition, and at the same time voted that som part of the Army should be disbanded, and others sent to *Ireland* to reduce that Kingdom; upon which the Army chose Agitators among themselves, who presented a Petition to both Houses, that they would proceed to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, and declare that no part of the Army should be disbanded till that was don. But finding their Petition resentted, they sent and seiz'd the King's Person from the Parliaments Commissioners, drew up a Charge of High Treason against eleven principal Members for indeavoring to disband the Army, entred into a privat Treaty with the King: but he not complying with their demands, they seized *London*; and notwithstanding the Parliament had voted the King's Concessions a ground for a future Settlement, they resolved to put him to Death, and in order therto purged the House, as they called it, that is, placed Guards upon them, and excluded all Members that were for agreeing with the King; and then they cut off his Head.

After this they let the Parliament govern for five years, who made their Name famous thro the whole Earth, conquered their Enemies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; reduced the Kingdom of *Portugal* to their own Terms; recovered our Reputation at Sea; overcame the *Dutch* in several famous Battels; secured our Trade, and managed the public Expences with so much frugality, that no Estates were gained by privat Men upon the public Miseries; and at last were passing an Act for their own Dissolution, and settling the Nation in a free and impartial Commonwealth; of which the Army being afraid, thought it necessary to dissolve them, and accordingly *Cromwel* next day called two Files of Musqueteers into the House, and pulled the Speaker out of the Chair, behaving himself like a Madman, vilifying the Members, and calling one a Whoremaster, another a Drunkard, bidding

bidding the Soldiers take away that fools bauble the Mace; and so good night to the Parliament.

When they had don this Act of violence, the Council of Officers set up a new form of Government, and chose a certain number of Persons out of every County and City of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*: and these they invested with the Supreme Power, but soon after expelled them, and then *Cromwel* set up himself, and framed a new Instrument of Government by a Protector and a House of Commons, in pursuance of which he called a Parliament. But they not answering his Expectations, he excluded all that would not subscribe his Instrument; and those that remained, not proving for his purpose neither, he dissolved them with a great deal of opprobrious Language. He then divided *England* into several Districts or Divisions, and placed Major Generals or Intendants over them, who governed like so many Bashaws, decimating the Cavaliers, and raising Taxes at their pleasure. Then forsooth he had a mind to make himself King, and called another Parliament to that purpose, after his usual manner secluding such Members as he did not like. To this Assembly he offered another Instrument of Government, which was by a Representative of the People, a 2d House composed of 70 Members in the nature of a House of Lords, and a single Person; and left a Blank for what name he should be called, which this worthy Assembly filled up with that of King, addressed to *Cromwel* that he would be pleased to accept it, and gave him power to nominat the Members of the Other House. This the great Officers of the Army resented, for it destroyed all their hopes of being Tyrants in their turn, and therefore addressed the Parliament against the Power and Government of a King, which made *Cromwel* decline that Title, and content himself with a greater Power under the name of Protector. Afterwards he nam'd the *Other House*, as it was called, for the most part out of the Officers of the Army; but even this Parliament not pleasing him, he dissolved them in a fury, and govern'd the Nation without any Parliament at all till he died.

After his death the Army set up his Son *Richard*, who called a new Parliament; but their proceedings being not agreeable to



the humor of the Soldiery, they forced the Protector to dissolve them: then they deposed him, and took the power into their own hands; but being unable to wield it, they restored the Commonwealth, and soon after expelled them again, because they would not settle the Military Sword independent of the Civil: then they governed the Nation by a Council of War at *Wallingford-House*, and chose a Committee of Safety for the executive part of the Government; but that Whim lasted but a little time before they chose Conservators of Liberty; and that not doing neither, they agreed that every Regiment should choose two Representatives, and this worthy Council should settle the Nation; when they met, sometimes they were for calling a new Parliament, sometimes for restoring the old, which was at last don. By this means all things fell into Confusion, which gave *Monk* an opportunity of marching into *England*, where he acted his part so dexterously, that he restor'd the King with part of that Army which had cut off his Father's Head.

This is a true and lively Example of a Government with an Army; an Army that was raised in the cause, and for the sake of Liberty; composed for the most part of Men of Religion and Sobriety. If this Army could commit such violences upon a Parliament always successful, that had acquired so much Reputation both at home and abroad, at a time when the whole People were trained in Arms, and the Pulse of the Nation beat high for Liberty; what are we to expect if in a future Age an ambitious Prince should arise with a dissolute and debauched Army, a flattering Clergy, a prostitute Ministry, a Bankrupt House of L—ds, a Pensioner House of C—ns, and a slavish and corrupted Nation?

By this means came in *Charles* the Second, a luxurious effeminate Prince, a deep Dissembler, and if not a Papist himself, yet a great favorer of them: but the People had suffered so much from the Army, that he was received with the utmost Joy and Transport. The Parliament in the Honymoon passed what Laws he pleased, gave a vast Revenue for life, being three times as much as any of his Predecessors ever enjoyed, and several Millions besides to be spent in his Pleasures. This made