

him. His capital iniquity is at once subverting the foundations of the people of England. It is high-treason to invade the royal bed, by the laws of this kingdom; but what is it then or ought it to be to an House of Commons to practise upon their honour, to buy off the people's representatives, to pervert trust, and turn them against themselves? Next to them that took money, he must be the worst of men. This is treason against the constitution, it is a dissolving fundamental trust, and legally entralling us; it is making the people *felô de se*, to destroy themselves. What corruption so vile? What prostitution so scandalous? It is beyond example, and it seems it is above punishment, and he is used, and looks, and acts, as if he were meritorious. Shall an House of Commons endure this, and in a government under the fair character of a reformation? As if we were reconciled to the ministry and measures, that were the cause of making this bold turn. This gives me all the impressions of grief and pity, that with the dog we should return to our vomit, and like swine feed upon excrements. We offer our enemies the greatest advantages, while we let them see we can thus contradict and give ourselves the lie, and change our minds of men that are not changed; and can do any thing to serve a turn, which makes the whole look insincere and a trick; and if it were not impious, to be sure it were unwise to do so.

These are the motives that press me, and which make me so free and earnest with you, to value this last opportunity to all the advantages, the great wisdom of this house may draw thence, by a full improvement of it. Let no respects divert you, as you will answer it to God and man; I must be plain, it is a bargain you must make for your all; make it sure; the omission seems to render it irretrievable. Let not ill men and management cover itself under big words against France. You know who cries stop thief: Names should not cozen you out of this happy juncture, nor your conduct shew you will be ever prodigal of the providences that would save you. Take the king's advice, apply it wisely and quickly; he has been abroad, and has the advantage of the confederates intelligence, as well as his own, which we have reason to believe is very good; and, upon the whole matter, tells us, as the last and most important motive to us, that we have but this opportunity: Be ready, therefore, with your money, but be ready with your rights too; and, as wise parliaments have ever done, let them have the preference. I don't bid you ask why Ireland was not sooner reduced; why we had not above half as many men as we have paid for; why supplies were so long a-going, and so many unnecessary ships for tenders were chargeably continued, nor how much we are in debt after the many millions we had given, besides those the constant revenue has yielded; some say, in all, above fifteen: No, I will not be so ill-natured or unreasonable, not a word of mine shall look towards faction or disaffection, but leave all this till last; if we prosper it will be time enough: I would not hinder supplies by no means, only get into possession of your ancient rights, your so much needed and essential rights; and if it should please God the king should fail of his hopes, or fall by his enemies, you are in possession, you have ground to stand on worth defending, and that will secure you; for that itself will engage and unite all interests, because their own is involved; we must not depend upon his personal success, but our own constitutions; every one will stand up heartily for that which is his. Convince the kingdom they are the better for the change, or their heat will soon cool in supporting it; let them see their legislation and administration are secure, the first by annual parliaments without any evasion, and by free and genuine elections, which cannot be without the sheriffs are chosen by the county courts, as the coroners are, and that the fines on them for false returns, and those that sit upon them be very heavy, and appropriated out of the reach of the crown to remit, which will secure our legislation; let ministers be impeachable, and the parliament sit till the person accused be tried and acquitted, or punished; and all such criminals be unpardonable and irre-

prievable, but at their request : Provided always, that if any minister be named, as culpable by any person in parliament, he shall be obliged to make it good, or at least be dismissed the house, and made incapable of any employment in the government ; and regulate trials, as to the liberty of the prisoner, the number and qualification of the witnesses as well as juries, after the manner of that bill which is depending ; and hereby our administration will be in a good degree secured also.

I do further propose, that during this war a committee of lords and commons be the cabinet, and that they have the inspection of navy, army, and treasury, and the recommending of all officers employed in either capacity ; the juncture calls for it. Were the king an angel, he is not omnipresent no more than omnipotent ; and if he wants your power, he needs your presence, judgment, and direction ; a Commonwealth requires a dictator, but a monarchy the people in parliament upon great emergencies. Remember he is a king of your making, and he should be one of your influencing, if not ruling and over-ruling in such exigencies as ours. * Favour or connivance in government, is for easy and not difficult times : Judge well and act vigorously, but act so as to save yourselves, your country I mean, whether this or the other king prevail ; for be assured if we are in possession of our rights, we are safe against this king's victory, and King James's return, that neither shall hurt us ; else you will find yourselves exposed to the ill consequence, that may follow one or t'other. Have a care of after-games, especially now, when you are told you have but one opportunity for all. I cannot but urge that in your ears, that you heard last from his mouth, as the most pressing motive to his supply. All good men are in pain for you, and particularly what part you act in this affair, and the success it may have to the felicity of the whole. God Almighty direct us, for all is at stake while both our legislation and administration are unsettled, and all will be safe to us, if we are secure at home ; for it is feared, and justly, I think, that as our Saviour said, our greatest enemies are of our own house, our own family, men in office, and in government. Let King James's fate be your admonition ; trust yourselves, and others shall not betray you ; employ men of principles, of skill, and sobriety. For your fleet you will find them better at Ratcliff-high-way, than at Locket's, and the Blue-Posts. For the army, mix with some that you have, honest country gentlemen and citizens, that are both sober and hearty : and in every commission, see that you have only such persons as were bred up in the business of those commissions they serve in ; as in the customs, merchants, in the excise, those that have been brewers and have given it over ; in the admiralty, navy and victualling-offices, ancient seamen that have had good commands, and known the providing of stores for their own ships, for whom these employments should be reserved as honourable retreats, and the rewards of the government to the aged and experienced, for their former good services ; who, for one half of the revenue that is now paid, would bless themselves and you. Nor should our council or cabinet be without a seaman, a soldier, a merchant, a civilian, a common lawyer, and some country gentlemen, and such as have served long and well in embassies abroad, which comprehends both domestic and foreign, civil and military affairs. Remember that prudent and instructing remark of Sir William Temple, in his Account of Holland, " That though the people in general were not as quick and witty as their neighbours, yet their government was generally wiser, because the wisest of the people governed ; they chuse and prefer the ablest, which for other respects were advanced in neighbouring governments."

Would you be great or safe ? Add to what we have said, the perusal of the establishment by land and sea in the Rump's time ; observe by what conduct so few, and most of them but of the middle sort of men, became the admiration and terror of the world. Send for H—— that was treasurer of the navy, and B—— and D—— that were treasurers for the army in England, Scotland, and Ireland, honest and able men,

and alive, and you will see that our yearly charge exceeds both that of the civil war, and war with Holland too, when England and Scotland had armies to be paid, as well as Ireland. I say, observe proportion and judge; whatever is wanting to balance your greater expences, is due to their better conduct. Be not offended with me, but imitate and mend; the time invites us, and our station obliges us to it, and the solemn league and covenant, I mean the king's declaration, that association for the change; shall it be waste paper under it? God forbid! call for it, settle and rule by it, to be sure it is the original contract of our new government. And unpardonable are they, that after all our blood and treasure spilt and spent, (and we know not where they will stop,) shall out of fear or flattery lose the advantages promised, for want of asking and pressing the performance. I must put you in mind of one of them before we part, and that was sending back the foreign troops if you please; and won't you please since Ireland is reduced? It is hoped you will; and disband our English ones too: What else are we the easier for Ireland's being reduced? Which we all suspected was prolonged on purpose to have a pretence for money; and will you continue the charge even now, when they have not that pretence? Better things are expected from you. I beg your patience a little longer. We are an island; a navy is an English standing army; add ten or twenty sail of ships if you please to the establishment, but no more standing armies now, I beseech you. Conquering of France, which some hot heads dream of, is not our business, if it were in our power; and therefore must be the passion of fools and hope of women. It was never attempted but by Edward III and Henry V., princes of great minds and sufficiency, but they rather shewed France and the world what they could do, than what they could keep; and made the experiment at the expence of that blood and treasure that we were the worse for our glory, even while we could maintain it: But that failed us also at length, and we ever lost all back again, with more dishonour than we got it with reputation. We had need have the Spanish mines, or the philosopher's stone, and a race of Black Princes, and such Edwards and Henries, to effect and support such an enterprize. France is three times as big as England, and populous and rich in proportion; the revenue of the crown is one third of the yearly income of the whole, the clergy have another third, and the laity the other third; of all which, the new converts make not the five hundredth part, as they are not in number the two hundredth man. Now if the French king hath more than the revenue of all England to carry on his war, and a clergy so rich, and whom he has so much obliged, to help him; and that will not let him want for so good a cause, as they count this in favour of King James, that is an exile for his and their religion, besides what his people can furnish, zealous enough in their way, and very bigots to him; to which vast treasure add his incomparable conduct, in judgment, secrecy, and dispatch, suiting men to things, and both to time and place, with the successes we see have followed him every where, as if he had fortune in his power. It shews him to be a match for all his enemies, and that they must think of being defensive in their turn as well as he; and truly, "if he beats us when he fights, and fights but when he pleases, he will beat us at last," and whatever we may fancy, France is thrice more to us now, in proportion, than what it was, which we do not or will not see, because old reckonings and present heats cozen us. We are increased in trade and shipping, so are they in proportion; in naval affairs, in revenue of the crown, in command and discipline, they are proportionably five to one, to what they were in Edward III. and Henry V.'s time. It's true, we might at first, with great charge, have landed upon them, and made some confusion among them, as we might have reduced Ireland, and saved all this blood and treasure, but private respects took place. However, that attempt upon France would have been too hazardous for wise men to make, for besides the repulse that might have followed, our navy might have been wind-bound, provisions thereby wanted, and the charge of an army and navy at first would have come too fast, and

been too much for the people to have understood ; and if it had not succeeded to our mighty hopes, it would have been a dangerous slur upon the king, from whom some expected not so much as they have seen, and others a great deal more. Laying aside the vanity of conquests abroad, it will become us to have a care of them at home, that while we think of nothing less than freeing or possessing other countries, we may not insensibly lose or enslave our own. We have land enough, and a free government, if we might enjoy it. Our part is little more than defensive, scour the coast and you secure the island and the trade, which is the life of it : But, if after fifteen millions of money already paid in three years, (which, by the way, has not been known since the Norman dukes, which is now above 600 years ago,) you will give more without settling the constitution and changing hands, and thereby purging the administration, " we are undone as well as a ridiculous people." The army the king asks is for the continent, and not an island, and what have we to do there? Is not our quota enough? Are any but the Dutch concerned in the charge at sea? And of that do we not bear a double share? Besides, have any of the confederacy assisted us in the reducing of Ireland? Let us observe proportion. But that which is both our surprise and trouble, is to find that his majesty tells us of arrears, after all that has been given, when it is made plain to us, that though we did the last year proportion our supplies to 70,000 men, there never were fifty of them in pay : Pray let that overplus be applied to the arrears, or those that received it obliged to refund to the public.—We do not see to the end of our charges, and cannot be too good husbands for the people that pay it, who though they are and will be very reasonable, have often proved they are not made for burthen. I will say no more to persons of your talents ; nor had I said so much, but to men of your stations.

The Speech of Sir Charles Sidley in the House of Commons, 1691.

Sir Charles Sedley, celebrated as a witty author and fine gentleman, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. had joined cordially in the Revolution, in resentment, it is said, of James's having seduced his daughter, whom he raised to be Countess of Dorchester. " James has made my daughter a countess," said the vindictive wit, " I will do my endeavour to make his a queen." He sat in several parliaments as member for New Romney, in Kent. The following remarkable speech was made at the opening of the session of parliament 1689-90, when the hereditary revenues were settled upon King William for life, together with the excise and other public revenues, which, in compliance with the funding system, then first introduced by Bishop Burnet's recommendation, were to be impledged as security to raise the necessary supplies for support of the war. Sedley, as an English country gentleman, seems to have been of opinion that the public stock should be carefully husbanded, and that those holding offices should be made sensible of the burdens imposed on the public, by having a share of the imposition laid on their own posts and pensions.

We have provided for the navy, we have provided for the army, and now at the latter end of a session here is a new reckoning brought us ; we must provide likewise

for the civil list. Truly, Mr Speaker, it is a sad reflection that some men should wallow in wealth and places, whilst others pay away in taxes the fourth part of their yearly revenue for the support of the same government; we are not upon equal terms for his majesty's service; the courtiers and great officers charge as it were in armour, they feel not the taxes by reason of their places, while the country gentlemen are shot through and through with them.

The king is pleased to lay his wants before us, and I am confident expects our advice upon it; we ought therefore to tell him what pensions are too great, what places may be extinguished during this time of war and publick calamities. His majesty is encompassed with, and sees nothing but plenty, great tables, coaches and six horses, and all things suitable, and therefore cannot imagine the want and misery of the rest of his subjects. He is a wise and virtuous prince, but he is but a young king, encompassed and hemmed in among a company of crafty old courtiers, to say no more of them; with places some of 3000, some of 6000, and some 11000. I am told the commissioners of the treasury have 3000*l.* a year a-piece: Certainly such pensions, whatever they may have been formerly, are much too great in the present want and calamities that reign every where else; and it is a general scandal, that a government so sick at heart as ours, should look so well in the face. We must save the king money wherever we can, for I am afraid our work is too big for our purses, if things be not managed with all the thrift imaginable. When the people of England see that all is saved that can be saved, that there are no exorbitant pensions nor unnecessary salaries, that all is applied to the use for which it was given, we shall give and they will cheerfully pay whatever his majesty can want to secure the protestant religion, to keep out the King of France, aye, and King James too; whom, by the way, I have not heard named this session, whether out of fear, respect, or discretion, I cannot tell. I conclude, Mr Speaker, let us save the king what we can, and then let us proceed to give him what we are able.



The Follies of France; or, a true Relation of the extravagant Rejoicings that were made by the French King's Command in most Cities of France, for the pretended Death of his Majesty, (William, King of Great Britain,) contained in a Letter written from a Roman Catholick Citizen of Paris (by way of Holland) to his Correspondent in London. Translated from the French Original.

These ungenerous rejoicings were made on a false report that King William had fallen at the battle of the Boyne.

"On the last of June, 1690, the king came to the banks of the river; and as he was riding along, and making a long stop in one place to observe the grounds, the enemy did not lose their opportunity, but brought down two pieces of cannon, and with the first firing the ball passed along the king's shoulder, tore off some of his clothes, and about a hand-breadth of the skin, out of which about a spoonful of blood came: and that was all the harm it did him. It cannot be imagined how much terror this struck into all that were about him: he himself said it was nothing; yet he was prevailed on to alight till it was washed, and a plaister put upon it, and immediately he mounted his horse again, and rode about all the posts of his army. It was indeed necessary to shew himself every where, to take off the apprehensions with which such an unusual accident filled his soldiers. He continued that day nineteen hours on horseback; but upon his first

alighting from the horse a disaster had gone over to the enemy with the news, which was carried quickly into France, where it was taken for granted that he could not outlive such a wound: so it ran over that kingdom that he was dead. And upon it there were more rejoicings than had been usual upon their greatest victories, which gave that court afterwards a vast confusion when they knew that he was still alive; and saw that they had raised in their own people a high opinion by this inhuman joy when they believed him dead."—BURNET, IV. 95.

[“ The present letter having very fortunately fallen into my hands, I judged it worthy to be committed to the press, that all the world might be informed of those excessive transports, and other unaccountable fopperies that were transacted in France by order of the court, upon the imaginary death of King William; and particularly because the author seems to be so abundantly assured of the truth of all these proceedings, being an eye-witness of them at Paris.”—*Orig. Edition.*]

Paris, August 8, 1690.

SIR,

I HAVE been very regular and constant in writing to you, nevertheless I was obliged to take some time to put myself in a capacity of satisfying your last demands, that I might send you nothing but the truth; and withal, a particular account of every memorable circumstance. You'll be no loser by this delay of mine, since instead of a bare letter, you receive a kind of an epistle. However it is, sir, you'll find an exact relation of what I have either been an eye-witness, or informed myself from unquestionable hands upon this occasion

The defeat of the Irish army, and the return of King James, was matter of extraordinary mortification not only to our court, but to all France in general. However this consternation (Heaven be praised) was not of long continuance, and our sorrow was immediately converted into joy, by reason of the mighty news which the king commanded to be published from the twenty-seventh to the twenty-eighth night of the last month, by the cannon of the Bastile, which were discharged about three o'clock in the morning; and by the commissioners, who at the same time knocked at the doors of every citizen, without any difference, crying aloud with all their force, “ Arise, get up, and make bonfires, the Prince of Orange and Mareschal Schomberg are dead.” This solemn declaration, made by his majesty's order, obliged the whole town to get up, and pass the remainder of the night, and the following day, in bonfires, and all other public testimonies of joy. One could hear nothing but trumpets, drums, hautboys, fifes, flutes, and sackbuts; one could see nothing but tables furnished in every street, where wine was not spared in the least. The religious fraternities distinguished themselves, and particularly the good fathers the Cordeliers, who spent all night long a prodigious quantity of petards, and other fireworks, in their garden, and distributed their wine about in abundance. The same was likewise done at the Guildhall of the city, by the express command of the provost of the merchants. All the people, without exception, and especially those of higher quality, as they passed in their coaches through the city, were stopped on their way, and forced to drink a health to King James and the Prince of Wales, and to cry out aloud, “ The Prince of Orange is dead.” They burnt the effigies of the prince, and his royal spouse the princess, in several places, as they had done before at their bonfires for the battle of Flerus, and the naval engagement. They dragged them through the city, where they made a solemn procession; and there was neither man nor woman, great nor small, among the people, who did not throw dirt and stones at them: nay, their indignation was carried higher, they hanged the Prince of Orange in effigies in abundance of places; amongst the rest, they led him up and down

This mistake gives the air of fabrication to the letter; for how was it possible that the false report of King William's death at the battle of the Boyne should be believed at Paris, if the real news of the day, and of the flight of King James, had previously reached that city?

by way of procession, with a devil, who was to carry him to hell, having before him a piece of paper thus inscribed: "I have waited for thee these two years." During these mighty rejoicings they broke open the houses of several of the new converts, and particularly a grocer's in the Fauxbourghs of St Germain; they affixed to their gates a portraiture of the Prince of Orange, crying, "He's dead." They demanded money of others to exempt them from pillaging, and forced them to give it, after having committed a thousand outrages on their persons. In fine, sir, I am able to acquaint you, that not the most advantageous successes we ever met with, nay, not the birth of an Infant of France, however it was universally desired, ever found so agreeable an entertainment, which gave occasion for one of our celebrated poets to say,—

" Though Paris such triumph and joy has express'd,
For the prince that in Ireland was slain :
The news of his death doth not half fill my breast,
As the fear of his rising again."

You will see, sir, a great deal of pleasant poetry on this subject in a certain remarkable paper which I have sent you, composed after the manner of an interment, which they have made of the prince's body in Ireland; it being a very curious piece, engraved here in the city by one of the most eminent masters in that art, and is every where publicly sold.

With this good news of the Prince of Orange's death, we have received some other welcome passages, as well from Savoy as Germany. If they happen to prove true we shall scarce find wood enough to furnish out our bonfires; and we assuredly hope before the end of the campaign to have no more enemies to exercise our valour upon, let their numbers be never so great.

These revellings and masquerades continued till the 29th of the last month in this city, at Versailles, and St Germain en laye, where three or four thousand persons being assembled together, they made their supplications to King James, who arrived there on the 25th, to inform them whether the news of the death of his son-in-law was certain; and some of the king's officers assuring them that nothing was more sure, they made the same rejoicings at St Germain as they did in this city; which examples were copied by those of Lyons, where the shops were shut up for the space of three days successively, as well as in several other places, for the greater solemnization of this festival.

It was not only at Lyons, and other principal cities, that the people testified so much joy for the death of the Prince of Orange, our irreconcilable enemy: Sedan particularly distinguished itself among the rest, as one of my friends, a gentleman of very good credit, acquainted me, who happened to be upon the spot when this affair was transacting; and it was not many days ago.

On Sunday the 30th of July, they caused such bonfires to be made there as they had never seen before upon any occasion. The meanest person was rated at a good round sum to defray the expence, without reckoning the burgesses, who endeavoured all they could to outvie one another in the magnificence of the show. They were not forgetful to cause several representations of the prince to be made. His highness was exposed to several fires, having a tobacco-pipe in his mouth; he was carried to the two Fauxbourgs in a large frame, and the princess, his royal consort, was after the like manner carried to the house of the Capuchins; they had both of them inscriptions before and behind, with these words in vast legible character, "The Usurpers." There was never a person present who did not pour forth some horrible reproaches or other upon both of them. They began the festival before the lodgings of the governor, with thirty discharges of cannon, and three volleys of the whole garrison. All the several compa-

nies marched in procession to the Dauphin fountain, which run with wine in abundance, and all those that had a mind to it drank their belly-full. All the principal officers performed wonderful things, and afterwards received a splendid entertainment from the governor. There arrived here a courier with especial orders, to signify to them the death of the Prince of Orange. Immediately after this, the chief magistrate of the place published this agreeable news through the whole town, with the harmony of drums, violins, hautboys, and flutes, crying in a loud and intelligible voice, "Come along, gentlemen, redouble your joys, that tyrant the Prince of Orange is dead! the usurper is dead! redouble your bonfires." Then the artillery was discharged, and the same instant five pieces of cannon began to thunder, which extremely affrighted the weak and giddy multitude. This triumph continued all the night, till eight in the morning, at which time all the ingenious wits of the town laid their heads together, to concert the matter how they should order the funeral of the Prince of Orange. A certain spark, Hamoir by name, began the sport with making the epitaph, which is such a wretched piece of stupidity and dulness, that I would not give myself the trouble to transcribe it for you. Another virtuoso, whose name was Van Veld, a native of Leyden, made the prince's effigies, which had the honour afterwards to be burnt. There was likewise another picture of him, to serve at the interment, at which entertaining ceremony every body was obliged to assist: They dragged it through the whole town to the Torcy, then it was hanged with the heels upwards for a considerable space; at last it was thrown into the Garenne, which is the receptacle of all the filth and ordure of the city. There was a prodigious concourse of people all the while; but he that made himself the most remarkable for his extraordinary zeal, was the above-mentioned Mons. Hamoir, who carried about a certain kind of kettle, in shape somewhat resembling a coffin: He had along with him a company of mourners, Lepine the drummer, commonly called the Cuckold, had a frying-pan covered over with black cloth, upon which he beat a very mournful tune before the corpse, that was encompassed with a trusty guard of halberdiers. One Jardon, who was born at Veroye, and had been often at Maestricht, signalized himself very particularly in this honourable action, by abundance of foolish things he both said and did, during the time of this pretty representation. The women too had their share in this festival, my friend assuring me, that there were several of them, who to celebrate the show with that devoir and solemnity as was requisite, abandoned themselves to all manner of debauchery. The holy fools of Donchery pursued the frolick somewhat farther than those of Sedan; but the religious lunatics of Maizieres behaved themselves so as if they had been actually possessed. If I were acquainted with the bravery and valour of gossip Poncelet of Rheims upon this score, I had not failed to send you a full information. That which is exceeding remarkable in regard of the couriers is this, that they arrived at all these places exactly at the same time, although they are not equally distant from Paris.

