

made by divers merchants and ensurers to the House of Commons now sitting, wherein they set forth their losses of 190 vessels taken by the French since the last fight, (and I suppose they mentioned only such as belonged to the port of London,) they were only slighted by the committee, telling them opprobriously they were not the chief merchants of London, and demanded whether they would swear on their own knowledge to the number of the ships, and the particular time and place of their taking, &c., whether they had applied themselves to the lords of the admiralty for convoys; and when they answered that they had, they referred them to the council-board, and the council told them they could spare them none; the committee quelled the business, saying, the council must have some reasons why they could not grant them any. Does not all this appear to be a real design to ruin our commerce, and to gratify the Dutch? And are not we forced by this means to trade with them for ready cash, or bullion, for those commodities which we use to fetch in our own bottoms from abroad? And if we do but reflect what a prodigious sum of money the spices we annually take off from the Dutch, which we were wont to barter for with our tobaccos, sugars, &c. from the West Indies; and the losses we have sustained during this war in our Jamaica, Virginia, and Barbadoes fleets, by which means we are necessitated to part with our coin in specie; the interruption in our East India, Streights, and Levant trade, being hereby obliged to take those sorts of goods at the second hand from them; the decay in our traffic, and the great hazard of utterly losing it, it will appear, to the eternal reproach of our mock deliverer, the manifest treachery of the conservators of our liberties and properties, and the terror and (I hope in God) the just regret of all those who are not willing to have their noses and ears cut off by the cursed and never-to-be-forgiven Dutch. This is not all: let us reflect upon his endeavours the last session of parliament to dissolve the East India Company, which part of our trade has been ever envied by those greedy Mammonists, and for many years has been attempted to be engrossed by them; and you will easily foresee to what a weak condition the trade of the nation will be reduced, if not speedily prevented, which must require many years to recover her pristine wealth and glory. In one word, all that's valuable to us runs to wreck, our religion dwindling sensibly into downright atheism and profaneness, our liberties into slavery, our property into beggary, the honour and reputation of the English nation into the utmost contempt; the constitution of our government broken, and the people running more and more into factions, the greatest part of them however disagreeing among themselves, dissatisfied with the present government. Add to these considerations the certain prognosticks of a decaying state; the lost reputation of him who sits at the helm; the growing lukewarmness and despondency of the people in general, occasioned by immoderate taxes, want of trade, the barbarous usage of our soldiers by land and sea, unsuccessfulness in all the late noisy projects, and the known strength and policy of the enemy. Then consider and weigh seriously the looseness of the present clergy both in principle and practice; as to the former, atheists more than Christians, asserting, in effect, that real and acknowledged evil may be done to good ends, preaching up and practising rebellion, reviling in their sermons and blaspheming the Lord's anointed, applauding the wickedness of the usurper, and blasphemously equalizing him to our Blessed Saviour, as some of them have most impudently done; and by justifying all his most flagitious proceedings, make themselves accessory and parties to all he does, imbruing by that means their hands in all that innocent blood of their fellow-subjects that has been spilt by that detestable murderer, to the subversion of the monarchy, and all the calamities that have ensued upon it, let them be of what quality soever, (since if they had done their duties, all these miseries had, morally speaking, been infallibly prevented, to the great honour of themselves and their religion;) and so render themselves unfit to approach the holy altar of God, and to intercede for a blessing upon his people: Thus by their means the gates of heaven are

barred against us, and instead of blessings we have plagues and judgments. The degeneracy of the priests has been ever looked upon as a direful forerunner of ensuing destruction; and I am sure it must look very horribly, when the priests shall pray and praise God for nothing but what's the effect of his indignation, caused by the sins of themselves, and the people misled by their wicked examples, when they shall endeavour to harden and confirm them in the sins they have drawn them into, and as much as ever they can prevent their repentance; when they shall exhort them to take part with disobedient and rebellious children against their parents, to violate their allegiance, expose their bodies and souls in a most unnatural rebellion, and pray to heaven to prosper them in the very height, &c of impiety: What a dishonour is this to God and religion! What a curse to the world! What an injury to men's souls! And what can it portend but vengeance, and (without a timely and extraordinary repentance) inevitable ruin? Neither can I omit putting my fellow-subjects in mind of that raging pestilence in the East Indies, which has swept away multitudes of our people; the never-to-be-forgotten earthquake in Jamaica, and those late monitory shakings which ran through all this island, as well as, a great part of the territories of our wicked confederates: I shall not pretend to divine what may be the consequence of them; but we never heard of an earthquake in this island but did certainly forerun some very remarkable calamity.

