

or made between us and the said Mrs Walters, alias Barlow, the Duke of Monmouth's mother, nor between us and any woman whatsoever, our royal consort Queen Catherine, that now is, only excepted.

"And we do hereby strictly require and command all our subjects whatsoever, that they presume not to utter or publish any thing contrary to the tenor of this our declaration, at their peril, and upon pain of being proceeded against according to the utmost severity and rigour of the law.

"Given at our court at Whitehall, the second day of June, in the two and thirtieth year of our reign."

"Now it is natural to think that these several declarations were made public in contradiction to that assertion in the preceding letter, That the king could not be prevailed upon by any importunities to order a council-table declaration in favour of the Duke of York's right, &c. And yet we find a certain anonymous writer accounting for the said publication in a different manner. His words are these: "This declaration, (meaning that of March 3,) attested by sixteen privy-counsellors, was entered in the council-books, and copies of it quickly got abroad; and as it came to Dr Tillotson's hand sooner, we may be sure, than most men's, so he had the ingenuity to note it for an equivocal declaration, as if the king, contrary to the punctuation of it and the common usage of English speech, had meant it in this sense: 'I do hereby declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I never made, nor gave any contract of marriage, nor was married to any woman whatsoever, *now living*, but to my present wife Queen Catherine.' I had this story from one whom I shall name if called upon for it, to whom he made this observation; and though I never mentioned it to any person till very lately, yet the observation was whispered about, and coming to the king's ears, with other additional rumours, he set out a declaration, June 8, &c., which put an end to this calumny."

Ralph observes with great truth, "that while these impurities sully the truth of history," they shew "the vanity of attempting to gag the press, since, even upon an affair of such delicacy and importance, and while it laboured under the tyranny of a licenser, neither menaces nor punishment were able to subdue the lust of scandal and dissention, from propagating the most extraordinary legends."

Shaftesbury, who was probably at the bottom of this report, had, perhaps, a deeper design than merely to amuse the people by a specious legend. The report of Monmouth's legitimacy was probably designed to sound the inclinations of the king, who was known to be doatingly fond of him, and might perhaps have considered the succession being settled upon him as a boon for the exclusion of the Duke of York. Sir John Reresby seems to have had some suspicions to the same effect, for he takes credit in his Memoirs for having been the first who informed the Duke of York of a scheme, formed by certain persons, to prove a marriage between Charles and the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and as having pointed out the means of defeating it. Certain it is, that when the matter received discountenance from the king, it was finally dropped; nor did any of the duke's party ever venture to stir it in parliament, even when they were strongest.

My Lord,

As you cannot but have seen his majesty's declaration, wherein he renounceth the having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother, so I believe you will not be displeased to have an account of the sense of the thinking men about the town concerning it; and this, without either disguising or concealing what is publicly discoursed, I shall, as becomes your lordship's servant, address myself to give you.

And, in the first place, they say it is no surprize to them, that, seeing the Duke of York hath gotten the ascendant of the king, he should hector him into, or at least extort from him, the aforesaid declaration. For can any imagine that he, who, for some time, renounced his own wife, and had provided persons to swear a familiarity with her, which made her unworthy of being Duchess of York, should scruple to importune the king to do as much by Mrs Walters, though it were never so demonstrable that he was married unto her. The course he practised himself, he may, without any breach of charity, be thought ready to prescribe to others. And it may be, he thinks it will be some extenuation of what he did himself, if people can be brought to believe that it is

a disease natural to the family, and which runs in a blood. Now we all know, not only with what asseverations the duke disclaimed his marriage with Mrs Hyde, but with what reflections upon her chastity he did it: and yet the proofs of the said marriage were so evident, that he was necessitated at last to acknowledge it, and to own her for his wife, after he had by himself, and many others, proclaimed her for no better than a common whore. And I am sure it left this impression upon most persons, that his faith to men was not very far to be relied on, seeing he made so slight of that faith which he had plighted in an ordinance of God to a harmless lady.

Secondly, Most men do observe this difference between the king's renouncing Mrs Walters and the duke's disclaiming Mrs Hyde, that what the duke did was an act of inclination and choice; whereas it is apparent, that what the king hath done is the result of dread and fear. For, to use his majesty's own expression not long ago, He was harassed out of his life by the importunity of his brother; and as he added, He could rather chuse to die than live so uneasily as he did, while he withstood their daily solicitations in this matter. And as nothing made the duke honest to Mrs Hyde but the interposition of his majesty's authority, from a sense of the justness of the lady's complaint, so they believe the king is only injurious through the influence of others, and that, when rescued out of ill hands and left to himself, he will return to be just. For though his majesty be a prince of that clearness of understanding, that they cannot baffle him by false reasonings, yet he hath so much of James's timidness, that they can huff and over-awe him to things most opposite to his judgment, as well as cross to his interest. And let me, upon this occasion, remind your lordship of a story of a Scots nobleman to my Lord Burleigh, upon that wise statesman's desiring a character of King James, long before he ascended the English throne. "If your lordship," said the blunt Scotsman, "know a jack-a-napes, you cannot but understand, that if I have him in my hands, I can make him bite you, whereas if you get him into your hands you may make him bite me."

Thirdly, The whole town is apprehensive that the king, though endeavouring by this act to secure himself in the grace, at least forbearance, of the duke and popish party, will find in the issue, that instead thereof he hath left himself naked and exposed to their wrath and malice. Nor is there any thing more probable than that what the king calls and intends only for a declaration to serve his present occasions, they will transform into his last will and testament to accommodate theirs. If Queen Elizabeth, when tempted to declare her successor, declined it with this saying, That such an act would be the digging her grave before she were dead, have we not great cause to apprehend that the king having, by this act, digged his own grave, his brother, or the jesuits, under whose government he is, will find hands to bring and put him into it, lest, through delay, something should intervene that would fill it up again? 'Tis a pity that none would call to his majesty's memory that saying of Tacitus, *Suspectus semper invisusque Dominanti qui proximus destinatur*; which, by varying a little from the Latin, I will English thus: That he ought to be always suspected, and carefully watched against, by the ruler, who most ardently hopes and thinks himself in likelihood to succeed him. Statesmen in old times reckoned it for a maxim in politics, that *Ne mentio fieret Heredi vivo adhuc principe*, That while the prince liveth there ought not to be so much as a mentioning of any whose right it was to come after. For as subtle Tiberius upbraided Macro, that he forsook the setting sun to worship the rising, so King Charles may have in time, if he has not already, cause to object the same to some about him. That crafty emperor knew more of the art of self-preservation, than crowned heads in our days seem to do. For though he had adopted Germanicus, at the command of Augustus, of whom he received the empire, yet having a son of his own, namely Drusus, he would never declare in favour of either so long as they lived; but judged his own safety to consist in leaving it doubtful whose title to the universal mo-

narchy was best. However, (say most of his majesty's subjects,) though we have not been able to prevent the king from this unwary act, by which he hath staked his life to the pleasure of his enemies, yet we will be kinder to him than he hath been to himself, and contribute all we can to his security; and that is, by letting the world know that we will revenge his death, by sacrificing the whole popish party upon his grave, in case he should come to an untimely end.

Fourthly, This declaration would be received with less hesitation in the minds of the people, if kings and princes were not made of the same mould with other men, and liable to the like failures and moral prevarications that the rest of the sons of Adam are. And therefore, observing how common it is for persons, upon a lower ground, to renounce their wives, and most sacredly disclaim their marriages, they conceive it is not impossible, but that those who move in higher spheres may, upon strong temptations, do the like. Yea, our own history furnisheth us with an instance of a great king, and one who swayed the English scepter, who is transmitted to us with this blot in his escutcheon: the person I mean is Edward IV., who, being a sprightly and amorous prince, was suddenly contracted and married to Eleanor Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury; and that not only without any witnesses, save Dr Thomas Stillington, Bishop of Bath, into whose hands the contract was made, and who officiated at and celebrated the marriage, but besides the poor doctor was strictly enjoined by the king to conceal it; and you may easily suppose the timorous prelate would not fail in his duty to majesty, at least so long as he knew the king in a condition to punish and avenge the discovery. Now Edward IV. finding thereupon admission into the embraces of the lady, and having satiated himself a while by secret enjoyments, and withal, reckoning that none could, or at least durst, detect by what holy ties he was bound unto her, he did, some years after, (notwithstanding the person to whom he was affianced still survived,) both deny what was so solemnly transacted in the presence of Almighty God between them, and withal married another woman, namely, my Lady Elizabeth Gray. Your lordship may see the story both in Buck's Life of Richard III. page 16, &c. and in Comine's History of Lewis XI. And, without making any application of it to the present case, I shall crave liberty to make these remarks upon it:

1. That it is possible for princes, especially such as have accompanied with many women, to have weak memories, and to forget upon what terms they contracted their first friendships with them. For, finding how their familiarity arose with others of that sex, they may grow by degrees into a kind of persuasion, that their interest in all was established upon no better terms. Or, if they should not be supposed so forgetful as this amounts unto, yet the love of change may make them stifle their knowledge, especially when the objects of their fresh amours cannot be otherwise brought to entertain their flame, but with a provision for their own honour.

2. That the denials of kings are not to be subscribed unto with an implicit faith; but that we ought to use the same discretion in believing, or not believing, what they say, that we esteem ourselves privileged to use towards others in the credit which they require we should give unto them. For though princes be not liable to be impleaded in our courts, nor be subject to penalties that transgressing subjects are, yet, seeing they may be guilty of the same facts, which would both leave a reproach upon common men, and make them obnoxious to punishments, it cannot rationally be expected that their bare words should restrain the freedom of our thoughts, or give law to our understandings in the judgment that we are to make of cases and things.

3. I would observe, that though the judicial courts could not, and the parliaments during Edward's reign would not, take cognizance of that king's contemning and violating the ordinance of God, by disclaiming his lawful wife, yet the righteous Judge of heaven and earth in a little while after animadverted severely on the offence. For not only his two sons, whom he had by Lady Gray, were murdered by their uncle, but

the kingdom was translated from his family, and not only bestowed upon the chiefest enemy of his house, but upon one who, among all that for a long series before had been rivals for the crown, had the weakest title.

4. It is not unworthy also of our notice, that notwithstanding King Edward's denying his first marriage, and assuming another lady unto his conjugal bed, yet all this could neither prevent the future enquiry into this matter, nor the parliament's recognizing the marriage with Eleanor Talbot, 1 of Richard III. And, besides the imputation of bigamist, which is thereby stamp't upon him to all ages, his children, by the second venture, were bastardised by statute, and an occasion from thence taken to place the sceptre in the hand of Richard.

5. Nothing in this declaration can preclude the Duke of Monmouth, or any other true Englishman, from enquiring (when time serveth) by legal and due ways, into the truth or falsehood of the king's marriage with Mrs Walters. For the duke cannot be denied the same right which appertains to every person in the kingdom, namely, the justifying his own legitimacy in due course and form. And should he chuse to sit down with the imputation of a bastard, with all the other losses which attend it, yet there are those in the nation, who, preferring their duty to God, their country, themselves, and an injured gentleman, before a reverence to one man, especially acting under the influence of a popish brother, will bring that whole business into an impartial examination before such, where a single negative will not be allowed as a sufficient proof to invalidate affirmative testimonies, provided such can be had. And should that marriage hereafter be authentically proved, how ill will they be found to have deserved, both of the king and kingdom, that have either surprized, cajoled, or threatened his majesty to bring such a slur upon his honour and reputation, as this declaration will to all ages entail? And, my lord, is it not strange, if there was never any such marriage, that Mrs Walters should not only when in travail with the said duke, but at many other times, particularly in her last hours, when in the prospect of approaching death, and ensuing judgment, affirm it with that positiveness which she did? And is it not more surprizing, if there had been no such marriage, that Dr Fuller, late Bishop of Lincoln, should so often, and in *verbo sacerdotis*, declare to diverse worthy persons, that he married them? Nay, what should bias the innkeeper at Liege to make it the great mystery with which he entertained his English guests, that the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house, and that both he and his wife were eye and ear-witnesses of it? Moreover, if it were such an idle story as the declaration represents it, how came it to pass, that, when some persons, lately examined about the black box, declared that they had heard of such a thing as the king's being married to that gentlewoman, they should be immediately commanded to withdraw, and told, that this was not the business they were interrogated about. Besides, my lord, as all who were abroad with his majesty at that time knew the passion the king had for that person; so some of us can remember, how, through immoderate love to her, being reduced to a condition that his life was despaired of, and the late queen his mother receiving intelligence both of his disease and the cause of it, she consented to his espousing of her, rather than that he should consume and perish in his otherwise unquenchable flames. Moreover, as there were few had better opportunities of being acquainted with this whole affair, than my late Lord Chancellor Hyde, so I am sure the advantages likely to accrue to his offspring by the seclusion of the Duke of Monmouth from all title to the crown, may be judged sufficient inducements to have prevailed with him, if not to have asserted the said duke's bastardy, yet to have been silent in the case, and not to have proclaimed the legitimacy. And yet that very lord, being in danger of an impeachment in parliament, for advising and persuading the king to a marriage with Queen Catherine, excused himself from all sinister ends in that affair, by affirming, That his majesty had a lawful son of his own,

by a former marriage (specifying by name the Duke of Monmouth) to succeed to his crown and dignity. Now though it may be supposed that a person may sometimes lye for his interest, yet no man can be thought to do so, in order to the prejudice as well of himself as his whole posterity. And if we believe men speaking falshoods in subserviency to their honour and profit, shall we not give credit to them when they speak truth to their own damage, and that of all those who are dear unto them? Certainly the positive confession and testimony of this one person, being against the interest of his whole family, is of more weight than the denials of any number whatsoever, when meerly to promote their safety and advantage, or to serve the exaltation of the papal cause. These are but few of the many particulars I could acquaint your lordship with, relating to the confirmation of a marriage between the king and Mrs Walters; but it is a piece of necessary wisdom, at this juncture, to know what not to say, as well as to understand what to say. And to tell you plainly, I am more a servant and a friend to my country, than, by pretending to plead the duke's cause, and to be useful to the nation, to discover the witnesses which are in reserve, or betray the farther evidences which are to be produced, when this matter shall come before a competent judicature.

Sixthly, 'Tis matter of no small trouble to such as truly love his majesty, that the king's integrity and honour should be brought to stake, in a matter wherein both the present age and the succeeding may take occasion to question and bring into examination his truth and sincerity. For though it is not impossible but that princes (considering the temptations with which they are surrounded) may sometimes, through inadvertency, and at other times upon state motives, endeavour to impose upon the credulity, if not abuse the faith of their people; yet the veracity of a supreme governor is of that importance to himself, and so necessary to the veneration which his people ought to maintain for him, that he is not to bring his credit to pawn, unless it be in such cases wherein his people may, if not apologize for, yet connive at the indiscretion and weakness of their ruler, should he be found to delude them. Nor hath any thing obstructed the affairs of princes more, and prevented their people's believing them, when they spake their most inward thoughts, than the forfeiture of their credit in matters wherein their subjects relied upon the honour and truth of their word. For they who do not mean as they speak, when people are prepared to hear them, must not expect that their words should be much relied upon, when their tongues are the true interpreters of their minds. And let me tell your lordship, that this last declaration hath caused multitudes of his majesty's best subjects to reflect upon, and take a view of many of his former declarations, that from them they may be furnished with reasons for justifying themselves in the suspension of their assent to this. And I wish there had not been that cause administered by foregoing ones, which may with too many lessen the value of the royal word in that bearing date the second of June.

The first of this kind he ever published, after he came in view of being restored to the sovereignty over these kingdoms, was that dated at Breda, the 4th of April, 1660, wherein he promised liberty to all tender consciences, and engaged the sacred word of a king, That no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences in matters of religion, provided they did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Now though I will not dispute about the sense wherein this declaration was meant, nor concerning the end for which it was calculated and framed, yet this I may be allowed to say, that there are a great many of his majesty's liege people who have tasted dealings directly repugnant unto it, and may justly complain of some failure in the accomplishment of it.

'Tis true, his majesty is not originally to be blamed that it had not the hoped-for effects; but withal, that prince, that can be over-ruled to recede from a promise, which contributed so much to his happy and peaceable restoration, may be supposed capable of such impressions from men of ill minds, as may make him venture his royal word in

other cases, beyond the measures of justice. But seeing it were a business of too much fatigue to call over all the declarations since his majesty actually occupied the British throne, I shall therefore remind your lordship only of two more; whereof the first is that of January the second, 1671, wherein the king, upon shutting up the Exchequer, declares, on the word of a prince, that the restraint put upon payments out of the treasury should continue no longer than till the last of December, 1672, and yet the fulfilling of this is still prorogued, though it be now above nine years since the royal word was pledged for making it good.

The other that I shall refresh your memory with is that of the 20th of April, 1679, wherein his majesty having shrived himself, and craved absolution for all past matters, solemnly declareth, that he would, for time to come, lay aside the use of any single ministry, or private advices, or foreign committees, for the general direction of his affairs; and that he would afterwards govern his kingdoms by the advice of that council which he had then chosen, together with the frequent use of his great council of his parliament, as being the true and ancient constitution of this state and government. Far be it from me to blame his majesty for the disappointment of those hopes which the people had so universally conceived upon that declaration, which was so full of ingenuity and candour, and so adapted to the honour, safety, and interest both of king and kingdom; but this may be said, without the least umbrage of irreverence, that the same pestilent men, who were able to cause his majesty to violate such a declaration, wherein he spake the most like a wise and good prince that ever he did, may be also able, by the same ascendant influence, to wrest an unadvised and bad one from him. The same councils which prevailed upon him to go against both his royal word, and all the maxims of policy, with which he is so richly endowed, may they not likewise be conceived to have over-ruled him in this, to speak against his knowledge, and those moral principles of truth and justice, with which, when left to himself, he appears to be imbued? Nor do I doubt but that, among other things, they had in prospect to compass by this declaration, they hoped to shut his majesty out of the love of his best protestant subjects; so that, when brought to fall by their traiterous conspiracies, his death may be at once unlamented and unrevenged. But let them not flatter themselves, for if there be any thing false or unjust in it, we ascribe it all to their rage against our laws and our religion, and do only complain of the king's facility in suffering himself to be so openly abused.

Seventhly, But whereas there is one thing in the declaration, by which men of honest and easy minds, being unacquainted with the practices of the world, are apt to be somewhat startled; namely, the king's calling Almighty God to witness, and affirming, upon the faith of a christian, that there was never any marriage, or contract of marriage, had or made between him and Mrs Walters, I think myself obliged to lay before you the sense and apprehensions which wisest heads have of that protestation and solemn appeal.

If, say they, neither the eye nor dread of God, nor the faith of a christian, are effectual to restrain a person from adulteries and promiscuous scatterings, can we have any security that they will prevent such a one from the guilt of other crimes? He who neither trembleth nor blusheth to proclaim his uncleannesses to all the world, will he forbear sins of any kind or hue, out of principle, though he may possibly omit them by accident, and in compliance with interest?

It was a maxim of an ancient ruler, that as children are to be cozened with nuts, so men are to be deluded with asseverations and oaths. And upon this occasion they call to mind the character fastened upon Charles the Ninth of France, namely, that the surest symptoms by which it was known when he spake falsely, was the endeavouring to confirm what he said by the most dreadful imprecations and execrable oaths. And what our own historians leave upon the memory of his royal majesty's own grandfather

in this point, I had rather you should learn from Wilson's History of King James, than be told by me. Besides, say others, who knoweth but that the king, through the like impression of fear, under which he lifted up his hand to the most high God, at Scone, when crowned in Scotland, may have been influenced and over-awed to make this late appeal and protestation?

He who hath done one such thing, and especially with that solemnity and profession of sincerity wherewith he took the covenant, can it be otherwise apprehended, but that he may do the like again, if there be sufficient cause for the same passion which biassed him against knowledge and conscience then? Nay, the utmost inducement that swayed and determined him, contrary to his judgment and light, to swear by the great God, in terms so august and awful in Scotland, was meerly an apprehension of being otherwise secluded from his right over that kingdom; but it is more than probable, that no less than a dread of losing his life, as well as three kingdoms, hath necessitated him to this which he hath now done. Now it is but considering the seasons when the several declarations pronounced first in council, and at last published to the world, were made, and you will be soon convinced that they were extorted from him, partly by the necessity of his affairs, and partly by the frightful ascendancy which his brother hath obtained over him. For the first, which we are here in the print told of, was that made the sixth of January, 1678, when the condition and posture wherein things then stood made it indispensably needful that the king should oblige his brother to withdraw, and which the Duke of York (though he knew that his stay here at that time would have, in all likelihood, involved his majesty under inextricable difficulties) refused to comply with, till he had wrested that declaration from him.

And as for the second, which was made also in council, March 3, 1678, it is obvious to every considering man, and demonstrable to all the world, that it was the effect of that necessity which his majesty's affairs had reduced him unto. For the parliament being to meet the sixth of that month, and it appearing, by the several returns of the persons elected to sit, that we were like to have a house of true English gentlemen, who would not only inspect the late popish plot, but enquire into the miscarriages of public ministers: hereupon, as the duke threatened to return, unless the king would make some fresh declaration, whereby, being pronounced and represented as next heir, he might be screened from the angry but just resentments of the nation, so diverse persons at home, who knew themselves unpardonably criminal, applied their thoughts to find out a method, by which a misunderstanding might, in a short time, arise between the king and his parliament: And, apprehending that the Duke of York could not possibly escape the animadversion of the house, all the treasons and crimes whereof others were only guilty in their respective parts and proportions, meeting in him as so many lines in their center; they accordingly, by threatening to make their own compositions, and to lay open all those matters, which they conceived his majesty to be most solicitous to have concealed, brought the king to make that declaration. Whereby having, in effect, signified the Duke of York to be the next in right to succeed, they reckoned they had wrought him to such an espousal of his brother, as must needs break all measures of fair correspondency with his parliament. And as this was the principal thing they aimed at, so by denouncing still, to provide for their own security, in detecting whatsoever they knew, they kept him to an adhesion to the declaration which he had made, and thereby not only embarrassed all his affairs, but so embroiled him with the house of commons, as that in a few weeks they compassed the dissolution of the parliament.

Having thus briefly represented unto your lordship under what influence of necessity and fear these declarations were at first made in council, I need not tell you through what impressions, by the incessant importunity, and daily hectoring of his majesty by the duke, now at Windsor, they come at last to be printed and proclaimed to the world.

The king, poor gentleman, is willing to buy his peace at any rate, and hath here staked his honour, not to say his conscience, for it : But as you know that neither concessions, declarations, nor alienations, made by a person in durance, or under threatnings, or swayed by apprehensions of the hazard of his life, can oblige others, though they be such as are wrapt up in, or concluded by him, in all cases wherein he is supposed free, so, in plain English, the generality of the people, and those of the best sense, hold themselves no wise affected or prescribed unto by these declarations. For we, who knew the tenour of them when they lay concealed in the council books, and yet thought ourselves at liberty to believe as our judgments conducted us, are not likely to have our minds altered by the bare printing of them. But how far the conscience of the king is concerned or defiled, I leave to those of the theologic faculty to resolve, only I judge that the same casuistical divinity whereby they salved the conscience, and vindicated the honour of the king, in the case of the covenant, and withal discharged him from the obligation which it was supposed to have put upon him, may, whensoever he thinks meet, stand him in good stead, and afford him the same relief in the case of the late declarations.

Eighthly, There is one thing further, that must not be omitted, because it gives us amazement, and yet affords us pleasant diversion ; namely, the motive they have brought his majesty to alledge for his making and publishing this declaration. I confess I could not read it without surprise and wonderful emotion. And I dare say, when you think seriously of it, you will find pity stir in your heart to your abused prince, and your blood swell in your veins through indignation at some about him. For after the care they have suffered him to take for preserving our religion, lives, and liberties, from the designs of the papists, by dissolving two parliaments, and so often proroguing a third, they bring him now to publish this declaration, to relieve the minds of his loving subjects from their fears, and to prevent the ill consequences which a belief of his having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother may have in future times upon the peace of these kingdoms. A most proper way to extinguish our fears, by doing all that he can to subject us hereafter to one who is the professed enemy of our established religion and legal government. But, that your lordship may the better comprehend how highly we are obliged to his majesty for his love and tenderness to his people, in all that they judge dear and valuable, by designing so hopeful a successor over them, I shall recount some of those many particulars from which we esteem ourselves capable of judging what a gracious and desirable prince this dear and beloved brother is like to prove :

1. He is a gentleman that hath renounced the religion, wherein he was not only educated, and which these nations profess, but which he had consigned unto him, sealed with the blood of his father, and entailed upon him and the whole line, by no less than his grandfather's curse, in case any of old James's offspring should depart from it.
2. He hath made it his business to seduce his majesty's subjects to the papal faith, and to enslave them to a foreign jurisdiction : And, by his addresses, solicitations, and preferments, wherewith he is able to reward such mercenary souls as are ready to make sale of their religion, he hath made more converts to the church of Rome than all the English missionaries have been able to do.
3. Through the power which he hath obtained over the king, he hath procured the chiefest places of strength in the nation, and some of the greatest trusts, as well civil and religious, as military, to be conferred upon known papists, and sworn enemies to the protestant cause and English liberties.
4. He hath been the principal promoter of arbitrary government, and of making the king's interest both distinct from, and opposite to, that of his people. And this he hath done in pursuance of papal advice, and in subserviency to the Romish interest. For, where the monarch is absolute, and the lives and fortunes of whole nations are enslaved

to the will and pleasure of one person, mere wheedling of a lustful, weak, or inconsiderate prince, will go a great length in the gaining vast multitudes to adore the triple crown: And for such as shall prove stubborn and refractory, it is but meritoriously to kill them, and then convert their lands to the use of the holy see.