It is high time now to draw towards a conclusion, and yet I cannot prevail with myself to do it, without saying something of what happened at Bayeux, in Lower Normandy. About fifteen days ago they solemnized the death of the Prince of Orange there, with such an extraordinary zeal that one durst not contradict so ill-grounded a piece of news, without running the hazard of being stoned. They ordered several representations of the prince to be made there; some of which were cast into the common jakes, others were hanged, and some fell into the pious hands of the butchers, who divided them into four quarters, after the same manner as they serve the poor beasts, who have tasted the civilities of the slaughter-house. In short, there is no sort of brutality to be imagined, which these well-bred gentlemen did not commit upon this occasion, amidst the tumult and hurry of so public a rejoicing.

Neither was there less done at Dieppe, than at Bayeux, on the score of this solemnity.

The name of the Prince of Orange is here become so odious and execrable, that they cannot endure to see him, so much as in a piece of painting. It is almost an age ago, since at a certain house in Dieppe, there was set up the Prince of Orange's head for a sign. The judge of the town enjoined the master of the house to take down the sign immediately; the master at first made some difficulty to do it, representing to the judge that he ought to address himself to the proprietor of the house; and that for his part, he being but only a tenant, the expence and charge was not in justice to fall upon him. But all these remonstrances were to no purpose; he was obliged to obey without any more ado; and, by order of the justice, to set up the Prince of Wales in the place of the Prince of Orange, who was immediately hurried away to prison, with beating of drums and other great triumphing.

I have found all these passages so very singular and extraordinary, that I was desirous to communicate them to you, who are my particular good friend, and from whom I would willingly conceal nothing. If there should happen hereafter any thing that deserves to be transmitted to you, I will not fail to oblige you with it by the first opportunity. Entertain, I beseech you, sir, the same complaisance for your friend, if any curious matters should happen in your parts. However, send me nothing which is not exactly true, and therein follow the example of your most humble and most obedient servant. Farewell.

Observations upon the late Revolution in England.

A Jacobite Tract of great virulence, urging almost all the general topics upon which the favourers of the exiled family usually declaimed. It is, however, so composed as to appeal to the principles of the tories and high-church-men against their practice, while at the same time allowance is made for the general movement against James from his ill-augured attempts in favour of religion.

If it be true that interest is often mistaken, though it never lie, and that standers-by sometimes see more than gamesters, though they do not understand the game so well, it may not be false that the politic drivers of our late revolution in England (who, 'tis to be feared, have too many of them designed their private interest at least as much as that of the public,) have mistaken their way to both, and that one who has been no more than an indifferent looker-on, and who pretends not to be clearer sighted than others, has observed some things which the abler gamesters have not been aware of. Whether it be so or not, who pleases to read the following observations may judge. I will preface no more to him, whoever he be, than that if he examine them, as they have done the matter of fact on both sides, without prejudice to any, he will judge the better; and that since my kindness for my friends and country is the only motive I can have to expose my thoughts of this nature, he will be very unkind if he does not forgive what he does not approve.

First Observation.

That though religion in the contrivance of this turn was called upon at first to serve the turn of interest, as it has ever been put to do in changes of this kind, and did sanctify a little while the pride and ambition of private men, with the name of Blessed Reformation, and made saints among the ignorant people of the worthy gentlemen so qualified, it has nevertheless been treated by them with less ceremony, than has been shewn it before on such occasions. That mask was immediately thrown off here, and interest appeared bare-faced in every body's mouth from the very beginning. Our true protestant generals and officers from the first removal of some of them from their employments, began to roar abroad without ceremony, they would stand by their religion, and show themselves protestants to the last drop of their blood; for all their commands would in time be given to papists. Our conscientious lawyers upon the same occasion declared in Westminster-hall itself, they were fee'd by the protestant religion, and would defend it as long as they could speak, for papists were setting up to run away with the profits of that sweet place, and all their beneficial employments. Our reverend clergy of all degrees were provoked, both in pamphlets and pulpits, to pronounce to us the danger our religion was in, for Magdalen-college was already given to the papists; and to tell us thereupon, they never meant by their doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which they had preached so long, not to stand up for their spiritual preferments against any anti-christian king in Christendom, who would take them away. Our lords and commons of business and interest, of estates and pleasure, cried out altogether they would have no popery, for none but papists could be heard or looked upon at court; and even those gentlemen whom they had used to snub and threaten, from their assizes and sessions, with taking away their catholick horses, and two-thirds of their damned popish estates, came up now and nosed them upon all their country benches. In short, men of war, men of law, men of gospel, men of all kinds, professed plainly to stand up for their liberty and property against their king; and that not so much by covering them, under the defence of their religion, as by discovering their religion was to defend them. So that though religion was advanced sometimes to lead up the common people, and marched along with liberty and property at the head of parties and pamphlets, when there was occasion to appear in public, it was plain that my lords and gentlemen had no other use of it, than to gull the commonalty; and that the profits and preferments of the government, to which the laws and possession gave them a title, were the things they would never part with, if any other king, or if no king, would preserve them to them.

Second Observation.

That their redeemer, the P. of O., had the same occasion, and made just the same use of religion as his religiously aggrieved inviters and assisters into England; his declaration setting forth the deep sense and concern he had for it, as plainly as they could speak and write theirs. For, says that, (after it has run over many other particulars of mal-administration, under the name of evil counsellors,) "To crown all, there are great and violent presumptions, inducing us to believe that those evil counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill designs, and to the gaining of themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their complices, and for the discouraging of all good subjects, have published that the queen hath brought forth a son, though there have appeared, both during the queen's pretended bigness, and in

the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and ritish grounds of suspicion, &c. And since our dearest and most entirely beloved consort, the princess, and likewise we ourselves, have so great an interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the world knows, to the succession of the crown, &c. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to go over into England, and to carry over a force with us sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the violence of those evil counsellors. And we being desirous that our intentions in this may be rightly understood, have for this end prepared this declaration, in which, as we have hitherto given a true account of the reasons inducing us to it, so we now think fit to declare that this our expedition is intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful parliament assembled as soon as possible, and that in order to this all the late charters may be restored." And several other things done which he knew very well were done before he came over. By which declaration, whoever observes that the shoe pinches chiefly in the point of the Prince of Wales, who put the Prince of Orange by his hopes of succession, even more if it were true, than if it were fictitious, and that therefore (at that time especially, when it was not to be imagined the crown could be got upon any other foot,) it was absolutely necessary to make him appear fictitious if possible; and whoever considers these other proceedings of the Prince of Orange upon all occasions; the trouble he gave himself of coming over into England about ten years ago, on purpose to help forward the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York; his entering into a conspiracy (which is averred from the mouth of one trusted by himself at the very time) for the deposing K. Ch. II.; his unwearied diligence in thwarting every thing K. C. or K. J. had a mind to have done by their own subjects; his great goodness in providing well for all those persons, who, for some goodness or other, had incurred their displeasure, and were banished or proclaimed traitors by those two kings; his generosity in sending and making use of the Duke of Monmouth, like foot of whelp, to burn his paws with setting up for king in England, without men, money, or arms; his courage afterwards, so much extolled, in coming himself, when, being rid of Monmouth's pretensions, he had the consent of the greatest part of the people and army of England, and knew he was not to strike any other kind of stroke for it than such an one as he gave with his whip on a gentleman's shoulders at Newmarket, for riding before him, wittily enough observed then, to be the first he struck for the kingdom; his great care of K. J. when he was betrayed by his own army, in sending him a Dutch guard to Whitehall at eleven o'clock at night, without his knowing any thing of it; his kind message to him after he was in bed the same night to begone out of his own house the next morning to the Duchess of Lauderdale's, at Ham, for the farther security of his royal person, and to be sure to be gone early, lest he should be troublesome, by being in his way coming from Sion the same day to London; his condescension afterwards, at the king's request, to let him go to Rochester instead of Ham, that he might, by his going away, make room for his design of being king, which he was told could never be compassed as long as K. J. stayed in England, let his condition be what it would; his constant and firm adherence, after the king's departure, to his declaration (the confidence of which had drawn in all the people to him;) first, in his calling a free and legal parliament, than which he declares to have no other design; secondly, in the particular care he took for electing to his parliament, called the Convention, all true churchmen, all such as had been discountenanced, or brow-beaten before, in the way of outlawries, or so, by King Charles the Second, or King James; all such as could possibly be found, who had any hand of their own, or relation to those who had, in bringing his grandfather King Charles the First to condign punishment; and, thirdly, in his not suffering any business of the kingdom to come before or be thought of, by his honourable convention; not so much as his dearly beloved consort the princess, who, though she was graciously mentioned in his declaration, to have so great an interest in this matter, and such a right as all

the world knows, to the succession of the crown, was not then permitted to come into England, till they had altered the fundamental constitution of the government, and made him king in his own right ; his transubstantiating, (as it has been called) when he was king, the same convention into a parliament, without writs or new elections, lest he should not get the people, who had been deceived by their conventional members doing what they never dreamed of in making him king, to chuse such parliament-men as would serve the turns he had to come hereafter ; his plain proofs he brought to them when they were a parliament, concerning the fictitiousness of the Prince of Wales, according to the last promissory clause in his declaration, in these words : " To this parliament we will also refer the enquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all things relating to it, and to the right of succession ; " his choice of men of honour for the new honours he has bestowed ; his filling all places of trust and profit throughout the kingdom, as far as could be found, with persons of the church of England, and of good life and conversation ; his sending out of England even for Mr Ludlow, one of the regicides of his grandfather, attainted and condemned by act of parliament for hanging up without a trial, to be advised with, if not preferred in the government here ; his free disinterested submission of this kingdom's business to this free parliament, without any of those tricks as were played by former kings to influence or bias the members, as appears by its being so well an officered parliament, as it has been observed to be in the House of Commons itself ; by the lords' sons he has called up, and the new peers he has created, by his sending his own Bentinck, whom he never parts with, when he has no particular interest driving elsewhere, out of his closet, to vote for Mr Oats's being a good evidence again ; and by his turning an honourable person, (who did him the first and most remarkable service of any man in England) such an one, as without which, in all probability, he had had but little power over employments in England, out of a very good one, for no other imaginable reason, than for going in parliament according to his own judgment and conscience ; his religious way of taking and keeping coronation oaths in England, to defend episcopacy, and the church of England, as established by law ; for the special performance of which, all England sees itself obliged to his weak endeavours ; in Scotland to abolish episcopacy, root and branch, and to establish a church more conformable to the word of God, for the godly performance of which, all Scotland see no church at all. To conclude, upon this whole matter, it is observed, that his Dutch highness, as well as his English factors, consulted his private interest and ambition in the redemption he brought to England, at least as much as he did the good of religion, or the interest of the kingdom.

Third Observation.

That as the people of England, and the P. of O. have luckily done their business (as they think) with consulting their interest too much, and religion too little, King James unfortunately did his, with consulting his interest too little, and religion too much ; and both together have drawn such a prospect of confusion and destruction to the whole kingdom, as England itself (to speak a proud word) never saw before : And yet it is not easy to lay the saddle on the right horse, or to say on what, or on whom, to cast the original blame. For as it is known on the people's side, how well the parliament behaved themselves towards the Duke of York (notwithstanding the crafty malicious endeavours of that time to the contrary) how they refused to pass the bill of exclusion brought against him, on the account of religion, before his accession to the crown ; how they settled him in the throne when he came to it, with that reverence, that security, that joy in all his subjects, as never king met with more ; how firmly they stood by him in that early rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth ; how the first

parliament of his time, laying aside their apprehensions of popery, they unanimously settled a greater revenue upon him than any of his predecessors had, during life, a thing which our protestant William, with all the advantages of the redemption he comes with, cannot compass now; and how, according to the opinion of very wise men, far from being prejudiced by his religion, he might (if well desired) have made himself safer and greater yet, by being a Roman catholic, than if he had been a protestant; so on the king's side, it was even confessed by unbiassed people, that he had the public virtues of a king, and the private ones of a gentleman; that his courage, constancy, justice, liberality, and frugality, in their due places, befitted him more properly for the government of England, than any king perhaps, who governed it before himself. However he might be deceived, he generally aimed laboriously at the good and glory of the nation. But wherever the fault lay, or however we call it, fault or misfortune of the king or of the people, the matter of fact was, the people changed from the best to the worst opinions in the world, of the king, and proved the citizens in the parable, who sent their absent lord word, "We will not have this man reign over us;" nor could the wisdom of those who foresaw what must happen, stem the universal tide. Only thus much I think will appear to be truth on both sides, that, as kings are more exposed than other men, to the delusions of disguised craft, which seeks to impose upon them with a restless importunity, King James might possibly hearken too much to mistaking priests at one rate, and to misguiding ministers at the other: The first whereof knew not how to drive his and their own interest together, as they meant to do, and the last meant to drive their own, though they destroyed his, as they did; and that the people, though they might possibly find enough from this conduct of his, to justify themselves for changing their first opinion of him, and for standing upon the guard of their religion and property, as far as the not contributing to the destruction of them amounted to (which alone, viz. their peremptory refusing to repeal the laws, or to act against themselves, had evidently brought the papists to the end of their contrivances, and had done the business for the protestants, without going any farther) yet, I say, those who are concerned can never be excused in the length they have gone since, from having done things contrary to the duty, the conscience, the religion which the protestants of England have ever professed, and from being guilty of acting those crimes, for holding of which only to be lawful, we have so severely decried, and pronounced sentence of damnation against the papists. But it is not the business of this paper to insist upon that; our present reformers, as was said at first, having all along insisted upon interest more than religion, and that work being performed already (I fear unanswerably) by the author of the History of Passive Obedience, and by several other hands much fitter for it than mine, I am sure, that which is given for answer, by some unknown hand, to that book, that King William as a foreign prince, has made an absolute conquest over King James, though he did not over the people, and that therefore the allegiance of the people, and the oaths they took, are transferred by force, when the people are not forced, from King James to King William, is such stuff as those gentlemen themselves will not own before people of common sense, though perhaps it be as much as is to be said for the matter.

Fourth Observation.

That setting aside the question, whether the proceedings of the people of England have been just or lawful, it is observed that what they have done, is directly against their dearly beloved and espoused interest, and worse for themselves, in the same kind, than any inconveniences King James could have brought them under; that is to say, that those very inconveniences, of what kind soever they were, which they apprehend

ed from him, (and every body knows they were not more than apprehended) are actually insupportable under this change of government already; and that they will grow worse and worse still, without other remedy than restoring him again; which will appear best by comparing what we feared then with what we feel now.

We feared for our religion then, and have we no reason to fear still? It is absolutely certain, that religion, as ill luck will have it, of all others, not excepting popery itself, the most unrelentingly impatient of induring any worship or authority but its own, should want credit, with a prince born and bred under it in Holland, and brought chiefly by its well-wishers into England, to turn both his power and theirs towards its establishment here. Is it certain our liturgy shall always continue, which there has been dangerous, not to say illegal commissions given out already to alter? That episcopacy shall stand firm in England, which has been so early abolished in Scotland? Or if it do stand for a while, that compliance with the court-interest (as necessary an ingredient, and as shameful a blot as it was said to be in King James's days) shall have no hand in making of bishops in these days. And if bishops do preach and teach a new complying doctrine, is it certain the people will always believe and practice the stubborn old? The doctrine of not resisting lawful princes, being plainly against the interest of a prince made against law, may we safely count upon it, that that church which has ever taught that doctrine, shall be always preferred by a prince who has not been altogether so unmindful of his interest as his predecessor, and who sees besides, he shall not at all disoblige his protestant allies, by trimming our church more after their cut? We see the contrary to all these already: We see every bishop, chose since our reformation, of another stamp than of the true church of England, such as have been ever blown about, not only with every wind of doctrine, but with every change of government, such as are more intent at present to mend our religion, and make new doctrines for us, than to preach the old, or to teach us to mend our manners. In short, we see all church-preferments, and all our religious favours, bestowed upon persons, if of any religion, of that of the court; and our receipt to cure our fears, as to this particular, has, to my thinking, neither taken away, nor lessened them, but only changed them from popery to presbytery, which is at least as bad as the other: I wish the presbyters be not so much the more dangerous of the two, as they have more hands, more cunning, and more credit in England. For does the dissolution of the late parliament, which I confess was in being when the foregoing observations were made, or the new-proffered kindness to the church of England, afford any reasonable ground to make any recantation? King James's sudden caressing the dissenters, when the church of England would not serve his turn, was too well understood by all parties then, to let the same trick reversed pass upon any now: A trick which, in plain English is just the compliment of one, who having occasion to borrow money, and being disappointed by John-a-Stiles, would have John-a-Nokes take his application to him for a great obligation. Others had the first refusal, and now, dissenting measures unluckily proving false, a sudden fit of kindness honours the church of England, with an offer of the glory to enslave the nation, and destroy herself, when the chosen confidants, it seems, would not, or could not, do it. But I hope I need say no more, either to put church of England men in mind that the P. O. having lately found he is not strong enough yet to root them out here as he has done in Scotland, is about to require another present supply of money, his revenue during life, and their passive obedience again from their hands, to enable him to do it; or to let dissenters see that he will sacrifice them to his own, to their enemies, or to any thing that affords the least prospect of advancing his ~~any~~ ambition.

We feared for our liberties; and our new expedient to preserve us freemen, is to teach and preach up a conquest, and to establish martial law. 'Tis a little surprising, that we should take our freedom to be secured by courses, which all nations besides

are persuaded takes it away. But if conquest do indeed make our liberty greater than a lawful succession, I am of opinion it would be sweeter, and relish better, if we were not clapt into prisons, for refusing oaths against our consciences; if the benefit of our *habeas corpus* had never been denied us; if free-born Englishmen had never been spirited away with pistols at their breasts, out of their native country, to maintain foreign quarrels with their blood, and this too without any necessity, since nobody can deny, but the 8000 Danes brought hither, might altogether as fully have performed our articles with Holland, and left England to be defended by so many Englishmen. I confess this compulsive liberty I now enjoy, of opening my purse as wide, and as often as a certain number of men please, to whom the law gives no authority over it, and being subject to my next neighbour's good-will, whether he will ask me a question about oaths, and send me to prison if he do not like my answer, is not according to my taste; and I fancy the liberty which the protestants of Ireland have at present out of their country and estates, does not, or at least will not long, agree better with their stomachs. In short, my dullness cannot comprehend, if force upon our consciences, our persons and our estates, be the true English liberty, that it is so much better than our former slavery, as we have and must give to boot.

We feared for our properties. The cargoes and hulks of ships enough to make, they say, a tolerable fleet, and fight us with our own ships, was once an English property; is it a jot better secured to us by being in the hands of the French? Was the gentleman worse in his property when his pound of rent put 20s. in his pocket, than since it puts but 14s. or 15s.? Was the merchant worse, when, in peace with all the world, he had the sea and foreign markets open to trade, than now with his liberty to walk the Exchange idle, and talk of news, not daring to venture a ship abroad? Were the countrymen worse when they had merchants at hand in all places to take off the product of their lands, or fruit of their industry, than now, when after they have wrought hard all the week, they have their labour for their pains on Saturday nights to feed their wives and children? For I see not how it can be otherwise, unless foreign merchants who can trade, take the more compassion on us, and be content to buy our wares at their own rate. Property sure might be as safe by keeping trade in our own hands, as by passing it into our neighbours: And the way we take, to my eye, shows directly like his in the poet, who would needs kill himself for fear of dying; for we have just lost our properties for fear of losing them: They are, and will be evidently less, by so many millions as have been and must be given out of them; and so much decreased, is so much lost in my arithmetick. I should never have thought diminishing the stock had been the best way to encrease it; when we take out so much, only to enable us to venture the rest upon the thing in the world the most uncertain, the chance of war. As beating makes children learn; if we should beat the cowardly Irish into an humour of fighting at last; if King James should find more friends than we yet discover: In a word, if he should prevail any way at any time, we shall have secured the remainder of our properties which the war in the mean time shall leave us, very fairly, by exposing them to the courtesy of the man we feared, and by forfeiting them legally to the law, with which we will not have him dispense. However it go, I, for my part, do not think the event of a battle good security, and could be every jot as well content to fear for my money and receive it, as not to fear and go without it.

Lastly, we feared for our laws, not so much I believe for what was done, as for the manner of doing it, for I am persuaded a good part of what King James did might have been done for him in a legal way, and with the consent of the people; but when we saw him assume a dispensing power, not vested in him by law, we were sensible that the same power which over-ruled one law, might over-rule another, and all, and feared the pernicious example: This, I think, was the case and the disease. The antidote now which we have taken against the poison of this bad example, is not an en-

ample as bad, or worse, and our remedy against one illegal power, which we have pulled down, a setting up another altogether as illegal?

For the law acknowledges not for a legal parliament, any number of men, who are strong enough, a legal call; no, though they convene in the parliament-house, and vote themselves a parliament, nor that man for a king, whom the law places not in the throne. Unriddle me now, who can, in what an illegal dispensing power was more dangerous to our laws, than an illegal enactive, or an illegal executive power is; or in what the abdicated example of K. J. to dispense with some laws, was worse than the example set up now, by which any number of men who are strong enough, may assume an absolute power to dispose of all our laws, our religion, our bodies, consciences, and purses as they please, with no more ceremony than the formality of a transubstantiating vote. A liberty and property-defending army of Englishmen, has done little less within the memory of man, and if our Dutch redeemers should take it for the fashion of the country, and to complete our redemption, set up for the parliament of England, which way can we plead our laws in bar to them, which we have over-ruled already ourselves? In short, illegality is always illegality, and if that were the intolerable pernicious thing before, it is so much the more intolerable now, by how much a legislative illegality is more pernicious than a dispensative one, and an usurped executive power more dangerous than a legal one; and yet the wisdom of our fears has drank down one, as a destructive disturbing, and the other, as a healing settling draught. I am far enough from kindness to either, but I will say for the destructive one, that it has been, at least, the more modest of the two. for it only made bold with a single superstructure, by dispensing with the test-act, without which our government had stood many a fair age, and that too with a pretence on its side of its being law, in the interval of parliament, and of referring it to a parliament when it met; whereas our settling illegality has fallen confidently upon the very foundations of our constitution, and pulled them quite away. The English government has hitherto stood upon these fundamental maxims, That the king never dies, and that all authority is derived from him. For our wise ancestors were so sensible of the ruinous consequences of interregnums, elections, seditions, and saw so well that nothing could prevent them but a legal king always in being, that they would not allow to death itself, with all its irresistible power over the man, any power over the king, but made the same moment which received the last breath of the man breathe his regal power into the next of blood; and then placing the fountain of all authority in this immortal king, stopt up for ever all pretending streams of sedition. By this it was made impossible, for any pretence to cheat or hinder the people from distinguishing the seditious, which they were to avoid, from the just power which they were to obey, there being no more to do, but to ask which flowed from that fountain which they had contrived should always run. Now we have introduced vacant thrones. filling them as pleasure or humour, not as blood directs, and a new power over our fundamentals themselves, not derived from the old only fountain; and now to make the hinges strait, upon which how much soever they swayed before by dispensing, our government still moved, we have knocked them quite off. I will not be the melancholy prophet to foretell what will be the consequence, but leave every one to guess, who will reflect what they have seen and felt in one year's time.