All I shall farther add is this, The only refuge this government has (for I find they don't think it safe to stand upon their own legs), is to keep up the confederacy; this in reality will prove a rotten reed, we may lean upon it, but it will run into our hands and wound us, but never support us; it's grown already feeble and contemptible, and being originally founded in villainy there's little likelihood it will prosper. By the experience of former ages, confederacies seldom or never performed great achievements. Their religions, manners, interests, being for the most part different and contrary, their consultations for that very reason seldom prove effectual: And Montluc tells us, that two princes designing to overcome a third never agree long; and gives you his own experience, and that of preceding times, for it. And the most acute and judicious Guicciardine tells us, That confederacies can never be so knitted and united, but that some or other of them will grow remiss, or go off from the rest; and then all is spoiled. And Comines adds, That if there be not one to over-rule and govern all the rest of the confederacy, their designs will be frustrated, and end in nothing but their own shame and weakness, and the glory and advantage of the common enemy. I might, if I dare take that liberty, have produced a multitude of examples of this nature, but I hope any one's reflection upon the instances of this age will save me that trouble; and therefore will address myself to those of my countrymen who have had the misfortune to be misled, that since they have found all their expectations deceived, themselves gulled out of all those real blessings of government they formerly enjoyed, peace, plenty, liberty and property, and all that could render a people happy, by one whom a man would be tempted to think could never have been procreated of human race, void of all sense of religion, justice, honour, and every qualification that is apt to conciliate love or veneration from mankind; who has really forfeited the crown by his own act, having violated the very instrument of government he subscribed: One that has been the occasion of shedding more christian blood, on both sides, than was spilt in the ten persecutions, and merely upon a sham pretence of religion to us; that it is their interest and indispensable duty, if they have any sense of goodness remaining, any fear of God before their eyes, any respect for religion, or love for their souls, "any remorse for the evil they have done, any bowels for their own country, any charity for the rest of the world, to free these nations of such a plague and curse," and, if possible, "to redeem all those blessings" which have been so long withheld from us by his means, by atoning God Almighty, by doing justice to their highly injured king and queen,

to themselves, and to all Europe, and averting those dismal plagues which otherwise ere long will fall upon their heads: Otherwise let them do what they can, be as obstinate, malicious, and revengeful as they please, if they be resolved yet to act wickedly, "they shall be consumed, both they and their king."

*The Jacobite Principles vindicated, in an Answer to a Letter sent to the Author. By
Charlwood Lawton, Esq.*

This Tract, considering the times in which it was written, is a very moderate and accommodating statement of the principles of the Jacobites. But temperance is too frequently only the virtue of adversity, and the measures recommended by Mr Charlton, although they would certainly have maintained James upon the throne, if adopted while he yet occupied his royal situation, could not even, if the vehemence of the more zealous Jacobites would have permitted them to be adopted as the creed of their party, have been found adequate to work out his restoration. A tardy repentance, only adopted when the exiled monarch was suffering the penance of his errors, was more likely to be regarded as the fruit of hypocrisy than of conviction. The treatise, however, serves to vindicate the conduct of many conscientious persons who embraced the cause of James, under a persuasion that he had seen and repented of those errors in government which had occasioned his exile. That their hopes would have been blighted by the success of their party, if indeed James had been restored by force of arms, is a point on which there can hardly be a doubt.

The Tract is inscribed to the queen, i. e. to Mary of Este, to whom, however, some of the opinions thrown out must have been highly unpalatable.

This pamphlet was probably designed as a counterpart to that entitled "A French Conquest neither desirable nor practicable," which is inscribed to King James, as this is to his consort. Both are couched in the same temperate, insinuating, accommodating strain of argument, and were probably more dangerous to the government than the more violent effusions of the party.