5. It was this darling and beloved one, that authorised the burning of London, and not only made his own palace a sanctuary to the villains, who were suspected as instruments of that dreadful conflagration, but rescued and discharged diverse who were apprehended in the very fact: And this he did partly in revenge, forasmuch as London had been both the magazine of strength and treasure, during the war with the late king; and partly to gratify his popish friends, by destroying the bulwark of the protestant religion, and the chief receptacle of the hereticks.

6. It was this presumptive heir, that all along obliged his majesty to neglect the concerning himself in favour of the protestants abroad, and did so order it, through his power over the king, that never any foreign alliance was made but what was abused to the betraying of them. And here let me call over a story, and perhaps a more tragical one, and accompanied with baser treachery, than any history is able to acquaint you with. One Monsieur Robux, a French gentleman, coming into England to treat with the king concerning an alliance between his majesty and foreign protestants, merely for the preservation of their religion, and having acquainted the Duke of York with his errand, after he had in a private conference or two transacted with the king about it, this royal prince, out of his wonted kindness to the protestants and the reformed religion, caused Rouvigny (leiger ambassador from France at this court) to stand behind the hangings at St James's while he made this innocent gentleman discourse over the whole business. Upon which Monsieur Rouvigny being obliged to acquaint his master with it, Monsieur Robux, who, (upon some intimation that the duke had betrayed him,) had withdrawn hence to Switzerland, was there seized by a party of French horse, and brought to the bastile, where, after some time imprisonment, he was carried to the place of execution, and broken upon the wheel.

7. It was through the Duke of York's means that both the first and second wars were commenced against the Dutch; and that in order not only to weaken the protestants by their mutual destroying of each other, but in hope to have turned the victorious arms of the king upon the hereticks at home and the patrons of English liberty.

8. It was this zealous prince, for the honour and safety of Britain, that advised the breaking the triple league, which was the wisest conjunction and most for the glory of the king's reign, and the preservation of his dominions, that ever he entered into: And this he did not only to gratify France, whose pensioner as well as whose confederate he had been, but to leave the protestants here naked to the attempts of the papists. For he knew that while that league continued firm, the King of Sweden and the states of Holland would have construed all designs upon the protestants in England as done against those of the same religion with themselves, and in favour of whose profession they had entered into that alliance.

9. He hath not only maintained correspondence with foreign princes, to the betraying of the king's counsels, but hath confederated with them for the extirpation of our religion, and overthrowing our legal government: And, besides many other evidences of this, which it is not convenient to mention at present, the depositions which arrived with the committee of secrecy during the session of the late parliament, together with Coleman's letters, and that which he wrote in the duke's name, and indeed by his command, do uncontrollably demonstrate it.

10. He was consenting to and hath co-operated in the whole popish plot; for both his confessor and secretary did, with his knowledge and approbation, seal the resolves for the king's death.

11. It was the duke, who, when the king had revealed the first discovery of the hell-

ish Romish plot to him, immediately communicated it to father Bedingfield, that so the conspirators might know how to secure their papers and abscond themselves.

12. It was he who, through his command over the post-office, prevented the intercepting the letters from St Omers and other foreign seminaries, whereby that whole damnable conspiracy would have been more fully detected.

13. He employed his own dutchess to transport several of the traitors to Holland, that so they might escape the search that was made for them, and the punishment which they had deserved.

14. It was he who suborned, encouraged, and rewarded the vilest miscreants to frame and swear a plot against the protestants; and this he did to beget a disbelief of the popish conspiracy, and in order to destroy such of the nobility and gentry as were the chief assertors of the reformed religion and English liberty.

15. It was he who advised the several prorogations and dissolutions of parliaments, whensoever they were either considering the bleeding condition of the protestant interest abroad, or supplicating the king to an alliance with protestant princes for its protection and preservation.

16. It was he in whose favour the dissolution of the last parliament was procured, and who hath prevented the sitting of this after eight several times appointed for their meeting: And all to hinder the trial of the traitorous lords in the Tower, and to obstruct the further search into the many hellish plots, wherein himself and the rest of the papists were engaged, for the subversion of our religion and laws, and the destruction of the lives of his majesty and people. And how much he hath lessened his majesty's interest in the hearts of his subjects, and weakened their confidence in his royal word, by obliging him to treat this parliament as he hath done, seeing in his speech to both houses, March 6, 1678, he had so solemnly declared his resolution to meet his people frequently in parliaments, and into what straits and wants they have thereby also reduced him, I shall rather leave your lordship silently to consider, than take upon me at this time to unfold.

17. It was he who, after he had for so many years promoted the aiding and succouring of France with English forces, till that aspiring prince was ascended to a power and greatness not to be in any probability withstood or controuled, did at last engage his majesty in making the general peace, which is a thing so highly prejudicial to all Europe, in the unavoidable consequences of it.

18. It was he who countenanced and enlivened the late traitorous combination of prentices and ruffians, and who, together with the lords in the Tower, issued out the money both for the expences of their entertainments, and for the providing them with arms to disturb the peace of the city and kingdom, and assault the houses and lives of his majesty's liege people.

19. It is he who hath enrolled and secretly mustered men in all counties of England, and who, besides the English papists, whom at this time he hath called from all parts of the nation to London, is also provided of a great number of Irish who formerly washed their hands in the blood of protestants, or are the genuine offspring of those that did. Now, being thus furnished and environed, he is resolved (unless God in his providence miraculously interpose) to put all to a venture, and act over the same game in England that was heretofore acted in Ireland.

20. It is he who cherisheth in his bosom, and exalteth to the highest trusts, such as Colonel Worden, who betrayed his majesty's secrets to the usurping powers, particularly to Mr Scot. Nay, himself may be charged with many things in those times, whereby we may apparently discover, both his treachery to his majesty and his ambition to have usurped the crown from him. For when a loyal party of the English fleet had espoused his majesty's right and title, against the enemies of his crown and person, the duke, who, being then abroad, should have encouraged and ventured his life in conjunc-

tion with them, did, instead thereof, by a most shameful and disloyal deserting of them, both discourage them in their fidelity, and, so far as in him lay, oblige them to compound for themselves, with exclusion of his majesty's interest. Yea, besides this, when the Scots were treating with the king at Breda, in order to the establishing him in the throne of that kingdom, the Duke of York was at that time transacting, with such as remained faithful to the king's title here, that they would renounce his elder brother, and chuse him for their sovereign. Nor do I believe that his majesty can forget the occasion and design upon which the duke forsook him at Bruges, and withdrew to Holland; so that the king was necessitated not only to command his allegiance to return, but was forced to send the Duke of Ormond, and some other persons of quality, to threaten as well as persuade him before he would go back.

21. It is he, who, not thinking the declaration enough to facilitate his ascension to the throne, or to secure him from resistance in the attempts he proposeth upon our lives and liberties, hath been and still is endeavouring to be admitted and let further into the government; and accordingly hath accosted the king, by my Lord Durass, in that matter. This is the more surprising, forasmuch, as one would think, that it is not possible he should be further let into the government, having Berwick, Hull, Langer-point, Sheerness, Portsmouth, and the magazine of the Tower, (Legg being now master of the ordnance) in the hands of his sworn vassals and creatures; and having also the superintendency of all civil affairs in him; unless, by taking the sceptre actually into his hand, he should confine the king to a country-house and an annual pension. And his partisans about the town talk of no less than the having the duke crowned, during the king's life, as Henry II. (though upon far different reasons) was crowned in conjunction with King Stephen. And I wish that what the brother of the king of Portugal hath of late years effected against his prince, did not awaken our jealousy to fear, that the same may be attempted by a dispensation from the infallible chair elsewhere. However, they have taken care, should they accomplish this design, that they may not be obliged to entertain our Catherine, as they in Portugal did the French madam married to Alphonso; forasmuch as the best part of the portion with our princess, namely, Tangier, is, through the courage and conduct of my Lord Inchequin, one of the duke's greatest confidants, as good as disposed of. But, should they proceed in this design against his majesty, it becomes all his majesty's good subjects to endeavour, as one man, the rescuing him from under their power, seeing the very designment of such a thing is a treason of so high a nature against the king, that we should be wanting in our allegiance should we not apply ourselves in the use of all possible ways and means to punish and avenge, as well as prevent, the execution of it. Now, my lord, these are but few of the many particulars, by which we are sufficiently enlightened concerning the Duke of York, and we may abundantly learn from these, how much we are indebted to his majesty for his grace, favour, and care in appointing such a one after him to succeed over us. Do not all our fears hereupon immediately vanish and die; and hope, joy, and gladness revive in our hearts on this prospect, which the king hath given us of so good an heir? But, poor prince! we at once compassionate and forgive him, knowing that this proceeds not from his inclination, but that he hath been hurried and forced to it. Nor do we need any farther assurance of the inward propensions of his majesty's heart, and the dislike his breast is filled with for what he hath done, but the endeavours which he used (under daily and manifold importunities to the contrary) to have avoided it, and the sadness which appears in his countenance, since overawed to publish this declaration. And as for the Duke of York, let him not deceive himself; for as he may perceive by this that we fully understand him, and know the kindness he entertains for us, so we are prepared for him, and resolved to return unto him and his in the kind they intend to bring. For, having both divine and human laws on our side, we are resolved neither to be pa-

pists nor slaves; and, consequently, not to be subjects to him who hath vowed either utterly to extirpate us, or to reduce and compel us to be both the one and the other.

Lastly, For the issuing of all this controversy, concerning whose right it is to succeed next after his majesty, men here about the town accustomed to discourse, think that there need but two proposals, and those very rational ones, to be made. The first is, that the parliament being admitted to sit, they may examine this affair, whereof they alone are competent judges. Whatsoever declarations may otherwise signify, yet it is a principle, which can never be obliterated out of the minds of Englishmen, That they are neither binding laws, nor can alienate or extinguish the rights of any. Shall the son of a common person be allowed the liberty to justify his legitimacy, in case his father prove so forgetful, or so unnatural, as to disclaim him? And shall the Duke of Monmouth, merely by being the son of a king, forfeit this just and universe privilege? If his majesty was indeed married to that discountenanced gentleman's mother, he is, by our laws, the son of the kingdom, as well as the son of King Charles. And therefore it is necessary, as well as fit, that the people should in all due and legal ways understand, whether they have any interest or not in him, before they be commanded to renounce him or resign it. All therefore we desire is, that this matter may be impartially and fairly heard, and that before those who alone have right to be judges of it: And as no other course but this can satisfy the minds of the people, so it cannot be expected that, upon the authority of a declaration, especially gotten as this was, they should sacrifice the share, which, (for any thing yet appears,) they have in him as their apparent prince and next heir to the throne. And unless this be obtained, the people will undoubtedly think their own rights invaded, whatsoever the said duke judgeth of his.

The second thing we would humbly beg, as well as propose, is, That the parliament being called to sit, the Duke of York may be legally tried for his manifold treasons and conspiracies against the king and kingdom. For if he be innocent, and that the right of succession be his, all men will quietly acquiesce under him; but if he should prove guilty (as we no wise question but that he will) shall his treasons, when a subject, qualify him to be a king, and pave the way for his rising to the throne? According to all equity as well as law, he ought first to justify himself from all traiterous attempts and acts against the king and people, before he be allowed to have his claim heard, concerning any title that in time to come he may have to rule over these nations. I shall subjoin no more at present, save that I am,

My lord,

Your most obedient servant.

London, June 10, 1680.

A Letter from Scotland; written occasionally upon the Speech made by a Noble Peer of this Realm. By a better Protestant than the Author of it, (though a Servant to his Royal Highness.)

This is an angry commentary upon Lord Shaftesbury's celebrated speech in the House of Peers, 25th November, 1678, on the affairs of Scotland. See page 48 of this volume. The tory writers

imputed to the earl a desire to inflame the discontents of that oppressed and distracted country, the *indicia* for which accusation are thus quoted by Roger North from a pamphlet of that period:—"Whilst they (the massacreurs of the good archbishop and the field conventiclers) were in this evil disposition, and committed those cruelties and disorders, there was published a libel, said to have been spoken in the House of Lords. It hath been printed twice already, once in a single sheet, shortly after it was said to have been spoken, and afterwards in a collection of diverse remarkable proceedings in parliament; and, because it accidentally had a mighty influence in stirring up the people to the murder (of the good archbishop of St Andrews) and rebellion, I think myself bound to give it a third edition in this place." [After the speech itself, which had a fourth edition in the State Tracts, the author goes on] "By the very next post after this speech was said to have been spoken, forty written copies of it were sent from London to the gentlemen of the party in Edinburgh; and the fanaticks grew so insolent and daring upon it, that several loyal gentlemen wrote up accounts to what height of insolence this speech had blown up the enemies of the church and monarchy, and that they had just reason to fear that very dangerous attempts, if not a downright rebellion, would speedily ensue thereupon. But these reports had not found too much credit at London, where the world was made to believe (by men whose interest it was that they should not be credited) that they were but the inventions of the Duke of Lauderdale, for whose advantage it was, at that conjuncture, that they should be believed; but what we would not then believe we shortly after saw verified."—NORTH'S *Examen*. p. 86.

To this it may be added, that when the speech, as printed, was taken notice of in the House of Lords, in order to animadversion on the author, Lord Shaftesbury disowned it, and thus escaped censure. The speech was then burned as a libel, by order of the House.

I HAVE heard much of the ¹ sad state and condition we are in, and I am convinced of it, since I see such reflections made with impunity upon the king's person and government. I shall say little to the ² precedent of our Henry IV. Unbridled violences and mean condescensions are the unhappy necessities of an usurper; but a good and a lawful king is obliged to maintain his own prerogative, as well as the rights of his subjects. But is it possible that the supposed author of the printed speech should already forget how lately the king (after a great retrenchment of his family) did at once, and (as it is said) by his lordship's ³ advice, change almost his whole council? And yet the people (or those that still make use of their names) never were, nor will yet be, satisfied. I will not put his lordship in mind of the ⁴ court-ladies, since he doth not remember he spoke of them: but unless he make himself a Samuel, I do not know what authority he has to examine Saul about the bleating of the cattle. I cannot believe his lordship could have the heart to sacrifice the fairest of them; his lordship may read in the same place, that obedience is better than sacrifice; but if a sacrifice must be made, it is not to the people, but to God and justice. I would fain understand what is meant by the people: For now every man calls himself the people; and when one man calls for one thing, and another for something directly opposite, both cry out, that if this, or that, be not done, the people is betrayed; that is to say, they will endeavour to persuade them so. But the people in this speech hath a strange dialect, such as I hope no Englishman understands. *Must* was never the language of a good subject, nor submission

¹ These words occur in the opening of the speech, which indeed ought rather to have been called a reply, for such it was, to what two or three lords on the earl's bench had offered, in answer to a speech made by his lordship in the committee before.

² That he had given up a great part of his family and council at one time to please the people.

³ According to Sir William Temple, Lord Shaftesbury was never advised with upon it.

⁴ He was reproached with having mentioned the chargeable ladies at court in his speech; and, in his answer, making use of the words of Samuel to Saul, he says, "What means the bleating of this kind of cattle?" and hopes the king will answer as Saul did, That he preserves them for sacrifice; and that he will deliver them up to please the people.

Orig. Notes.

the part of a king: (We must, &c.' and no new converts) I am sorry, that, with all our zeal, we are so unkind to proselytes; we had a greater value for them not long since; for though L. B. was accused of the plot, his conversion secured him without a pardon, though either his lordship was deeply guilty, or the king's evidence grossly perjured. Till the author discover who he means by Sempronia, I shall not tell him who I believe to be as bad as Cataline. But it is prodigious, that while we are frightened with bugbears of invisible dispensations from the pope, his lordship, with his arbitrary *must*, should dispense at once with the law of God as to the queen; with the law of nations, as to foreign ministers; with the law of hospitality, as to strangers; and all that part of the oath of allegiance that concerns the heir of the crown, which is equally binding with the rest, to all whose suspected honesty cannot accept of such an arbitrary dispensation. His lordship seems much concerned to hear of a ^a bargain between the king and the House of Commons, and so am I; for things are too ripe for mischief, when subjects are permitted to capitulate with their sovereign. The king's subjects (by his permission) have made capitulations with foreign princes; but his lordship would not have the king so far trusted as that his own subjects may capitulate with him, because, as his lordship says, he has so often deceived (that hard word) the people. And I beg leave to use the same expression of his majesty's patience, which his lordship uses of his little care of his person, that no story affords a parallel of him. The actings of the duke are indeed admirable to all, but incomprehensible to such as have not the true principles of loyalty rooted in them. But his lordship, (who, in Cromwell's time, was much better acquainted with what passed at London than at Brussels,) avers, that the duke had an early aim at the crown before the king's restoration; this is a high charge, and ought to be better proved than by a bare assertion. Hath his lordship any letters to produce from his royal highness to himself, or any other chief ministers of the usurpers? or to what crown could the duke pretend, when they had robbed the king of his own? The duke can shew undeniable proofs of his allegiance, even in those days. For what could an exiled prince do more than leave the great commands and pensions that he had abroad, and all the advantages that his birth, his courage, and his reputation promised him, to follow the fortune and the wants of his majesty? But how will his lordship make out, that after the match with a Portugal lady, (for that is the only title his lordship allows the queen,) the duke and his party made proclamation to the world, that we were like to have no children, and he must be the certain heir. Where is the world? and where is the proclamation? He says the duke took his seat in parliament as Prince of Wales, but his lordship knows that the seat on the right hand of the state was, and is, reserved for the Prince of Wales; the duke took that on the left hand; the printed pictures of the house of peers, sitting upon the tryal of the Earl of Strafford, shew that this is no innovation, and his royal highness had the same seat, when the king, his father, called the parliament at Oxford. He urges, that the duke had his guards about him upon the same floor with the king, and so the king was every night in his power: It was a timorous ambition that lost so many opportunities. But what an impudence is this? The duke never had guards; they are the king's; the king pays them; they wait in their turn upon the king; and have but the name of the duke, as the foot regiments have of Colonel Russel and my Lord Craven; so the duke was every night in the king's power. Next he fires his greatest gun, the duke is plainly at the head of the plot: By whose evidence? Long before the duke was named, Mr Oates declared to the lords, that he had no more to accuse: If he accuse him now, and Oates be divided against Oates, how can his testimony stand good? Bedloe said as much;

^a The intervening words are, Neither popish wife, nor popish favourite, nor popish mistress, nor popish counsellor, at court.

^b The words in the speech are, Have made offers to the king; and he plainly points out the Earl of Halifax as the person who had made the house acquainted with that circumstance.

and so here appears no evidence where the greatest would be little enough. I say nothing of a presbyterian plot, but (with his lordship's leave) what has been may be. The calling, the proroguing, and the dissolving of parliaments. are so absolutely in the king, that they ought to be riddles to a subject. When the duke was commanded to leave the kingdom, I appeal to all the world, how readily, how submissively, he obeyed; and, comparing his immediate obedience with the obstinate refusal of others, [meaning the Duke of Monmouth,] who still stay in opposition to the king's command, let any impartial man of sense decide which has shewed most loyalty and duty. His lordship and his party (for he says, *we*) expect every hour that the court should joyn with the duke against them; but I find the court is as hard a word as the people, and as boldly and as oddly used: If by that word he means the king, all his lordship's rhetoric will scarce persuade us, that the king should conspire with the duke against his own crown and his own life; if not, what can the court do without the king, and against the nation? Besides his lordship has too many friends among the courtiers to suspect them, and the duke has met with too much ingratitude to trust them. His lordship avers as truly, that the king has declared the duke to be dangerous, as that his royal highness is now raising men in Scotland; that whole council, that whole kingdom, will disprove him; and, by the apparent falsehood of his assertion, let all men judge of the truth of the rest. If the arms, the garrisons, &c., be in such hands as the king thinks safe, we are safe too; but if not, it concerns his majesty to secure them, since his lordship declares the king is to be trusted with nothing, till he has resigned himself to his lordship and his party, and is wholly theirs; and yet then too he must trust their good nature, and surrender upon discretion; they will allow him no other terms, no, not to be himself and have his senses, unless they can fright him out of them. I will yet charitably hope that the pretended author is abused: It concerns him to vindicate himself by wishing, as I do, that the true author may have the same fate that his speech had, by order of the house of peers.

Reasons for his Majesty's passing the Bill of Exclusion. In a Letter to a Friend.

"If there are any persons so little versed in party-matters as to suppose, that because this or that party submit to be called by one common name, and seem to be under one common direction, they have therefore no divisions nor distractions amongst themselves, they will be much at a loss to account for some particulars in the following piece. For therein they will find the bill of exclusion warmly contended for, and yet some of those who were for running the greatest lengths in the same course, as warmly exposed. But no party was ever so well cemented by wisdom and virtue, as to leave no room for selfishness and folly to disjoint them: and even this before us, which was one of the most formidable that ever opposed a court, partook of the same weaknesses, if not in the same degree, which have been the disgrace of all others. If the story of the Black Box, and the incessant endeavours of the Duke of Monmouth to captivate the affections of the people, make it reasonable to conclude that he had an interest in the exclusion^a bill, and

^a Not only the Lord-keeper North is made to suggest in his brother's examen, that the succession was not settled in the bill, purposely to prevent a breach among the excluders, but Bishop Burnet in effect confirms the

that his friends co-operated in it for his sake; other circumstances as plainly prove that the Prince of Orange, who some time before this had married the Lady Mary, was interested as deeply, though not as openly, in the same measure, and had also his tools to forward the work for his sake. It follows, therefore, that the excluders were not what they seemed, one compacted body, but two bodies associated to carry the same point for different purposes; and that, as they knew they were to part at last, it is no great wonder they quarrelled by the way."—*Orig. Note.*

SIR,

I am not ignorant that you have lately heard reports to my disadvantage concerning some matters relating to the public; and though I flatter myself (much more, I confess, from your partiality to me, than any merit I can pretend to) that you do not think the worse of me for them, yet because one cannot be too sure of what one values so highly as I do your esteem, I take the liberty to give you some account of my thoughts of the present posture of affairs, that if I am not so happy as to be still in the good opinion you have formerly had of my firmness to the public interest, I may learn, at least, in what particular you conceive I have varied from it: which last, though perhaps less welcome than the first, will yet be owned as a very great mark of your friendship, since I assure myself you have too much charity for me to impute my errors in this kind to any worse cause than want of understanding.

I must confess I have had no great veneration of late for some men, who, though extremely zealous in appearance for things of public concern, and particularly for the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession to the crown, have yet taken such methods for the obtaining that bill, as (with respect to their popularity) looked to me as if they had rather wished it should be denied than granted.

I mean a sort of men that pass with the vulgar for very public spirits, yet are no otherwise for the public good, than as they think it may conduce to their own private designs. If matters be not disposed for them to leap into a great place, or to be restored to some office they had formerly enjoyed, and in which they have discovered principles far different from what they now profess: If every one they have prejudice to be not immediately removed, or perhaps if they fancy themselves the most likely to head the rabble, should things fall into confusion, they will be sure, with great appearance of zeal, to press things of less moment, and which they think will be denied, lest any thing that really tends to settlement should be granted: And they are for the most part gainers by this; for their vehemence, which proceeds from dark and hidden causes, seldom fails of being mistaken by the vulgar for a true and hearty love of their country. I believe his majesty will find these men harder, I am sure less necessary, to be satisfied than the nation: And therefore I hope you will not wonder, if I, who care not much for a great office, if the bill of exclusion do pass, or to be popular with the rabble, if it do not, cannot heartily concur with all that seems to be aimed at by that sort of people.

I suppose you have heard which way I have declared my opinion concerning that bill, when I thought it to any purpose: But give me leave (with as little reflection upon the causes of the breach of the last parliament, as the subject will permit) to tell you,

same thing; for he says, vol. I. page 482, "That those who refused to name the duke's daughter, sent such assurances to the Prince of Orange, that nothing should be proposed to his prejudice, that he believed them, and declared his desire that the king would fully satisfy the parliament. That the states sent over memorials to the king pressing him to consent to the exclusion. That though the prince did not openly appear in this, it was understood that Fagel acted under his approbation: and that this created such a hatred in the duke towards him, as was never to be removed." And a third person, who had an opportunity not only of reading the bishop's history in the MS., but of transcribing some passages from it, and who made some not very favourable remarks upon it, is express, that his highness gave instructions to the Dutch minister here to deal with some members of the House of Commons, to promote the passing of the said bill. See a tract, called *Cassandra*, But I hope not, 4to. 1704.—*Orig. Note.*

what, in my poor judgment, may most conduce to the passing it, in the parliament which is to meet at Oxford. I cannot imagine how popular speeches in either house, or angry votes that are not always backed with the strongest reason, much less the pamphlets that fly about in the intervals of parliament, can signify much to the obtaining this bill; for to what purpose are arguments to the people to prove the necessity of that which they are fully convinced of already?

