

LampeterCorpus

Killing, No Murder: WITH SOME ADDITIONS Briefly Discourst In Three QUESTIONS, Fit for Publick View; To deter and prevent Single Persons, and Councils, from Usurping Supream Povver.

By WILLIAM ALLEN . *And all the People of the Land rejoiced; and the City was quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah with the Sword* , 2Chron. 23.21. *Now after the time that Amaziah did turn away from following the Lord, they made a Conspiracie against Him in Jerusalem, and He fled to Lachish: but they sent to Lachish after Him, and slew Him there* , 2Chron. 25.27.

It is not any Ambition to be in Print, when so few spare Paper and the Presse; nor any instigation of private revenge or malice (though few that dare be honest now want their causes) that have prevailed with me to make myself the Author of a Pamphlet, and to disturb that Quiet which at present I enjoy, by his Highness great favour and ¹injustice. Nor am I ignorant to how little purpose I shall employ that time and pains, which I shall bestow upon this Paper. For to think that any reasons or perswasions of mine, or conviction of their own, shall draw men from anything where they see profit or security, or to anything wherein they fear loss, or see danger, is to have a better opinion both of myself and them, than either of us both deserve.

Besides, the subject itself is of that nature, that I am not only to expect danger from ill men, but certain allowance from many that are good; for these opinions only look upon, not look into, (which all have not eyes for) will appear bloody and cruel; and these compellations I must expect from those that have zeal, but not according to knowledge: If therefore I had considered myself, I had spared whatever this is of pains, and not distasted so many, to please so few, as are in mankind, (the honest and the wise.) But at such a time as this, when God is not only exercising us with a usual and common calamity, of letting us fall into slavery that used our liberty so ill; but is pleased so far to blind our understandings, and to debase our spirits, as to suffer us to our bondage, and to place it among the requests we put up to him; Indignation makes a man break that silence that prudence would perswade him to use; if not to work upon other mens minds, yet to ease his own.

Alate Pamphlet tells us of a great design discovered against the person of his Highness, and of the Parliaments coming (for so doest that Juntoprofanethatname) to congratulate with his Highness, his happy deliverance from that wicked and bloody attempt. Besides this that they have Ordered, that God Almighty shall be mockt with a day of thanksgiving, (as I think the World is with the plot) and that the people shall give publique thanks for the publique calamity, that God is yet pleased to continue his Judgments upon them, and to frustrate all

meansthat are used for their deliverance: Certainly, none will now deny, that the English are a very thankful people. But I think if we had read in Scripture, that the Israelites had cried unto the Lord, not for their own deliverance, but the preservation of their Task-masters, and that they had thanked God with Solemnity that Pharaoh was yet living, and that there was still great hopes of the daily increase of the number of their Bricks: Though that people did so many things not only impiously and profanely, but ridiculously and absurdly; yet certainly they did nothing we should more have wondered at, than to have found them Ceremoniously thankful to God for plagues, that were commonly so brutishly unthankful for mercies; And we should have thought that Moses had done them a great deal of wrong, if he had not suffered them to enjoy their slavery, and left them to their Tasks and Garlick.

I can with Justice say, my principal intention in this Paper is not to declaim against my *L. Protector* or his Accomplices; for were it not more to justify others, than to accuse them, I should think their own actions did that work sufficiently, and I should not take pains to tell the world what they know before. My design is, to examine whether if there hath been such a Plot as we hear of; and that it was contrived by Mr. *Sindercombe* against my *L. Protector*, and not by my *L. Protector* against Mr. *Sindercombe* (which is doubtful) whether it deserves those Epithites *Mr. Speaker* is pleased to give it, of bloody, wicked, and proceeding from the Prince of darkness. I know very well how incapable the vulgar are, considering what is extraordinary and singular in every case, and that they judge of things, and name them by their exterior appearances, without penetrating at all into their causes or natures. And without doubt when they hear the *Protector* was to be kill'd, they straight conclude a man was to be murdered, not a malefactor punished: for they think the formalities do always make the thing themselves, and that 'tis the Judge and the Cryer that make the justice, and the Goal the Criminal: And therefore when they read in the Pamphlet Mr. *Speaker's* Speech, they certainly think he gives these Plotters their right titles; and, as readily as a High-Court of Justice, they condemn them, without ever examining whether they would have killed a Magistrate, or destroyed a Tyrant, over whom every man is naturally a Judge and an Executioner; and whom the laws of God, of Nature, and of Nation expose, like Beasts of prey, to be destroyed as they are met.

That I may be as plain as I can, I shall first make it a question, (which indeed is none) Whether my *Lord Protector* be a Tyrant or not? Secondly, if he be, Whether it is lawful to do Justice upon him without Solemnity, *that is*, to Kill him? Thirdly, if it be lawful, Whether it is like to prove profitable or noxious to the Common-wealth?

The Civil Law makes Tyrants of two sorts, *Tyrannus sine Tytulo*, and *Tyrannus Exercitio*. The one is called a Tyrant, because he hath no right to govern; the other, because he governs Tyrannically. We will very briefly discourse of them both, and see whether the *Protector* may not with great Justice put in his claim to both Titles.

We shall sufficiently demonstrate who they are that have not a right to govern, if we show who they are that have; and what it is that makes the power just, which those that rule have over the natural liberty of other men. To Father, within their private Families nature hath given a Supreme power. Every man, says *Aristotle*,³ of Right governs his wife and children, and this power was necessarily exercised⁴ everywhere, whilest Families lived dispersed,⁵ before the constitutions of Common-wealths; and in many places it continued after, as appears by the Laws of *Solon*, and the most Ancient of those of *Rome*. And indeed as by the Laws of God⁶ and nature, the care, defence, and support of the family lies upon every man whose it is; so by the same Law there is due unto every man from his Family a subjection and obedience, in compensation of that support. But several Families uniting themselves together to make up

one body of a Common-wealth, and being Independent one of another, without any natural Superiority or Obligation, nothing can introduce amongst them a disparity of Rule and Subjection, but some power that is over them; which power none can pretend to have but God and themselves. Wherefore all power which is lawfully exercised over such a Society of men, (which from the end of its institution we call a Common-wealth) must necessarily be derived either from the appointment of God Almighty, who is Supreme Lord of all and every part; or from the consent of the Society itself, who have the next power to his, of disposing of their own liberty, as they shall think fit for their own good. ⁷This power God hath given to Societies of men, as well as he gave it to particular ⁸ persons; and when he interposes not his own authority and appoints not himself who shall be his Vice-gerents and rule under him; he leaves it to none but the people themselves to make the election, whose benefit is the end of all government. Nay when he himself hath been pleased to appoint rulers for that people, which he was pleased peculiarly to own, He many times made the choice, but left the Continuation and Ratification of that choice to the people themselves. So *Saul* ⁹ was chosen by God, and anointed King by his Prophet, but made King by all the people at *Gigal*. ¹⁰*David* was anointed King ¹¹ by the same Prophet, but was afterwards, after *Saul's* death, confirmed by the people of *Juda*, ¹² and 7. years after by the Elders of ¹³ *Israel*, the Peoples Deputies, at *Chebron*. And it is observable, that though they knew that *David* was appointed King by God, and anointed by his Prophet, yet they likewise knew that God allowed to themselves not only his confirmation, but likewise the limitation of his power; for before his Inauguration, they made a league ¹⁴ with him; that is, obliged him by compact to the performance of such conditions as they thought necessary for the securing their Liberty. Nor is it less remarkable, that when God gives direction to his people concerning their government, he plainly leaves the Form to themselves: for he says not, When thou shalt have come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, *Statues super te Regem*; But, *Si* ¹⁵ *Dixeris statuum*. God says not, Thou shalt appoint a King over thee; But if thou shalt say, I will appoint; leaving it to their choice, whether they would say so or no. And it is plain in that place, that God gives the people the choice of their King, for he there instructs them whom they shall choose *Emedium fratrum tuorum*, one out of the midst of thy brethren: Much more might we say, if it were a less manifest Truth that all just power of Government is founded upon the set two bases, of Gods immediate command, or the Peoples consent. And therefore whose ever arrogates to himself that power, or any part of it, that cannot produce one of those two titles, is not a Ruler, but an Invader, and those that are subject to that power, are not governed, but oppressed.

