

Observations.

Here he promises to protect and defend the church of England, which will be a great favour indeed from him, if he should return with a French power. But the church of England is protected already by princes who think it their duty to do it; and we think ourselves much safer in the inclinations of a protestant king and queen than we can be in all the promises of a zealous papist. And therefore this can be no argument in our case, because it offers us a worse security for our protection than what we already have; for it is always great odds on nature's side. And yet this promise to the church of England seems fainter and cooler than some he has formerly made, which is all the reason we have to expect it will be better kept; especially there being not the least intimation of the breach of his former promises, nor any excuse made for it. And it is fit to be observed, that whereas he promises 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;" there is not one word said of universities and colleges, though the case of Magdalen College is so very notorious, and so fresh in every man's memory, that there is hardly a yeoman or artificer in the nation that has not a lively remembrance of it. Church of England men then shall at present have the churches, and papists the colleges, to breed up a Roman catholic succession of honest Obadiah's.

Declaration.

"And whereas more tumults and rebellions have been raised in all nations upon the account of religion, than on all other pretences put together, and more in England than in all the rest of the world besides; that therefore men of all opinions in matters of religion may be reconciled to the government, that they may no longer look upon it as their enemy, but may therefore think themselves equally concerned in the preservation of it with the rest of their fellow-subjects, because they are equally well treated by it; and being convinced in our judgment that liberty of conscience is most agreeable to the laws and the spirit of the Christian religion, and most conducing to the wealth and prosperity of our kingdoms, by encouraging men of all countries and persuasions to come and trade with us, and settle amongst us; for these reasons we are resolved most earnestly to recommend to our parliament the settling liberty of conscience in so beneficial a manner, that it may remain a lasting blessing to this kingdom."

Observations.

In this paragraph, for the "peace of the nation, and for the advancement of trade," he promises "earnestly to recommend to the parliament the settling liberty of conscience;" but this is no argument to the dissenters to help forward another revolution, because they have it already in as full and ample a manner as it can be given them. All that he can add to this is liberty of conscience for papists, and the repeal of the test, which cost him so much closetting to no purpose, and now is promised as a favour. What protestant dissenters will think of it, I leave them to consider.

But when he says, "we are convinced in our judgment that liberty of conscience is most agreeable to the laws, and to the spirit of the Christian religion," methinks these two kings treat one another with great freedom. For what handsomer compliment could have been made to the "most Christian king," than to intimate that his perse-

cution of his protestant subjects is not at all agreeable to the "laws," or to the "spirit of the Christian religion?" This is plain dealing if the French king can bear it; but I suppose they are agreed that K. J. shall declare as is most fit for his purpose, and the French king do what is most convenient for his own.

Declaration.

"Lastly, It shall be our great care, by the advice and assistance of our parliament, to repair the breaches, and heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade, by putting the act of navigation in effectual execution, which has been so much violated of late in favour of strangers; to put our navy and stores into as good a condition as we left them; to find the best ways of bringing back wealth and bullion to the kingdom, which of late have been so much exhausted; and generally we shall delight to spend the remainder of our reign (as we have always designed since our coming to the crown) in studying to do every thing that may contribute to the re-establishment of the greatness of the English monarchy upon its old and true foundation, the united interest and affection of the people."

Observations.

What these "breaches and wounds of the late distractions" are, he does not tell us, and therefore we must suppose they are such as are here mentioned. As for "restoring trade," it has not been lost yet; the custom-house does not complain of it, which is commonly the first that feels it. The navy is in a much better condition than he left it, if we may guess at that by its late exploits: but if he be so well skilled "in restoring navies," he ought, both in charity and gratitude, now to stay a little longer in France. As for his "bringing back wealth and bullion into the nation," I believe the nation would have been better pleased if he would have promised to send none out. And as for his concluding promise, in these words, "and generally we shall delight to spend the remainder of our reign (as we have always designed since our coming to the crown) in studying to do every thing that may contribute to the re-establishment of the greatness of the English monarchy upon its old and true foundations, the united interest and affection of the people." This is plain-dealing, and surest to be made good of any thing in the declaration. And if he does this "now, as he always designed to do it," (for he could not then do all that he *designed* to do,) here is a renewed promise of popery and arbitrary power: and those are unpardonable infidels who will not take his word for it.

Declaration.

"Thus having endeavoured to answer all objections, and give all the satisfaction we can think of to all parties and degrees of men, we cannot want ourselves the satisfaction of having done all that can be done on our part, whatever the event shall be; the disposal of which we commit with great resignation and dependence to that God who judges right. And on the other side, if any of our subjects, after all this, shall remain so obstinate as to appear in arms against us, as they must needs fall unpitied under the severity of our justice, after having refused such gracious offers of mercy, so they must be answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that shall be spilt, and all the miseries and confusions in which these kingdoms may happen to be involved, by their desperate and unreasonable opposition."

Given at our court at St Germain's, this present 20th of April, 1692, in the eighth year of our reign."

Per ipsum regem manu propria.

Observations.

Thus the Declaration ends, and it is time for me to end too. After these observations you will be able to comprehend both the wise design of this Declaration, and how likely it is to have its effect, provided it can but gain these two easy points: First, to persuade King William to quit the crown for fear of losing it, and then prevail with the people to believe, that two other kings, whom I will not name, will, for this once, put off their natures, and, out of a particular respect and kindness to the English church and nation, quit all thoughts of introducing popery and arbitrary power here in England.

Once more, sir,
Farewell.

The Pretences of the French Invasion examined, for the Information of the People of England.

While the terrors of invasion were impending, and Jacobitism, according to Dr Burnet, was more prevalent than ever, the following pamphlet was published under the countenance, if not by authority, of the court, for confuting the plea set up by the malcontents. The object is to show that James was the author of his own ruin; that the state of the country under William, notwithstanding the increase of taxes, was more honourable and happier than under his predecessor; that in effect there was no innovation upon the constitution, which rested on its original basis; and that the protestant religion could never be in such safety under a papist monarch as under the sway of William, the very champion of the reformed faith. The pamphlet met with much attention, and was combated by several answerers. It is said to have been written by the Earl of Nottingham, who might be now considered as the head of the revolutionaries, and who had early given William a hint, that although his party could not concur in placing him on the throne, yet, when he had gained that situation, he would find the high-churchmen his most faithful, as well as most commodious servants. William had accordingly formed a tory administration, disgusted with the obstinacy of his whig partizans, and as one of the first fruits of his promised, or transferred allegiance, the Earl of Nottingham proceeded to confute the pretences for the impending French invasion.

That the sword hath long been kept from destroying among us, is a blessing which we cannot sufficiently understand, unless we consider the woeful desolation it hath made in all neighbouring nations; nor are they at all sensible how much they owe to God and their majesties for keeping us in peace, who give the least encouragement to

this intended descent, which must turn our land into an *Aceldama*, and will make such woeful havock of our lives and fortunes, while one party fights for safety, and the other for revenge, that no age can parallel the horrid consequences of such a civil war as this will prove. And if papists only (blinded by zeal for their religion, and blown up with hopes of absolute empire) encouraged this bloody design, it would be no wonder, and could have no success, considering the general aversion of the people to them, and the fresh instances of their insolence and cruelty.

But, alas ! it appears that many, who call themselves protestants, are engaged in this fatal conspiracy against their religion and their native country, which is so prodigious and amazing, that a man would wonder who hath bewitched these foolish Galatians to push on their own and the church's ruin ; and every one must be inquisitive into the specious pretences by which these men are induced to become their own executioners.

Now the pretended motives are these :—

1. Repairing the injury done to the late king.
2. Delivering us from the oppressions we suffer under the present king.
3. Settling the government upon its old basis.
4. Securing the protestant religion for all future ages.

Now it becomes every true English protestant to examine these pretences very well, before he venture on a thing of so evil appearance and dangerous consequence as is the joining with these invaders.

First, It is pretended the late king was unjustly deprived of his birth-right by his subjects, who, by nature and oaths, were bound to defend him in the possession of it ; and now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever were his subjects must either assist, or at least not oppose him.

But let it be considered, that all the late king's sufferings were owing to, and caused by, the counsels of his popish priests, and the bigots of that persuasion : Protestants were not the aggressors ; he might have kept his possession to this day undisturbed, if he had not made such open and bold attempts upon our laws, our religion, and properties, so that he was the first and only cause of his own sufferings. And why should millions be involved in blood and ruin, who are perfectly innocent of doing this injury ? No free nation did ever bear more or greater injuries, or endure such violence so long, or so patiently, as we did : and when some stop was to be put to the final ruin of our liberties and religion, it was done at first by petitions and complaints ; and when they were despised, none but defensive arms were taken up by some few, and by a foreign prince only to cover their heads, while the grievances were fairly redressed ; not to take away his rights, but to secure our own. Nor did the Prince of Orange, or these gentlemen, divest or deprive him of his throne, but owned his right by offering a treaty, during the continuance of which he disbanded his army, dissolved his government, and, as much as in him lay, attempted to desert the throne, and seek aids from an enemy's country, which might secure him against redressing any grievances, and enable him to be revenged upon the injured complainers. We did not make the throne vacant ; but the late archbishop, and other peers at Guildhall, believed he had left it void, or else they would not, without his consent, have seized on the administration of government, secured his chancellor, taken possession of the Tower, and offered the exercise of the supreme power to the Prince of Orange. He left us in anarchy, and we provided for ourselves in the best manner such a juncture would allow. I will not enquire now, whether these subjects, who are so zealous for his return, were not bound to do more than they did to keep him in his throne while he had it ; their conscience then permitted them to look on, and let him sink, while his security had been far more easily compassed ; but they, who have now these unseasonable pangs of their old

loyalty, must consider that a man may leave his right when he pleaseth, but may not take it again at his pleasure, especially not by force, and this most especially as to sovereign power. Somebody must govern when he would not, the next undoubted heir, in hereditary monarchy, must; and whoever doth govern in chief in this nation must be king by our constitution, and must have power sufficient to protect himself and the nation against all their enemies; and that cannot be without swearing new allegiance. Now, when a king and queen are declared, submitted to, and owned by oaths, and all other methods required in such case, the king is not at liberty to give up his own power, and the protection of us, nor are the people free to join with him that deserted them, or to venture their necks, or their country's ruin, to restore him. I dare say that the French king will not grant that the citizens of those cities, who were subjects to Spain, or the emperor, and bound by oath to those princes, (but have now submitted to him, and sworn new allegiance,) are obliged to venture their lives and fortunes, by virtue of their old oaths, to restore those cities to their former masters; doubtless he would solve their scruples with a halter if he found they attempted it. Besides, the injuries, as they are called, done to the late king by his own acts, if they were capable of reparation, must not be repaired with the injuring, yea, ruining, many thousand innocent persons, who must unavoidably lose their lives, and be undone in their estates by his returning by force. The present king and his army are bound by oaths, duty, and interest, to oppose him; so are all now protected by him, and who have sworn allegiance to him; and it is certain all that are not perjured hypocrites will do so; and then, what Englishman's bowels must not bleed to consider what murders, burning, plundering, and destruction he brings upon his native country, who encourages the aggressors? If he has any kindness for us, whom he calls his subjects, he would rather sit quietly under his single injuries, than wish, or, however, attempt to be restored by blood and an universal ruin; and, if he has no pity for us, why should we be so concerned for him, as to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to his revenge? He went away while a treaty was on foot, and nothing but a treaty can restore him fairly, which he never yet offered. We did not force him to go away in disguise, and if he will force himself upon us again by French dragoons and Irish cut-throats, we may and must oppose him, for our allegiance is now transferred to another. Finally, there is no injury to any but himself, and those who run into voluntary exile with him, by his being out of the possession; the monarchy, the law, the church, and property are all in better estate than in his time; and all these, with innumerable private persons, must be irreparably injured by his return in an hostile manner. So that there can be no reason to redress the sufferings he owes to his own faults, by so many public and private injuries. If it be pleaded that he, who was born to a kingdom, really wants subsistence, I reply, that, if he would seek the peace of Christendom, and of his late subjects, he might, by a fair treaty set on foot, not only restore the exiles, but have a sufficient and honourable maintenance from this government; but while the war he makes upon it, puts us to so great expence, he cannot expect it, nor imagine we should give him a supply to enable him to ruin us.

The second pretence why we should assist towards his restoration, is, to deliver ourselves from the oppression we suffer under the present king: And, to set off this with a better gloss, the late reign is magnified by the jesuits and their tools, and this blackened; freedom from taxes then is made a rare instance of his gentleness, and the present impositions heightened with all the rhetoric imaginable, to represent this king as an oppressor. The flourishing of trade then is extolled, the decay of it now odiously insinuated, and great hopes are given of golden days, upon the return of James the Just; he is to make us all happy.

Now, to answer this, there is no need to make a satire on that reign, or a panegyric on this; that is so well remembered, and this so fully known, that all unprejudiced peo-

ple see on which side the truth lies. But it is great pity they who have the wit to invent or urge this plea, have not a memory to remind them that none complained more of the danger of law and religion, of our lives and fortunes in that reign, than many who have this high opinion of it now; the cruel severities in the west, the high commission turning out of offices all good protestants, attempting to reverse all the penal laws, putting unqualified men into all places of trust, profit, and power, excluding the fellows of Magdalen, and putting in papists, with the imprisonment and trial of the bishops, were thought oppressions then; but now all these are buried in oblivion, and those taxes which the late king, and his ally of France, with their abettors, alone make necessary to this frugal prince, these are our only grievance, and this king's unpardonable crime. The late king had one tax, and might, yea, would, have had more for the glorious design of enslaving his subjects, if he could have got a parliament to his purpose, which he vigorously endeavoured; and it was, because he was sure he must satisfy his people in their just complaints, whenever he asked a supply, that he durst not ask it of a freely chosen parliament; yet then we were in peace with all nations, and now he hath entangled us in a war with the worst enemy in Europe. Assessments then were not needed, but to hasten our ruin; now they are absolutely necessary to our safety, and made so by him and his complaining friends. Yet still what grievances are these taxes, in comparison of what is laid on the French slaves, into whose condition we were intended to be brought? There is a vast difference between losing our property for ever, and paying some part of our profits to secure the rest, and our inheritances to our posterity, as well as ourselves. Besides, should we not leap out of the frying-pan into the fire, if, to avoid tolerable payments, we should rashly bring a fatal war to our doors, that must last till more than one half of the nation be destroyed, and the rest utterly, and almost irrecoverably, impoverished? This, I am sure, is voluntarily to change our whips for scorpions. We have paid as much formerly for assisting France to ruin Europe, and maintain vice at home, as now serves to deliver Europe, and secure our native country and religion from utter destruction: Nor are the sums considerable, reckoning the abatement of chimney-money which we have paid to this government; no country in Europe hath paid so little in proportion to our wealth, these last three years of war: And, if the late king return, England must pay all the sums borrowed of France, to maintain him abroad, to keep Ireland, and to discharge the forces that came to thrust him on us, and must stay to compleat the happy design of setting up popery and slavery, the natural consequences of his restoration; and it is well if arrears of chimney-money, and other public monies, be not called for to carry on so glorious a work: So that if England rebel against the present king, to avoid the burdens now upon them, they expose themselves to ten times greater taxes for many-years, and it can end in nothing but the utter impoverishing of the whole nation, especially the protestant part of it, who by their poverty will become a more easy prey. As for trade, the decay of it began in the late king's time, and it is the war which he and France had engaged us in, that still keeps it at a low ebb; so that for the late king's friends to expose the present government for this, is like a conjuror's complaining of the storms he raises. That ingenious History of Bishop King's of the *Estate of the Protestants in Ireland under King James*, makes it out that the late king feared and hated the increase of trade, which made him use all means to hinder it; and all the world sees that no absolute monarch, as he affects to be, likes that his subjects should grow rich by trade. But our present king, so soon as he can have peace, will make it his first care to promote trade here, as he did in the country he came from; and, even in the difficult times he had, trade hath been a great part of his and his parliament's care. Finally, if men can remember the times that are so lately past, when law and right was only the king's pleasure, dictated by mercenary judges; when no party but the papists flourished, when a general consternation had stopped all business,

they cannot hope to be happy by his return, who caused all these miseries: And they must expect, now he hath perfectly learned the French methods, of making a king the greatest of all monarchs, by making his subjects the vilest of slaves, that he will practise it with greater industry and application than ever, to put it eternally out of his subjects' power to protect themselves again: For oppressing his people, which was but expedient before, will now be thought absolutely necessary. So that nothing can be more improbable, not to say impossible, than for England to be happy under him; that attempted to make her miserable without any provocation, and must return with the same principles and designs, the same counsellors and interests he had before, and with all the addition that revenge, hatred, and fear can make to an angry and implacable mind: But it may be said his dear-bought experience of the ill success of these methods will make him rule more moderately, if he be restored: To which I reply, *Cælum non animum mutat*. The fore-cited book of Bishop King's demonstrates, that after he had lost England and Scotland, and a great part of Ireland, upon his return thither from France, he was more arbitrary and hard to his protestant obedient subjects, than ever he had been before, even though it was against his visible interest, and tended to disgust all the protestants who would have served him there. His declaring himself papist at first here, and all his actions since, shew that he prefers his will, and an obstinate pursuing his own methods, far above his true interest; whence it follows, that we vainly expect from one of his temper, that either his past experience or his future interest should teach him moderation, any longer than till he had power to oppress us: And, if he should by a thousand promises or oaths engage to rule by law, his frequent breach of both hath given us no reason to trust him; and the religion he professes can so easily dispense with both, that neither of them give us any security from that sort of obligations. The interests of popery and France require he should be absolute, and his nature spurs him on to it, and nothing but fear can for a moment restrain him from being so. What a shadow of a dream then must this be, of protestant subjects being happy under a bigotted popish prince of such a temper?

Thirdly, Whereas it is said we have changed our old hereditary monarchy into one merely elective, and by degrees shall bring it to a commonwealth; nor can any thing prevent this, which will be of fatal consequence to the church, but our restoring the late king: I answer, the position is false, and the consequence a mere sham; the government of England always was, and ever must be, monarchical; that twelve years, when it was endeavoured to make it otherwise, convinced all men that all projects to the contrary must come to nothing. As for this revolution, it is not likely a parliament which made an entail of the crown, in a lineal succession, should be for setting up a commonwealth, or altering the hereditary monarchy. If it be alledged there was a great breach as to the person of the reigning king, it is replied, he himself made it, and they did not make, but find the throne void. And there have been greater breaches since the Conquest, as to the true lineal succession, and laying aside, yea, deposing, the reigning king, and setting up his son, or a remoter person, which indeed was an injury to the king so deposed; but still the monarchy was called and continued to be hereditary. In our case the king deserted us, yea, left us without any government, but we applied to his next certain heir, with whom at her request, and for our safety and hers, by general consent, a title was given to her husband and our deliverer, but this only for life, though he be much nearer in blood to the right of succession, than either Henry the Fourth or Henry the Seventh, successively made kings of England. And the saving the succession to the Princess of Denmark, and her heirs, shews how far that parliament was from designing any such thing as a commonwealth. We see Philip of Spain, who had no title to be King of England, but by his marriage with Queen Mary, was made king at her request, and in her right; but he had not merited so much as

our king, and therefore his title was to cease at her death. As for the Prince of Wales, there are so clear indications of his birth being an imposture, and the design of forming that project is so known to be revenge on the princesses, for adhering to their religion, and to get more time to force popery and slavery upon us; yea, his health and strength make it so unlikely he should proceed from such crazy parents, that till the parties concerned prove the affirmative by better witnesses and clearer evidence, and the people of England in parliament own him for the heir, we need not go about the unreasonable task of proving a negative: Wherefore, since the breach in the succession was the late king's own act, and only concerns his person, and a supposed unknown heir, we are not to answer for that; and, considering the hurry his unexpected desertion put all things in, and the absolute necessity of a speedy settlement, the friends of the old English monarchy have just cause to rejoice it was made so near the old foundation, with a small and only temporary variation from it, which was also absolutely necessary in that juncture of affairs: And it is evident that there are many of the best quality and interest, who hate the notion of a commonwealth in England, and love monarchy as well as any of the late king's abettors, who freely consented and firmly adhere to this establishment. If it be objected, that King William was bred up in a commonwealth, and inclines to that form of government, it is answered, he doth and may like it in Holland, but they must shew some instances that his zeal for a commonwealth is as hot and as blind as King James's for popery, before they can prove him so desperate a foe to his own interest, as to uncrown himself and make himself the people's vassal, when he is and may be their gracious lord. If it be urged that it is a dangerous precedent for future kings to allow the people a liberty to take away their prince's right, and set up another on pretence of misgovernment, the reply is, the late king was the occasion of this precedent, by first attempting to alter the whole frame of our laws, government, and religion, and then deserting us. And if it be an ill precedent for the safety of princes, that the advantage was taken, it was however necessary to take it for the safety of the people, for whose good Heaven made kings. Sure I am there are as dreadful consequences of arbitrary tyranny, as there are of rebellion, witness the misery and slavery of the poor French at this day; and it seems as necessary there should be some precedents to deter princes from abusing their power, as well as to restrain the people from abusing their liberty: For both tyranny and rebellion are great sins, and of most mischievous consequence. Wherefore this unexpected example may make our kings more just, and more apt to rule by law, but it can never hurt the monarchy itself, or countenance rebellion, while a king is in the throne that will stay to hear and redress his people's grievances, which will never be denied by the present or any other good king.

The last pretence is the most surprising of all, that there is no way to preserve the church of England, no nor the protestant religion, but by restoring the late king, who, it is said in his Declaration, promises this as liberally as he did at his first accession to the throne.