Dedicated to the Queen of England.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

I BESEECH your majesty's pardon, that, without first consulting you, I lay at the royal feet of a most injured queen the vindication of a most injured party; and I hope this dedication will have so much effect upon the public, as to satisfy the world of my candour in representing the measures of your majesties, and the notions of those that are in your interest; for it cannot be supposed I dare inscribe that to your name, that is contrary to the royal intentions of his majesty and yourself. I must confess I think I have reason rather to beg pardon that I have not sufficiently explained the good inclinations you both have to make us happy. I chuse to put your majesty's name before these sheets rather than the king's, (though I suddenly design to dedicate a short discourse to him) because, if possible, the world has been more maliciously unjust and inveterate towards you, than ever against him; nay, some have presumed to censure

your majesty for those errors and mistakes of his reign, (for which I don't pretend to apologize) which were entirely the work of his false and corrupted ministers; and yet I have heard from those who had opportunity to know, and who are not much your friends, that public affairs were not your concern whilst his majesty was here; which is the more to be admired and applauded in your majesty, since all that had the honour to wait upon you about business when his majesty's absence in Ireland made it absolutely necessary for you to apply yourself to it, found in your majesty a genius fitted to all great affairs. And, madam, though you retired as soon as the king returned to St Germain's, purely to the exercise of your own private virtues, yet I am so assured that the reflections you then made, whilst you was perfectly forced to look into the British affairs, and since you have entirely quitted them to his majesty's care, have fully convinced you that these are proper measures of accommodation, that I don't doubt but your majesty will graciously forgive my presumption.

I know few men approach crowned heads without making panegyrics, but I shall not enter upon a theme upon which posterity will better bear just things to be said than the present age will yet; nor is a courtly style my talent, though it is from a sense of your goodness as well as greatness that I am devoted to your commands and interest.

I have heard of but few faults that any party has found with the first edition of this paper, which I hope is a good sign that all men are at last inclined to moderate things. I am sure it was written with all the good meaning imaginable towards my king and country, your majesty and posterity, and all the several divided parties of your subjects: And that you may be glorious, and they happy, is the constant prayer, and shall be the endeavour of,

May it please your majesty,

Your majesty's most obedient subject,

And faithful servant.

The Jacobite Principles vindicated.

SIR,

As much as Englishmen have been famed for their hearts, they have been always reproached for their heads. They have always lost their wits by national intoxications. They have been always a tempestuous, a heady, and a divided people: But they never were more apparently so than they have been in this last change. They have not only out-run their own, but the pretences of their deliverer. He came not for a crown, but to redress our grievances; but we would give the crown, yet neglect our grievances, and all amendment of our constitution: And we will still maintain our injustice in the one, and folly in the other. Those that resolve to do so, may see Maestricht taken after Mons and Namur, Flanders submitted to France, the confederacy broken, and we (divided as we are, and shall be, amongst ourselves,) left to grapple with all that power which has now for four years employed such united forces. Nor can we hope God will work a miracle to support so unjust a quarrel. They may see all this war brought into our own bowels, into this divided kingdom; may see it make havoc and desolation upon this island; in a word, may see friends and kindred killing and destroying one another, embroiling their hands in each other's blood, and then our pretended fears may become true, those miseries overtake us, with the pretended suspicions of which we have coloured over and countenanced our unrighteous doings. But you think it is too late to draw back, and you can see no security in the restoration; you can't see

* Which was probably published in 1691.