Fifth Observation.

That already no man can count upon law or his estate, or know what either is; for judgments of all kinds given in our courts of justice (if we may believe lawyers) according to law, are reversed, and discharged without any exception shewn to them; and our estates are less than they were last year by a fourth, and to some a third part.

No man can promise to lie in the same bed at night out of which he rose in the morning. For if a certain gentleman called a serjeant at arms (who has walked the streets more frequently this year than ever, upon those errands) invite any passenger to his lodging, there is no refusing his civility. The height of merit, the spirit of soldiers to serve their king and country is become a forfeit of the right of a free-born Englishman, no man being able to say he shall breathe his native air, as long as there are quarrels abroad, in which his starving, or knocking on the head, may be useful. Our general liberty of conscience is confined to those who make none of perjury, or find hard expedients, to avoid it; not that the government receives any security from oaths; for as the oath of a man perjured in any case, is no evidence, there can be no security in that oath which is the breach of a former, nor confidence in that fidelity, the promise whereof is itself infidelity, till I can be convinced at least by one example of a confiding man, made so by swearing, who was not so before; I shall as soon take the oath to this government (which I think I shall never do) as believe the government takes them for any security, especially while so many think it sinful to take them, and yet a great deal more sinful to keep them; or at least, as I heard a very understanding man say, not long ago (reflecting upon the capriciousness of our present circumstances) while men think they shall starve if they do not take the oaths, and be damned if they keep them. But perhaps a conquest may not seem complete to our conquerors, which overcomes not our consciences as well as our country; and it may be as useful, if it can be compassed, as insultingly pleasant, to evince the world there grows not now a single plant of unshakable honesty in this kingdom, that so it may appear charitable and necessary to cut down our cumbersome stocks of English growth, and plant us, or at least engraft us anew with strangers, to make the nation flourish.

Sixth Observation.

That though we thought to make our court to our new king by deserting our old, as we are generally an honest, upright people, our consciences possibly, if they were not ashamed to speak, could tell strange stories of the self-denial this compliment cost us, and the hard shifts and pains many of us made, and took to mortify the struggling rebellion of nature against that which we unnaturally hurried ourselves into against our king. And for getting the better of ourselves, for the fruits of this glorious victory, our ears tell us every day, that cowardice and treachery (reproaches heretofore unusual to Englishmen) fly in our faces from the mouths of our conquerors, from such of them at least as cannot be hindered from saying what they think, which is enough to instruct us what the reserved rest have to say, whose time it is not yet to speak their thoughts. Our eyes tell us, that no Englishman is trusted in any thing, no not those who for form-sake sit in places of trust, for as our English estates are often settled in trust, our English trust itself is in trust now; the fine titles worn by our ministers and privy-counsellors of England being nothing but gay liveries, to make them show the handsomer tools to finish up the work cut out by Dutchmen in the closet. And our reason will tell us we cannot complain, nor expect it ever should be otherwise. For no wise prince will trust a man whom he has cause to suspect will not be true to him; and our K. W. cannot forget that he was not born in England, that he did not inherit the crown, that he cannot reign without wars and taxes: and that therefore he cannot (though he would never so fain) securely count upon those men, whereof every one who presents himself for employment, must of necessity come with this speech in his mouth: You, sir, are king *de facto*, and may be sure of me; for I am just come from being false to a king *de facto*, and *de jure* both, who was my countryman, besides, twenty to one, my particular benefactor, and whose reign was a reign of peace and

plenty. Our compliment therefore has put an inevitable necessity upon our new king, never to trust us to counsel or fight for ourselves, but under a sure guard, and to furnish himself with store of foreign heads and hands, to carry on the interest of England; at which we are neither to wonder nor complain, for necessity has no law.

Seventh Observation.

That all this mischief cannot follow only (as some would have, and do infer) from K. James's going away, called Abdication; for though abdication is a hard word, which I will not pretend to understand, because my dictionary does not, I am sure it means not what his going away plainly was, trying to escape a foreseen restraint, and escaping at last an actual one. But I guess what they would have meant by it is, that K. James when he went away, ceased to be K. some way or other, which yet was neither giving away out of liberality, nor selling for money, nor losing his crown by chance, nor forfeiting, nor surrendering, nor dying. But what unintelligible way soever it were, the moment in which he ceased to be king (according to our constitution) some other was king; in which case we had no more to do but to let our government move upon the old sure wheels, and our happiness would have gone on along with it under the new king, whom God and nature, and the law of England, have always in readiness for us when the old fails. So that let abdicating signify what it will, I see no necessity of shaming ourselves with the imputation of a faithless, simple people, neither to be trusted by any king, nor so much as with our own concerns and interest: No necessity of foreigners, and the calamities they must bring along with them: None of subverting the foundation of our constitution, and crushing ourselves with the falling building. It had been but keeping the laws, and they would have kept us. But as we have handled the matter, with our anteposing and postponing, we have brought the government of England to the domineering of a pure mob, with all their whimsies, and all their violence, with only a more formal outside: for there is no such thing as a government left, to which any body is obliged to submit for any reason but fear: No such thing as law, which has been, or can be legally made or executed; and let a man have deserved to have been condemned never so much the last year, he needs his pardon who condemned him. In short, we are absolutely in the state of nature before society, where all the power which one man had over another was his greater strength, and all authority violence. 'Tis by violence K. W. calls conventions and parliaments; and violence is all the validity of their acts. They have no other authority than the laws which thieves make among themselves to rob the more methodically and safely; and we submit to both, for the same reason, fear of worse. Violence seizes our money and our liberty, and we yield to it, just as we suffer stronger highwaymen to bind us and take our purses. Were the just scales of the law in use, (for the dispensing with which in one particular we were in such frights before) every order now for a tax, every assessment, every collection, and perhaps (if necessity help us not off) every payment would weigh more than felony, downright treason: And what the men of might do to us, every one of us, who happens to be strong enough, may with as much right do to them.

Eighth Observation.

To conclude: Here we are, and here we must be eternally, till we learn wit of a catter, and set the overturned cart on the wheels again; in plain terms, till we re-settle King James on his throne. The happiness of England depends upon a rightful king, we see it always went out with him, and 'tis in vain to hope it ever will, or can return

without him. So our constitution, so the temper of the people is made, and by a long and sweet experience, inflexibly settled. Hither it must come at last, let us torment our brains never so much, and whirl them giddy in the endless windings of projecting policy. We had a great deal better therefore save ourselves the treasure, the blood and misery, which struggling vainly against it will cost us, and embrace it unanimously at first. Perhaps we have no time to lose; foreigners swarm in upon us daily, and if they become too numerous for us to master them, they will, in spite of our teeth, master us. But it is not yet too late, I hope, to shake off our present and prevent our future calamities, if we be not in love with them.

We may have a lawful government and true parliaments again, security of our religion, laws, and rights, and be once more the freemen we were born, re-enfranchized from wars and taxes; for all these things are waiters in ordinary, and return with the king of course. If any remnant of our former fears hangs still uneasy about us, he is not so far off, but a willing mind may have recourse to him, whither he has more than once invited us for that purpose, and be eased. And it is not now to be suspected, he will boggle at condescending to any thing that is reasonable in our fears, much less that we shall ever have reason to complain hereafter of non-performance. For as there is no security like interest, and he cannot but be sensible of it, who sees that not to keep his word, is not to keep his kingdom; if we have but wit enough to judge as the wise Romans did, even upon the suggestion of a conquered enemy, that a reasonable easy peace on both sides, is sincere and lasting; an unreasonable grating one on either side, of no longer duration than till the next opportunity for war, and so keep ourselves from grating unreasonably upon him; the wit of a burnt child in him will set our hearts at rest for that matter: But have him we must on any terms, or be the most wretched nation under the sun: For the fire of war is kindled, which of necessity must otherwise consume us. As it has taken first in Scotland and Ireland, it has hitherto singed us in England only at a distance, but when the flames spread hither, if it be not presently choked, it must entirely devour us. Alas! it will not be as in our late civil wars, where the enemy was always a countryman, often a kinsman or friend, but never without compassion for his own nation and language; and yet even those times are remembered with horror. Foreigners now will be the main body, the English but a thin sprinkling in the two great armies, which must fight the quarrel, and decide the fate of England. Both armies must live on us, and yet how shall we pay them, when every red-coat that passes takes the horses out of the plough, the corn out of the barn, the cattle out of the field, the ware out of the shop, and when in the general tumult, in every corner of the nation, here is no levying money though we had it? Of necessity, then, they must pay themselves and come to free quarter, and contribution, and military execution; terms of art, which as we only find in gazettes, every body perhaps does not know, that free quarter signifies so many meals of so many dishes, with so much money under the trencher; contribution, so much assessed upon the neighbouring district by the next garrison, as that garrison thinks fit, which, if it be not brought in by a day, is collected by what they call military execution, that is, by carrying away all that is moveable, and utterly destroying the rest. All this is regular proceeding in soldiers, but we must be at the mercy of every straggling party besides, for there are no strong-holds here as in other countries, to shelter people and their goods from sudden storms; and for any shelter from the law, it is to add scorn to the rest of our miseries to talk of law to a soldier. How shall we English bear more than other countries, who cannot hear of the miseries they endure without compassion for the sufferers, and indignation at the doers? We who cried out upon England as a ruined nation, if a soldier who stole a night's quarter, or a pot of ale, took sanctuary under his colours, which, contrary to the king's directions too, as is confessed since, protected him often with design that we might cry out the louder. As bare relation of our neighbour's misery

is nothing to feeling it ourselves, we shall be much otherwise afflicted when our own persons are seized, our own goods partly plundered, partly destroyed, and our own houses fired. And this affliction too (unless King James end it) must be like that of hell, without hope of end, for it must of necessity last as long as he lives, or any of his posterity, who takes place of our new-coined succession; and yet who can answer, that a regular war shall be our only, or our greatest misery? If desperate sufferings should grow into desperate rage, and that rage begin to think of the authors of those sufferings, believe me I should be ill at ease with fear, lest lawless oppressions should meet with lawless revenges, and De Witting be learned of our masters in more senses than one, which God forbid should happen to any, however the devil has made them deserve it. I hope the most guilty will go quit with the infamy of their crimes, which will never forsake them; and what a brand to themselves, and reproach to their descendants, must the names of those needs be, who screwed themselves into an authority abominably lawless, only to use it extravagantly ill, who with their taxes half ruined us before-hand, to nourish a war which would ruin us altogether, and who, while they made so bold with our estates, paid not a farthing out of their own; for officers paid taxes for them, and rewarded them for taxing us besides, who seized on the government only to pull it down, not sparing the very foundation, that we might be irrecoverably miserable; and for a prelude to much worse, have already fixed their infamy upon the whole nation. We live in an island, where, conversing only among ourselves, we are apt to think the world goes as the cry goes with us, and perceive not how abominably we stink in the nostrils of all mankind besides; not excepting the very Turks, nor our delivering masters themselves, for the glory of wearing whose chains we have made ourselves so wretchedly despicable. Not to flatter ourselves, all Europe loaths a nation which, having murdered one king, is now murdering another, and that not by a ragged mobile whose unthinking fury starts more excusably into horrid crimes, but by a mobile of another make, a mobile of honour dressed up in the wisdom and devotion of the nation; a thinking godly mobile, which kills in cool blood, and fasts and prays to sanctify the murders. To be plain, all Europe hates our hypocrisy, who, pretending zeal for the protestant religion, are all the while worse than the very worst of papists.

Alas! that England should for our sakes bid fair to lose its old name, and be known hereafter by the name of the barbarous, the king-killing country; and our religion the faithless, the hypocritical religion!

But it is time to end, and I will, if I can, end with demonstration. It is demonstration that, unless we recover our old constitution by consent, we must, besides the intermediate miseries, sink at last under arbitrary power. It may be monarchical, and it may be republican. But arbitrary it must be, if we suffer it to come either to a conquest of King William, or King James, or to a commonwealth; which, by the way, would be the worst of all; we can at least complain under an arbitrary prince, and the shame and vexation of just complaints is some check to him, let him be never so absolute. Under a commonwealth there is not so much as that poor ease; as imaginations of law or fancy, I know not whether, makes us do whatever our representatives do; no burthen can pass for oppression, nor complaint for just. For we oppress ourselves all the while, and must complain of ourselves, and whatever we suffer in reality, all is ease and liberty in imagination. But this is no place for the dispute betwixt monarchy and a commonwealth. It is enough that conquest makes a conqueror absolute; that nothing can be more arbitrary than a commonwealth must be, and that a weight weighs its weight however it be laid on. It is demonstration that we cannot recover our old constitution, without our old king. It stands upon right of blood, it fell with that right, and we may as soon build a castle in the air as think to rear

and prop it again with our politic fancies. It is demonstration, that if the present quarrel come to be decided in England, we must either sit still or side; and if we side, either all one way, or some one way, some another. To sit still and save our private stakes, whoever wins the public game, may be the project of those who consider not that neutrality is for allies, not subjects. In our case it is neither possible to sit still, nor to save stakes by it, though it were possible; for where shall neutrals live, when to be sure neither king will suffer either than declared friends in either of their quarters, nor count those for other than declared enemies who are not in their quarters. However we understand the true allegiance which is so dextrously sworn to both kings, the law includes in it defending them to the utmost of our power against all persons whatever; so that, which side soever prevails, the neuter can no way avoid direct treason, by the law either of King William or King James; considering then how much cause both will have to be angry, and how many to reward with forfeitures, fighting, I believe, will prove a less hazard than neutrality, and being friends to neither being enemies to both. To divide ourselves between the kings, will indeed secure the half which chuses the lucky side, but with a worse inconvenience; for balancing the parties is protracting the war, that is, feeding a fire which must consume the whole nation, and with it the fortune of every particular man. This is the very worst of errors never to be retracted, for it will no more be in our power ever to end a war, which, by equalling the forces we have suffered to get a-head, than to quench a fire which has got the mastery, and must burn on till it have spent itself in an utter destruction.

To side universally with William, is to put it out of the power even of victory itself to end the war; the most it can bring is a cessation of arms till King James recruits, or his son (true or supposed is all a case) is grown a soldier, whose quarrel too may chance to fight before he be strong enough to fight himself; neither can we promise ourselves so much as a truce. For as we are impatient enough of being subject to arbitrary, conquering mercy, 'tis all to nothing we shall whine away our breathing intervals, in a new war betwixt monarchy and a commonwealth.

As nobody, who will not purposely shut his eyes, can, I think, chuse but see this to be demonstration, I will draw out the thread no longer, but take my leave of my reader and of all hopes, if we will suffer our jealousies, our animosities, our passions, and our hate of others, to blind us into a hate of ourselves, and what we should value more than ourselves, our country. Our frailties, our errors, our very crimes, may yet be cancelled, and every one who needs a pardon, be sure of it, because he may deserve it. Our religion and laws may yet be secured to us, our old constitution may yet be recovered, and with it a lasting quiet, instead of confusion and desolation otherwise unavoidable. In short, it is yet in our choice to be happy or miserable; to chuse misery is plainly a madness beyond any which ever came within the walls of Bedlam, and nothing but madness to such a degree can make men do it; as he well understood who said in his Pagan language, *Quos Deus vult perdere hos dementat prius*: "From those whom Jupiter would destroy, he first takes away their wits."

God in his mercy forbid that we should be the unfortunate generation, which fills up the measures of our fathers, and of which shall be required all the righteous blood shed from Abel to Zacharias!

The Dear Bargain; or, a true Representation of the State of the English Nation under the Dutch. In a Letter to a Friend.

Burnet admits the discontents which were excited through the severity of the king's retirement, and his natural predilection for his countrymen and ancient followers, which were turned into matter of accusation against him, by the jealous and irritable people of England.

"Another prejudice had more colour and as bad effects. The king was thought to love the Dutch more than the English, to trust more to them, and to admit them to more freedom with him. He gave too much occasion to a general disgust, which was spread both among the English officers and the nobility. He took little pains to gain the affections of the nation, nor did he constrain himself enough to render his government more acceptable: He was shut up all the day long; and his silence, when he admitted any to an audience, distasted them as much as if they had been denied it. The Earl of Marlborough thought that the great services he had done were not acknowledged nor rewarded, as they well deserved, and began to speak like a man discontented. And the strain of all the nation almost was, that the English were overlooked, and the Dutch were the only persons favoured or trusted. This was national: and the English being too apt to despise other nations, and being of more lively tempers than the Dutch, grew to express a contempt and an aversion for them, that went almost to a mutiny. It is true, the Dutch behaved themselves so well and so regularly in their quarters, and paid for every thing so punctually, whereas the English were apt to be rude and exacting, especially those who were all this winter coming over from Ireland, who had been so long in an enemy's country, that they were not easily brought into order; so that the common people were generally better pleased with the Dutch soldiers than with their own countrymen; but it was not the same as to the officers. These seeds of discontent were carefully managed by the enemies of government; and by these means matters went on heavily in the House of Commons."—BURNET, 1753, 12. IV. 162.

Yours of the first of May came safe, by which you have exacted a task from me which I fear I shall not be able to perform answerable to your expectation. However, I will not decline giving you the best satisfaction I am able; and this so much the rather, because I have of late had some conferences with the most judicious men of the nation, and some opportunity of entering into the very secrets of the cabal, which have been so industriously concealed even from our representatives.

As to the first question, what was the design of the late parliament, begun Feb. 23, 1688, to vote a taking into consideration the state of the nation, and what obstructed their proceedings thereupon; and how it comes to pass that nothing hath been proposed, till of late, on that head, in this parliament, I shall answer it in few words.

As to the design of the house, many honest men, no doubt, intended (what you mention) an impartial enquiry into the transactions of the last summer, and the present grievances we lie under, but the major part intended nothing less; all their design was to get money to support the present government, that it might support them; and therefore to induce the country more readily to submit to the most heavy burthen of

taxes, they were pleased to seem to allow that an enquiry should be made into the public revenue, how it had been expended, and who were chargeable with the ill conduct and success of our affairs, both by sea and in Ireland; but neither the government, nor they, as I said, ever intended either.

For as to the expences, the accounts were given in so general, so extravagant, and so uncircumstantiated, that a very judicious member of the house told me, he blushed to see their impudence in offering them. A further scrutiny was expected, but to divert that some miscarriages were acknowledged, and Sir Richard Haddock and Commissary Shales were exposed,¹ but without intention, as we see, of ever letting them come to a fair trial; and when the money-bills were perfected, and it was but whispered in parliament that other persons and miscarriages were to be inquired into, there followed a precipitate prorogation, to shew that money had been the sole business to be effected; and the questioning some great men (amongst whom the state Gaviston in Holland might have been one) was a galling sore, which was not by any means to be touched.

It is now obvious, that the getting of more money was the primary inducement to the dissolving of that parliament; for it being found that no more milk could be got from that teat, a topping-lord advised the trial of another, and undertook that a church of England parliament would give down afresh as much as could be expected; and it appears that his lordship was not mistaken.²

As to the other part of the question, how it comes to pass that there hath been no farther progress made in that affair by this parliament, all the reason I can give is, because they are more intent upon securing their king, since he appears cordial to our church's interest, than they are for the ease of the subjects.

However, after they have voted the bleeding of the nation, even to its swooning, they are pleased to cast some cold water upon it, by a vote of April, for a bill to enable Commissioners to take an Account of all Public Monies since the 5th of November, 1688." But since they had so near finished the supplies before this was moved, it looks like giving a cordial after a mortal wound, and can be of little use now but to hasten their dismissal into the country, to be the executioners of those they have sentenced to bleed almost to the last ounce.

As to your second desire, of having my sense of the condition of the nation; since neither of our representatives, through a timorous or time-serving spirit, have entered upon a disquisition of the true state of the nation, whilst they might have done it, that is, before their money-bills were passed, I shall, with as much brevity as a matter of such importance will allow, give you such a representation of it as may serve to awaken us out of this wonderful lethargy with which we are so oppressed, that we seem to have no sense of the present or infinitely greater miseries which are rolling down upon us.

¹ Shales was commissary general to the army in Ireland. He was impeached by the commons in 1689, as the cause of the miscarriages and protraction of that war, and they prayed the king to let the house know by whom he had been recommended. The king promised to secure Shales for trial, but flatly refused the remainder of the commons' request.

² This alludes to King William's availing himself of the service of the tories, when the whigs began to be less tractable and reasonable in their demands:—"It is certain, that Lord Nottingham's dexterous hint, that those who had scrupled to make the prince king, would make none to serve him on his own terms, had sunk deep into his majesty. And no sooner did he become sensible that the entire confidence of his makers was at an end, than he grew weary of their tuition, and laboured to balance their ascendancy in the House of Commons by making friends with the contrary party. He wanted *these* now to secure to him all the prerogatives of the crown, as he had wanted *those* to put him in possession of the crown itself; and made it appear that though he came professedly to scourge past abuses, he could not bear any one of those measures that were necessary for those ends."—*Ralph*, II. 77.

The Matters I shall treat of shall be reduced to these following heads :

First, The state of our trade.

Secondly, The condition of our country.

Thirdly, The posture of our military forces both by sea and land.

Fourthly, The uncertain state of our religion.

Lastly, Some considerations about the government.

In setting down the state of the nation in these particulars, I shall, with all plainness and impartiality, shew in what condition we were before this Revolution, to what this government hath brought us, and to what it is yet likely to bring us farther, if it goes on as hitherto it hath done.

First then, as to Trade.

I call to witness the whole trading part of the nation, however affected, and particularly that of this great city, both at the Exchange, Custom-house, and, with their lordships' leave, at the Treasury too, if, to the very last year of the last reign, there was not more merchandise exported and imported, than had been in the memory of man; for the veriest enemies of King James confess, that he was more intent upon the advancement of trade than any of his predecessors: To this he had the greatest regard in his negotiations abroad, and in his councils at home; witness his care and industry in breaking the woollen manufacture, which some of his dissenting subjects, who fled from England for fear of persecution in the beginning of his reign, had begun to set up at Leewarden, in Friesland, and Lunenburgh, notwithstanding all the encouragements were offered to them in those countries of houses gratis, a fund of 20 or 30,000*l.* and that such progress was made in it, that near upon forty looms were daily kept at work; which great work he effected by promising pardon and liberty of conscience.

For the sake of promoting trade, he would not enter into the confederates' league, nor hearken to the overtures of France; hoping, by such a neutrality, to put the most part of the trade of Europe into the hands of his own subjects.

For the sake of this, he, in the mean time, made those acts of grace and indulgence to all his own discontented and dissenting subjects, that they might be able and willing to undertake so great a traffic, (by having united interests, notwithstanding diversity of opinions) and a lasting insurance of a quiet enjoyment of what they got to themselves and families.