This being considered, have not the People of *England* much reason to ask the Protector this Question, QuisconstituittvirumPrincipem&judicemsupernos? Whomadethee a Prince and a Judge over us? If God made thee, make it manifest to us. If the People, where did we meet to do it? Who took our Subscriptions? To whom deputed we our authority? And when and where did those Deputies make the choice? Sure these interrogations are very natural, and I believe would much trouble his Highness his Council, and his Junta to answer. In a word, that I may not tire my reader, (who will not want proofs for what I say, if he wants not memory) Ifto change the government without the peoples consent: Ifto dissolve their Representatives by force, and disannul their Acts: Ifto give the name of the Peoples Representativesto confederates of his own, that they may establish iniquity by law: Ifto take away mens lives out of all course of Law, by certain Murderers of his own appointment, whom he names *A High-Court of Justice*. Ifto decimate mens estates, and by his own power to impose upon the people what Taxes he pleases: And to maintain all by force of Arms: If I say all this does make a Tyrant, his own impudence cannot deny, but he is as compleat a one as ever hath been since there have been Societies of Men. He that hath done, and does all this, is the person for whose preservation the people of *England* must pray; but certainly if they do,

'tis for the same Reason that the old Woman of *Syracuse* prayd for the long life of the Tyrant *Dionysius*, lest the Devil should come next.

Now if instead of Gods Command, or the Peoples Consent, his Highness hath no other Title but force and fraud, which is to want all Title: And if to violate all Laws, and propose none to Rule by, but those of his own will, beto exercise Tyranny he hath usurpt, and to make his Administration conformable to his claym: Then the first Question we proposed, is a Question no longer.

But before we come to these second, being things are more Easily perceived and found by the description of their *Exteriour Accidents, and Qualities*, then the defining their Essences: It will not be Amis to see, whether his Highness hath not as well the outward Marks and Characters by which Tyrants are known, as he hath their *Nature and Essential* properties: Whether he hath not the Skin of the Lyon, and Tail of the Fox, as well as he hath the Violence of the one, and Deceipt of the other. Now in this Delineation which I intend to make of a Tyrant, all the Lineaments, all the Colours, will be found so Naturally to correspond with the life, that it cannot but be doubted, whether his Highness be the Original, or the Copy. Whether I have in drawing the Tyrant, represented him? or in Representing him, Express a Tyrant. And therefore I should be suspected to deal un-sincerely with his Highness, and not to have Applied *These* following Characters, but made them, I shall not give you any of my own Stamping, but such as I find in *Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus*, and his Highness own *Evangelist, Machiavell*.

¹⁶ 1. Almost all Tyrants have been first Captains and Generals for the People; under pretences of vindicating, or defending their Liberties. Ut Imperium evertant Libertatem præserunt; cum perverterunt, ipsam aggrediuntur, says *Tacitus*; ¹⁷ to subvert the present Government, they pretend Liberty for the People; when the Government is down, they then Invade that Liberty themselves: this needs no Application.

2. Tyrants accomplish their ends much more by fraud than force. Neither vertue nor force (says Machiavel) ¹⁸ are so necessary to that purpose, as *una Astutia fortunata*, a Luckycraft: which says she, ¹⁹ without force hath been often found sufficient, but never force without that. And in another place ²⁰ he tells us their way is *Aggirare Lucervellide glihuominicon Astutia, &c.* With cunning plausible pretences to impose upon mens understandings, and in the end they master those that had solittle wit as to rely upon their faith and integrity. 'Tis but unnecessary to say, That had no this Highness had a faculty to be fluent in his tears, and eloquent in his execrations: Had he not had spungy eyes and a supple conscience; and besides to do with a people of great faith, but little wit; his courage and the rest of his Moral vertues, with the help of his Janizaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of Justice, that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him, but that of the Hangman.

3. They abase all excellent persons, and rid out of the way all that have noble minds, Et Terræ filiusextollunt; and advance Sons of the Earth. To put *Aristotle* into other words, they purge both Parliament and Army, till they leave a few worn on there, that have either honour or conscience, either wit, *Interest*, or Courage to oppose their designs. And in these Purgations (saith *Plato*) ²¹ Tyrants do quite contrary to Physitians; for they purge us of four humours, but Tyrants of four Spirits.

4. They daresuffer no Assemblies. Notsomuch as Horse-races.

5. In all places they have their Spies and Dilators, that is, they have their *Broughalls*, their *St. Joan's* (besides innumerable small spies) to appear discontented and not to side with them; that under that disguise they may get trust, and make discoveries. They likewise have their Emissaries to send with forged letters. If any doubt this, let him send to Major General *Brown*, and he will satisfy him.

6. They stir not without a guard, nor his Highness without his Life-guard.

7. They impoverish the people, that they may want the power, if they have the will, to attempt anything against them. His Highness way is by Taxes, Excise, Decimations, &c.

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8. They make war to divert and busy the people: And besides, to have a pretence to raise moneys, and to make new Levies, if they either distrust their old forces, or think them not sufficient. The war with *Spain* serves his Highness to this purpose, and upon no other Justice was it began at first, or is still continued.

9. They will seem to honour and provide for good men: That is, if the Ministers will be Orthodox and flatter: If they will wreathe and torture the Scripture to prove his Government lawful, and furnish him with Title: his Highness will likewise be then content to understand Scripture in their favour, and furnish them with Tithes.

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10. Things that are odious and distasteful, they make others executioners of; and when the people are discontented, they appease them with sacrificing those Ministers they employ: I leave it to his Highness his Major General to ruminate a little upon this point.

11. In all things they pretend to be wonderful careful of the Publick: to give general accounts of the money they receive, which they pretend to be levied for the maintenance of the State, and the prosecuting of the War. His Highness made an excellent Comment upon this place of *Aristotle* in his Speech to this Parliament.

12. All things set aside for Religious use they set to sale; that while those things last, they may exact the less of the people. The Cavaliers would interpret this of the Dean and Chapters Lands.