our lives, and our religion, our liberty, and our property will be safe; I aver you impose upon yourself, and one man imposes upon another. But you say you are frightened at the discourses of some, both protestant and catholick Jacobites. You say they talk for slavery, and that when we are slaves we may be made papists. Yet, if you would consider, you have been invited by published pamphlets to reflect, who among the Jacobites are likely to give you satisfaction. Would you have men set their names to what they write? There are men that you believe are in King James's interest, that you have no reason to believe would sacrifice their country or their religion, and that I assure you, have as true a love for those good things you mention as you can have yourself, and that would join with you and any Englishmen, to ask in a respectful manner for every honest thing that is necessary to secure us from arbitrary power, and the violence of all sorts of priests, and that are themselves satisfied, and can authentically satisfy you that the king has been a long time willing to make all those necessary concessions that will secure the church of England as the established worship, make an impartial toleration safe, and for the future put our liberties and property out of the power (as much as good and wholesome laws can do it) of mal-administration; nay, that are satisfied he must be willing to do so if ever he will come home. There are Jacobites that believe what Gourville is related to have once said concerning our kings; *Qu'n Roy d'Angleterre qui veut estre l'Homme de son Peuple, est le plus Grand Roy du Monde, mais s'il veut estre quelque chose d'Avantage, par Dieu, il n'est plus Rien.* There are Jacobites that are for reformatations, though they believe them more lasting under uncontested titles than where title is too great a part of the dispute; that think it lawful for kings, and their parliaments, to limit and explain the nature of prerogatives, though they think it safer to the constitution to leave it to the three estates so to do, than for one or two of them to innovate too rudely without the consent of the other; that own a great difference between the changing or abolition of some particular laws, and altering fundamentals. And the greatest assertors of liberty must acknowledge, that prerogatives in kings, suitable to the respective constitutions, are necessary to maintain those constitutions, and to protect their subjects; and consequently, that in all pacts and compositions their people make with them, due care should be taken, even by the people, not to take from their kings any essential powers. Prerogative, like a river, sometimes gains, and sometimes decreases in its banks; but the bark of the community sails safest when it keeps its own natural channel, according to the respective constitutions. Bacon, that writes the Uniformity of the Government of England, is certainly no over-monarchical author, yet he has this expression in relation to King Stephen: "Too much counter-security from the king to the people, is like too many covenants in marriage, that make room for jealousy, and are but seeds of an unquiet life." After all, it is certainly the nature of Englishmen to delight in, and they have been used to a limited, explained, and hereditary monarchy; and *Naturam licet expellas furca tamen ipsa recurrat*, will be found true in a politic as well as a natural sense, by all those who would change our government into an absolute monarchy or downright democracy, or that will interrupt the succession. The Lancastrian usurpations, and the late times, witness this. But perhaps some of these Jacobites you complain of, may think to disgrace what I have said, by calling these notions republican. To these gentlemen I will first answer, that since we are so elemented for a commonwealth, there is no keeping it out but by a reformation of the monarchy, that may as apparently answer all the reasons why government was first deposited in the magistrates hands, either by God or the people. I will not dispute the original of government at this time, but I will offer one thing to these speculators to consider of, which is, that whilst they too much cajole kings, they lose their interest with the people, and mislead an English monarch, and make way for that government both in church and state, which they would (if they understood how) oppose.