For the sake of this, a scheme was drawn about August 1688, of a farther improvement of traffic in his kingdoms of America, applicable to other places; whereby our merchants would have been able to undersell all their rivals in Europe.

Lastly, For the sake of this, he ruined and sacrificed all that was dear to him; for hereby he enriched the ill-affected part of his subjects against himself, and made the rest wanton. He made the Dutch jealous and envious, and in spite of their avarice, contribute to that fatal expedition. So that, while those of King James's religion looked upon him as a martyr for that, the trading part of the nation ought to look upon his sufferings as the effect of his endeavours to enrich them.

In this happy and hopeful way of thriving was the trade of the nation found at the beginning of our change: How hath it been improved? How preserved? Some indeed were made believe that all would have been bettered by the change; that the Dutch fleet and ours joining together, we should both have carried on the same common interest and commanded the seas and traffic together: But by the sequel it appears, that

this was only suggested to make the credulous merchants advance the loan of 3 or 400,000*l.* to settle the new government. Some of the most eminent citizens were so confident of the truth of this happy conjunction, that one of them told me, "Such effectual care would be taken to depress the power of France, that a cock-boat of theirs should not pass without a licence; so that if King James meant to return, it must be in mussel-shells."

But this was reckoning without their host: The Dutch, as cordial as they were, did not intend to part with their advantage so. It was enough that they had saved our religion and property for us, and sent us a king after our own heart, who should do our business for us at home, before we ventured abroad. Accordingly, having got possession of our ports, magazines, stores, and navy, well fitted and prepared to his hand, and the land-forces all yielding to him, the first he did was a work of retaliation and gratitude, to furnish them who had helped to set out him: The Dutch merchants therefore had very sufficient convoys, outward and inward, by which means they got the first markets for sale of all their own commodities, as also the pre-emption or forestalling, if not the monopoly, or sole buying, of all foreign ones. They have also got a free trade into all factories and plantations abroad, (a matter of the highest importance and dangerous consequences for the future) and are letting in the Spaniards also for a share into our West Indies, upon very good consideration for themselves; witness the negotiations here of Don Castaliano, under pretence of furnishing Jamaica, formerly belonging to Spain, and other our plantations, with negroes.

In the interim, our outward-bound vessels lay halling, and at anchor in the river, and all other ports, all the last year, for want of convoys, or by embargoes, or stripping them of their seamen, whereby above two millions of our commodities, to the no small loss of the merchants, were stayed in the river and port of London only, besides the like damage, from the same causes, in other ports of the kingdom.

And it is too well known, that after a tedious and endamaging expectation, all the merchant-ships which could be made ready, in hopes of a safe convoy in company of the Queen of Spain, to the number of 400, some while before her voyage, suffered infinite damages by an hurricane on the 11th of January, 1687, to the value, as some compute, of half a million more; besides the loss of near upon a score of merchant-ships, and some hundreds of seamen washed upon the Kentish shore. It may easily be conceived how chargeable the very refitting again of the merchant-ships, the supply of fresh goods and men, have been; yet after their voyage, under convoy with the Queen of Spain, another most violent hurricane hath shattered them near the Groin to that degree, besides the loss of more than as yet can be known, or is fit to own, that the merchants will in the upshot find a very sad account of this adventure, if they miss the French in their going or returning.

If there were only a suspension of trade for a while, there were some plea for patience and hope; but the mischief is as desperate for the future, as it is irrecoverable for the past: For, First, The French have given us a *coup d'essay*, a foretaste of what we must expect this year, by what they have done the last. It is notoriously known, and too smartingly felt, that they have taken in our own seas, in the Streights, and elsewhere, since the war began, near upon three millions worth of our merchandize, with above 400 vessels, and 3000 seamen, and are now, in conjunction with the Algerines, to seize our ships in foreign ports; they are upon the matter lords of our own seas, and by disasters, storms, and surprise, we want near upon fifteen of our men of war we had in King James's time; and we hear of no new ones built, but are put to the pitiful shift of fitting merchantmen, which now want traffic, to be men of war.

Bishop Burnet admits, that although the English were masters at sea, the war was so ill managed that they were great losers.

The seamen that used to be employed by our merchants, have been often taken out of their ships for the use of men of war of this new rate, when it was found, after long beating up of drums for the new marine regiments, that none came in but such as would make the black guard look thin by torch-light. A cruel method hath been taken of pressing men, even such the law exempts, and with that rigour, and so contrary to the statutes, and with such reluctance of those pressed, that the round-houses in the city, and prisons in the country, have been for some months continually filled with them; and as one company was transported, others have been seized and secured; neither have women escaped, to be made laundresses and nurses. Yet the parliament hath taken no notice, to give a stop to such tyrannical and arbitrary proceedings, only upon complaint of the Earl of Carnarvan, April 24th, of the rudeness and insolence of one press-master, who seized an old man above sixty years of age, in the boat his lordship was coming in from Greenwich, and threatened to do the like to his lordship. The lords ordered the old man to be set at liberty, and the press master to be taken into custody, but proceeded no farther to have the abuses in general rectified. However, this unwillingness to go without compulsion, is a certain sign how little zeal the very mobile have now to the cause, and how small service can be expected from them; though this kidnapping will contribute to the general design of weakening the nation, of which I shall have occasion to write more fully hereafter. Upon the whole, we can see little hopes of our own abilities alone, whereby we shall be able to keep ourselves from being prisoners in our island, and less from the Dutch assistance. Where then is the prospect of recovery? Certainly not so long as the war with France doth last.

But, Secondly, Suppose that war ended, and the French humbled to our wish, we shall still have the Dutch to deal with; they have been always our rivals, and are now our masters. Do we think they will ever let us get up again, or re-enter into that universal trade which they have occupied during our cessation? It is their interest (and they know it and love it too) that the French should drain us as they do. A man would think there was very good intelligence between them; we hear of very little harm they do each other, either by land or sea, and I believe they will not fall out into any greater hostilities on our account; they have dealt fairly hitherto, and upon the square, the Dutch have our trade, and the French our ships and men: Indeed they have no great ground for a quarrel, nor ever had of their own, but they have great motives to keep it up, now it is begun, at our charge. When we are quite undone, and brought as low at sea as the French were some years ago, then indeed the Dutch and they may fall out in earnest, and be as troublesome to each other as we and the Dutch have been formerly; meanwhile we have all the reason in the world to look about us.

The states are as wise as their neighbours, and as good at self-preservation and getting wealth; they could timely slip themselves out of the league in the last war with France, and now they cannot but foresee how the elevating their prince to the throne of England, may give him some advantages over their liberties, or engage them in a war diametrical to their trade.

The Loveisten faction is not yet extinct, and the blood of the De Witts may be yet remembered, and when we hear their statues shall be set up, that of the prince's will not long continue undemolished. If, therefore, after our being thus disabled, they should clap up a peace with France, where should we be, unless we were masters of a wiser conduct than has yet been discovered?

It is to be wished our great council had learnt a little state-craft from them. It is worth a sober thought to consider how industrious the Dutch have been to make use of this opportunity to know all our ports, shipping, magazines, and revenue. And they would do well to enquire into the reasons why their ambassadors, the last year, were made the committees of our councils. They know, no doubt, what use to make of these advantages, as well as they do to hinder us from having the like over them.

They take care we shall have no men of war in their ports, and Mynheer Bentinck himself shall be no more admitted to their secret consultations, since he is become an English earl ; but we, kind-natured fools, not only expose our weakness to them, but give them up our trade, and pay them too for their enslaving us ; for whereas our loss of trade to them, and the giving such a diversion to the French, has been worth to them more than all the pure silver in their bank, and all the seven provinces, yet we have been so kind, and so afraid to displease them, that we have, upon their demand, notwithstanding their debt owing to England, ever since Queen Elizabeth succoured their poor distressed states, ensured them 600,000*l.* for an acknowledgment we are their vassals.

It was not so with us in former times ; for the very blackest of parliaments, and Oliver Cromwell himself, though they had murdered King Charles I., and banished his son, and had nothing but their own army to rely upon, and in the very infancy of their government, yet had that due regard to the interest of England in point of trade, that they undertook a war against the Dutch with such vigour, that they forced them to better terms, and a more commodious adjustment of trade, than we ever had before.

Soon after the restauration of King Charles II., acts were made against importation of foreign commodities in any other than English vessels, or from any other place but that of their growth ; also to prohibit the bringing in of several manufactures, and particularly buttons, and that no hides, tanned or untanned, should be exported ; but since the Dutch have become our masters, nothing is to be questioned they bring in, as may be seen in the entries at the Custom-house, even to hair and other buttons. Even our men of war and yachts bring in and help us to some prohibited goods which our merchants cannot fetch ; and, under pretence that the act for bringing goods of the growth of the respective countries in English bottoms, only was prejudicial, and had been sometimes dispensed with in the last two kings reigns, our present governors, more to gratify the Dutch, and cover our weakness and inability to traffic for want of convoys, than out of any just scruple of using the dispensing power in such a case, have repealed those laws for that very end, that we may have such merchandize only from the Dutch. And lest we should have the advantage of vending abroad shoes and boots made in our own country, by which a great part of Northampton, and above a thousand families subsist, liberty must be given, by a new act, to transport leather ; yet, at the same time, we must have saddles and bridles brought from our allies, to the great impoverishing of our artificers, who must pay polls and taxes to feed and clothe the riders.

If things be carried thus by Dutch councils and interest, we may expect, ere long, to have every thing brought in Dutch bottoms also, and then all our merchants must turn Dutch factors. Thus, in some particulars, the dispensing power is not quite extinct as to the Dutch ; our laws, of the greatest importance as to trade, must be made bold with, even to the face of the legislators, to gratify them.

This partial connivance towards these good neighbours of ours, is attended with one aggravation, which much dejects our merchants, and ought to fill them with indignation ; and that is, the neglect of all their complaints, both in relation to this grievance and all others.

They are able to name and convict the immediate authors of these abuses ; they offer to prove the bribes and corruptions which have induced those who ought to have secured them, to unman their vessels, and expose them to the French ; and though the Lumley-Castle, which had been three years abroad, and the East-India ship did not fall into the hands of the French, yet the merchants have more reason to thank the care of the masters that they came safe home, than the kindness of the sea-cum-

manders who took their men out of them, without making them any satisfaction for the arrears of their wages, and threatened the master to put him in his own bilboes.

Whoever desires farther satisfaction in other particulars of this nature, may find petitions exhibited to the parliament, even in the printed votes, of persons endamaged by such abuses, but no account of their redress.

There they may find Captain Churchill accused for his exorbitant exactions for convoys, and other fees, whose case was so odious, that for very shame he was sent to the Tower, but released in three days, because he was my lord's brother forsooth, and a member; one would have thought the second reason should have kept him there, seeing such crimes are more enormous in them who are sent by the people to redress and punish the like in others.

But, alas! what do we talk of redress, when there is so great a number of such officer-members amongst our representatives? No less than fourscore brave brisk sparks, who are the most assiduous and active in the house, especially when the money raising debates are on foot; the one hand plays into the other, the member acts for the officer, and the officer does better service in the house than in the field, and is a kind of double representative, for his borough and for his regiment, one of which feeds on the other, and he on both; and no doubt but they who have the beneficial offices in the Treasury, Admiralty, Custom-house, and other branches of the revenue, are of the same kidney.

This was the policy of the old Long Parliament of 1640, to concert these two capacities, *arma et toga*, the gun and the gown, in one and the same interest, till old Oliver, with a self-denying ordinance, slipt them asunder, and devoured both.

Indeed, the silk-weavers had better success in their complaint than the merchants; but they may thank their number and their poverty; they had nothing to lose, and ventured no more; there was more of fear than compassion in the alleviation of their grievances.

——— *Ne magna injuria fiat.
Fortibus et miseris.*

And the bill for impositions on new buildings, and prohibiting more, found its stop from the same apprehension of numerous petitions, from the infinite numbers of carpenters, bricklayers, &c., our very champions for the new foundations of their monarchy being afraid to pull an old house about their ears.

For, had it been a sense of pity or equity which put a stop to that prejudicial act, why might not so many thousand families, in the like condition, and of such like trade, in this city principally, and over all the kingdom, now unthought of and unregarded, pretend to the same relief? Are not all the shopkeepers, all artificers and labourers, to the very porters and draymen, involved in the same predicament with the silk-weavers? Do not all their employments depend on the merchants, and their livelihoods on their employments? How then can they subsist when he fails? Indeed the shopkeepers hold up a little yet, by raising the price of their wares, because of their scarcity; but that is like living upon cordials, and cannot last long. When the regular circulation of commerce is intercepted above and below, when the merchant can bring in no more supplies from abroad, nor the impoverished customers come up to the raised price of the old stores, they must be contented to be without foreign commodities, when they want wherewith to get home-bred necessaries.

If the damages sustained thereby had only fallen upon the merchants themselves, a lesser charity than mine would have mixed some reproach with pity for the misfortunes they have drawn upon themselves: But, alas! they strike too far into the very vitals of the nation, and run over the whole body of the inland people, who, to the

number of 200,000 persons, are, and are like to be reduced to beggary, for want of transportation of our staple commodities. And this gives me a transition to the next head of this memorial, viz.

The Consideration of the Country.

Let us see, first, how our representatives left it at their first coming up to the convention, and then in what plight it hath been ever since this revolution. They talked once of sending commissioners to enquire into the state of the fleet, and of their army in Ireland; would they had done so in their respective countries! I believe the account would not have been very welcome, especially when they were told who were the authors of it.

We cannot but remember, that in King James's time, and for a great part of King Charles II.'s, for almost fifteen years, there had neither been land-tax nor poll; the whole country enjoyed the unspeakable benefits of peace and plenty, at full liberty to improve, to the utmost advantage, the production of their labour and industry, without one penny of charges for all the ease and safety they enjoyed; the tenants and farmers grew rich; the landlords had their rents well paid, and their estates improved; nothing was wanting but a true sense of their happiness, and a desire to preserve it.

And though there was an army then, it was of natives, which cost the country nothing; the king maintained it out of his own revenue, taking all the care possible the soldiers should not in any sort be a burthen or a grievance to the country.

This is a short summary of all those blessings, which, if dilated upon, would turn this remonstrance into a panegyric very unacceptable to those who are accountable for the loss of them.

I wish I had the art, with the same brevity, to sum up the miseries and calamities which have succeeded these blessings, and which, worse than Pharaoh's lean kine, have in twice seven months consumed the harvest of as many years; but there is too much confusion and disorder in this to admit of any rules or methods of expression; complaints, in things of this nature, will be poured out in their own way, and in their own measure; there is no digesting of them; a man may as well discipline the rabble as describe these grievances of the poorer sort of the common people.

For to begin with them, what a dismal sight is it to behold the perishing state of such an infinite number of men, women, and children, in almost all counties of England, such as spinners, carders, weavers, &c., employed about the woollen manufactures; such as miners, and other labourers, in the lead, tin, alome, and iron works, who are now turned off, or so abated in their wages, that they are forced to beg, steal, or rob, for the subsistence of themselves and their families, to the continual terror of their neighbours who have any thing to lose, and to the cramming of jails with the carcasses of so many wretched criminals, who were before useful and necessary for the prosperity of the nation? And this being the notorious condition of the vast body of the inferior commoners in the lesser towns and adjacent villages throughout England, was there not one burgess in either of the parliaments to put in a good word for so many poor dependants of theirs, that they might be left out in the poll-bills? But they must be sentenced to pay for their heads, because they had nothing else; and to ransom, by a kind of Turkish tribute, their numerous fry of young ones too, it being all the stock they had to be rated for.

Was chimney-money so great a burthen that it should be taken off, and this put in its place? This, I say, which fell heavy on those who had neither children nor chimnies to pay for, poor servants of both sexes, whose wages were half decimated, and every pound went for a child; the sweat of their brows was taxed, and Adam's curse

aggravated with a new imposition; the poor man laboured all the year for bread, and paid for it when he had done.

But perhaps the condition of the next rank of commoners is more tolerable, I mean that of householders, such as farmers, and petty freeholders, whose livelihoods consist in their stocks and husbandry, managed and improved by frugality and industry; nothing less, for the misery increases in proportion to their ability, and their tax-masters have, with very great discernment, allotted them out their share in the common calamities; for, besides what they have suffered from our new standing army, (of which I shall speak more under the next head) they have been so handled by the raters and leviers of our modern taxes, that the same hath been exacted three times over from the same fund; when, besides the land-tax of twelve-pence in the pound, there hath been as much upon the stock, and as much upon ready money, not regarding whether, or how much the owners were indebted, sometimes even to the value of the land itself; so that in some cases, and in several places where monies have been lent out upon mortgages and personal securities, (suppose to men of trade, and in order to it) a threefold tax hath been exacted from the same income; and now this year the same is to be trebled, besides the survey of the last, and a new most rigorous poll-bill, beyond all precedents, as well in relation to strictness, as that two shall be granted in one year, and made concurrent with the other impositions; and when these payments are over, we are put in hopes of a convenient augmentation at every session of parliament to be doubled or trebled, according to the arbitrary necessities of the government; so that out of the stock of the countryman, being already so greatly diminished by the fallen price of wool, corn, and cattle, &c. left upon their hands, or sold at under-value, by that time their rents are paid, their tithes and church-dues, their rates for the poor, (never so numerous as now) their other constable assessments, excise and county charges, being deducted out of the remainder, how much is still left to pay the public? and that done, how much yet to provide for old age and children?

As to the condition of the gentry, and other sorts of freeholders, it is in all respects proportionable to the other, and the emptiness of their own purses will soon make them sensible of the poverty of their tenants; and this impoverishing of the gentry will soon be so much the more unsupportable to them, as the condition they are born to, and have hitherto lived in, renders them unfit to get their maintenance by labour and industry.

To these I might add the excessive losses many have had by the mob's plundering of their houses, burning and destroying what their rage and blind zeal prompted them to, and the expences others have been put to at the beginning of the change; every one knows what a charge the country was put to in arming to defend themselves against the imaginary massacring enemies, which the false, but designing alarms affrighted them with. Others (who are less to be pitied) were at voluntary, but yet excessive charges, in equipping themselves to shew their zeal for the Prince of Orange.*

But the free quarter which the whole army had given them, or took for some months, put the chiefest charge upon the country, to all which we may add the havoc that has been made by the new-raised regiments, the standing English army, and the foreigners prodigiously increased by new recruits, the Danes, and the fry of their wives and children, which, to the number at least of 30,000 of all sorts, live upon the country, and devour more in a day than they pay for in three, if they pay any thing at all. All which expences the country hath been put to in these particulars will certainly amount to as much more as hath been paid to the States for their assistance.

* A false alarm, that an army of Irish papists were landed and employed in plundering the country, was one of the stratagems used to forward the Revolution. One Speke, the brother of a gentleman executed as an adherent of Monmouth, was said to have been active in spreading this report.

If this were like other calamities, such as dry summers, and hard winters, it might be borne with, in hopes of better times; but when they are like to last as long as the government itself, which has no other bottom to subsist upon, but this continued pressure of the poor country; and when the gentry and rich citizens hedge in their own stocks, partly by being in commission for the regulating and raising these taxes upon others, and dealing civilly with themselves; partly by getting into profitable offices, in the state, or in the army; are not the countrymen like to be in a miserable state, being already near upon reduced to the condition of French peasants, which we so pity and declaim against, under the slavery of the Lord Dutch and Lord Danes? So that the imaginary fear of French government will soon bring us to a real experience of the so-much talked-of canvas breeches, bare legs, and wooden shoes.

That it must come to this is too evident, (for we are no more the English nation we were sixteen months since,) and they who alone can hinder it, have no intention, it seems, to prevent it; as may be guessed by the saying of one of our modern patriots, who, to an honest man's compassionating the sufferings of the country, replied, "That if a colt of a month old could bear a pound weight, the next month it would bear two; and so in a very few months, might become a very good beast of burthen, and, if need were, an excellent pack-horse." A very fit allegory, first 12*d.* in the pound, then 2*s.* and 3*s.* in the pound, a doubled poll, and in a little time a supply unstinted. But such had best beware, our English breed are very skittish; they will be a perve kick and wince, and cast their masters; we have known them throw their bridle and turn their riders to grass.

I come now to the third head, "The Military State of the Nation;" in which, as in the two former points, I shall briefly touch what it was in King James's time; then make a parallel what it is at present.

I shall not inquire into the motives, which in this age induce all states and princes to maintain a standing force; their jealousies of their neighbours, and the necessity of having a disciplined power to defend their countries, seems abundantly sufficient. As to King James's army, I have already touched how careful he was to keep it from being any wise burthensome either to the public or private persons. To which I may add, that on the contrary, he made them beneficial in all places where they came, by causing them duly to pay for what they had; and so advantageously spending the commodities of the country, that it made them welcome to their quarters, and raised the price of the market to the profit of the buyers and sellers.

It is true, there were three regiments of dragoons, and some foot, who had been at Tangier, who lived disorderly, notwithstanding the king's proclamation, and strictest command to the officers to prevent it: But these were the very first who revolted to the prince; boasting that, besides the early service, they had done him greater, by oppressing the country; which they did for no other end, but that they might alienate their affections from King James, and make them more readily admit the prince, who pretended stricter care and discipline.

It is evidently known, that no prince or general was ever more indulgent to his troops than he; he not only fed and clothed, but advanced them; and had so much of the spirit of the Roman generals, that he treated them as fellow-soldiers, and permitted the general officers to sit covered at his table; he took a most special care that all things, even to superfluities, should be provided for them; and was in all things more like a father than a master to them.

They were all natives of their country, and so the most likely, (as well as the most obliged) to preserve its peace, and defend it against strangers: How many families of the nobility and gentry did there find an honourable and plentiful provision for young-

er brothers, who must otherwise have remained exposed to idleness, and all its vicious consequences? How many private persons, unapt or unable to drive a trade, were therein settled in a profession and employment, which might maintain them competently, without danger of jails or gallows?

Neither was he less careful of his stores: It is stupendous to conceive how he had furnished all his ports with artillery, and magazines of arms and provisions; insomuch that the officers of the ordnance acknowledged, that no less than 50,000 arms, with all other ammunition proportionable, were lodged in the Tower of London alone.

This for the land forces.