I should rather think it worthy the wisdom of the next parliament, to consider what arguments are most likely to prevail with the king himself in this matter; and, instead of such addresses as carry the least shew of menace in them, which cannot but be offensive, since to suppose a king capable of fear, is the worst compliment can be made him; instead of angry votes, which alienate the hearts of the people yet farther from his majesty, and make him more averse from granting their reasonable desires, and consequently from consenting to this bill, to lay before him such reasons for it as may convince him that it is his own particular interest to pass it.

I do not mention the house of lords, being too well assured of the loyalty of that noble assembly to doubt of their passing any thing for which his majesty shews the least inclination. Taking it then for granted that this bill only sticks with his majesty, no arguments are of moment to obtain it, but such as ought to be of weight with him; and those I conceive to be of this nature.

One objection must first be removed: For since kings, of all men living, ought to have the greatest regard to justice, we must not suppose that his majesty can ever consent to this bill, till he be satisfied of the justice of it. I shall therefore endeavour to prove, not only that it is just, but agreeable to the very intention and design of government.

It seems to me to be an undeniable position, that government is intended for the safety and protection of those that are governed; and that where the supreme power is lodged in a single person, he is invested with that power, not for his own greatness or pleasure, but for the good of the people. The tyrannies in Aristotle's time, and those that continue to this day in the eastern parts, must certainly have degenerated from a better kind of government by some accident or other; since what people can be supposed to have been so void of sense, and so servilely inclined, as to give up their lives and liberties to the unbounded disposal of one man, without imposing the least condition upon him? For admit, according to Mr Hobbes, that monarchical government is formed by an agreement of a society of men, to devolve all their power and interest upon one man, and to make him judge of all differences that shall arise among them, it is plain, that this can be for no other end, than the security and protection of those that enter into such a contract; otherwise, you must suppose them madmen, voluntarily to strip them of all means of defence, against the fury and violence of one of their number, rather than continue in a state of war, where, at the worst, they are as free to rob as they are subject to be robbed. 'Tis hard therefore to conceive, that absolute monarchy could ever have been constituted by the consent of any society of men, (besides that we see those that live under them would be glad to shake off their yoke if they could) but 'tis probable they may have been raised by the ambition and valour of some prince, or succession of princes, or by the people's supineness in suffering themselves to be enslaved by degrees, and so being at last forced to submit, when 'twas too late to oppose.

I have insisted the longer upon this argument, because another depends upon it, which comes nearer the present question; for if no reason of government can be assigned but the safety and protection of the people, it follows naturally that the succession of princes in hereditary monarchies, cannot be binding, nor ought to be admitted, where it proves manifestly inconsistent with those ends. I need not instance in all the cases that incapacitate a prince to perform the office of a chief governor; but I can think

of no disability so strong or so undeniable as his being of a different religion from that which is generally owned by the people.

Religion, considered only in a politic sense, is one of the chief supports of civil government; for the fear of corporal punishments, nay, of death itself, would often prove insufficient to deter men from refusing obedience to their superiors, or from breaking their laws, without those stronger ties of hope of reward and fear of punishment in another life. The Romans, of a fierce and rude people, were made tractable by Numa, and submitted to such laws and customs as he thought fit to introduce, not so much by their being convinced of the reasonableness of those laws, as by the finding a way to persuade them that all his new constitutions were the dictates of a divinity, with whom he pretended daily to converse. This sense of religion raised that people afterwards to that incredible exactness of order and discipline; and the belief they had the Gods of their side made them run so intrepidly upon dangers, that Cicero observes, that, though some nations excelled them in learning and arts, others equalled, if not exceeded, them in valour and strength, it was to religion and their respect to divine mysteries, that they owed their conquest of the world. But this very religion, that is the bond of union between a prince and his people, when both profess the same, must of necessity produce the contrary effects, and be the seed of the most fatal disorders, nay of the dissolution of governments, where they differ. The same conscience that ties the people's affections fastest to the prince in the first case, dissolves all manner of trust, all bonds of obedience, in the second.

It is impossible that a prince should signify any thing towards the support of the people's religion, being himself of another; nor would it ever be believed if he could: And how can that government subsist, where the people are unanimously possessed with a belief, that the prince is incapable of protecting them in that which, for the most part, they value above all other considerations? I know no instance can be given in this northern part of the world, even in those kingdoms that have varied from their original constitution, and are become absolute, that a prince of a different religion from the people was ever admitted to the crown. Queen Mary here in England met with some opposition; yet she could not be said to be of a different religion from the people: for popery was so far from being extirpated in her days, that she found a parliament that joyned with her in the restoring that religion. But in France, when the king of Navarre, a protestant, was presumptive heir to the crown, the states assembled at Blois (as all historians of that time agree) had certainly excluded him, and the rest of that branch that were protestants, from the succession, if they had not parted abruptly upon the death of the Duke of Guise and his brother. Nay some affirm, that the king himself, though of the established religion, was not out of danger of being deposed, upon a suspicion of his favouring too much the protestant faction, in opposition to the league. After the king's death the hereditary right was without dispute in the King of Navarre; but he found none to assist him in the making good his title, but the protestant party, of whom he was the head, and some creatures of his predecessor, that took his part more out of hatred to the league, than affection to him. This prince was at last indeed admitted to the crown, upon his conversion to the church of Rome. But that would not have sufficed, nor would the generality of the people, who were extremely zealous for their religion, ever have trusted one that had been of another, had he not happened to be a prince of incomparable courage and conduct, who, through seas of blood, and after many victories, forcing his entrance into the capital city, made his way to the throne by conquest, rather than by a voluntary admission of the people. It is observable, by the way, that the bishops and clergy of France were so far from setting up a divine right of succession above the religion established, that most of them opposed him even after his conversion; all of them before; and the pulpits rung with such bitter invectives against him, (only upon the account of religion) as perhaps no

age can parallel. This I should think might serve for instruction to some bishops that I could name, who, by maintaining that nothing ought to over-rule the hereditary right of succession, must either confess, that their religion deserves not so much to be defended as the Romish doth, or that they themselves are not so zealous in the defence of it as they ought to be. Let these assertors of divine right tell me, if in France, at this day the most absolute monarchy in Europe, and where the succession is held most sacred, a protestant prince would be admitted to the crown.

And here in England, besides the consideration of religion, that of property is not to be neglected; since what security can be given that abbey-lands, in which most landed men in the kingdom have a share, would not be restored to the church under the reign of a popish prince? The objection, that a prince may be of the church of Rome, and yet not change the established religion, is frivolous. For though there may be a possibility of his not attempting it, deterred, perhaps, by the people's universal detestation of popery, or discouraged by the ill success of former attempts, this amounts to no more, than that he will not bring popery in, because he cannot. But is this all that a King of England is obliged to do by the oath which he takes at his coronation? an oath not only a crime for him to take (if he be a papist) but impossible for him to keep. For can a papist defend that religion to the utmost of his power, which cannot be fully secured but by the suppression of his own? Can he be a fit head of the protestant interest abroad, who (while he continues of the church of Rome) must wish there were never a protestant left in the world? If he be incapable of doing this, that is, if the ends of government cannot be obtained in the ordinary course of succession, the state must of necessity fall into confusion, if there be not an extraordinary power lodged somewhere to provide for it's preservation.

That power here in England is in a parliament, and has often been made use of; but, I conceive, for the reasons above-mentioned, never more justly than upon this occasion.

And though the justice of this bill be very clear, I think the next thing yet easier to prove, which is, that it is his majesty's real interest to pass it; for if this government be so constituted that the king, having the hearts of his people, is one of the most considerable princes in Europe, but without them signifies but little either at home or abroad, as I doubt that is the case; and if nothing can contribute more to the alienating the people's affections from him than his denying this bill, one would think there needed no other motives to induce his majesty to pass it. But, besides, I should not think this unworthy of his majesty's consideration, if there are some persons to whom he may have a just prejudice, and who, if they cannot bring to pass whatever they propose to themselves, will still be endeavouring to make the breach wider, whether the denial of this bill may not furnish them with too plausible arguments with the people to refuse such necessary demands as his majesty may make for the safety of the kingdom, or the support of his alliances; and whether, on the contrary, the passing it may not very much disappoint those counterfeit patriots, by taking from them the best pretence they have of stirring up the people to sedition.

Nay, who knows but the refusal of this bill may exasperate the nation to that degree, that a title may be set up, on pretence of a former marriage, by the help of false witnesses, which, though as ridiculous in itself as injurious to his majesty's reputation, may yet put the whole kingdom into a flame.

The expedient of taking away all regal power from a popish successor, and leaving him only the name of a king, can be no satisfactory security to the nation, unless such a form of government were settled during the life of his predecessor; for otherwise the successor (having a right to the crown, which, without an act to exclude him, he will have) may not only pretend that the predecessor cannot give away his prerogative, but probably may succeed in opposing it, by the difficulty that is always found in the introducing of new constitutions. Now, whether this expedient (being put in practice

during the life of the present king) be not as good for the people as the bill, I shall not now dispute; but, as to the king himself, I think it is clear that nothing can be less for his honour or interest than to admit of such an expedient.

The objection, that this bill may disunite Scotland from England, seems not very weighty. For, first, we know not but a free parliament there may pass a bill to the same effect; but, if they do not, the disunion cannot happen, unless the duke outlive the king, and, in that case, will continue but during his survivance, for the next successor will unite the kingdoms again. This inconvenience, therefore, if it be at all, will be of so short continuance as cannot be of weight to ballance with those present and visible mischiefs that may fall upon the nation for want of this bill.

Some have fancied, and I hope it is but a fancy, that the king has made a solemn promise to his brother never to pass it. I will suppose the worst. If his majesty have made such a promise, I conceive, with submission, it is void in itself. For if he have taken an oath at his coronation to maintain the established religion, and in order to that it be necessary to pass this bill, I doubt no subsequent promise can absolve him from the performance of that oath. In the next place, all promises are understood to be for the advantage of him that makes them, or of him they are made to, or both. But the performing this would not only be ruinous to his majesty, but of no advantage to his royal highness: for how great soever his merit and virtues are acknowledged to be, he lies under a circumstance that makes it impossible for him to come to the crown (though this bill never pass) but by conquest; and that way he may have it, notwithstanding all the acts that can be made to oppose him.

I shall add no more to the trouble I have given you upon this subject, but that I am for this bill, because I think it just and necessary, not because it is contended for by a party: for I hold myself as free to differ with that party, when I think them in the wrong, as to agree with them when they have reason of their side. This may be an error, at least may be subject to misconstruction, in a time that most things are so; but I hope you, that have known me long, will judge more charitably of,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

A Letter to his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, this 15th of July, 1680. By a true Lover of his Person and the Peace of the Kingdom.

The history of this unfortunate nobleman, and the arts upon which he was thrust by his advisers, that he might acquire that popularity of which they hoped to reap all the advantage, need not here be recapitulated. It is very remarkable, that the following tract contains the parallel between the scriptural history of David and Absalom, and that of Charles and Monmouth, which Dryden afterwards made the ground-work of his celebrated satire.

May it please your Grace,

THE many discourses that have of late been bandied up and down by all parties in this kingdom, touching your grace, have been a great trouble to those that are your

real friends, who have not an opportunity of communicating to you their sentiments of the present clamours that concern your grace: and they cannot yet adventure to do it, for want of that intimacy and interest that some ill-affected persons have with your grace, which hath administered so much noise and talk among the vulgar, and hath been so highly detrimental to you, both in respect to your interest in the king's favour, and the honour your grace has attained to by your heroic and generous actions, both at home and abroad, enough to make the whole world your friend.'

Sir, I have no design in this address to you, but humbly to represent to your grace what sad consequences have befallen the persons of princes and great men by adhering to flatterers and evil counsels; especially such as propose ways to the highest honours imaginable, and yet, at the same time, lay a foundation for their eternal dishonour and ruin. Thus have I seen ambitious men, after they have been raised up from a mean fortune, become the greatest statesmen and favourites of their prince, and, at the same time, be undermined by flattering and deceitful persons, even to their utter ruin: instances enough there may be found in records of latest times. Not that by this I any way reflect upon the present circumstances of your grace; for you are a person whom no man has a greater veneration and honour for than myself; yet, my lord, when I consider what strange sentiments the people have had of late concerning the present state of the government, and what great influences some ill-affected persons have over them, to make them fit for any project that shall be proposed for the alteration thereof, I cannot but with great and just complaint, and indignation too, say, that they deserve not the least shelter in that government, the support of which only proceeds from peace and unity among ourselves.

My lord, when a nation grows weary of government, it is high time for the prince to look narrowly after the little politicians that are designing its alteration and ruin; and no one can better serve the interest of his prince and country than by finding out, and discovering the intrigues of such men; and, when found out, to make them loathsome and obnoxious to the people. This ought to be the duty of every loyal-hearted subject: and as I am sure it is your grace's duty, so it is highly your interest; for by the destruction of the monarchy of England, and government thereof, no ends can be served but those that lead down to the chambers of death.

That such men are abroad, and now at work in order thereunto, is not unknown to many of the king's old and true friends, who, though they have not been advanced to such high places in the government, nor rewarded for old faithful services, (through the artifice of some late cunning statesmen,) as others that never (or scarce ever will be) faithful to the king and kingdom's interest, yet have they both hearts and wills, and abilities too (whenever lawfully commanded) to oppose and dissipate too these leaders in the commonwealth faction: and, my lord, it will be all our interests so to do; for let such men pretend to what they will, by advancing in the opinion of the vulgar such a man to-day, and to-morrow deliver over another to the rage of the people, by loading and branding him with odious terms, it is a thousand to one but the next day him they had so advanced in the opinion of the people shall be made the object of their scorn.

When, my lord, we seriously consider and reflect on the past actions of men of such principles as these, we cannot but loath and abominate them. Oh, how happy is our government! What a good king! What admirable laws! What an excellent religion have we! (if rightly and truly observed) and yet we are not contented, but seek after

Monmouth distinguished himself as a soldier both in the service of France and Holland:—

Early in foreign fields he sought renown,
With kings and states allied to Israel's crown.

At the siege of Maestricht he commanded the storming party, and behaved with great spirit.

new paths, that lead to the confusion and ruin of all. My lord, before government was settled in the first ages of the world, that eternal rule of justice, "Of doing to all men as you would they should do unto you," was an obligation even to the very heathens themselves: That bound contracts, kept promises, affirmed truth, made subjects obedient, and princes just. Why shall such men pretend to Christianity, and not mind the laws and duties thereof? This excellent religion bids us, by an express precept, (though to a heathen prince,) "Render to Cæsar his tribute and dues." It is true, in all other particulars it was necessary that the instances and minutes of justice be appointed by the laws and customs of the several kingdoms and republics, and therefore it was that Christianity so well combined with the government of heathen princes; because, whatsoever was naturally just, or declared so by the political power, their religion bound them to observe, making obedience to be a double duty, a duty both of justice and religion. Thus the christian loyal subject. But for the democratical man, that is never quiet under any government, so long as it served not his own private interest, what security can any kingdom have of him? Neither laws nor councils, oaths nor engagements, shall oblige him to duty and obedience, when he sees it necessary to give a blow to the government. With such persons and such company it behoves all good subjects to have no communication.

My lord, these are the men that have made such a bustle of late, with their plots and contrivances, to bring us into confusion. Now, as your grace is both by duty and interest obliged, so let the humble request of your true and real friends persuade you to mind no other interest besides that of the common good. You are in the eye of the people, and beloved by all for those expressions of goodness and valiant acts you have performed, both at home and abroad. It is much lamented, and taken to heart by your best friends, that there are a sort of men who have made it their business of late to advance you higher than the wisdom and favour of the king has made you. We do say they are your enemies, and seek after your ruin; though we doubt not at all that any of their pernicious and self-designing counsels shall ever sway with so noble and prudent a prince as your grace, to derogate in the least from those innate and inbred principles in your soul, of loyalty and obedience to the best of kings, &c.

These are the men that would, with Joab, send for the wise woman, to persuade king David to admit of a return for Absalom his son; and when they had effected it, leave him to himself, till anger and passion had set fire to the field of Joab. These are the men that would have advised Absalom to make^{*} chariots, and to take fifty men to run

^{*} It was in this year that the duke made his progress through the west of England, and laid such a variety of snares to captivate the affections of the people. These arts are commemorated by Dryden in the following lines:—

"The crowd, that still believe their kings oppress,
With lifted hands their young Messiah bless;
Who now begins his progress to ordain
With chariots, horsemen, and a numerous train:
From east to west his glory he displays,
And, like the sun, the promised land surveys.
Fame runs before him as the morning star,
And shouts of joy salute him from afar;
Each house receives him as a guardian god,
And consecrates the place of his abode.
But hospitable treats did most commend
Wise Issachar, his wealthy western friend.
This moving court, that caught the people's eyes,
And seem'd but pomp, did other ends disguise.
Achtophel had formed it, with intent
To sound the depths, and fathom, where it went."

before him, and appoint his time and station beside the way of the gate, to enquire of the tribes of Israel that came up to the king for justice, what their controversies and matters were. These are the men that would advise young Absalom, that, since David had appointed no one to hear their grievances (which was a political lye) and relieve their oppressions, to wish, "O that I were made judge in the land, that every man that hath any suit or cause might come to me, and I would do him justice." In short, these principled men were they that set on Absalom to steal away the hearts of the people from the king; these are they that advised him to go to Hebron to pay his vow; and these were the men that led him into actual rebellion against his father, and to be destroyed by some of the very hands that had assisted him in those pernicious councils.

So that from hence we may conclude, that the greatest safety in this world consists in being peaceable, and of a submissive spirit; a spirit so eminently seen by all people in your grace under the present circumstances, that you have won the hearts of all worthy and loyal persons.

Now what has been said, I hope, will not give the least offence to you: for, I do protest to your grace, I am so much your entirely affectionate and devoted servant, that, next to my allegiance to my king, and my steadfastness to the royal interest, I declare I would, in defence of your person, in any just cause, sacrifice my life and fortune; with which I will conclude,

My lord,

Your grace's most affectionate servant,

C. F.

York, the 16th of July, 1680.

The Freeholder's Choice; or a Letter of Advice concerning Elections.

This was by way of preparatory to the general election, for that since called the Oxford Parliament. The clergy had declared for the court; the opposite party thought it of consequence to shake their credit with the people, and this was one of the methods they took to effect it.

SIR,

I received yours of the 12th instant, and am fully of your mind, that if our representatives cannot be suffered to make laws to regulate elections, we must supply that defect by some contract amongst ourselves, whereby all unnecessary charge may be prevented, as of late has been done in most counties in the case of sheriffs; for, otherwise, the present design of such frequent changes of parliaments may prove as pernicious to the people's interest as the perpetuating of one. Our grandees do now see that

The people's hearts, distinguish friends from foes,
And try their strength before they came to blows.
Yet all was coloured with a smooth pretence
Of specious love, and duty to their prince."

they did out-shoot themselves, and are full of repentance for their rash and hasty dissolution of the late odious, over-long parliament, and are therefore attempting to retrieve that error by tiring out the people with frequent changes, till they can get another for their tooth, as manageable and mercenary as the former: and therefore, to obviate this mischief, we must make elections easy, both to the chusers and the chosen. To consider of which, as also to contrive the management at a public charge, of all abuses by mayors, bailiffs, and sheriffs, in making double and false returns, and all other undue and illegal practices, I shall, with the rest of the gentlemen in these parts, give you the meeting you desire.

I find all persons very forward to countenance this public work, except the high-flown ritualists and ceremony-mongers of the clergy, who, being in the conspiracy against the people, lay out themselves to accommodate their masters with the veriest villains that can be picked up in all the country, that so we may fall into the hands again of as treacherous and lewd a parliament as the wisdom of God and folly of man has most miraculously freed us from. To which end they traduce all worthy men for fanatics, schismatics, or favourers of them: nay, do but pitch upon a gentleman that believes it his duty to serve his God, his king and country, faithfully, they cry him down as a person dangerous and disaffected to the government, thinking hereby to scare the people from the freedom of their choice, and then impose their hair-brained journey-men and half-witted fops upon them.

Wherefore I think it no less than a duty incumbent on us, in this time of public danger, to expose these blind leaders of the blind, with their designed conspiracy, to the people's views, and to wipe off that little paint that is upon them, that the whole nation, seeing them in their proper colours, may have that contempt and scorn for them which they deserve.

For as no love nor kindness from Christians can be too much to such ministers of the gospel as shall diligently and faithfully discharge their duties, without officiously involving and turmoiling themselves in secular affairs, so when they shall desert their own station, and prove cursed instruments in the hands of their managers, of cruelty, rapine, and oppression of a people, instead of preaching up the good tidings of peace and happiness to mankind, they then become a den of thieves, and ought to be esteemed, by all lovers of their country, as unnatural and public disturbers of its peace and welfare.

By their office, indeed, they are the salt of the earth; but, having lost their savour, they are henceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and trodden under foot of men, as our Saviour teaches. For pray now, because we ought to honour and most tenderly affect those that lay out themselves and talents for the salvation of our souls, does it therefore follow that we must bear the same respect to such as endeavour the destruction of our bodies and estates? God forbid that so brutal an inference should infect the minds of men! A good physician, that administers wholesome and sound medicines, ought to be rewarded; but an ignorant or knavish quack, that gives us poison instead of physic, deserves an halter, though he has the college-licence.

St James put a pertinent and honest question to the Christians of his time, "From whence come wars and fightings amongst you?" And, were he now alive to repeat it, all Europe would answer him with one voice, From knavish and time-serving priests, who, consulting their own secular advantage, and to heap up to themselves a worldly mass of wealth, of grandeur, and of power, have designed to make all people slaves to their princes, and princes slaves to themselves.

These traitors of the gospel have deserted the plain paths of righteousness, and betaken themselves to a serpentine course of creeping into courts, and there have created and fomented misunderstandings and jealousies betwixt governing powers and their subjects, that thereby they might seemingly become necessary to the one, and have an

opportunity of pillaging, oppressing, and domineering over the other. It is these sons of Belial who, in all ages, have endeavoured to corrupt and stain the generous minds of princes with arbitrary and unmanly maxims of government and state, and have framed for them the weak policies of cruelty, craft, treachery, and formal devotion, instead of protection, wisdom, justice, and righteousness, which alone can establish a nation; in-somuch that magistracy, which ought to watch for the good of the people, is fain to be watched by the people, lest it ruin and undo them. It is these wolves, in sheep's clothing, who have eaten up the people of God like bread, and in all parts of the christian world have spirited the making and edged the execution of persecuting and sanguinary laws: Wherefore, I believe, good father Jacob had a foresight of these sons of Levi, when, in his last will and testament, he left them a curse for a legacy instead of a blessing; and if the whole world were now to make their wills, all but knaves and fools would do the like.

You may easily call to mind a late instance of the humanity and conscience of this race of men here in England: for when his majesty not long since attempted to follow his own inclinations,* and emitted a declaration of indulgence to tender consciences, the whole *posse cleri* seemed to be raised against him: every reader and Gibeonite of the church could then talk as saucily of their king, as they do now of the late honourable parliament; nay, they began to stand upon their terms, and delivered it out as orthodox doctrine, That the king was to act according to law, and, therefore, could not suspend a pœnal statute; that the subjects obedience was a legal obedience, and, therefore, if the king commanded any thing contrary to law, the subject was not bound to obey; with so many other honest positions, that men wondered in God how such knaves should come by them. But wherefore was all this wrath, and all this doctrine? Merely because his majesty was pleased for a time to remove the sore backs of dissenters from under the ecclesiastical lash, the bloody exercise of which is never denied to holy church, but the magistrate is immediately assaulted with the noise and clamour of Demetrius and his crafts-men.

But now the tables being turned, the same mercenary tongues are again all Sibthorp and all Manwaring; not a bit of law or conscience either is now to be had for love or money; not any limits to be put to the king's commands, or our obedience: It is a gospel-truth with these men, that all which we have is the king's; and if he should command our estates, our wives and children, yea, and our religion too, we ought to resign them up, submit, and be silent. And, therefore, in the approaching elections, of all men I would avoid such as are recommended by these sycophants, lest such damnable doctrine should crawl from the pulpit into the parliament-house, to the destruction of religion and utter ruin of the state.

* Upon the 15th March, 1671, the king dispensed with the exercise of the penal laws against nonconformists of every persuasion.

A seasonable Address to both Houses of Parliament concerning the Succession, the Fears of Popery, and Arbitrary Government. By the Earl of Halifax, 1681.