They help the real commonwealths men to arguments, and give the presbyterians opportunity to insinuate, and gain the hearts of the people. Perhaps were the people of England a *prima materia*, I would be very well content that the draughts of these superfine projectors should be debated, but I think Machiavel was as good a politician as most of them; and yet he says, "If the variations of times are not observed, and laws and customs altered accordingly, much mischief must follow." And in another place he affirms it "a very hard thing to keep them in servitude who are disposed to be free." And whoever has reflected upon the extravagant courses we have taken to be so, ever since the beginning of the late civil wars, cannot sure doubt of our disposition: for though we have been mistaken in our cures, nobody can be mistaken in our propensity. I am no lord, nor ever desire or hope for any title. I had rather serve my country in the lower than the upper house; and if my country never thinks fit to send me to that neither, I shall never court, much less bribe, for that employment from my country: for I would not be bribed in it. Yet considering how much the power of the lords has in some reigns been a check to the encroachment of kings, and in others to the hot-headedness of the people, I should be willing to screw up the aristocratical part of our government, though not to the height it sometimes has had in our policy; but the present ferments of England make it impracticable. And though some men are, I am not for driving nails that will not go, when we may without breach of conscience let that work alone to a more clear-sighted age. Though I think our oaths, and the original contract of our law-books, bind us to restore the king, yet I know no obligation we lie under to restore power to the lords, but as there shall appear both great feasibility and expediency: I am not for hazarding much for bringing things exactly and minutely to my platform. It will be always enough for me, if the fundamentals of our government are preserved. A trimmer in politics, if it means one that would avoid extremities and compose things, and not one that serves himself by all times and changes, is a name and character that I shall always revere. But to give these gentlemen a farther answer, I must tell them, that it is plain, by undeniable matter of fact, that to those persons that engaged in the Scotch plot, though he had not tried his fortune in Ireland, nor could the persons engaged assure his return, even upon such condescensions, yet the king granted, under the broad seal of that kingdom, a full redress for all grievances, and that at the request of people that had opposed him: so that talking of terms will be no harsh language to him now; he can want no farther illumination, by a long series of misfortunes, to let him see, that compliance with his people is his true and only interest. In a private pamphlet, and in a private capacity, it is not proper to state the manner and bounds of our redresses: But did ever people re-admit a king they had ejected upon the mal-administration of his ministers (if they could any ways help it) without making good provisions? Can any body imagine we expect the people of England should? The men of sense, and quality, and estates, amongst the Jacobites, be they protestants or papists, don't wish they should do it. Would you have trials secured? It is the interest of all parties care should be taken about them, or all parties will suffer in their turns. Plunket,¹ and Sidney,² and Ashton,³ were doubtless all murdered, though they were never so guilty of the crimes wherewith they were charged: The one tried twice, the other found guilty upon one evidence, and the last upon nothing but presumptive proof. Either let prisoners have counsel, or the judges to be forced to be more impartially so than they were in any of these cases; and let juries understand, that only *allegata* and *probata* are to direct their verdict, and not deadly feuds, foreign belief, or state necessity. In Scot-

¹ A Roman catholic priest and titular bishop, tried and condemned in the course of the Popish Plot.

² The celebrated Algernon Sydney.

³ The proto-martyr of the Jacobites.

land, at all trials, the whole is taken down in writing, word for word, as well all probations as what is said, both by the king's advocate and the pannel or criminal, and is all made a record, that after-times (when the heat of the prosecution is over) may examine whether the judge dealt impartially; and if he did not, and is alive at the review of those proceedings, if the prisoner suffered death by his warping the law, the judge is to undergo the same punishment; and if he is dead, the heirs of the injured person is to recover equal damages to what they sustained in their fortune, by his illegal sentence, from the heirs of the unjust judge. The Saxons punished false judges, by giving satisfaction to the party wronged by them; and as the case required, by forfeiture of the residue to the king, and by his disabling them for ever for places of judicature, and by leaving their lives to the king's mercy. Who can have the face to oppose the revival of something equivalent to that law? But I will not discuss too particularly the particulars I shall mention. The granting of that bill for judges,* that the Prince of Orange refused, and Whitlock's for trials, will be the glory of King James's reign, whenever he is restored.

As to the armed force of England, I think there may be ways found out to make our militia as serviceable as any mercenary bands, to employ all our officers that have had military experience, to raise from time to time such numbers of officers, and such nurseries of private centinels, as may make both the king and kingdom safe, add to the glory and majesty of our monarch, and yet not leave the least umbrage for jealousy in the minds of the people. But this is not a time of day for me to lay before the world such plans. I will not hold forth such doctrines under any government I think unjust, and that I think, too, have not the honesty to embrace them if I would. But if ever I see an English parliament under a rightful prince, I will not be wanting in offering my mite, in this and all other things that may contribute to the good of my country: And sure nobody can be so unreasonable as to be unwilling to hear from one that has given testimony of his loyalty to his king and nation too, any thing that such an one will propose, to establish the throne, and quiet the minds of his fellow-subjects. Prætorian hands in Rome butchered as well as guarded their emperors. It is but very lately that the janisaries deposed the Grand Signior, and King James's own army deserted from him in these kingdoms; and I am confident I can shew, that the love of his subjects is the best standing army for an English king, as well as how he shall have it, and be able to look all his foreign enemies in the face to boot: But I say, it is not time for the publication of these things by my hand, nor will I be too prolix upon any one thing; therefore to come to parliaments.