And as for the fleet, all the officers of the admiralty, and secretary deputies in particular, can testify, that his naval magazines were so well provided, and his ships in so good order, his seamen so well paid, as the like had not been in any two ages before; insomuch that his stores alone, by a modest computation, cost him betwixt two and three millions; and that which adds to the wonder is, that in his short, and otherwise expensive reign, all this was defrayed out of his own revenue, without any publick tax, notwithstanding the extraordinary charges he was at in raising new forces, and equipping his fleet upon the Prince of Orange's invasion; yet he paid his army to the middle of December, before he left England; and left in the Exchequer, in ready money, near 160,000*l.* and in the arrears of customs, excise, chimney-money, and other branches of his revenue, 400,00*l.*

Now to give the reverse of this description: Have we not seen all these provisions in few months squandered away, or transported out of the kingdom? Is not the Tower almost emptied of arms and ammunition? Have not all our naval stores been long since exhausted? And though, besides the revenue, (with which alone, as I said, King James did all this) there has been given to the prince above three millions; yet, to the wonder of the world, all his soldiers, both by sea and land, are greatly in arrears; and if they do not belie their masters, have little more than subsistence money paid them. And as to the seamen in particular, they are not only left unpaid, but have been so ill provided with wholesome victuals, that above half of those who were on board the last year are dead of a kind of plague; yea, more perished, as some old seamen told me, than in any three of our former sea engagements; and those that have been set on shore, in hopes thereby to have recovered their health, have many of them, for want of money, been found wandering to their friends bare-foot and bare-legged, even glad of any alms in their journey; which shews, that since their commanders have espoused the Dutch interest, they have put off the charitable nature of true English: This usage being so publickly known, it is not to be wondered that the gazettes every week give us an account of so many deserters out of the marine regiments.

And what is the cause of all this, but the sending away the money into Holland, which should have been laid out upon provisions in season, and not to have left them to have been taken upon tick, even beyond the credit of our purveyors?

What and what motive some may have thus to exhaust our stores and weaken our naval force, is not difficult to surmise, when we find such shoals of Dutch and Danes come over to supply our want of seamen, and take possession of our men of war, as well as our forts and havens: And whereas for a recruit of all these losses, the Earls of Pembroke and Torrington have, though with great difficulty, near upon completed their marine regiments; yet, because they are most of them raw, unexperienced men; and have been forced altogether against their wills, and promise no great zeal to the cause, we may upon rational grounds conceive, they may be sent to serve their apprenticeship, and learn their trade under the Dutch, who will lend us some of their more expert ones the while, as well as our land forces have been sent to Holland, in exchange for our more trusty Dutch deliverers.

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This design of utterly disabling the strength of our nation, and bringing us to depend entirely on strangers, will appear more manifestly, if we consider the treatment and the usage of our land soldiers, and the miseries they have been reduced to here, in Holland, Scotland, and Ireland.

As to England; though the army which was left by King James, and to which, as I have told you, he had so tender a regard, was indeed most ungrateful and treacherous; insomuch that, in the judgment and language of the Dutch, they deserved to be stiled worse than dogs; for these, say they, will love and defend those that feed them; yet they had reason to expect some tolerable conditions from their dearly obliged new masters.

But what have they done for them? Are they better paid, better cloathed, or preferred? On the contrary, are they not slighted, laid aside, and contemned? Dares he trust those that are employed, without spies to watch their conduct? Has he not dispersed them over the three nations; sent them into Holland, nay, into our plantations in the West Indies, where what is become of some of these last is kept close, no discovery can be made, after strict enquiry? They are like the ten tribes, led away captive, never to be heard of more. Could he imprint more indelible characters of his opinion of them? Could he give a more proper reward for their treachery and cowardice?

The treason may be loved, but it is impossible the traitors should be either loved or trusted. Is it not, think you, upon this distrust, lest they, who had deserted a master who was tender of them as of the apple of his eye, should have any grudgings to return to their duty, that he is resolved to disperse them, and post them where they may soonest be dispatched, that the Dutch, the Danes, and other foreigners, more trusty to his service, may possess our country?

To effect this his secret, but unalterable resolution, the troops and regiments of King James's guards, were first dispatched into Holland, under the command of the Lord Churchill, who, if he could have been entirely confided in, would not have been entirely removed so far from the prince's person.¹

Let us now see how they have been there treated, and how this covert design of weakening England succeeded there.

At their first landing, as several of their letters testify, they were looked upon as persons rather feared and suspected by the prince, and such as he had a mind to be rid of, than as auxiliaries for the confederates service; and their reception was so cold, the affronts that were put upon them so many, the revilings for their treachery and cowardice so sharp, and their quarters so very bad, that they could not without a sigh remember old England and the best of masters.

They were quartered in such dear places that their pay could not maintain them; especially since the dearness of the country was augmented by the extortion of their commander in chief; who having contracted with a Jew, (as he who made the bargain told me,) to find the soldiers bread at four-pence halfpenny a loaf; this famous lord, the worst Jew of the two, made the poor soldiers pay sixpence; by which excise upon his own soldiers, he might, by modest computation, put 2000*l.* in his pocket; which oppression was the more grievous, by how much their allowance of the Horse-guards

¹ Soon after the Revolution, William new-modelled the English army under various pretences, but in reality to place them under officers in whose allegiance he could confide, as many military men began to look back to their old master King James, whose cause they had left in the fervour of the Revolution. This occasioned discontent among the soldiery, which was inflamed by the exasperated state of the nation at large. In order to eject this evil spirit ere it became too mighty to be mastered, and to replace the Dutch troops, for whose return the States expressed impatience, the most refractory English regiments were ordered to Holland. The design was not executed without difficulty. One regiment (Dunbarton's) mutinied, and declared for King James. They were suppressed with some trouble, and sent to Holland with other troops designed for that service.

was less by three-pence in a day than the Dutch guards have here, and our country cheaper by more than a third part.

From this scarcity and the change of diet, from English beef, mutton, and veal, with wholesome beverage, and an open air; to feed upon herbs and roots, drink a muddy beer, and suck in a foggy air; the soldiers were starved into diseases; and being in an unhospitable land, and under new and pitiless commanders, had no care taken of them, but were suffered to die like English dogs, as they were usually stilled by them; there you might see them sprawling by parcels, and groaning under the double gripes of their bowels and their consciences, to see themselves cheated out of their allegiance, country, health, and life itself. The number of those who died there, amidst those miseries, not in battle, for they would not give them that honour, amounted to 5,400, before Major Birch returned hither for recruits, as he told the doctor, his brother, in the presence of an eminent member of parliament; though he and others, the more easily to get recruits, have, at other times, and in other companies, the policy to conceal it.

Thus much for Holland.

As for our armies in Scotland, we hear not much indeed of any sickness there; they were upon the same continent, and in places where they could command all things necessary; but we hear how miserably the country has been harassed by them, and how they have been treated in the country; we hear how considerably they have been diminished, by the valour of half their number of new-raised and half-armed Highlanders; who, though not above 2500, slew and took prisoners near upon 4000 of Mackay's old disciplined men; and had the valiant Dundee over-lived that day, that kingdom had, long ere this, been reduced to obedience to their lawful king.¹ May the courage and conduct rest upon some other, who may not only oppose the oppression of their country by foreign forces, but drive out the rest of those who have dethroned their lawful king, and abolished episcopacy there!

But the dismal scene of all is Ireland; there it is the hand of Heaven hath visible met them, in the middle of their impieties, who durst venture to face him whom they had betrayed; and chose to follow an ungrateful foreigner, against God's own anointed; to whom they had so often sworn fidelity and allegiance, and to whom he owed his rise, as is known to the world.

I take Heaven to witness with what compassion and horror I enter upon this point; for though all these plagues, in the opinion of most, fell justly and seasonably upon so many desperate and incorrigible enemies to their king, yet humanity itself must needs shrink at the sight of so many agonies, transcending most of the cruel executions that have been inflicted on malefactors; for, when all is done, they are our fellow-countrymen that suffer, and the loss of so many will fall ultimately upon the whole nation, so far weakened, and rendered more defenceless: No pleasant theme, I am sure, for any true Englishman to descant on; yet something must be said for a warning to those who yet survive, and a terror to the rest of our deluded people.

This army consisted, the last year, of the most active of those who had deserted King James, of some new-raised regiments, besides the French refugees, who had been so charitably received, and liberally relieved here, and of some trusty Dutch.

As for the new-raised men, they were most of them profligate persons in their lives and fortunes; the officers most of them outlaws, and bankrupts; the soldiers, some culled out of the rabble; others raked out of jails, five, ten, or fifteen from a prison, where they would have staid till execution in other times; some were runaway apprentices; others journeymen; debauched servants, or footmen, who entered into this service, as into Romulus's Asylum, to avoid the punishment of their past crimes, and to act them on with the like impunity.

¹ Alluding to the battle of Gillie Krankie.

Hence came all the calamities of the wretched countries through which they passed, not only by free quarter, sixteen days together in a place, upon the middle sort of commoners, but also by pilfering and stealing, downright robbing, and breaking houses in the night; and taking away from Roman Catholicks, and others so stigmatized by them, not only their provisions and horses, but sometimes their cattle, rifling their houses, and making havock of what they could not devour: of all which I have seen letters from several in the northern counties.

In particular, how the Dutch officers shot, and carried away several heads of deer, from the Duchess of Buckingham's park, at Nun-Appleton; and Captain Beal, and his brother, from Haslewood Park; but some will excuse this as no felony in soldiers; and that it was for their masters service, to feast themselves and soldiers: but I know not what can be said in defence of Colonel Villers, who caused all the gift-horses, belonging to very many several persons, neither papists, nor popishly affected, to be driven out of Sir Roger Strickland's park; many of which, not fit for service, he sold for 5*s.* a-piece. Neither was this done only by him in these places, but in several other counties in his march; as it was likewise done by other officers; whereby their soldiers were encouraged to follow such examples in taking cattle; causing the countrymen to carry hay-stacks, and other provisions, from remoter places, to their quarters, as if they had been ravaging in an enemy's country.

And when application was made to some justices of the peace, whom I could name, the answer was, "They knew not how to relieve them:" besides this, it is well known, how they have beaten, kicked, and wounded, even mortally, those who offered to save what they had, with this stabbing sarcasm ever in their mouths, "Damn ye, ye dogs, do not we fight for your religion?" And yet no punishment of, nor enquiry made after the authors of these villanies; the inferior officers going shares with them in the booty, and the superior ones not daring to question either, because they gave them little other pay.

After they had thus marched over the most plentiful parts of England, like so many Egyptian locusts, they rendezvouzed, covering the face of the country with dearth and desolation, till a bidden wind carried them to the sea, never to be seen again in England.

There went over, and joined them in this expedition, an army of 22,000, as my Lord Ranelagh and Mr Harbord know; but there went only back into winter-quarters, as Mr Waller related to the house, 10,000; and as latter accounts informed, those were reduced to five or six thousand, till the general armed those of the country he could purchase.

By several letters from divers of Sir Thomas Gower's^{*} officers, immediately after the decamping, it was certified, that they had not left sixteen men in a company; and in one letter from a captain in that regiment at Newry, a much drier place than the camp, it was expressed, that the strongest company did not exceed twenty six.

Out of the regiment which Schomberg declared to be the best that went over, there died the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, six or seven captains, besides inferior officers; which regiment, since recruited by two others which were broke, is now under the command of the Earl of Drogheda; I doubt not but the like instances may be given of others.

For the continual rains over their heads, and a boggy camp under their feet, together with the want of necessary cloathing, food and physick, and a perpetual duty, brought the disease of the country upon them; and the stench and corruption of that, a pestilential fever, which robbed them of their senses first, and then their lives.

^{*} Sir Thomas Gower had been active in the Revolution, with many other gentlemen of quality, as Sir Thomas Beaumont, Sir Edward Dering, Colonel Wharton, Colonel Hungerford, &c. He fell a victim to the contagious disease in the camp at Dundalk. The Jacobites of course ascribed their fate to a divine judgment.

That this was a camp-plague, appeared by the blisters, and their carcases turning immediately black, and stinking as a gangrene, and by the lice and vermin which issued out of their plague-sores.¹

That this was also a plague, sent upon them by the immediate hand of God, appears by a nobleman's relation of its beginning: "For," says he, "we expected to have done wonders, by so brave an army, so well equipped, the like of which was never sent from England; nay, we carried all before us, till we came to Dundalk; there King James sent a remonstrance to our general, representing his innocence, and the malice of his enemies; for a trial of both which he summoned us to battle, concluding with these words, 'And may God so prosper my arms, as my cause is just, and I never designed the prejudice of my subjects!' To which our general made a short answer, concluding it in these terms: 'And may God so prosper my arms, as mine and my king's cause is just!' A heavy curse, which was immediately heard by Heaven; for in less than three days, the plague broke out to that degree, that we never after durst face our enemies."

Yet this severe judgment of God made little impression upon the living; for, as many letters, as I have seen, testify, there appeared not so much as humanity, much less christianity amongst them; cursing, swearing, damning, and all sorts of profaneness, were still there to an high degree; and their very hospitals were, as one expressed it, the most lively representations of hell, for the blasphemies, as well as torments.

Sir Thomas Gower's gentleman indeed relates, that his master, upon his death-bed, begged God Almighty's pardon, for he was a young man, and drawn in; but I hear not of many who imitated his example on their death-beds, or that his repentance moved others to remorse.

This plague came with that violence upon them, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead; insomuch that they chose to carry the dead and dying bodies promiscuously by cart-loads to the adjacent shore, to be there buried by the next tide; for few, except those of quality, could obtain a grave: Some, it is true, as the minister of Belfast assured a friend of mine at Carlingford, (as being then an eye-witness of it) were so afflicted to see their fellow-soldiers lie dead in the fields, swarming with lice, and the rest allowed no other grave but the sea, that when they felt the approaches of death, they desired to see their own graves made, and begged their friends to bury them, which they did, for any thing we know, before the breath was quite out of their bodies; for he spoke with one of them, who sat to see his grave made, and returning two hours after saw him buried. The carcases remoter from sea were put thirty or forty in a hole.

Nay, the inhumanity of the surviving was such, that when any of the sick, through the violence of their diseases, fell once to the ground, let their cries be never so vehe-

¹ The miseries sustained by the English army during their residence in the entrenched camp at Dundalk, are ascribed by Dalrymple to the error of the Duke of Schomberg, who had neglected to study the physical qualities of the spot which his camp occupied, and of the army which he commanded. "The common people of England, though accustomed to work hard, indulge in return in more of the conveniences of life than the subjects of any other country: for they are accustomed to enjoy dry and warm sleeping-places, raiment contrived not for shew but for health, plentiful, wholesome, and regular meals, and stated hours of labour, rest, and sleep. Hence in the inactive state and confined station of Schomberg's army, which deprived his soldiers of their wonted exercise; in the low and damp situation of Dundalk; and in the moist climate of Ireland; his soldiers, without fuel almost of any kind; obliged to lie abroad, sometimes in the open air, and at best in bad tents; dressed in cloaths to which they had not been accustomed, and which were contrived more for show than for health; pinched in the allowance of their provisions, and these not always good in their quality; and exposed to every sort of irregularity in their meals, labour, and sleep; fell into fluxes and fevers, and died in great numbers. The arrival of some troops from Londonderry imported the contagion of an infected town into an infected camp; and the evil was without cure, for the surgeons, who had brought plenty of bandages and instruments for the cure of wounds, had forgot the far more material article of remedies for diseases."—DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*, London, 1790, 8vo. II. 134.

ment for help to remove them to the hospitals, or other convenient places, they should sooner be stripped than assisted. In this condition a lieutenant, arriving at Carlingford with Colonel Lumly, found his brother; for walking along the shore, he heard a voice, from among the dead bodies, calling to him, by the name of brother, for help, and going to the place, he found it was indeed his brother, who had been at the ships to buy some bread and cheese, but falling there, he had been robbed of it, instead of being helped by his comrades.

Neither was the inhumanity of their officers less; for I have seen letters from undoubted hands, which said, that at first, no care was taken for any hospitals; but you should find those who were sick of fevers, small-pox, and flux, lying on the cold, wet ground, having no other drink but water, and sometimes not that neither. And though there was no marching in the camp but in mire, yet were they kept almost perpetually upon duty; every third night upon the guard, without fires to dry themselves by, when wet to the skin; so that they dried their wet cloaths by the heat of their bodies, and never put them off till rotten.

Yet there is one thing very signal and remarkable in this calamity, that there died above 100 English for one Dutchman: I know the Scotch account, Jan. 22 last, ascribes it to the Dutch being more cleanly, and using more exercise; others may also impute it to their bodily temper, more hardened to such service, and inured to the like air, and boggy country in Holland; whereas the English were, many of them, new-raised, not accustomed to such hardships, and much weakened, even in their prime, by dissoluteness and debauchery.

This, I say, may be granted; but yet there are other, no less manifest causes, of the different fates of those two parties: For, first, the Dutch were better provided for in all respects, by the partiality of the general; taken notice of, and much murmured at by the English: They had the selling of the provisions and victuals, nay even of the water too, or the oversight of their disposal, and so served themselves first. When Commissary Shales was put out, a Dutchman was substituted in his place. And under pretence there might be some deserters amongst the English, the Dutch and French were quartered in the out-quarters of his camp, which was sure to be the freest from infection, as having most open air, and the first service of provisions.

Again, most of the surgeons and others, who were at last ordered to attend the sick, were Dutch or French, strangers to the English constitution; nay, sometimes scarce novices in the calling; as Captain Topham and others fatally experienced from Sir Henry Ingoldsby's French surgeon, who was advanced to that post from being his *valet de chambre*: So that though there were provisions of medicines, even six times as much as has sufficed other armies, yet they took no store of English physic along with them, and what they did was of no use, for want of skilful English surgeons and judicious physicians; for where there was neither wound nor gun-shot, they knew not how to apply them.

Add to this, that foreigners have not that compassion and care of the English as of their own countrymen, nor as the English would have had of theirs. Indeed we had an instance of the Dutch partiality before they went from hence, for their wives had sixpence a day allowed them, and some proportion for their children; but the English not a penny.

All these things put together, give us, I say, just cause not to pass over the miscarriages of our Englishmen as a common calamity, incident, more or less, to all campaigns; but as an effect, in the first place, of God Almighty's anger against them, both for their past and present sins, and in particular that of the expedition itself: And, secondly, caused and perhaps intended, (I am sure it was their interest) by those who might (humanely speaking) in some measure have prevented it; which is no groundless suspicion, if you consider the same different treatment and fate of our English

forces in Holland, as I have already mentioned; and the same usage and condition of our seamen and soldiers aboard the fleet, dying of the same diseases, caused by the same neglect. I am sure every indifferent man must necessarily conclude, that if there was a design to ruin the strength of England, (and before I have done I shall bring yet stronger proofs that there was) a more compendious way could not have been thought of to effect it.

Yet all this hath made little impression, for we find this year a numerous army attends their king, and he hath taken several of the young nobility with him, and made better provision than formerly, both for his own safety and the preservation of his foreigners: Yet we know this expedition doth but aggravate their general's injustice; and we know that the plague is not yet staid, but is again beginning among the new recruits, the favourablest account mentioning the death of forty in a week at the hospital of Belfast, besides many more abroad; and their new physician, Dr Smith, and two of his apothecaries, are already dead, in three weeks after their landing. What may fall out after their encamping, may be conjectured, if not prognosticated, without consulting oracles.

It remains now, that, according to the method proposed at first, something may be said of our religion and government, the two things so much contended for, the pretended causes of all that has been done, and the real causes of all that has been suffered.

IV. *We will begin with Religion.*

In King James's time popery was the word that alarmed us all; nothing else was handled in our pulpits; even vices seemed to be allowed that liberty which was denied to this. Not a word against treason and rebellion; not a word for obedience and patience to be heard of: These were popish virtues and vices, state-subjects fit for old Elizabeth's homilies.

But I suppose all the world is now satisfied of which of these two there was really most danger. Indeed, unprejudiced and considering men did, even then, see how morally impossible it was that popery could ever be introduced here, since all the attempts in order to it had ever the quite contrary success, uniting the church of England more, and filling the public assemblies with many who would not have gone thither, but to shew their zeal and opposition to popery, by that distinctive sign. And though a greater liberty was granted to the papists, yet they made such an unskilful and ignorant use of it, that they who wished them worst; were yet contented to allow them more; for they lost more by that short-lived indulgence, than by all their former sufferings; it only served to discover their weakness, to draw them out of their lurking holes, to make them known to those that hated them, and to set them up as a mark for all the nation to shoot at. The dissenters, who seemed to join with their interest, were known to be the most averse to their religion, and would never have concurred to any act in their favour, but what should at the same time have tied up their hands, and made it impossible for them to have done the least wrong to others by it. In fine, they have proved a broken reed to the credulous papists, and left King James in the lurch, when he had the most need of them.

It was not then from the papists that the church of England was in danger; but, *Illic trepidaverunt ubi non erat timor*; out of an unnecessary solicitude to secure themselves, they put weapons into the hands of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they had a little before laid prostrate at their feet; I mean the presbyterian party: These indeed have helped them to drive out the papist, but they have got themselves into his place; they have drawn almost the whole body of dissenters into their party; they have arrogated to themselves the name of protestants, in distinction to the church of

England; they have all the Hugonots of France and Holland on their side, and have begun their thorough reformation in Scotland already, to be carried on and compleated in good time in England also.

These are like to make another kind of war than the papists could: These are men who have no rubs in their consciences, no oaths of supremacy to dispense with, no test to strain at; no penal laws to start at: They have, or hope to have, all plain and level, the same equal admission into court and parliament, camp and Westminster-hall, corporations, colleges, and cathedrals too, though at present they seem not to have so strong an interest in this parliament as in the last.

They have already gained one single victory over our poor churchmen, in making them renounce their allegiance, ten times sworn by most of them, to the lawful successors of the crown: They have suspended the best and greatest of our bishops: They have revenged the old indignity of their renouncing the solemn league and covenant, in 1663; and the ominous feast of St Peter's chain, in 88, hath quit scores for the English St Bartholomew.*

They have made them renounce their oath, "That it was not lawful to take up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, upon any pretence whatsoever."

I know it is alledged by the champions of the new church of England, that King James kept not his promise in protecting that church which had asserted these principles, by his granting indulgence to dissenters.

But certainly, if it had not been for the artifice of the designers of this revolution, the security of the rights of our church, by calm debates in a parliamentary way, might as well have been consistent with a regulated toleration to all sorts of dissenters in King James's time as now; and whatever reproaches have been cast upon King James on this account, whatever uses have been made of it, either to draw his subjects to rebellion, or justify them in it, might be retorted with advantage (were it to any purpose) upon him, who had never got nor kept his throne, had he not made and broken more solemn promises.

For when the confederacy was entered into betwixt the pope, the house of Austria, and the United Provinces, against the King of France, no more was intended by them, but that the Prince of Orange should make a descent on some part of England, and thereby divert King James from assisting France: And to induce those catholick princes to consent thereto, the prince gave them assurance that he would effectually accomplish that liberty for Roman catholicks, which King James, being a professed papist, was not able to bring to pass: For the truth of this, I need bring no other proof but the emperor's expostulatory letter, and Count Mansfield's negociation; and what a famous sea-captain, who went as one of the convoys to the Queen of Spain, who hath told it to more than one, how the very religious he conversed with at his landing, expressed their great expectations from the Prince of Orange, of favour to their religion; telling him, "that if he had not come as he did to rescue them, King had exposed them all to ruin, by giving sectaries such liberty; but this king would establish them in full liberty. Indeed," the captain said, "he could not but smile to find such people so much imposed upon." And in the prince's declaration, there is expressed a promise of some kindness to them the while. Hence, when the judges in the first circuit desired to know his pleasure, how they should deal with catholick priests, he told them, "He was under an obligation to the catholick princes, not to molest them in the exercise of their religion; and that he was not so apprehensive of disturbance from them, (because few and weak) as from the professed members of the church

* Called by the non-conformists *Black Bartholomew*, when their ministers were ejected from their livings after the Reformation.

of England." Indeed, then he had some reason if they had stuck to the doctrine of it, taught by all the learned and eminent fathers of it in former ages.