“ Sir George Savile, Viscount, Earl, and at length Marquis of Halifax, was the prime minister of Charles, during the last years of his life. He was a man of fine genius and lively imagination; but as a politician was rather guided by a desire to display the full extent of artful and nice management of parties, than by any steady or consistent principle of his own. He was at the head of the small party called Trimmers, who affected a sort of neutrality between the Whig and Tory factions, and were of course suspected and hated by both. He originally made a figure in opposition to the court, particularly upon the great debates concerning the test, which he keenly opposed. He voted at first for the bill of exclusion; and used the jocular argument against hereditary government, that no man would chuse a man to drive a carriage merely because his father had been a good coachman. But when that great question came finally to be debated in the House of Lords on the 15th November, 1680, Halifax had changed his opinion; and he even conducted the opposition to the bill, and displayed an extent of capacity and eloquence equally astonishing to friends and foes, and which perhaps was never surpassed in that assembly. Even Shaftesbury sunk before this versatile orator; and there seems little doubt that his eloquence had a great share in deciding the issue of that day's famous debate, by which the exclusion bill was thrown out for ever. The House of Commons was so much incensed against Halifax, that they voted an address for his removal from the king's councils. The king, however, found his own advantage in the fine and balancing policy of Halifax; and, far from consenting to his disgrace, promoted him to the rank of marquis, and office of privy seal, which was hardly more displeasing to the Whigs than to the Duke of York. To the overbearing measures of this prince, Halifax was secretly a determined opponent: it was his uniform object to detach Monmouth so far from the violent councils and party of Shaftesbury, that the interest which he still retained in the king's affections might be employed as a counter-balance to that of his brother. He prevailed upon the king to see Monmouth after the discovery of the Rye-house plot; and had the duke then proved more practicable, it is possible, that, backed with the interest of Halifax, he might have regained his place in the king's favour. Upon this occasion the Duke of York was not consulted, and made open show of his displeasure. Indeed, Halifax told Sir John Reresby, that the duke would never forgive him. It is even said, that immediately before the death of Charles, there was a scheme in agitation, under the management of Halifax, for recalling Monmouth, sending York to Scotland, calling a parliament, and changing the violent measures of the two last years. If so, it was prevented by the king's sudden death, and left Halifax exposed to the resentment of his successor. For some time, James, in consideration of his great services during the dependence of the bill of exclusion, treated him with seeming confidence; but, finding him unwilling to go the lengths he proposed in religious matters, and particularly in the proposed repeal of the test acts, he was totally disgraced. After this period the Marquis of Halifax engaged with those lords who invited over the prince of Orange; and joined so cordially in the resolution, that he was made keeper of the seals by King William. He died in April, 1695.

“ Amidst the various political changes of this thorough-paced statesman, it ought not to be forgotten, that, though he sided with the court during the last years of King Charles, his councils were a salutary check on the arbitrary measures urged by the Duke of York; and that he probably merited the phrase which Dryden elsewhere bestows on him, of preventing a civil war, and extinguishing a growing fire which was just ready to have broken forth.”—*DRYDEN'S Works, London, 1808, vol. ix. p. 305.*

The following pamphlet may be considered as one of the moderating plans of this great statesman, by which he endeavoured to counterbalance the arguments and influence of Shaftesbury among the more moderate at least of his adherents.

It was the Egyptians practice, before physick was reduced into art or profession, to carry forth into the roads and highways, the diseased, and to enquire of all passengers the causes and remedies of their distempers; out of whose prescriptions their friends selected and applied what they judged most proper.

What was then done for the natural is now as necessary for the body politick of this country, sick, almost unto death, of fears and jealousies, the plots and devices of the wicked and ambitious; exposed to all travellers, among whom good-nature and self-preservation have at length, after two years silent compassion, prevailed upon me to give my opinion of the causes and cures of our evils, which I will offer without fear or favour of party or faction, of court or city; inquiring how far our apprehensions of popery and arbitrary government, that have so long discomposed us at home, and made us contemptible abroad, are just and reasonable.

Though I confess it is said, There never was smoak without some fire, yet at first sight it seems hard to believe that sober men should ever attempt innovations, seldom or never advantageous, always hurtful, because necessarily attended with the sad effects of civil war; a calamity that has so lately proved fatal to the kingdom in general, to the prince and to the subject. Whence it may be reasonably presumed, when our passion is over, and we have fully considered the rise, progress, and event of the last rebellion, we shall grow calm and wise, permit the king to enjoy his own prerogatives, and content ourselves with our just rights and privileges. 'Twill be time enough (when these are invaded, if religion even then will allow it) to oppose, or stand upon our defence; and to offer at it sooner is madness and folly, rebellion and impiety.

For the better coming to our point, it is necessary we take a review of the times preceding forty-one, when from the end of King James's reign the people were, as now, full of murmurings, repinings, and distrusts against the government. At last the smothered embers burst forth into a flame; and after ten years violence, war and confusion, and near as many more of usurpation and tyranny, the commonwealth was so far from being bettered, by any of the many changes and expedients, that the re-calling our king from his unjust exile was found and unanimously agreed to be the only way to prevent its utter ruin. Our gracious sovereign, merciful beyond example, pardons his rebellious subjects, the murderers of his royal father, and the usurpers of his own crown and dignity; loads, even among them, with offices and honour, such as seemed penitent, and were capable. He then proceeds, first to the re-settlement of the religion of the church of England, like virtue seated in the middle, and equally endangered by the two extremes of popery and presbytery; and after, to that of the state in peace and quiet, which we enjoyed to the envy of our neighbours. This happiness occasioned a war with Holland, France, and Denmark, to their great loss, and the renown of England, ending in a league of friendship and amity, for the general good of Europe. Not long after the king was advised to grant a toleration for the ease of tender consciences, and the advancement of traffick and manufacture. This was pressed with arguments, that the want of it occasioned Venner's insurrection; the plot in 1662, for which several suffered at Tyburn; that in 1663, begun in Ireland, and carried on in England, for which, in 1664, divers were executed in Yorkshire, as were others afterwards in London, April 1666, who confessed at Tyburn a design of subverting the government, seizing the Tower, and firing of London the September following; and withal declaring, there were those behind of their party, that would still effect that design, which (as to that part) was too evident. This is notorious from the historical account published in octavo, and confirmed by the Gazette;* and therefore I cannot but wonder at the

* Viz. "At the sessions in the Old Baily, John Rathbone, an old army colonel, William Saunders, Henry Tucker, Thomas Flint, Thomas Evans, John Myles, William Wescot, and John Cole, formerly officers or soldiers in the late rebellion, were indicted for conspiring the death of his majesty and the overthrow of the government; having laid their plot and contrivance for the surprisal of the Tower, the killing his grace the Lord General, Sir

commons vote of last January the 10th,¹ "That it is the opinion of this house, that the city of London was burnt in the year 1666, by the papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into this kingdom." It would be a great satisfaction to the world to publish the grounds of this opinion, because that otherwise considering they did not pursue it, nor any reason assigned what should have hindered, it will hardly gain more credit than the philosopher's paradox, that snow was black. I have read of some, who never wanted opinions, could they but find arguments to make them probable, for which their being at a loss made them ridiculous with the sober part of mankind.

The king consents, and at the same time declares war against Holland, whose insolence and injustice in point of trade and honour was become insupportable. Soon after the parliament convened, and, apprehending the indulgence might in time prove destructive to the established religion, prayed it might be revoked; the king, contrary to the then ministers advice, answered their desires. Hereupon they grow peevish, and thenceforward vow and study all the methods of revenge and confusion, though with the hazard of the publick. Ever since we have been continually alarmed with libels against the government; and at last a discovery is made of a popish contrivance, sifted as far as possible by the king in council, and after earnestly recommended to the parliament's further consideration. This is pursued, but some men laying hold on it, design to drive it to further purposes, and, under pretence of defending the king's person and expelling popery, set up presbytery, and pull down the monarchy. But there being too strict a bond of mutual love and loyalty between the king and that parliament, means are now used, upon a great minister's being impeached, to have it dissolved: An act that answered not his expectations.* A new one is called, who, exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation, are quickly sent home. A third is summoned, and the king having to this, as to the former, over and over pressed the impartial examination of the plot, the trial of the lords, and the care of the established religion, wherein by all just and lawful ways he often declared he would not follow, but heartily go along with them. But, alas! they intended no such thing. The plot must be kept on foot, else they would be defeated. The king perceiving they still neglected the good of the publick, breaks them, and summons a fourth at Oxford; where I wish they may be inspired with softness and prudence, answerable to the designs of the place and the needs of the kingdom.

After this short account, is it possible to believe those who insinuate the king himself is in the plot, is a papist, and intends arbitrary government? Oh! ridiculous, nonsensical fancy! If the plot be against his person and government, and contrived by papists, and among them (as Bedlow has sworn) none in England but have received the sacrament upon it, and he be of the number, he must join with others to cut his own throat, stab, shoot, or poison himself. But there's some mystery in this pretty invention, Charles Stuart conspires against the king; this imitating the Long Parliament in

John Robinson, lieutenant of his majesty's Tower of London, and Sir Richard Brown, and then to have declared for an equal division of lands, &c. The better to effect this hellish design, the city was to have been fired, and the portcullis to have been let down, to keep out all assistance; the horse-guards to have been surprised in the inns, where they were quartered, several ostlers having been gained for that purpose: The Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprize ordered by boats over the moat, and from thence to scale the wall. One Alexander, who is not yet taken, had likewise distributed sums of money to these conspirators; and for the carrying on of the design more effectually, they were told of a council of the great ones, that sat frequently in London, from whom issued all orders; which council received their directions from another in Holland, who sat with the states, and that the third of September was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lillie's Almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfall of monarchy. The evidence against these persons was very full and clear, and they accordingly found guilty of high treason."—*Orig. Note.*

¹ Anno 1681.

* Lord Danby expected his impeachment would be quashed by that dissolution, but was disappointed.

his father's time, who fought for the king, for his politick capacity, against himself, his natural, his person. But if he were a papist, would he have passed into laws every bill tendered him by both houses, as well before as since this plot, in their disfavour? And yet we know one of the godly party was lately fined 500*l.* for saying, the Duke of York was a papist, and the king little better; a saying no longer minced nor whispered, but now loudly and plainly spoken every day. Could he have been wrought to a change of religion, in the time of his banishment, if he had not withstood the offers of foreign princes, and the solicitations of a fond mother, to re-instate him to his own dominions with absolute arbitrary power. But he was too much a christian, and too good a king, not to prefer continuance in exile to the designs of enslaving his subjects, either in their souls or their bodies. Must he now, in an age desirous of rest and quiet, be upbraided with such purposes that had resolved against them in the heat of his youth, the great spur of ambition? Now when to compass this wicked and ridiculous project is as impossible, as before it was the contrary; when after his restoration, besides foreign assistance, offered at any rate and to any purpose, he had an obsequious general, a victorious fleet and army, and a parliament whose zeal and devotion seemed in nothing to be bounded but by the limits of his own pleasure; when to the immense treasure he was possessed of, bestowed among his people with equal bounty as it was given, he might have added vastly by the confiscations of more than half the estates and wealth of the three kingdoms. But instead of this he often pressed his parliament to expedite the act of oblivion, disbanded his army, and enlarged the fleet, by making one squadron of more value than all three in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and disabled in all his dominions, without exception, all papists from bearing any office civil or military. Has he not passed the bill, excluding for ever all popish lords out of the house, to which his father could never be persuaded? Has he not likewise curtailed the royal power by two other acts, that of the habeas corpus, and against quartering of soldiers? Three statutes, for which he might have had as many millions, had he insisted on a bargain, or known how to distinguish between his own private interest and that of the subject, or the truckling way of bartering, when the good of his people was concerned. Why did he, but for the sake of the protestant religion, refuse the elder daughter of the crown to the dauphin of France and marry her to the Prince of Orange? And this without putting his parliament to the charge of a portion, or a much greater sum, which they would have gladly given, had he made the proposition. And no other could be the motives of recalling his troops from France, raising an army for the defence of the Netherlands, at the expence of above 200,000*l.* more than was given, and his prohibiting trade with that crown. These things put a stop to the progress of that victorious king's arms, occasioned his quitting Messina, and clapping up a general peace, when he was just at the point of his proposed conquests. If our prince intended an arbitrary government, why, besides his former neglecting the opportunity, would he disable himself for the future, by parting with one of the greatest instruments for that purpose, the court of wards and liveries, tenures *in capite* and knight-service, purveyance, &c. And what did he receive for this excess of bounty, for the chiefest and most useful flower of the

* As it is pretty well understood that Charles was friendly to the catholic religion, which indeed he had secretly embraced, no pains were spared to point out the tendency to the people, who connected with the faith of Rome, all the bugbear horrors of the plot, as well as the real reasons which they had to dread its influence. The author of this tract probably alludes to the language held by Colledge, which was that of his party. Smith deposed against him, that while he was carrying him to dine with one Alderman Willecox, he told him, 'He was a man as true as steel, and a man that would endeavour to root out popery.'—Says I, 'That may be easily done if you can but prevail with the king to pass the bill against the Duke of York.'—'No, no,' said he, 'now you are mistaken, for Rowley is as great a papist as the Duke of York is, (now he called the king, Rowley,) and every way as dangerous to the protestant interest, as is too apparent by his arbitrary ruling.'—*State Trials*, III. 356.

Carter gives us the evidence of the Duke of Ormond, who surprised Charles at mass, notwithstanding all the hypothetical reasoning here made use of to vindicate him from the charge of popery.

crown, but a trifle, a feather, half the excise, not above a fourth of the other's yearly value. And after all this, knaves invent, and fools believe, he is now setting up for tyranny and popery, when his years are past the heat of ambition, his coffers empty, France disobliged, and his own people alarmed, and bent against it with all imaginable resolutions of opposition. Can any man imagine that a person who disarms himself intends to fight?

Besides, what one illegal arbitrary act has he done in his twenty years reign? Whom has he defrauded of an ox or an ass, of life or possession? Where has he in any one instance invaded Magna Charta, our rights, properties or liberties? What bill tendered by parliament, for the security of our lives or fortunes, has he rejected? He passed all without exception. As for the bill for entrusting the parliament with the militia for a limited time, reason then, and experience since, has proved it was a needless encroachment on the royal prerogative, without the least prospect of publick good; and to have parted with that power but for a moment, was for so long to unking and divest himself of a power he could not be certain would be ever restored. As he has freely passed all laws, has he not as chearfully offered to enact any thing that was agreeable to justice and reason, for our further security in religion, liberty, and property?

From these considerations, nothing will appear more vain and idle than our fears and jealousies, our factious and seditious reflections on the government. I will not say, without great caution, but we may run into those very things we so much dread and would avoid, popery and French government, or (which is equally destructive of our birth-rights and happiness) presbytery and a commonwealth. This will be no groundless surmise, if we look back and observe, that the leaven against the established constitution, both in church and state, has sowed almost the whole lump; the poison of presbytery, formerly known by the name of puritanism, hatched at Franckfort and Geneva, grown to a head in Scotland with the reformation, has infected the generality of the kingdom, the common traders and dwellers in cities and corporations, and the unthinking and illiterate part of the gentry, with hatred against monarchy and the church of England. This was certainly the invention of Rome to overthrow us, by thus sowing divisions; they well foresaw our kingdom and church, in itself divided, could not long stand. All the antimonarchical principles are the same in both; the one as well as the other deny supremacy in the king; the jesuit will have the pope, and the presbyter Jesus his head. King-killing and deposing doctrine is disowned by all honest papists, as the author even of *Plato Redivivus* does confess, though two or three jesuits have privately asserted the opinion as problematical, for which themselves and writings were censured and condemned as false and damnable; but it is justified both by books and practice of the whole presbyterian party; it is so plain and fresh in our memories, I need not instance in the authors. St Peter's chair is not more infallible than that of an assembly of presbyters in a national classis or synod. Men of these antichristian principles stirred up the late rebellion, and being active and diligent, drew in many unwary honest men beyond the power of retreating. Did not the faction here tamper in Scotland, where the promoters of the covenant, that godly instrument, applied to the crown of France for protection, as appears by the letter found with the Lord Lowden, therefore sent to the Tower?

But what was the issue of this contrivance, but confusion and misery through the three kingdoms; the presbyterian party overpowered by the independents, and these again by the army; a commonwealth set up, and soon after turned into a perfect tyranny under Oliver Cromwell, after more money had been illegally squeezed from the subjects by ordinances and loans, sequestrations and decimations, excise, and other impositions, than was ever known before or since? The people (weary) call home their prince, who, by an excess of mercy and clemency, sparing to root up men of these principles, gave way to their infecting others with the same humour of discontent. 'Tis to be observed, that the year 1535 is remarkable for the Geneva Reformation, and the spawning of the

jesuits order, and that our unlucky home-bred divisions were fomented, if not first set on foot, under-hand, by directions from the court of France, as well as from Rome, the interest of that state as well as of the church depending on our distractions; to which end Richlieu, that great minister, employed many pensioners in Scotland, as did also his successor Mazarine in England: And therefore there is nothing more inconsiderate than to think we are not now acting and promoting French designs; 'tis their business to divide us, and yet so to manage the ballance, that they let neither the king nor parliament have the better, or ever come to a right understanding: They can no otherwise obtain the western empire, and it is directly against their interest ever to suffer England to be either a perfect monarchy, or an absolute commonwealth. Those that roar most against French councils and measures, under-hand bargains and agreements between both the kings, know they belye their own conscience, and that the French have us in the last degree of contempt. This the E. of D——¹ printed in his own vindication, perhaps not ignorant that some of their ministers did, in the years 1677 and 1678, before the breaking out of the plot, declare, "That Monsieur L——² had greater interest and more friends in England than the D—— of Y——: That the k—— had need be on his guard, for he was in great danger of running the same risque with his father." When it was likewise inquired, "What interest among the people two great peers³ had, who have since the plot been the great pillars of the protestant religion, though neither was ever reputed to have any, were ministers and advisers in 1670 and 1671, very good friends to France and popery, enemies to the triple alliance, and to Holland, &c." It was also said, "That 300,000*l.* a year, bestowed in Scotland and England, among the factious and discontented, would better serve the interest of France, than any bargain they could drive with the ministers." 'Tis too well known, that the greatest of these two noblemen made a secret journey into France some weeks before the plot, after some private transactions here with others, among whom were Sir E—— L——,⁴ famed for religion and morality, Major W——,⁵ and H—— N——, as notorious for the same perfections, and their love of monarchy and hatred of a commonwealth; nor did A—— S——⁶ want his share in the consultation, a stout asserter of prerogative, witnessed by his and others living out of this kingdom ever since the king's restoration, until they saw some likelihood of a change, the one returning about the time the D—— of B——,⁷ and the other lords were in the Tower, and the other a few months before the breaking forth of the popish conspiracy; which no sooner came before the parliament, than some of the great lords of the committee, for the examination of the plot, kept their consultations, and managed much of that affair at Wallingford-House, Major W—— their secretary, where they concluded to take hold of this opportunity for the carrying on some long-hatched designs of their own. Nor is it to be forgotten that in June before, a letter was wrote by an eminent person of the faction, and can be now produced, "That very shortly somewhat would be discovered, that would prevent our much longer walking in the dark; and that one of the greatest lords sent to an astrologer, to know whether he was not in a short time to be at the head of 60,000 men." The methods agreed upon in France, and pursued here, were to make a court and country party, to sow and disperse jealousies between both, and widen the gap with all possible devices; which resolutions some here were the sooner induced to embrace, upon this consideration, That they should not live to see the issue, and were unconcerned for what should come after: But yet I am so charitable to think, if we have any French agents at home they are imposed upon by their own unwariness, and the others cunning, to act rather against than with their knowledge, a part so much contrary to the interest of England

¹ Danby. ² Louvois.

³ The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Shaftesbury, both members of the Cabal Administration.

⁴ Sir Ellis Leighton, notorious for profligacy.

⁵ Walcot, afterwards involved in the Rye House Plot.

⁶ Algernon Sidney.

⁷ Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

and the duty of a christian. But however it be, I am morally assured we are doing their work; and if we are not knaves and pensioners, we are blockheads and fools, that are blind and besotted like men prepared for destruction: *Quos Jupiter perdere vult, hos dementat*. If any one talks thus, he is presently called a papist and a tory; every true son of the church of England, and loyal subject, is branded with nick-names, and run down by noise and faction; and he that opposes popery, if he defends not presbytery, is but a protestant in masquerade; if he commends monarchy and our legal constitutions, to the discredit of a commonwealth, he is a rascal, a villain, and a dangerous person, not considering that we are made tools and instruments for French purposes, betrayed by their cunning and address to forward and act with our own hands our slavery and ruin. Shall we be still blind and deaf to reason and demonstration? Can we not reflect upon the French double-dealing in our late civil distractions, and remember what the Lord Keeper Puckering tells the parliament in Queen Elizabeth's days, That the puritans, even at the time of the Spanish preparations for invasion, were urging and pressing intestine commotions; where he largely sets forth their being as dangerous to the crown and mitre as the others, and therefore that both were to be equally suppressed, papists and puritans. I cannot find that either have since altered their principles, and consequently cannot but wonder why the papists should be persecuted and the other countenanced, even against law and former statutes. 'Tis surely very imprudent to expect your house will be warm by shutting a window, and setting open the doors; and therefore, because in this I can freely agree with Plato Redivivus, that the fear of popery is not the cause of our present disturbances, I shall, without regard to religion, consider the papists and presbyterians as two factions in the state, like the Arminian and Lovastein parties in Holland, and as such pronounce that both are to be suppressed, or neither; because, by emptying only one of the scales the ballance is broken and the court or monarchical party is first weakened and destroyed, and after, the whole form of government altered into that of a commonwealth; and I am fully convinced, if that had not been that author's design, as to an ordinary reader is past doubt, he would have set down this as one of the remedies of our present evils. But the contrary was his purpose, and, in order to do it, he cunningly, to preserve the monarchy, would set up a plain democracy, and for an English king obtrude upon us a Doge of Venice; for he tells you at large, that the ancient power of the king is fallen into the hands of the commons, and therefore, to keep up the former illustrious splendor of the crown, he would have all its jewels taken out, and set about the speaker's chair, the king made a cypher, and divested of all power but the name, to keep up the three several and distinct shares in the government, king, lords, and commons. 'Tis an ingenious way of arguing, but we are not yet, I hope, such fools to have it pass, to venture at play, and not know how to distinguish false dice.

Oh! but says a factious petitioner, that takes the House of Commons (sufficiently proved by the learned answer to Petyt's book, to have had no share in the legislative power) to be the parliament; all their votes, how wild and unreasonable soever, as we have lately, as well as formerly, seen in print, to be the sense of the nation, and have the force of laws, and yet deny any authority to the king's proclamation. This scribbler (says he) is popishly affected, a French designer, a mere tory, not considering that there is not less hazard in splitting upon a rock than upon a sand-bank; that if I must be a slave and forfeit my liberty, 'twere, at least, as good to do so under a single person as more: the tyranny of many is much more intolerable than that of one. 'Tis equally destructive of my liberty, whether the king or the House of Commons take away Magna Charta; I am still against arbitrary government, ruling according to pleasure, not the laws and known constitutions of the land, whether assumed by king or commons; if there be any choice, the odds is against the latter. And, to speak truth, by what has passed since the plot, any one in his wits would believe the king is invaded, not an in-

vader; that his frequent prorogations and dissolutions have been his legal defensive weapons, used as much for his subjects security as his own honour; that arbitrary power is a delicious thing, and therefore aimed at by our demagogues and tribunes of the people, bad and to be decryd only while in the sovereign. 'Tis very convenient to cry *whore* first: Solomon tell us, "He that appeareth first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh after and proveth him." If the people in an island are alarmed that an invasion is designed, and that only at one port, and they become so foolish as for the guard of that to neglect and expose all others, they do but make the easier way for their enemies to land and overcome. Those who are the watchmen, the centinels of our safety, ought with Janus to have two faces, one behind and the other before, and many eyes like Argus, there being otherwise no security against surprise. I remember in Thucydides, that the Grecians besieging a strong city found no means but stratagem to become masters, which they thus contrived: After they had purchased some pensioners within, they kept the besieged awake, and put them into great distress by continual false alarms, and, as designed, prepared to believe nothing more was intended than amusement and distraction. The false citizens within taking this advantage, affirmed they ought for the future to make it death for any watchman to give the alarm. This decreed notice was given to the enemy, and, without the least resistance, the besieged were taken and undone, when and where they least suspected; whereupon this proverb was taken up, *Amyclas perdidit silentium*: I wish we may never run the same fate. The application is too easy and natural to be dwelt upon.

And yet I cannot but take notice how the late House of Commons have assumed to themselves a power extraordinary, and by a vote, without proof or conviction, made eminent men and known protestants guilty of popery and French designs, made them advisers and counsellors according to their own fancies, imprisoned several during pleasure, seized closets and writings without information, and contrary to Magna Charta; voted acts of parliament, made for the preservation of the established religion, useless, and their execution grievous to the subject, against the protestant interest, and an encouragement to popery, &c.; and among these, which is most wonderful, a law made by the darling Queen Elizabeth, who cannot well be supposed to have been a friend to popery. If these be not odd and arbitrary proceedings I know not what are, nor why that should be tolerable or lawful for them which is not for any, no, not for our sovereign. Considering men are afraid the abettors of such practices are not friends to peace and quiet, but rather factious and dangerous, willing to enslave us to foreign invasions or domestic encroachments; whatever may be said to the contrary, these actings are but too good grounds for such apprehensions. The cunningest whores seem most devout, and inveigh very bitterly against the lewdness they daily study and commit. Your rooking gamesters abhor, if you will believe their shams and oaths, the use of false dice, and the un-gentleman-like trick of cheating. However, none but cullies, who want wit or years to make observation, can be wheedled and drawn in by such pretences.