13. They pretend inspirations from God, and responses from Oracles to Authorise what they do, his Highness hath been ever an Enthusiast. And as *Hugh Capet*, in taking the Crown pretended to be admonished to it in a dream by *St. Vallery*, and *St. Richard*: so I believe will his Highness do the same, at the instigation of *St. Henry*, and *St. Richard* his two Sons. ²⁴

14. Lastly, Above all things they pretend a love to God and Religion. This *Aristotle* calls *Artium Tyrannicarum Potissimum*; the surest and best of all the Arts of Tyrants, and we all know his Highness hath found it so by experience. ²⁵ He hath found indeed that in goodness there is great gain; and that preaching and praying, well managed, will obtain other Kingdoms as well as that of Heaven. His indeed have been pious Arms, for he hath conquered most by those of the Church, by prayers, and ²⁶ tears. But the truth is, were it not for our honour to be governed by one that can manage both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword, and

Roman like, to have our Emperor or our High Priest: We might have had preaching at a much cheaper rate, and it would have cost us but our Tythes, which now costs us all.

Other Marks and Rules there are mentioned by *Aristotle* to know Tyrants by: but they being unsuitable to his Highness Actions, and impracticable by his Temper, I insist not on them. As among other things ²⁷ *Aristotle* would not have a Tyrant insolent in his behaviour, nor strike people. But his Highness is naturally choleric, and must call men Rogues, and go to Cuffs. At last he concludes he should of fashion his manners, as neither too bereally good, nor absolutely bad, but half one, half to other. Now this half good is too great a proportion for his Highness, and much more than his temper will bear.

But to speak Truths more seriously, and to conclude this first Question. Certainly whatever these Characters make any man, it cannot be denied but his Highness is; and then if he be not a Tyrant, we must confess we have no definition nor description of a Tyrant left us; and may well imagine there is no such thing in Nature, and that 'tis only a Notion and a Name. But if there be such a Beast, and we do at all believe what we see and feel; let us now enquire, according to the method we proposed, whether this is a Beast of Game that we are to give law to, or a Beast of Prey to destroy with all means are allowable and fair?

²⁸ In deciding this question Authors very much differ, as far as it concerns supreme Magistrates, who degenerate into Tyrants. Some think they are to be born with a bad ²⁹ Parents; and place them in the number of those mischiefs ³⁰ that have no other cure but our patience. Other think they may be questioned by that supreme Law of the people's safety; and that they are answerable to the people's Representatives for the breach of their Trust. But none, of sober sense, makes private persons Judges of their actions; which were indeed to subvert all Government. But on the other side, I find none, that have not been frightened or corrupted out of their Reason, that have been so great Enemies to Common, and the Liberty of Mankind; as to give any kind of Indemnity to a Usurper, who can pretend no Title, but that of being stronger; nor challenge the people's obedience upon any other obligation but that of their necessity, and fear. Such a person, as one out of all bounds of humane protection, all men make the *Ishmael*, ³¹ against whom every man's hand, as his is against every man. To him they give no more security than *Cain*, his fellow murderer and oppressor, promised to himself, to be destroyed by him that found him first.

The reason why a Tyrant's case is particular, and why in that every man hath that vengeance given him, which in other cases is reserved to God and the Magistrate, cannot be obscure, if we rightly consider what a Tyrant is, what his crimes are, and in what state he stands with the Common-wealth, and with every member of it. And certainly if we find him an enemy to all Humane Society, and a subverter of all Laws, and on that by the greatness of his villainies, secures himself against all ordinary course of Justice: we shall not at all think it strange, if then he have no benefit from humane society, no protection from the law; and if, in his case, Justice dispenses with her forms. We are therefore to consider that the end for which men enter into society is not barely to live, which they may do as other Animals: but to live happily; and a Life answerable to the dignity and excellency of their kind. Out of Society, this happiness is not to be had, for singly we are impotent, and defective, unable to procure those things that are either of necessity, or ornament for our lives, and as unable to defend and keep them when they are acquired. To remedy these defects, we associate together that what we cannot either enjoy nor keep, singly, by mutual benefits and assistance, one of another, We may be able to do both. We cannot possibly accomplish these ends, if we submit not our passions and appetites to the Laws of Reason and Justice. For the depravity of man's will makes him unfit to live in Society, as his necessity makes him unable to live out of it. And

if that perverse sense be not regulated by Laws, men's appetites to the same things; their avarice, their lust, their ambition would quickly make Society as unsafe, or more, then Solitude itself, and we should associate only to be nearer our misery and our ruine. That therefore by which we accomplish the ends of a sociable life, is our subjection, and submission to Laws, these are the Nerves and Sinews of every Society or Commonwealth; Without which they must necessarily dissolve and fall asunder. And indeed (as *Augustine* says) those Societies where Law and Justice is not, are not Commonwealths or Kingdoms, but Magna Latrocinia, Great Confederacies of Thieves and Robbers. ³² Those therefore that submit to Law, are not to be reputed in the Society of Mankind, which cannot consist without a Law. Therefore *Aristotle* ³³ saith, Tyranny is against the Law of Nature, that is, the Law of Humane Society, in which Humane Nature is preserved. For this reason they deny a Tyrant to be *Partem Civitatis*; for every part is subject to the whole; and a Citizen (says the same Author,) ³⁴ is he who is as well obliged to the duty of obeying, as he is capable of the power of commanding. And indeed he does obey while he does command, that is, he obeys the Laws, which (says *Tully*) *Magistratus præsunt, ut Magistratus præsunt Populo*, are above the Magistrates, as the Magistrates are above the people. And therefore a Tyrant that submit to no law; but this will and lust are the law, by which he governs himself and others, is no Magistrate, no Citizen or member of any Society, but an Ulcer and a Disease that destroys it, and if fitly and rightly considered, a Commonwealth by falling into a Tyranny absolutely loses that name, and is actually another thing: *Non est civitas quæ uni se servit* (says *Sophocles*) that which is one man, is no City. For there is no longer King and People or Parliament and People; but those names are changed (at least their natures) into Masters and Servants, Lord and Slaves: And *Servorum non Civitas est magna Familia* (says *Grotius*) ³⁵ where all are Slaves, 'tis not a City but a great Family. And the truth is, we are all members of *Whitehall*, and when our Master pleases, he may send for us thither, and there bore through our Ears at the door posts. But to conclude, a Tyrant, as we have said, being no part of a Commonwealth, nor submitting to the laws of it, but making himself above all law: There is no reason he should have the protection that is due to a member of a Commonwealth, nor any defence from laws, that does acknowledge none. He is therefore in all reason to be reckoned in the number of those Savage Beasts, that fall not with other into any Hand: that have no other defence but their own strength; making a prey of all that's weaker, and, by the same justice, being a prey to all that's stronger than themselves.