Is there any man of sense and fortune, that does not know them to be the conservators of all that we hold dear? Can there be an unjust thing, any thing more fatal, than a partial representation of the minds and interests of men in that house? Though this reign has taught them to do very little else but give money, or sanction to, or pardons for the irregularations of ministers, yet the design of their institution is as well to provide remedies for the complaints of the kingdom, as cash for the prince's coffers. I will not debate what is necessary to make them free, but I am sure they should be so. I will not say how often they must sit, but I am sure they should frequently: Both these considerations are fittest for their own house, and I am not willing to make narrow spirits peevish: But sure no man of interest, or that hopes to keep any reputation with the world, will deny they should be free and frequent, and that they should not be too much officered, that they may be faithful.

I shall not enter into a detail of what is the work of parliaments; but there is one thing I am sure is very properly theirs; and that is, to make an exact scrutiny into

* A bill for making the judges independent of the crown, which was thrown out in King William's time, but has since been happily passed.

the public administration, and to bring ministers (who are above the reach of common courts of judicature, and can stem all other prosecutions;) I say, it is the work of parliaments to bring such ministers to condign punishment, if they deserve it.

I know not any thing wherein princes, and some of their subjects, have been more unfortunately mistaken, than in their wishes that ministers should be imputable: Whereas favourites that are not a cement between prince and people, that don't consult in all their actions, the laws of the constitution, and inclinations of the inhabitants, become rocks of offence, and bring ruin, sometimes upon all, too often upon their princes, and, God be praised for it, more generally upon themselves. What is the reason of that admirable maxim, that the King of England can do no wrong? Why do the people of England make him an Epicurean god, so happy in the enjoyment of his own majesty? Why do we say, that he neither can nor does disturb the peace of our world, but because his eyes and his ears, his omniscieny and his omnipreseney, are comprehended in his ministers; but because, if those ministers are troublers of our state, they are to be punished, even for inadvertencies, and much more for sins of malice? Though this revolution has blotted out all our original contract, razed all our statutes and law-books, turned our monarchy topsy-turvy, and scandalously prevaricated from all our civil compacts, by employing the men that persuaded King James to, and acted in what we imputed to him as false steps, yet it was his ministers should have been punished, and not he himself dethroned; and sure King James, after he has found so many ministers were false, others flattering and foolish, cannot be unwilling to leave it an everlasting law to his and our posterity, that ministers shall be accountable. It is our law, though both weak and profligate men have, the one fancied, and the other pretended the contrary; and for that reason, and that reason only, it ought to be written more legibly in our statute-books. Is it not the interest of kings that ministers should not mal-administer away all the affection of their good and loving subjects? Is it not the interest of kings, that the representative body should plainly show them by whom and how they are betrayed? Yet, after all, those that will read that excellent chapter in Machiavel, which shows how necessary it is for the conservation of the state, that any citizen be securely accused, p. 277 of his works, ought to read the two next pages, which show, that unjust calumnies are no less pernicious to a commonwealth, than legal accusations are profitable and good; and there you will find a great difference betwixt accusation and calumny. Ministers ought to be punished; I am satisfied the king is willing they should be so for the future: Sunderland's ministry suggests that advice to him very effectually and strongly; but Beaufeaux also are to be suppressed in all well-ordered states.

One thing seems naturally here to fall in my way, which I beg leave to handle in the most inoffensive manner that I can. I foresee this part will less please some men, for whom no man living can have a greater honour than I have, yet I think it of so much necessity and importance, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. There was not an ill thing done in King James's reign, that I did not call so then; and all that know me, know that I have taken it as my province to represent truths, be they never so bold or bitter, whilst they are for instruction. I am no advocate for any man's faults, nor for any faults, though I would be charitable and good-natured, forgiving and forgetting towards all men's persons. Methinks the state of things require this measure. I scarce believe there ever was a period of time wherein an universal amnesty was so requisite; a forgetfulness, as well as forgiveness of all past crimes. Methinks all sides stand in need of this temper. If the ministers of King James exceeded in their management of our affairs, as doubtless they did, we have doubtless exceeded too in our revenge upon the king's person; and besides, those that have fallen in with the usurpation have not proceeded against any one man that has been in their hands, for any thing that was done amiss in the two late reigns; and therefore methinks it is very