Before the discovery of the plot, our ministers were reflected on as designing popery and arbitrary government, by many scandalous pamphlets, and one in particular called *An Account of the Growth of Popery*,* &c., as if the people were to be prepared to be-

* Written by Andrew Marvell, the well-known author of the *Rehearsal Transposed*, and of several poetical satires against the person and government of Charles II. Marvell himself had been in his youth a proselyte to popery, and the ability with which he exposed the arts of the Romish missionaries, together with his fierce and determined strain of argument, rendered his work very popular. The full title was, "An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England; more particularly from the Long Prorogation of November, 1675, ending the 15th of February, 1676, till the last Meeting of Parliament, the 16th of July, 1677." In this tract, our author, having imputed the Dutch war to the corruption of the court, asserts that the papists, and particularly the French, were the true springs of all the councils at this time. These and several other aspersions upon the king and ministry, drew the following order, published in the Gazette: 'Whereas there have been lately printed and published several seditious and scandalous libels against the proceedings of both houses

lieve the whole court was popish; that while they were alarmed against that party, they might be unprovided to defend themselves against the other. The presbyterian true blue, who, like *Æsop's cat*, though transformed into the beautiful shapes of court employments and honours, will still be hankering after the old sport of mousing; they will ever be lovers of a commonwealth, and enemies to monarchy. This is plain from former as well as later proceedings since the discovery of the popish plot, when they began to shew themselves in their proper colours, when they cryed not only the court but the church was popish, and all that are for the established government. You cannot now be loyal, unless you are factious; nor a protestant, if no presbyterian. But pray observe, that none tell you this but the spawn of those seduced or concerned in the late rebellion, men turned out of, or that would get into, court-employments, that account themselves slighted or disoblged; men of great ambition or of desperate fortunes, who make all this noise and clutter to be taken off. To what purpose else did the late House of Commons make the vote against the bargain or hopes of court-preferment, but that such a design was driving between some leading members and courtiers? Can they, after such a discovery, pretend zeal for religion and the good of their country? For shame! let not faction and private interest make men forgetful of the publick, of the peace and quiet of the nation: let them secure our constitutions against the encroachments or invasions of any, whether presbyter or papist, and remember that the most forward in the Long Parliament were soon turned out by others, and because what is sauce for a goose is sauce for a gander, this of course will be the fate of those who now glory in being ringleaders of faction, to thwart and oppose their sovereign; nay, it may possibly be worse; the gentlemen, the knights of the shires, may be kick'd out by mechanicks, by citizens and burgesses, for he who practiseth disobedience to his superiors teacheth it to his inferiors. Sir W—— J——, Sir F—— W——, Col. T——, &c., all know, were disoblged, and if taken into favour, the employments and honours they covet would stand up for the court, as much as now they do against it. Whether the petitioning lords be not of the same temper, will best appear from the story of every single person. One of them¹ has the humour conveyed with his blood; his father was a gentleman that appeared zealous in the Long Parliament for the good of his country, being the first that brought in the complaint of ship-money; but soon after, when he was made a lord and courtier, he changed notes, and sang another song; no man was more for the monarchy; in its defence he lost his life, and at his death publicly repented his actings against the Earl of Strafford.² His son was made an earl upon the king's return, sent ambassador abroad, and made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to get which command he despised not the courtship and assistance of Col. T——,³ though a roman catholic, and a creature of his royal highness, to whom he made no slender professions:

of parliament, and other his majesty's courts of justice, to the dishonour of his majesty's government, and the hazard of publick peace, these are to give notice, that what person soever shall discover unto one of the secretaries of state, the printer, publisher, author, or hander to the press of any of the said libels, so that full evidence may be made thereof to the jury, without mentioning the informer, especially one libel, entitled *An Account of the Growth of Popery, &c.*, and another called *A seasonable Argument to all the Grand Juries*, he shall have fifty pounds for such discovery as aforesaid, of the printer or publisher of it from the press, and for the hander of it to the press one hundred pounds," &c.—*Biogr. Brit. V.* 3056.

¹ The Earl of Essex, whose tragical fate is well known. He was son of Lord Capel, whose history is here alluded to. With Falkland, and many of Charles's most gallant adherents, he opposed those arbitrary courses of the crown which introduced the civil war, but chose, between two evils, to support the monarchical against the democratic part of the constitution, when the contest came to a final and bloody issue. "The king," he said in the House of Peers, "had granted so much for the security and peace of the kingdom, that those who demanded more must intend its disturbance." After defending Colchester to the last extremity, he was condemned to die by the pretended high court of justice, and suffered in January, 1648.

² At his death, Lloyd informs us, he reflected bitterly upon what he called his cowardly compliance with a prevailing party in voting for Lord Strafford's death.

³ Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnell.

not being satisfied with gaining vastly in that station five years, he grows peevish, in hopes of being sent the second time; nay, rather than fail, he is content to be commissioner of the treasury, in hopes that by the courtship and interest of some women, no matter what religion they are of, he may come to be lord treasurer: but not like to gain the white staff, and perhaps not caring to govern an empty exchequer, he bent his thoughts again towards Ireland, then slighting the treasury, he is outed, and grows more discontented, and at last turned out of the council; the next day he repeats a speech of the E—— of S——'s making, and, unasked, presents a piece of counsel and advice to his sovereign, pretending, as a peer, it was his duty. I am sorry his zeal made him forget that peers have no right of advising the king but when he makes them of his council, or by writ summons them to parliament. And what is very odd, he advises just the contrary to what he and the other noble earl had done the year before, when courtiers. This nobleman's life would make a comical history; he knows how to put on all shapes, and in the late times was not ignorant how to make an apple-tree supply the place of a pulpit; he knew how to serve himself in all turns and changes, and has not failed, since 1640, to have been often out and in with the several higher powers. To give him his due, he is a man of extraordinary parts; but, if one of these lords said true when he was a courtier, and the other newly removed, they are all fitted and turned for confounding and amusing, but not for extricating out of difficulties. He wants not wit to hold forth in the house or in the open air upon occasion; nor is he meanly skilled in the methods of court pleasures as well as business. He must have an ill memory that forgets who advised the breaking the triple-league, and making an alliance with France and a war with Holland, pronouncing, in the language of the beast, *Delenda est Carthago*, that a Dutch commonwealth was too near a neighbour to an English monarch; the shutting up the exchequer; the granting injunctions, in the case of the bankers; and, lastly, the source of all our present misfortunes, the general indulgence. These things being found of ill consequence, and the ministers removed, as designers of popery, presbytery, atheism, irreligion, arbitrary or French government, must any of such principles, as soon as turned out of court, be received into the country, as if these two had different interests? Whoever say there is more than one commonweal in both are deluders and incendiaries, and betrayers of the nation. Those that strive to divide the king and his people are to be looked upon as pensioners of France, and ought to be most severely punished. There are that can tell tales what great man, since the plot, offered a reconciliation with the D——, and, for a restoration to his former power and greatness, would be his servant to all intents and purposes: but the D—— could not be persuaded that one who had as often changed parties, as Proteus his shapes, and the cameleon his colours, could be true to any interest but his own, and therefore rejected his many messages on this subject. Another peer,² whose son in the lower house is the great tribune of the people, would have had a dukedom added to the garter, to make both sing to another tune. A fourth would fain be a privy-counsellor in reversion. A fifth, not long since, at any rate of purchase, would have been master of the horse to the duke. Strange! that a protestant lord should think of serving a supposed popish prince, and afterwards hope, though thus mounted on horseback, to get to Heaven. It would be tedious to give particular accounts of all; only by the way observe, that a young lord,³

¹ The Earl of Shaftesbury, from the versatile nature of his politics, was sometimes nick-named Shiftesbury. His defenders have found it hard to apologize for the inconsistency with which he became the head of a violent opposition to a court, of which, while one of the Cabal Administration, he had sanctioned the most violent of measures.

² Earl of Bedford, father of the celebrated Lord Russel.

³ Lord Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckingham. His ill humour against the court did not last long, for he opposed the Exclusion Bill during all its progress. His expedition to Tangiers is said to have been a sort of honourable banishment from court, owing to his having testified an indiscreet attachment to the princess, afterwards Queen Anne.

newly come to age, owned himself to his majesty disobliged, because, after a voyage to Tangier, his great valour there shewn, and spending his youth in his prince's service, (these were his own words to the king,) another was preferred to the command of Lord Plymouth's regiment. I cannot but commend this nobleman's ingenuity in owning the true cause, and not pretending, as others, conscience and public good for his motives. But I am sorry he should forget not only the obligations of gratitude, which he is under for his bread and for his honour, but also who says, Appear not wise before the king, and give not counsel unasked. He has learning enough to understand the meaning of *in consilium non vocatus ne accesseris*. It is to be hoped he may repent, and with more years his wit may be turned into wisdom.

As for the D—— of M——, I believe him perfectly drawn in by designing politicians for ends of their own, who never intended him more than as an useful tool, afterwards to be laid aside. It is no wonder that one of his youth and spirit should be tempted with the baits and allurements of a crown; the splendour and gaiety of power has blinded many elder men's understandings. But that they never had him in their thoughts for K—— appears from the author of *Plato Redivivus*, and indeed if they had they went the wrong way to work. They should not have engaged him so far, as to deserve to be turned out of his command as general,—a post that would have best enabled him to seize upon and make good any pretence to the crown, after the death of his majesty. I am apt to believe his grace is sorry for what is past; I am certain it were his interest to throw himself at the king's feet, and quit the counsels of those men, who, intriguing for themselves, puff him up with false hopes, and yet sufficiently discover that nothing is farther from their hearts than his exaltation, or what is so much in their mouths, publick service to the king and country. It is much better for him to be content with the second place in the kingdom, than by pretending to the first, against all manner of reason, and the obligations of gratitude, forfeit all his fame and honour, life and fortune.

The petition being already answered, I will only observe, that his majesty, intending to turn them out, sent Mr Secretary to the E—— of E——² for a list of the papists he mentioned in the guards; but the noble peer had none to give, so may be supposed to have taken the story upon hearsay, from some that had the malice to invent it. And now must the nation suffer themselves to be rid by any faction, because (designing particular advantages) they gild all with the specious pretences of religion and loyalty, particular respect for the church of England by opening her doors to all dissenters, and for the monarchy by clipping the king's power to prevent the papists contrivances against his person? Examine whether the zealous sticklers for the protestant religion have any at all; or, if they have, whether it be not as far from that established by law as popery? Whether, if the king would grant all their desires, receive them into offices and power, they would not stand up in justification of the court as fiercely as now they do the contrary? What has been before may well be expected again. He that considers this, and that malice never spoke well of any, will give the factious little credit, especially when, against reason and sense, they would impose upon us that the king himself is in the plot; or, as one of the members in a printed speech tells the house, "The plot is not so much in the Tower as in White-hall; there it is to be searched for, and there to be found." And all this because he will not unking himself, and put his crown into their hands, and, against law, his coronation oath, and brotherly affection, pass the bill of exclusion, to the prejudice of himself and the whole kingdom. This is

² The unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, with talents sufficient, when added to his exterior accomplishments, to have graced a peaceful court, fell a sacrifice to an excess of popularity, and to the ambition of those advisers who pushed him into measures which he was unequal to carry through.

³ Earl of Essex, who wrote a letter to Charles, remonstrating against the employment of papists in the royal guard; but, being desired to produce a list of the catholics in that body, he was unable to comply.

not a single or private man's opinion, but the judgment of the supreme tribunal of England, the House of Lords, where, upon the first reading, it was thrown out, with the odds of sixty-three against thirty-one; for which reason their lordships are called masquerading protestants, tories, papists, or their adherents; as if the lords must not be allowed the privilege the commons take with any of their bills, without censure and affront. But why for their act must his majesty be loyally libelled and aspersed? It had been time enough, one would have thought, to have called him papist, &c. had he rejected the bill after it had passed both houses. Oh! then who could have doubted but his doing more against the papists than any of his predecessors, had been promoting their interest; that his pardoning no man condemned, nor stopping the execution of any law against recusants, was making it no plot; and that passing the test was letting in popery by wholesale? He that can believe these things is prepared for any thing; to say a lobster is a whale, or a whale a lobster; that the moon is a green cheese, and the sun a round plate of red-hot iron; and then I presume, it may not be decided whether we are fools or madmen. Let us not thus idly and unjustly belye our consciences, and publish to the nation and all the world, that nothing can secure us against popery but the shaking and alteration of the monarchy by the bill of exclusion, an act in itself unjust and impolitick both for the king and people. No man is to be punished *ex post facto* by the law of this and all other countries. Besides, why should the duke, more than any fanatick of England, be outed his birth-right? The scripture says, "You must not do evil, that good may come of it;" and prudence will tell us, that this is an evil that must be attended with greater; for the minute that it passes, the duke is at liberty to recover his right by secret or open violence, force foreign or domestick; he is declared an enemy and a traitor; condemned without trial or conviction. This piece of injustice must be defended by an association, or an army; this army must be entrusted in the hands of the king or a general; either may make himself absolute and arbitrary; and therefore, if people are now afraid of slavery from the government, what may then be their apprehensions? And if they are jealous of the king, what general will they find to entrust? Those meanly skilled in history know that commanders of armies have at pleasure subverted commonwealths and kingdoms. Agathocles, from being general, became tyrant of Syracuse; Pisistratus of Athens, Sforza of Milan, the Medici of Florence, the Cæsars of Rome, and (not to go so far off) Cromwell of the three kingdoms. Most of the Roman emperors were dethroned by their generals; and therefore this cannot but make the king as unwilling as the people to entrust this great power in any person. And yet, without such a trust, the act of exclusion is not worth a straw; nor with it can we be secured against slavery, whether the duke conquer or be overcome. The duke will still find a party, at least if he out-lives the king, in the three kingdoms to fight his quarrel; and if he comes in by force, he may well use us like a conquered nation; break our old, and give us what laws and religion he pleases; whereas, if we attempt no such thing, we shall not run the hazard of a civil war, the king being as likely to out-live as to be out-lived by his brother. If he should chance to succeed peaceably, he cannot be presumed to offer any alteration in religion so much against his interest; and who never forwarded any in his own family, suffers his children to continue in the church of England, knowing that Christianity forbids compulsion for its propagation. To say he would be priest-ridden, is ridiculous.—Why he more than the French king, who openly opposes the pope's usurpation, and assumes to himself the cognizance even of church affairs? This is but a pretence to impose upon the ignorant and the credulous: If there be not laws enough already, new ones may be made to prevent any such intention. When all offices and power are in the hands of anti-papists, I cannot see where can be our danger.

But this, if granted, would not be all; the monarchy is hereby made elective, and the possessor may as well be removed as the successor debarred. In order to this, is there

not a History of the Succession published, shewing that the monarchy is rather elective than hereditary? Of which here I will only say, that the writer is a notorious plagiarist, and steals all out of a seditious book, wrote on the same subject by Parsons, the jesuit, under the name of Doleman, in Queen Elizabeth's time, with a design of distracting the people, and making way for a Spanish conquest and inquisition; the presbyterian transcriber proves himself of the same jesuitical principles, and, with equal honesty, pursues the same ends, usurpation and slavery. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that there has been frequent interruptions of the succession of the crown; but no title but that of the sword was ever put in ballance with proximity of blood; and he that will oppose fact to right is very unjust, and argues not upon the principles of morality, nor the laws of nations. Much such another good Christian is the writer of *The Appeal to the City*,¹ who tells us, if we set up a king with none, or a crack'd title, we shall have the better laws; and instances that Richard III., an usurper, a murderer, and a tyrant, made excellent statutes. But he might, had he been just, have found the laws of that king outdone by those of our present sovereign, whose title none can question.

And yet it is not unreasonable to suspect a design on foot of subverting the monarchy, if it be considered that the passing the bill against the duke will not alone satisfy his adversaries, who further expect that all those now firm to the king be removed, and their trust put into confiding hands; and thus, when they had him in their own power, it would be no hard matter to act their pleasure.² The speech, disowned by the protestant lord, and burnt by the hangman, (a fate the author does certainly deserve,) tells us in plain English, "We must have a change, and a king we may trust, and well-affected counsellors," with much more treasonable and seditious stuff. These things, and the frequent mentioning the fates of Edward II., Richard II., and Henry VI., cannot but alarm his majesty, and restrain him from ever complying with such persons against his only brother. He has so often affirmed the bill should never pass, that he cannot now, without diminution of his own honour as well as safety, alter his well-grounded resolution, taken upon the sense of conscience and duty, the present and future good of himself and people: an act that would be the highest violation of Magna Charta, that ordains none should be put by his birth-right and inheritance, but by the law of the land and legal process: And therefore, I hope, what cannot be supposed to be granted will no longer be insisted on, lest the consequences prove fatal.

One thing I cannot but admire, that the duke should be absolutely excluded on supposition of being a papist, for, otherwise, he is allowed by all to be a prince of incomparable virtues and endowments, leaving no room for enjoying his right, in case he become protestant. Do they suppose an alteration of opinion impossible? That's false and foolish. There are instances of men that have changed often; and, to mention no more, the duke's grandfather, Henry IV., twice altered his opinion. Besides, it is unjust, and contrary to their own practice; for L—— B——³ was an imprisoned plotter, but as soon as he became a convert, without further process or trial, he was innocent and acquitted. We do, in this, exceed the papists of France, and condemn our protestant ancestors, and all others abroad, who accused them as antichristian and rebellious,

¹ This appeal was one of the most violent tracts of the time, written, it is believed, by the notorious plotter Ferguson, under the eye and correction of Shaftesbury. It insinuates the measure of settling the succession on Monmouth. It is more fully noticed in the preceding tracts concerning the Black Box.

² This passage is explained by another in a memorial of the Lord-keeper North's, inserted in the Examen, page 153, in these words:—"The Prince of Orange, when he came into England, [July 28, 1681,] pushed the king extremely to satisfy the nation, and to agree with his people. The king bid him ask any of the discontented party what would do it, and what were their whole demands. He conferred with some, and told the king, there was no undertaking for an assembly, for they would do what they pleased: but there must be more than the bill of exclusion; for that was but parchment, which was nothing. The king, thereupon, understood that they must have the militia, &c.

³ The Duke of Buckingham.

for opposing their lawful King Henry IV. on the score of religion; for the Parisians loved his person, and stood upon no other condition than his turning papist to receive him for their sovereign, as all the other R— C— of that kingdom had done before. And therefore I very much suspect we are grown weary of monarchy, and, with an inconstancy natural to islanders, affect a change, though for the worse. To this I am induced by many reasons, and not a little from a protestant lord's speech the last sessions, "That the people of Athens were so fond of good King Codrus, that they resolved to have none after him." But to attempt this piece of folly and wickedness will inevitably embroil us in a civil war; and of that the event is so uncertain, that we ought to dread the loss of all by striving to enlarge our present liberties. This madness ordinary prudence will carefully avoid, because, in all probability, the king would get the better; his condition is not like his father's; he has standing troops, which the other wanted, to guard his person; he has the militia in his own hands; he has no Scotch nor Irish rebellion to divide or distract his forces; and, above all, he has the parliament in his own power, to let them sit or not sit, at his pleasure and their good behaviour: And 'tis happy he has this power to secure himself from popular fury, at this time especially, when whatever the papists have done, we daily see others run into clubs and cabals, distinguishing themselves by green ribbons,¹ by general-committees and sub-committees, where all transactions of parliament are first designed and hammered, collections made, a common purse managed, and agents employed in every county to prepare and influence the people, write and disperse false news, libels against the government, addresses made and sent into every shire and borough; and, if the members do not go down to their elections, they can print for them such speeches as serve their purpose: witness one my Lord Vaughan spoke at his election, though his lordship was not out of London. I have not heard before that Sir Samuel Morlan's speaking-trumpet could convey a voice a hundred miles distance. But this is nothing with our true protestant intelligencer B— H—,² who printed an address from the city of Colchester, that never was seen or presented by any of the inhabitants, as by an instrument under the town-clerk's hand does plainly appear: For though swearing be, lying is not against the interest or practice of the godly, the presbyterian, true offspring of the Ignatian fathers, who outdo them in the doctrine of *pia fraudes*, as well as in all other their immoral and antimonarchic principles.

And now, considering that none that have any thing to lose can ever get by a rebellion, and that there is no just pretence for one, our liberties and properties not being broken or invaded, the rich, unless they are mad, will never begin, and yet with or without their assistance a rising of Jack Cade or Wat Tyler, instigated by greater persons, will but enlarge the regal power, and enrich the crown: And for these and many more reasons, I look upon the threats or fears of rebellion as idle and vain as our jealousies and apprehensions of popery, never possible in England but by a civil war, since their numbers here are but as 1 to 230; and by an exact calculation in the three kingdoms, the whole number of papists is but as 1 to 205 non-papists; and their wealth and possessions is not 1 to 300. If their power had been so terrible, they wanted not, since the plot, provocations to make us feel as well as hear of it. But these noises are like armies in disguise at Knights-bridge, and regiments of horse hid in cellars under ground, and blowing up the Thames to drown London; artifices formerly used to draw in the easy and the credulous. But it is to be presumed the same trick will not pass twice upon us in one and the same age, while the bleeding wounds of the last are still so fresh in our memories. To remedy and compose our present madness and distractions, and prevent future evils, must without doubt be the hearty endeavour of

¹ Green ribbons were the badge of Monmouth's, or rather of Shaftesbury's party, which, to use a modern phrase, was completely organized for revolution.

² Benjamin Harris, a whig publisher of the times, often mentioned. His Protestant Intelligencer, a periodical publication, was the gazette of the party, in which the addresses for a parliament regularly appeared.

all honest men, who expect this will be a healing parliament that will make up all our breaches, and unite our divisions by the methods of prudence and discretion, weighing the true causes, and applying fit remedies, without regard to faction or interest, heat or passion; reflecting how unreasonable it is to suspect in the king or his ministers any design of introducing popery and arbitrary government, a malicious and idle invention, set on foot with purpose to enflame the kingdom, by men who are outed, or desirous of court employments, disobliged persons, or French pensioners: That the bill of exclusion is not like to pass either the lords house or the king, because in itself unjust, impolitick, and dangerous, not only to the prince but to the subject: That all other legal ways for preventing popery and presbytery are to be taken by those who design the preservation of the established monarchy and religion: That this is already, or may with ease, be secured against the attempts or power of any popish successor: That our fears in this point are groundless, and at best founded upon accidents that may never happen: That 'tis the highest imprudence to run into real, present, to avoid possible, future evils: That innovations of this sort would be against the prince's interest, who, having not a fourth part of the revenue necessary for the support of the crown, must be under a necessity of complying with his people in parliament; and that his temper, practice, and declarations secure us against impositions of this nature: That it be considered, whether the unquiet apprehensions from the plot may not be laid by a speedy and impartial trial and execution of all the accused and convicted, and the king's afterwards granting a general pardon, with such exceptions as have been usual. The doing this will beget a right understanding between the king and his people, defeat the contrivances of our adversaries, restore us to peace and quiet at home, rescue us from contempt and danger abroad, and make the name of parliament as famous and renown'd as some libellers endeavour to make it base and odious. How this is to be compass'd you yourselves are deservedly made the judges, and therefore I will not, like the foolish orator, teach Hannibal the art of war. *fiat justitia, et ruat Cælum.*

Miracles revived, in the Discovery of the Popish Plot by the late Reverend Doctor of Salamanca. 1682.

A tract in ridicule of Titus Oates, whose daring effrontery and powerful memory were not able to clear his plot of the falsehoods and inconsistencies here objected to his evidence. He pretended to have taken his degrees at Salamanca, which procured him, amongst the tory satirists, the name of the Salamanca Doctor.

It is a vulgar error, that miracles are ceased in the reform'd churches. To confute which paradox we shall here produce some (among many) such demonstrative arguments and instances, taken from the acknowledged miraculous discovery of the Popish Plot, made by that famous minister of the gospel and learned Doctor of Salamanca, T— O—, as none but papists, and popishly affected, can have the confidence to deny.

I. The doctor (out of pure zeal to discover popish intrigues) profess'd himself a papist; renounced the protestant religion; adored and received the consecrated host; took dreadful oaths, even upon the sacrament, to practise and pursue most hellish and bloody designs for divers years together; yet all this while remained (as he says) a real, sincere, and constant protestant.¹ If this be not a miracle, the devil's in it.

II. The doctor (good man) to save his majesty's life, had wheedled the jesuits out of all their secrets.² He knew the very time when Groves and Pickering laid daily wait to shoot the king; he hourly expected the horrid effects of Sir George Wakeman's poison; he was privy to the design'd assassination of the king at Windsor; he was certain the ruffians were actually upon the place; he saw the money sent them for expedition, and every moment waited to hear the fatal blow was given; yet (see the wonderful strangeness of the thing) neither the doctor warn'd the king of his imminent danger, nor did the king all this while (God be thanked) suffer any the least harm. This is miracle upon miracle.

III. The doctor assures us,³ there were huge armies of English papists (besides wild Irish and Spanish pilgrims) raised for immediate service; yet 'tis strange) not one man of them ever appear'd: These swarms of papists were to be arm'd with swords, guns, black-bills, fire-balls, &c.; yet none of these magazines could ever be found. Oates saw and deliver'd not a few patents, bulls, and briefs; he read whole bushels of letters and packets, all containing damnable treason; nay, he could punctually recite upon his fingers' ends the express words of almost every letter; yet (still more strange) neither he, nor any one for him, could ever produce one single patent, one letter, one scrap of paper, whereby to testify the truth of the rest. Here is a whole heap of miracles!

IV. The doctor, immediately before his discovery, though he had both the purses and lives of the conspirators at his command,⁴ yet, at the same time, was ready to starve, and begg'd at the papists' doors for bread. This is as strange as if it were a miracle!