In the next place, let it be considered, That a Tyrant making himself above all Law, and defending his injustice by a strength which no power of Magistrates is able to oppose; he becomes above all punishment, above all other justice, then that he receives from the stroke of some generous hand. And certainly, the safety of mankind were but ill provided for, if there were no kind of Justice to reach great villainies, but Tyrants should be *Immanitate Scelerum tuti*, secured by the greatness of their crimes. Our Laws would be then but Cobwebs indeed, made only to catch Flies; but not to hold Wasps or Hornets: And it might be then said of all Commonwealths, what was said of *Athens*; That there onely small Theeves were hanged, but the great ones were free, and condemned therest. But he that will secure himself of all hands, must know, he secures himself from none: He that flies Justice in the Court, must expect to find it in the street: and he that goes armed against every man; arms every man against himself. *Bellum est in eos, qui iudicium coercerint non possunt*, (says *Cicero*) We have war with those against whom we can have no law. The same Author, *Cum duos sint decertandi genera, &c.* There being two ways of deciding differences, the one by Judgment and Arbitration, the other by Force: the one proper to men, the other to beasts. We must have recourse to the latter, when the former cannot be obtained. And certainly by the Law of Nature, ubi cessat iudicium, when no Justice can be had, every man may be his own Magistrate, and do justice for himself. For the Law (says *Grotius*) that forbids men to pursue

my right but by a course of Law: ³⁶Certainly supposes, *Ubi copia est Judicii*, where Law and Justice is to be had: ³⁷otherwise that law were a defence for injuries, not one against the man and quite contrary to the nature of all Laws, would become the protection of the guilty against the innocent, not of the innocent against the guilty. Now as it is contrary to the Laws of God and Nature, that men, who are partial to themselves, and therefore unjust to others, should be their own Judges, where others are to be had; ³⁸so it is as contrary to the Laws of Nature, and the common safety of mankind, that when the Law can have no place, men should be forbidden to repel force by force, and so to be left without all defence and remedy against injuries. God himself left not the slave without remedy against the cruel Master: And what Analogie can it hold with reason, that the slave that is but his Master's money; and but part of his Household staff, should find redress against the Injuries and Insolencies of an imperious Master, and a free people, who have no Superior but their God, should have none at all against the injustice and oppression of a Barbarous Tyrant? And were not the incongruity fully as great, that the Law of God permitting every man to kill a Thief, if he took him breaking open his house in the night: because then it might be supposed he could not bring him to justice? But a Tyrant, that is the common Robber of mankind, and whom no law can take hold on, his persons should be, *Sacrosancta*, *cuinihil Sacrum aut Sanctum* to whom nothing is Sacred, nothing Inviolable? But the Vulgar judge ridiculously like themselves. The glister of things dazzles their Eyes, and they judge of them by their appearances; and the Colour that are put on them. For what can be more absurd in Nature, and contrary to all commonsense, than to call him Thief and kill him, that comes alone, or with a few to Rob me: ³⁹And to call him Lord Protector and obey him, that robs me with Regiments and Troops? As if to rob with two or three ships were to be a Pirate, but with 50 an Admiral? But if it be the number of Adherents only, not the cause, that make the differences between a Robber and a Protector: I wish that number were defined, that we might know where the Thief ends, and the Prince begins. And be able to distinguish between a Robbery and a Tax. But sure no English-man can be ignorant, that it is his Birth-right to be Master of his own Estate; and that none can command any part of it but by his own grant and consent, either made expressly by himself, or Virtually by a Parliament. All other ways are meer Robberies in other Names: *Auferre*, *Trucidare*, *Rapere*, *falsis nominibus imperium atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*: ⁴⁰To rob, to extort, to murder Tyrants falsely call'd to govern, and to make desolation, they call to settle peace: in every Assesment we are rob'd, the Excize is Robbery, the Custom's Robbery, and without doubt, whenever 'tis prudent, 'tis always lawful to kill the Thieves, whom we can bring to no other justice. ⁴¹And not only lawful, and to do ourselves right, but Glorious and to deserve of mankind, to free the world of that common Robber, that universal Pirate, under whom, and for whom, these lesser Beasts prey. This Firebrand I would have anyway extinguish'd. This Ulcer I would have any hand to lance. And I can not doubt but God will suddenly sanctify some hand to do it, and bring down that bloody and deceitful man, who lives not only to the misery, but the infamy of our Nation.

I should have reason to be much less confident of the justice of this opinion, if it were new, and only grounded upon Collections and Interpretations of my own. But herein if I am deceived, I shall however have the excuse to have been drawn into that error, by the examples that are left us by the greatest and most vertuous, and the opinion of the wisest and gravest men, that have left their memories to posterity. Out of the great plenty of Confirmations, I could bring forth this Opinion, from Examples and Authorities; I shall select a very few: for manifest Truths have not need of those Supports; and I have as little mind to tire myself as my Reader.

First therefore a Usurper that by only force possesseth himself of Government, and by Force only keeps it, is yet in the State of War with every man, says the learned *Grotius*: ⁴²and

therefore everything is lawful against him that is lawful against an open Enemy, whome every man hath a right to kill. Hostis hostem occidere volui, says *Sacævolato Porsena*; when he was taken, after he had failed in his attempt to kill him; I am an Enemy, and an Enemy I would have kil'd, whichevery man hath a right to do. ⁴³

Contra publicos hostes, & Majestatis Reos, omnium hominum lex est (says *Tertullian*.) Against Common Enemies and those that are Traitors to the Commonwealth, every man is a Soldier. This opinion on the most Celebrated Nations have approved, both by their Laws and Practises. The Grecian (as *Xenophon* tells us) who suffered not Murderer to come into their Temples, in those every Temple they erected Statues to those that kil'd Tyrants, thinking it fit to place their Deliverers amongst their Gods. *Cicero* was an Eye-witness of the Honour that were done such men, *Græci homines*, &c. ⁴⁴ The *Greeks* (saith he) attribute the honour of the God to those that kil'd Tyrants: What have I seen in *Athens*, and other Cities of *Greece*! What Religion paid to such men! What songs! What Elogies! ⁴⁵ By which they are Consecrated to Immortality, and almost Deified! In *Athens*, by *Solon's* Law, Death was not only decreed for the Tyrant that opprest the State, but for all those that took any Charge, ⁴⁶ or did bear any Office while the Tyranny remained. And *Plato* tells us the ordinary Course they took with Tyrants in *Greece*. If (says he) the Tyrant cannot be expuls'd by Accusing him to the Citizens; then by secret practises they dispatch him.

Amongst the *Romans* the *Valerian* Law was, Si quis in jussu populi, &c. Whosoever took Magistracy upon him, without the Command of the people, it was lawful for any man to kill him. *Plutarch* makes this Law more Severe, ut In judicatum occidere eum liceret, Quis Dominatum concupisceret. That it was lawful by that Law, before any Judgement past, to kill him that but Aspired to Tyranny. Likewise the Consular Law which was made after the suppression of the Tyranny of the Decemvirate, made it lawful to kill any man that went about to create Magistrates, sine provocatione, &c. Without reference and appeal to the people. By these Laws and innumerable Testimonies of Authors, it appears; that the *Romans* with the rest of their Philosophy, had learned from the *Grecians* what was the Natural Remedy against a Tyrant: Nor did they honour those less that durst apply it. Who as *Polybius* says (speaking of Conspiracies against Tyrants) were not, Deterrificivium, sed Generosissimi Quique, & Maximimi Animi, not the worst and meanest of the Citizens, but the most Generous, and those of greatest vertue. ⁴⁷ So were most of those that conspired against *Julius Cæsar*. He himself thought *Brutus* worthy to succeed him in the Empire of the World: And *Cicero*, who had the Title of Pater Patriæ; if he were not conscious of the design; yet he at least affected the honour of being thought so. Quæ enim Res unquam, &c. What act (says he) O *Jupiter* more glorious! more worthy of Eternal Memory, hath been done not only in this City, but in the whole world! ⁴⁸ In this design, as the *Trojan* Horse, I willingly suffer myself to be included with the Princes. In the same place he tells us, what all vertuous *Romans* thought of the Fact as well as he. Omnes Boni, Quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt: alii consilium, alii animus, alii occasio dedit, Voluntas nemini; All good men (saith he) as much as in them lay killed *Cæsar*: Some wanted Capacity, some Courage, others opportunity; but none the will to do it. But yet we have not declared the extent of their severity against a Tyrant. They exposed him to Fraud, as well as Force, and left him no security in Oaths and Compacts; that neither Law nor Religion might defend him, that violated both. Cum Tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulli jurisjurandi Religio, saith *Brutus* in *Appian*: ⁴⁹ With a Tyrant the *Romans* think no Faith to be kept, observe no Religion of an Oath. *Seneca* gives the Reason; Quia quicquid erat, quo mihi cohæreret, &c. For whatever there was of mutual obligation betwixt us; his destroying the Laws of Humane Society, hath dissolv'd: so these that thought that there was in hostem nefas, that a villain might be committed against an Enemy: ⁵⁰ These that protest, non minus justequam fortiter armageretomanagetheirArms, with Justice as well as Courage: ⁵¹