Pursuant also to this, when he sent Colonel Hamilton into Ireland, one of his instructions was, to assure the Irish that if they would submit they should have the free exercise of their religion, and their ancient estates restored to them. And, lastly, he brought along with him more catholick soldiers than ever King James had in his army. Where was then the crime of this most injured prince, in endeavouring to do that which the usurper hath promised to do for him?

And that we may not think him popishly affected in all this, let us see if he be as graciously disposed to the church of England: What his promises were to them before he came, they best know who invited him in to protect our religion; but by all conjecture, and by the free confessions of those who were concerned, his word was given, and protestations made, to do quite other things. Therefore, upon his first coming to St James's, he vouchsafed to receive the sacrament, according to the rites of our church, from the hands of the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Bristol, and the Reverend Dr Burnet assisting; nay, the rubricks were so punctually observed, that all who did not communicate (that is, the whole congregation) were bid to depart; but this was that they might not see how far the new convert was to seek in his ceremonies, and how *mal adroitly* he performed them. But this, you may suppose, was for his test communion, according to the act of parliament, at his entering upon his new office, that he might not seem to favour the dispensing power, even towards his own conscience.

Nevertheless, that he might give a good example to dissenters, and let them see he had some regard to his promise to them also, and that he was no enemy to liberty of conscience, nor friend to ceremony, after he was made king, he was pleased to sit covered all the time of the sermon, betwixt his queen and the princess, without respect either to the ladies or the preacher; for as to the communion-table, I believe he had not read the rubrick.

For the same reason he also silenced the church-music, though he has been pleased upon second consideration to establish it again, and act the conformist.

Thus has he been off and on in England; but he has now, it seems, counted noses, and finds the church of England the major part; and has therefore promised an hearty compliance, and dissolved his first parliament, as a pledge of his future kindness; but let Scotland speak how far he may be believed in it.

The instructions given to his high commissioner, Duke Hamilton, at his first going down, are positive and plain: "You are (says he in the fourth instruction) to pass an act, establishing that church-government which is most agreeable to the inclination of the people, rescinding the act of the parliament in 1669, and all other acts inconsistent therewith." Truly the very spirit of our Reformation in 1642, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*: The inclination of the people, it seems, is the word of God, and the standard of church-government; and accordingly came a dispatching instruction in July following, in this quickening expression: "You are to touch the act passed for abolishing episcopacy as soon as you can, and to rescind all acts inconsistent therewith." And, lastly, he hath re-established the presbyterian government there by act of parliament.*

That the same is not done in England yet, is because a party do not think it seasonable; there are great obligations to many of the clergy of England, which are not to be forgot. It cannot be forgot who affronted King James, and brought him to disesteem with his people; who invited him in, or so readily welcomed him, and petitioned him to accept of the government. They have made new liturgies, struck out old prayers, and put in new, upon his single order; (a favour too great for King James.) They

* It is generally believed that King William would not have established presbytery in Scotland, if he had found any appearance that the bishops and episcopal clergy of that kingdom would have complied with his government.

have renounced the palladium of the English reformation, the regal supremacy, and retracted all their sermons and treatises of passive obedience and non-resistance.

Yet, notwithstanding these great and good services of so many of the canonical clergy, some steps have been made, and very large ones too, towards a Scotch reformation of them: 1. By settling an indulgence upon all dissenters. 2. By suspending and ejecting the chief and most zealous of our bishops, and others of the regular clergy. 3. By advancing, upon all vacancies of sees and dignities ecclesiastical, men of notorious presbyterian, or, which is worse, of Erastian principles. These are the insensible ways of undermining episcopacy; and when, to the seven notorious ones that are already, shall be added six more, upon the approaching deprivation, they will make a majority, and then we may expect the new model of the church to be perfected.

As for the diffusive body of the clergy,⁴ they also proportionably warp, and grow every day more and more indifferent, by the means above-mentioned; and though they were never so well principled, yet the tender regard to the subsistence of wives and children will make them as willing to comply with an alteration in church-government as it did in the civil. However, it is sad to consider what reflections some have had, who, through fear of starving, or want of necessaries, have complied with the times. I tremble at the answer one gave a justice of peace at Gloucester, to whom, reproving him for not taking the oath sooner, he replied, "It was too soon then to damn himself to save his family." And another, with great sorrow and remorse, wished he had been starved, or hanged, or torn in pieces by the rabble, when he was persecuted by them, rather than have taken the oaths; whereby, he feared, he had lost the quiet and comfort of his mind. I will not relate the melancholy or madness some have fallen into upon this occasion; I pray God their repentance may be as great as their apostacy!

But if there be but some few of such who are touched with this remorse, in what a condition, at one time or other, must those be in, who, knowing their former oaths to King James to be lawful and just, and firmly believing, as well as solemnly declaring, that no power on earth can give a dispensation in this case, yet have, contrary to their consciences, taken the oath of allegiance to him who can properly (as the Bishop of St Asaph rightly in the house declared) have no other title but conquest and possession; surely the pretended election, by persons who had no power from the people to elect, make, and constitute a king, can give no right.

And I cannot, without astonishment, think what account those will have to give at the dreadful day, who, by imposing these oaths, have involved so vast a number of the subjects in as great perjury as ever was committed under the sun. The imposing the engagement, after the murder of King Charles the Martyr, was but a promise of being true and faithful to the commonwealth, as established without king and house of lords; but now an oath of allegiance is to be taken to one that hath not that title of conquest, as that commonwealth pretended, nor of succession till his father, brother, wife, sister, and all their progeny, are extinct: and the adding to this a new declaration, as was designed, of renouncing King James and his title; and neither directly, nor indirectly, aiding or assisting him, but discovering all things may be prejudicial to this government, was to gall, in the highest degree, the consciences of millions, who were content to yield obedience to a king in possession, but never can be induced to believe that King James can, by any act of violence, lose his right, and so cannot declare solemnly that they owe no allegiance to him.

Having seen then the instability of the clergy and laity, let us now enquire whether there be any more stability in the king they have set up to govern us. He himself seems very desultorious and unsteady in his conduct towards these two interests. -A

⁴ The non-juring clergy, who were originally numerous, began now to get over their scruples, partly induced by necessity, and partly by example.

fresh mark of which he has now given us in deserting the presbyterians, and making new offers to the church of England ; but that is because his own interest is so. They that bid most shall have it ; for, as the Bishop of Winchester said of him, " his religion is in his pocket." The commission before the late convocation bid fair for the one ; the gracious speech to their address, before their adjourning, bid as fair for the other : What slipt from him on Twelfth-night must go for nothing, it was under the rose, *Odi memorem compotorem*.

He hath, if any ever had, two faces under one hood ; and though he hath a double conscience, one for this, and another for the north side of Tweed, yet he hath but one principle, that gain is great godliness ; and one Dutch soul, interest, to become all things to all men, to gain all to himself. Surely a dark lanthorn under a crown or mitre, is as dangerous as under a parliament-house.

But considering the tottering condition he is in at home and abroad, the miscarriages in Ireland, the untractableness of Scotland, the recalcitation of Holland, the biasing of his allies, and, lastly, the discontentedness and mutability of England ; all he can do to linger out the possession of his ill-gotten prey, is to play well his old game of dissimulation, and to keep up these two great contrary interests in a dependence on himself, and in a fear and hatred of King James ; for if either of them suppress the other, his business is done ; we shall either return to our rightful monarch again, or sink to a commonwealth. So that in this case at least his kingdom differs from that of the devil, " that unless it be divided it cannot stand." It was division brought him in, it is division keeps him here, and he can rely on nothing else for the future, except that of the sinner in Mr Cowley, Predestination is his friend.

Now, whether all this be conformable to the promises he made to those who brought him in, let the impartial judge ; let such also judge, whether King James or he are more guilty of breach of promise, and whether all manner of religion be not more in danger under such a person, who is really of none, than under one who is steady in some principles. And that such a man as this, in the very first act of his government, should dare to bring to pass those very things, the very repute of some of which, and the attempting others, ruined his predecessor ; namely, that he should give indulgence to dissenters, fall foul upon the bishops, (even those very ones whom he put in his declaration as the cause of his coming,) grant an ecclesiastical commission against the liturgy, abolish episcopacy in Scotland, which King James never intended, and, lastly, keep a standing army of papists and foreigners, contrary to his promise in his declaration, and be still bringing in more to enslave us ; I say that he should do all this and not a man say to him, What dost thou ? Is not this the very slavery we have cried out against ? Or rather, is it not a token that we are delivered up to a reprobate sense, and become the instruments and actors of those very violations which we so much abhorred, and so outrageously punished in others ?

Having considered his veering with every seeming advantageous gale in matters of religion, let us consider his stability in his commands, and instructions to his servants and ministers ; of which I shall give but two instances. When the conditions upon which the crown was to be conferred upon him were under debate, Mynheer Benting told some of those he judged most fit to transmit his master's mind to the leading members of his party, that if they intended to clog the crown with such limitations, they little understood the disposition of the prince, for he would never accept the government with such restrictions. If he might not have it with all the prerogatives that the kings of England had enjoyed, he would let King James loose upon them, to punish them for their ill usage of him. This he imparted to one from whom I had the account, and the gentleman was industrious to inform such as he judged fittest with this admonition ; one of which, knowing the prince's temper, bid him be very careful, for he might be crushed by it, for if the prince found such a thing resented by any strong party

in the houses, he would deny any such direction. The gentleman told him it was impossible for him to gainsay it, for not only Benting had spoke to him, but to others; and my Lord Paget, and some other lords, had the like direction for application to the peers; yet, when it was seen that it could not be carried as desired, all this was denied, and it was charged upon the officious zeal of the persons, who, for his grandeur, and their own ends, contrived it.

A fresher instance we have in the matter of the abjuration, in which this king employed my Lords S. D. and others in the House of Lords, and Mr Wharton and others in the House of Commons, to promote it. But a noble marquis and count informing him, that though the church of England-men readily yielded him obedience, and took an oath of allegiance unto him, yet he would find that they would almost unanimously refuse to abjure, as being of an higher nature than obedience, and a sort of determining providence, and all the effect he would find by it would be to create dissatisfaction, repining, and opposition to it, whereby he would lose an infinite number of hearts that he had now: and if the severity of imprisonment and fines were penalties to be inflicted upon the offenders, it would make them combine against him. This consideration made him forthwith employ others of his confidants to oppose it; which instability in his politicks, and his not backing those with his countenance and authority, whom he had put upon this ingrateful work, caused those persons to declare they would quit their places.

It is true he condescended much below the dignity of his character to court their keeping their stations; and hath been forced to confer 3000*l.* a year upon his admiral, to hire him to take a commission that for two or three days he had flung up. And we may easily conceive, that, if he finds it will be like to succeed better for his interest to pursue his first intention, those two great ministers of state who thwarted it may expect a removal by command. However, the layers-down of their commissions may well conclude, that when he comes victorious from Ireland, he will severely remember the undutifulness of such who put him to a cap, and “pray you, my lord, do not leave my service:” For, to say the truth, they have dealt so with their sovereign, as they would not permit their secretaries, stewards, masters of their horse, or any other of their servants to have dealt with themselves.

But these blessed qualifications of our new king, and the pharisaical politicks against our allegiance, under pretence of our religion, will more manifestly be seen now we come to consider,

V. What sort of government we have chosen to live under, in exchange for that we have shaken off.

And this will appear by enquiry what that government was, what this is, and, if nothing interpose, what it will be, and that very speedily.

It is not my design here to descend to all the particular transactions of government under King James, either to justify them, or set them off by comparison with the present, or probable future, since no human government was ever, or will be capable of such a design. The faults and errors with which his enemies reproach him, are the ordinary subject of history, in the reigns of all his predecessors, and of all other kings and courts in Christendom. For what is more obvious than examples of men of great abilities and merits laid aside, and men unqualified and odious to the publick put in their places? What more common than buying and selling of places, giving mandates, and making intrenchments upon corporations and colleges? What more usual in our histories than the disgracing, suspending, and imprisoning bishops and clergymen? These, I say, are common-places of all history, though not always found attended with

such dire effects upon the princes, who perhaps were, or at least were said to be, the authors of them.

But my intention is only to assert in general the innocence of him who has not so escaped, though owned by his very enemies to have had a true English spirit and tender affection to all his subjects; a zeal and delight in advancing their peace and plenty at home, and honour abroad; to have been an excellent, good-natured, generous prince, the most constant friend, the best father and master in the world, and the most merciful to his enemies.

All these qualities, I say, and the effects of them, were experienced by the whole nation in general, and by those in particular who had the honour and happiness of belonging to, or depending on him, in their several relations, and need no other proof than the black and foul ingratitude that sticks upon those who have, in the sight of God and man, rendered him evil, the worst of evils, for all the good they held and enjoyed from him alone. Let us consider them apart, and begin with the nearest to him.

King Lear and his daughters is perhaps but a fable, and Tullia's father was but a slave by birth, and an intruder into the royal family, but the paternal love of King James towards his daughters is as true as it is unparalleled; his care in their education, marriages, and provisions for them, are demonstrations of it. The honours conferred by him upon their mother's house, and their proximity to the throne, deserved some returns of gratitude; but how they have been made, and what was expected from obligation and filial duty, the world now seeth and judgeth. I need say no more; let nature speak the rest in all who read this.

What the royal father suffers from this ungrateful Tullia astonisheth even barbarous nations, and scandaliseth Christianity; and yet not one act of love, of pity, of remorse, or shame, to be returned! All to be trampled upon, and the royal author of them exposed, knowingly and avowedly, to the greatest indignities of pens and tongues, all over the nation. I need not here mention the many scurrilous pamphlets which have been published, licensed, and entered according to order; the odious ballads that have been printed and sung about the streets, nor the abominable secret history of King Charles and King James II., so full of notorious lies, false inferences, and malice, that no government certainly but this would have connived at it, or let it pass without condemning it to be burnt by the public hangman.

The street where Tullia drove her beasts over the face of her dead father, was called *Scelerata*, the unnatural or impious street, to all posterity. What street is there in all the cities of England where the like impieties have not been acted by her connivance, not to say authority, to grace her unnatural triumph?

Great enquiries were made after him who cut the prince's picture in Guildhall, and a reward proposed for them who could discover the author, as one that would have committed the like indignity on the prince's person if he had had him in his power; but was there the least check to a Killigrew, Hayford, and their companions, for their rage against a father's statue which they dragged about the streets of Newcastle? Was there a word said to the inhabitants of Gloucester, who, when they had pulled down and broken every limb of his statue, carried the head in a barrow, and cast it into a jakes, and wheeled the trunk into the river Severn, and disposed of other parts, and the supporters, with the arms of the four kingdoms, with contempt, at their pleasure? Was there any notice taken of those who committed his picture to the flames in almost every city of the kingdom? If they who connive at crimes are justly censured to ap-

* A poem written by Mr Mainwaring, and ascribed to Dryden, brings out this odious comparison, under the title of *Tarquin and Tullia*. See also the Letter on the Coronation, a preceding Tract.

prove them, what is all this silence but an approbation of all the unnatural impieties which these actors would have done to the person represented?

But let us pass to the next instance of his paternal merit, made out by the like return of duty in the younger sister. Did there a day pass without some new expressions of love and kindness to her, and not only in visits, and those doubled, and in the night too, upon her least indisposition, but also in supplying all her profuse expences upon the least intimation, notwithstanding his frugality towards himself, and the great charge he was at for the public? Nay, when her husband deserted him, and she, on the other side, went northward to countenance the rising of the confederate lords, a person of honour can tell what words fell from the king for the danger his dear child, so he called her, exposed her health to; and if she should miscarry by such a journey, he should be troubled as long as he lived. Was this a father to be cast off and abdicated, even with their natural right to the crown in their order? Was it a more honourable and happy state to become the orphan of the people, as some in the house stiled her?

As to his being a good master, I know not which sort of grateful servants to begin with. The Bishop of London, from a cornet of horse; the Bishop of Winchester from a captainship, the first apostatising to his jack-boots again;¹ and, for the second, I desire him to remember the parting words of his kind master,—“My lord, I foresee you will have cause to repent your proceedings towards me, as I do of mine towards you.” Words, one would think, might pierce an harder heart than that of such an old cavalier. What should I say of the Archbishop of York, rewarded so highly for one single act of duty, since he repented so soon of that short-lived merit?²

Next, for the constancy of his favours, and even friendship, where once conferred, it is notorious that it was his undoing; this made him deaf to all the suggestions against the contrivance of his son-in-law, to all that was offered to be proved against those of his privy-counsellors, who now, in the same posture, reap the fruits of their treachery and ingratitude to him; and this made him lay aside some who might have been otherwise extremely useful to him, and take all the late measures which exasperated the church of England, and were suggested by those who were trusted by him, with a design to ruin him.

I shall not sum up many instances, but content myself with one, which I think is scarce to be paralleled in history, the conscientious and religious Lord Churchill.³ See his Letter, and his Farewell-Kiss, sent therein to his betrayed master: Let that speak aloud what he owed, and what he paid. But as to his pretence of religion and conscience, give me leave to make out that a little for his lordship's sake.

He is a Judas on both sides. I need not mention the promise he had made to betray his master who created him, if that term be proper for such as are raised out of nothing, and to deliver him up, alive or dead, nor the plot he had laid to effect his treachery, under pretence of kindness; they are too well known to need my relation. But you would be perhaps astonished, if you knew not his temper, should I tell you he has, not many months since, made application to be reconciled to his old master, and yet about the same time informed he knew one that said there were an hundred members in the House of Commons well-wishers to King James.

¹ Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who had served Charles I. during the civil wars, resumed arms at the Revolution to escort the Princess Anne to Northampton, and there was prevailed upon (too easily, says Burnet) to accept the command of a small army of volunteers raised for her defence.

² Peter Mews, translated from Bath and Wells. He was a man of some military talent, and distinguished himself by his courage and conduct at the battle of Sedgemore.

³ In the moment of terror which attended the Revolution, James promoted Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter, to the metropolitan see of York, which had long been kept vacant. The act of duty alluded to was the bishop's flight from Exeter on approach of the Prince of Orange's army.

⁴ More widely and more honourably known as Duke of Marlborough.

He had a seeming zeal to get the princess 70,000*l.* per annum, and yet the methods are known by which, at the same time, he obstructed it. I have already shewn his conscientious cheating his soldiers in the Low-Countries, to which I may add, that he had an allowance for a table for his officers, yet he kept none; that he excelled in the giving false muster-rolls, even twenty in one troop, and thirty-six in another; putting in names, some killed in Monmouth's rebellion, others dead in England since, and alive at this day, out of all service; the lists of which have been shewn to me. Now, is there any thing of conscience in this man's conduct, from one end to the other? Is there any thing but mere Judas and damnation? The first corrupted favourite of his royal master, the first that went over, and the man who advised the prince at Windsor to secure the king in the Tower of London, and bring him to justice,* or to send him prisoner to some place in the Low-Countries, there to be dealt with as occasion served.

I have not patience, after this wretch, to mention any other; all are innocent comparatively to him, even Kirk himself: Neither will I insist upon the rest, though most deservedly rewarded; such as the Duke of Ormond, so kindly received by his royal master when he made him a friendly offer of his service, graced with his grandfather's garter, and succession in the chancellorship of Oxford, at the very time he was plotting against him. And what has he got by his desertion? To be captain of a troop of guards, and his colonel, the son of a Coventry cutler, to take place of him. The Duke of Grafton† divested of all his commands, notwithstanding his Dutch alliances, and reduced to an arbitrary pension, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*.

But that which ought to fill all men of honour, or even common sense, with indignation, is, that this most abused, most injured prince, has brought all these miseries upon himself by his clemency and goodness to his enemies. The famous Mr Pryn ingenuously confessed to a friend of mine, that if he had been sentenced in King Charles the First's time to have lost his head instead of his ears, it had been well for the kingdom; and, I may say, if King James's sceptre had been made of iron, and laid more heavy on some incorrigible subjects, we had not been now enslaved by the destroyers of his father, by the conspirators against his brother, the associates of Monmouth and Argyle; neither he nor we had been plagued with Hamdens, and Speaks, and Kings of Hearts,‡ and the rest, who made no other use of his mild government but to ruin it. So that this clemency hath been his only fault, and they have punished him for it, and given him cause at leisure to repent, and do penance for that God-like virtue, in the regretful words of murdered Cæsar, "*Mene hos servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?*" But he who has reaped the fruits of their treasons, has begun to punish them, and will, no doubt, make them suffer all those, and worse calamities, which their lying spirit hypocritically foreboded from his mild and innocent predecessor.

For, let us, in the second place, take a view of his way of governing at this present, and then judge if we have not brought upon ourselves scorpions instead of whips, and laid more weight on the nation by the touch of this little finger of a monarch, than his father did by his whole body.

After he had brought upon the nation all the calamities above specified, (which perhaps were not to be avoided in such a change) has he ever given the least sign of pity or concern for our sufferings? Could we be worse used had he conquered us in battle?

* Son of Charles I. He was killed at the siege of Limerick.

† This alludes to a whig nobleman, who "came to that pitch as to tell his majesty almost in plain terms that he had never been king but for him, and that he did not think himself suitably rewarded, though he possessed at that time about three thousand pounds per annum in places, and had so sensible an influence, and became so popular by the king's favour, as to have the court of the mob made to him, and to obtain the name of King of Hearts. He then asked his lordship if he did not remember how, upon the continued importunity of the said King of Hearts, his majesty became so uneasy that he told him one day he would be glad that lord would put all his demands into one head, that he might see if the whole kingdom would satisfy him."—RALPH, II. 311.

Of all the nobility who either ran unto him, or now fawn on him, whom doth he trust? What employment have they unless to discharge the odious part of his government on their fellow-subjects? We see who are removed from the treasury, even the forwardest in his service; from his fleet an admiral; some laying down the greatest places, others like to follow; and those who now lead the van of his favourites, have but little assurance that he will not discard them when they have done his drudgery. The important and essential consults and resolutions are all managed by a few foreigners, in a secret cabal of Dutchmen; of whom, that he might form a standing council, no less than five ambassadors came over from Holland at once, whereas those states never sent above two to any crowned head in Christendom; with these, and Benting, and some of the confederate lords who were with him in Holland, (though these last very rarely) he concerted the scheme and model of his government.

The principal resolution taken was, that, for fear of the worst, seeing the humour of the English is so giddy and changeable, they should be impoverished in their estates and trade, and weakened in their forces by land and sea; so that, let the success of affairs be what it would, we should not be able to do any thing for one hundred years but in conjunction with the Dutch. I dare appeal to the consciences of them if this be not true; and though they dare not own it here, yet the very conduct of affairs, and the account I have given you in the first three particulars, does loudly speak it.