V. The doctor, before the king and council, swore he never knew, nor had seen, either Mr Coleman or Sir George Wakeman, until he then saw them there present at the council-board.⁵ The like ignorance of Mr Coiker, or his concerns, he attested at the taking of Pickering in the Savoy; yet, at their several trials, he knew them all, and had been their intimate acquaintance and bosom counsellor. This surely is no small miracle!

VI. The doctor was personally in London and at St Omer's at the self-same time; he saw and spoke with Mr Ireland in London, that very moment Ireland was in Staffordshire.⁶ Nay, if this be not sufficient, he was really present, disputed, and took degrees at Salamanca; yet never was seen or heard there. These are swinging miracles!

VII. The doctor swore, before the House of Lords, he had declared all he knew against any person of what quality soever in England;⁷ yet, afterwards, he accused one of the best and highest persons in England⁸ of the blackest crimes hell and malice could ever invent. This, if it be not a miracle, is at least a monstrous prodigy!

VIII. The doctor once deposed, Mr Bury was a very honest harmless man;⁹ yet, afterwards, when the said Bury gave evidence against him, he swore he was a notorious priest and jesuit.¹⁰ This is a miracle the wrong side outwards!

IX. The doctor formerly swore absolute impossibilities against the papists in behalf of the king;¹¹ now he swears moral improbabilities in behalf of the dissenters against the king. This is a presbyterian miracle!

X. The doctor is a preacher of the gospel, yet no Christian; a priest, yet not baptized.¹² This is little less than a miracle!

¹ Stafford's Trial.² Oates's Narrative.³ Oates's Narrative.⁴ Stafford's Trial.⁵ Coleman's and Wakeman's Trials.⁶ Five Jesuits Trial.⁷ Stafford's Trial.⁸ The queen.⁹ Coleman's Trial.¹⁰ Castlemain's Trial.¹¹ Colledge's last Trial.¹² Oates's father is

said to have been an anabaptist ribbon-weaver.

XI. The doctor swore that Mr Elliot, (a minister of the church of England,) having been a circumcised slave, had poisoned his patron; yet, (O wonder!) the same patron is now alive again, and ready to attest the direct contrary. Now we hope none will deny but that the raising of the dead is a grand miracle!

XII. The doctor preach'd a sermon, wherein he affirm'd, the crucifixion of Christ was not available to salvation, &c.¹ This indeed is not a miracle, but it is a piece of the newest and most refined true-protestant-reformation ever yet come to light since the primitive times of blasphemy and atheism, and may justly give a lustre and credit to all the other miracles here attested.

If it be objected against these solid proofs, that, for a profligate wretch, of a lost conscience and a desperate fortune, allured by gain and encouraged by indemnities, to swear palpable contradictions and nonsense, is no great miracle, it is answer'd, the less the miracle is in so swearing, the greater still the miracle is in being believed, especially when sodomy, buggery, felony, nay, and perjury too, proved upon him by his own supporters, D—, T—, and S—,² shrewdly diminish the credit of his evidence. This is a miracle with a witness!

Thus I have in short (omitting hundreds of arguments more of the like nature) clearly demonstrated, not only that our renowned doctor and swearing-master hath wrought grand miracles, but also that the magnitude of the miracles and the holiness of the saint bear equal proportion.

Ex Ungue cognosce Leonem.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament; the humble Remonstrance and Petition of English Protestants against English and Irish Papists.

It is not a time now to dispute, but act, and that vigorously too, or England's lost. Popery, that enemy to God, by setting up idols; to Christ, by its new-found mediators; to the Holy Ghost, by putting a pope in his place; to the Scriptures, by its legends and corrupt traditions; to reason, by its imposed absurdities; to common sense, by its most foolish, but most idolized transubstantiation; to all tender dissenting consciences, by fire and faggot; and to all civil government that refuses to be subject to it, by plots, assassinations, and horrid massacres, its usual and notorious steps to worldly advancement. This monstrous popery, this common enemy to mankind, that hath so often contrived our ruin, and several times been at the very point of effecting it, has once more attempted us, and with that violence and design, that it looks like the last time: nay, the great sticklers of it are got within our works, and promise themselves the garrison, because they say they have friends in disguise among us. 'Tis true they have lost some men in the attempt, but they are not much daunted at that; for the whole papal world they brag have conspired their success, and the air rings with the thousands of masses that are daily said for the prosperity of the design, as if their intention

¹ Before the Company of Weavers.

² Colledge's Trial, where the evidence of Dugdale, Turberville, and Smith, all heretofore witnesses for the Popish Plot, was opposed to that of the grand discoverer Oates, whom they had so long supported.

were to convert the world, and not to kill the king, garble the parliament, shamble all good and sober protestants of every party, fire and plunder cities, and, finally, change the government and religion of the kingdom, which is the plot.

Nor will the more impudent of them deny the thing in general, but much the contrary, insulting us with *Tertullian's Implavimus omnia* against the old pagans. We fill your courts, your armies, your navies, it must take, you can't avoid it; 'tis a just cause to extirpate hereticks root and branch.

But one (and may be the worst) part of the plot has failed them; they resolved to surprize you, to make a night work of it, to let you and yours never see day more, (for such deeds become darkness,) as they did in France and Ireland in those most bloody massacres of poor harmless protestants. But God, the infinitely good and gracious God, that hath always watcht over this poor island, (an hundred times designed to destruction,) and whose eye pierceth through the secrets of men, hath, notwithstanding the greatness as well as multitude of our sins, (not to be equalled by any thing but his patience and compassion,) discovered this impious conspiracy we hope too early for the plotters purpose. He has beaten up our quarters, and given us the alarm, if we will take it; methinks we should, where the noise of fire and sword is in our ears, when we cannot walk the streets without danger of being stabbed, nor sleep in our houses for fear of being burned; witness the dreadful fire at London, the fire of Southwark, and that the other day of Limehouse, where three poor souls were burned quick, to say nothing of forty attempts they have made in other places. To which let me add the design in general of massacring all the best people in the kingdom, begun and amply confirmed in the most barbarous murder of that worthy knight and judicious magistrate, Sir Edmondberry Godfry, and here I must stay a while. Murder is a great sin against God and our neighbour; but, alas! what induced them to it here? Sir Edmondberry Godfry was one of the mildest men to these bloody papists that was in commission for the peace; for though he hated arbitrary power, and popery as the cause or effect of it, yet a man for a due liberty to all sober people, pretending tenderness of conscience, and saved them from many a pinch on that score; hoping, as many more did, that after an hundred years experience, intermarriages, conversation, and large indulgence, they were grown wiser, if not more Christian, than to cut their way to government through blood, and kill for religion, (pardon me the use of the word about popery, that has nothing of religion but the name;) but gratitude restrains not men of this stamp, their principle knows no kindred, no obedience, no obligation that stands in the way of their conspired dominion. Well, but was it that they would be revenged of him for having courage (courage I say, as the world goes) to take depositions upon oath of their devilish plot? But where's the crime here, which can properly give their act the term of revenge, since examination is neither judgment nor execution? Even a saint is not injured to be examined, much less a papist; innocency gets on tryal if falsely accused; but that's not the case; for truth seeks no corners, nor yet ditches to lay a murdered man in, after having strangled him in a house, for the purpose: what then can be the plain English of the business but this, that they concluded his former kindness, thus abused, would for ever disengage him for the future; and that since he could not be prevailed upon to stifle the evidence he had and might yet have produced (for he acknowledged to some he had been both tampered with and menaced) they would strangle him; which is such a demonstration of their folly, as well as malice, that it hath given proof of the whole being true, that none can now deny it to be a plot but those that are of it, or will lose by the discovery.

But some say he killed himself. That's a likely business indeed: For what I pray? a sober, charitable, judicious man. O but he was melancholy, that is, he was a serious man; but why now more melancholy than ever, because he had wronged the innocent papists? Is that it? Where's the wrong? Is it, that he heard what persons upon oath

declared of the most horrid conspiracy that ever was on foot in the world, but the considering of the Son of God? But be this deposition true or false, it was his duty and place to take it, he was sworn to do it, it was a great and the best part of his office; he had deserved a plotter's punishment to have refused the thing. Here is no violence, suborning of evidence, condemning or murdering them in all this. Where's the sin then that should trouble his conscience? But they that will murder will lye to cover it.

Besides, 'tis plain that he was strangled, and his neck broke before stabbed, because he could neither strangle himself, nor break his neck after he was stabbed through the heart, nor stab himself after he was strangled and his neck broke: moreover, had he been stabbed before dead, or soon after, blood would have appeared on the hilt of his sword on which he lay, or on the ground, it being a dry place, or on his cloaths, but no blood was to be seen; and when the sword was drawn out of his body, which his murderers put in to palliate the butchery, nothing issued from him but a dark water, as is usual where blood is coagulated, as his doubtless was before he was stabbed; for we are of opinion there was a good time betwixt strangling and stabbing him, and that the latter was upon great deliberation, and that on purpose to hide the actors, and cast the murder upon himself. O, Lord God! that ever men should be so much the children of the devil; as first to murder, then charge it upon the innocent soul murdered. But the devil was ever a fool, and so in this. For, besides what we have observed, this further is to be said, they that killed him would have us think 'twas himself, because neither cloaths, nor money, nor rings, were taken away. True, but though they that are concerned in the plot, wanted neither his cloaths, nor money, nor rings, to carry it on, yet they took what they wanted, and they wanted what they took with a witness, and that was his pocket-book of depositions and examinations, which puts it out of doubt that they that were so much concerned in them, both murdered him and took it; for none can think that Father Coniers, the Duke of Norfolk's confessor, taking the air over hedge and ditch to Primrose-hall, dropt just upon him, and pickt his pockets of the book: Well, but why may he not have hanged himself, and his kindred, to save his estate, stabbed him afterwards, and carried him hither? This is deadly cunning; but why was his pocket-book only wanting, wherein the plotters were concerned? Tricks won't do here. Furthermore, why did they not keep his gold, silver, and rings, that were found in his pocket, but expose them? Why not strip him in some degree, make wound in his sword arm, and hack, bend, or break his sword, that it might look like robbery? But, last of all, why should they carry him out exactly as he used to go, quite drest, and want a band, especially since they were so punctual as to take his sword, belt, gloves and stick, with them. He went out in the morning with a great laced band, none was found, as well as the book of examinations; of that we have already spoke; for the band 'tis a plain case they strangled him, and, being a long necked man, and wearing an high strong collar, he struggling to save himself, and they striving to dispatch him that way, the band was torn in the fray; and to have let it go so had been to have told the story too plainly, that is, that the man was strangled to death by violence, and that the stab of his own sword was an after trick to cover the business.

Thus this poor gentleman, but worthy and brave patriot, ended his days by the assassinating hands of papists, whose butchery made him the common martyr of his religion and country, and his death is to us the earnest of their cruelty; in him they have massacred us all, we must take it to ourselves, and can no more be unconcerned in his death than disinterested in the cause of it.

The plot is opened, the tragedy is begun, our wives are frightened, our children cry. No man is sure of his life a day; the choice is only what death we shall dye, whether be stabbed, strangled, or burned. This consternation and insecurity must needs obstruct all commerce, scare people from following their lawful occasions, deter all offi-

of justice from their duty, and in fine, dissolve human society, and reduce the world into its first chaos.

For the Lord's sake let us consider our condition, let us all turn to the Lord with unfeigned repentance, let us look and cry to him for help, that he who has discovered would confound this bloody conspiracy, and shew mercy and bring us deliverance, that we may yet see his salvation, and serve him all the days of our lives; and, in order to our security, these things are earnestly requested of you:

First, take effectual care to preserve the king; they say, and we believe, he is not for their turn; we would not have him for his sake and ours: In order to this, pray find out the Achitophels, the dangerous men, about him; you know who they are; be free and bold, prize your time, the conjuncture is great.

Secondly, vote an address to the king to banish all Irish papists out of the army, navy, and kingdom, by such a day, and all papists out of the city of London, whose gross ignorance and base desperateness render them the fittest men for assassinations. Besides, it is a shame that the children and kindred of Irish rebels, nay, some of them the very men themselves that were actors in that horrid massacre in the year 1640, about thirty-seven years since, in which above three hundred thousand protestants were murdered in the kingdom of Ireland, without regard to age or sex, should be employed either in the English army or navy; but more scandalous is it, that St James's should be their head quarters, and the Park turned into an Irish walk. What do so many Irish papists, teagues, and rebels, do swarming there? No good to be sure; their parts, courage, and skill, can invite no man to entertain any of them; it must only be their ignorance and cowardly cruelty which make them instruments of mischief, and fit to be used by those that love foul play. But that poor dissenting protestants should be daily molested and pillaged for the sake of their peaceable consciences, whilst teagues and Irish rebels go by whole droves under the nose of king and duke in their royal park and walks of pleasure, is almost insupportable. Is this to maintain the protestant religion and discountenance popery? *Ex pede Herculem.*

Thirdly, for God's sake call for the plot, look thoroughly and strictly into it; fear not favour no man, *Fiat justitia*: But fear God, do what you do as in his presence, to whom you must render an account. 'Tis the great action of your life; discharge your trust, and quit yourselves now like men. This has been the perpetual troubler of our protestant Israel; as you would see God with comfort, and secure your posterity from civil and spiritual tyranny, slip not this opportunity God has so wonderfully cast into your hands; be not found despisers of his providence, neither be you careless or fearful of improving it. Now or never. Had they you on this lock, and at this advantage, you nor yours should ever see day more. What once you could not have so well done before, they have now made easy and necessary for you to do, and what before you scarcely might do, is now become your duty. Be not cheated by a sacrifice; let not the lives of two or three plotters be the ransom of the rest, or your satisfaction; 'tis not blood but security, prospect future safety, an eternal prevention of the like miseries for the future, otherwise we shall only sit down with the peace and joy of fools, and fat ourselves sacrifices with more security against their next slaughter. Therefore,

Fourthly, raise the trained bands, and let them be put not so much as into the hands of men popishly affected; for those men that would pull off the vizard in case popery prevailed, that otherwise keep their credit by not discovering themselves, are the most dangerous to be trusted. I fear popery thus entring more than any other way; examine the counties well, for some of base principles are entrusted.

Fifthly, let there be power given to raise auxiliaries, that such honest protestant gentlemen as are willing at their own charges voluntarily to serve their country, by raising troops or companies, or serving in them, may be permitted and encouraged so to do.

Sixthly, let every protestant family be well armed, and every popish family be ut-

terly disarmed, they have tried our usage of arms with ease, we theirs with cruelty enough.

Seventhly, let there be an act, with a strict penalty, that after such a day, no gunsmith shall sell guns or pistols; cutlers, swords or daggers; and dry-salters, gunpowder or bullets, without license of the aldermen of the ward in London, or some chief officer, if in any other corporation; and that the person so buying them shall, before the said officer, subscribe a sufficient test against popery: but more especially that no papist be suffered to make or sell any such implements of war.

Eighthly, that care be taken to prevent fraudulent conveyances of estates by papists, to escape the law where they have done mischief; for this is to cheat the government and invalidate the law.

Ninthly, that it shall be treason for any papist to entertain a priest, jesuit, or seminary, in their house, because mortal enemies, by principle and practice, to the civil government. Consider of the Swedish law, or a better way to clear the land of all of them; let's buy them out to be safe.

Tenthly, that in all schools, particularly in universities, care be taken to educate youth in a just abhorrence of Romish principles, especially the jesuits' immoral morals; shewing the inconsistency thereof with human nature, reason, and society, as well as pure and meek Christianity, of which there has been great neglect.

Eleventhly, that our youth be not suffered to travel abroad, but between twelve and sixteen, and that under the conduct of approved protestants; for the present way of education is chiefly to pleasure and looseness, which makes way for atheism or popery, no religion, or false religion.

Twelfthly, that speedy care be taken to release all oppressed protestants in this kingdom; and since the papists mark all protestants out for one fate, and esteem them one body of hereticks, that they may be as one body of protestancy against that common enemy. This is the language of God's present providence, those that withstand it are such as love Rome better than London; every protestant, dissenter or not, has the same thing to say against popery. Agree then so far, and let a general negative creed be concluded upon, and from thence let some general positive truths be considered of in order to a better understanding among them: For this purpose, let there be a select assembly of some out of all persuasions, in which these two proposals may be duly weighed, that whosoever believe and own what shall be therein contained, shall be reputed and protected as true protestants.

Lastly, and more especially, let all the laws in force against immorality be speedily and effectually executed: 'Tis sin which is the disease and shame of the nation, we have forgotten God, and cast his law behind us, and we deserve not this beginning of deliverance: our pleasures have been our Gods, and to them we bow, and have little or no religion at heart; therefore 'tis that iniquity abounds, and in that variety too, and to such a degree, as no kingdom can parallel. Blush, O Heavens, and be astonished, O earth, a people loved of God, and so often saved by his wonderful providences, are become the Tyre and Sidon, the Sodom and Gomorrah, of the world. Let us repent in dust and ashes, let us turn to God from the bottom of our hearts, with the fervent love and good works of our martyred ancestors, or their life, doctrine, and death, will rise up in judgment against us, and God will yet suffer their and our enemies to swallow us up quick. And be assured, as looseness and debauchery were designed by the papists, as a state trick to dispose the minds of the people to receive, at least suffer, popery, (that to say true, cannot live with better company,) so the discouragement of it, and cherishing of all virtuous persons, with a serious and hearty prosecution of the forementioned proposals, will stop and in time wear it out of the kingdom; for popery fears nothing more than light, inquiry, and sober living. Hear us, we beseech you, for Jesus Christ's sake; take heart, we will never leave you, don't you leave us; provide

for the king, provide for the people, for God alone knows when we lie down, if we shall ever rise, or when we go forth, if we shall ever return. Remember the massacre of Paris in which so many thousands fell, and with them that brave Admiral Coligny, infamy enough, one would think, to shame the party did they know such a thing; but instead of that, 'twas meritorious, yea, 'tis subject of triumph: look into the Vatican at Rome, and among the other rare feats performed by Christian kings against infidels, this massacre of Paris, now about 100 years old, is to be found; and so careful was the designer to do it to the life, that he has not omitted to shew us how the noble admiral was flung dead out of the window into the street, to be used as people use cats and dogs in protestant countries, but good enough for an heretick, whom the worse they use the better they are. But to shew they own the plot and glory in the action, and for fear one not read in the story should take Coligny for Jezabel, they have gallantly explained the action upon the piece, and writ his name at large.

But there is a cruelty nearer home, no less barbarous, the Irish massacre in 1660; nay, it exceeded: First in number, there were above three hundred thousand murdered: Next, in that no age or sex was spared: And, lastly, in the manner of it, 'twas general throughout the kingdom; and as they were more savage, so more cruel, they spared not either sick or lying-in women; they killed poor infants, and innocent children, tossing some upon their swords, skeens, and other instruments of cruelty; flinging others into rivers, and taking several by the legs, dashed their brains out against walls or rocks. O Lord God, avenge this innocent blood, it still cries: But that these actors of this tragedy, or their bloody-minded off-spring, should swarm in England, be pensioners here, as if they were the old soldiers of the queen, men of eighty-eight, cripples of loyalty, laid up for their good services, and St James's their hospital; this scandalizes us; we think them the worst cattle of their country, and pray that there may be an exchange, that you would prohibit their importation instead of more useful beasts. For the bloody massacre of Piedmont you have it at large described by Sir S. Morland.

But we must never forget the horrid murder of Henry the Third, and of Henry the Fourth of France, our king's renowned grandfather. And would to God our king would consider, that all his humanity to them can never secure him from their stroke; they were both catholicks, and yet both assassinated; the first a bred papist, yet because he would not murder all the Hugonots or protestants of his kingdom, and his own best subjects, they did as much for him: The last was their convert, all they seemed to desire of him, and all they can expect from our king, yet how did they use him? They did twice assassinate him, and the last time killed him. What security then can any prince promise to himself from men that make not the profession of the same religion a protection to them that own it; but upon humours or suspicions of their own, or to introduce another person or family, more immediately under their influence, and disposed to their turn, will make no scruple of killing him? What slaves are kings with such men, and under such a religion? Let not the mildness of our prince be thus abused; show yourselves his great and best council in this conjuncture, and deliver him from these men of ingratitude: Men that will never be contented but with that which they must not have; of such qualifications, that what may be esteemed ambition, revenge or interest in all other parties is a settled principle with them: This their greatest doctors tell us, and, to excite men in the pursuit of it, they declare all such acts more than ordinarily meritorious: But what hold can we have of such men that have no conscience? this conclusion looks hard, and besides their practice (for if that were always to cast the scale, it would go hard with many protestants too,) 'tis their avowed doctrine, they glory in it, and make it our reproach to have any such thing. I say, that papists have no conscience, or no use of conscience in their religion, which is the same thing; for what is conscience but the judgment a man makes in himself of religious matters, according to the knowledge given him of God? But this is out of doors with them, 'tis

heresy; authority rules them, not truth; as if a man were to be credited for his age, not his reason. Conscience is a domestick and private judge, dangerous to the chair, the pope, for it rather hinders than helps subjection; the less there be of it, the sooner men turn captives to their mysteries. So that putting out the eyes of our mind, and a blind before our understandings, best fit us for popish religion: as if religion had not so great an enemy as reason, nor faith as knowledge. 'Tis strange that a man cannot be a papist, without renouncing the only distinction of a man from a beast: therefore it is we pray to be secured from papists, because at best they unman us, and are not their own men. 'Tis true, as protestants do not always live up to their good principles, neither do papists to their bad ones; breeding, good humour, generosity (and a better principle they know not of) may bias some of them to worthy things, but this is not according to their principles; for if they will be true to them, they must abandon choice, and obey their superior, right or wrong, and every immorality he commands is duty upon damnation; the more contrary to their reason, and averse to their nature, the greater the merit. Hesitation is weakness; dissent, schism; opposition, heresy; the consequence, burning: from this religion, O Lord God deliver us, O king and parliament protect us: 'Tis your duty to God, and your obligation to the people. We beseech you excuse us, and take all in good part; our fears are great, we fear just, and our desires reasonable: remember our dreadful fires, consider this horrid plot; and think upon poor, yet worthy Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey; let not God's providence and his blood rise up in judgment against you; God of his great mercy animate you by his power, and direct you by his wisdom, that the succession of his deliverances from Queen Elizabeth's days may not be forgotten, nor his present mercy slighted: Let us do our duty, and God will give us that blessing which will yet make England a glorious kingdom, the joy of her friends, and terror of her enemies, which is the fervent and constant prayer of yours, &c.

Plain Dealing is a Jewel, and Honesty the best Policy. In Answer to a Letter received by a Gentleman in London, from his Friend in the Country. 1682.

A Tory tract against the Bill of Exclusion.

SINCE the arguments I have used for obtaining your excuse, have been so far from prevailing, that, on the contrary, you are pleased, by your last, positively to command my sentiments of the present conjuncture of affairs, and thoughts concerning these scandalous reports industriously spread throughout the kingdom, of his majesty's having had (for many years past) a design carrying on (and which is still kept on foot) for the introducing arbitrary power, setting up popery, invading liberty and property, and extirpating (if possible) the protestant religion established by law.

I shall with sincerity recount to you my judgment, and offer such reasons as I hope will convince all sober and unbiassed readers to be of opinion, that these reports are all false and malicious, having nothing of truth in them, but occasioned as followeth:

There are a sort of malecontents amongst us, most of them men of mean fortunes,

turbulent and restless spirits, who design troubles and commotions in the kingdom, in hopes thereby to gain advantage to themselves by the miseries and sufferings of others.

These make it their whole business to create in the minds of the king's subjects, fears and jealousies of his majesty's designing to govern arbitrarily, introduce popery, extirpate the protestant religion, and invade property, by setting up abbeys and monasteries, and restoring to them their ancient lands and revenues, now dispersed into the hands of most of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom.

In process of time, by these (and such like) evil practices, the ignorant and unthinking mens minds (whose capacities will never give them leave to examine whether these reports be true or false, reasonable or unreasonable to be believed, possible or impossible to be accomplished) are become greatly disturbed, and such jealousies are risen in them concerning the king, as hath abated the fervency of their former affection to his royal person, and their zeal for his service and government; occasioned such divisions, animosities, and contentions between subject and subject, put their spirits upon such fermentations, divided and sub-divided them into so many several parties, factions, and interests (each diametrically opposite to the other) that unless Almighty God in his infinite mercy, goodness, and wisdom, please to direct a speedy way for the uniting them in love together, I fear the consequence may in a short time prove pernicious (if not fatal) both to king and people, which it is dreadful to consider should be the effect and consequence of some mens credulity on the one hand, and others impudent falsity on the other.

Pardon me, sir, I beseech you, if I happen to differ from you in opinion, when I positively affirm, that by all my own observations, and the scrutiny I have made by inquiring of and conversing with others, I never yet found the least ground to believe his majesty had ever really any design (as is falsely suggested) to set up arbitrary power or introduce popery, nor is there any shadow or colour for the fears and jealousies of this nature with which mens minds are so strangely possessed.