ThesethatthoughtFaithwastobekeptevenwiththeperfidious,⁵² yettheythoughtaTyrant could receive no Injustice, but to be let live; and that the most lawful way to destroy him, was the readiest. No matter whether by force or fraud; for against Beasts of Prey, men use the soil and the Net, as well as the Spear and the Lance. But so great was the indignation of a Tyrant, that it made some take their Opinions from their Passions; and vent things which they could but ill justify to their Morality, they thought a Tyrant had so absolutely forfeited all Title to Humanity, and all kind of Protection they could give him or his: that they left his wife without any other Guard for her Chastity, but Age and Deformity; and thought it not Adultery what was committed with her. Many more Testimonies might I bring; for 'tis hard to make choice, than to find plenty. But I shall conclude with Authorities that are much more Authentique; and Examples, which we may much more safely imitate.

The Law of God itself decreed certain⁵³ death to that man that would do presumptuously, and submit to no Decision of Justice. Who can read this, and think a Tyrant ought to live? But certainly neither that, nor any other Law were to any effect, if there were no way to put it in execution. But in a Tyrant's Case, Process and Citation have no place; and if we will only have Formal Remedies against him, we are sure to have none. There's small hope of Justice, where the Malefactor hath a power to condemn the Judge.

All remedy therefore against a Tyrant is *Ebud's* Dagger; without which, all our Laws were fruitless, and we helpless. This is that High Court of Justice where *Moses* brought the *Egyptian*: whither *Ebud* brought *Eglon*; *Samson* the *Philistins*; *Samuel*, *Agag*; and *Jehojada*, the She-Tyrant *Athaliah*.

Let us a little consider in particular these several Examples, and see whether they may be proportioned to our purpose.

First, as to the Case of *Moses* and the *Egyptian*; ⁵⁴ certainly every *English-man* hath as much Call as *Moses*, and more cause than he, to slay this *Egyptian* that is always laying on burdens, and always smiting both our brethren and ourselves. For as to his Call, he had no other that we read of, but the necessity his brother stood in of his help. He look't on his brethren's burdens, and seeing an *Egyptian* smiting an *Hebrew*, knowing he was out of there each of all other kind of Justice, slew him.

Certainly this was, and is as lawful for any man to do, as it was for *Moses*, who was then but a private man, and had no Authority for what he did, but what the Law of Nature gives every man; to oppose Force to Force, and to make Justice where he finds none. As to the Cause of that action, we have much more to say than *Moses* had: He saw one *Hebrew* smitten, we many *English* men murdered; He saw his brethren's burdens, and their blows, We, our Brethren's burdens, imprisonments, and deaths. Now sure if it were lawful for *Moses* to kill that *Egyptian* that oppressed a man, being there was no way to procure an ordinary course of Justice against him: It cannot be but absurd to think it unlawful to kill him ⁵⁵ that oppresses a whole Nation, and on that Justice as little reaches as it defends.

The example of *Ebud* shews us then the natural and almost the only remedy against a Tyrant, and the way to free an oppressed people from the slavery of an insulting *Moabite*, 'tis done by prayers and tears, with the help of a Dagger, by ⁵⁶ crying to the Lord, and the left hand of an *Ebud*. Devotion and action go well together; for believe it, a Tyrant is not of that kind of Devil that is to be cast out by only Fasting and Prayer. And here the Scripture shews us what the Lord thought a fit Message to send a Tyrant from himself: A Dagger of a Cubit in his

belly, and every worthy man that desire to be an *Ebud*, a Deliverer of his Country, will strive to be the Messenger. ⁵⁷

We may here likewise observe in this, and many places of *Judges*, that when the *Israelites* fell to Idolatry, which of falls in is one of the greatest; ⁵⁸ God Almighty to proportion the punishment and the offence, still delivered them into the hands of Tyrants; which sure is one of the greatest of all Plagues.

In the story of *Samson*'s tis manifest, that the denying him his wife, and after the burning her, and her Father, which though they were great, yet were but private injuries, he took for sufficient ground to make war upon the *Philistins*, being himself but a private man, and not onely not assisted, but opposed by his servile Countrey men. ⁵⁹ He knew what the Law of Nature allowed him; where other Law shaveno place, and thought it as sufficient Justification for smiting the *Philistin* ship and thigh, to answer for himself, that as they did unto him, so had he done unto them. ⁶⁰

Now that which was lawful for *Samson* to do against many Oppressours, why is it unlawful for us to do against one? Are our injuries less? Our Friend sand Relations are daily murdered before our faces. Have we other ways for reparation? Let them be named, and I am silenc'd. But if we have none, the Fire -brand, or the Jaw -bone, the first Weapons, our just Fury can lay hold on, may certainly be lawfully employed against that uncircumcised *Philistin* that oppresses us. We have too the opposition and discouragements that *Samson* had, and therefore have the more need of his courage and resolution. As he had the men of *Judah*, so we have the men of *Levi*, crying touse out of the Pulpit, as from the top of the Rock *Etam*, Know you not that the *Philistin* is a Ruler over you? ⁶¹ The truth is, they would fain make him so, and bind us with *Samson* in new Cords; but we hope they become as Flax, and that they will either loose from our hands, or we shall have the Courage to cut them.