For what has there been done to continue, much less to advance, the thriving state of the kingdom he found it in? Our ammunition, military and naval stores spent; but in what service? What execution has been done with them, or what care to lay in more? The despising and destroying of our seamen and soldiers I have shewn before; the embezzling and exportation of our gold and silver in specie, is not yet so publicly, at least so particularly manifested; but, by the accounts given, and the incomes of five millions he hath received since he came to Whitehall, it is demonstrable that he hath lodged somewhere vast sums for his future use.

These are but private instances of his destructive government, namely, the gutting of the nation, and making the kingdom vacant, as he did the throne. Come we now to the positive part, what he has given us in the stead, and thereby we shall see what his government is like to be, being the last act of our tragedy, viz. absolute and arbitrary, without regard to ancient laws or modern ones, even of his own enacting.

This, as horrid as it seems, will appear, I think, demonstrative, from these following proofs.*

I. The bringing in of eight thousand Danes already, and we know not how many more of them, or other foreign nations: It is well known, there comes over every week in parties, great numbers of strangers, with their wives and children, who have subsistence money allowed them, till they can be formed into companies; of those, Ludlow[†] was to have had a regiment, as his nephew has acknowledged; and though

* The introduction of foreign troops was a subject of complaint in parliament:—"Sir Thomas Clarges represented to the commons that it was dangerous to bring so many foreign troops into the kingdom, and that it was both safer and more expeditious to employ Englishmen in the reduction of Ireland. He supported his opinion by the example of Cromwell, whose English troops not only had a natural antipathy against the Irish, but likewise a constant ascendant over them; but somebody very justly replied, that Cromwell's army consisted of well-trained weather-beaten soldiers, whereas the present English forces were made up of raw, undisciplined men. Sir Thomas Clarges made this motion upon a false report, that, besides the seven thousand Danes, the king had sent for eight thousand more either from Hanover or Sweden."—*Life of King William, II.* 164.

† The Danes came as auxiliaries under the Duke of Wirtemberg, and assisted at the siege of Limerick and during the Irish campaigns.

‡ Ludlow the regicide came to England in hope of pardon and employment at the Revolution. But the Tories, who had so great a share in that event, instantly took fire, and upon their remonstrance a proclamation was sent out for apprehending him, which had the desired effect of compelling him to retire to Holland.

his uncle was sent packing by a sham proclamation, yet he is not gone for Geneva, but is still within call; nay perhaps within the reach of a whisper.

II. The quartering of these foreigners in our most considerable places of strength, both on the sea-coast and within the land: For can we imagine it was only the chance of a tempest, and not a design forelaid, that brought the Danes so directly to Hull, Bridlington, Scarborough, Tinnmouth, and Leith; so that they have at once got a full inspection into all the ports north of the Humber, as the Dutch have done on the south in both seas: To which we may add, the long continuance of them in the country, traversing, and quartering in all the great towns in the north, and gentlemen's and farmers' houses, contrary to the express laws, before they were dispatched into Ireland; not only that they might harass them, but be thoroughly acquainted with the situation, roads, and nature of the inhabitants, which are matters of the greatest importance to advance any foreign interest; and we know the Dutch are spread like locusts over the whole kingdom, and seem to be the last designed for Ireland.

III. The putting the highest offices of trust and importance into the hands of his own mercenary foreigners, who have no other interest or being but what depends on his fortune, like so many bashaws, or beglerbeks, upon the Grand Seignior; such as Schomberg, and Huson, Benting, Solmes, &c. All these and their janisaries, are pretended for the reduction of Ireland, and subduing of Scotland; but their last service and reward will be the enslaving of England, as was experienced by us in the Cromwellian army, after the like success in those countries. But we are not permitted to stay so long, for we see we are in a great degree enslaved already, by the numbers of foreign troops we have at present; and it is because of the awe of those, as it was of Cromwell's army, that our parliaments dare deny no money, nor the making of any laws which are for the security of the government.

Now these foreigners being made up of so many different sects of papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c. how can they be continued in his service, unless he first becomes so absolute, as to resumé a dispensing power over the sacrament test, and other legal impediments, which may seem to check these successful strangers in the performance of what they come for?

But, alas! What do I speak of legal, or dispensing! Will there be any regard to the one, or need for the other, in such an inundation of armed foreigners? Do we think they have such awful notions of doing things in a parliamentary way as we have; and will take no money but what the House of Commons will give them? Colonel Mynheer will have more authority than all my lords joined together. Doubtless, we shall find them equally the conservators of our properties, and of our religion, such as the Normans were to the Saxons, and the Saxons in their turns had been to the Britons: The first under the Conqueror, of this man's fatal name, had but one landing-place, and made all England his own; the other under Hengist and Horsa, with but the sixth part of the number of our present invaders, having got possession of the isle of Thanet, yet, by little and little, brought over so many from the same shore from whence our new recruits are coming, that they entirely ruined the British monarchy. About 250 years after, they themselves, in a great measure, suffered the same treatment from the lordly ancestors of our new Danish guests. They have in our histories left a fair example for their posterity to follow, in the Danegelt, and other brutish tyrannies: But let their nephews have a care of St Clement's bowl.

In sober sadness, the very remembrance of these bold invaders ought to rouse us a little out of our present lethargy, to stand upon our guard against the new ones. They ought to open our eyes, and make us jealous of all these delusive pretences of liberty and religion, which have driven us upon the brink of slavery and atheism.

It must be the wonder of all succeeding ages, that the pretended fear of an inconsiderable number of papists in England, should scare us thus out of our senses, understanding, and knowledge of our interest, to change our blessed peace for war and ravage, the well-balanced monarchy, under an indisputable lawful king, for Mynheer Benting, who upon the matter now rules over us.

It is the wonder of all judicious persons, that when we find our ancestors have been so jealous of the admission of any foreigners into the kingdom, (and we cannot forget how vehemently the parliament in 1648, represented the very attempt of Charles I. of hiring but 1000 German horse) that neither the last parliament nor this should once enquire into the danger of above 30,000 foreigners brought in, nor consider that this very thing would perpetuate a war in the bowels of these three kingdoms, and will necessitate an arbitrary, oppressive government, as long as they have footing here.

But to return. We have a fresh instance of his arbitrariness; 1. In the prorogation of the late convention, which, though it assumed a power to make a king, and create itself a parliament, yet could not support its being one day against his arbitrary resolution. But, 2. And more especially in the dissolution of it. In the first, he shewed how little he valued that great council, farther than their giving him money; and in the second, he shewed the disesteem he had of his privy-council, though chosen out of the wisest, as he judged, and most obliged to his interest, that the nation could afford. For on Thursday night, the 6th of February last, he very bluntly and magisterially told them, that he had determined to dissolve the parliament, and ordered Mr Attorney General to read the draught of the proclamation for that purpose. When those words were read, "By and with the advice of our privy council," a certain lord, seconded by some others, told the attorney general, that they had never heard the matter proposed before that instant. But their sovereign bid him read on; and when some again began to have the matter debated, he told them he was resolved upon it, and so something abruptly left them, like cyphers, to look upon one another, and signify just nothing. So true it is, that he hath a Dutch junto of his own, with whose politicks, unless our statesmen hit, their advice shall be little regarded.

It is to be presumed he will not treat this parliament better, as soon as he has got all the money they will afford him, and have perfected such bills as will secure his government. And it may be, there is not a greater instance of arbitrariness in any king's reign, than he hath shewn in his very pardon, to single out some sitting peers who have conformed to his government, sworn allegiance to him, and have been neither impeached by the commons, nor proceeded against by due course of law for any crimes; some of whom are guilty of nothing, but in acting in commission with others whom he hath pardoned; and one chargeable with nothing, but the sending King James's declaration into his diocese, which the most aged prelate on that bench, and others, had done with much more earnestness; hereby, as much as in him lies, exposing them to the rabble, and impressing a brand of infamy upon them; a thing exceeding the demanding the five members by King Charles I. who did it not till the house had voted their protection, when he had exhibited articles of high treason against them. If he does these things in the very infancy of his power, against those who set him up, what may we expect from him, should his reign continue? And since the nation has suffered so much in 18 months, we have reason sure to wish they may not be multiplied upon us.

I am confounded, I must confess, with horror, to look only back upon the miseries we have hitherto felt; but when I consider that Pandora's box is but just opened, and view a long train of war, famine, want, blood, and confusion, entailed upon us and our posterity, as long as this man, or any descended from him, shall possess the throne, and see what a gap is opened for every ambitious person who can cajole the

people to usurp it: These considerations, I say, chill my blood in my veins, and I cannot but lament my poor country's misfortunes with deepest sighs and groans.

It is to be hoped I am not alone, but that the eyes of all seeing men are opened by the smart of what they feel; and I appeal to their consciences, to judge which is most reasonable, or is likely to be most beneficial to us; to keep up a government built upon the most destructive principles to the peace and tranquillity of the nation, that ever was contrived by the most pernicious Machiavels in the world, viz. the original contract with the people; a government raised by parricide and usurpation, entered into by violation of his own declaration, supported by the overthrow of all our laws sacred and civil, and the perjury of the nation; a government under which we have suffered all hitherto related, to set up the Dutch, our rivals, upon our ruin, and from which we have gained nothing of what we aimed at, either as to the establishment of our religion or our property; but, on the contrary, greater animosities and confusion; a government which drives furiously on arbitrary principles, and cannot long subsist without breaking into that tyranny we suffered under the Rump and Cromwell. In a word, it has brought along with it all the plagues we dreaded under others, and gives us nothing but the dismal prospect of all the misfortunes which can befall a nation, which hath greatly provoked God Almighty's anger.

I appeal, I say, to all true Englishmen's judgments, of what persuasion soever in religion, whether it will be more to our interest in this world and the next, to support this government, or to return to our known duty, and call back our lawful king, who has shewn himself, upon all occasions, a lover of his people, an encourager of trade, a desirer of true liberty to tender consciences, an hater of all injustice, and a true father to his country.

He alone can restore us to our former tranquillity and peace, and is studying how to do it. He alone can heal all our breaches and unite our dissensions; and for his endeavours in this he suffers. He alone can restore us to our flourishing trade, and our enemies know and fear it. He alone can prevent all impending miseries, and make us happy, if we will ourselves; and the recalling him is the only means left us to effect it.

If we recall him not, it is morally certain he will be restored by another hand: For God will not let such wickedness go unpunished. But I dare pawn my soul he is more desirous to return by the good-will of his people, than our present master is ambitious to govern by the power of strangers. And we may be well assured, that by our king's return, lasting peace, with all the advantages of it, will more-especially be restored in one month, than all the power and contrivance of this government can do in 28 years, if for the scourge to these nations God Almighty permit him and his foreigners to rule over us so long.

A Second Letter to a Friend, concerning the French Invasion: In which, the Declaration lately dispersed, under the Title of his Majesty's most gracious Declaration to all his loving Subjects, commanding their Assistance against the Prince of Orange and his Adherents, is entirely and exactly published, according to the dispersed Copies; with some short Observations upon it. By Dr Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, and Master of the Temple. 1692.

In the beginning of 1692, Lord Middleton went over into France. "It was believed," says Bishop Burnet, "he was sent by a great body among us with a proposition which, if his lordship had had the assurance to make, and the king wisdom to embrace, would have greatly increased our factions and jealousies; namely, for King James to resign his title in favour of his son, and likewise to send him to be bred in England under the direction of a parliament, till he should be of age." The bishop could never hear that the earl endeavoured to communicate this project; and all the apparent effect of his mission was to obtain a new declaration in a quite different strain from the former, for whereas that was in the strain of a conqueror, this promised every thing, pardoned every body, and, as far as words could go, gave content to all. "His party," adds Burnet, "got this into their hands: I saw a copy of it, and they waited for a fit occasion to publish it to the nation." Accordingly it was printed and dispersed in the month of May following, and Dr Sherlock, now a zealous revolutionist, lost no time in bringing an antidote to the poison it conveyed.

SIR,

HAVING, in the conclusion of my letter, promised you, if you desired it, to give you an account of the late King James's Declaration, I will make no excuses, but, like a sincere protestant, will keep my word with you.

This Declaration has been industriously scattered about both in French and English, by the enemies of the present government. Now, to save them any farther trouble of this kind, and that the world may see we dare venture it, with all the charms that are by some thought to be in it, among the people of England, I have thought it the fairest way to print the whole, *verbatim*, paragraph by paragraph, with some short observations upon it; and only desire you to remember, that my principal design in it is only to strengthen the arguments of my former letter, and to make it appear, from this very Declaration, how little reason English protestants have to promise themselves, that the late king will be kinder to them than he was before, should he now return with a French power.

Declaration.

"Whereas the Most Christian King, in pursuance of the many obliging promises he has made us, of giving us his effectual assistance for the recovering of our kingdoms, as soon as the condition of his affairs would permit, has put us in a way of endeavouring it at this time; and in order to it, has lent us so many of his troops, as may be

abundantly sufficient to untie the hands of our subjects, and make it safe for them to return to their duty, and repair to our standard ; and has notwithstanding for the present, according to our desire (unless there should appear further necessity for it) purposely declined sending over forces so numerous, as might raise any jealousy in the minds of our good subjects, of his intending to take the work wholly out of their hands, or deprive any true Englishman of the part he may hope to have in so glorious an action, as is that of restoring his lawful king, and his antient government ; (all which foreign troops, as soon as we shall be fully settled in the quiet and peaceable possession of our kingdoms, we do hereby promise to send back, and in the mean time to keep them in such exact order and discipline, that none of our subjects shall receive the least injury in their persons or possessions, by any soldier or officer whatsoever.) Though an affair of this nature speaks for itself, nor do we think ourselves at all obliged to say any thing more upon this occasion, than that we come to assert our just rights, and to deliver our people from the oppression they lie under ; yet, when we consider how miserably many of our subjects were cheated into the late Revolution by the art of ill men, and particularly by the Prince of Orange's declaration, which was taken upon trust, and easily believed then, but since appears notoriously false in all the parts of it ; consisting no less of assertions that have been evidently disproved, than of promises that were never intended to be performed. To prevent the like delusions for the time to come, and to do as much as lies in our power to open the eyes of all our subjects, we are willing to lay the whole matter before them in as plain and short a manner as is possible, that they may not again pretend mistakes, or have ignorance to plead for any false steps they shall hereafter make towards the ruin of their own, and their country's happiness."—

Observations.

It begins with a thing very surprising and memorable, that the French king hath once in his life made good his word, and kept his faith ; for so the late King James tells us he hath done with him, " in pursuance of the many obliging promises he had made him, of giving him effectual assistance for the recovery of his kingdoms," &c. " Effectual assistance" is a big word, and more than the "greatest" and "most puissant king" is able always to make good : however, I am glad to see they begin to endeavour to perform their promises to one another ; it is a good quality, and it is to be hoped they may in time extend it further. But this satisfies me, that the French king thinks it his interest to restore the late King James ; for he was never known to keep his promise against his own interest ; and it is somewhat surprising, that the French king and English protestants should have " the same interest."

He seems sensible that French troops would not be very welcome in England ; and therefore to qualify this matter, he says, " that the French king, at his desire, has purposely declined sending over forces so numerous as might raise any jealousy of a French conquest," (for that is the plain English of it ;) that they shall be kept under " exact discipline" while they are here, and that he will send them home again when " he is fully settled in the quiet and peaceable possession of his kingdoms." But I thank God, with all my heart, that there is no danger now of these French troops coming into England ; which is a much greater security to us than both these kings' promises for their good behaviour here, or for their return home again. It is certain that one of them could not keep his word if he would ; and it is as certain that the other would not, as it is that it would not be his interest to do it ; for there is not the same reason for the French king to keep his promise of sending troops into England, and to keep his promise of sending no more than the late King James wants, or of calling them home again when

he wants them no longer. But before I proceed to more particular observations, it will not be amiss (and the conclusion of this paragraph requires it) briefly to consider what is not in the Declaration, which the people of England had all the reason in the world to have expected in it.

Now I can find but very little in it, I might with great truth say, nothing, which a reasonable man, who remembers the late reign, especially the conclusion of it, would have expected in such a Declaration.

If the design of such a Declaration be to give satisfaction to the minds of his subjects, it ought at least to have contained as good words, and fair promises, as a prince could give. He knew very well what it was that had alienated his subjects from him; that they apprehended their laws, their religion, and their liberties to be in great danger; and could not but know, that he had given them too just occasion for such jealousies and fears; and it is wonderful that he should think of publishing a Declaration, and not think fit to give the least satisfaction about these matters; not to say one word about popery and arbitrary power, nor to give any express promise that he would remove these fears.

The only thing he appeals to, is the justice of his cause; and does not think himself "obliged to say any thing more upon this occasion, than that he comes to assert his own just rights," &c. But this was not the controversy between him and his people; they did not dispute then his right to the crown, (though they have some reason to do it now) and yet were willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them; and if he knew what made them so, and hoped to return again by their assistance, and with their good-liking, any one but those of his own council would have thought him obliged to say something of it.

The Prince of Orange's Declaration put him in mind of this, which he says "cheated his subjects into the late Revolution;" and it had been much more to the purpose, to have discovered the cheat of that Declaration, or to have said nothing of it, than to affirm, without any proof, that now "it appears to be notoriously false in all the parts of it;" for English protestants know nothing to this day, but that it is all true still. Were there not in the late reign open and bold attempts made against the laws, the liberties, and the religion of these kingdoms? Was not the dispensing power set on foot for those purposes? Were not the judges tampered with, to obtain a sentence in favour of the dispensing power, and placed and displaced, till they could find fit tools for that work; men who would sacrifice the laws and religion of their country to the will of their prince, or to their own covetousness and ambition? Were not the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the test, dispensed with upon this pretence, and men unqualified by law put into ecclesiastical, civil, and military preferments, to the apparent danger both of church and state? Was there no ecclesiastical commission set up, no popish chapels, monasteries, and convents erected and endowed contrary to law? Were not the nobility and gentry closetted and examined about the repeal of the test, and those disgraced and turned out of all offices and employments who would not comply? Were not the bishops sent to the Tower, and tried in Westminster-hall, for their humble petition to him against reading the Declaration? Was not the administration of justice, and the greatest military trusts, put into the hands of papists? Were not the charters of cities, towns, and corporations seized into the king's hands, and so new-modelled, that the king might choose what burgesses he pleased, and have a House of Commons of his own creatures? Were there not visible grounds of suspicion concerning the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales? And has there been sufficient satisfaction given the nation about it to this day? These are the grievances complained of in the prince's Declaration, which were believed then, not upon the authority of the Declaration, but because they were seen and felt; and are believed still, because they are still remembered by those who saw and felt them; and how they have since been evi-

dently disproved, I cannot guess. But if such things as these are not thought fit to be owned as mistakes in government; if it was not thought fit to promise the redress of any one of them, no not in his Declaration, whereby he commands and invites his subjects to assist him in recovering his kingdoms, I can easily guess, that they will not be thought faults, much less be redressed, if he should return: They must be his very loving subjects indeed, that can be thus imposed upon.

Declaration.

“ And therefore, to take the matter from the beginning, it cannot be forgotten, that as soon as we had certain notice of the Prince of Orange’s unnatural design of invading our kingdoms, with the whole power of the United Provinces, we first took the best care we could to provide for our defence; which we seemed effectually to have done, when we had put our fleet and army into such a condition, that though his most Christian majesty, who well saw the bottom of the design against us, against himself, and indeed against the peace of Europe, offered us considerable succours both by land and sea; we did not think it at all necessary to accept them, at that time, as resolving to cast ourselves wholly, (next to the divine protection,) upon the courage and fidelity of our English army, which had been with so much care and tenderness formed and obliged by us. And having thus prepared to oppose force to force, we did, in the next place, apply ourselves to give all reasonable satisfaction to the minds of our good subjects, by endeavouring to undeceive them, and to let them see betimes, and whilst the mischief might easily have been prevented, how fatal a ruin they must bring upon their country, if they suffered themselves to be seduced by the vain pretences of the Prince of Orange’s invasion; however, so great was the infatuation of that time, that we were not believed till it was too late. But when he was obliged to throw off the mask by degrees, and that it began to appear plainly that it was not the reformation of the government, (which yet was a matter that did not at all belong to him to meddle with,) but the subversion of it, that he aimed at, that so he might build his own ambitious designs upon the ruins of the English nation: And when the poison had insinuated itself into the vital parts of the kingdom; when it had spread over our whole army, and so far got into our court and family, as not only to corrupt some of our servants, that were nearest our person, and had been most highly obliged by us, but not even to leave our own children at that time uninfected; when our army daily deserted on the one hand, and on the other hand tumults and disorders increased in all parts of the kingdom; and especially, when shortly after the Revolution came on so fast, that we found ourselves wholly in our enemies power, being at first confined by them in our own palace, and afterwards rudely forced out of it under a guard of foreigners; we could not then but be admonished, by the fate of some of our predecessors in the like circumstances, of the danger we were in, and that it was high time to provide for the security of our person, (which was happily effected, by our getting from the guard that was set upon us at Rochester, and our arrival in France, the only part in Europe to which we could retire with safety,) that so we might preserve ourselves for better times, and for a more happy opportunity; such as is that which, by the blessing of God, is at present put into our hands.”

Observations.

To begin with the certain notice of the Prince of Orange’s design, is not to take the matter from the beginning. Had he intended to give any satisfaction to English

subjects, he should have begun where their complaints and grievances, occasioned by his arbitrary and illegal government, began ; that is, where the prince's design, and his own abdication began. That he took the best care he could for his own defence, no man questions ; and had he taken less, it would not have been taken ill by the nation. That his Christian majesty saw this design was against himself, long before the late king was sensible of it, appears from the Memorial printed at the Hague, September 9, 1688, by Monsieur le Conte d'Avaux, the French king's ambassador : But when he says it was against the peace of Europe, I confess I know not how to understand it, unless, by the peace of Europe his most Christian majesty means an universal desolation, which he was making as fast as he could. For this cannot be denied to be a most certain and effectual way of settling a country in peace, to lay it waste, and to destroy and drive out the inhabitants ; to prevent which indeed was the bottom of this design ; and the most effectual way to do it was to divide England from the interest of France.

That the French king, to prevent this, did offer King James the assistance of his forces, is very probable from the same Memorial, which threatens the Dutch with it ; and how this assistance came to be refused, we learn from my Lord Sunderland's letter, printed in the History of the Desertion ; which, and some other counsels, (that thwarted the popish designs) cost him his religion, and soon after the favour of his prince, and his preferments at court.

That he had no such great confidence in the fidelity of his English army, was too evident, in the daily reformatations he made in it ; exchanging protestants for papists, and Englishmen for Irish, which occasioned that memorable accident at Portsmouth, which gave such a general disgust to the army, in a very lucky season, as greatly disposed them either to go over to the prince, or at least not to fight against him.