If mankind were not the oddest part of the creation, one would wonder how it is possible for protestants to believe that the wolves design good to the sheep: When the late king was here, he involved himself in infinite mischiefs, and did the most odious things in the world to destroy the protestant religion, and especially to ruin the church of England; and hath he given any evidence of changing his temper, his principles, his zeal, or his methods? He shewed in Ireland a greater spite to protestants than ever he hath lived in France ever since, where he hath seen how much it tends to advance his dear absolute power, to dragoon all men into the king's religion; his only motives to draw in this Frenchified pope, to lend him money to invade us, is by convincing him he lost all by his zeal to restore popery, and by engaging he will use his power, (if he can regain it) only to promote the catholick interest. His other ally, the French pro-

secutor, cannot be endeared by any better interest, till the principal of the sums lent are repaid by poor England, than by assurance that he will make one kingdom in the world as miserable by absolute empire, and forcing one religion, as France now is; that his barbarity, cruelty, and treachery may not be the infamous single instance of such proceedings, his promise to his allies, his zeal, his principles, and his nature, all engage him to destroy the protestant religion. He attempted it when he was not half so deeply obliged, and can we think he will not pursue it now? It is next to frenzy to think the pope and King of France furnish him with money, ships, forces, &c. only to secure the protestant religion, and church of England; he must be tied in more than ordinary bonds to endeavour the ruin of both, or no such favours had been shewn by such a pope and such a persecutor: It cannot be ease to Roman catholicks he desires; they are more at ease under King William than under any protestant king ever since the Reformation: It must therefore be the suppressing all other religions, and setting up that alone must engage Rome, France, and Lucifer in his restoration. As for his promises to us in his Declaration, alas! he hath already given greater and stronger to the pope and French king to the contrary; and though his interest, and the hopes that some will be so mad to believe him, put him upon renewing these promises to England, yet his confessor can soon resolve him which promise is to be kept, whether that pious catholick promise to the holy father, and the Hector of that cause, or that extorted one to heretics: Besides, we should remember the Italian proverb, "God forgive him who deceives me once, but God forgive me if one man deceives me twice." No prince in the world ever promised with more solemnity than the late king, to protect the protestant religion, or the church of England; yet nothing is more clear than that he designed to gull us only, not to oblige himself by this protestation; and the first thing he did was to break it as soon as he durst, and can we be so distracted to believe him again? He declared in Ireland that the church of England stunk in his nose, and that he abhorred it. He cannot truly love either any person of that persuasion, or any other protestant; he may flatter some of them to get into the saddle, but when they have mounted him he will ride over their heads; his own friends of the protestant religion are very few, and his revenge on the far greater number who have opposed his designs, will outweigh the kindness of a few inconsiderable heretics who abetted his interest, and who will be told that it was not sense of duty, but despair of obliging his enemies, that forced them into this quarrel: They had sufficient experience after Monmouth's rebellion (suppressed only by the church of England men) how little any acts of those he counts heretics can oblige him; his carriage in Ireland to the loyal protestants writ this in capital letters, and it must be supposed they have drunk deep of Lethe, who can forget all this: But I pray, what is it the church of England wants, or any other protestant? This king is as serious and sincere a protestant, and as true a lover of that interest, as King James is a professed enemy to it; and, why may not he be more likely to preserve the religion he professes, than the other to maintain that religion which he vilely deserted, and mortally hates? The churchmen say King William is too kind to dissenters, but hath he given them any other or more liberty than King James did? That king begun with toleration, and it was not for a new prince in a troublesome state of things to alter any thing of that nature: Besides, at the same time, the dissenters do think the present king too kind to the established church, not considering that it is the national religion which he found, and keeps in possession of all its rights, as his duty and oath oblige him; yet so as the dissenters have ease, and every thing but empire, which from a prudent King of England they can never expect, being not only a less part of the nation, but so divided amongst themselves that nothing can please all parties of them; and therefore freedom to worship in their several ways is all the favour they can be capable of in the best of times, and so they are most unreasonable to hope for more now: Besides, let it be considered

that our king is not only the head and protector of the protestants of England, but of all the reformed churches in Europe; and the French king, the main wheel in this designed restoration, is so mortal an enemy to the whole reformation, that he desperately weakened himself, and banished 30,000 families of useful subjects, only to root the whole profession out of his own dominions: And now can any rationally pretend this present king will destroy the English church, or the French persecutor and his client, the late King of England, uphold it? My dear brethren and countrymen, do not so infamously abuse yourselves to believe so incredible a fiction, so manifest a cheat: Alas! all these good words are only to lull you asleep, till you, at the peril of your necks, get him power enough to extirpate you and your religion also: I doubt not but for a while he would maintain the established church, and renew his indulgence, because he can get footing no other way; but it is easy to foresee of what kind these sham favours will be: They spring from fear and desire of opportunity to be revenged, and so soon as ever the fear ceases, and that opportunity comes, he will most certainly kick down the ladder by which he ascended, and pull off the mask, appearing what he is in his nature and principles, and not what his necessities have made him seem to be; so that if this disguise be credited, the persons imposed on will and must pay for their credulity, with the woeful price of helping to destroy the most pure and flourishing church in the world; in assisting to re-instate him and fighting for him, they fight against their own religion, which the primitive Christians, for all their heroic loyalty, would not do, and which no man ought to do, either for interest or revenge. For my part, I think true religion so far above all worldly concerns, and the preservation of it so principal an advantage of government, that the prince who will certainly suppress that, must be more intolerable than he that would take away my liberty, estate, or my life; and it must be a damnable sin in me to assist him in it, or put him into a capacity to do it: No oath or allegiance can bind me to this, it may oblige me to suffer, but not to act for such a design: Wherefore, for shame let his Irish and English popish subjects alone carry on this impious design, who can only hope for advantage by his restoration, and who are only bound in conscience to help him; neuter we must stand at least, and that will suffice to shew how contemptible a party that is, which must be set up on the nation's ruin, and how impossible it is for him to cut down the protestant religion in England, without borrowing a handle from the tree he would fell. Take warning by what is past, and what must be the inevitable consequence of your deserting this king, or assisting the late prince, even the ruin of this most famous church of England, and the endangering the whole estate of protestantism through all Europe: In vain will you complain of this consequence, when it is too late to remedy it; your guilt, shame, and sorrow will then only remain, for having had a hand in so deplorable a mischief: For my part I have delivered my own soul, and given you fair warning; God of his infinite mercy open your eyes in time, and grant you a right judgment in this and in all things.

A modest Apology for the loyal Protestant Subjects of King James, who desire his Restoration, without Prejudice to our Religion, Laws or Liberties: In Answer to the Pretences of the French Invasion Examined. In a Letter to a Friend.

The pen was no sooner laid down by the friends of government than it was taken up by the advocates of King James. This is an answer to the preceding Tract, as well as to Dr Lloyd's Letter upon a French Invasion.

SIR,

I HAVE read over the pamphlet you sent me; and, at your importunity, have here sent you some reflections upon it, *en passant*: I am sensible that the subject matter might, and deserved to have been handled largelier, and with more accuracy, but your desiring so speedy a return, I have but time to write legible my first scratches, hoping some person of a happier vein and master of his time, will undertake the vindication of us protestants, who dare not disavow our allegiance to our king. I shall detain you no longer in the porch, but to tell you that I follow the author from page to page, and so am obliged to make some repetitions where he doth the like, either in other phrases or different applications; therefore it will be convenient you compare this with the pamphlet as you proceed.

The penman of this discourse saith, "That the sword hath thus long been kept from destroying among us, is a blessing which we cannot sufficiently understand, unless we consider the woeful desolation it hath made in all neighbouring nations; nor are they at all sensible how much they owe to God and their majesties for keeping us in peace, who give the least encouragement to this intended descent, which must turn our land into an Aeldema."

There is small thanks owing to the Prince of Orange for his warding the destroying sword thus long from us, if we consider that he only hath involved these kingdoms in a war we had never been engaged in, if our lawful king had been still upon his throne; if we have not seen the woeful desolation it hath made in all neighbouring nations, yet Scotland and Ireland have been sufficiently harassed with it; if it had not been that we have so unfortunately espoused his quarrel, we had not lost above one hundred thousand fellow-subjects, near upon two thousand ships, nor seen hundreds of families reduced to beggary by losses, want of trade, and exorbitant taxes; if these be blessings, we owe them indeed to those majesties he mentions; but mankind may be well satisfied he preserves us only as his magazines and garrisons, which he may have resort to when his confederates can no longer support him, and then we may expect to be an Aeldema, the miserable theatre of his last efforts.

As to our author's big words of "conspiracies and combinations of protestants, with bloody-minded papists," or calling our late king's attempt to regain his crown, "a French invasion against our country and religion," it is not giving loyal subjects

black names should terrify them from their duty : He must know that whoever shall be the forwardest to repair to the royal standard, do it to save the effusion of English blood, and for a generous and good end, to rescue us from Dutch slavery, and an endless war ; and upon those very motives the author mentions, and endeavours to render weak and frivolous : But I hope I shall maintain and vindicate them as just and honourable, and such as loyal protestants need not be ashamed of.

Our author saith, our first pretended motive is, " That the late king was unjustly deprived of his birth-right by his subjects, who by nature and oaths were bound to defend him in the possession of it ; and now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever were his subjects must either assist him, or at least not oppose him." To this he replies, " That all the late king's sufferings were owing to, and caused by the counsels of his popish priests, and the bigots of that persuasion ; protestants were not the aggressors," &c.

However the king's favourable aspects to those of his religion might damp the affections of his protestant subjects, yet his sufferings were principally owing to the sensibleness the Dutch had, that the king, by his granting liberty of conscience, and providing such naval and military stores, had a design to promote the traffick of his subjects, and oblige the Dutch to a juster and more equitable regulation of trade, than any of our kings could hitherto obtain. This gauled them in the sensible part, and they well knew they must either embarrass him at home, or they must forego their cursed treacherous art in circumventing our trade. The king's religion gave them an handle to their wishes, and the Prince of Orange's ambition prompted him to concur with them in all their designs : By the Earl of Shaftsbury, and his popish and presbyterian plot, they had sufficiently tried the nation's jealousy against the growth of popery. And that he had been their agent, his taking sanctuary there, when his mischievous intrigues had been fully discovered, is a sufficient proof ; and that another of his bench, who instigated King James to do all those things of which our author exclaimeth, was likewise a principal agent for the prince and them, is as conspicuous, and he hath now manifested it to the world, by his retreat thither upon the Revolution, his uncle's residence with the prince, and his own, and his friends boast of it. To these it is that our king principally oweth all his sufferings.

As to the " bold attempts of the king upon our laws, our religion, and properties," which our author makes the first and only cause of his sufferings, he means his declaration of indulgence, and dispensing with penal laws : But if we consider the ends which King James proposed in that affair, we cannot so deeply charge him with a mal-administration, that could make him forfeit his right to his crown. He had observed the causes of our late civil wars, the transplanting so many families out of England to Holland, America, and other places in his father's and brother's reign, to the loss of ours, and the increase of the Dutch trade, the sufferings of those of his own religion also in times past, ascribed by dissenters, and them solely, to the severity of the penal laws. He foresaw, by the attempt of the Duke of Monmouth, he must expect troubles, if dissenters were not more easy, and trade would sink, which he had set upon in his serious thoughts by all methods possible to improve, and could think of no better expedient to effect all those, than by granting liberty of conscience. He had before his eyes the infinite benefit the German empire had reaped by the treaty of Munster ; by which, after a most destructive civil war, upon the score of religion, which had lasted almost an age, a peace was established by the most mature deliberations and councils of the greatest part of the Roman catholic and protestant princes of Europe ; the cement of all which, was the toleration of religion, which ever since hath kept that vast empire in unity within itself : Such an harmony amongst his subjects the king hoped and wished to establish ; and till it could be settled by law, endeavoured to attempt by prerogative ; yet with all security to the church of England, without

any diminution of its rights and privileges, as established by law, excepting in that particular of exerting the penal laws; and no doubt such an harmony as the king only aimed at, that dissensions in religion might create no difference in allegiance, might have been then effected, as we find it now in the main; if we had considered our common interest, and had not been diverted by the deepest policies of Holland, and the unnatural ambition of their prince, so that the millions involved in blood and ruin have more reason to exclaim, and cry to Heaven for vengeance against the States and their prince, than against King James.

As to the injuries and violences our free nation did so long and so patiently endure under King James, they were not so much as flea-bitings, comparatively, to the rackings, tortures, fleaings, carnage, and losses it hath undergone since the Revolution: our unreasonable fears and jealousies then are now turned to real torments and miseries.

Our author saith, "When some stop was to be put to the final ruin of our liberties and religion, it was done at first by petitions and complaints." This was done like genuine sons of the church of England, who stood firm to the old and established doctrine of non-resistance, which even Dr Burnet at that time proclaimed from his pulpit in Holland, as the doctrine of our church; though at the same time he was as deeply engaged in contriving the change, as any one about the prince; and I doubt not, to serve his interest now, will press it as much as ever; though neither he, nor any of his persuasion, practised it under King James, longer than they were able to dispute pretensions with the sword.

That the foreign prince came only to cover the protestants of England, while grievances were fairly redressed, I know, was a cunning pretence in the prince's Declaration: However, even in that we find no solemn protestations that he designed no attempt upon the crown, which shews he had then some farther work than to see grievances redrest: And though he promised to send his troops back, yet there is not one syllable of his own return. From which, and many preceding and subsequent actions, 'tis rational to conceive that he and *Sieur Benting* had other projects in their heads, than any other of the confederates were to know, or the States-general, if we may believe what follows.

In the extract of the States-general's resolutions, dated Thursday the 28th of October, 1688, wherein they give the reasons why they granted to the Prince of Orange, for his assistance, some ships and militia, as auxiliaries, they say, "that his highness hath declared to their highnesses, that he resolved with God's grace and favour to go over into England, not with the least insight or intention to invade or subdue that kingdom, or to remove the king from the throne, much less to make himself master thereof, or to invert or prejudice the lawful succession, as also not to drive thence or persecute the Roman Catholics, but only and solely to help that nation in re-establishing the laws and privileges that have been broken, as also in maintaining their religion and liberties. That a free and lawful parliament may be called: That the said parliament may deliberate upon and establish all such matters, as shall be judged necessary to secure the lords, the clergy, the gentry and people, that their rights, laws, and privileges, shall be no more violated or broken. That their high mightinesses hope and trust, that with God's blessing the repose and unity of that kingdom shall be re-established, and the same be thereby brought into a condition, to be able powerfully to concur to the common benefit of Christendom, and to the restoring of peace and tranquillity in Europe."

By this last clause, their true meaning was to confederate with them against France: for King James had redressed all or most of the grievances here complained of, before the States-general published these their resolutions, and determined to call a free parliament.

But to proceed, As to the prince's offering a treaty, if it had been before his coming

ever, to have been transacted by the ambassadors of the States, and some envoy from himself, it had discovered more candour and ingenuity. But the States and the prince were so far from discovering any thing that way, that they denied, till their forces were ready to embark, that their preparations were designed against England. This treaty was not offered till long after the king had redressed most of the grievances this author complains of; as the restoring the bishops to his favour, the fellows of Magdalen college to their fellowships, corporation-charters, lord-lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and justices of the peace, to their offices; nor after the prince was landed, till the king was retired to Whitehall, after the Prince of Denmark, Duke of Ormond, Grafton, Lord Churchill, and divers others had deserted him, and the princess was gone into the north, to countenance the forces there, so that the king knew not in whose fidelity to rely. Besides, it was very apparent that if the prince had only intended to cover our heads, while the grievances were fairly redressed, not to take away the king's rights, he would have stayed the march of his army at a convenient distance, that a treaty might have proceeded upon equal terms, whereas on the contrary he marched on Jehu-like, which was a manifest indication that he designed to attack his person. And the king being uncertain who to confide in at land, and his fleet having sent him no very acceptable address, it was high time for him to provide for his safety, both the laws of self-preservation, the care of his kingdoms and his posterity, requiring it, as now too late perceiving what he was unwilling to believe, that the prince designed to deprive him of his crown.

That our author might more slyly insinuate, that the king abdicated the throne, he jumbles matters done at different times, that "during the continuance of the treaty he disbanded his army, dissolved the government, and, as much as in him lay, attempted to desert the throne, and seek aids from an enemy's country, which might secure him against redressing any grievances, and enabled him to be revenged on the complainers."

As for the disbanding the army, the king having no farther use of those he could not confide in for his defence, was not willing to expose such as were loyal to slaughter, or to have them seized on by their treacherous companions; so they being paid to the last muster, he dissolved them, and withdrew himself; and how, after his return from Feversham to Whitehall, the English guards were removed, and the Dutch set upon him, and after midnight a message sent to him to depart from Whitehall by nine of the clock next morning, in a most insolent manner, our author passes by in silence, lest he should give any grounds to his readers to interpret the king's escape to any enforcement on the prince's part, and that they might more glibly swallow the notion of the king's dissolving the government by a voluntary abdication, which even this author himself contradicts, when he saith he sought aid from an enemy's country, to enable him to be revenged, &c. But of this abdication I shall have an occasion to treat hereafter: And for his majesty's retreat to France, it was not before he found he was not safe in any part of his own realms, and to get to Denmark or Sweden was not possible, if he could have had time to have sent for a safe conduct: And I suppose no man could think the king so void of sense, as to trust himself, the queen and prince, in the hands of any of the princes confederate with the Prince of Orange; so that he had reason to have recourse to that great king, whose honour and generosity he could more certainly rely upon for protection than any other, upon the single account of that king's heroic soul, prompt to succour a prince so injured, and particularly by one that was his sworn enemy. I have thought fit to enlarge upon this head, because all King James's enemies make the king's retreat thither a specious pretence and argument of his early being embarked in his interest, which if he had, he would not have refused the offers of assistance from the King of France, to have prevented the descent of the prince. I shall now attend our author.

He goes on, "We did not make the throne vacant, but the late bishops and other

peers at Guildhall believed he had left it void, or else they would not without his consent have seized on the administration of the government, secured his chancellor, taken possession of the Tower, and offered the exercise of the supreme power to the Prince of Orange." To this I answer, that our laws own no interregnum. The officers of justice, magistrates, privy counsellors, &c. while the king lives, though he either be taken prisoner by an enemy, or by escape is forced to abscond, may and ought (as far as the enemy will give them leave) to perform the duty of their places, in preserving the peace, suppressing riotous assemblies, defending themselves and country from enemies, and administering justice. But that our laws allow any peers, privy counsellors, or others, to displace any governors of forts, imprison any minister of state, deprive any fellow-subject of their commission, much more to offer the exercise of the supreme power to any foreign prince invading, are things I suppose our laws have not allowed; so that I conceive, what those lords did, was rather out of awe of or affection to the prince, either to conciliate his favour, or yield it, knowing he expected that tender of the government, than any right they had to do it.

Our author proceeds, "The king left us in anarchy, and we provided for ourselves in the best manner such a juncture would allow." If the prince had not designed from the beginning to ravish the crown from his father-in-law's head, he would have given him pledges of his safety, and never have forced him to so precipitate a flight, nor industriously set the mob in such a ferment through the whole kingdom and Scotland, of the papists and Irish massacring and burning towns and villages at such remote distances, in two or three nights, purposely to make an universal consternation, that every where he might be worshipped as their sole deliverer.

The author's declining to enquire, "whether these subjects who are so zealous for the king's return were not bound to have done more than they did, to keep him on his throne when he had it," implies they did not their duties; and if one may guess at his meaning, he thinks them cowards for it. But if most of those, who in that confusion knew not who to confide in, whereby they might make a stand to oppose the torrent, or by the over-awing power, or the confidence that the prince designed only the securing our religion, and no violation of the rights of the king: If, I say, on such considerations they acted as men either forced by fear, or relying on the prince's honour and justice, rather than proceeding according to the prescripts of laws, or the dictates of right reason, and these gentlemen having seen and seriously reflected on the fatal consequences of the Revolution, do now repent of their by-past actions, and with great zeal endeavour the king's restoration without bloodshed, and with him the recovery of peace and plenty and our ancient laws; surely, notwithstanding all the affrightments our author urgeth, they will prove true patriots to their country, gentlemen of far greater candour, justice and honour, than those who would still keep us under Dutch servitude, and under the national guilt of perjury, and continue us, and all Christendom, in a bloody, expensive, and ruinous war.

What follows in our author, is a doctrine only calculated for rebellious subjects, who are forced to make use of any pretext to palliate their wickedness: For sovereign hereditary princes cannot forego their right when they please, unless by a voluntary resignation to their next immediate heir, as Charles the Fifth and the Queen of Sweden did; but surely a king driven from his kingdom by force, may justly attempt to recover it again by force, when he hath opportunity, and that by the aid of foreigners joined with his own subjects, when he was expelled by such.

He saith, "Somebody must govern when the king will not, and that must be the next undoubted heir in an hereditary monarchy," all which I allow. But this is not our case; our king did not voluntarily quit his government, neither is the Prince of Orange his next undoubted heir; and he hath a very treacherous memory when he saith, "whoever doth govern in chief in this nation, must be king by the constitution;" for either

by constitution he must mean the uninterrupted hereditary succession, and then the Prince of Orange is no king by our constitution, or he must take in the original contract as a part of the constitution, and then our late commonwealth should have been dubbed King Rump, and the protector, King Oliver Long-nose.

"That a king, according to our constitution, must have power sufficient to protect himself and the nation against all their enemies, which cannot be without swearing allegiance," will be owned. But he will never find in our books of law or statutes, that a new constitution, framed by a convention, chosen by the writ of a foreigner, who had no legal right to issue out such writs, can oblige the subjects. For an error and illegality in the foundation can never be set to rights in the superstructure.

What our author next urgeth, "that when a king and queen are declared, submitted to, and owned by oaths, and all other methods required, in such cases the king is not at liberty to give up his own power and the protection of us, nor are the people free to join with him that deserted them," shows how fallaciously he argues by putting in the word *deserted*, which is begging the question. However he hath herein owned, that a lawful king can neither abdicate his right, or be abdicated, which utterly cuts the sinews of all his arguments for the king's leaving the throne vacant, unless he conclude the vacancy to be as often as the king ceaseth to sit on it.

We Englishmen are greatly obliged to our author for his instructing us in our duty of allegiance, when he tells us, "that the French king will not grant that the citizens of those cities, who were subject to Spain, or the emperor, and bound by oaths to those princes, (but have now submitted to him, and sworn new allegiance,) are obliged to venture their lives and fortunes, by virtue of their old oaths, to restore those cities to their former masters." It might have been expected from this writer, that the King of France, being so topping a tyrant, the Prince of Orange would not have treated us after those French methods of enforcing allegiance; but by the steps he already makes, if he lives to his years, and have proportionable success, no doubt he will make our monarchy more absolute than ever it has been since King John's time. However, our perfect Hobbist should have supposed the cases parallel; if we be a conquered people, (as without doubt he must own those cities are,) let his king declare it so, and we are willing to swear such like allegiance as they do: But I suppose it's not yet seasonable to do so, though some former writers on this subject have been squinting that way; which, if they would speak out, I presume our parliaments would reward them for it with a halter.

In the next place our author lays great stress "upon oaths, duty, and interest, both of this king, and his army, to oppose King James, if they be not perjured hypocrites." What then are they that formerly have sworn more legal oaths of allegiance to their true king, and broke them? Oh, they are saints! but "to consider what murders, burning, plundering, and destruction he brings upon his native country, who encourageth the aggressors." But he hath a heart of flint and bowels of stone, for all those who have suffered the like under this blessed government.

In the next place he would persuade us, "that our king is void of pity and compassion to his subjects, if he will not rather sit quietly under his single injuries, than wish, or however attempt, to be restored by blood and universal ruin; and if he have no pity for us, why should we be so concerned for him," &c. It is recorded of King Henry VI. by Hollingshead, that receiving at a time a blow from a wicked man, which compassed his death, he only said, "Forsooth, forsooth you do foully to smite a king anointed." So another also, who thrust him into the side with a sword, when he was prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his state and kingdom.

These passages are recorded in history, to that unfortunate king's great praise, and after-ages no doubt will do the like to our king, in recording the many princely virtues

he is endowed with ; and, amongst the rest, there are great and signal instances of his forgiving temper, and more of his compassion for his subjects' sufferings ; and I think there is no prince, except his royal father, who hath suffered more injuries, with an invincible patience, than he hath done : and for his compassion to the suffering of his subjects, it is well known how he hath resented the death of those slain in battle; the loss of our merchant-ships, and that he refused to grant some privateers of France commissions, though they offered to bring him the prizes they should take for his subsistence ; which are greater instances of his innate kindness and compassion for his subjects than ever we have heard of King William. And we have reason to ascribe the not destroying of our fleet two years since by the French admiral, (when it was as much in his power, by burning a great number of them after the defeat of Admiral Herbert, as it was in Admiral Russel's now to execute the same upon the French,) to the tender regard the king had to his subjects, that his navy might not be totally ruined. And, notwithstanding some people's ridiculing the king's late gracious declaration, which, whether it be his or not I am wholly ignorant, yet if it be not his own, it comes very near, in the indulgent part of it, to the king's blessed temper ; and if it be his, it will remain to all ages a lasting monument of his mercy, forgiveness, and kindness to his people.

The king's going away whilst the treaty was on foot, is by our author trumped up again to usher in a notorious untruth, " that he never yet offered any" since ; which his letter from Rochester, and that from St Germain's, though the convention would not vouchsafe to read it, positively contradict. And persons of honour and quality, who knew the inclinations of his soul infinitely better than the author, well know he desires more to be restored by the invitation and affection of his people, than by the sword or a foreign force.

We are told next by this confident gentleman, " that we (that is, the prince and his foreigners, and English conspirators) did not force him to go away in disguise : " It seems there is no other violence used to a prince, which must be called force, unless a crew of ruffians come with cocked pistols, and drawn swords to his anti-chamber, and so force him, for fear of immediate death, to escape in disguise. His majesty's unsafe circumstances I have before declared, which will justify to the world the necessity of attempting his escape out of the hands of such bloody enemies.

Our author takes no notice of the great civility of the Prince of Orange in sending that seasonable message to the king after midnight, as I have touched before ; or of the civility of removing the English guards, and placing his Dutch horse and foot in their room : This is no dragooning a king ; but if that he attempt, with the assistance of his own subjects, and foreign aids, to recover his right, oh then, " we may and must oppose him, for our allegiance is transferred upon another." How unjustly soever it is, that concerns not our kind author to inform our judgments in.

We must have another dish now of our author's twice-boiled coleworts, " There is no injury done to any," he saith, " but to the king himself, and those who run into voluntary exile with him, by his being out of possession : " It seems the kingdoms have no concern for the well or ill faring of their king ; his subjects have no part in him. Surely such a bold assertion should be backed with some reason, and it is as followeth, — " The monarchy, the law, the church, and property, are in better estate than in King James's time ; and all those, with innumerable private persons, must be irreparably injured by his return in a hostile manner." Sure this good gentleman thinks his authority is very great, that we should believe every word he writes without examination or scruples. We have indeed a Dutch elective monarchy instead of an hereditary English one, all the laws of the ancient constitution abrogated or wrested ; and I think all sober men will judge that the new ones, made to supersede the old, are not yet of so long standing, as that a due comparison of betterness can be judged ; the Long Par-

liament's ordinances and acts were as much magnified for a time. And as to the church, if renouncing its old doctrine of obedience in its canons and homilies, if the perjury of the greatest part of the clergy, and the depriving of the most reverend, orthodox, pious, and learned bishops and ministers, who could not take the new illegal oaths of their bishopricks and benefices, (not so much as allowing their wives and children a fifth, as the most unmerciful Long Parliament did to those they expelled,) be tokens of a better state of the church, we must yield him the argument. And as to our properties, while our estates are at the disposal of the government, to impose the most exorbitant taxes that ever this nation bore, though this gentleman never so confidently avers taxes to be no burthens, yet I am sure our fleeced country find the vast difference betwixt their present condition and the state they were in during the reign of King James, when they neither paid poll, aids, nor one penny taxes, (except one small imposition on tobacco, &c.)