Upon the same grounds of Retaliation did *Samuel* do justice with his own hand upon the Tyrant *Agag*. As thy Sword (says the Prophet) hath made women childless, so shall thy Mother be childless amongst women; nor is there any Law more natural and more just. ⁶²

How many Mothers shas our *Agag* for his own ambition made childless? how many Children Fatherless? how many have this reason to hewth *is Amalakite* in pieces before the Lord? And let his own Relations, and all their that are Confederates with him, beware, lest men come at last to revenge their own Relations in them. ⁶³ They make many a woman husbandless, many a Father childless. Their wives may come at last to know what 'tis to want a husband, and themselves to lose their children. Let them remember, what their great Apostle Machiavel tells them; that in contestations for the preserving their Liberty, People may times use moderation; but when they come to vindicate it, their rigour exceeds all mean, like beasts that have bin kept up & are afterwards let loose, they always are more fierce and cruel. To conclude with the example *Jehojadah* hath left us; 6 years she hid the right Heir of the Crown in the House of the Lord, & without all doubt, amongst the rest of God's services there he was all that time contriving the destruction of the Tyrant, that had aspired to the Crown by the destruction of those that had the right to it. *Jehojadah* had no pretence to authorize his action, but the Equity and Justice of the act itself. He pretended no immediate command from God for what he did nor any authority from the Sanedrin, and therefore any man might have done what *Jehojadah* did as lawfully, that could have done it as effectually. ⁶⁴ Now what citation was given to *Athaliah*, what appearance was she call'd to before any Court of Justice: her fact was her trial she was without any expostulation taken from her, or of the Ranges, and onely let live, till she got out of the Temple, that that Holy Place might not be defiled by the bloud of a

Tyrant, which was fitter to be shed on a dung-hill, and so they slew her at the Horse-gate.⁶⁵ And by the Kings house, the very White-hall where she had caused the Blood-Royal to be spilt, and which herself had so long unjustly possessed, thereby Providence did she receive her punishment, where she had acted so great a part of her crimes. How the people approved of this glorious action of destroying a Tyrant, this Chapter tells us at the last.

And all the people of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after they had slain *Athaliah* with the sword.⁶⁶ And that it may appear they no less honoured the Author of such actions, than other Nations did; as in his life-time they obeyed *Jehoiada* a King, so after his death, for the good he had done in *Israel* (saith the Scripture) they buried him among the Kings.⁶⁷

I must not conclude this story without observing that *Jehoadah* commanded, that whosoever followed *Athaliah* should be put to death. Letting us see what they deserve that are Confederates with Tyrants and will side with them, and but appear to defend them, or allow them, his Highness his Council, his Junto, and the Agaes of his Janizaries, may, if they please, take notice of this, and repent, least they likewise perish. And likewise his Highness his Chaplains, and Tryers, who are to admit none into the Ministry that will preach liberty with the Gospel; may, if they think fit, observe, that the Tyrant fell *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. And indeed none but *Baals-Priests* will preach for Tyrants. And certainly those Priests that Sacrifice to our Baal, our Idol of a Magistrate, deserves as well to be hang'd before their Pulpits, as ever *Mattan* did to fall before his Altars.⁶⁸

I should think now I had said much more than enough to the second question, and should come to the third and last I proposed in my Method; but I meet with two Objections lying in my way: ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ The first is, That these examples out of Scripture, are of men that were inspired of God, and that therefore they had that Call and Authority for their Actions, which we cannot pretend to, so that it would be unsafe for us to draw their actions into examples, except we had likewise their Justification to alledge.

⁷¹ The other Objection is, that there being no opposition made to the Government of his Highness, that the people following their callings, and trafficque, at home and abroad, making use of the laws, & appealing to his Highness courts of justice: That all this sargues the peoples tacit consent to the Government; and that therefore now it is to be reputed lawful, and the peoples obedience voluntary.

⁷² To the first I answer with learned *Milton*, that if God commanded these things, 'tis as if they were lawful and are commendable. But secondly, as I observed in the Relations of the examples themselves; Neither *Sampson* nor *Samuel* alledged any other cause or reason for what they did, but retaliation, and the apparent justice of the actions themselves. Nor had God appeared to *Moses* in the Bush when he slew the *Egyptian*; nor did *Jehajadah* alledge any Prophetical Authority or other Call to do what he did, but that common Call which all men have, to do all actions of Justice that are within their power, when the ordinary course of Justice ceases.

⁷³ To the second my answer is, that if commerce and pleadings were enough to Argue the people's consent, and give Tyranny the name of Government, there was never yet any Tyranny of many weeks standing in this world. Certainly, we then extremely wrong *Caligula* and *Nero* in calling them Tyrants, and they were Rebels that conspired against them; except we will believe, that all the while they reign'd in *Rome*, they kept their shops shut, and opened not their Temples, or their Courts. We are likewise with no less absurdity to imagine, that the whole 18 year time which *Israel* served *Eglon*, and 6 years that *Athaliah* reigned, that the

Israelites quite desisted from traffique, pleading sand all publique acts: otherwise *Ehud* and *Jehoiada* were both Traytors, the one for killing his King, the other his Queen.

⁷⁴ Having shewed what a Tyrant is, his Marks and Practises; I can scarce perswade myself to say anything to that I made my third Question, Whether the Removing of him is liket to prove of Advantage to the Common -wealth or not? for methinks 'tis to enquire whether 'tis better the mandie, or the Imposthume be launch'd, or the Gangræn'd Limbe cut off? But yet there be some, whose Cowardice and Avarice furnish them with some Arguments to the contrary; and they would fayne make the world believe, that to be base and degenerate, is to be Cautious and prudent: and what is in truth a servile fear, they falsely call a Christian patience. It will not be therefore amiss, to make appear, that there is indeed that necessity, which we think there is, or saving the Vineyard of the Common -wealth, if possible, by destroying the wild Boar that is broke into it. We have already shewed, that it is lawful; and now we shall see, whether it is expedient. First I have already told you, That to be under a Tyrant, is not to be a Commonwealth, but a great Family, consisting of Master and Slaves. Virbones servorum nulla est usquam civitas, sayes an old Poet, A number of Slaves makes not a City. So that whilest this Monster lives, we are not members of a Commonwealth, but only his living tools and Instruments, which he may employ to what use he pleases. Servetua est fortuna, Ratio ad te nihil, sayes another; Thy condition is a Slaves; thou art not to enquire a Reason; nor must we think we can continue long in the condition of slaves, and not degenerate into the habits and temper that is natural to that condition: our minds will grow low with our fortune; and by being accustomed to live like slaves, we shall become unfitt to be anything Else, Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas virtutis bliviscuntur, sayes *Tacitus* ⁷⁵ the fiercest creatures by long constraint, lose their courage. And sayes Sir *Francis Bacon*, the blessing of *Issachar* and that of *Judah*, falls not upon one people, to be Asses crouching under Burdens, and to have the Spirit of Lyons. And with their courage 'tis now wonder if they lose their fortune as the Effect with the cause, and Act as Ignominiously abroad, as they suffer at home. 'Tis *Machiavel's* ⁷⁶ observation, That the *Roman* Armies that were always victorious under Consuls, All the while they were under the slavery of the Decemvirine never prospered. And certainly people, have Reason to fight but faintly, when they are to gain a victory against themselves; when every success shall be a confirmation of their slavery, and a new linck to their chain.