If his majesty had ever designed so to govern, sure it would have been shewn at his first return into England to take possession of his royal crown and government; for having lived most part of the time of his horrid sufferings, under an illegal and unjust banishment, in those countries where the government was absolute, or nearest to absolute, (their laws being enervated and depressed by their princes) it might have been reasonably expected he would then have brought over (considering how barbarously his royal father had been murdered, and himself and the whole royal family had been dealt with in their exile) a scheme of such government with him, the which if he had done, no prince in Christendom ever had such an opportunity to have accomplished the same as our king then had.

Was he not, upon his return to his kingdoms, absolute lord and master of all his subjects lives and estates, by the law of the land, occasioned by their own forfeitures, either by open acting, or silent acquiescing under the late rebellion, services done for, or taxes paid to the late usurpers, whereby they were all guilty of high-treason, and stood in need of his majesty's royal pardon?

Might not his majesty, after his restauration (when all his subjects either adored or feared him) being brought in with the hearts and most zealous affections of his people, have had at that time any thing from his parliament that he could have demanded?

If therefore he had then had a design ever to govern arbitrarily, there never was such an opportunity for accomplishing thereof, as when he first came over, when he could not have asked that sum of money for his present supply, or annual revenue for the future support of his royal prerogative and such his intended government, but it would have been granted by his friends in hopes of reward, and durst not have been opposed by his enemies (though never so unreasonable) for fear of being called to account for

their treasons, no act of oblivion being then passed, of which the meanest subject stood in need, and could not have been long safe without.

So that if his majesty had any intention ever (though not at that time) to set up for arbitrary government, he lost it for want of asking; for his majesty well knew, that the interest he then had in his people was such, that he need but to have demanded and it would certainly have been given to him; notwithstanding all which, to shew his subjects that he valued reigning in their hearts and affections, much more than to be master of their lives and fortunes, forfeited to him as aforesaid, he was graciously pleased himself to press his two first parliaments to pass a general act of indemnity (which they did with great regret) and threw himself upon his parliaments for such supplies as they then thought necessary for the present support of the government, without making any bargain, or entering into any capitulation with them, as he might have done, for a constant and certain revenue for the future.

Nor did his majesty (if he had any such design) deny himself in this respect only, but in many others that were in his power, whereby he might have enriched himself, and brought immense sums of money into his coffers, to have been kept in readiness (whenever he had been pleased to set up for such a government) wherewith to have defrayed the necessary charges thereof. As for instance:

His majesty might have taken all the church lands into his own possession, where the incumbents were dead (and there were very few living when he came first in) all the rents belonged by law to him till he filled up the vacancies, and he might have renewed all their leases, and taken the fines to himself, (without doing any wrong) and was offered £50,000l. for so doing, as also that the yearly revenue of the church should be doubled, and every purchaser in England satisfied (which would have been a great security to his government) notwithstanding all which, he could not be prevailed with to accept of, or close with that offer.

Again, if his majesty ever had any such design, how easy had it been for him to have taken the same course that Henry VII. and other princes formerly did; and if he had so done (when the parliament, in a few years after his restauration, had given him above five millions of money to carry on a war with Holland) how easy had it been for his majesty to have closed a peace, got vast sums of money for so doing, and put up that, and the greatest of what the parliament had given him, into his own coffers; whereby and by means aforementioned (had he been parsimonious, and designed mischief to his subjects) he at this day would have had all the coin of the kingdom in his exchequer, and therewith might have governed his people, and commanded their liberties and properties at his pleasure.

But our king's design and practice hath been hitherto so far from taking this course, that his subjects have taken occasion rather to condemn him for expending so great a treasure as hath been given him, and yet at the same time rejoice, and please themselves with the consideration that it is gone, accounting nothing a greater security against arbitrary power, than their prince's being under a necessity to fly to his people in parliament for supplies, upon the least extraordinary accident or emergency of state; and though they know, and are well assured, this is the king's present condition, yet most maliciously would they impose upon his subjects, and force them, contrary to reason, to believe that he designs to govern arbitrarily, when at the same time they are well assured it is impossible for him so to do.

For no prince can govern arbitrarily without a force, nor raise and maintain such force without money, nor come at that money without credit; nor can our king, if he would so govern, raise such force, and get money to pay them with, but by the consent of his people in parliament, neither can he change our government here, but by a long tract of time.

Wherefore, no wise or considering person ought or can ever believe (whatever they

say,) that his majesty (who hath never attempted any such thing since his restoration, notwithstanding the many opportunities before mentioned, which he had to have facilitated the work) especially coming in after the greatest tyrant that ever reigned, finding an army raised, which would not only have served him, but made his government more tolerable (being agreeable to the pattern left by Oliver, who raised and kept them on foot) if his majesty, I say, has neglected such opportunities as these of setting up arbitrary government, in the vigour of his youth, when newly married, in height of reputation, beloved and feared of all both abroad and at home, in expectation of issue of his own to succeed him, and having a parliament to assist him, such as never any king of England before had (a parliament that would have denied him nothing he should ever have desired of them) how can any rational man think or imagine he will attempt it now, when his exchequer is empty, his reputation (by the horrid, false, and scandalous misrepresentations aforesaid) low, and himself grown in years, and without issue of his own to inherit, especially at this time, when his kingdoms are awakened and on their guard to oppose it?

The rather ought we not to believe this, if we seriously consider what most men certainly know to be true, which is, that our king is a prince of a most peaceable disposition, merciful in his nature, hating cruelty, oppression and trouble; a prince under whom (as the author of that saying most truly said, and by experience hath since found) the unfortunate fall gently; if so, then ought no man easily to believe that he should now divest himself of his glory, by changing his nature and disposition, to live the remainder of his time in confusion and trouble, and pass from that estate of happiness and security which he now enjoys in the affections of his people, to a necessity of being afraid of all mankind, and beholden to the assistance of an army for his future security, (which is the height of slavery) a prince under their guard and protection being as unsecure as his people, and as much at their mercy as the Roman and Ottoman princes ever were.

Neither can such vain fancy enter into any man's mind that hath common sense, so as to create in him a belief thereof, when he shall consider what laws his majesty hath passed for securing the liberty of the subject against the bugbear of arbitrary power, which so many pretend to be afraid of.

I. To wit, the petition of right against quartering soldiers, by which all right of marching with an army, without money wherewith constantly to defray their quarters, is taken away, and without an army there is no danger of arbitrary government.

II. The act for taking away the courts of wards and liveries, and that for the sale of fee farm rents, before which most subjects held their lands of the king, and were obliged to do him suit and service, and their children, during their minority, liable to be his wards, from all which they are now discharged.

III. The habeas corpus bill, in passing whereof his majesty hath in a manner at once discharged all his menial servants from his royal protection, and put it out of his own power to imprison any suspected person, so as to hold them long, though for treason itself.

These were the acts the wisdom of our parliaments conceived best for the security of the subjects against arbitrary power and government, and these acts the king most readily condescended to pass; and now to imagine he should design a change of government, were to conclude he follows counsels and takes measures unknown to all ages before, and contrary to all former examples; and it argues great pusillanimity in his subjects, to be afraid of that which (morally speaking) is in its own nature impossible.

The rather, for that his majesty might (as I said before) have carved out a standing revenue at his first restoration, sufficient to have supported such a government as we fear; but to shew he had no such intention, he contented himself with a revenue, the

greatest part whereof is only for his life, (as the customs,) and accepted of the hereditary part of excise, amounting but to 300,000*l.* per annum, in lieu of his courts of wards and liveries, (which was of twice that yearly value,) besides the interest he had thereby in almost all his subjects estates.

If then his majesty hath hitherto done nothing tending to the setting up the government pretended to be feared, (for it can be but a pretence) though he hath sometimes had two millions, and never till of late less than about 1,500,000*l.* per annum, certainly having now not much above a million per annum, (and no power to raise any but by act of parliament, and his parliament of late years been so unkind as to give him nothing,) it's nonsense and malicious for any man to talk (and as great folly to believe) that there should now be a design on foot to set up or introduce a new method of government.

In my opinion, it is so far from it, that the aforesaid acts have taken away all possibility thereof, turned things to another extreme, and so limited the civil magistrate's power, that, in many cases, they will find it difficult to maintain the government in so headstrong and stubborn an age as ours now is.

This that hath been said, being seriously considered, I hope will leave room in no man for so much as a suspicion or jealousy of any design in the king to introduce arbitrary government, without which it is impossible to set up popery, or invade liberty and property.

Not but I must acknowledge and confess there hath, since his majesty's happy restoration, been some things done which seemed to have a tendency to all these mischiefs; these I shall briefly give account of, shew how they came about, the evil effect they have had, what inconveniences they have occasioned, who advised those counsels, and since have endeavoured to bring his majesty, his ministers, and government in contempt with his people, for the mischiefs that have happened as the events and ill consequences of such their own pernicious machinations.

And when I have done with this point, I shall endeavour to shew how little danger there is of popery coming into England, though a popish successor should happen, and that all the noise made about it is only a design set on foot by the French king, and managed by his pensioners, in secret conjunction with our malecontents and men of common-wealth principles, on purpose to create jealousies, fears, and troubles amongst us, and hinder our king and his people from uniting, till the French king hath made his game sure, finish'd his conquests, destroyed the protestants and their religion abroad, that with the more ease he may destroy us and it together in England; and I will endeavour to demonstrate that nothing else can be designed by most of the hot-headed gentlemen, (whatever pretence they make to the contrary,) who spend their whole time in keeping several companies purposely to exclaim against his majesty, his ministers, and government, but to promote popery, (which they so cry out against,) and to advance the popish interest, (which they so much pretend to fear,) and shew that they are ruining the protestants and their religion, even when they so highly inveigh against popery and papists, and, therefore, by true protestants, ought to be avoided as wolves and bears designing to devour them.

The most remarkable passages that have happened, and which first occasioned these jealousies and fears of introducing arbitrary power and popery, were transacted about ten years since. I will mention them briefly, and leave the reader to recollect who steer'd then at the helm; in whose cabals those resolutions were not only taken, but by whom also they afterwards were put in execution.

First. His majesty's gracious declaration for suspending all penal laws, and granting indulgence to dissenters; the only thing, to my remembrance, done since the king's restoration, that had the least tendency to the setting up arbitrary power or popery;

and this, I must confess, *pro majore*, seemed to aim at both, though neither of them was, as I believe, designed by the king, who granted the same on no other account than for the ease of protestant dissenters, and upon their solicitation; therefore ought rather to have been with all humility and thankfulness accepted and acknowledged as his majesty's great grace and favour, than with such high ingratitude turned upon the king to his prejudice, and the disadvantage and dishonour of his government.

It is undoubtedly in the power of the king, by his royal prerogative, to dispense with the penalty of any statute whatsoever *pro hac vice*, upon any emergency of state, (where the matter dispensed with is not *malum in se*, but only *malum quia prohibitum*;) by granting licences with a *non obstante* of the several statutes in force against the matter dispensed with; and so he might have granted licences to dissenters, to meet for the exercise of their religion, and appointed places of meeting, and parsons to preach amongst them, which the law and former practices of his royal ancestors would have warranted, and could never have been questioned.

But to suspend a law is in the nature of an abrogation, and he that can abrogate may as well assume the power of making laws; and that prince who hath power to make one, may make any law; if any law, a law to raise money and forces; and that prince that hath such authority shall never need call a parliament, he himself having power to raise what money and force he shall think fit, *ergo* may govern his subjects arbitrarily at his royal pleasure.

This was the chief reason why the next succeeding parliament, after this declaration was issued, (though they were willing dissenting protestants should have had ease,) addressed his majesty for the cancelling that declaration, to which address his majesty was most graciously pleased to give his royal concession; but the second ground of such address appeared to be—

The consideration the parliament had that the said declaration suspended all sanguinary and pecuniary laws against priests, jesuits, and papists, which, if continued long, might silently, and by degrees, have introduced popery, and caused its growth amongst us. This they had great reason to suspect might be designed by some of those who advised the king thereto, who now endeavour to throw the odium (due to themselves for such pernicious counsels) upon the king, (who, our law says, can do no wrong.)

Again, who was it that, about the same time, advised the shutting up the exchequer, when so many thousands of his majesty's loyal subjects whole estates and fortunes were lodged therein for security, than which no security in England was better, till this stop of payments was prevailed for?

Who was it that, when they had given this advice, (and the same was agreed unto,) stopt the declaring thereof for several days, till they had drawn their own money out of the bankers hands, well knowing such stop must ruin them, and resolving they would not lose any thing themselves by what they had advised the king to do, to the utter ruin of so many of their fellow-subjects?

Was there ever so high a violation of property committed in any age as this?—or any thing done besides this, since his majesty's restoration, tending in the least to invade the same?

When this was put in execution, and the creditors of the bankers began to sue for their money, and they flew into Chancery for injunctions, which were denied by the lord-keeper Bridgeman, as being contrary to law, who was it advised his majesty to remove his lordship from the seal for his timidity? Who was it that, afterwards succeeding him in that office, granted the injunctions before denied, and continued them

* By the advice of the Cabal Administration, Charles attempted to exercise his upreme power as head of the church, by a proclamation suspending the penal laws against all non-conformists or recusants whatever. The obvious purpose of this indulgence was to shelter and strengthen the catholics, as well as to pave the way for further exertions of arbitrary power, at expence of the existing laws.

till he knew the seal was like to be taken from him, when, to ingratiate himself with the populace, he dissolved the same ? *

This stopping of payments in the exchequer will appear the more heinous, and an act that all (who are loyal, love the king, and concern themselves for his honour, princely dignity, and royal government) must abhor, if they do but reflect back and seriously consider for what end this was done, and the sad consequences that have happened to England thereupon, which take as followeth :

Those who advised his majesty to issue out the declaration afore-mentioned, and to stop the payments out of the exchequer, had also thought it convenient that the triple-league should be broken, that his majesty should join his forces (which they then had advised him to raise, and were afterwards encamped on Black-Heath) with those of France, and that the Dutch Smyrna fleet, then coming home richly laden, should be seized, before any war with Holland was declared : perhaps the most pernicious and dishonourable act that ever prince was put upon by his ministers, (*delenda est Carthago*), and from whence this poor kingdom may justly date all its late miseries and distractions.^a

For hereby was the peace of all Christendom disturbed.

This hath occasioned the loss of some hundred thousands of christian lives, exhausted the treasure of England as well as all Europe besides, weakened the protestant interest throughout the world, and strangely advanced the growth and power of France, help'd him in all his late conquests, and made him at this day (who is the common and grand enemy to the protestant religion) a terror to all nations about him, as well as a most cruel persecutor of all his protestant subjects at home, of whose miseries and intolerable sufferings we have every day fresh instances before our eyes.

Whilst these gentlemen, who gave his majesty these advices, were in his councils, and prerogative royal proved subservient to their private interests, it could never be thought high enough, though now they are of opinion (as appears by their actions) it can never be too low, nor too much exposed and brought into contempt.

Who was it that declared the prerogative of the king to be law, and not only law, but the principal part of the law, and his royal edicts above law ?

* The same charge against Shaftesbury is thus expatiated upon by Roger North :—" Before that time came there were some shrewd difficulties to be got over : one was the commission of martial law ; another an injunction to be granted in Chancery to stop suits at law against the bankers upon the enquiry of public necessity. The lord-keeper Bridgman proved restif on both points. He, for the sake of his family, that gathered like a snow-ball while he had the seal, would not have formalised upon any tolerable compliances ; but these impositions were too rank for him to comport with. I remember about this time there was, at his house, a meeting of the attorney and solicitor-general, and some of the king's counsel, to consult upon these two points ; and they all agreed they were rocks upon which they must split, if they could not otherwise decline them, for they lay directly in the way, and would not be surmounted. All this while the Lord Shaftesbury (that is, before his promotion to the great seal) lay behind the curtain, and probably (for though I believe, I cannot say I know it) urged these points to the king, as necessary for his affairs, and practicable ; and that his majesty was under the necessity to displace him, and find another more complaisant in his room. And what is more easy to be conceived, than that his lordship might add, that rather than fail, if his majesty would command his service in that place, he would undertake it, and perform all, and, upon the main, order affairs so as the parliament, upon their meeting, should give his majesty no disturbance ? It was no new device to shove men out of their places, by contriving uncomfortable hardships to be put upon them, and then bespeaking the succession for themselves, by officious undertaking to do all that was required of and declined by them. And it was no less frequent in such cases, after the point gained, to refuse doing what was the condition of the advancement, and in the mean time watch for handles for such refusal ; and, at last, seek shelter by turning into the adverse party. It was a Whitehall maxim in those days, that places were not to be kept by the same means as gained them. Now whether the Earl of Shaftesbury aided himself by this art to get into the place of lord-chancellor or not, if we sink no deeper than mere outside, and with *salvo* to his more abstruse reaches, may, with more than probability, be resolved in the affirmative."—NORTH'S *Essays*, p. 38.

^a All the desperate measures here enumerated were set on foot while Shaftesbury made a part of the celebrated Cabal Administration, and afforded to his antagonists ample room for charging him with political inconsistency, after he had embraced opposite principles.

Who was it that, before the sitting of the parliament, advised the issuing of writs for the electing new members to serve in the House of Commons, in the room of those deceased, during their recess; and when the parliament met, and the commons had voted those elections void, and ordered new writs to be issued for the choice of others, in the room of those so unduly elected and returned?

Who was it that for some days refused to seal the same, declaring it to be an intrenchment upon prerogative, and when obliged thereto by his majesty's positive commands, went home and turned his back upon the sealers, whilst the seal was affixing to those writs, to the end (as he said) that his eyes might never behold prerogative trampled upon by a House of Commons?

I shall forbear to name any persons, it being fresh in every man's memory that took any kind of notice of the public transactions, who were then our premier ministers of state, and took mighty care to maintain prerogative and advance it to the height, the better to improve the same to their own advantage.

But no sooner, upon the addresses of the House of Commons, had his majesty resolved to cancel the before-mentioned declaration, and issue out writs for new elections, than one of those noble peers, finding he could not dissuade the king (as he endeavoured) from complying with his parliament therein, applied to the Commons, rigged himself into their cabals, and by subtle insinuations stop'd the impeachment designed against him in parliament for such his pernicious counsels.

Which done, he presently fell to work, and played his exploits in the House of Lords, where, being one day privately charged with high ingratitude in having deserted his master, his lordship made answer, It was the king that had left him, by departing from his declaration, and not he the king; and immediately, with some other lords, closed with the mob, set up for popular interest, and endeavoured, in all parts of the kingdom, to possess the people with prejudice to his majesty's royal person and government, on pretence that his majesty really designed to introduce arbitrary power and popery amongst them, and that they, for opposing the same, were removed from his councils and all places of trust, whereas (if any such intrigues were then on foot) they had been the first advisers and chief promoters thereof.*

* "In the first place, his lordship blundered at the threshold, and his first use of the seal was for a trick, which, as tricks use, ended in disappointment and shame. There had been a long vacancy of parliament, in which interval diverse members of the House of Commons were dead, and some taken into the nobility. His lordship had a mind to fill these vacancies, especially such as were in the county of Dorset, (where his own estate and interest lay,) with creatures of his own. But there he had been formerly opposed by the noble Colonel Strangways, one of a mighty estate and interest in the west, and (which was worst of all) an inexpugnable loyalist, who, for his eminent fidelity, was afterwards called to serve the king as a privy-counsellour. His lordship thought that now, having power, he might manage the matter so as to get the better of him. And for that end his lordship caused the writs for the new elections to issue, without staying for the meeting of the parliament, and having the speaker's warrant, as the use, especially of late, hath been; for that had given notice of the elections: but so his lordship's men, having the carriage of the writ, and dodging with it by surprise, (as was said,) carried all against the interest of the loyal colonel, which put him in a great rage.

"This device was no sooner communicated and understood by the western gentlemen, with the colonel's sentiment of it, but they all determined to join, and get all these elections set aside; and with that resolution they came on, and the noble colonel at the head of them. At the first meeting of the house, when the usual forms were over, a member stood up, and looking about, said he observed diverse new faces in the house, and did not remember that, before their last rising, the house had been moved for the filling so many places, so he doubted the regularity of the sitting of those persons, and moved their titles might be examined. Another member seconding, said he supposed those gentlemen would have the modesty to withdraw whilst their case was in debate, and not attend the order of the house. So this whole sect of new elects (although mostly loyalists) filed out, and came in no more upon that choice. For although it was shewed such writs had formerly issued during such prerogations, enough to have served the turn in *causa favorabilis*, yet the late practice having been otherwise, and the current strong that way, and the court party not able to hinder, all the elections on that foot were voted null, and new writs ordered to go."—*North's Examen.*

* The king had been advised, at opening the parliament, to use in his speech the harsh phrase, *that he would stick to his declaration of indigence*; but upon finding how very unpopular pertinacity in this point was likely

By these and other such like suggestions they fomented differences between the king and his people, created in them jealousies and distrusts of each other, prevented the parliament giving his majesty the supplies necessary for enabling him to have joined his arms with those of the States-General and their allies, (which he declared himself ready to have done,) for preventing the further growth of the power of France; and yet all that while alarmed and frighten'd the subjects by daily printing and spreading abroad pamphlets, wherein they represented how dangerous a condition they were in by reason of the increase of that king's power, with whom they seemingly press'd his majesty to make war, though certainly they never intended he should so do; for, if they had, they would have endeavoured to have gotten him the sinews thereof, to wit, money wherewith to have defray'd the charge thereof, and not used all their art and skill, as they did, to hinder him from the same.

By way of digression, give me leave here to offer two questions to serious consideration:—First, whether those who advised his majesty to break the triple league, seize the Dutch Smyrna fleet before a war with Holland was declared, suspend all penal laws, stop payments out of his exchequer, and join his arms with those of the French king against the States-general of the United Provinces, may not reasonably, and without breach of charity, be suspected to have been (at the time of such advice given) pensioners of France, and whether (if any thing done since his majesty's most happy restoration ever had any tendency towards the introducing of arbitrary power and popery into this kingdom) it was not his majesty's proceedings upon those counsels?

Secondly, his majesty (upon the addresses and advice of his parliament) having resolved to depart from the aforesaid counsels, cancel his declaration, issue out writs for new elections, withdraw his arms from the French king's assistance, and send them in aid to the States-general of the United Provinces, for preventing the further growth of the power of France, whether those persons who ever since have made it their business to divide between the king and his subjects, and prevent the parliament's giving him, when he desired, 600,000*l.*, to have enabled him in time to have joined his forces with those of the States-general and their allies, for the end before mentioned, may not as reasonably, and with as little breach of charity, (as the former,) be suspected to be French pensioners; the first designing only to advance France by bringing Holland low, and these contriving how to keep Holland under, by hindering his majesty from assisting them for the pulling down the power of France. If the latter may be equally suspected with the former, I am sure all who have taken any kind of notice of the transactions of affairs amongst us for these eight or nine years past, must needs know who they are that have been guilty of both.

But to proceed. Whilst these noble lords were in power, and one of them, either as chancellor of the exchequer, or one of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, had almost the sole managery and disposal of every branch of his majesty's revenue, no

to render him, he complied with the remonstrances of the House of Commons, and recalled the indulgence.—“Shaftesbury,” says Hume, “when he found the king recede at once from so capital a point, which he had publicly declared his resolution to maintain, concluded that all schemes for enlarging royal authority were vanished, and that Charles was utterly incapable of pursuing such difficult and such hazardous measures. The parliament, he foresaw, might push their inquiries into those counsels, which were so generally odious; and the king, from the same facility of disposition, might abandon his ministers to their vengeance. He resolved, therefore, to make his peace in time with that party which was likely to predominate, and to atone for all his violence in favour of monarchy by like violence in opposition to it. Never turn was more sudden; or less calculated to save appearances. Immediately he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and discovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary designs of the court, in which he himself had borne so deep a share. He was received with open arms by that party, who stood in need of so able a leader; and no questions were asked with regard to his late apostasy. The various factions into which the nation had been divided, and the many sudden revolutions to which the public had been exposed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men, and to destroy the sense of honour and decorum in their public conduct.”

sum of money could be granted the king by his parliament, that by them was esteemed sufficient; a million and half, two millions and half at a time signified little.

But no sooner were they discharged from their ministration, than the cry (every where set about by them) was, "You free-holders of England, you gentlemen of the House of Commons, have a care what you do; keep close your purses; if you give money you are undone; prerogative will be advanced too high; arbitrary power and popery will certainly be set up, and the subjects thereby enslaved like those of France;" as if prerogative power, though vested in the king's person, were not to be exercised by himself, but by his premier ministers, and as if there were no persons in England fit to be made such ministers, or to be entrusted with the exercise of that power, save only those whom, for the reasons aforesaid, his majesty had thought fit to remove from their trust, and out of his councils.

This, amongst simple honest people, gained belief, and was looked upon as wholesome counsel, which they embraced with thankfulness, and diligently pursued, every where agreeing to instruct their representatives in parliament to this purpose; and upon the choice of the three last parliaments, chose few or none to represent them but such as they were assured would pursue this their direction, which accordingly hitherto hath been done.

Now give me leave, in short, to recount the bad consequences that have ensued upon these evil practices. His majesty, for want of supplies necessary, (which these false and subtle insinuations, put into the ignorant people's heads, kept from him,) hath hitherto been rendered incapable of carrying on the war against France, which the parliament still pressed for, and his majesty promised to have begun, and would have vigorously pursued; (if they would have given him 600,000*l.* when he desired it, which they refused to do;) neither have they since given him any money but what, by the act that gave it, was appropriated to particular services.