Next follows a most insolent answer to a charitable plea, "That he who was born to a kingdom really wants subsistence." To this he replies, "That if he would seek the peace of Christendom and of his late subjects, he might, by a fair treaty set on foot, not only restore the exiles, but have a sufficient and honourable maintenance from this government; but while the war he makes upon us puts us to so great expence, he cannot imagine we should give him a supply to enable him to ruin us." This flourish amounts to no more or less, than that if the king will by a treaty renounce his right to these kingdoms, as the King of Spain, after a tedious war, did his to the Seven Provinces, and make a resignation, and transfer his right, title, and interest to the Prince and Princess of Orange, he then should, during their pleasures, have food and raiment, and some pocket expences. But then he must make no war upon us; that is, he must oblige the King of France to put up his sword. A pretty practicable condition! Sure King James's fortune is not yet so low as to beg an alms of his children, or sell his birth-right for a mess of Dutch pottage. As to the peace of Christendom, I shall treat of it hereafter.

I now come to the second motive, "Why we protestants should endeavour King James's restoration; viz. Because thereby we should deliver ourselves from the oppression we suffer under, by ease of taxes and restoring of trade."

I must here consider his answer more narrowly, and by parts, it consisting most in recrimination. "It is great pity," saith he, "that they who have the wit to invent or urge this plea, have not memory to remind them, that none complained more of the danger of law and religion of our lives and fortunes in that reign, than many who have this high opinion of it now. The cruel severities in the west, the high commissions, turning out of officers, all good protestants, attempting to reverse all the penal laws, putting unqualified men into all places of trust, profit, and power, excluding the fellows of Magdalen and putting in papists, with the imprisonment and trial of the bishops, were thought oppressions then, but now all these are buried in oblivion."

I shall not here undertake to vindicate King James's administration in all these particulars, because he was pleased to redress most of them before the Prince of Orange landed; which sufficiently demonstrates that he deserved not this severe treatment by abdication, or the continual loading him with such black crimes. For he is not the only prince in the world, who attempting some things in administration, which in their opinion, and the judgment of a considerable part of their subjects, might be conducive to some publick good; yet upon the essay, finding it not relished, or entertained by another part of the subjects, have recalled their declarations, and reinstated men and matters in the condition they found them. So Queen Eliz. revoked some grants of monopolies, as we find in Camden, fol. 635, which, at the first granting, had an appearance of common benefit. So King Charles the First redressed many of those reputed grievances of loans, benevolences, purveyors, coat and conduct money, &c. that

had been used in all his ancestors time, and as much in Queen Elizabeth's reign as any. And King Charles the Second recalled his indulgence. Indeed, these princes afforded these acts of grace upon the addresses of their parliaments; but King James did some of those before the lords spiritual and temporal, which he convened for advice, had moved them; and the rest he did at their desire. And it is not only princes, but parliaments, have retracted their own acts; and it is from the sense that the wisest men have, that what may be convenient for a people at one time may not at another, that parliaments make so many probationary acts.

Since, therefore, all the enemies of King James make these administrations of him the popular topicks of all their calumnies, I will endeavour to set the grounds of them in a perspicuous light, and then hope the candid and ingenuous part of the nation will find they did not flow from any tyrannical principle, or design to break in upon our laws, or destroy the church of England, or invade the liberties and properties of his subjects; but that they all flowed from his desire to establish a liberty of conscience, for the common good of his people: Which not only being suspected by the church of England to tend, at least to the weakening of it and the protestant religion, but being like to prove of the last ill consequence to the Dutch, who have got all their wealth and riches in trade by it, it was not to be wondered that the Dutch studied all the subtlest ways they could to possess us here with a belief, that the ultimate end of this liberty was only to propagate his own religion.

I shall begin with the charge as it lies: And his majesty's cruel severities in the west leads the van. It is well known what disturbance that duke gave to King Charles II., how he was made the Prince of Orange's and the dissenters' tool: And it is as well known how he was caressed at the Hague, and secretly furnished with all things requisite for his invasion, and what endeavours were used there and here to make him a strong party. But every one knows not that which a confidant of the prince's can prove, that the plot was laid to shake King James before he was settled in the throne, and to try the inclinations of the protestants, how they would stick to and defend a Roman catholick king; but without any intention that the Duke of Monmouth should succeed. Therefore, when it was seen that his forces encreased, three régiments then in the Dutch pay, which had been sent for before, were permitted to come over so late: And the prince knowing that if the duke once took the title of king, he would lessen his interest, therefore he obliged Mr Ferguson for a sum promised, and in hand, to put him upon declaring himself king; which advice he followed to his ruin.* As to the severities in the west, our author means the trial, condemnation, and execution of the rebels, which was done according to the prescript of the laws. But although the king had reason, for terror-sake, upon so dangerous a rebellion, to execute the rigour of the law, yet lest the then Lord Chief Justice Jefferies might be too severe, he sent Mr Pollexfen, a known favourer of all dissenters, as his solicitor to temper the late lord chancellor's heat: And it is well known that the king's pardons saved some thousands of criminals who were guilty of treason, and thereby obnoxious to the sentence of death and forfeitures of estates. And to prevent any such future attempts, the king was farther persuaded of the advantage that would accrue to him and his subjects by the indulgence, of which I shall discourse hereafter. And thus much I hope may suffice as to the severities in the west.

As to the high commission, it was at first enacted by Queen Elizabeth, and founded upon the very law which established the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters; which I suppose none at least of our church will dispute. The corporal punishments

* It is certain that Monmouth ascribed his taking upon himself the title of King to the incendiary Ferguson; and it is equally remarkable, that when Ferguson was made prisoner, his life was spared, notwithstanding the severities exercised upon Monmouth's followers indiscriminately.

imposed upon offenders in King Charles the First's reign, occasioned it to be insisted upon by the Long Parliament as a grievance; so that as to some of the powers formerly granted by this commission, a retrenchment was made in his time, but with a salvo to the king's supremacy; and the commission King James granted did not extend to any thing that was repealed in the act of King Charles. And the sentence that passed against the Bishop of London was not without a full hearing of his council of advocates and common lawyers, and was passed by the noblemen and bishops of the church of England; the survivors of which are conformable to the present government. And if we consider how active that bishop hath been since to promote the interest of the Prince of Orange, in dethroning the king, the punishment (which was only the suspending him from his spiritual jurisdiction, and putting it into the hands of three bishops, without depriving him of one penny of the revenue,) cannot be adjudged to exceed his crime.

The next three particulars, of "turning out of office all good protestants, attempting to reverse all penal laws, and put unqualified men into all places of trust, profit, and power," may be considered together; two of them, viz. the first and the last, being but the consequences of the attempt upon the penal laws. But before I enter upon that subject, I must observe that our author, by his word *all*, would make the world believe there was never a good protestant during King James's reign that was not turned out, nor ever a qualified man substituted; whereas we, that lived here whilst this gentleman was perhaps plotting here or in Holland, know the assertion to be egregiously false; and where the change was greatest, if it amounted to a third or fourth part, it was the most. I am sure, however unpolitickly it was done, there is no law extant that deprives the king, of what religion soever he is, to place or displace his officers of state, civil or military, yea judges themselves: And I suppose he will not deny but very good protestants have been displaced under this government, and the supreme command of the armies in England and Ireland put into the hands of foreigners, the English being slighted, and the test-act as little regarded, as if it were dispensed with.

As to the breach of any law, though this author generally, through his whole tract, charges the king with subverting the laws, yet neither he, nor any of the king's most violent enemies, can instance in any, except his attempts, as he calls them, of reversing the penal laws; and at the most it was but an attempt, the grounds of which are abundantly explained and enforced in his declaration for indulgence; which I do not remember that either in this reign, or since, when they might freely have done it, any have attempted to disprove particularly. Besides what I have before laid down upon this head, give me leave a little further to enlarge, since this dispensing, and the consequences of it, are the only things which have raised all the clamours against the king; for, I believe, by reason of the difference of religion, and the designs of the states and the Prince of Orange, although the king had never done any thing in that particular, but had caressed the church of England in the highest degree, yet storms had been raised against him by dissenters, and others of the Shaftsburian faction.

It is not doubted but the king, being of too heroick a temper to dissemble his religion, or suffer those of it to be persecuted in his reign, revolved in his royal mind by what methods he might govern a divided people, so embittered one against the other in point of religion. He likewise judged it his interest to make his people rich by peace and traffick; so that if he could conciliate an harmony in his people's minds, by rooting up the seeds of discord, rancour, faction, and rebellion, he should accomplish a glorious work for the publick benefit of his people. This he foresaw could not be effected by espousing the interest of any one party, his royal office being to be a father of his people; therefore he resolved upon one expedient, which he judged most agreeable to extensive Christian charity, his own merciful inclinations, and the effecting of those things which, after so long a civil war, and the convulsions of his royal brother's and his own

reign, by the attempts of the Duke of Monmouth, were requisite to settle the ferments of all parties, and that was by suspending the execution of the penal laws. This he thought would not be ungrateful to his protestant subjects, at a time when the French king was persecuting his subjects for their religion; so he rationally concluded it would prevent his subjects from removing themselves and their families into Holland, Germany, or America, as many had done in the former reigns, to avoid the severities of penal laws: and that it would encourage the French refugees to flock hither; it being a maxim in all government, That the increase of the number of people increaseth the wealth and strength of a country. His liberality to these French was a sufficient demonstration that at that time he had not any design to extirpate the protestant religion by a method so disadvantageous, in the increasing the number of those who exceeded much the number of all his Roman catholic subjects put together. He gave not only protection to these, but other immunities; and by a very liberal contribution throughout his kingdom, provided for their subsistence. Of these good thoughts and actions our author never takes notice.

The prerogative of the king to dispense with the penal laws was argued legally in the King's Bench, and sentence past judicially for the king; yet we find none of those judges either sentenced by the late convention, or the succeeding parliaments: A manifest indication that the sentence was not illegal. And for a further demonstration of it, the dispensing power is exercised in this government, not only in the non-inflicting the penal laws upon dissenters and Roman catholicks, and rendering the test-act obsolete, but in the dispensing with all the acts of navigation,—a matter of more infinite damage to the whole trading part of the nation, than King James's declaration was to the officers of the spiritual court, who were the only losers by it.

However, in the king's indulgence, a special proviso was made for the preserving the rights of the church of England; which is again renewed in the king's declaration in these words:—

“And we do hereby further declare and promise, That we will protect 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 fill them with the most worthy of their communion.” Sure the Prince of Orange hath not given the like security to our brethren of Scotland; where he hath, on the contrary, utterly extirpated the episcopal government, which he found there settled by law; which shews some may better steal an horse, than others look over the hedge. Besides we shall find in our author hereafter, that the Prince of Orange is justified in his countenancing a toleration. Where, therefore, is the damage that the protestant religion or England did, or was likely to sustain by the toleration? Indeed the Dutch had reason to apprehend the ill consequences of it to them, because it might have drained them of their people, as well as diminished their trade. Hence it was that all their contrivances of ruining the king's designs, and wresting the sceptre from him, originally proceeded.

It is true the king resented it very much, that his protestant subjects in general, or the church of England in particular, should entertain such jealousies of this his design for the common good and enriching of the nation, and should so vehemently oppose it. Hence it was, and for no other cause, nor without reluctance in his princely mind, that he removed the violentest of the protestants, who had given publick declarations of their dissatisfaction, and that in parliament, in their offices and places in the government, they would oppose it; so that it is no wonder that a king, being baulked in a darling design of his soul, and from which he had conceived great hopes of making all his dominions happy and rich, grew impatient thereupon; and thence it was that other protestants, and some papists, were substituted in their places, as being better satisfied with the benefits would accrue, and the integrity of his intentions.

The dissenters universally, by their infinite addresses, with all imaginable gratitude and thanks, acknowledged the superlative favour of this indulgence; and openly avowed, that if they could have been satisfied that the king would have shewed such clemency to them, they had never opposed his succession, nor assisted the Duke of Monmouth as they did. And they were so dexterous in applying themselves to the Roman catholics, (with whom, by this time, the eminentest members of the church of England were much dissatisfied, partly out of care to preserve it against the attempts of them and dissenters, and partly out of apprehension, that their unpolitick zeal would tend to the ruin of the king,) that they made a very specious shew, that for the future they would equal, if not exceed, the most complying of his subjects, in concurring with him to take away the penal laws. Hence grew the heats and animosities betwixt the church of England and dissenters, which occasioned all the displeasing proceedings of the king, which are now so prodigiously aggravated; and which the king himself, by his retraction of them, with men of candour and ingenuity, might have atoned for at a lesser rate than dethroning.

I know it was then urged, that King James had a farther reach by this toleration, even to establish his own religion upon the ruin of the church of England. But we experimentally found, that the opening of popish chapels and schools, the publick appearing of some Benedictines in their habits at Whitehall, made no new converts. The pomp and ceremonies of the church of Rome were only gazed on, as we would do if the Turks, Tartars, or Chinese, were in their habits, to celebrate the offices of their religion. Our churches were more crowded and resorted to than ever they were before or since, so that there was no increase of popery by the publick exercises of that religion, or the liberty of printing books in the defence of the doctrine of it.

If the king's design had been to extirpate the protestant religion and the church of England, he would have taken more subtle and effective methods, and have made an effectual use of his dispensing with the test-act, and have entertained a much greater number of papists into his army; whereas, before the landing of the Prince of Orange, he had scarce one popish officer for thirty or forty protestants; and in some entire regiments there were not twenty common soldiers of that persuasion. So that neither from his army or his priests we were in danger during his reign, to have suffered any subversion of our religion; nor was there any more solid reason of apprehending it than of massacres, bridles, gridirons, and other fictitious stories, raised purposely to scare people out of their reason and loyalty.

It is further to be considered, that those very men who, as it now appears, designed nothing less than the king's ruin; even one or more of his prime ministers of state, promoted and pushed forward all those, the so disgusted proceedings against the church of England; and with all industry advised and importuned the countenancing and placing in the magistracy, dissenters, on purpose to bring the king into disrespect with the church of England, whereby they might, with more facility, bring about the Revolution.

As to the business of Magdalen college, I need say the less of it, because as much hath been formerly published on that subject as the cause will bear; and the contest about it was not concerning the king's power in dispensing with laws, but only with college-statutes: A matter ever practised by the kings of England. And it is most certain, from the king's own mouth, that if the fellows had suspended their election till the qualifications of Mr Farmer had been examined, there had been no such dissolving of the society as followed. On the king's part it was no less than vindicating the rights of the crown, in his prerogative of dispensing with college-statutes: And if some men's forward and impolitic zeal had not been such, as to recommend to the king a person obnoxious for his unqualifications, and others had not purposely encouraged the fellows, and underhand supplied them to carry the opposition to the highest, mat-

ters might have been dutifully composed. But the designers of the Revolution, knowing that a conquest of this nature would discover the strength and courage of the church against the king; and if he were foiled in this, it would be a very good omen of their success in their intended work; and if the king proceeded in it to severity, he would lose the affection of the university as he had of the church: Hereupon they set all their instruments at work to blow the coals on both sides, lest the fire should go out. And as to the placing of Bishop Gifford as president, and Roman catholic fellows, that must be looked upon as the most unpolitic act of any the king did, by the over-persuasion of some popish councils; though it is most certain there wanted not then some persons, and such as would be very angry if they had not the character of members of the church of England, and are now actually in considerable offices in this government, who highly applauded the king for it; affirming it was fit the king should have some college in either university for instructing and educating the students of his religion, to prevent their going to foreign universities; and that we might better understand their methods of study and discipline, wherein they have a compendious way of teaching arts and sciences. But however the matter was brought to extremity, yet the king dissolved that society, and restored again the fellows before the prince's invasion.

As to the reverend bishops, whom the king committed to the Tower, I have that due respect to the fathers of the church, that I would willingly cast a veil over that action: But when I consider that our author, and especially the penman of "A Letter to a Friend concerning a French Invasion," so vehemently urge their opposing the king in the indulgence, as a matter wherein they much advanced the Prince of Orange's interest; and the latter author saith, "That when it was certainly known that the Prince of Orange was ready to land, they seemed as well pleased with it as other men, and refused, when they were pressed to it by the king, to declare their abhorrence of it; but instead of that, took upon them to give him advice, and to publish it when they had done. In which advice they commended almost every particular of the prince's declaration, complaining of the same abuses, and advised the calling of a parliament to redress them; as if the prince's Declaration and their advice had been drawn by the same pen, and the advice had been published on purpose to second the Declaration:"—I say when I consider such reflections, now made upon their actions, I cannot but allow, that upon the suggestions of a leading nobleman in the king's council,* who hath since discovered for what end he did it, the king might have some impressions, that the refusing to read his Declaration, had more of design than conscience in it; though he is now, by the later actions of all of them (except one) satisfied to the contrary. As to the matter itself it is well known, that they were only required to enter into a small recognizance for their appearing and answering to the information should be exhibited against them at the King's-Bench, which they refused to do; and so unwilling the king was to have committed them, that he ordered the lord chancellor and lord chief justice to lay the point of law before them; and they were twice or thrice desired to withdraw, and consider of the arguments proposed. But one of their number, privy to other designs than I have the charity to believe any of the rest knew of, hindered all compliance. From the Tower they were removed by *habeas corpus*, and had a fair trial and were acquitted, and afterwards again restored to the king's favour; and their advices followed, in retracting most of those things the king had done contrary to their advice, though in some things, as the restoring corporations, charters, &c. the king had prevented their advice.

In all this, the king had deprived none of them of any part of their revenue: But however instrumental these two authors would make them towards the Revolution, yet, because they cannot transfer their allegiance from their lawful king to the Prince

* By Dr Lloyd.

* Lord Sunderland.

of Orange, we find how severely this government acts against them, and the non-swearing clergy; whereas the Long Parliament allowed a fifth part, as I have before-mentioned. All the bishops and clergy that are now ejected have not the allowance of one farthing out of their livings; so much severer is a Dutch government than the English, though the very rebels of our own country. And yet this severest punishment may not be mentioned as any grievance of this government, when inflicted on reverend, pious, and learned bishops and clergymen, for no other crime than resolutely and conscientiously adhering to the fundamental laws of the English monarchy, and the undoubted doctrine and canons of the church of England.

I have been something larger upon these heads, because they are the constant topics which the virulent enemies of King James make use of to vindicate their abdication of him, and the author of the *Reflections upon the King's Declaration* complains, that "things are not there taken from the beginning."

Having dispatched these matters, I shall proceed to consider what our author next offers: "Now," saith he, "all these are buried in oblivion. And those taxes which the late king and his allies of France, with their abettors, alone make necessary to this frugal prince, these are our only grievance, and this king's unpardonable crime." I wish it could be said, that taxes are our only grievance. However, he can never prove that if King James had still been on his throne the country had been burthened with the hundredth penny; and he may well call his prince frugal, that not only saves his own treasure untouched, but must have vastly encreased it by the many millions he hath spunged from us; otherwise he could not owe such arrears to his army, nor ever make one round payment, either to them, or for any other occasion, but he must borrow it from the city, having begun that piece of frugality within one month after he got the administration, and is like to continue it as long as he lives, and die in their debt. But however frugal he is of his own money, he is liberal enough to his Hollanders and confederates, though at our charge.

"But the late king," saith he, "had one tax, and might, yea would have had more, for the glorious design of enslaving his subjects, if he could have got a parliament to his purpose." Oh! happy change for England, where the prince hath got such complying parliaments, that he hath money given him as much as he will ask, without the least danger of their denial, though he refuses to gratify them with any one act that is for the public good of the nation!

But in King James's time we were in peace with all nations. I pray, who hath entangled us in a war with the worst enemy of Europe? I am sure it was not till the Prince of Orange proclaimed it, for his own safety, not ours; but at the expence of our blood and treasure, to defend the Dutch and their and his new conquests, though we paid 600,000*l.* imprest money, and about twenty millions since, to enable him to continue it.

"Yet still," saith my author, "what grievances are taxes, in comparison of what is laid on the French slaves, into whose condition we are intended to be brought? There is a vast difference betwixt losing our property, and paying some part of our profits to secure the rest of our inheritances to our posterity, as well as to ourselves." We have more than once, in most writers of this gentleman's kidney, the French slavery urged, and the design of King James to make us such. Sure the French are the stupidest and most miserable of mortals, to be such slaves, and never own it, or complain of it. During all the war, they pay no more than their accustomed yearly cesses, and notwithstanding the great noise we have had, that the king is put to such straits, that he is forced to melt down his own, and cause his subjects to bring in their plate to melt, that he may have the profit of the coinage, yet a common cabaret, like our small victualing-houses, have massy silver spoons and forks for their guests, and silver goblets and other drinking cups of that metal. And their inns of any note serve the best of

their guests in plate. And in a lodging you may rent for fifteen pounds a year, you shall have silver basons, plates, spoons, forks and knives, for your daily use. These are no signs of poverty, and as for the slavery of the country, gentlemen and metropolitan cities pay no taxes; they have no such tenants and farmers as we: The peasants till and stock the ground, and the lord hath the half in specie for his rent, and these are liable to standing taxes, in some countries heavier than others, according as they have been true or rebellious to their princes. Surely a tenant that divides half with his landlord cannot want food or raiment, and may have more at the year's end, than one that pays a rack-rent; so that the affrightment of losing our property for ever, is likelier to befall us, by an endless war, and slavery to the Dutch, than by the restoration of King James, which would soon give us a fair prospect of an happy ending them.

"As to his leaping out of the frying-pan into the fire, and changing our whips into scorpions," it is unusual for him to allow we are in this reign under any pressures; it is likely his condition is much better in honours and profits. But as to what he intermixeth, that to avoid tolerable payments, "we should rashly bring a fatal war to our doors, that must last till more than one half of the nation is destroyed, and the rest utterly and almost irrecoverably destroyed." All these terrible things may be easily avoided, if, according to our duty and interest, we make no opposition to our lawful king; then we need not fear the loss of any thing we have, nor the effusion of one drop of blood. And if his stay should be till the confederacy were dissolved, which without either astrology or divination cannot last twelve months, we shall be as ready to welcome our king again, as ever the children of Israel were to re-conduct King David, after the overthrow of unnatural Absalom.

But our author tells us, "we have paid as much formerly for assisting France against Europe," &c. Surely he never saw the foot of the accounts of the money given: 1,500,000*l.* was in the year 1674 thought a prodigious sum, to maintain the fleet and army one year and half, whereas now, although the extent of the confederates dominions be ten times as much as our island and Ireland, yet we pay three time as much in eighteen months.

But we must take our author's word, "that the sums are not considerable (reckoning the abatement of chimney-money) which we have paid to this government; no country in Europe have paid so little in proportion to our wealth this three last years of war." As to the abatement of chimney-money, it was a shoe-horn, a popular bate to angle for infinite more treasury: The Grecians have a proverb, "the gifts of enemies are no gifts." We were in danger this last sessions of a general excise *a la mode d'Hollande*, and some projects were for a quarterly chimney-money; but these are laid up in lavender for a fresh supply.

That which will be most insupportable in this good man's opinion, is, "that if King James return, England must pay all the money borrowed of France hitherto; and to discharge the forces that come to thrust him on us, the arrears of chimney-money, and other public money, be called for; and ten times greater taxes will be continued for many years." These and such like were the usual objections against the restoring King Charles II. yet we found no such prodigious sum needful, after twelve years exile. But our author thinks the King of France will be as greedy as the unsatiable Dutch, who made us pay six hundred thousand pounds for admittance into the confederacy, besides the millions paid since for the honour of fighting their quarrel. And our soldiers must at the best be content with bare subsistence, that the confederates may be thoroughly supplied. Whereas the French king wants not our money, and is more generous than to be mercenary, since the restoring so injured a king, will more redound to his glory, than any one of his great achievements hitherto. We shall also then know an end our of payments, and enjoy peace and freedom of trade for the future, which will make entire satisfaction for all our charge. Whereas, in the state we are in, we are not

like to extricate ourselves from a destructive and expensive war, as long as the confederates can assist the prince; for his pretensions only hinder the peace of Christendom.

That "trade began to decay in King James's time" I never heard of, unless it were in those months when the Dutch occasioned it, by sending the Duke of Monmouth and the prince, otherwise there was more traffick in one year of King James's than in all the time of the new regency. And that which is most to be considered, the Dutch having been always our rivals in trade, now that they have got such an ascendant over us, will never, while they are able, suffer us to enjoy it again. I could, upon this head, multiply many well-grounded aggravations of our losses in trade since the revolution, but this good man would charge them all on the king's account, and brand me with the name of Conjuror, or of a Jesuit, or their tool, if I should, for any one good thing, magnify his reign.