But we shall not only lose our Courage which is a useles and unsafe vertue under a Tyrant, but by degrees we shall, after the example of our Master, All turn perfidious, Dec eiful, Irreligious, flatterers, and whatever else is villanous and Infamous in Mankind. See but to what a degree we are come to already. Can there any Oath be found so fortified by all Religious Tyes; which we easily find not a Distinction to break, when either Profit or Danger perswades us to it? Dowe Remember any Engagement? or if we do, have we any shame to break them? Can any Man think with patience upon what we have profest, when he sees what we Vilely do, and Tamely Suffer? What have we of Nobility amongst us but the name, the luxury and the vices of it? poor wretches, these that now carry that title, are so far from having any of the vertues, that should grace, and indeed give them their titles, that they have not so much as the generous vices that attend greatness, they have lost all Ambition and Indignation. As for our Ministers, what have they, or indeed desire they, of their Calling, but the Tythes? ⁷⁷ How do these horrid prevaricators search for distinction to peec e contrary Oaths? How do they Rake Scriptures for flatteries? And Impudently Apply them to his monstrous Highness? what is the City but a Great Tame Beast, that eats and Carries, and cares not who Rides it? What 'sthe thing call'd a Parliament but a Mock? Composed of a people that are only suffered to sit there, because they are known to have no vertue, After the Exclusion of all other that were but suspected to have any? What are they but pimps of Tyranny, who are only Employed to draw in the people to prostitute their Liberty? What will not the Army

fight for? What will they not fight against! What are they but Janizaries, slaves themselves; and making all others so? what are the people in general but Knaves, Fools, and Cowards; principled for Ease, Vice and Slavery? This our temper, his Tyranny hath brought us to already; and if it continues, the little virtue that is yet left to stock the Nation, must totally extinguish, and then his Highness hath completed his work of Reformation. And the truth is, till then his Highness cannot be secure. He must not endure virtue, for that will not endure him: He that will maintain Tyranny, must kill *Brutus*, says *Machiavell*. A Tyrant, says *Plato*,⁷⁸ must dispatch all virtuous persons, or he cannot be safe; ⁷⁹ so that he is brought to that unhappy necessity, either to live among Base and wicked persons, or not to live at all.

Now must we expect any Cure from our patience, In *annosigliuomini*, says *Machiavel*,⁸⁰ *credo con la humilità vincere la superbia*. Men deceive themselves, that think to mollify Arrogancy with humility; a Tyrant's never modest but when he's weak; 'tis in the winter of his fortune when this Serpent bites not: we must not therefore suffer ourself to be couzened with hopes of his amendment: for *Nemo unquam*⁸¹ *Imperium flagitio quæsitum, bonis artibus exercuit*; Never did any man manage that Government with Justice, that got it by Villany. The longer the Tyrant lives, the more the Tyrannical humour increases in him, says *Plato*,⁸² like those Beasts that grow more curst as they grow old. New occasions daily happen, that necessitate them to new mischiefs, and he must defend one Villany with another.

But suppose the contrary of all this, and that his Highness were *vi Dominationis convulsus, & mutatus*, changed to the better by great fortune, (of which he yet gives no symptoms) What notwithstanding could be more miserable, than to have no other security for our liberty, no other law for our safety, than the will of a man, though the most just living? we have all our beast within us, and whosoever (says *Aristotle*)⁸³ is governed by a man without a Law, is governed by a man and by a beast. *Etiamsi non sit molestus*⁸⁴ *Dominus; tamen est miserum possessivum*, says *Tully*, Though a Master does not Tyrannize, yet 'tis a miserable thing that 'tis in his power to do so if he will. If he be good, so was *Nero* for five years, and how shall we be secure that he will not change? Besides, the power that is allowed to a good man, we may be sure will be claimed and taken by an ill. And therefore it hath been the custom of good Princes,⁸⁵ to abridge their own power, it may be distrusting themselves, but certainly fearing their Successors, to the chance of whose being virtuous, they would not hazard the welfare of their people. An unlimited power therefore is to be trusted to none; which if it does not find a Tyrant, commonly makes one: or if one uses it modestly, 'tis no argument that others will; and therefore *Augustus Caesar* must have no greater power given him, then you would have *Tiberius* take. And⁸⁶ *Cicero*'s moderation is to be trusted with a consideration, That there are others to be Consuls as well as he.

But before I press this business farther, if it needs be any farther pressed, that we should endeavour to rescue the honour, the virtue and liberty of our Nation, I shall answer to some few Objections that have occurred to me. This I shall do very briefly.

Some I find of a strange Opinion, That it were a generous and an noble action to kill his Highness in the field; but to do it privately they think it unlawful, but known not why. As if it were not generous to apprehend a Thief, till his sword were drawn, and he in a posture to defend himself and kill me. But these people do not consider, that whosoever is possessed of power any time, will be sure to engage so many either in guilt or profit, or both, that to go about to throw him out by open force, will very much hazard the total ruine of the Commonwealth. A Tyrant is a Devil that tears the body in the exercising; and they are all of *Caligula*'s temper, That if they could, they would have the whole frame of Nature fall with them.⁸⁷ 'Tis an opinion that deserves no other refutation, than the manifest absurdity of itself; that it

should be lawful for me to destroy a Tyrant with hazard, blood, and confusion, but not without.

Another Objection, and more common, is, the fear of what may succeed if his Highness were removed. One would think the World were bewitched. I am fallen into a ditch, where I shall certainly perish if I fly, but I refuse to be helped out for fear of falling into another; I suffer a certain misery for fear of a contenting one, and let the disease kill me, because there is hazard in the cure. Is not this that ridiculous policy, *Nemotare, mori*; To die for fear of dying. ⁸⁸ Sure, 'tis frenzy not to desire a Change, when we are sure we cannot be worse; *Etnon incurrere in pericula, ubi quiescenti pariam tuuntur*, and not then to hazard, when the danger and the mischiefs are the same in lying still.

Hitherto I have spoken in general to all English-men; Now I address my discourse particularly to those that certainly best deserve that name, Our Selves, that have fought, however unfortunately, for our Liberties under this Tyrant; and in the end couzened by his Oaths and Tears, have purchased nothing but our slavery with the price of our blood. To us particularly it belongs to bring this Monster to Justice, whom he hath made the Instruments of his Villany, and sharers in the Curse and Detestation that is due to himself from all good men. Others only have their Liberty to vindicate; We, our Liberty and our Honour. We engaged to the People with him, and to the People for him, and from our hands they may justly expect a satisfaction of punishment, being they cannot have that of performance. What the People at present endure, and Posterity shall suffer, will be all laid at our doors: for only we under God have the power to pull down this Dagon which we have set up. And if we do it not, all Mankind will repute us Approvers of all the Villanies he hath done; and Authors of all to come, Shall we that would not endure a King attempting Tyranny, shall we suffer a profest Tyrant? ⁸⁹ We that resisted the Lyon assailing us, shall we submit to the Woolf tearing us? If there be no remedy to be found, we have great reason to exclaim; *utinam tepotius (Carole) retinuissemus quam hunc habuissimus, non quod illa fit optanda servitus, sed quod ex Dignitate Domini in iustis servis est conditio servi*; We wish we had rather endured thee (O Charles) then have been condemned to this mean Tyrant; not that we desire any kind of slavery, but that the Quality of the Masters something grace the condition of the slave.

But if we consider it rightly what our Duty, our Engagements, and our Honour exact from us, both our Safety and our Interest oblige us to, And 'tis an answerable, in us, to discretion, as 'tis to virtue, to let this Viper live. For first he knows very well, 'tis only we that have the power to hurt him, and therefore of us he will take any course to secure himself: he is conscious to himself how falsely and perfidiously he hath dealt with us, and therefore he will always fear that from our revenge, which he knows he hath so well deserved.

Lastly, he knows our Principles, how directly contrary they are to that Arbitrary power he must govern by, and therefore he may reasonably suspect, that we that have already ventured our lives against Tyranny, will always have the Will, when we have the opportunity, to do the same again.