The consideration of this gave courage to the French, and so disheartened the Dutch that they, for their own preservation, were obliged to agree to a peace without the consent of their confederates, who since have been necessitated to enter into the same, though to the unspeakable damage of Christendom.

For hereby was the confederacy broken between the emperor, Spaniard, Dane, Hollander, and all the princes of the Rhine.

By this the Duke of Brandenburg was obliged to deliver up all his conquests in Pomerania and Bremen, which had cost him so dear.

By this means the confederates army, for want of money, hath since been most of it disbanded; whilst the French army, with his immense revenue, is still kept on foot, and daily increased, to the terror of all Europe.

The incursions he hath since made upon Flanders, Alsace, Strasburgh, and Casal, (the keys into Germany and Italy,) have alarmed all parts of the world, none knowing where he will design next, nor what places he will demand as dependencies belonging to his new conquests.

I know this is all charged upon our present ministers, as the effect of their male-administrations, and the people are laboured hard to believe the same.

But, in my opinion, all these mischiefs proceed from, and are the ill effects of the aforementioned evil counsels, which the king so long since had given him, and were put in practice as aforesaid, and proceed chiefly from the male-contentedness of some of the persons that gave those counsels, who, being used to govern, and now removed from all places of trust, know not how to obey and sit quiet, therefore endeavour to confound all his majesty's counsels, break all his measures, and obstruct all proceedings for publick good, in hopes to oblige his majesty to a necessity of restoring them to his favour and their former trust, as not being able to manage the government without them.

I cannot say these are the sole occasions of our present mischiefs, for there are a sort of men about the city, and all over England, in every county, of turbulent spirits, active minds, subtle wits, little fortunes, and less consciences, credit, or reputation, sufficiently debauched and vicious in their principles and conversation,—these are found out and made use of by the French, are pensioners to that king, and employed to fall in with our male-contents, and seemingly to take their parts; these run from place to place, tell the danger the kingdom is in of popery and arbitrary power, and of the plot on foot to destroy the king and protestant religion, and what danger the protestants are in of being massacred; these improve their interest with the knights, citizens, and burghesses in every parliament, to hinder giving any money, lest they enslave the kingdom thereby; these roar about the streets and at every coffee-house, and in all companies they come into, what danger the protestant religion is already in, and that it will certainly be destroyed if ever a popish successor should happen in England, flocking like bees to the court of requests when our parliament sits, and buzzing in the ears of our representatives, that there is no way to be secured, but by passing an act for secluding his royal highness the Duke of York from ever inheriting (let him now, or hereafter, be of what religion he will) the imperial crown of this realm; which for the three last parliaments hath been vigorously endeavoured, and with success to their designs, by having hindered all other affairs, and prevented all remedies for settling and composing our present differences, and securing us against future mischiefs.

These pensioners are so subtle, and seem by their carriage so real fierce and violent against arbitrary power and popery, and zealous for securing our liberties and properties, that to our misery they have gained too much credit amongst the gentry, and down-right honest country protestants, because what they persuade them unto at first sight, seems greatly their interest.

But by the little conversation I have had with them, and the best observation I can make of their proceedings, they appear to be jesuits or papists in masquerade, like watermen rowing one way and looking another; French pensioners (or at least act as such) carrying on the popish plot apace, which they so violently decry, do the French king's drudgery, promote his designs, and instead of preventing arbitrary power and popery, endeavour what in them lies to introduce and establish both, and extirpate the protestant religion; were it not so (which I pray God every sober protestant may see through and prevent) they would never endeavour, as they do, to divide between the king and his subjects, (whose interests are so inseparable, as that to separate between them is to destroy both,) nor create distrust in the king of his people, or in the people of their prince, the consequence whereof will inevitably, if continued, be the destruction of both.

Did not these gentlemen thus design, certainly they would not at this time of the day endeavour (as they do) to widen breaches, heighten differences, increase animosities between protestant and protestant, and divide and subdivide them into so many several factions and parties, but rather study how to close and make up the breaches, heal the divisions, and compose the differences amongst them, by uniting them in love, (though of different persuasions,) thereby to strengthen their hands against their common enemy the papists.

Now I will endeavour to show that these men act quite contrary, and that what they are doing tends to the interest of France, the advantage of popery, and is destructive to the protestant interest.

For this purpose I lay down as my foundation, that the king of France's grand design is to make himself universal monarch of the world; this he knows he can never do, if the King of England and his subjects were heartily united, and did love and dare trust each other, for that people that love and trust their prince, will never deny him any supply necessary for his own support and their defence; therefore, if all those jealousies and fears, which these sort of caterpillars have fixed in the minds of the sub-

jects, were removed, and if it were possible to undeceive them, and shew how they have been imposed upon to their prejudice, and that all reports of his majesty's design to invade liberty and property, and introduce popery and arbitrary power, were false, then would the king have their hearts entire to himself, consequently their purses, and could never fail of sufficient subsidies for support of his prerogative and the government, and securing us against all attempts from abroad as well as at home.

This the king of France well knows, and therefore endeavours to prevent, foreseeing that such an union would be fatal to him, for then would our king be able to stop all his proceedings, hinder not only his making farther, but oblige him to vomit up all, or the most part of his new-made conquests; therefore his design, by these his emissaries and pensioners, is to keep up jealousies and fears, and to prevent all means used for reconciliation amongst us, by crying out still of the danger of popery, how that religion increaseth in England, (though they know there is not one papist in the kingdom for one hundred protestants,) which is done with design to oblige his majesty, for avoiding of clamour upon himself, to proceed against jesuits and papists at law, to convict them of recusancy, and seize two thirds of their estates; the which is prosecuted by a few covetous persons, only with design to get dividends of their estates to themselves.

By which proceedings here the French king does his work abroad, goes on to finish his conquests, takes advantage of the prosecution of a few papists here, to make that his example to prosecute, with all imaginable cruelty, innumerable multitudes of protestants in France, with a resolution to extirpate that religion out of his dominions; and (if other catholick princes should follow his example, which God forbid) it will not be long ere his most Christian majesty will have finished his work, made himself universal monarch, and have totally destroyed the protestant religion abroad; which done, I appeal to all good and wise men, who love England and the protestant religion, and desire its growth and preservation, how soon, and with what ease, that king may over-run us, and extirpate that religion from amongst us, which we seem so zealous to promote, but by the wilful mistake of many (I fear) are destroying.

Now that I may convince all honest, plain-hearted, and well-meaning protestants, that there are a sort of persons among them who make it their business to inveigle their heads with false and scandalous stories, thereby to possess their minds with prejudice to his majesty and his government, and that those so employed are either all, or most part of them, pensioners of France, who betake themselves to this work with design to destroy the protestant religion rather than preserve it, and to enslave us and the kingdom instead of preventing arbitrary power from being set up over us; and that all the world may see that their actions (when laid open) have no tendency to the advancement of the protestant interest, or securing us against the growth of popery, nor to deliver us from the grievances they pretend the kingdom groans so much under, give me leave to offer to your serious considerations these few following particulars:

First, if they designed to promote the protestant religion, and did heartily desire its flourishing in England, certainly they would then consider the miserable condition of the poor protestants in France, what cruelties they endure; and that would beget such pity and compassion towards those as would put them upon petitioning his majesty for mercy to the few papists in England, and to stop their convictions upon their present prosecutions for some time. rather than to suffer multitudes of protestants, and that religion, to be destroyed abroad, merely to enrich themselves by receiving shares of the estates of papists convicted here: such pity would be more acceptable to God, more agreeable to the spirit of a true protestant, more for the honour of that religion, and, in the end, prove as advantageous to their private interests in this world.

Did these busy gentlemen I speak of design good to England, desire its prosperity, or promote the protestant interest, and had believed the kingdom in such danger of popery and arbitrary power, or that the subjects had suffered under such grievances as

they endeavour to represent to the people, then certainly, ever since their apprehension of such danger, they, upon the opening of every parliament, or session of parliament, would have put the several members of the House of Commons (as well as the lords) upon a right course of preventing the mischiefs they seemed to fear, and delivering us from the grievances they pretended the kingdom suffered under; but as if they had not believed what they reported, they took the contrary course, and, instead of persuading the parliament to moderate sober counsels and proceedings, studied to put them into heats and passions, and upon exclaiming against particular persons to whom they owed prejudice, as being his majesty's servants and ministers.

These upon common fame, before heard, or witnesses examined against them, must be removed from the king's presence and councils for ever, on addresses from the House of Commons, no body knew for what, save fancies and imaginations.

But some of them being too great, and their integrities and abilities for his majesty's service better known to him than them, his majesty did not think fit to remove them.

Thereupon some of these worthy patriots of their country, for several sessions of parliament, made it their business to do nothing, save to contrive differences between the two houses of parliament; for which purpose, they questioned the lords jurisdiction in matters of appeals, particularly in the cases of Sherly and Fag, and others, which controversy they carried so high that Sir John Fag and several lawyers were committed by the House of Commons to the Tower, for only appearing before the lords at their bar, and owning their judicature in cases of appeals from courts of equity; this single point caused several prorogations, and rendered several sessions fruitless, though the same was never before called in question since his majesty's restauration.

Now if those gentlemen, who so highly concerned themselves in these matters, had been of such publick spirits as to spend their time in laying open the dangers they apprehended we were in, and the grievances we suffered under, with design to have prevented those dangers and redressed those grievances, they would certainly have applied to the several members of parliament, pressed for moderation, desired them to avoid all heats and passions, and to look into the plot, search it to the bottom, try the lords in the Tower, examine the truth of the several grievances complained of, find means to prevent the danger of the former, and secure us for the future against the latter: in doing whereof they must necessarily have found who had occasioned both: and, after securing the subjects, then to have fallen on the persons guilty, would have been more proper, for if then these persons had been too great for the parliament, and procured prorogations and dissolutions, yet had the parliament discharged their consciences, done their duty, preserved their country, and deserved thanks and honour from those they represented.

But to fall upon particular persons first, and to do nothing for our security because they could not have their ends against those persons they had prejudice to, give me leave to say, for them to be persuaded to this method of proceedings, in my apprehension, did not argue that either they themselves, or those persons that informed them of the grievances and dangers the nation was said to lie under, believed the truth of either; and if so, then was it a barbarous act to amuse, alarm, and frighten the people from their duty to their prince, with groundless noise and clamour.

If really there were at those times such grievances and dangers as represented, how could the parliament have answered it to God and their country, if, through their private heats and animosities, the mischiefs threatened (and which the nation feared) had fallen upon us? If they had then believed our danger to be so great as they discoursed it to be, and had not known that more noise and clamour was made than there was just occasion for, I am of opinion they would, for their own honour as well as the publick good, have first endeavoured to have secured our future happiness, rather than hazarded the same out of some private pique they had to particular persons.

Again, if these gentlemen, by the endeavours they used to have obtained an act for secluding his royal highness from the imperial crown of England, had designed to secure the protestant religion from a popish successor, had that (I say) been their single intention, certainly they would have made the act general, to bar for the future all persons of the popish religion from inheriting or wearing the imperial crown of England; but to bring in a bill against James Duke of York alone by name, and that whether he be papist or protestant at the time of the king's death (provided he should happen to survive him) this kind of procedure seems rather to be the effect of the malice and revenge of some particular persons against the duke's person (who have gone so far that they judge they cannot be safe if ever he reigns) than a design to secure the protestant religion against a popish successor.

For, first, If such a bill was passed, and his royal highness should die before the king, that act dies with him.

Secondly, If the duke survive the king, he being near as old, it cannot be expected he should live long after him, so it would do little good; nor will it be any great security to the kingdom, to have him barred and no body else.

Besides, the offering of such bill was unmannerly, and put a hardship upon the king, to exclude by a law his only brother from inheriting the crown of England though he should be a protestant, and at the same time (out of zeal to the promotion and preservation of the protestant religion) leave room for the King of Spain (or any other popish successor, except the Duke of York) to succeed our present king, and bring in the Spanish inquisition with him.

What savours this of, or looks it like, but a malicious design of particular persons against the Duke of York? I am certain I can find nothing of a real design in it to secure the protestant religion and interest.

Whereas, if the bill had been made general, to have barred all popish successors, it would have been more excusable, and might perhaps have been judged the effect of the parliament's care of the protestant interest, and it may be would not have appeared so difficult for the king to have passed, if he had found reason to believe it for his subjects good, and with tendency to the security and happiness of his kingdoms.

Because, in such case his majesty had done his royal brother no wrong; he had only by advice of parliament passed a general law for the publick good and security of his kingdoms, that could neither hurt the duke or bar him the succession, without his own consent by declaring himself a papist.

Besides, if this bill had passed into an act, what would it have signified? Have not many of the like nature been passed against several former princes, who, notwithstanding thereof, afterwards lived to sway the scepter in this kingdom?

I know that they will tell you they designed to have seconded this bill with another for an association, whereby to have enabled the people to keep the duke out by force, and perhaps they would have been as angry and uneasy too if that had not passed, which if it had, then might they have presently dethroned his majesty, the present possessor of the crown, and that with as much ease and justice as they can hinder his royal brother from succeeding him, and thereby entail a war domestick and foreign upon the kingdom.

Pray consider whoever sets up against his royal highness's title must have at least 50,000 horse and foot constantly in arms to defend himself, and keep the crown on his head; for the duke is an excellent soldier, a gentleman of personal valour and resolution, a prince of great conduct and interest, (beloved both abroad and at home,) therefore cannot want supplies from his friends here, or the aid of foreign princes (at least of those who are allied to him) to assist him in recovering his right, which perhaps may entail upon us another war for fifty years, and the miseries attending the same, such as that formerly between the two houses of York and Lancaster; and if

such an army must be raised (though no war happen) must not the people of England pay them? and what that will cost, or what arbitrary power that prince may set up that hath such an army at his devotion, I leave to judgment.

Consider whether those that advise to this course of procedure be friends to their country and the protestant religion, take care to preserve the liberty and property of the subject, or rather, whether they are not such as put us upon methods to destroy them all, lay us open to arbitrary power (as we were in the time of the late horrid rebellion) and to all the plunderings, free-quarters (taxes of 60,000*l.* per month, as was raised by Oliver and his council without a parliament) sequestrations, decimations, imprisonments, banishments, &c. God knows how many mischiefs more may ensue upon such force being raised and maintained as a standing army amongst us, as is absolutely necessary to be kept on foot if the succession be altered.

I cannot believe any honest man, who is really a protestant, loyal to the king, loves his country, and desires its interest, happiness and peace, especially if he lived in the times of the late intestine war, and beheld the miseries the nation then groaned under, can or will, if he has any estate or trade, ever desire a change of government in England, or a necessity of having a standing army to support that government (which necessarily this bill desired, for altering the succession, must have) therefore none but some few malecontents, or such as desire the destruction of the protestant religion, will pursue the same any further.

Having done with this point, and shewn how ridiculous it is for men to distract their minds with the fear or apprehension of his majesty's governing arbitrarily, I proceed to the second thing proposed, and hope to demonstrate by reason, that we are in as little danger of popery prevailing, howbeit a popish successor hereafter should happen to inherit the imperial crown of this realm.

Before I enter upon this, give me leave (for my own justification, and to prevent being censured by the reader) solemnly to declare, in the presence of Almighty God and the whole world, that I am a protestant, and have been bred up in that religion from my youth; I am so far from being a papist, that to my remembrance I never was in any church, chappel, or other place where mass was said, or the popish religion exercised, during such service being performed; I have an equal love and esteem for all protestants, though of different persuasions, so that they be conscientious and religious, and submit to government; and I would have them allowed all liberty, so long as they use it not to the disturbance of publick peace, or the government of church and state; therefore I hope a charitable interpretation will be made of what is here offered to consideration, since I argue (not out of any approbation of the popish religion, or desire of its being established here, or to live to see a popish king reign over us, nor out of any prejudice to any protestant dissenter, but) merely to quiet the minds of those who distract themselves with jealousies of popery over-running the kingdom, if ever a popish successor should reign over us, knowing how dangerous it may be to the protestant religion for protestants to be misled by such idle persuasions.

Suppose such a popish successor should happen, the question then will be, whether that prince or his subjects will suffer most?

I am of opinion that a prince of that religion will find himself very uneasy, and reign with great difficulty over the English and Scotch nations, whatever he may do over Ireland, there being in the two former one hundred protestants for one papist, though in Ireland perhaps there are ten papists for one protestant; and yet even in that kingdom will it not be in his power to establish the Romish religion, or invade his subjects liberty and property, much less to hurt us in England in either of these particulars.

It hath been observed in history, that princes of the weakest titles have always yielded to the best laws, complying with their people, and compounding with them for the government.

If a popish prince ever happen to reign in England, though he be right and lawful heir both by birth and succession, yet will this religion render him suspected by his people of having a design to change theirs, and invade their properties (consisting much in abbey and monastery lands) so they will always keep him as uneasy as they can, and never give him revenue sufficient to maintain such power and force as shall endanger them.

And when the king (to whom I beseech Almighty God to grant a long life and happy reign) shall happen to die, his whole revenue, excepting about 450,000*l.* per annum, determines with him; so that if his royal highness survive him and be king, he will not (with all his own present revenue joined to that of the crown) have above 550,000*l.* per annum.

How can any rational man then believe, that with that revenue he will be able to raise and maintain such force as must necessarily be kept on foot for his own security, if he goes about to change the government, or alter the religion of the kingdom established by law?

Our present king, though he hath had a revenue of two millions, or a million and a half yearly, and now has above a million per annum, never yet attempted such alteration; and shall the Duke of York (supposing he had a will to do it, which I am confident he neither hath, ever had, nor will have) be able to establish arbitrary government or popery with 550,000*l.* per annum? It is in my poor judgment altogether impossible.

Object. I allow the duke with such a revenue cannot hurt us, but the French king having at least 200,000 men in arms, and a revenue sufficient to pay them, and being obliged to keep those armies employed abroad, to prevent their rebelling at home, he is so zealous for establishing popery throughout Christendom, and rooting out heresy, that for promoting so meritorious a work he will supply our king, if a papist, with arms and money sufficient to carry on that design with success here.

Answer. It is great folly to imagine that the French king, who knows his own interest (though it be true he neither wants men or money to carry on any design he undertakes) should assist our king with either, for the uniting him and his subjects under arbitrary power, or any one religion whatsoever (though popery itself) both being destructive to his interests, and a putting power in the hand of our king to break all that king's measures, and prevent his making himself universal monarch (than which nothing is more by him desired and endeavoured.)

For if once the King of England and his people were united under either, the French king knows he will be able to give check to all his further prosecution of that design; therefore, though he may (and I believe does) spend 100,000*l.* per annum in paying pensioners, employed by him or his ministers to divide between the king and his subjects (which being his interest to have done, he will spare no charge that may contribute to the doing thereof) yet would he not give 20,000*l.* to make our king absolute, or unite him and his people under any one religion whatsoever, though popery itself.

For he is a wise prince, studies his interest, knows how he parts from his money, and will dispose of none to carry on any design that may turn to his prejudice, than which nothing in the world can be a greater than to have the king and his subjects united.

What hurt then can his royal highness do his subjects if he succeed his brother, since there will not be left, when the king dies, revenue sufficient to support the necessary expence of his royal family and government, without supplies from abroad or at home; and if no foreign prince but the French king can, and that king will not supply him, must he not then immediately call a parliament, must not the people chuse that parliament, will the people of England (awakened as they now are, and then will be, with fears and jealousies of the danger of popery coming in upon them, and losing their

estates, (consisting of abbey and monastery lands) chuse any members to serve in those parliaments, but such as they can trust and depend upon to provide for the security of their lives, liberties, religion, and properties; or will those parliaments when met (being equally concerned in interest with their electors) ever give such popish successor any revenue to hurt or destroy their own interest?

It is nonsense to believe they will give him a groat, till they have provided for their own and the kingdom's security in all these particulars; and they know not his royal highness, that have so ill an opinion of him, as to believe him so irreligious, so weak of judgment, or void of understanding his own interest, as to accept the crown, and take the coronation oath, if he resolve not to keep and observe the same, by governing according to law, and securing his subjects in peace, by preserving to them their religion as well as their liberties and properties.

His royal highness cannot be ignorant of the jealousies the subjects of England have already of him, and well know those jealousies will certainly increase when he comes to the crown, therefore must expect when he calls a parliament, that that parliament, when it meets, will certainly tell him——

That having left our church, and thereby declared himself a papist, he cannot be trusted with the disposing of any ecclesiastical promotions, or with any sum of money that may endanger the kingdom, by assisting the papists; nor will they suffer persons of that religion to come near him or his court, to influence his councils, as we vainly imagine.

So that, in my poor opinion, the kingdom under such a prince may obtain such laws, and other conditions, for securing their religion, liberties, and properties (before they give any money) as they would never dare to propose, or could ever hope for or expect from a king of our own religion.

Besides, no man that hath common sense (whatsoever he says to the contrary) can believe that ever his royal highness (if he be of another religion than that professed in this kingdom) can, if he should live to wear the imperial crown of this realm, ever hurt us, though he should design so to do.

For being of a religion, to which the generality of his subjects have a great aversion and antipathy, and having but a small revenue, an inconsiderable party, and that party fettered with laws, and the whole kingdom alarmed, and for their own security armed, and in a posture to defend themselves, it will be impossible for him to subdue such a nation, in such a condition, and under such jealousies and circumstances.

Nor will he be able to break through the laws made for the defence of our religion, more than he will to violate those made for the security of our liberties and properties.

If, after all this, we shall persist in our folly, and close with nothing offered, except an act for excluding his royal highness to go along with it, then of all nations on the face of the earth is ours (in my opinion) like to be the most miserable.

For such alteration of the succession (as it is said before) must be maintained by force and a standing army (a crown being always esteemed worth fighting for) which force we transmit to posterity, with a disputable title, for a new trial of skill, like that anciently between the houses of York and Lancaster, which every good man must certainly dread the thoughts of, when he seriously considers, that war lasted about sixty years, cost the kingdom its whole treasure, besides the devastation and destruction made throughout the same (especially in the north) and the many hundred thousand mens lives were lost therein; and yet that war was occasioned only by varying the hand from the children of the Duke of Clarence, third son to the issue of John of Gaunt, the fourth legitimate son of Henry the Fourth, and no bastardy in the case.

I do not find in all my reading, that any government throughout the world, since the reformation from Rome, ever made a law to prohibit a successor of that religion

from reigning over them; Henry the Third of France, though earnestly importuned by the holy league, to exclude the king of Navarre, refused so to do, though that king was a Huguenot.

In Edward the Sixth's time, no statute was made to bar a popish successor, then in prospect, though the reformation was in its infancy, and most subjects were papists; so that after his decease Queen Mary was admitted to the crown, (from whom the kingdom had little reason to expect any great happiness) rather than the Lady Jane Gray, who was a protestant; and this done, because they would not bring a disputable title of the crown upon themselves and posterity.

In Queen Elizabeth's reign, which was after the severe persecution of Queen Mary (a persecution sufficient to have begot an eternal hatred in the nation of any future popish successor, and to have justified that queen in passing a law for preventing the same) yet was there no positive law made in her reign to bar Mary Queen of Scots, then alive, who was a papist, and her majesty's lawful successor; all that was then done, was by an act of the 13th of her reign, which made it treason to say the queen and parliament could not dispose of the crown, but they never actually disposed thereof.

And give me leave to say, that such a precedent would most certainly be as dangerous to our king now, as that wise queen thought it might have been to her then; for that prince, that shews his people a method of disposing the succession, at the same time shakes the title of his own possession.

All the instances of former parliaments settling the crown upon Henry the Fourth, Edward the Fourth, Henry the Seventh, and their issues, comes not to our point at all, not being done upon account of religion, but before the Reformation, when all were of the religion of the church of Rome.

Those acts therefore were made to quiet the succession, which force had unsettled (not to discompose a rightful succession undisturbed) and to prevent that war and bloodshed, that was rational enough to believe would have followed, and been the consequence of disturbing the lawful succession (not to break in pieces an acknowledged and peaceful succession, and involve the nation in blood, for many generations to come) they were so far from doing that, that rather than the kingdom should be distracted with uncertain titles, an act was passed in Henry the VIIth's reign, to command obedience from the subject to the King *de facto*; afterwards the kingdom, though secure, was never satisfied, till Henry the VIIth married the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward the IVth.

Again, if matter of opinion in points of religion shall be esteemed a reason of state sufficient to exclude a lawful successor from his crown, then has a prince harder measure than the meanest of his subjects, by any law yet made; and the peace and happiness of these kingdoms hangs upon a very slender thread, for then if the people should design a rebellion, they need only pretend a dislike of their prince's religion, to bar him from his crown and government.

I hope the wisdom of our parliaments will give no such advantage against protestants to their adversaries of Rome, as that Rome shall ever have occasion to say with truth, we protestants in England have by a law made our prince incapable of reigning, because a heretick from the protestant religion, whilst we ourselves are striving to make Rome look black and odious for that most damnable doctrine of theirs, that princes may be excommunicated as hereticks, afterwards deposed by the pope; so detestable a doctrine, that we make all persons, that take the oath of allegiance, renounce and forswear it; let us therefore have a care we do not imitate them in that doctrine we so much condemn.

Consider seriously, whither such a course will lead us, and then judge whether fit to be taken, especially upon such a contingency as this (of the duke's surviving his