As to the ingenious History of Dr King, which our author more than once flourisheth with, in due time the disingenuity, falsehood, and malice of that history will be detected. However, our author could scarcely have pitched on any parts of it, wherein such palpable untruths are asserted as those he cites, and this in particular, that "King James in Ireland feared and hated the increase of trade, which made him use all means to hinder it."

Finding our author grounds his assertion on Dr King's authority, I shall give you what he advanceth on the subject. "Many a Roman catholic," saith he, "who pretended to know King James's mind, have confidently affirmed that he purposely let the ships of England decay and rot, (he means the ships of war,) that the French might grow great at sea, and destroy the trade of the English. The reason pretended for doing so, was to humble the subjects, and take away their wealth from them, which made them proud and surly, so that the king could not have his will of them. I speak," saith he, "the language of those Roman catholics, and the king himself could not forbear words to the same purpose." If this gentleman had consulted the book which Mr Pepys published, of the state of the fleet under King James, he would, to his shame and confusion, have found that King James, in the short time of his reign here, did more towards the repair of his ships of war, and providing all naval stores, than any two kings of England had done in their times. So that I hope, when an author lays the stress of his argument upon so palpable an untruth, little credit ought to be given either to the rest of his reasoning, or his whole book.

The thing in this section the doctor undertakes to prove, is that King James designed the ruin of trade in all his kingdoms, at least was well pleased with it: But as if he had a design to prevaricate in the whole, or that we must take his assertion on trust, the medium he useth to prove it by is only this, that formerly the protestants had the principal, if not the sole trade of the nation; but by their flying into England, out of the apprehension of the danger of a massacre, how well grounded I now enquire not, and their jealousy of a persecution, they declined, or left off their trade in great measure: Surely this looks not like a design of King James to ruin trade. And besides the general cause, by reason of the war, he unluckily hits but on a single instance of a magistrate of Galloway, who, contrary to law, sending wool into France, was not punished for it; whereas any one, who was not wilfully resolved to traduce King James, and publish all the evil he could of his administration, without any regard to truth or falsehood, would have judged this an argument, that the king was willing in that exigence that his subjects should traffick in what they could get vent for, rather than be prohibited by him.

Besides, I am informed from persons of better credit than the doctor hath rendered himself of, and from Dr Gorge's letter, that the king was so far from designing the ruin of trade, that considering, by reason of the war, his subjects there could not, with-

out hazard and loss, export their commodities of the product of the country, he himself bought their hides, tallow, and wool, for ready money, and sent them to France, and brought other commodities back. And the brass money he used was a great help to the quicker circulation of commerce; and even the sutlers, who received it of the soldiers, might once a month have gold for what they brought in. I hope by these small instances, and what will hereafter be related, as to King James's administration in Ireland, such readers as have been induced to believe hard things of his management, will pause a while till the doctor's book have a more full answer, before they totally yield themselves to be mancipated by the doctor's bold and malicious assertions.

For, notwithstanding what the confident insincere doctor writes, it is on the contrary most evidently known, that the king promoted traffick as much as possible for him in his circumstances; and that it might be the more free, he abated the customs of commodities imported and exported, which was a demonstration that he encouraged trade for the benefit of his subjects, without regard to his own particular profit, though at that time his wants were so pressing. He caused the commodities of the country, which could be spared, to be vended to France, in exchange for bay-salt, wine, brandy, and other necessaries. I have enquired of intelligent persons who lived then in Ireland, and cannot understand that he prohibited traffick into any other country; no, not to his enemies, where any useful commodity could be imported. And for the author's assertion, that "no absolute prince (as King James affects to be) likes that his subjects should grow rich by trade," it is neither true in general, nor as applied to the king; but, on the contrary, since he hath, both before and since he came to the crown, so far promoted trade, that he had a stock going in most of the considerable companies, it is a sufficient proof, according to our author's maxim, that he affects not to be absolute.

But if we believe our author, we have "a prince now, who, so soon as he can have peace, will make it his first care to promote trade here, as he did in the country he came from." No, he is too much a Dutchman to do that for us; we have seen no one act of his, or his parliament's, that way; otherwise more care would have been taken to have provided convoys, as the Dutch have done for theirs, or to have promoted the motion in parliament for encouraging privateers, which was no way pursued: Only he hath taken care that the act of navigation should be vacated, or dispensed with: And his playing fast and loose with the East India Company, to their vast expence, shews that he is solely in the interest of the States, to give up to the Dutch that whole trade they have so long, by treachery and cruelty, been attempting.

What follows is but nauseous repetitions of what hath been already abundantly confuted. And as to the dismal time of King James, "when law and right was only the king's pleasure, dictated by mercenary judges," there needs no other confutation but by inspecting the journals of the House of Lords; wherein will be found few appeals in matters adjudged in the reign of King James; but more since the Revolution, from the decrees of the lords commissioners, than in the whole reign of the longest lived of our kings. And I think the proceedings against Mr Ashton, Mr Cross, and the poor chairman, and the judges using all their arts to elude the *habeas corpus* bill, and their several fines; as for instance, two hundred pound and pillory for drinking King James's health; their retracting their own judgments in the case of the wagers about Lime-rick, and their violent and arbitrary proceedings in the case of some lords, and others, wherein all those called Jacobites are concerned, will, with impartial judgments, rebound little to their commendation, either for their law or justice. And I am sure whoever acts not upon those principles, but to serve a turn only, must bear the epithet of mercenary in the greatest degree.

As to King James's "learning French methods, and his return with the addition that revenge, hatred, and fear can make to an angry and implacable mind," these are the very scare-crows that the Black Parliament and Cromwell set up to affright us from

all inclinations of recalling King Charles. And as the grounds the people of power in that age alledged for murdering the blessed martyr, and excluding his posterity, were the very same in the general tendency of them, so, as they imitate the same precedents, they use the same arguments; and if it were worth the while, it might be shewn in the same words, for the obstructing our king's return, that those did then. But if we were once so happy as to see our king restored, his clemency, tenderness, honour, and mercy would soon so appear, that there would need no other confutation of these black calumnies. And that he hath not changed with his air, that indulgent, merciful soul, always conspicuous in him, is sufficiently manifest in all his royal actions; whereas neither the air of England, the honour, benefit, and riches the Prince of Orange hath got by it, hath rendered him more English than ever he was, being wholly and entirely Dutch in soul and body.

As to his majesty's "severity in Ireland to the protestants," when the answer to Doctor King's malicious book comes forth, the world will find that by personal command, proclamation, and all methods he could use, the king endeavoured to suppress that revengeful disposition in common there betwixt the old Irish and the English; insomuch as the Irish accuse the king as much for, and ascribe his losses solely to, his clemency to his treacherous protestant subjects, as our author does his severity. And though his circumstances were then such as he could not be informed of many things of that kind done, and the treachery of so many of his protestant subjects there being so often discovered, (of which number I suppose the doctor was one, who hath been rewarded with a bishoprick for it,) could not but give occasion sometimes to suitable returns by his ministers: Yet it is owned by very many protestants there, that he took all opportunities to discover his mercy and goodness to those which had not deserved it at his hands.

As to the popular harangue the author makes about the distrust of King James's "keeping his word, promise, or oaths, whereby he was engaged to rule by law," the grounds of all objections of that kind, resting solely upon his attempt to take off the penal laws, I must refer to what I have said on that head. The just temper of his royal soul, and his interest, are such strong obligations upon him, that as to all our laws that concern our liberty and property, and the ancient constitution of the government, which can never countenance arbitrariness, they will be sufficient guarantees for dutiful subjects to rely upon his governing according to law; and so he will neither have, nor need, any recourse to absolution. But upon a small enquiry it may be found, that he much more inviolably hath observed all the forementioned fundamental laws than the Prince of Orange hath either done them, or his declaration. Indeed the Dutch faith is as notoriously known all the world over, as the Punick or the African was of old. And, I think, if ever subjects had reason to forbear recriminating upon the head of breach of oaths and promises, our author and all engaged in this government have the least reason of all mankind, for they have the most openly and avowedly broken their oaths of allegiance that ever people did; and if they had any pangs of conscience for it, they would repent speedily and seriously such abominable perjury. But I shall add no more on this head, but pass to the third motive laid down by our author.

Which is, that the restoration of King James "is necessary for the settling the government upon its old basis, and to prevent its relapsing into a commonwealth." I do believe the ambition of the Prince of Orange, being master-ingredient of his soul, will possess him to his dying day; so that having by his arts obtained the possession of a crown, I doubt not but he will endeavour to keep it as long as he is able. Neither make I any scruple, but that if for our farther punishment he be continued any while upon this throne, he will attempt the greatest absoluteness that any prince can aspire to; which already may be discovered in his treatments to his parliaments, whom, as the Romans did with kings, he makes instruments of our slavery, in spunging all the money of the

nation for him, and settling his power, never giving them leave to provide any one law of universal good for the benefit of the commonwealth.

So that our author might have spared all the discourse relating to the returning again to a commonwealth, during the prince's power. But as to what he urgeth, that it is not "likely a parliament, that made an entail of the crown in a lineal succession, should be for a commonwealth," yet he must own, that the convention hath given a fair countenance to the fundamental principles of a commonwealth in their vote, "that the late King James, having, by the advice of jesuits, and other wicked men, broken the original contract betwixt king and people, and endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, and since withdrawn himself, hath abdicated the government," &c. Whoever peruseth the charge against King Charles I. will find the very same breach of the original contract, and subverting the fundamental laws, to be the ground-work of that tyrannical charge, and wicked sentence against and barbarous murder of that pious king.

The only difference between the proceedings in 1648 and 1688 was, that those settled a commonwealth, and these changed the hereditary to an elective monarchy; both of them to the manifest subverting of the true fundamental laws of the kingdom, upon mere pretences that the respective kings had violated them first; and both against the known maxims of the law, that the king can do no wrong, and cannot be judged by his people; though all his ministers, that transgress the law, are liable to impeachment in parliament.

What security can a new entail give to kings, either in possession, or the tail in remainder, as long as by these precedents any powerful faction, alledging the breach of such contract or laws, are hereby empowered to pass sentence against them? for surely that force which can depose; or abdicate from his throne one king, and exclude his issue male likewise, and settle the crown upon which of the blood-royal is most ambitious of it, may, by parity of reason, depose the new-created king when they are weary of him.

His instancing, "that there hath been greater breaches, since the Conquest, as to the true lineal succession," may prove that there have been ambitious princes in former ages, but proves no justice or right in the undertaking: And he wisely conceals the calamities of the nobility, gentry, and commons, and the whole kingdom, which attended such changes, till the right heir was restored.

Our author saith, "the king having deserted us, yea, left us, without government, we applied to his next certain heir; with whom, at her request, and for our safety and her's, by a general consent, a title was given to her husband and our deliverer, but this only for life. And the saving the succession to the Princess of Denmark and her heirs, shews how far that parliament was from designing any such thing as a commonwealth." Most people of England had that opinion of the princess's tenderness to her father, that they judged it was not without some reluctance she yielded to forsake father and mother, and cleave to her husband: And she being absent in Holland, was thought with much difficulty to be prevailed with to come and be partner of his honours. For none doubted it was for our deliverance sake the crown was bestowed by those who had no legal right to transfer any man's farm of five marks a year to another without the owner's consent; and we thought he had challenged it as his right by the success of his arms: For I am sure there was no public address from the convention to the princess before her arrival, and that was only that minute of the tender, the very next morning after her coming.

But now we are told it was at the princess's request the crown was given him. Our author might as well have dealt plainly, and told us the prince came for the crown, and we durst not deny it, nor his princess neither, for if this age will not, posterity will so construe it. He also equivocates with us in telling us, "we continue the success

sion to the next heir," for that can never be true till he shall utterly disprove the Prince of Wales.

Whatever power the convention could assume to deprive the king and the Prince of Wales of their birth-right, so as that they might be looked upon as dead, yet if the convention had either regarded the rules of hereditary monarchy, or been just to the two sisters, they ought not to have entailed it as they did, for the prince could have no right to any but a matrimonial crown during the coverture, upon supposal the princess was the next certain heir, and upon her death, without issue, the right was immediately to devolve upon the Princess of Denmark, who surely had not so ill deserved either of the prince or the convention, (having with her husband contributed as much towards the dethroning her father, by the deserting him and his interest, as the prince had done by his arms,) to have been postponed. And till the death of both these princesses and their heirs, the prince had no shadow of right to the crown; but he and the convention knew, that if he had staid so long ere he caught the crown, he must wear iron shoes, therefore he was resolved to take time by the fore-lock.

As to the Prince of Wales, our bold author saith, "there are clear indications of his birth being an imposture, and the design of forming that project is so known to be revenge on the princesses for adhering to their religion, and to get more time to force popery and slavery upon us; yea, his health and strength make it so unlikely he should proceed from such crazy parents, that till the parties concerned prove the affirmative by better witnesses and clearer evidence, and the people in parliament own him for their heir, we need not go about the unreasonable task of proving a negative."

All these trifling arguments have been so convincingly and irrefutably answered in *The Loyal Martyr Vindicated*, that, till a satisfactory reply be made thereto, it is but lost labour to trouble any with the repetition of them. Why was never any answer given to the address to the parliament, to admit the thorough examination of the whole matter, whereby it was offered to be proved by still more convincing circumstantiated testimonies? Why were Mr Ashton's papers never suffered to come to light? Why have no judicial proceedings been attempted to prove the numerous protestant ladies, as well as noblemen, perjured, who till then stand upon record as uncontrovertable witnesses? If there had not been so many conscientious protestants, of the best quality, witnesses of his birth, and more of all qualities than ever we read of in any history, were present at a queen of England's labour, something might have been pretended. But as to the project he mentions, and the no less impudent than insolent argument of the craziness of the parents, to convince the world of these calumnies, it hath pleased God to bless their majesties with a princess, which, upon many accounts, will be more convincing to our incredulous world, than if it had been a prince.

I pass by what follows, as sufficiently answered, and proceed to what our author next proposeth. "If it be urged," saith he, "that it is a dangerous precedent for future kings to allow the people a liberty to take away their prince's right, and set up another on pretence of mis-government, &c. the reply is, the late king was the occasion of this precedent, by first attempting to alter the whole frame of our laws, government, and religion, and then deserting us." *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* How far, and upon what motives, the king dispensed with the penal laws I have spoke to before; and to call that an attempt to alter the whole frame of our laws, is to own that all our laws are Draconick, writ in blood; that our government consists only in fining and imprisonment, and our religion hath more of Mount Sinai than Mount Zion in it. Shall the king be loaded with odious epithets of affecting arbitrary, absolute, and tyrannical government, on that single score, because he desired to free his people from sanguinary and other penal laws? This is every whit as probable a contrivance as to extirpate the protestant religion, by entertaining 30,000 French protestants. I have touched before, that the Long Parliament did calumniate King Charles with the very same crimes our

author does King James : And whoever reads Milton's or Godwin's writings in defence of the proceedings then, will find all the poisoned arrows shot against the king are taken out of that quiver. And all the clergy of England, who have sworn allegiance to King William, ought to mock God no more in reading those prayers appointed for the days of the martyrdom of King Charles the First, and King Charles the Second's restoration ; for that the Long Parliament, after eight years war in defence of the people's liberty, and in opposition to arbitrary power and popery, (as they, with as much confidence as our author doth now, alledged,) had as plausible pretences to punish that sacred king as a traitor to his people and their representatives, and abolish kingly government, as the convention had to abdicate upon pretences of the king's endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and for withdrawing himself to avoid the fatal stroke his royal father received. For though at that juncture the contrivers of the dethroning King James knew it would be of dangerous consequence to their designs to have offered violence to him, and would frustrate their fore-designed abdication, yet the king had no reason to trust his royal person in those hands, whose very mercies are cruelties.

Our Godwin, junior, goes on telling us, " if it be an ill precedent for the safety of princes, that the advantage was taken, it was, however, necessary to take it for the safety of the people, for whose good Heaven made kings : " Yea, and for the preserving of the people from the miserable harassing them, by the direful calamities of war upon every dissolution, or interruption of the legal succession, our wise ancestors have taken all care, by the firmest laws, to establish the true hereditary monarchy ; nevertheless, there never was rebellion or usurpation attempted, but the *salus populi*, the people's good and safety, was with all industry pretended.

As to the most comfortable doctrine to all our author's proselytes, associates, or auditors : That " it seems as necessary that there should be some precedents to deter princes from abusing their power, as well as to restrain the people from abusing their liberty," I wonder the author did not say, it seems good to the Holy Ghost and us to declare this doctrine ; the holy writ tells us, that offences should be, but woe to them that cause them. Passive obedience, suffering for conscience-sake, is for ever to be exploded ; and, I believe, after strictest enquiry, there will be found nothing in the doctrine of our church, or our laws, that will countenance such a seeming necessity.

However, lest our author's prince, for whose use and information these precepts are laid down, should suffer any qualms by them, he provides for him a very cordial draught, That " this precedent can never hurt the monarchy itself, or countenance a rebellion, while the king is on the throne, that will stay to hear the people's grievances, which will never be denied by the present, or any other good king." But what if the designers of rebellion should declare it a grievance to have a king armed with any prerogative, even necessary to support his dignity and office, or multiply complaints of grievances, till he had displaced all his friends, quitted his power of the militia, of calling and dissolving parliaments, or having a negative vote. What would become of such a liberal king ? May not it be rationally presumed, that if the people were so minded, they might fill up a bead-roll of grievances against the Prince of Orange, every whit as plausible as those this author hath framed against King James.

The last motive to induce loyal subjects to endeavour to restore our king, is worded by our author to his best advantage in answering of it : " That there is no way to preserve the church of England, no, nor the protestant religion, but by restoring the late king." On this head our gentleman spends his flashes of rhetoric, recapitulating all the odious things, as he calls them, which King James did to destroy the protestant religion, and especially to ruin the church of England : On which head he runs out into fresh excursions about his spight to the protestants in Ireland, his learning in France to dragoon all men into the king's religion, the motives to draw in the Frenchified pope

to lend him money to invade us, "by his convincing him he lost all for his zeal to restore popery." But these, and all the rest that follow upon the like topics, either have had a sufficient answer, or amount unto no more than to tell us King James is a Roman catholick, and as such cannot but wish well to his religion; or that the King of France, or pope, have no other inducements to aid him, but to enable him to ruin our religion, and make our kingdom miserable, by absolute empire. In answer to which I shall add, to what before I have touched, these short considerations.

There are no passions so romantic as love and hatred, and it is a copious and easy theme for an English protestant, that wears the colours of the Long Parliament, orange and blue, to write with venom and gall against popery and the French. But I desire all impartial readers to consider, whether the king's religion be the principal motive to induce the pope and the French to assist, or rather a generous compassion for an injured prince: They are neither of them such novices, either in affairs of religion or state, but to be abundantly satisfied, that it is as impossible to settle popery in England as to establish Judaism or Mahometism. The utmost of the aim or hopes of this great triumvirate, can be no more than to obtain that Roman catholics may have the common liberty of other subjects, and these dominions return to the obedience of their lawful sovereign, by which the peace of Christendom may be more easily obtained.

But our politic author saith, "it cannot be ease to Roman catholics the king designs, they are more at ease under King William, than under any protestant king since the Reformation." If this be alledged to endear the Prince of Orange to the Roman catholic confederate princes, that he keeps his promise to them in using the papists kindly, then we have as much reason to fear the advancement of popery from them if they prevail, as from the King of France; for I think the emperor and the crown of Spain are as zealous in their religion as the King of France. If he means that the Prince of Orange is so indulgent to Roman catholics, upon any other consideration than they are not such dangerous subjects, but they may be connived at and tolerated under him, in whom all religions are indifferent, so they thwart not his ambition, though it was so heinous a crime in King James, being of their religion, to shew them any singularity of regard.

In the next place, our author falls into a flourishing about the king's breach of promise, "and that he having pre-engaged himself to the pope and French king to the contrary, though his interest, and the hope that some will be so mad to believe him, put him upon renewing these promises to England, yet his confessor can soon resolve him which promise is to be kept; and that by his former protestations he designed to gull us only, not to oblige himself by them." It seems, whatever can be said to the contrary, King James must have a cloven foot and a cloven tongue. There is no fence against a flail; suspicion and distrust are incurable diseases. I have said enough before, to shew that even in his declaration for indulgence, yet he had regard to preserve the church of England and protestants; and it is a great truth, though many men's gauled consciences will not own it, that he hath kept his promise better to the church of England and protestants, than some millions of them have kept their oaths to him.

I desire once for all, that honest protestants and sober Englishmen will consider whether King James be endowed with a rational soul or no; and in the second place, that they will consider what proportion, in number, strength, wealth, interest, or any other qualifications the Roman catholics bear to protestants, which some have computed at two hundred protestants to one papist; and I think it demonstrable that there may be five hundred. Think now, if a rational king can be so crazed as to attempt a change of religion at such disadvantages, or can expect to be king of any figure over none but Roman catholick subjects. Think then, dear countrymen, of the king's darling sin, if you will call it so, his desire that none should be prosecuted for religion;

add to this one consideration more, that if the animosities among ourselves be such, that each way of worship have conceived so bitter a hatred against other, so as they will not allow the toleration of one another, must therefore all the odium be cast upon that Christian temper of the king, who laboured to have them live in outward quiet at least, as Christian brethren and subjects tied in one common bond of allegiance to him, the true father of his country. When you have deliberated upon all these, I hope you will conclude with me that it cannot be the king's interest, in the least jot, to vary from his promises made in his royal Declaration to the church of England, or his protestant subjects.

As to what our author so maliciously urgeth, "That the king declared in Ireland, that the church of England stunk in his nose, and that he abhorred it," both he and Bishop King, if he have uttered any such thing, must excuse me, if I believe it not. King James is not a prince that useth such language to his most professed enemies. How tender a nose soever he hath, his breath is fragrant as the blooming rose; and mercy, pity, compassion, and benignity flow from his lips.

Indeed, the swearing clergy of England having renounced the old doctrine of the church of England in point of allegiance, and the file-leaders, instigators, and promoters of those oaths, and their new allegiance can expect no favourable character from uninterested persons, or from the true members of the church of England, who have kept firm to their old doctrine of loyalty and passive obedience.

For King James to pity the misguided zeal of some, the timorous selfish desires of others, and the infatuation of the rest of the swearing clergy, I am prone to believe it is true: But to revile, give names, or pronounce fulsome things against them, it is far from the innate generosity, mercifulness, and clemency of his temper.

Our author's reflections on the king's ingratitude deserve no answer; it is so well known that he hath ever been the best master to all his servants who served him truly, of any our English kings we read of; and how great numbers have requited him is obvious to the world. I never before heard that any of those that served him against the Duke of Monmouth were neglected by him, unless he early perceived they were promoting the interest of the Prince of Orange: And I am confident whoever were such, are conscious to themselves that they failed of their duty long before the king withdrew any of his favours.

To proceed. Our author asks, "What it is the church of England wants, or any other protestant? This king is a serious and sincere protestant, and as true a lover of that interest, as King James is a professed enemy to it." That the Prince of Orange is in profession a protestant I doubt not; but that he is very morally religious there is great reason to doubt, since he hath no more tender regard to the fifth and last commandment, and was so impatient of his father's crown, that he must needs be proclaimed at the very hour on Ash-Wednesday, when the whole church of England was pronouncing the commination of, "Cursed is he that curseth his father and mother, removeth his neighbour's land-mark, and smiteth his neighbour secretly:" Which shews neither he nor his advisers to that haste either regarded the day or the comminations against his undertakings. Philosophers tell us that the soul is entirely in the whole, and in every part of the body; and writers upon politics compare the king in his kingdom to the soul in the body: And if so, the Prince of Orange hath plurality of souls as to the outward appearance of his religion. In Scotland he is a very perfect rigid presbyterian; in England a lindsey-woolsey episcopalian; and I doubt not, at the Hague and Amsterdam, Calvin and Beza are his apostles; and amongst the confederate princes, Luther or Erasmus. But in all places his Diana is empire and riches.

"The churchmen," saith our author, "say King William is too kind to dissenters; but hath he given them other or more liberty than King James did? That king began the toleration; and it was not for a new king, in a troublesome state of things, to al-

ter any thing of that nature. Lo ! here we have a candid confession that King James did no such horrid thing by his toleration, though it was the very ground-work of all the disaffection from the church of England, and the Pandora's box, out of which all the writers for this government fetch their plaguy calumnies against him.