These Considerations will easily persuade him to secure himself if of us, if we prevent him not, and secure ourselves of him. Here reads in his Practise of Piety, ⁹⁰ *quidivine Patron*, &c. He that makes himself master of a City, that hath been accustomed to Liberty, if he destroys it not, he must expect to be destroyed by it. And we may read too in the same Author, and believe him, that ⁹¹ those that are the occasion that one becomes powerful; always ruins them, if they want the Wit and Courage to secure themselves.

NowastooourInterest, wemustneverexpectthathewillevertrustthose, thathehath provokedandfeared: Hewillbesuretokeepusdown, lestweshouldpluckdownhim. 'Tis theRulethatTyrantsobserve, whentheyareinpower, nevertomake muchuseofthosethat helptthemtoit, andindeed'tis theirInterestandsecuritynottodoit: forthosethathavebeen theauthorsoftheirgreatnessbeingconsciousoftheir ownmerit, theyareboldwiththe Tyrant, andlesseindustrioustopleasehim. Theythinkallhecandoforthemistheirdue, and stilltheyexpectmore: andwhentheyfailintheirexpectations, (as'tisimpossibletosatisfie them)theirdisappointmentmakesthemdiscontented, andtheirdiscontentsdangerous. ThereforeallTyra ntsfollowtheexampleof *Dionysious*, whowassaidtousehisfriends, ashe didhisBottles, whenhehaduseforthem, hekeptthembyhim; whenhehadnone, thatthey shouldnottroublehimandlieinhisway, hehungthemup.

Buttoconcludethisalrea dyover -longPaper, leteverymantowhomGodhathgiventhe SpiritofWisdomandCourage, beperswadedbyhisHonour, hisSafety, hisownGoodand hisCountries, andindeedthedutyheowestohisGeneration, andtoMankind, toendeavour byallRational meanstofreetheworldofthisPest. LetnototherNationshavetheoccasion tothinksomeanlyofus, asifweresolvedtositstillandhaveourEarsbored: orthatany discouragementofdisappointmentscanevermakeusdesistfromattemptingourLiberty, till wehavepurchasedit, eitherbythisMonster'sdeath, orbyourown. OurNationisnotyetso barrenofvertue, thatwewantnobleexamples, tofollowamongstourselves. Thebrave *Sindercombe*hathshewedagreatmind, asanyold *Rome*couldboastof; andhadhelived there, hisnamehadbeenregistredwith *Brutus*, and *Cato*; andhehadhadhisStatuesaswell asthey.

ButIwillnothavesosinisteranopinionofourselves(asalittleGenerosityasSlaveryhathleft us)astothinksogreatavertuecanwantitsMonumentsevenamongstus. Certainly, inevery vertuousMindthereareStatuesrear'dto *Sindercombe*. WheneverwereadtheElogiesof thosethathavedyedfortheirCountry; whenweadmirethosegreatExamplesof magnanimity, thathavetiredTyrantscruelties: Whenweextolltheirconstancieswhom neitherbribesnorterrorscouldmakebetraytheirFriends: 'Tisthenwe erect *Sindercombe* Statues, andgravehimMonument: Whereallthatcanbesaidofagreatandnoble mind, we justlymakeanEpitaphforhim. AndthoughtheTyrantcausedhimtobesmothered, lestthe peopleshouldhinderanopenMurder, yethe willneverbeableeithertosmotherhis memory, orhisownVillany. HisPoisonwasbutapoorandcommondevicetoimposeonlyonthose thatunderstoodnotTyrantspractises, andareunacquainted(ifanybe)withhiscrueltiesand falshoods. Hemaythereforeifheplease, takeawaytheStakefrom *Sindercomb's*Grave; and ifhehaveaminditshouldbeknownhowhedyed, lethimsendthitherthePillowesand Feather-bedds withwhich *Barkstead*andhisHangmansmotheredhim. Buttoconclude, Let notthisMonsterthinkhimselfthemoresecure, thathehathsupprestongreatSpirit, ⁹²he maybeconfident, that Longuspostillumsequiturordoidempentiumdecus.

There'sagreatRowlbehind, evenofthosethatareinhisownMuster -Rolls, thatare ambitiousoftheNameoftheDeliverersoftheirCountry: andtheyknowwhattheActionis thatwillpurchaseit. HisBed, hisTableisnotsecure; andhestandsinneedofotherGuardsto defendhimagainsthisown. Deathanddestructionpursueshimwheresoeverhegoes: they followhimeverywhere, likehisfellow -travellers, andatlasttheywillcomeuponhimlike armedmen. ⁹³Darknessishidinhissecretplaces, aFirenotblownshallconsumehim; it shallgoillwithhimthat isleftinhisTabernacle. Heshallflee fromtheIronweapon, anda bowofSteelshallstrikehimthrough. Becausehehathoppressed, andforsakenthepoor; becausehehathviolentlytakenaway aHouse ⁹⁴whichhebuildednot: Wemaybeconfident, andsomayhe, thaterelong, allthiswillbeaccomplisht: ⁹⁵FortheTriumphingofthewicked

is but short, and the joy of the Hypocrite but for a moment. Though his Excellency ⁹⁶ mount
up to the Heavens, and his Head reacheth unto the Clouds, yet he shall perish forever like his
own dung. They that have seen Him, shall say, Where is He?

To all Officers and Souldiers of the Army, that remember their Engagements, and dare be honest .

I heartily wish for England's sake, that your number may be far greater than I fear it is; and
that his Highness's frequent purgations may have left any among you, that by these
Characters are concerned in this Dedication. That I and all men have reason to make this a
doubt, your own action, as well as your tames sufferings do but too plainly manifest. For you
that were the Champions of our Liberty, and to that purpose were raised, are not you become
the instruments of our slavery? and your hands that the people employ'd to take off the yoke
from off our necks, are not those very hands they that now put it on? Do you remember that
you were raised to defend the Privileges of Parliament, and have sworn to do it; and will you
be employed to force Elections, and dissolve Parliaments, because they will not establish the
Tyrants iniquity, and our slavery by a Law? I beseech you think upon what you have
promised and what you do, and give not Posterity as well as your own Generation, the
occasion to mention you with Infamy, and to cause that unfortunate valour, and success of
yours, that only hath gained victories (as you use them) against the Commonwealth. Could
ever England have thought to have seen that Army that was never mentioned without the titles
of Religious, Zealous, Faithful, Courageous, the fence of her liberty at home, the Terror of
her enemies abroad; Become her Goalers? no other Guard, but her oppressors? no other
Souldiers, but Tyrants Executioners, drawing to blocks and gibbets all that dare be honest
than themselves? This you do; and this you are; nor can you ever redeem your own honour,
the trust and love of your Country, the estimation of brave men, or the prayers of good; If you
let not speedily the World see that you have been deceived; which they will only then
believe, when they see your vengeance upon his faithless head that did it. This if you defer too
long to do, you will find too late to attempt, and your Repentance will neither vindicate you,
nor help us. To let you see you may do this as a lawful action, and to perswade you to do it as
a glorious one, is the practical intent of this following Paper: Which, whatever effects it hath
upon you, I shall not absolutely fail of my ends; for if it excites not your virtue and courage, it
will yet expiate your cowardice and baseness. This is from one that was once amongst
you, and will be so again when you dare be so as you were.