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SPEECH

WITHOUT

DOORS.

Made by a

PLEBEAN,

TO HIS

Noble Friends.

PARLIAMENTS have been wont to take up some space at the first Meetings, to settle the House, and to determine of *Unlawful Elections*, and in this point they never had greater cause to be Circumspect, than at this time: For by an Abuse lately crept in, there is introduced a Custom, which if it be not seen and prevented, will be a great derogation of the Honour, and a weakning of the power of your House, where the Law giveth a freedom to Corporations, to Elect Burgesses, and forbideth any indirect course to be taken in their Elections, many of the Corporations are so base minded, and timorous, that they will not hazard the Indignation of a Lord Lieutenants Letter, who underhand flicks not to Threaten them, if he hath not the Election of the Burgesses; and not they themselves!

And commonly those that the Lords recommend, are such as desire it for Protection, or are so ignorant of the place they serve for, as that there being occasion to speak of the Corporation, for which they are chosen, they have asked their Neighbours sitting by, whether it were a Sea, or a Land Town?

The next thing that is required, is, *Liberty of Speech*, without which Parliaments have little force or power; Speech begets doubts, and Resolves them; and doubts in Speeches beget understanding; He that doubts much, asketh often, and learns much; and he that fears the worst, soonest prevents a mischief.

This priviledge of Speech, is antiently granted by the Testimony of *Phillip Cominus*, a stranger, who prefers our Parliaments, and the Freedom of the Subject in them, above all other Assemblies; which Freedom, if it be broken or diminished, is negligently lost since the Days of *Cominus*.

If Freedom of Speech should be prohibited, when Men with modesty make repetition of the Grievances and Enormities of the Kingdom; when Men shall desire Reformation of the wrongs and injuries committed, and have no relation of evil thoughts to His Majesty, but with open heart and zeal express their dutiful and reverent respect to him and his Service: I say, if this kind of Liberty of Speech be not allowed in time of Parliaments, they will extend no farther than to Quarter-Sessions; and their Meetings and Assemblies will be unnecessary, for all means of disorder new crept in, and all Remedies and Redresses will be quite taken away.

As it is no manners to contest with the King in his Election of his Councillors and Servants, (for Kings obey no Men, but their Laws,) so were it a great Negligence, and part of Treason, for a Subject not to be free in Speech against the Abuses, Wrongs and Offences, that may be occasioned by persons in Authority. What Remedy can be expected from a Prince to a Subject, if the Enormities in his Kingdom be concealed from him: Or what King so Religious and just in his own Nature, that may not hazard the loss of the Hearts of his Subjects, without this Liberty of Speech in Parliament? For such is the misfortune of most Princes, and such is the unhappiness of Subjects where Kings Affections are soled, and their Loves so far transported to promote Servants, as they only trust and credit what they shall inform.

In this Case, what Subject dares Complain? or what Subject dares contradict the words or Actions of such a Servant; if it be not Warranted by Freedom of a Parliament, they speaking with Humility? for nothing obtaineth Favour with a King, so much as diligent Obedience.

The surest and safest way betwixt the King and his people, which hath least scandal of partiality, is; with Indifference, and Integrity and sincerity, to examine the Grievances of the Kingdom, without touching the person of any Man, further than the Cause giveth the Occasion. For otherwise, you shall Contest with him that hath the Princes Ears open to hearken to his enchanting Tongue; he informs secretly, when you shall not be admitted to Excuses, he will cast your deserved Malice against him, to your Contempt against the King; and so will make the Prince the shield of his Revenge.

These are the sinister practises of such Servants to deceive their Sovereigns, when our Grievances shall be Authentically proved, and made manifest to the World by your pains to Examine, and Freedom to Speak. No Prince can be so affectionate to a Servant, or such an Enemy to himself, as not to admit of this indifferent proceeding: If his services be allowable and good, they will appear with Glory; if bad, your Labour shall deserve thanks both of Prince and Country.

When Justice shall thus shine, people will be animated to serve their King with Integrity; for they are naturally inclined to imitate Princes in good and bad.

The Words of *Cicero* will then appear, *That Malicious and evil Men make Princes poor, and one perfect good Man is able to make a Realm rich.*

There is no Remedy left for mis-reports, but a freedom of Speech in Parliament. For there is no Wise Man that speaks, but knows what, and when to speak, and how to hold his peace. Whilst Subjects Tongues are tyed, for fear they may reach him a rap whose Conscience cries Guilty; the King and his people are kept from understanding one another; the Enemy is heartned abroad, and the malignant humour of Discontentment nourished at home, and all for one who is like a Dragon, that bites the Ear of the Elephant, because he knows the Elephant cannot reach him with his Trunk; and Princes are abused by false Reports whispered in their Ears by Sycophants and Flatterers.

Diogenes being asked what Beast bit forest? answered, *Of Wild Beasts the Back-biter; of Tame the Flatterer.*

Now to descend to Grievances which are of two kinds; some concerning the Kingdom in general, some in particular, which have relation to the general.