Let us follow our author in his good humour. He saith "the dissenters do think the present king too kind to the established church ; not considering it is the national religion which he found, and keeps in possession of all its rights, as his duty and oath oblige him ; yet so as the dissenters have ease, and every thing but empire." Good God ! Must King James, who did the same thing, be Abaddon the fiend and destroyer ; and the Prince of Orange, who writes by his copy, be an angel ? For shame, let us hear no more of King James's arbitrary rule, tyranny, dragooning, and breach of promises.

As to what our author subjoins, "That the king is not only the head and protector of the protestants of England, But of all the reformed churches in Europe," the two northern crowns, it seems, and the protestant princes of Germany, are ignobler members in comparison of him ; yet he and his popish soldiers can more closely combine with the emperor and King of Spain, as professed enemies to his headship. as any in that communion, and he must be thought wise and pious for it. And neither his nor his armies stomachs are turned at the idolatry of their church, yet King James is mortally persecuted for desiring his popish subjects should share in a toleration, or in the liberties common to other Englishmen. Sure he might be as indulgent to his Roman catholic subjects, as the Prince of Orange is to whole armies of the confederate papists.

As to the French king's "desperately weakening himself, by banishing thirty thousand families of useful subjects, only to root the whole profession out of his dominion," I shall say nothing : That king knows best his reasons ; and I am sure King James was not of his council, otherwise he would not so chearfully and cordially have entertained them, cherished and supplied them. What grateful returns they (and other protestants who were so much bettered by his indulgence,) have made to him, all men are sensible. Yet he can and will forgive them, and will have more content and satisfaction to have the power of pardoning and forgiving, than they have ever had in their treachery to him, and their insulting over him.

As if our author had not spent his utmost malice in distorting and misapplying whatever King James did, he now turns prognosticator, and boldly undertakes to divine the intentions of his soul, as if he had got some familiar to tell him it. "I doubt not but for a while," saith he, "he would maintain the established church, and renew his indulgence, because he can get footing no other way. But it is easy to see how short-lived those sham favours will be. They spring from fear, and desire of opportunity to be revenged ; and so soon as ever the fear ceases, and that opportunity comes, he will most certainly kick down the ladder by which he ascended, and pull off the mask, appearing what he is in his nature and principles, and not what his necessities have made him seem to be."

This is the very sting in the scorpion's tale. But if prejudice, envy, and implacable malice did not thus wickedly misrepresent a just and merciful prince, this author and all his partakers would own that the universal liberty of his subjects, in matters of religion, is so rooted in his soul, and so congenial to his temper, that he can never be a persecutor on any account of religion : And he is as well convinced that the church of England must be countenanced and maintained in all its rights and privileges, upon the account that the monarchy requires it, as our author must own, whatever religion the king shall be of : Both which, as to the church and dissenters, are as fully laid down in his Declaration as words can express ; and it will be his care, as it is absolutely his interest, to continue them, say this dreamer what he will ; not only for the repose

of himself in his declining age, but for the security of his son, the hopeful prince, for whose peaceable reign he ought to provide. All which things duly considered, it is impossible but the king will inviolably and sacredly keep and observe every promise in his royal Declaration; and that he will never attempt either to suppress our religion, or infringe the least of our liberties or properties.

So that it is an unjust and ungrounded aspersion of our author, that his dutiful subjects, "in assisting to re-instate him, and fighting for him, they fight against their own religion, which the primitive Christians, for all their heroic loyalty, would not do, and which no men ought to do for interest or revenge."

Is it not as lawful for the king's loyal subjects to assist and fight against the mortal enemies of his crown and dignity, (whereof he is deprived unjustly by a son and daughter, by the force of strangers and popish soldiers, and the treachery of his own subjects,) when to restore him and the constitutional laws of the government, and the church of England to its ancient doctrine of loyalty, as it is for protestant princes, not to mention Roman catholic kings, to fight against one another for the rights of their jurisdictions or crowns, without fighting against their own religion? I do verily believe the heroic loyalty of primitive Christians, in such a quarrel as King James's is, would have engaged them as cordially and unanimously to have fought in defence of such a right, as they would or did for the enlarging the Roman empire. Neither doubt I that the loyal subjects of King James are as circumspect, that they do nothing to endamage their religion, as any of the Prince of Orange's confederate protestants or himself can be. It is not our religion, our author and his party are so much concerned for, as the losing the sweet power and dominion they have got, and the disposal of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms. For if they could enforce the King of France to let King William reign, they would no more regard the promoting the prosperity of the church of England than Oliver Cromwell did. It is the securing the usurpation, not religion, is their chief end; and all the loud cries and clamours against the French king, are only because he espouseth King James's interest: For we cannot forget, that when in the minority of the present King of France, Cromwell had wrought so with the French councils, as to abandon the interest of King Charles the Second, he and all his power joined with France in all their wars against Spain, as now his successor doth for Spain against France, and judged their religion no way interested; they fought against the Dutch also, and their protestant confederates, on the same quarrel.

But that we may believe that the zeal of our author for his religion outweighs all other considerations, he tells us, "For my part, I think true religion so far above all concerns, and the preservation of it so principal an advantage of government, that the prince who will certainly suppress that, must be more intolerable than he that would take away liberty, estate, or my life; and it must be a damnable sin in me to assist him in it, or to put him into a capacity to do it; no oath or allegiance can bind me to this; it may oblige me to suffer, but not to act for such a design."

What answer can be expected to be given to a position laid down in such general terms? Every one judgeth the religion he professeth to be the truest: And if it be so damnable a sin for any subject that is under the obligation of an oath, or allegiance, to assist a prince that would suppress any religion the subject thinks true, or put him in a capacity to do it, the doctrine of passive obedience is the very safest and comfortablest doctrine in the world; for this will preserve all persons that practise it free from sin; and it will be no ill preservative against suffering: For a non-resisting enemy ought to have the fairest quarter. But before our author had laid such a stress upon true religion, "that a prince who will certainly suppress it is more intolerable than he that would take away our liberties, estate, and life," it had been necessary for him to have declared what the true religion was, whether protestancy in general, or any subdivision of it: For I dare be bold to affirm, though I never do, nor am solicitous to

know the author, yet if he be of any of the several classes of protestants, he will not pronounce this severe sentence against any prince, who suppresseth any one, or all the forms of religion, except that which he professeth.

But what if a loyal subject of King James be not convinced, that the king will certainly suppress either our protestant religion in general, or the church of England in particular, what must such a subject do? He is certain by the laws of God, and the municipal laws of the kingdom, that the king is his lawful sovereign, and he cannot dispense with his oaths or allegiance to him; and is not so certain that the king will suppress his religion, having his solemn and repeated promises to the contrary, backed by his true interest to perform them. Surely such a protestant subject may be allowed not to resist him; and then, if, as the late Declaration saith, "There should be none but the usurper and his foreign troops for the king to deal with," in what condition would the government be? Oh! we must then renounce all this doctrine of non-resistance, and conjure up the spirits of Marshal and Burgess, and the rest of the militant preachers of the Long Parliament, to instruct us again in the doctrine of, "Curse ye, Meroz."

But our author, fearing error and mistake may be involved in generals, he, towards the close of his discourse, explains the matter more particularly, in these words: "Wherefore for shame let his Irish and his English popish subjects alone carry on this impious design, who can only hope for advantage by his restoration, and who are only bound in conscience to help him."

It is strange our author will prefer the consciences of Irish and English popish subjects so much. It seems they may deserve the epithet of subjects to King James; yea, "and are bound in conscience to help him." They are much obliged to him for the compliment. It puts me in mind of an expression I have heard affirmed, that fell from the first new bishop of the last edition, "That the papists were saints, in comparison to protestant Jacobites." Surely he will next plead, that they may have only liberty of conscience, who are only bound in conscience to help King James. This may please the confederate Roman catholic princes better than it would that they had liberty to assist him.

It seems religion is the only ligament that binds subjects to their obedience; a popish king can have no protestant subjects, dominion is founded in grace. Henceforward no king must make account of his people, who possess estates, or inhabit within his dominions, to be his subjects, unless they be of his religion: A rare secret to absolve subjects from their allegiance. And if princes were not better-natured than our author, his position would force all kings to dragoon all their subjects to their own religion, lest they might be in danger from such, who, living within their territories, owe them no allegiance.

But whatever favourable character he can give to papists, yet as they are Jacobites, their designs are impious; therefore we protestant subjects must not join them, "but neuters we must stand at least; and that will suffice to shew how contemptible a party that is which must be set up on the nation's ruin."

Well, the good gentleman allows, that popish subjects are bound in conscience to help King James, and protestants, whether subjects or not, to stand neuter, and then he doubts not but the Prince of Orange shall carry the day; for papists are but a contemptible people. We have almost through his whole discourse been affrighted with the terrible inundation of popery; nothing but ruin, and the extirpation of the protestant religion, and the church of England, to be expected from papists: And yet now even Irish and English papists, combining with their full force, can make but a contemptible party. Thus Margery's good cow gives a good meal, and casts it down with her foot. Our fears of bloody, persecuting, triumphing popery are blown over.

But whether the matter be true or false, we ought not to pass over the use and ap-

plication of this text. We protestants therefore, that have any affection for King James, must first note, That this contemptible party cannot be set up but upon the nation's ruin. And, secondly, "It is impossible for King James to cut down the protestant religion in England, without borrowing a handle from the tree he would fell." Then it is impossible, by the French king's aid; so that the fear of that force is likewise out of doors; it is then only in the power of protestants. If therefore English protestant subjects will take into consideration these motives before laid down, as how unjustly King James was deprived of his birth-right by his subjects, who by nature and oaths are bound to defend him in possession of it; if they will deliver themselves from the oppression they have suffered in taxes, quartering of soldiers, decay of trade, and imminent danger of losing it all to the Dutch; if they will have again restored the old laws of the hereditary monarchy, so judiciously settled by our wise ancestors, and confirmed to be the best form of government for this kingdom by long and long experience, as well of the benefit of it, as by the certain, constant, and never-failing miseries which ever have befallen the subjects upon any interruptions of it; and if we will secure our religion upon the old foundations of loyalty, preserving all other doctrines of reformation entire, past the possibility of the contemptible number of Roman catholic subjects disturbance of it, in the free exercise of it; and lay an eternal obligation on the king to "maintain and protect the church of England, with a parliamentary settlement of liberty of conscience, in so beneficial a manner, that it may remain a lasting blessing to this kingdom; if we will see the breaches repaired, and the wounds of the late distractions healed, trade restored, and the bringing back peace, plenty, and wealth to the nation;" then we must cordially and unanimously assist our so infinitely injured prince to recover his right. By this means we shall prevent the effusion of blood, secure our liberties and properties better and more sure than ever we can expect them to be under the Prince of Orange, or any Dutch governor; and, our lawful king being restored, "he will delight to spend the remainder of his reign he always designed since his coming to the crown," if he had not been so interrupted by Dutch contrivances, "in studying to do every thing that may contribute to the establishment of the greatness of the English monarchy, upon its old and true foundations; the united interest and affections of the people."

Neither will the blessing of his restoration fall only upon our Goshen, but all Europe will be participants of the happiness: For upon the settling these kingdoms upon a durable state of peace and plenty, the universal peace of Christendom will be much facilitated; which, as the case now stands, can never be effected so long as the king is kept from his throne; during which time, "no rational project of a treaty can be formed in order to it." The prince, our present lord, is sensible of this; and by this time both he and the confederates cannot but be convinced, that if it had not been for his ambition of three crowns, expedients might have been long since found to have composed the quarrels betwixt the King of France and the confederate princes.

It is the single and separate interest of our so magnified deliverer, that is the principal, if not sole obstacle of a general peace in Europe. I think he hath lately been told by a sovereign prince, who knows the difference betwixt an elector of Germany and an elective and precarious king, that it never was the intent of the rest of the confederate princes that he should usurp his father's crowns: He was sent into England for another end, only to prevent the conjunction of King James, with France; which they needed have had no suspicion of, if they had given credit to the expressions or interest of a prince who only wants that piece of king-craft, to dissemble. If common fame be not an egregious liar, our hero hath been told, both from the Duke of Bavaria, and finds it the resolution of his native country, that they will not run the hazard of the ruin of themselves and countries, for the endeavouring to promote his single ambitious

ends. There might be some temptation to stand by him, if he had any legitimate issue to leave his crown to, such as Henry the Fifth was: But for one that, in God's just judgment for his unnatural undutifulness, is like to be writ childless, there must be some greater charms than are obvious to the world, either in his person or disposition, that can oblige princes to espouse the desperate fortune of a man who regards no person living, longer than they serve his ambitious, proud, revengeful, or covetous ends; for whatever such gross sycophants, as his new chaplains of the first orb may say, these truly are his cardinal virtues.

It's true, he hath deserved considerably of his allies. He hath from his acquired dominions furnished them with vast armies, vast fleets, and a proportionable vast mass of money: But they have not thriven with his ill-gotten goods; and the Duke of Savoy hath found his pensions to be *Aurum Tolusanum*: And the King of Spain doth already find, that he hath brought more mischief to his crown, than his great grandsire of his name did, who was the principal author of the revolt of those provinces. And since I have mentioned that Prince William, I think it not amiss to transcribe Cardinal Bentivolio's character of him, out of his Relation of Flanders; and leave it to the impartial reader to judge in how few particulars of the virtues ascribed to that prince ours agrees, and what additions they will make to his vices. The words are these, Lib. 2. C. 2. "The Prince of Orange was in great esteem with the Dutch; and truly he was a man of very great parts; of a strong body, constant mind, flowing tongue, good at council, he was very dexterous, and wonderfully vigilant. But these virtues were counterpoised with much greater vices. There was no faithfulness in him, no goodness, no shame to do evil, his religion was only outward; he was of an unquiet mind, and greatly ambitious: Nor was there ever any who knew better to wind people by deceit, nor knew better to cloath his own ends with zeal to the public."

But to return to the matter in hand; I believe the Dutch, who gave him the first lift to the saddle eaves, will have little cause to erect a statue for him. For if they desert him not in time, they may live to see an end of their republic, which hath continued long enough to be the plague of Christendom.

As for the princes who serve his interest and ends, so long as he pours our coin so plentifully into their laps they will aid him; but now finding his cash run low, will knock off in time. But suppose all these, for the service he hath done them, are obliged to a princely gratitude, surely England cannot say as much, unless we are to thank him for altering our constitution of government, destroying our laws, and hawling our men to the shambles, giving away our trade to the Dutch, perjuring the clergy and laity, squeezing those many millions of money from us, and transporting them to Dutch land, beggaring one part of the subject with taxes, and another with his outrageous soldiers, who, for want of pay and discipline, live upon rapine and free quarter, as if they were in an enemy's country.

And if the matter be thus handled, whilst the war is thus carried abroad, what must we expect when the confederates have left him, and he returns with the vengeance of an enemy at his heels, and translates the war into our own country?

Surely these so sensible considerations should effectually prevail with us to recall our king without foreign troops, which would infinitely more content him than all the absoluteness his malicious enemies unjustly calumniate him with an aspiring to. It is our wealth, liberty, prosperity, and renown, he prefers before all the personal advantages to himself; fatherly affection is inherent in his nature; and to leave us in the peaceable enjoyment of our religion and laws will be his sole care and endeavour, that he may leave the prince his son an undisturbed reign.

I shall now conclude, as near as I can, with our author's words, but with a quite different application. "Take warning, noble patriots and worthy fellow subjects, by what is past, and what must be the inevitable consequence of our deserting our lawful

king, and assisting the prince, even to the ruin of the most famous true church of England, yourselves, and native country." The scandal of your religion, the abolishing the fundamental laws of the old constitution of the English monarchy, and the certain continuance of the destructive war, in all the countries now concerned in it; to which there can be no such expedient found to put a period to it, as the restoring our lawful king by our own endeavours, without unnecessary foreign force.

Sir, I take God to witness, what I have writ proceeds from no design of countenancing popery, or arbitrary power. I have set down my thoughts for no other end but out of an unfeigned desire of the universal good of my native country, wishing nothing more than that those may truly repent, and make restitution, who have been authors of so much misery to it by the Revolution; that our kingdom may again be restored to peace and plenty, under our lawful king and the undoubted laws of the kingdom; and that those who are of different judgments, will, with equal candour and impartiality, satisfy the consciences of their dissenting brethren, rather than with the severities that are accustomed to be used, to stifle the reasoning of true unbiassed lovers of truth, loyalty, and their country.

Great Britain's just Complaint for her late Measures, present Sufferings, and the future Miseries she is exposed to.

This is the Tract so repeatedly quoted in the preceding article. It is one of the most able and earnest pieces of pleading which the Jacobites were able to produce. The pamphlet is said by Ralph to have been written by Sir James Montgomery, who, after having been engaged in different sides during the intrigues of the time, was for the present an adherent of King James. In this Tract, which is designed as an answer to that entitled "The Pretences of the French Invasion Examined," he undertakes to support the four causes of invasion which the Examiner had endeavoured to subvert, and endeavours to shew that those grievances which had been urged against King James were all of them applicable to the government of King William.

THE last great revolution in Britain (which doth so much exercise the heads, hands, purses, and pens, of the inhabitants of this island) is not to be paralleled by any instance from ancient or modern history. When we have ransacked the annals of all the nations of Europe, and travelled as far as the Indies to find an example, we shall at last be forced to acknowledge, after all circumstances are exactly weighed, that we have been blindly following the dictates of our own personal prejudices and intoxicated judgments, rather than tracing the footsteps of our predecessors, or of the most zealous assertors of publick liberties in other nations. I do not deny, that in every province and kingdom of the universe we may find instances where subjects have been at last necessitated by force of arms to secure themselves, their religion and liberties, against such violent and repeated acts of tyranny in their princes, as did visibly endanger the frame of the government itself, as well as the safety of every individual: And many princes have lost their crowns by a tract of cruelties and exorbitances in government, and an

incorrigible obstinacy and deafness to all the humble petitions and repeated complaints of their subjects.

But we scorned to be confined within such antient rules, to be regulated by the practices of our forefathers, or be taught at the expence or by the experience of others. We have walked without guides, amidst dark and dangerous precipices: Our fears have over-run our reason; we have taken things upon trust, without searching them to the bottom; and we have been imposed upon by the cunning and artificial disguises of self-designing and ambitious men, to overlook a most infallible way of securing liberty and property to all future ages; which the ambition of the Prince of Orange, and the hard circumstances of our own king, had put into our hands. We have vacated a throne for the pretended desertion of a prince, violently forced away by a surprising defection of his children, servants, subjects, and soldiers, and under the terror of dangers threatening his life and liberty. We have justified this severity by enumerating miscarriages in government; which, though errors and mistakes, were very far from overturning foundations, and which the king was put upon by the artifice and cunning of his son-in-law, who was grasping at his crown: And we have obstinately refused all treaties when offered, whereby grievances might have been redressed and provided against for the future; and we have ventured upon such steps as have no precedent, and furnished an example for history, which will be found too desperate and expensive for imitation.

Yet so far hath this poison spread and diffused itself, that though the pretended reasons of our proceedings appear at last to be empty, false, and forged; though the principal actors are ashamed of their former grounds, and love the sound of Conquest better than that of a Deliverance, and are countenanced in it by the practices as well as inclination and maxims of our present monarch, there are some people who would gladly continue the cheat, and amuse us still with a hodge-podge of right of succession, election, and conquest, and the lofty and agreeable sound of religion, liberty, and property; which appears to be as little the care as it was the design of our principal reformers.

Hence it is that we have of late been entertained with two famous pamphlets, the one entitled *The Pretensions of the French Invasion Examined*, licensed, or rather written, by the Earl of Nottingham: The other is, *A Letter to a Friend, concerning the French Invasion*,^{*} which must be the offspring of a person of equal quality with the former, since his character stamps it legitimate without a license. These two pieces do not in the least answer the figure which the authors who are assigned them make in the world: For all along they falsify, disguise, or absolutely conceal matter of fact;

^{*} See the previous piece, entitled *The Pretension of the French Invasion examined for the Information of the People of England*.—"This paper was followed by those two of Dr Lloyd's, called, *A first and second Letter to a Friend, concerning a French Invasion to restore King James to his Throne*, and what may be expected from him, should he be successful in it. The last of these, which contains a formal answer to King James's Declaration, we have already quoted: the scope of both is to work upon the fears of the nation: and in order to do this in the most effectual manner, the author endeavours to shew, that nothing was to be expected from King James but a repetition of the same measures as had rendered him so justly odious before; that while he continued a papist, and in so close an union with his Most Christian Brother of France, he could not be kind or just to his protestant subjects if he would; that if, instead of being directed by papists as before, he should now think it his interest to be directed by non-jurors, the case of the bulk of the people would be the same, and they would find the yoke of the one as heavy, and the resentments as severe, as those of the other; that his very penitence was not to be trusted; that the weight of the taxes was the only reproach that could be levelled against the new government; that those taxes arose from the necessities of the times; that we had a hopeful prospect of seeing an end of them; that our men had now got a habit of beating the French; that revolutions were, in their own nature, chargeable things; that one was enough for an age; that how much soever the last had cost, our money had been well laid out; and that another would cost ten times as much, and entail French popery and slavery upon us into the bargain."—RALPH'S *History*, II. 380.

they labour to impose falsehoods for truths, and their base alloy as good coin upon us; they advance positions for undoubted maxims, which have been controverted all the world over, and upon this sandy foundation they raise their building; and their reasonings are either false, sophisticated, or most conclusive on the other side.

To make good this charge, and acquit myself of the duty I owe my country and fellow subjects, in contributing my mite towards the rectifying their judgments in such a nice and important affair, wherein our own peace and happiness, as well as that of our posterity, is so much wrapt up, I shall endeavour to make a full and distinct answer to these two pamphlets, by a true, unbiassed, and impartial deduction of matter of fact, by setting out the publick councils, designs, and conduct of particular persons, in their true light, without those disguises which were artfully thrown over them; and by their own reasons and maxims, concluding a great deal more forcibly against themselves: And to deal fairly by them, I shall confine myself to those very arguments which are assigned by the author of *The French Invasion Examined*, as the motives upon which the restoration of King James is desired and endeavoured, viz. "The repairing the injury done to the king, the settling the government upon its old basis, the delivering us from the oppressions we suffer under the present king, and the securing the protestant religion for the future."

There is no Englishman but must allow these considerations to be grave, weighty, and important; and, if as true as considerable, sufficiently conclusive and persuasive for a speedy restoration. I will then enter upon a particular enquiry; and I do not despair, before I have done, to establish the truth as well as the importance of those reasons, against the cavils of those authors: I join them together, because their reasonings are much the same, equally levelled against the aforesaid motives, and must stand or fall together.

As to the first motive, "Of the repairing the injury done to King James." If it can be made appear that he was unjustly, upon false pretences, deprived of his birth-right by his subjects, who by nature and oaths were bound to defend him in it, then must it be acknowledged a duty by all, as well as those authors, to repair that injury done him, by restoring his right again. I shall apply myself particularly to the clearing of the injustice done him, since upon that a great part of the controversy depends, and most of the reasons assigned by these authors against his restoration will fall to the ground: In doing of which, I must look higher than the beginning of King James's reign; the early and unnatural ambition of the Prince of Orange, as well as the necessary connection and series of affairs, oblige me unto it.

It was not the danger which our religion and liberties were threatened with, from the designs and bad administration of King James, and a tender regard to the British subjects, for their love and respect to his dearest consort and himself, with the interest which his birth and marriage gave him in us, first induced the Prince of Orange to look towards these kingdoms and our affairs. The late King Charles (notwithstanding of all the tenderness he had discovered for that prince's education, and care for his interests, in espousing them so vigorously upon all occasions against the States of Holland, who would gladly have secured themselves by depressing him and his family, against those prophetic fears they lay under, for their beloved rights and liberties) was the first that felt the effects of his nephew's towering and boundless ambition. No sooner did the Prince of Orange find himself re-instated, by the authority and interest of his uncle, in the posts of grandeur possessed by his father and predecessors, and so put into a condition to appear upon the stage, and mingle in the greatest affairs of Europe; but he gave loose reins to his ambition, to range wherever it could perch and fix, without being restrained or frightened by those common rules or barriers, which morality and religion had placed as spokes too mean, in his opinion, to stop the career of a bold and daring spirit.

Britain was the place he fixed his eye upon ; neither could relation, or gratitude, place any rubs in his way. The lazy temper of that monarch, addicted to his pleasures, and his being without children, the religion of his brother, and want of male issue, together with his own alliance with the royal blood, and some discontents of the people, which were begotten and heightened by the addresses and malice of a few grandees, promised him a plentiful harvest in return to his cabals and cajoling insinuations ; upon which those grandees were applied unto, and as quick and hearty returns made by them, with assurance of zeal, dependence, and fidelity, being glad of so considerable a support. Hence sprang all those fatal divisions which so long time exercised that prince, his councils, and parliaments.