That he did many things in the time of his distress to sweeten his subjects is true ; but he was much mistaken if he thought this sufficient to give reasonable satisfaction. He undid many things which he had illegally done ; but he did this so late, and it was so apparently a matter of force, owing to the change of his fortune, not of his inclinations ; and then too done with so ill a grace, that I could observe nobody that was then satisfied with it.

He restored the charter of London, and of other cities and corporations ; he dissolved the ecclesiastical commission, restored Magdalen College, but never owned the illegality of these proceedings ; would never renounce his dispensing power, would never be persuaded by the most humble petitions, and earnest importunities of his lords and bishops, to call a free parliament, and to refer the redress of all grievances to them, till he seems to have formed a design of leaving England ; and then his issuing out of writs, which he resolved should never be executed, could do him no hurt, and would have a good appearance ; as if he had been willing to have referred all to a parliament, had not the growing power of his enemies made it more necessary for him to consult the safety of his own person.

The case of Magdalen College convinced all men that these were extorted favours, and would last no longer than it was safe to recall them.

King James had given his orders to the Bishop of Winchester, the visitor of that college, to recall Dr Hough, and the former fellows of that society ; and he accordingly went down to re-instate them ; but upon the news that the Dutch fleet had suffered much in a storm, and probably could not sail till the next spring, his lordship had new orders sent to call him back ; but that news proving false, his lordship was permitted to return and to pursue his first orders. This, it seems, was " all the reasonable satisfaction" that could be given, what his graces and favours to protestants were, and how long they would last.

As for what concerns the Prince of Orange, now our gracious king, I know of no mask he had on, nor that ever he threw off, or that he afterwards appeared to be any

other than his Declaration had represented him. He came not for the crown, but to reform abuses, and to secure the succession, which the right of his princess, and his own right and interest, the preservation of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, gave him right and authority to meddle with. But besides his expectation, and original intention, he has the crown which he came not for; he has deceived nobody in it; but if any one be deceived, King James and the people of England have deceived him; the one in leaving his crown, the other in placing it on his head; where indeed it ought to be, both in right of his princess, and for his own merits; for he who saves a nation, had he no other claim or title, may very well deserve to wear the crown, especially when it was with the free consent of the princess, our most gracious queen, and upon the desire of the estates of the realm, and still necessary to save the nation.

In the next place, he justifieth his leaving England, for "the security of his person being wholly in the enemies power, at first confined by them in his own palace, and afterwards rudely forced out of it under a guard of foreigners." But if he has forgot it, others have not, that before this happened he had privately withdrawn his person, disbanded his army, dissolved his government, flung his broad seal into the Thames, and had never had this pretence for his escape, had he not been stopped by a mistake; for nobody intended to stay him, and all this while he was in treaty with the prince, and that upon such equal terms, that he could be under no just apprehension of ill usage.

He excuses his going to France, because it was "the only part in Europe to which he could retire with safety;" which is a confession that he alone was in the French interest, against all Europe besides; and that he durst not trust his cause with any other princes in Christendom; which argues either a great jealousy of his own cause, or of their justice and honour even to distressed princes. But I am sure France was the only place in Europe he ought to have avoided; and if he had no other place to go to, he ought to have ventured himself at home, or to have gone to Rome, which had been a kind of second home, unless he intended to resign his crown. He knew what opinion English subjects had of his most Christian majesty; and might have known that they would never fetch him from France again, nor willingly receive him with a French power. What a "happy opportunity" he now has to recover his kingdoms again by French troops, I suppose by this time he begins to discern; and I hope it may prove a very happy opportunity for his "dear ally" to lose his: He has shewed him by his own example what to do in such cases, and the English parliament has taught the French what name to give it.

Declaration.

"Upon what foundation of justice or common sense the Prince of Orange's faction in England were pleased to treat this escape of ours out of the hands of our enemies in the style of an abdication, (a word, when applied to sovereign princes, that was never before used to signify any thing but a free and voluntary resignation of a crown, as in the cases of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and the late Queen of Sweden;) and what a strange superstructure they raised upon this weak foundation, that a company of men illegally met together, who had not power, even by their own confession, at that time, (for it was before they had voted themselves a parliament,) to charge the interest of the meanest subject, should yet take upon them to destroy the whole constitution of the government, to make an ancient hereditary monarchy become elective; and then, assuming to themselves the right of election, should proceed to settle the succession in so odd and extravagant a manner, are transactions that need not be

repeated; they are too well known to the world, to the great reproach of the English nation; and the grounds upon which they are built are too vain and frivolous to deserve a confutation. Every freeholder of England is, in this case, able to make his own observations; and will, no doubt, examine a little better than hitherto he has done, what assurance any private man can have of keeping his estate, if the king himself shall hold his crown by no better a title."

Observations.

His leaving the kingdom for the safety of his person, "and to preserve himself for better times, and for a more happy opportunity," he says, was no "abdication," as that signifies "a voluntary resignation of his crown;" nor do I say it was: But his withdrawing his person and authority was an actual quitting of the government. Whatever it is in law, I am sure, in common sense, the throne is actually empty when nobody is in it; and nobody is in it when there is no authority in the nation to administer the government; and when the throne is empty, the estates of the realm (who are the only supreme authority when there is no monarch) must fill it again, unless the government must dissolve, and then there is an end of all rights and claims; and this they have done, not by turning an antient hereditary monarchy into an elective, but by placing the next undoubted heir on the throne. And though he never intended to give up his right and future claim, yet he has done what he never intended to do. When the throne is empty it must be filled, and when it is declared vacant, and filled by the supreme authority of the nation, there is no room for him there.

As for the convention of estates: When there was no king on the throne, we do not pretend that they were a formal parliament; for that must have a king at the head of it, and therefore, as is observed in the Declaration, they could impose no legal taxes on subjects, nor did they attempt it; but yet they were not a company of men illegally met together, without authority to do any thing; but they met at the request, and under the protection, of the then Prince of Orange, upon the fundamental reasons of the constitution itself, as the sole judges of all disputes relating to the crown. Such disputes will sometimes happen, and if there be no legal judges of it, the sword must decide it; and that is a state of war, not of civil government, which all governments are supposed to provide against; and yet, if the convention of the estates are not the proper judges in such cases, it is certain there are none, and then the civil government is dissolved; we are in a state of war, and must submit to the longest sword: But this is so fully and plainly stated in the late ingenious Reflections on the Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession, from p. 26 to p. 34, that, to shorten this letter as much as I can, I shall refer you to that author for further satisfaction.

So that freeholders are not at all concerned in this matter. A convention of estates without a king, cannot meddle with their properties without a dissolution of the government; but when there is no king, or it is a question whether there be or not, or who is king by the fundamental constitution of the government, the convention of the estates are the sole and proper judges of it; in whose determination all private subjects are bound in conscience to acquiesce. And the late king need not complain of this, as if it made the titles of princes to their crowns very uncertain and arbitrary; for he had an unquestionable title to his crown, and might have held it to this day, if he himself had not undermined it, by breaking in upon the laws, and even upon the constitution itself, upon which his right was founded. This occasioned such a revolution as forced him to abdicate, and to leave it to a convention to declare his throne vacant, and to fill it.

Declaration.

“But since some men who could not say one word in defence of the justice of these proceedings, would yet take great pains to shew the necessity of them, and set forth the extraordinary good effects that were to be expected from so very bad a cause, we do not doubt but the nation has by this time cast up the account, and when they shall have well considered what wonders might have been performed with less expence of English blood, than that which has been unnecessarily trifled away in this quarrel; that such a number of ships of war have been lost and destroyed in the three years last past, as might alone have been sufficient to have made a considerable fleet; that more money has been drained out of the purses of our subjects in compass of that time, than during the whole reigns of many of our predecessors put together; and that not as formerly, spent again, and circulating among them, but transported in specie into foreign parts, and for ever lost to the nation: When these and many other particulars of this nature are cast up, it must certainly appear at the foot of the account, how much worse the remedy is than the fancied disease; and that, at least hitherto, the kingdom is no great gainer by the change.”

Observations.

I doubt his late majesty is misinformed; for there are not only “some,” but a great many, who have more than “one word” to say, both for the “justice” and the “necessity” of these proceedings, and the whole nation already feels “the extraordinary good effects of them,” notwithstanding the expence of blood and treasure, of which he complains; for we know whom we are to thank for that; and the best way to prevent the effusion of more blood, and the expence of more money, is to keep out his French troops, and to know when we are well. Revolutions are and will be bloody and chargeable, and therefore one revolution is enough for one age; the Dutch are already paid, and we do not desire to pay the French too, which is a much longer account, and we shall get less by it; we have hitherto had something for our money, and something that is very valuable,—our laws and liberties and religion; but I believe the nation will think it a hard bargain to pay ten times the price for French popery and slavery.

The nation, as he says, has “cast up the account,” and I believe above nineteen parts in twenty have considered the matter so well, that they are come to a fixt resolution to oppose the intended invasion to the utmost of their power.

As for the loss of the “ships of war,” it now appears (God for ever be praised for it!) that their majesties have a fleet still left, considerable enough, and faithful too, (notwithstanding all the arts and endeavours of our enemies to debauch them from their allegiance,) to deal with, and even to destroy, the naval power of France.

Declaration.

“The next consideration is, what may reasonably be expected for the time to come; and as to that, no better judgment can be made of any future events than by reflecting upon what is past; and doubtless, from the observation of the temper and complexion, the methods and maxims of the present usurper, from the steps he has already taken, when it was most necessary for him to give no distaste to the people, as well as from the nature of all usurpation, which can never be supported but by the same ways of fraud and violence by which it was first set up, there is all the reason in the world to

believe that the beginning of this tyranny, like the five first years of Nero, is like to prove the mildest part of it; and all they have yet suffered is but the beginning of the miseries which those very men, who were the great promoters of the Revolution, may yet live to see and feel, as the effect of that illegal and tyrannical government which they themselves first imposed upon the kingdoms."

Observations.

'There is no answer needs to be given to this, which may always be said of the best beginnings of the best government. We, for our part, find no fault with his majesty's government yet, and see no reason to suspect it for the future: Taxes are the only cause of complaint now, and yet few complain of them but Jacobites, who, out of their great zeal for the late king, pay double taxes to the present government to keep him out, which does him more mischief than Jacobite oaths could do; and yet, thanks be to God, we have a hopeful prospect of the end of these taxes, and have been so well repaid of late, that we shall not grudge to clear the account, that we may have something to call our own; but of all men in the world, (excepting always "his most Christian majesty.") the late king should not attempt to frighten us with the dangers of misgovernment, for a good reason, in which himself is too nearly concerned, and which "all English protestant subjects" very well know. As to what relates to the "first five years of Nero," this certainly is a piece of the secretary's own pedantry, to shew his great reading, and to impart to us one of the choicest secrets in the Roman history. All comparisons of princes with Nero are very odious; but I know not how he could have made one more to the advantage of King William, than to compare his reign hitherto with "the five first years of Nero," which the Roman historians tell us may compare with that of the best of their emperors; but, however, this I am sure of, that it is better to begin a reign as Nero did, than to begin where he ended, as two other kings have done, and to go on to improve and perfect that ill pattern, to which, if God had not mercifully prevented it, they were, not above a month ago, just ready to have given their "last hand" and the "finishing strokes."

Declaration.

"And yet the consideration must not rest here neither, for all wise men ought, and all good men will take care of their posterity; and therefore it is to be remembered, that if it should please Almighty God, as one of his severest judgments upon these kingdoms, for the many rebellions and perjuries they have been guilty of, so far to permit the continuation of the present usurpation, that we should not be restored during our life-time, yet an indisputable title to the crown will survive in the person of our dearest son the Prince of Wales, our present heir-apparent, and his issue; and for default of that, in the issue of such other sons, as we have great reason to hope (the queen being now with child) we may yet leave behind us; and what the consequences of that is like to be may easily be understood by all that are not strangers to the long and bloody contentions between the two houses of York and Lancaster; and whoever shall read the histories of those times, and there shall have presented to him, as in one view, a scene of all the miseries of an intestine war; the perpetual harassing of the poor commons by plunder and free quarter; the ruin of many noble families by frequent executions and attainders; the weakening of the whole kingdom in general at home, and the losing those advantages they might in the mean time have procured for themselves abroad, cannot but conclude that these are the natural effects of these straggling and

convulsions that must necessarily happen in every state, where there is a dispute entailed between an injured right and an unjust possession."

Observations.

This will need but a very short answer ; for as to the civil wars he threatens our posterity with, from the pretences of the Prince of Wales, I must needs say I had rather, if it must come to fighting, that they should fight for the crown twenty or thirty years hence than now. " Give peace in our days, O Lord." I had rather our posterity should enslave themselves, if they shall have a mind to be enslaved, than that we should enslave ourselves and our posterity with us. There is no such haste of bringing in popery and slavery ; and it is to be hoped, if we be true to our religion and liberties, our posterity may grow wise by our example ; but I must observe, that whereas the Prince of Wales in this English Declaration is called the " heir-apparent," in the French Declaration he is called only the " presumptive heir." Perhaps " presumptive heir" in the French law may be the same with " heir-apparent" in ours : If it be not, what did Sir E. H. or whoever was the penman of this declaration, mean by it ? Will they set aside the pretences of the Prince of Wales, if the late Queen Mary (who is said to be with child) in good truth bring forth a son ? This looks very suspiciously, as if they did not believe they had given sufficient satisfaction about the birth of this pretended Prince of Wales ; but, however, we must presume him Prince of Wales till they have another, whom they can by better proof make out to be the unquestionable son of the late Queen Mary.

Declaration.

" There is another consideration that ought to be of weight with all Christians ; and that is the calamitous condition of Europe, now almost universally engaged in a war among themselves, at a time when there was the greatest hopes of success against the common enemy, and the fairest prospect of enlarging the bounds of the Christian empire, that ever was in any age since the declining of the Roman. And so far from the hopes of a general peace before our restoration, that no rational project of a treaty can be formed in order to it ; but that once done, the thing will be easy, and we shall be ready to offer our mediation, and interpose all the good offices we can with his most Christian majesty for the obtaining of it."

Observations.

This whole period is a sharp and perpetual satire against the French king ; for who has been the great disturber of the peace of Europe but his most Christian majesty ? With whom are all the princes of Europe at war but with him ? Who else has hindered the success against the common enemy, and the enlarging the bounds of the Christian empire ? Who invited the Turk into Europe ? Who encourages him to continue the war after so many fatal defeats, which may probably prove the ruin of his whole empire ? In a word, what other Christian prince is the Great Turk's ally and confederate in this war ? And is not this war continued and encouraged by all the power and interest of the French king on purpose to disturb the peace of Europe, that while the imperial forces are otherwise employed, he may make a prey of his weaker neighbours ? It is decent to spare crowned heads, and such as have been crowned ; but the penman of this declaration deserves his reward for putting in so many notorious falsehoods, as

may justly call the truth and sincerity of the whole in question. I know but one excuse for him, that he has made it almost all of a piece; and though he has had little regard to truth, yet he has so ordered the matter, that he can deceive nobody but those who have a great mind to be deceived, and it is not amiss that such should be gratified.

Who but the late king could hope to persuade the world, that to restore him to his kingdoms is absolutely necessary to the peace of Europe; that before his restoration no rational projects of a treaty can be formed in order to a peace? He may be mistaken in this, for the French king may quickly be glad to make peace, and leave him and his restoration out of the treaty; for things are come to that extremity now, that it is in vain to think of peace till Lewis the Great be reduced to such a state as to accept it, and unable to break it, and then this argument returns upon him; for the peace of Europe is a necessary reason why he should not be restored, as I observed in my former letter.

But he who could fancy himself to be a proper and effectual mediator for a peace, if he were restored, must have liberty to fancy any thing; and it is happy for him that he has so comfortable an imagination. I do really pity him too much to endeavour to dispossess him of it, because that would be to undo him more than he is already undone.

Declaration.

"Since therefore we come with so good purposes, and so good a cause, the justice of which is founded upon the laws both of God and man; since the peace of Europe, as well as of our own kingdoms, the prosperity of present and future ages is concerned in the success of it, we hope we shall meet with little opposition, but that all our loving subjects, according to the duty and the oath of their allegiance, and as we hereby command and require them to do, will join with us, and assist us to the utmost of their power."

Observations.

I can say little to this; the event will best shew whether the people of England will think his cause so good, and the reasons for his restoration so pressing, as to assist him in it.

Declaration.

"And we do hereby strictly forewarn and prohibit any of our subjects whatsoever, either by collecting or paying any of the illegal taxes lately imposed upon the nation, or any part of our revenue, or by any other ways, to abet or support the present usurpation. And that we may do all that can be thought of to win over all our subjects to our service, that so, if it be possible, we may have none but the usurper and his foreign troops to deal with; and that none may be forced to continue in their rebellion by despair of our mercy for what they have already done, we do hereby declare and promise, by the word of a king, that all persons whatsoever, how guilty soever they may have been (except the persons following, viz. the Duke of Ormond, Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Sunderland, Earl of Bath, Earl of Danby, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Newport, Bishop of London, Bishop of St Asaph, Lord Delamere, Lord Wiltshire, Lord Colchester, Lord Cornbury, Lord Dunblane, John Lord Churchill, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimstone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwell, Sir James Oxendon, Dr Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, Dr Gilbert Burnet; Francis Russel, Richard Levison, John Trenchard, Esquires; Charles Duncomb, citizen of London, — Edwards, — Napleton, — Hunt, fisherman;

and all others who offered personal indignities to us at Feversham; except also all persons who, as judges or jurymen, or otherwise, had a hand in the barbarous murder of Mr John Ashton, and of Mr Cross, or of any others who have been illegally condemned and executed for their loyalty to us; and all spies, and such as have betrayed our counsels during our late absence from England,) that, by an early return to their duties and by any signal mark of it, as by seizing to our use, or delivering into our hands any of our forts, or by bringing over to us any ships of war, or troops in the usurper's army, or any new-raised and armed by themselves, or by any other eminent good service, according to their several opportunities and capacities, shall manifest the sincerity of their repentance, shall not only have their respective pardons immediately passed under the great seal of England, but shall otherwise be considered and rewarded by us as the merit of their case shall require. And for all others who, after the time of our landing, shall not appear in arms against us, nor do any act or thing in opposition to our restoration, the persons before-mentioned only excepted, we shall provide in our first parliament (which we intend to call with all convenient speed) by a general act of indemnity, that so the minds of all our subjects may be as quiet and as much at ease as their persons and properties will be secure and inviolable under our government.

"Provided always, That all magistrates, who expect any benefit of our gracious pardon, shall immediately, after notice of our landing, make some public manifestation of their allegiance to us, and of their submission to our authority, and also publish and cause to be proclaimed this our declaration, as soon as it shall come to their hands; and likewise that all keepers of prisons immediately set at liberty all persons committed to their custody upon the account of their allegiance and affection to us, or be excluded from any benefit of our pardon.

"And we do hereby further declare, That all officers or soldiers by sea or land, now engaged in the usurper's service, who shall, after notice of our landing, at any time before they engage in any fight or battle against our forces, quit the said illegal service, and return to their duty, shall not only have their respective pardons, but shall likewise be fully satisfied and paid all the arrears due to them from the usurper; and that even the foreigners themselves, who have been as well in troops as single persons drawn into this kingdom, in order to list them as there should be occasion, for the opposing our return, and continuing our people in the oppression they lie under, may not be altogether driven to despair, we do promise, that all such of them as shall, as aforesaid, before they engage against any of our forces, lay down their arms and claim the benefit of our present declaration, shall have their arrears satisfied, and care shall be taken for their transportation to their respective countries, or elsewhere, as they shall reasonably desire."

Observations:

Let us now consider the grace and favour promised in this declaration; for grace and pardon, &c., are very good things when we need them; but yet no man would choose to need them if he could help it. If the late king's restoration were desirable upon other accounts, and nothing hindered subjects from returning to their duty and allegiance but fear of punishment for what is past, the promise of pardon would be a very good argument to encourage subjects to assist him in his return; but merely that we shall be pardoned, is no argument to bring him back, because we shall need no pardon if we don't; and that is always the surest side, to need no pardon, much surer than any promise of pardon the late king can make.

And yet he has used that great caution in his promise of pardon, as if he were afraid

we should expect more than he intends to give, and should charge him with a new breach of promise when we come to Tower-hill or Tyburn.

We see whom he has excepted, but 'tis not easy to know who is pardoned; the truth is, he has put all the subjects of England under a necessity of forfeiting their pardon when he recovers his throne, or of being hanged or mobbed, at least of venturing both, before he can be in a condition to pardon. All are excepted from this pardon who shall either "appear in arms against him, or do any act or thing in opposition to his restoration." Now, "to collect or pay any of the illegal taxes, or any part of the revenue of the crown," are expressly forbid, "as abetting or supporting the present usurpation;" and, therefore, to pay taxes is one of the acts or things which excludes from pardon, and this excepts the whole nation at once. And, for the comfort of the clergy, to pray for King William and Queen Mary, and for the success of their arms, especially after the "late king" is landed, will certainly be "doing an act or thing in opposition to his restoration." And all magistrates are in a very hopeful condition, who are excluded from pardon, unless they shall "immediately, after notice of his landing, make some public manifestation of their allegiance to him, and of their submission to his authority, and cause his declaration to be proclaimed as soon as it shall come to their hands."

This is a very "gracious pardon," which men must purchase at the price of their necks, and yet how far this pardon will extend we know not; it may be only to life, for here is no mention of fortunes or honours, and yet it is but a mere pardon; here is not one kind word given to the protestant nobility, gentry, or clergy; no promise to employ them in his councils, or any civil or military trusts; and when we know how he has hitherto kept his promises, we have little reason to expect that he will now do more than he has promised.

But besides the exceptions from pardon in general words, which, upon one account or other, do involve the whole nation, there are some things very remarkable as to the persons by name excepted. Most of them, I believe, are not sorry for it, because they know their case would have been the same had they not been excepted, and possibly others may hope their case may be the better for being excepted. But why Sir St. F. and Sir S. Gr. ? They are both of them very worthy and honest gentlemen, and I dare almost be their compurgator as to having had any hand in revolutions; but I must confess both of them have estates very worthy to be excepted. And some such reason probably there may be for excepting Sir J. O. and Sir B. D. of Kent; for it cannot but come into every body's mind how conveniently their estates lie to make a compensation to Sir E. H. for his great merits and sufferings. But why descend so low as to except poor Hunt, the fisherman? This I take to be a true stroke of Secretary Melfort's popish bigotry, and put in on purpose to let us know that effectual care will be taken that the late king, whenever he returns, shall have so exact a memory, that the merits of the meanest man in England shall not be forgotten. You see what the pardon is, and those who like it may merit it, if they please.

Declaration.

"And we do hereby further declare and promise, That we will protect and maintain the church of England, as it is now by law established, in all their rights, privileges, and possessions; and that upon all vacancies of bishopricks, and other dignities and benefices within our disposal, care shall be taken to have them filled with the most worthy of their own communion."