Grievances in general, are so many in number, as will serve for every Member of the House to present two a piece to your Views: and I will presume so far to rank my self with you, as to tender the number of Two unto your Consideration.

My first Complaint is of *Titles of Honour*; and in Two Kinds.

First, In respect of the parties themselves, their Estates and Parentage.

Secondly, In respect of the manner of their attaining thereunto, which is Mercenary, Base, and Corrupt; which in Reason should not hold: for by Law the Consideration is unlawful.

Trajanus commended *Plutarch* for his Precepts in School, when he Taught that *Men should Labour to deserve Honour, but avoid the getting of it basely*: for if it were Reputation to have it by Desert, it were Infamy to buy it for Money. In that Age where Rich Men were Honoured, Good Men were Despised.

Honour is not to be valued according to the vulgar opinion of Men, but prized and esteemed as the Sir-name of Virtue, ingendred in the mind; and such Honour no King can give, or Money can purchase. He that will strive to be more Honourable than others, must abandon Passion, Pride, and Arrogancy; so that his Virtue may shine above others. For Honour consists not in the Title of a Lord, but in the opinion people have of their Virtue, for it is much more Honour to deserve, and not to have, than to have it, and not deserve it.

There is one of Three things, that commonly causeth Mans Advancement, Desert, Favour, and Power.

The first makes a Man worthy of it, the other Two are but Abuses: for Favour is but a blind Fortune, an Ounce of which at Court, is better than a pound of Wisdom: Fortune never favoureth, but flattereth; she never promiseth, but in the end she deceiveth; she never raiseth, but she casteth down again. And this Advancement is meeter to be called Luck, than Merit.

That Honour that is compassed by power, takes unto it self Liberty, and desires not to be governed by Wisdom, but Force. It knows not what it desireth, nor hath a feeling of any Injury: It is neither moved with sweet Words, nor pittiful Tears; such Men leave not to do evil, because they have a desire to it, but when their power faileth to do it.

The true Honour among the honourablest, is, where Fortune casts down, where there is no fault: but it is Infamy where Fortune raiseth, where there is no Merit.

Examine the state and condition of Men raised to Honour these Twenty Years past, and whether it be Desert, Favour, or Power that hath preferred them.

Enter into the Mischief the Kingdom hath suffered, and doth suffer by it, and the cause of his Majesties great Wants will soon appear: If you collect with your selves how many hungry Courtiers have been raised to the highest top of Honour.

After this Examine their Princely Expence in these Twenty Years, their Estates in present, and what is requisite to maintain them in their future degrees of Honour, to themselves and their posterity, and you shall find His Majesties Annual Revenues consumed and spent upon those unworthy persons. Besides the impairing and impoverishing the State, it brings with it the contempt of greatness and Authority, it breeds an inward malice in Gentlemen better deserving of their Country; and better able to maintain the degree of Honour without charge to King or Kingdom, and whose Houses and Alliances may better challenge it than the best of them.

The Character of a Covetous Man is, That he getteth his Goods with Care, and Envy of his Neighbours, with Sorrow to his Enemies, with Travel to his Body, with Grief to his Spirit, with Scruple to his Conscience, with Danger to his Soul, with Suit to his Children, and Curse to his Heirs: His desire is to live Poor, and to dye Rich; but as these Vices are made Vertues, even so is he honoured for them with Titles of Nobility.

When *Phillip* the Second, King of *Spain*, entred with Arms upon his Kingdom of *Portugal*, and tho' with his Sword he might have made fitting Laws; yet were there some few Priviledges which the *Portugals* besought they might enjoy, one whereof was, That the King would make no Unworthy Person Noble, or without their Approbation, which was granted them, and to this day they hold their Freedom, which keeps that Kingdom in the ancient State, Honour, and Dignity; (that is to say) two Dukes, one Marquess, and eighteen Earls: And thus much for the point of Honour.

The second Grievance I will recommend to your view is, *The Carriage of our Wars*; the excessive Charges vainly spent therein, the Unworthiness of the People employed, the Grave and Experienced neglected, the Designs not warranted by Reason and Direction, and the Executions worse performed; with many other Circumstances that depend upon it.

I must crave leave to declare the Property and Condition of Impostures, and deceivers of Princes.

Abusers of Princes are they that perswade them to War, to become Poor when they may live in Peace, and become Rich; when they may be Loved, cause them to be hated; when they may enjoy their Lives surely, put them in hazard of Cross Fortune rashly; And lastly, having necessity to use their Subjects, put them into that necessity, as they refuse to do for Him: All this is the Pride of the Perswader, as *Socrates* saith.

The first Lessening of the Greatness of the *Roman* Empire, was by the Insolence of Souldiers; and the first raising of the *Ottoman* House, was by Permission and Conniving at his Army.

England with small Charge, can raise what Men His Majesty pleaseth to command; and that suddenly, and Discharge them again without trouble or charge as quickly. *England* wants no good and able men if His Majesty had occasion to use them. The Wise men of *England* would have thought Two or Three hundred Thousand pounds better spared; than thus wastfully Consumed, and Disorders committed; we may compute it to that Sum, and yet keep our selves within compass: And notwithstanding, the want of Money, and the ways to Exact it on the Subject, is all the Song now sung: He that sees and complains of the Evil managing of things, is either Imprison'd, Banish'd the Court, or censur'd for a Discontent.