To spirit this party in England, and to fix himself one degree nearer the crown, which he so much longed for, the prince made his addresses, and was married to the Lady Mary, much against the inclination both of the king and duke, who did very well foresee the consequence, and were afraid of so near a conjunction with so restless a spirit. But it is well known who disposed the king to agree to the match ; for which, and other good services then in betraying his master, he is well rewarded now, rather than for any merits he had to plead upon this Revolution.*

After this match, put divisions and discontents past all bounds ; nothing less than the interruption of the royal line, by a bill of exclusion, would satisfy. I know the danger of our religion, from a popish successor, was pretended ; but the Prince of Orange's immediate succession to the crown, in the right of his princess, was the thing truly intended by the prince's agents and privadoes : nothing else but such a hidden secret design could have inclined so many men of sense and reason to refuse the great concessions were offered 'em ; which, without danger, or the bad consequences of neglecting a just title, did equally secure religion and liberty. To this project were sacrificed all those great and mighty securities which King Charles would willingly have granted in favour of our religion and liberties, to be rid of that troublesome bill of exclusion ; and thus we lost the greatest and best establishment we ever had in our view ; and which would legally, peaceably, and willingly, have been settled upon us, without any farther trouble, danger, or expence : So early did this prince's ambition become fatal to our liberties and properties.

Hence sprang all those councils and measures, which did so much discontent the people ; and put that king upon the *quo warranto* project, thereby to temper and qualify parliaments, which the cabals and machinations of the prince had rendered so warm and uneasy to him. Hence sprang that ferment, and those bad humours, which gave life and motion to the Duke of Monmouth's invasion and pretences, who all along had been made a stale by some ; though the prince lay close at the bottom, and seemed to favour the man ; until at last he perceived that the duke did in earnest catch at that he so much longed for himself. With what regret, yea indignation, must every English breast be filled upon a review of that blessed occasion we lost, which might have prevented our present expence of blood and treasure, and all those fears and miseries we are now groaning under, and know not when we shall be at an end of ! It is with unspeakable grief I am obliged to remember so great a loss ; nor do I mention any thing but what is very well known for a truth to some persons yet alive, and which I have seen clearly verified by some convincing dispatches which are yet extant, and which shall be carefully preserved, until they may be with safety produced. Doth not Sir W. Temple, in his *Memoirs* licenced and published of late, acknowledge the greatest part of what is here asserted ? as if, in this reforming age, people were to make their court by publishing of services, for which their posterity may have reason to curse their ashes. Thus we see what fatal influences the Prince of Orange's ambition had scattered upon

* The Earl of Sunderland is the statesman alluded to.

our councils and measures, during the latter end of King Charles's reign: Neither will he be found less active and successful, by himself and agents, during King James's administration, as will appear from a particular enquiry into the pretended abdication.

This strange and mysterious word, which to this day is not well understood, neither can be explained, nor rightly fitted to what was intended by it, either by the authors of it, or by any body else, was first made use of in the kingdom of Naples, some ages ago; and begot that fatal struggle between the Anjouin and Arragonian factions, which at last quite ruined that flourishing kingdom, and brought it under a foreign yoke, under which it continues to this day. I shall not criticize upon it, nor examine how improperly it is applied in the case of King James, (though that be obvious enough to any man who understands the civil law, or the proper and genuine signification of the word) but shall only enquire into the subject matter, which, according to the sense of our reformers, amounted to abdication and a vacancy; and that is, King James's desertion and invasion of the fundamental laws and liberties of England.

As to the first, how properly his being forced away may be called a desertion, will best appear from a true narrative of matter of fact; which I shall give the reader: And though it may contain several things which are not generally known, and yet contribute exceedingly to the clearing of this point, I shall deliver nothing but truths, which can be made evident, either by letters, or evidence above all exception. No sooner was the Prince of Orange landed, but it quickly appeared to the world, how strangely successful his agents had been in their negotiations. The poison was universally spread, and the pretences of his declaration greedily swallowed down without examination; though I shall make it appear, before I have done, that it was partly forged, and nothing of it ever intended to be performed. There was nothing sound or untainted in the whole kingdom: His children run away from him; the clergy juggle with him; his domestic and menial servants betray him; his subjects flock in to the Prince of Orange; his army desert; and the very creatures which he had raised from the dust, form designs to deliver up his person.

Was not this a scene the most wonderful and astonishing that was ever presented upon the stage of human affairs? What ground had the king to think that his person could be with any manner of safety, amongst a people who had thrown off all ties and duties, which could rationally be depended upon in the like case? When that natural affection which was due from children to their parents was quite forgotten; when the love, respect, service, and gratitude, which is due from servants to their master and benefactor, was entirely thrown off, and unheard-of treachery cherished in their places? When that allegiance which is due from subjects to their prince was debauched, and running into another channel? When that fidelity, which was due from soldiers, (both as subjects, and men who make a particular profession of honour) to their prince, general and nursing father, was so generally corrupted, that he was advertised by his general officers, "That the army was quite poisoned, and would not fight?" When his own ministers and counsellors were in pay and correspondence with the invader, and pushing him into councils and measures, which might increase the present ferment, and facilitate the prince's designs? What hopes of accommodation, or assurance of safety, could remain, without renouncing all reason, sense, and discretion? especially if we consider, that as soon as the account came that Oxford's and St Alban's regiment of horse commanded by Langston; and Cornbury, and Heyfort, with their dragoons, were deserted and gone into the prince, he called his general officers and colonels together at London: amongst which were Churchill, Kirk, Trelauny, Grafton, and others; and acquainted them, he had called a free parliament, that he was resolved to secure religion, liberty and property, at their sitting. He obtested these officers to let him know if there was any thing farther which they desired for the security of their religion and liberties, and he would most willingly grant it; and withal desired, That if there

was any amongst them who could not be satisfied, to let him know it, and he would frankly grant them passes for themselves and equipage, to go in to the prince. Upon which, they all answered chearfully and unanimously "That they were fully satisfied, and would hazard their blood, to the last drop, in his service:" And yet how basely and ungratefully some of them afterwards dealt by him, is too well known, and was enough to give that prince just jealousies of his own safety amongst men so lost as to all sense of honour and integrity.

And yet so loth was this monarch to part from a people who had forsaken him first, though surrounded with fears and distractions, under which any other person would have sunk, that he made offers of a treaty; which the prince accepted, not that he designed to come to any settlement upon it, but because he durst not unmask himself so far as to refuse it; and was in hopes to find some pretext or other to break it off. Upon this, the commissioners met on both sides, but with so little inclination, on the prince's side, to come to an accommodation, which would have bereaved him of that sweet morsel he had been so long labouring for; nay, he discovered so firm a resolution to attain his ends, without scrupling any thing, how severe soever, which could compass them, that those noble lords, who were empowered by the king to treat for him, did acquaint his majesty with the insuperable difficulties they met with in their negotiation, and that they thought themselves bound in duty to let him know that his person was not in safety under the power of a prince, who, by the haughty and rigid conditions he proposed, or rather imposed, and his still marching on, notwithstanding the treaty, did visibly enough discover some farther hidden design. This must certainly be thought warning enough from persons who were even then leaning to the strongest side, and so would not have hazarded such advice, unless forced to it by truth, and horror of the design; or put upon it by the prince himself, to frighten the king away, who was sensible his stay did check his designs, and so was resolved to be rid of his person some way or other.

Upon this the king thought fit to withdraw; and afterwards sent the Earl of Feversham, from that place, with such ample concessions, and such real discoveries of a sincere intention to satisfy his people to the full, that the prince was extremely alarmed upon it, and did plainly see the miscarriage and ruin of all his designs, if Feversham's message should be imparted to the English that were about him; for though there were some, who upon all occasions were forward enough to advise the utmost severities against the king's person, yet by far the greatest part for number, interest, and quality, were at the bottom for an accommodation with the king, which would have settled and bettered the nation; but at the same time would have quite dashed the prince's hopes and expectations; and therefore some bold stroke must be given, that so much patience, so great labour, and so many crimes might not be lost; the public faith must be broken, and Feversham must be secured, without so much as acquainting the persons of quality of the English nation who were about him with it, though all along he had pretended to act by their advice. But in so nice a conjuncture he was afraid to trust to their affection, as knowing very well they would have pryed more than was fitting for his interest into the pretended cause of the earl's confinement, and his message; the goodness of which would certainly have preserved the public faith inviolable in the earl's person, notwithstanding of the crime alleged against him, and continued the treaty; whereas by this method the message was concealed, the treaty was quite broken off, and the king would most certainly be frightened to steal away. After such a series of defection amongst all sorts of people, after such an advice sent by persons whom he had trusted with the most important concerns of his crown and kingdom, after such an open breach of the public faith, and after such visible and open discoveries of the prince's secret designs and unlimited ambition, a passion which never scruples to sacrifice every Remora to its establishment, where it predominates, is there any cool

and rational man will censure the king's conduct in disbanding that army, which had for the most part made a defection from him, and in taking care of his person by a speedy retreat from amongst such wavering subjects, dangerous and disingenuous enemies. But in farther evidence of the king's unwillingness to part from his people, and of the prince's fixed and determinate resolutions to force him to as great a distance as he could, being always jealous of a reconciliation, which would have quite buried his ambitious thoughts and designs, I shall give the world a particular account of the most important steps taken by either relative to their several designs.

The king, when he came to London, sent a message to Sir Thomas Stamp, now mayor, and to Sir Simon Lewis, two eminent aldermen of that city, desiring them to acquaint their brethren, and others of the common council, That he was resolved to put himself into the hands of the city, there to remain until by a free parliament he had given all satisfaction to his people, by securing their religion, liberties, and properties, to the full; hoping that, in the mean time, they would take care to guard and secure his person. The foresaid persons communicated this message, as they were desired; but by the influence and interest of Sir Robert Clayton the offer was refused, and the security of his person would not be assured to him. Here is plain demonstration, both of the king's willingness to piece up with his people, and of the danger which threatened his person. When the king came from Feversham to Whitehall, Monsieur Zuytlestein delivered him, at Somerset-house, a letter from the prince, which was designed to have reached him before he came from Feversham; wherein he was desired, but in the style of a command, not to come any nearer London than Rochester: To which the king very meekly returned an answer, "That he would have complied with the letter, had it come sooner to his hands." Can there be any more doubt, after this, of the prince's unjust and ambitious designs, to put such a restraint upon a monarch in his own dominions, whose undoubted title he had acknowledged, both by his declaration and a treaty? This was a piece of haughtiness and insolence above all example, except what his own future practices hath furnished us with.

As soon as the king came to Whitehall, he wrote to the prince, inviting him to St. James's, allowing him his own Dutch guards to secure his person, and assuring him that upon their interview he would fully satisfy the intent of his Declaration. But this was no satisfaction to the prince: He had a secret and concealed aim at the crown; and provided he could gain that point, he liked it the better that it were vested with all the power he so much complained of in his Declaration: His conduct since hath sufficiently cleared this to these nations: An interview which was so much desired by the king, did not suit with this darling project; he could neither well ask it, nor expect to have it granted. Besides, he found the torrent of the people's affections, which had run so swiftly towards himself, was then at a stand, and in danger to be turned into another channel, if the king remained at Whitehall, and at liberty to apply himself to the regaining of his subjects hearts; which he was sincerely resolved to court and acquire at any rate, being free from the bad influences and advices of those ministers which were in confederacy with the prince. Upon all which it was resolved that Count Solmes should possess the several posts at Whitehall with Dutch guards, and make the king a prisoner: And about two o'clock in the morning he received orders from the prince, by the mouths of three noble lords, to be gone immediately from his own palace; and accordingly he was sent prisoner to Rochester, attended by Dutch guards, and all this performed with unspeakable rudeness and indignities done to his person.*

* The king's guards under the gallant old Earl of Craven, prepared to defend their post; and nothing but the positive command of James himself, who was utterly sunk in despondency, prevented a desperate action between them and the Dutch forces under Count Solmes.

† His majesty being thus in the toils, the three lords deputies from the prince sent the following billet to

He was disturbed at an unseasonable hour, with a sentence of banishment from his own palace, passed upon him by his son-in-law, who pretended only to settle and fix his crown by redressing of grievances, and that sentence pronounced unto him by three of his own subjects, who accompanied it with some unmannerly severities, which their fears of a coarser treatment, if he stayed, put them upon. He was refused his own guards to attend him, and his own coach to carry him to Rochester, though he declared that he could not travel by water in so cold a season, against wind and tide, without greatly endangering his health. Good God! that such barbarities should be practised, and afterwards justified by Christians, which pagans and infidels would be ashamed of.

Whilst the king stayed at Rochester, and during the sessions of those lords and commons who first put the administration of affairs into the prince's hand, and moved for calling of the convention, he sent a message to the present Bishop of Winchester, which he desired might be communicated to the rest of the bishops; acquainting him with his resolutions to come either publicly or privately, and put himself into the hands of my lords the bishops, to be under their protection, until at their sight and by their advice, he had fully settled and secured every thing in a free parliament. This message the Bishop of Winchester did impart to the rest; and their return to it was, that they could not receive him, either publicly or privately, under their protection; for in that case they would be responsible for his safety, and they were not in a condition to secure him against the ambition of the prince, who was resolved to accomplish his designs; and surrounded with so many troops to support him in it, after so many advertisements given him of the danger his person was in, by people who might know it, and whose testimony was not to be suspected, and those advertisements fortified and confirmed, by the prince's strange and unaccountable carriage, in breaking the public treaty, in imprisoning my Lord Feversham contrary to the public faith, thereby to elude the effects of his message in refusing a personal treaty, depriving him of his liberty, putting him under guards, and in banishing him imperiously and unmannerly from his own houses. After so many fruitless applications to the prince, to the city, and to the bishops, only to be secured as to his person, until by a free parliament he had given full satisfaction to his people, can there be any person who is not become bankrupt, as to common sense and reason. who will blame the king for withdrawing, and thereby endeavouring to put himself in safety? And it is evident, notwithstanding all those ineffectual applications, he was resolved upon every occasion to court his subjects to return to their duty: Witness his letters addressed to several members of his privy council; and also that letter written from St Germain's, and designed for the convention of estates, which they would not so much as receive or read.

I would now gladly know after what manner, and upon what account, in what sense, and for what reason the king can be said to have deserted. Desertion, according to common sense and acceptance, is a voluntary neglect and withdrawing his person, care, and influences from attending that administration, protection, and exercise of the

the Earl of Middleton:—"My lord, there is a message to be delivered to his majesty from the prince, which is of so great importance, that we who are charged with it desire we may be immediately admitted; and therefore desire to know where we may find your lordship, that you may introduce, my lord, your lordship's most humble servants, *Hallifax, Shrewsbury, Delamere*."

"The earl soon appeared in answer to this summons, (which, according to his Grace of Bucks, was rather exacting than desiring admittance,) and introduced them to the unfortunate king, whom they found a-bed, and to whom, after a short apology for breaking in upon him at so unseasonable an hour, they gave the following paper:—

"We desire you, the Lord Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamere, to tell the king, that it is thought convenient, for the greater quiet of the city, and the greater safety of his person, that he do remove to Ham, where he shall be attended by his guards, who will be ready to preserve him from any disturbance.

"Given at Windsor the 17th of December, 1688. W. Prince of Orange."—*Ralph, I. 1071.*

government, which is due from him to the people committed to his charge; when no force compelled him, no danger threatened him, and the people were willing to retain him. Is this applicable to the king's case? May not the invading his dominions with foreign troops and an armed power, the imprisonment of his person, putting him under guards of foreigners, and banishing him from his own houses, be properly enough called a force? May not those extraordinary indignities done him by the prince, and those advertisements given him by several persons of quality, knowledge, and interest, of his hard and difficult circumstances, be very well called dangers, according to the common rules of prudence and discretion? With what sense can the universal defection of his children, servants, soldiers, and subjects, the rejecting all treaties, whether personal or by proxy, the refusal of all applications made by him to the city, bishops, and convention of estates, be understood an unwillingness in his subjects to part with him, or a voluntary withdrawing or neglect on his side? We must renounce common sense, and quite invert the nature of things, before a withdrawing so circumstantiated will pass upon the sober part of mankind for a desertion.

Besides, it is a maxim laid down by the author of the *Pretences of the French Invasion Examined*, p. 4. l. 3, and downwards, "That where a king or queen is submitted to and owned by oaths, and other methods required in such cases, the king himself is not at liberty to give up his own power, and consequently cannot desert, much less can the people wrest it from him. A man hath himself much more right to lay down that power which is legally vested in him, than any other person or persons can have to take it from him." I hope this learned gentleman will allow us the benefit of his own maxim, which we are willing to admit of. It cannot be denied King James was submitted unto, and owned by oaths and all other methods required in such cases; and so not at liberty to give up his own power, though never so willing: And consequently this pretended desertion must march off the stage according to the author's own rules.

But the disbanding of the army, in the sense of this author and others, was so illegal a step, that it must pass for his dissolving of the government. Why, truly, common prudence advised the discarding of an army which had dealt so treacherously with their prince and benefactor: And I would gladly know what statute this measure of the king's trespassed upon. I challenge the author to point it out to us. I have heard it alledged that the king could not raise and maintain an army without the consent of parliament: But his power of disbanding was never yet questioned, much less made a crime: If the first be justifiable, the last must be much more so. From what has been said, I hope the desertion is quite shut out of doors: The reasons adduced make unanswerably against it; and the pamphleteer's own maxims knock it dead without mercy, by which the greatest part of the author's pamphlet and reasonings falls to the ground, since he goeth all along upon the supposition that the people were still willing to have acknowledged his rights and secured their own, to have treated and come to an accommodation with him; as also that the prince never proposed any thing, but to have grievances fairly redressed, which was still insisted on by the prince and people in the most humble and usual methods: But that the king wilfully deserted, threw up the government, refused all treaties, and left them in a perfect anarchy, to shift for themselves. The falsity of all which is already plainly enough demonstrated, and the abdication must halt, having lost the better half of its foundation.

I come next to examine the mal-administration, which makes up the other part of this structure; in prosecution of which I do not intend to play the advocate, to defend and justify any breaches made upon the laws and liberties of my country: I am as tender of those great concerns as any man can be; I love them as well; I value them as high, and shall be always ready to hazard as far for their establishment, as a good Englishman, who knows their worth, ought to do. And perhaps I have given better evi-

dences of this, than the authors of these pamphlets can bring for themselves, notwithstanding their fustian words and high pretences.

But mistakes in government will be slipping in under the best reigns; and it is not every error can furnish a good reason for such important revolutions, such general defections, such deviations from that duty which is due to princes from the obligation of oaths, the ties of nature, and the laws of the land; and for dethroning of kings, inverting the nature of the monarchy, and the interrupting the royal line and succession. Such alterations have been accompanied in all ages with such confusions, convulsions, blood, ruin, and desolation, that nothing but the necessary rescue of the government itself, and of all the public and private rights which are wrapt up in it, from a clear, plain, visible, undeniable, and otherwise unavoidable ruin and destruction, with a certainty and conviction that the remedy proposed will prove feasible and successful, without running us into the same dangers and difficulties, can furnish the least shadow or pretence for experiments which are to be attended with such dangers, founded upon the breach of so many sacred ties and obligations, and supported with such expence of blood and treasure.

We ought to be very sure, that the errors complained of would certainly have overturned all foundations, and entirely robbed us of our rights; that those errors did certainly arise from the natural disposition of the prince himself, obstinately and incorrigibly bent to pursue them to the utmost, whatever the consequence might be, and not rather from the impulse of corrupted ministers, from a design to ruin him, and make a property of us, in serving the ambitious but gilded pretences of some other person, before we run headlong into such measures. But alas! I am afraid we are not able to stand this trial, which every cool and thinking man must allow to be very reasonable; and upon an exact and impartial enquiry, it will be found that with all this bustle, noise, blood, treasure, and pretence for public good and liberty, we have been destroying what we have built up; grasping unsuccessfully at that amidst the dangers, cruelties, and expences of a war, and with the breach of so many sacred ties and engagements, which we might have insured to ourselves and posterity with much ease and innocence; and wreathing a yoke about our necks, which will gaul and pinch us more severely than what we endeavoured to throw off.

The mal-administrations charged upon King James by those pamphleteers, are shortly summoned up by them in the "western severities, the high commission, the turning out of office all good protestants, the attempting to reverse all the penal laws, the putting unqualified men into places of trust, profit, and power; the exercise of the dispensing power, the excluding the fellows of Magdalen College, and putting in papists; with the imprisonment and trial of the bishops." It seems these authors are of opinion that any reasons, how weak and unconvulsive soever they be, should pass as good coin upon us, since they come from such magisterial and florid pens. But if they designed that their authority alone should pass for reason amongst us, they ought to have subjoined their names, to add thereby some value and weight to arguments and grounds, by far too weak in themselves to support so lofty a building as is founded upon them. Some of the misgovernments here enumerated, which I have exactly copied from p. 6. l. 8. and downwards, of *The Pretences of the French Invasion Examined*, are false, others maliciously aggravated, and the rest the king was forced upon by the importunity of ministers, who were gained by the prince, and offered such advices only with a design to render him odious to the people, and thereby to dispose them for this happy revolution, which hath since fallen out. But to examine them severally:

As to the western severities, I believe it will not be denied, even by this government, that the Duke of Monmouth his invasion was a rebellion; and that the lives and fortunes of all engaged in it, were, by the laws of the land, forfeited to justice. I am heartily sorry that so much blood was shed by the hands of the common executioner;

but it is very well known to many persons of honour and quality, that those great severities were only to be ascribed to the insolent and cruel temper of Jefferies, Pollexfen, and Kirk; that the king himself was extremely offended at it, and immediately put a stop to their proceedings so soon as he was acquainted with them: And it is strange enough how this comes to be charged so home upon King James by the champions of this government, since King William, by his advancing and employing of Kirk and Pollexfen, hath plainly discovered to the world, that either he did not look upon those severities to be unseasonable or criminal, or else that he loved them the better for their cruel and bloody disposition, as fitter for his service and designs, otherwise such butchers would not have been countenanced by a reforming hero.

The high commission court I will not justify: But we know very well who advised it, and we see one of the most active members of it in a fair way of preferment now; and certainly our present king would not honour such a man, or trust his affairs into his hands, if he looked upon that commission to have been a good ground for abdication.

The turning out of office all good protestants, and the putting of unqualified men into all places of trust, profit, and power, is a large strain of eloquence, which, though like the usual flights of the supposed author, is too light and false for so grave and weighty a subject: For many places of profit, trust, and power, were kept filled with good and zealous protestants; and we know to whose councils and advices, and at whose door we must charge the filling of so many places of trust with unqualified persons. If an Earl of Sunderland and Lord Churchill had not been ministers of state then, perhaps the Loo had not yet been exchanged for Kensington.* It is to their faithful councils and influence we owe the advancement of Father Peters to the council board; the new modelling of the Irish army and government; the Magdalen College reformation; the regulation of corporations; the closetting; and the imprisonment and trial of the bishops. And if so, there is a certain prince who is really more guilty of those miscarriages than the abdicated monarch, since he was the main engine who set those noble lords to work; and I am afraid his conduct since, when examined, will in a great measure make good the charge.

It's natural enough for a prince to carry some little favour to those of his own religion, and easier for a treacherous minister to trepan him into more indulgence for them, than the laws can well allow; and those two lords being entirely devoted to the advancement of the prince's designs, did employ their utmost interest with the king to bring him into all those measures, which did so much favour and precipitate this revolution. There were some faithful servants, who quickly discovered the roguery of this, and stoutly made head against it; but a blind zeal having betrayed the new converts into those measures, and the time-serving courtier being joined with the pack, roguery became too hard for true honesty; and yet it was with great difficulty, and matchless importunities, the king was wrought upon to do several of those things which were the only important errors. It is well known that it was with no small trouble he was prevailed upon to admit Peters to the council-board. And as to the regulating of corporations, the king gave his opinion against it to the very last; and I dare appeal to the Earl of Bath, whose testimony is not to be suspected by this government, if in his access to the king about the regulations, in those countries where he was lieutenant, he did not discover the truth of what I here assert, from the king's own complaints to his lordship; "How greatly he was importuned to give way to those miseries, from which, in his own judgment, he was so averse."

We might have continued ignorant, in a great measure, of the particulars of all this fine Christian policy, if upon the revolution these honest agents in so good a work had

* Kensington was King William's favourite residence for the benefit of the free air; that of St James's was injurious to his asthmatic complaints.

not (by boasting of their several merits, diligence, and activity in betraying an honest-hearted prince, and so the more credulous to his own ruin) discovered all the steps of this intrigue; but in the opinion of some, every thing is lawful for the obtaining of a crown. If it be alleged, that most certainly the prince never dreamt of the crown of Britain until it was presented to him, as a reward from a grateful people for their deliverance, his promises of places at court, and governments of forts, before he came from Holland, which were only in the disposal of the King of Great Britain; his imprisonment of the Earl of Feversham, who was a publick messenger and peer of England, and under the cognizance of none but the king; his imprisoning and banishing King James from his own palace, though acknowledged as the just monarch by his own declaration; his banishing the French ambassador out of England as soon as he came to London, and before the administration was put into his hands, by which these kingdoms were engaged, without their own consent, in a war with France, without so much as any pretence of entertainment given to their abdicated monarch, being a considerable time before King James's retreat thither; were direct, positive, and most solemn acts of sovereignty, before ever the crown was conferred upon him, and are so many plain and evident indications of that early ambition I have charged upon him. And in farther evidence, that, all his designs, from the very first, were aimed at the crown; and the crown vested too with most towering prerogatives. When the convention was deliberating upon some future provisions against arbitrary power, the prince sent my Lord Wharton to several lords, and Mr Coulin to Sir Edward Seymour and Mr Hambden, and other commoners, to let them know, "That if the house insisted so much upon limitations, that he would return again, and leave them in the lurch to the mercy of King James." So generously tender was this great deliverer of our religion and liberty. As to the dispensing power assumed by King James, I do not pretend to justify it. I am heartily sorry that so bad a measure was taken to carry on and establish so desirable and necessary a good and birth-right of mankind as liberty of conscience, which carries its own native beauty and usefulness so visibly stamp'd upon it, as could never have failed to obtain an establishment from the reason and judgment of an English parliament: But this would have so much united the hearts and affections of English subjects with their king, and laid such an invincible rub in the way of the prince's ambitious designs, that it became one of the nicest and most ticklish points to manage, the hardest to ward off, and the most dexterous and artful part of their game; there was no downright opposing of so general and desirable a good; it was easier to poison and divert it. The king was first put upon establishing this liberty by a proclamation, that so the parliament might be prejudiced against a thing which otherwise they would have granted, upon the account of the first measure taken about it; but finding that the general good and benefit, which was to be reaped from this liberty, would have digested and sweetened this pill; from a pretence of saving the king's honour from a foil, and making all sure, though really with a design to ruin him and baffle the thing, they put him upon the regulating and closetting projects, and upon obliging the clergy to read his proclamation for Liberty of Conscience from their pulpits. This did alarm the bishops, as was designed, and obliged them to think upon petitioning against it; upon which, those Boute-feux being afraid lest the king should call in his proclamation, having always found it hard enough to bring him to such methods, they ordered the business so that the bishops were so long in presenting of their petition to the king, that, though their reasons had convinced and satisfied him, there was not time enough to countermand his former orders, though never so willing. Upon which they took occasion to incense the king against them, as if they had delayed their petition so long with design to embroil him with his people; and so they run the bishops into the Tower, and from thence to the bar.

This is the true history of the dispensing power, and of the bishops' persecution,

which was so warmly and bitterly urged against the king, as undeniable proofs that his inclination to catholicks was too strong for the laws. But to speak plain English, I hope those stretches in favour of catholicks, which were criminal in King James, are not become more legal and meritorious in King William; the exercise of the dispensing power in their favours, I hope, is as much a fault now as ever. The charge will be denied; but I shall make it good when I come to discourse upon the third motive to the king's restoration. Are not catholicks employed now in the army, though not qualified by law? It will be alleged they are foreigners; so much the worse; for an English catholick will still have some regard for the laws and liberties of his countrymen, where a mercenary foreigner is absolutely at the disposal of his master. Are not the catholicks as much countenanced, and in the exercise of as much liberty for their religion, as ever? The necessity of humouring a confederacy, which must support us, the great strength of which are catholicks, may be urged as a very good reason for this; but if we examine it to the bottom, this threatens our religion more than any indulgence was granted them by King James. When the catholicks of England hold their liberty merely from the favour of the protestants of England, they must be thankful for it, and humble under it; but when they come to derive their favours, immunities, and liberty, from the necessity of our circumstances, and humble regard and deference we must pay to catholick princes, without whose assistance and friendship we cannot subsist; their spirits, hopes, and haughtiness will be enlarged by it. They must make grateful acknowledgments to those catholick princes, by whose kind influences they enjoy their liberty. This begets a correspondence with, and dependence upon, foreign princes; and we do not know how far, by the instigation of catholicks here, those princes may be prevailed upon to improve the necessity we have of their alliance, to the advantage of those of their own religion amongst us. The house of Austria, within our remembrance, was the most zealous champion for the Roman religion, and the dependence of the catholicks of England upon that house hath been always terrible and troublesome to this state: and though their losses, and the growth of France, hath humbled and levelled all the towering thoughts and ambition of that family, which did so much exercise both the councils and forces of their neighbours, yet since by our assistance that house is to recover its losses, and France to be reduced within its ancient bounds, with their lost provinces, the house of Austria may resume their old designs: They were but covered up, not extinguished; concealed, through weakness, to be discovered upon a greater increase of strength and vigour; in which case we may come to be whipt for our present politicks.

May the great God avert those dangers and difficulties which environ us, and visibly threaten the religious and civil concerns of these kingdoms. We have been pulling destruction with both our hands upon ourselves, and desperately risking our religion and civil rights without any necessity; and unless we repent, and repair these errors, the punishments we deserve will certainly overtake us. We have turned away our king, whose right and title was certain and unquestioned, nay, we have chased him from us with unspeakable indignities, upon the pretence of errors in government, which he was put upon by the artifice of his enemies, and which he was willing to have repaired at our own sight: He courted us by repeated applications to carve out our own securities for our religion and civil rights, but we have obstinately refused any treaty with him. We have set ourselves up for a mark of reproach to future ages, by our foolish and invincible malice and matchless impudence, in vacating a throne by a pretended abdication, which imports a voluntary resignation; and yet the abdicated monarch never made any, but asserts his title to this day. We have grounded this abdication upon a wilful desertion in our prince, when we forced him away for the preservation of his life; and upon mistakes in government, which he was trepanned into, and which he was willing to have repaired, but we would not; as if every error in govern-

ment had been a sin against the Holy Ghost, which neither can be atoned for, nor forgotten. The injury done to our sovereign is very visible from what I have written, and so reparation ought to be speedily made, notwithstanding all the reasons given by these two pamphleteers against it. But before I enter upon answering their objections, I shall discourse upon the other three motives assigned for the king's restoration, and make them equally plain with the first I have already handled, which will in a great measure prevent or take off all objections can be made.

The second motive was the settling the government upon its old basis ; which is visibly interrupted and quite unhinged by this abdication. We have turned our hereditary monarchy into an elective ; we have cut the royal line, interrupted the succession, and destroyed the just rights of innocent persons, upon a pretended abdication, which, though well founded, is but personal, and cannot be extended any farther. To this it is answered by the author of *The Pretences of the French Invasion Examined*, p. 10. l. 1, and downwards, "That the breach, as to the person of the reigning king, was made by himself, having deserted ; that the convention did not make, but found the throne vacant ; that in regard there were so many clear indications of the imposture of the Prince of Wales, the convention applied to the present queen, who was the next and undoubted heir, and at her request a title was given to her husband, and that only for life, though he was much nearer in blood than Henry IV. and Henry VII. successively made kings of England ; that much greater breaches have been made, since the Conquest, in the lineal succession, by deposing the reigning king and setting up his son, or a remoter person, which he acknowledgeth an injury to the king so deposed ; and that the saving the succession to the Princess of Denmark and her heirs, shews how far the convention was from any such thing as is alleged."

By such reasonings the author of this pamphlet discovers but small knowledge in history and the affairs of his own country ; little judgment and veracity, joined with a great deal of disingenuity and impudence. How truly the breach made in our monarchy, by the abdicating vote, is to be laid at King James's door, upon the account of his desertion, may appear from what I have already said : And though this author doth very confidently assert that the throne was void by desertion, it seems the convention were not of that opinion, but found it necessary to declare it so by a vote, before there was access to fill it again ; and the Earl of Nottingham was then quite another man, and of other principles, than we find him now, as an author, or licenser only. A regency was not in the least akin to a vacancy. But to humour the author, suppose there was a vacancy, either before or after the vote, which he pleaseth ; a vacancy in a monarchy is a certain infallible mark of its being elective : For in an hereditary monarchy, such as this of England, upon the natural or civil death too (if the author pleaseth) of the regnant monarch, the right of the next successor doth immediately take place ; and the people, whether by their representatives in parliament, or otherwise, do humbly submit to and acknowledge, not declare and authorize, his native title. Our law books teach us, "That the kings of England can never die:" the meaning is, that in an hereditary monarchy the throne cannot be without a possessor, were it but a moment ; so that where either there is the least vacancy, or where the next possessor wants a sentence of the people to give him a title, that very sentence, however disguised, is an election, and, together with the preceding vacancy, doth certainly and indispensably stamp the monarchy elective.

Is it not highly impudent in this author to tell us, that there are many clear indications of the Prince of Wales being an impostor ; and, at the same time, not to let us know what they are, and upon what grounds they are so clear and evident ? Can this author be so vain as to think we must take his word for a thing upon which so much depends, no less than justice, or injustice, of a sentence, which must stand the nation in so much blood and treasure, so many perjuries and repeated acts of violence and oppression, to

support and maintain? Or doth he therein follow the example of the Prince of Orange in his Declaration, which tells us of many just and visible grounds of suspicion that the Prince of Wales was not born of the queen, and refers the enquiry of that truth to a free parliament? King James also hath made the same reference in a letter from St Germain's, nay, desired the last parliament to look narrowly into that affair; and yet the prince hath never to this day desired the parliament to fall about this important search, nor acquainted us with any of those just and visible grounds of suspicion. Is it not very strange, that the only plausible pretence in all the declaration for his undertaking, should be so much overlooked, when a clear and plain discovery of such an infamous cheat and imposture would have fully justified the proceedings of the convention of estates, the present settlement of the crown, given us all peace of conscience and satisfaction under it, and would really and truly have abdicated King James for ever in the hearts and affections of every honest Englishman? The prince in honour was concerned to have pressed it, and the supreme senate was obliged in honour and justice to have made a full discovery of the truth or falsehood of it, especially when they have been so much pressed and challenged, as it were, in the face of the world to fall about it by King James, and humbly petitioned so to do by several persons of honour and quality in October, 1690, and which was delivered into many of the members hands; besides the times and circumstances of affairs were the most seasonable for such an enquiry. It was not to be supposed that the witnesses could either then be bribed or over-awed into a partial testimony; and there was all imaginable encouragement for freedom of questions for confronting the deponents, and producing counter evidences, if there were any such; so that the whole matter might have been laid open and cleared to the satisfaction of all persons concerned. The vindicating the honour and justice of nation; the quieting of so many people's consciences, who think themselves bound by their oaths of allegiance to the king's next and immediate heirs; the regard due to an innocent child, if the imposture be not cleared; the satisfaction of the Christian world, and the securing these kingdoms from those great dangers and confusions which are certain and infallible upon competitions in point of the royal succession; were great and unanswerable motives for an enquiry, nay, amounted to the weight of a duty due from them to their constituents, themselves, and posterity. What can any thinking man conclude from such a neglect and omission, but that the evidence for the reality of the Prince of Wales his birth was clear and convincing, and the counter evidence, which was pretended against it, false and forged; that the Prince of Orange in his declaration had rather studied to amuse the world with great and specious pretences, than to satisfy them as to the reality and truth of his grounds; and that the convention and parliament have followed the dictates of passion and prejudice, more than the rules of prudence and justice. It cannot be supposed they forbore to trace this imposture from any tenderness to the king's reputation, which would have been so deeply wounded by a discovery of the cheat: So much time and pains spent unsuccessfully in laying open the Earl of Essex's pretended murder, shews evidently how glad they would have been of any occasion, or probable pretence, whereby to blacken King James.

So that the nation must even rest satisfied without any further evidence of this imposture, than some pretended suspicions which were both groundless, and raised industriously by those publick agitators for this revolution: As for instance, the Princess of Denmark being forced out of the way to the bath at the time of the queen's delivery; whereas it is very well known, and can be made appear, by persons of undoubted honour and integrity, that the king was against it, that her physicians in ordinary were against it, and that pains was taken to search about for physicians who would advise her going, as expedient for her health; so early were they contriving pretences for this calumny. But the Prince and Princess of Orange were all along suspicious that the

queen was not with child, and yet no care was taken to satisfy them about it. Did they ever acquaint the king with their suspicions, and desire some method might be taken to remove them? and were they refused? This was the proper and usual way in such cases; and since it was not taken, there is no ground for complaint. The king could not dive into suspicions; which, in my conscience, I am persuaded they never entertained. And, lastly, it is alleged no care was taken to satisfy the nation, who were full of doubts about the reality of his birth. But why did they doubt? Were any methods neglected which used to be observed? Or any persons secluded who ought to have been present? Did they give any intimation of their suspicions by humble petition or remonstrance, and desire to be satisfied about 'em? The queen had formerly brought forth children without any pretended jealousies. Who could foresee that such a black and hellish calumny would be then invented? Yet the wisdom of God Almighty knowing how far the wickedness of this age would extend, and as an earnest, I hope, of his good and kind intentions to this nation, hath providentially furnished us with a better and more numerous evidence of the birth of this prince, than can be brought for the reality of the birth of any prince, or private person, in Europe; and hath yet fortified and confirmed it by another conception and pregnancy of the queen's, to the birth of which child many persons of all qualities have been called and invited in an extraordinary manner, so willing is the king to satisfy even our malicious groundless complaints. But it seems our rulers have no doubts upon that head, in which they desire to be satisfied, or find it not for their interest to have them cleared.

From what hath been said, it is evident that there is a real Prince of Wales, who must be considered as such so long as the pretended imposture is not cleared to us, and who hath injustice done him by the convention of estates; for though the abdicating vote were well founded against the father, it was only personal to him, and cannot reach the son: In which case, the Princess of Orange's right being only from the gift and by the election of the people, is a manifest breach of the royal line, and hath quite altered the nature and frame of our hereditary monarchy. As to the title given to the prince during life, at her request, the Princess of Denmark, by the rules of succession in an hereditary monarchy, is unquestionably next heir to her sister the Princess of Orange, if she die without children. By the survivancy of royalty lodged in the prince after the princess's death, there is manifest injury done to the Princess of Denmark and her children; there is another unquestionable breach made upon the royal line, and the ancient constitution of our monarchy; and there is a second election of a monarch by the convention, to the prejudice of the next undoubted heir, lest the first instance had not made a strong enough precedent for an elective monarchy for the future. And whereas it is pretended, that the prince had his title at the request of the princess, who was the next heir, and willing to give him place, where is this request and concession of the princess to be seen? When was it presented to the convention, or where is it recorded? but though it were real, what is that to the Princess of Denmark and her heirs? Can a compliment, intended by the Princess of Orange, from herself to her husband, cut off their rights? Again, is it not evident that by such a request it's confessed the present settlement of the crown is by the election and from the gift of the people, and plainly acknowledged that there is a right in them to alter the succession, and make a breach of the royal line at their pleasure?

But it is alleged we have the practice of our predecessors to warrant our present measures, who have made much greater breaches in the lineal succession, deposed kings, and given the crown to persons remoter from the royal blood than the Prince of Orange; and that in the cases of Henry IV. and Henry VII. In this the author discovers himself to be ignorant of the history and affairs of his own country, in mistaking the case of Henry IV., in giving us an instance in Henry VII., of a breach of the lineal succession, to the prejudice of the surviving king and next heir, since it is

very well known that Richard the usurper was killed in battle, and left no heir behind him; and King Henry being undoubted heir of the house of Lancaster, by his marriage with the heiress of the house of York, united the two roses, and had an unquestionable title to the crown, without any breach in the lineal succession: And also in omitting to give us the instance of Edward III., which are all the examples our history affordeth, and are very far from making a precedent in our case. Edward III. was the eldest son, and undoubted and nearest heir of the crown; and though he mounted the throne during his father's life, yet it was upon his father's resignation: And though he had all the heat and ambition of a young man, and discovered during his reign, a largeness and greatness of soul more than ordinary, yet he constantly refused the crown until his father's resignation was obtained. This can be none of those greater breaches of the succession, hinted at by our author; and doth not at all suit the case of King William: And Henry IV. makes as bad a precedent for our practice. King Richard II. resigned in the favour of Henry: had no children to be prejudiced by his resignation: King Henry was the next heir, the pretences of the house of York being not then set on foot; but that family acquiesced in his right as well as the rest of the kingdom: So that our own histories can as little furnish us with examples to justify our present practice as those of other nations. If in the instances assigned, the horrid violences of Richard the Third, the mal-administrations of Richard the Second and Edward the Second could not, in the opinion of this author, warrant their dethroning, from the character of injuries done them, he must certainly be jesting all along with us in his pamphlet, in justifying an abdication for less and shorter errors; and the tory Nottingham is forced at last to peep out from under his republican disguise.

As to the pretence, "That by saving the succession to the Princess of Denmark and her heirs, the convention hath sufficiently shewn how far they were from designing any alteration in the succession, or the ancient constitution of our monarchy," it is equally weak and frivolous with any of the rest, and lays a foundation for another election, as it is expressed in the vote: For the provision is not to the Princess of Denmark's heirs simply, as the author falsely and disingenuously represents, but runs thus, "To the Princess Ann of Denmark, and the heirs of her body;" which failing, to the heirs of the body of the said King William, which excludes all collateral pretenders of the Orleans and Palantine families, who would have been comprehended under the general notion of heirs. It was not possible for the wit of man to contrive a vote, which in so few words could more visibly alter the nature of our hereditary monarchy, make more and stronger precedents for an elective, occasion more interruption in the succession, and lay a better foundation for the like for the time to come. For in this sentence we have a breach in the person of the reigning king, by the abdication; we have another breach in the person of the Prince of Wales; we have the people conferring the crown by election upon the Princess of Orange, to the prejudice of that prince his title; we have a survivancy of the government settled in the Prince of Orange, by a second act of this elective power of the people, to the prejudice of the Princess of Denmark and her heirs, which makes a third breach in the succession; and lastly, we have all the collateral heirs of this crown quite cut off by the entail; by which the monarchy is to be extinguished, or a series of elective monarchs buckled upon this nation, as strongly as those good patriots could do it by their sentence. Let any wise and thinking man judge, if this be not such a palpable and visible unhinging of all the ancient frame and constitution of our glorious monarchy, as deserves the warmest endeavours and most diligent application of every honest man, for the settling of this our ancient English government upon its old basis, by the restoration of King James.

The author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning the French Invasion*, did certainly foresee these difficulties the former author had run himself into; and being unwilling to shipwreck his reason upon such gross absurdities, he broadly hints at conquest: And

in this he but seconds the author of the Answer of the Paper delivered by Mr Ashton at his Execution,* licensed by a secretary of state; who boldly, and without disguise, pleadeth upon that title. This plea, though it be not liable to the same absurdities with the other, yet labours under greater; since by one blow, and with one dash of his pen, he levels at the birth-rights of the subjects, as well as of the monarch; and endeavours to extinguish the freedoms of Englishmen, as well as the antient government; and certainly to entail upon and place us actually under that slavery, the fear of which is the best reason they assign for restraining us from assisting our king in his return; as if such remote fears of slavery were more dreadful than present servitude, which is the necessary consequence of conquest. These champions make very bold with their prince, and wound his honour and interest deeper than the keenest enemies could do: Such blunders must fall in, when men reason rather from passion than from steady and generally received maxims, and labour to defend a deeply-tinctured republican revolution by tantivy monarchical principles.

It is strange to see a man who is endued with a rational soul, whose greatest prerogative and excellency consists in a clear, unbiassed, and distinct exercise of reason, so blinded with foolish prejudice, as, rather than submit to plain and convincing truth, chuse to betake himself to this unaccountable notion of conquest, which is absolutely inconsistent with the prince's declaration, destroys the maxims and grounds upon which the convention of estates (from whom the prince derives his titles) did proceed; overturns the subjects' claim to rights and privileges, the pretended care of which is the best support of this government; brings home to our fancies and imaginations the most frightful ideas, which a free-born people can form to themselves of tyranny and slavery, with all the terrible and desolating consequences which attend them; and consequently lays us under obligations, from a due regard to ourselves and posterity, and duty to our country, to shake off the yoke with all speed, though with never so much hazard and difficulty.

The prince in his Declaration, after an enumeration of grievances, assures us, "He came for no other design than to have a free and full parliament assembled, and the elections made and returned according to the antient forms; and that the members of this parliament should meet and sit in full freedom, until such laws be prepared as the two houses should concur in, and find necessary for maintenance of the protestant religion, and securing the peace, honour, and safety of this nation; that there may be no more danger of falling at any time under arbitrary government; and that he had nothing before his eyes in this undertaking, but the preservation of the protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecutions for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government." For the accomplishing of which, since he had only brought a force with him for defending his person "against the violence of evil counsellors," all the peers of this realm, lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and others of all ranks and degrees, are invited to assist him against all who shall endeavour to oppose the redressing of violences done to the constitution of the English government. These pretences can never be adjusted to the notion and title of conquest. The nobility, gentry, and commons of this realm, acting in a free and legal parliament, for the securing of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government, neither can nor will ever design it.

I will charitably suppose the convention of estates, and their constituents, did believe they had valuable rights and privileges, their religion, liberties, and properties,

* Ashton was executed along with Lord Preston, in the year 1691, for a treasonable intercourse with the court of St Germain, and a plot to relieve James II. He suffered with great firmness, and left a dying speech avouching his principles, to which various answers were made by friends to the Revolution.

which were derived and secured unto them from positive statutes and laws of the land; as well as from the dictates of nature and original contract; that those rights and privileges were invaded, and in danger to be lost, which made them run into that general defection, and make a present of the crown to the Prince of Orange, as the only expedient they could then think of. So long as the prince's title runs in this channel, they are at liberty when they please to review those measures, examine the grounds; and upon a rectification of their judgments, and conviction that their beloved rights and privileges may be better secured under their antient monarch, to betake themselves again unto him. *Sublata causa tollitur effectus*. Or they may enquire into the conduct and government of the prince, whether it quadrate with the original contract they made with him; whether their rights and privileges have been entirely preserved; and if they can discover any bad influences or aspect towards liberty and property, then to make a sacrifice of the workmanship of their own hands to a fresh establishment of those sacred and venerable rights, by the maxims of this last revolution; "the interest of the people is paramount to that of the prince."

But if conquest takes place, then adieu to rights and privileges, liberty and property. The old musty statute books and records of Westminster-hall and the Tower may be committed to the flames as so much waste paper: His will and pleasure must be the law whereby we are governed, our liberties must lie at the mercy of his ministers, and our properties must be committed to the stewardship of his soldiers. Let us examine the condition of conquered people and provinces, from ancient and modern history. The old government, laws, and customs which they had been inured to from their infancy, recommended and endeared to them by long use and acquaintance, must be swept off the stage; strange orders, strange customs, strange ministers must take their place: Our persons, our liberty, our estates, and all our most valuable earthly enjoyments, must lie at the mercy, pleasure, and will of the conqueror: Industry and virtue will vanish, there being no reward for them; for a conquered people must aspire no higher than to learn to obey submissively, and to eat the bread of tribulation and affliction with patience: The care and desire of posterity will languish, being unwilling to beget children to become slaves and miserable as ourselves. The Indian women strangled their own children after their birth, that they might not become servants to the Spaniards; and Dutch severities will be found nothing short, upon the record of history, of Spanish cruelties. The annals of all nations can furnish us with dreadful instances of the unspeakable miseries of a conquered people: We may find those examples of the calamities of that condition, which would make us embrace death for a favour, and be able to sink us into utter despair, unless at the same time these very histories had given us a view of the strenuous and successful endeavours of those generous and worthy spirits, who have despised dangers, difficulties, torments, and death itself, for the rescue and deliverance of their country and fellow-subjects. The greater and more terrible the dangers were, the more vigorously and undauntedly did they court them, when they were in pursuit of so glorious a quarry. The efforts of conquered nations for the recovery of their lost liberties, stand fairest upon the records of fame, and are handed down to us with the greatest exactness and encomiums; as if our ancestors had judged it necessary, and all writers had conspired together to rouse up, when occasion called for it, that desire of liberty which was born with us. If conquest must be forced upon us as our present lot, I hope all true Englishmen now will discover as great a sense as any upon record, of a vindictive duty to their country, and love for their liberties, be as tender and careful to transmit them safe and sound to their posterity, as their ancestors have been vigilant and active in handing them down to them; that they will be no less careful of the ancient government and monarchy of this nation, than of their own particular rights; since every blow which reaches the one must certainly wound and endanger the other; and that it shall be impossible to make the

English a conquered people, because they will generally chuse not to be, rather than to be slaves.