There is no *English*-man but knoweth the Heart of every other true *English*-man, and with one consent will all obey our Prince, and to his Person we owe all due Reverence; and we may truly say, no King is more happy in Subjects for their Love, nor no Subjects readier to serve their King with their Purfes and Persons; nor never people were better blest with a King.

False Informers and Misguiders of good Kings are much more Perilous, than if Princes themselves were Evil; for commonly as Worms breed soonest in soft and sweet Wood; so are the best Natures, inclined to Honour and Justice, soonest abused by false Flatterers.

The Evil they commit under the Authority of good Princes, is accounted as done by the Prince himself; but commonly such people in the end pay for it; for he that desires not to do Good, cannot be Wise, but will fall into four thousand Follies.

One of the first Propositions made to the House, will be for Money to Support His Majesties vast Expence at this time, that the Enemy threatens Thunder against the Kingdom. Your often Alarums upon such pretences, may make you now too secure; for true it is, that the last Parliament, Books were published of Invincible preparations, intended against us, and nothing came of it. But beware that you be not deceived by an Old saying,

ing, That when one usually tells Lies, he is not trusted when he speaks Truth; for certainly the danger is more than by the power and greatness of another Enemy.

In this Case you must give for your own sakes, that so you may be sure to enjoy what is yours; for your Sovereigns sake, to maintain his Greatness and State; and for your Countries sake, to keep it from Oppression of the Enemy; but withal, you ought to lay down the Condition of the Kingdom, and to shew that your Necessity cannot run parallel with your Hearts and your Desires; that your minds will be carried with a willingness to give, but your Hands will keep back your Hearts for want of Ability to give.

Themistocles demanding Tribute of the *Athenians*, told them he brought two Gods with him, that is to say, *Persuasion* and *Violence*; They answered, that they had two other Gods in their Country, both great and powerful, which were *Poverty* and *Impossibility*, which hindred them from giving.

We may truly say, That God hath so placed and Sealed this Isle of *England*, that nothing but Evil Council can hurt it. But true it is, Advice that is not warranted from Wise Men, may prove more forcible and perilous than the power of an Enemy.

The Scripture telleth us, That *the Thought perisheth that taketh not Council*.

A King of the *Lacedemonians* asked how a Kingdom might ever stand, and was answered, Two ways; If a King take Counsel of Wise Honest men, and they speak freely; and do Justice Uprightly.

There was never Censor that Judged, Senator that Ordered, Emperour that Commanded, Council that Executed, Orator that perswaded, nor any other Mortal man, but sometimes he committed Errors, and deserved either blame or punishment for his Misdoings, and if he were Wise, desired Advice what to do.

St. Gregory saith, No man can give so faithful Council as he who loves one more than his Gifts; Then who are or can be so true Counsellours to our Noble King, as a House of Commons that hath no Relation to a Kings Gift, but only to his Honour, flourishing Estate and safety?

This is the time to amend Evil Counsels past, and to let Evil Counsellours see their Errors.

This is the time for all men to put to their helps, some with their Hands to Fight, others with their Advice to Counsel; and for my Advice it is this:

That you present to His Majesty in all Humbleness, your Willing mind and hearts, to Repair and fit to Sea, His Majesties Navy, your selves to have power to make them able and Serviceable; with the advice of Experienced Men that you may call unto you. This is a matter of great Importance at this present for the safety of the King, Realm, and Subject; for the strength of the Kingdom much depends upon this Bulwark, which we may well term *The Walls of England*.

His Majesty will find himself much eased by it, busineses shall be carried without his trouble or care. Money shall not be sought for to that end, but provided by you; His Majesty may dispose of the rest of his Revenue at his pleasure.

By your Frugality and Husbandry, His Majesty shall have occasion to judge of things past, of yours in present, and hereafter it will serve for a president to walk after; it will stop the mouths of Malignant Tongues, that inform His Majesty of the unwillingness of the Subject to give; and it will make it apparent, that their true Grief is not in the matter of giving, but to see the Evil Employing of it when it is given.

If any man shall pervert this good meaning and motion of yours, and inform His Majesty, 'Tis a Derogation from his Honour to yield to his Subjects upon Conditions. His Majesty shall have good cause to prove such mens eyes malicious and Unthankful, and thereby to disprove them in all their other Actions: For what can it lessen the Reputation of a prince whom the Subject only and wholly obeyeth, that a Parliament which His Majesty doth acknowledge to be his highest Council, should advise him, and he follow the advice of such a Council? What dishonour rather were it to be advised and ruled by one Counsellour alone, against whom there is just exception taken of the whole Common-Wealth?

Marcus Porcio saith, That that Common-wealth is Everlasting, where the Prince seeks to get Obedience and Love, and the Subjects to gain the affection of the Prince; and that Kingdom is Unhappy, where their prince is served out of ends and hope of Reward, and hath no other assurance of them but their Service.

F I N I S.

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