It may be alledged that all that ~~we~~ have said upon conquest might have been borne, since the king sets up for no such title; perhaps it is not seasonable to do it: But to have conquest so publicly pleaded for in pamphlets, written or licensed by secretaries of state, and that without any check or punishment from the prince is very suspicious, especially, if upon examination of those oppressions which we suffer under the present king, we shall find his conduct smell rank that way. If we be treated as a conquered people ~~the~~ misery is still the same, or rather greater, though the prince who deals so by us, should be called a reformer.

It being made evident and plain, that King James was highly injured, and the antient government quite unhinged, by the sentence of abdication, and our late measures, I come next to examine how exactly the prince hath fulfilled, and made good unto us, the pretended ends and design of his Declaration; how well he hath kept the original contract we made with him; and what benefit we may expect to reap for the future by this revolution. I shall take his conduct in both kingdoms jointly under consideration, since he hath not only united them in the same Declaration, but likewise issued out a Declaration apart for Scotland; intimating thereby, "that the oppressions in that kingdom were more weighty and numerous than here; and that the arbitrary designs of our prince did always first commence there to make a precedent for this kingdom and that the conduct and posture of affairs there did always certainly prognosticate to the curious observer, what was designed to be copied and executed here." I do not pretend to give a particular detail of the present administration in that kingdom; but there are some considerable errors have been acted there which have made a noise, and raised such public complaints there, as hath conveyed the knowledge of them here to us.

The assuming a power of dispensing with the due execution of laws, enacted by king and parliament for security of religion, liberty, and happiness of the subject, is much urged against King James, as a great motive to the prince's undertaking. A dispensing power assumed by any prince, doth fatally threaten the liberties of a people where it is practised, and makes them tenants at will for those privileges which the laws of the land have given them a freehold in. This is really such an important point, and of such consequence for the subject to have been cleared, that it was indispensably the duty of a reforming prince, convention of estates, and parliament, to have decided this controversy, and placed such marks and boundaries for the future, so plain and obvious both to prince and people, that each might have known their particular rights, and governed themselves for the future accordingly. But our parliaments have thought fit to leave it where they found it, dark and undecided to this day; and the prince hath discovered he was well enough pleased with this omission, by taking as large and broad steps that way, as any can be charged upon King James.

The Irish treaty^a furnisheth us with a convincing proof of this; where such indulgencies were granted unto them solely and singly by his own authority, with relation to the exercise of their religion, preserving of their arms, dispensation from oaths, and security against pursuits for their plunderings, as were directly contrary to the laws of the land, the safety, rights, and privileges of the protestant subjects of that kingdom. This treaty, I do acknowledge, was afterwards ratified by parliament; but though in some cases the authority of parliament may give a legal being for the future, yet that new life commenceth only from the date of their sanction, and doth not justify

^a The celebrated treaty of Limerick, which the Roman catholics of Ireland regard as the charter of their religious liberties. The protestants of the north were much dissatisfied with the liberal terms assigned their opponents.

preceding errors ; and the many difficulties which arose in both houses about the ratification, was a clear *innuendo* how dangerous and illegal they judged the treaty to be. How strangely are we altered ? King James's exercise of this dispensing power, could neither be forgotten nor atoned for ; but King William's stretch that way shall obtain a parliamentary approbation ; such is the justice and unbiassed integrity of these times.

But we need not look so far as Ireland for instances : We have our personal liberties secured to us by positive and express statutes, and methods appointed by our law, whereby to recover our liberties when lost, with such severe animadversions against those who obstruct the due course of law in obtaining of our freedom, with such great and considerable damages appointed in that case, as plainly enough points out unto us the value and worth of this true English privilege. It is the choicest piece of our *Magna Charta*, and original contract ; and, for my part, I should much rather allow a prince to dispense with penal statutes, and issue out a proclamation for liberty of conscience, than to sport himself at pleasure with my personal freedom ; without which there can be no relish in any other enjoyment ; and yet there never was a reign wherein our birth-right in this hath been more abused, spoiled, and broken in upon. The English subjects have been put into proclamations, and clapped into prisons for high treason, and refusing the benefit of their *habeas corpus*, though there was no information upon oath against them, according as the law appoints to warrant such a procedure : nay, so grossly, frequently, and impudently, have our public ministers affronted the laws upon this head, that they have found themselves obliged to apply to parliament for pardon : For we have found out a new trick in this government, and reforming age, first to act all imaginable violence against the best and choicest of our laws, and then to obtain either a ratification or pardon in parliament ; whereby they have struck our English constitution, and the liberty of the subject, dead at one blow, by debauching our parliaments into a confederacy against, (in place of protecting,) the liberties of the people, and so making the nation as it were *felo de se*. No period of history doth furnish us with such wholesale merchants for our best and most valuable rights ; neither do we know when this trade shall be at an end, or when our rulers will be weary of tricking us out of our liberties. We have a fresh instance of late of the knowledge and learning of our judges : when the Earls of Huntington, Middleton, and others moved at the bar for their *habeas corpus*, there was no information upon oath against them to warrant a refusal ; otherways to be sure we should have heard of it : But Aaron Smith* must make affidavit that they had evidence for the high treason charged against them, which could not be got ready ; and so by his liberty and freedom of conscience, save in some measure the credit of the court : By this fine new knack, they were all remitted back to prison again. Such judges may at last come to be fit enough for the bench even under a conquest ; but in the mean time all such expedients, which are not warranted from the statutes, do rather prove the injustice of the court, than fulfil the law ; and however it may be gilded, we cannot but see and feel the bitter pill we must swallow.

Was not the *habeas corpus* act suspended for many months ? It's true this was done by parliament ; but so much the worse, if our own delegates, in whose hands we trust the care, but not the entire surrender of our liberties, make a compliment of that which is not in their power, to the ambition or necessities of any prince. Parliaments can no more justly over-turn foundations, than the prince can. Such privileges as are derived from king and parliament, upon the account of the subjects temporary conveniences,

* Aaron Smith was solicitor for the treasury, an office which he obtained as the reward for his zeal in the times of Charles II. and James II., when he was a constant adherent of the whig party, and generally agent for those who were brought to trial for treasonable practices. As the management of state cases was now entirely confided to him he became extremely obnoxious to the Jacobites.

are trusted to the review of the same court; but these fundamental privileges, which are the birth-right of nations, and derived originally from the laws of nature itself, such as the freedom of our persons, and dominion over our properties, fall only under the cognizance of parliaments, for their better establishment against such breaches, as the depraved nature of princes and their ministers will be making upon them.

The nature and design of societies hath occasioned a partial submission of these two great native privileges, to the safety of that body politic, by punishing of crimes; and to the support of it, by taxes, which we grant ourselves; but in no construction of reason, sense, or justice, can delegates be understood to be impowered to make an entire surrender of those rights into the hands of any prince, were it but for a moment. It may be alledged, that the safety and necessity of the government put our rulers upon such extraordinary measures. If reasons and pretences of state (the secrets of which are always locked up in the prince's breast) can apologize for such bold strokes against our most fundamental privileges and laws, where is there any right or immunity which we can call our own, or be assured of? Since such pretences shall never be wanting to entitle the prince to an absolute dominion over our property, as well as over our liberty; since the last is more valuable than the first; why may not reasons of state as justly render him master of the one as of the other?

If it was to preserve our liberties from the insults of King James we placed the prince upon our throne, we have certainly either mistaken the disease or the cure; since he cannot be preserved upon it at a cheaper rate, than a sacrifice of what we intended to preserve, we are to learn nothing from this Revolution, but a surer and more infallible way of enslaving the subject. King James never dreamed of such a method. An English parliament was hitherto esteemed a court inseparable from the true interest of Englishmen; but a little more training under so good a master may make them change principles, and become in time as complacent and good-natured as ever the French and Swedish states were. Nothing, it seems, in gratitude, can be refused to our deliverer. But though gratitude be a virtue, it ought to have its bounds, lest it run us farther than designed or intended at first, even to the destruction of those rights, for the preservation of which we desire to appear so grateful. The King of Denmark, in our time, by the merit of some actions performed for his people, and during their first raptures of gratitude for it, found the way to enslave them, by changing an elective and limited into an hereditary and despotic monarchy.

The admitting of unqualified persons into places of employment, and the erecting the high-commission court, were thought great crimes in King James, and mighty errors in government; and yet the first is as frequently practised in the army as ever; and how much further the prince's dependence upon popish confederates may lead him in favour of catholics, must be owing to their moderation; for we lie at their mercy upon that head, and may come to be made sensible, that our foreign alliances may prove as troublesome and uneasy to us, in favour of papists, as King James's religion was: And as to the last, the prince must either look upon that court to be no crime, or, by favouring the most active members in it, he must destroy and invert that old English maxim, "That our kings can neither err nor be punished; but that evil counsellors are liable to both."

The turning out the fellows of Magdalen college from their freeholds, contrary to that provision in *Magna Charta*, "That no man should lose his life or goods, but by the law of the land," is not to be justified; and yet falls much short of the putting people to death, under this government, by martial law, before it was enacted. Few men will ever scruple to secure their lives, with the loss of their places. The *quo warranto* and regulation projects were much to be complained of; but we may very easily imagine to whose practices they were owing, by the countenance and preferments the authors and promoters of those councils received from this government; neither can the *quo*

warranto-ing of charters be so illegal as the Declaration would make us believe ; since King William himself treads in the same path, by imposing a governor upon New England, upon the *quo warranto* foot, contrary to the opinion of his privy-council.

Whereas by the Declaration, the slighting and rejecting of petitions delivered by subjects, with submission and respect, is considered as a high strain of absolute power, yet when the people of Scotland had secured to themselves the privilege of petitioning, by their claim of rights, and in pursuance, and by virtue of that privilege, the greatest part of that parliament, which placed the crown upon his head, had humbly addressed unto the present king for his assent to some votes, which they had passed for establishing of religion and liberty, and which were agreeable to their antient laws and privileges, they were scornfully and disdainfully refused and rejected. If by the Declaration it was a fault to treat a peer of England as a criminal, for asserting that the subjects were not bound to obey a popish justice of peace, it cannot be a piece of justice in King William to pass a sentence of banishment upon the Earl of Feversham, who is a peer of England, within these few weeks, without so much as alledging a crime against him.

Since by the Declaration, the obliging people to deliver their opinion before hand, as to the repealing the test and penal laws, and the turning out of employments such as would not promise lustily, is represented as so foul a piece of collusion, the closetting of members of parliament now, to pre-engage their votes in affairs depending before them, and the disgraces which some obstinate persons fell under upon it, should have been forborne, unless King William be dissatisfied with the Prince of Orange's Declaration, and the rules and maxims therein established.

According to the Scotch Declaration, the appointing of judges in an unusual manner, and giving 'em commissions, which were not to continue during life or good behaviour, was highly illegal, yet King William, after he got the crown, found he was mistaken in that paragraph, and nominated the whole bench, without subjecting them to a trial and approbation of parliament, according as law and custom required ; did not think fit to continue their commissions during life or good behaviour ; and appointed them a lord president, though by express statute he was to be elected by the bench.

By the Declaration, the imposing of bonds without act of parliament, and the permitting of free quarters to the soldiers, are declared to be high and intolerable stretches of government : The same hath been practised in this government with greater confidence, less compassion, and other aggravating circumstances. Bonds have been imposed by authority of council, without warrant of parliament, as may appear from their public proclamations ; and many thousands of soldiers have been maintained upon free quarter, and for many months together, countenanced and abetted in it by the government ; and the funds for reimbursing the country, which were appointed by parliament, have been otherways diverted.

The commissionating the officers of the army to sit as judges upon the lives and estates of the subjects, and the putting people to death without a legal trial, jury, and record, were complained of in the Declaration ; were thought good reasons for faulting of K. J., and were provided against upon this last settlement of the crown ; and yet both the caution given by the sentence against K. J., and the future provision made by the estates, prove too weak to restrain this government from practising the same things, by ordering and empowering Colonel Hill and Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton to put Glencoe, and all the males of his clan, under seventy, to death ; which was partly executed upon them without any legal trial, jury, or record.* Neither can their former enmity and opposition to the government, furnish any apology for so barbarous a murder, since they all had either actually taken the benefit of the indemnity

* See an account of this barbarous massacre in the Miscellaneous Tracts of this reign.

then granted, and so were pardoned, or had protections in their pockets, which put them under the immediate care and safeguard of the government. It may puzzle the best heads to find out the reason why Irish papists, though stated enemies, should be indulged to the prejudice of our laws and rights, and yet protestants, though formerly enemies, barbarously massacred, when indemnified and under protection, unless K. W. be resolved, from the obligations he is under, and the deference he must pay to the pope and popish princes, to embrace every occasion of destroying the one and cherishing the other.

By the Declaration we are assured, that the prince will concur in every thing that may procure the peace and happiness of these nations, and which a free and lawful parliament shall determine; and yet how many necessary and useful bills for the happiness of the nation have been stifled by the interest, intrigues, and solicitations of the king himself, his ministers, and courtiers; and the royal assent refused to many bills in our neighbouring kingdoms: And in this to the bill about judges, which was thought so necessary an expedient for the establishing of justice, and to cut off their servile dependence upon the court, which was charged as such a blemish upon the judges in King James's reign, and was always looked upon as dangerous to the lives and liberties of the English subjects.

We were assured that the only design of the prince's undertaking was, "the preservation of the protestant religion, the covering all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government." How well and truly he hath confined himself within these limits, and other bounds he prescribed to himself in his Declaration, may partly appear from what hath been said, and shall yet be made more clear and evident by a true and impartial enquiry into his conduct, and some considerable stretches which have been made in points not glanced at by the Declaration, because they were strains of absolute and despotic power, which King James's reign did not furnish us with any instances of the like.

The power of imposing taxes is unquestionably lodged in parliament, and the people of this island have a natural right unto, and dominion over their properties; and the prince cannot share with them in it, in whole or in part, except in so far as tithes or sent to it themselves by their representatives in parliament: And our parliaments, though abundantly liberal in other respects, have never indulged the least liberty to our monarchs on that head, being so far tight to their trust and their constituents interest: And the estates of both kingdoms judged it necessary, upon the present settlement of the crown, to assert the people's right in it; and plainly to express it as one of the conditions of that settlement. And yet the privy council of the kingdom of Scotland have openly and avowedly, in contempt of the ancient laws and late original contract, by their publick proclamations, commanded and appointed under the severest penalties, the subjects of that kingdom, at their own charge and expence, to furnish a great number of horses for the use and service of the army, and for carrying ammunition and provision of victuals, with men to attend the said horses: And I am informed, that upon cool and second thoughts, when the council considering what they had done, how illegal it was, and the danger they had run themselves into by it, thought fit to apply unto the parliament for an approbation, it was refused them.

Extravagant bail was complained of, and provided against by the states of both kingdoms, and yet it is daily and frequently imposed, and exacted many times far above the value of their estates.

The freedom of elections to parliament, from the bribes and directions of court and courtiers, were expressly conditioned by the states of both kingdoms, upon their tender of the crown. How well that is kept and observed, may appear from the bare-faced and open applications made to counties, corporations, and particular electors, for

the choice of such and such persons, with threats and promises of reward. Nay, I have known three thousand pounds expended for secret service, to prevent the election of a person who had been eminently serviceable to this government, because he was found tighter to the interest of his country than to the court; for there never was a reign wherein the interest of king and people are more confidently stated as contradistinct than in this, though it be only the consent and pretended interest of the people gives birth, rise, and title to it.

The frequency of parliaments for redressing of grievances, the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, with all freedom of speech and debates in them, was insisted upon and fundamentally established by the states of both kingdoms, when they elected their present majesties to the throne. How well this is observed and made good to both kingdoms is obvious enough. It is not for redressing of grievances, amending or preserving the laws, they are assembled, but for giving of money. The craving necessities of the state, the pressing circumstances of the confederates and foreign affairs, the early preparations of the French king, an honourable peace, the good of the protestant religion, and fears of King James, are become the cruel and everlasting topics, the common and ordinary stale, whereby the true intent of parliaments is baffled, and the money-business quickened and finished. The last is now so much the business of parliaments, and the first so little, that it is an equal wager that this court may come at last to plead prescription against parliaments, as to any other business but money-bills.

As to freedom of speech and debates, though there be none questioned for it, yet members are so frequently discouraged and frowned upon at court, disgraced and turned out of employments, whenever they launch out into an enquiry after grievances, or the present administration; and upon the other hand, the places of honour and trust, and the money of the nation, are so openly and visibly employed for debauching of members from a sense and feeling of the true interest of the people, and for divesting them of all the publick and generous notions, zeal, unwearied and bold endeavours for the rights and privileges of the subject, the joint good and interest of king and kingdom, which hath been hitherto so much the glory and entertainment of brave English spirits in our parliaments; that this native and necessary freedom of speech and debates is more visibly threatened, and more effectually destroyed, than ever could have been done by force, sentence, or imprisonment. We are sooner wheedled with false, if gilded pretences, than hectored or huffed into a court compliance.

Lastly, was there ever a reign wherein the plunderings and free quarterings of soldiers were more countenanced, and the people more grievously oppressed by them, than in this? The complaints of Scotland upon that head already hinted at, the irregular and unheard-of abuses and miscarriages of the Irish army, the desolations brought upon that miserable kingdom by them, and the daily instances we meet with of that nature in this kingdom, are convincing and undeniable evidences of the truth of it.¹ Nay, to such a pass is it already come, that when a secretary of state was applied unto by persons injured, who were entirely in the interest of the government, and pre

¹ "Great complaints were brought over from Ireland, where the king's army was almost as heavy on the country as the Rapparees were. There was a great arrear due to them; for which reason, when the king settled a government in Ireland of three lords justices, he did not put the army under their civil authority, but kept them in a military subjection to their officers. For he said, since the army was not regularly paid, it would be impossible to keep them from mutiny if they were not put under strict discipline, and punished accordingly. The under officers finding that they were only answerable to their superior officers, took great liberty in their quarters, and instead of protecting the country, they oppressed it. The king had brought over an army of seven thousand Danes, under the command of a very gallant prince, one of the Dukes of Wirtemberg; but they were cruel friends, and thought they were masters. Nor were the English troops much better. The Dutch were the least complained of; Gunkle, who had the chief command, looked strictly to them; but he did not think it convenient to put those of other nations under the same severe measures."—*Burnet*, IV. 126.

sented by the knight of the shire with complaints against the abuses and free quartering of soldiers, they were scornfully rejected with this answer, "That men and horses must eat:" Meaning, no doubt, that since the taxes designed by the parliament for that end were necessarily to be applied unto the use of the confederates, the people must be doubly burdened for the subsistence of the troops. Such brave guardians are our present rulers become of the English liberties.

Here we have a sad, but true catalogue of our miseries, only it is not full and complete. The present administration can furnish us with a great many more instances: But I have confined myself to a deduction of those grosser errors, which visibly infringed the pretences of the prince's declaration, and the petition of rights; the securing and preserving of which was the reason expressly assigned for his election into the throne. If in the infancy of his government, when his sense of gratitude for the gift of three crowns, if ever, must be fresh in his memory; when the hearts and hands, as well as the purses of the people, were necessary for his support; when his honour as well as interest called for a different conduct, he run so warmly into such measures; what must we feel when he comes to sit sure and be fixed upon his throne?

We may certainly conclude upon the inclinations and future designs of a prince by his preceding conduct, and the choice of his ministers, and from both these reflections in the present case we have but a melancholy view of our future condition. Are not those very men, who in both kingdoms were the authors, contrivers, and actors of the most arbitrary and grievous proceedings which were complained of during the reigns of our two last monarchs, become the ministers, the darlings, the favourites of this reign? Have they changed their principles and maxims? The former instances in which they have their share, may convince us to the contrary.

Is it to be imagined that a prince, who signalized his entry upon the stage of public affairs with a breach of the most solemn oaths to the contrary, the destruction of the liberties of his native country, and by grasping at a power which the nature, law, and constitutions of that government denied to his character in it, will be more tender of his oaths to us and of our constitution? His past conduct may clear it up to us; we are strangers to him, and he to us; his affections, as well as his birth, are foreign; he distrusts and despiseth us, as treacherous to our former king; he may "love the treason, but hate the traitors." It is not a single crime can entitle us to his favour, it is by a sacrifice both of king and country we can touch his heart; it is only by this double treason we can get into his confidence. The fate and disgrace of those persons, who upon this Revolution frankly sacrificed the first, but knew not how to subdue their scruples as to the last, may sufficiently prove this truth. We have none but ourselves to blame for this mischief: By our abdicating vote, and subsequent measures, our ancient, just, and legal government is destroyed and overturned; and in so doing, we have disengaged him from the promises he made in his Declaration, since it was only "under a just and legal government" that we were assured of his endeavours to preserve our laws, rights, and liberties. Let us yet a little farther examine the benefits we shall reap from this Revolution, the means we have to support it, and what will probably be the issue of all these great transactions.

The malignant aspect of our late measures towards our beloved rights and privileges, seems to be pretty well cleared already, and scarce admits of an aggravating thought more, unless we consider that we are like to pay the price of a perfect and lasting cure for downright poison and a mortal consuming fever: but perhaps this victorious prince, by his conquests and admirable conduct, will raise the military glory of this nation so high, and enlarge her territories and command so far, as shall quite darken and eclipse the lustre and fame of our greatest and most fortunate kings; and thereby alleviate or quite bury our sense and feeling of past, present, and future miseries. If the laurels and conquests of a monarch, which are first drenched in tears, and founded upon the

slavery of the people, can atone for such miseries, the French at this day would be the happiest people in Europe. This will not pass upon Englishmen, who observe from their histories that the most victorious of their monarchs have always been most tender and careful of their liberties ; and I am afraid that even this faint comfort shall not be afforded us. What reason have we to expect, that by the conduct and military knowledge of a prince (against whom the naked and undisciplined Irish made head for three campaigns together) we shall be able to gain towns and provinces, from the more numerous, better disciplined, and conducted troops of France ? For though the author of *A Letter to a Friend concerning a French Invasion*, flatters us with our victories over the French at the Boyn, Athlone, Agrim, and Limerick, and from thence foretells our success in Flanders, they were still but undisciplined Irish we subdued, with difficulty enough in some of these places ; and our victories over the French in Ireland or Flanders have not as yet burdened our gazettes. We have already expended many millions of money, and lost many thousands of men, and have nothing in return for all this consumption of blood and treasure, but the reduction of Ireland, which vigorous and early measures could have secured unto us at the beginning, and prevented the utter ruin and desolation of that country ; and our late victory at sea over the French, to comfort us for our two former disgraces at Bantry and Beachy, the shameful loss of many of our navy royal to the enemy, the seizure of so many hundreds of our merchant ships, and our misfortunes in Flanders : Some of our former princes, with a far less expence of men and money, when affairs were managed with true English councils, and executed by Englishmen, have subdued whole provinces, and given law to Europe. But we go now upon politicks, and are governed by measures which are calculated rather for the interest of foreign confederate princes, than adjusted to the honour, profit, and good of England. This confederacy hath cost us already a great deal of money ; and it's plain, that the particular interests, ambition, and pretences of these foreign princes, gave birth to the prince's undertaking, rather than any kind regard to our religion, rights, and liberties. It's pleasant enough to imagine that the pope, the fathers of the Spanish inquisition, and the authors of the Hungarian and Piedmontish persecutions, against those of our religion, should be so concerned to establish the protestant belief amongst us ; and that those foreign princes, who have extinguished the least shadow of liberty and property in their own dominions, should have such pangs of conscience and tender regard for our expiring liberties. They wanted our money and our troops to carry on their several pretences ; and if they could be still sure of feasting, and making war at our expence, the favour would be as acceptable from the hands of King James as from the Prince of Orange : But the prince, who must stand equally obliged to them for his mounting the throne, and support in it, was judged a fitter instrument, more humble, obedient, and active, for emptying the English treasures into Dutch exchequers, than ever they could expect from our native king, whom they were afraid would be found more steady to a true English interest, than to gratify their unsatiable and boundless pretences.

King James was a good husband of his treasure, and they were afraid would never be induced to part with any of it to them, but for equivalent returns of glory and profit to the nation. They knew the prince had a weak side, which might be better wrought upon : His towering ambition, and vast unlimited desires after command and a noisy fame, exposed him continually to the bait they designed him, which was, to pay him in airy titles, empty compliments, and feigned pretences of service and obsequiousness, for our good English gold and brave English troops. The plot hath succeeded, and we paid them very handsomely for the trick they put upon us ; we have made vast issues of men and money ; we have liberally fed those needy princes and their troops ; it is probable that more money will be expected and demanded from us ; what are we to have for all this expence we have already made, and yet can see no end