hard if we cannot forgive those that have undergone banishment, (which in all countries has been reckoned some sort of punishment), or such as have hazarded prisons, or the gallows, every day. Why should we not forgive all those that serve him amongst us, or that are with the king (though they may have had faults) when we desire, or I am sure ought to desire, that the whole land should be forgiven? All parties, and almost all men, have some way or other been to blame; and therefore there seems to me to be a little too much passion and self-interest in keeping up old grudges. I avoid saying there is any infatuation in keeping them up, though I cannot think that it is the likeliest way to prepare the king to close with wise counsels, to revive or continue our piques; for the king can scarce be supposed to be without some kindness for those who have either followed his fortunes, or ventured their necks for him; and consequently, it is not perhaps advisable to make those that transact in his affairs (though they have been peccant) believe they can have no quarter, no share in him, unless he return with a high hand. They will have some opportunities to put ill constructions upon good advices. I have read of but few of those heroic spirits in any age, who have so divested themselves of all regard for their own persons and posterity, as to be willing to become a sacrifice to their country. I think this age affords fewest instances of those great minds; and therefore I think it the likeliest way to make men instrumental towards the good of their country, to show them that they shall find their own account in being so. I hope I have expressed myself in as modest and inoffensive words as any in which I could conceive my thoughts; and I hope I shall not be so misunderstood, as if I would justify any thing that was by any body done amiss; for I will not justify a false step, even in the king; but I would have us lay aside all the biasses of factions and friendships, and much more all enmities, that we may unanimously offer to the king right notions, and thereby restore him to his hereditary kingdoms. After all, I would not have less than such a repentance as gives evidence of amendment entitled to absolution, but I would leave room and rewards for such repentance.

I fear this moderation and forgiving of enemies will be thought a hard lesson; but, I bless God, I have practised it, and I think it not only the noblest precept in Christian morality, but an admirable rule in civil prudence, especially in our case; for it is as difficult for a party that is subdivided within itself to pull down an usurpation, as it can be for a divided kingdom to stand.

But I am sensible I have made too long a digression, and therefore must omit many other particulars upon which I would explain myself, and the sense of many other Jacobites; and, I can assure you, I am sorry that any Jacobites say any thing that offends well-meaning men: But I wish, for their own sakes, my countrymen would not take a standard, either of the king's inclinations, or the rest of his friends, from their indiscreet tattle. There are in his interest those that know, that to talk too loftily and dogmatically, to dispute, as they do in the schools, concerning prerogative and the nature of monarchy, to stand nicely upon punctilios, to consult Aristotle's and Xenophon's kings, is as unlikely a way to come to a mutual accommodation, as to peruse and dream of Plato's Commonwealth, Sir Thomas More's Utopia, Harrington's Oceana, &c. There are men of his side, that think (as the great lawgiver Solon did) that a government must be framed according to the nature of the governed, and that he is the best subject, as well as politician, that adapts all his notions to our tempers; that considers men, as well as peruses books, when he is to draw a scheme; and I believe, as you say, that the high flights of some Jacobites hinder many honest men from coming into his interest; and farther, that they sometimes mislead the king. Nevertheless, there are in his interest men that, I assure you, are not frightened at words, nor startled at nicknames; that know the King of England makes the greatest figure in Europe, when he is best with his people, and that is when he governs by the measures of commonweal.

These men know, a good commonwealth's man was not a character of reproach in our legislation and politics till all our glory dwindled, and the absoluteness of ministers was more consulted than the true interest of king or kingdom; till a pack of knaves forged a separate interest between the King of England and his people, and till they began to call a mixed monarchy an errant bull, and would reform our state by metaphysical and court distinctions: Whereas, if our histories and statute-books were consulted, they are every where full of explanations. Are these gentlemen you complain of weary of *Magna Charta*? (which was but a revival and recitation of the Saxon liberties and ancient British laws.) I will prove to them farther, that laws and lawful prerogatives may be so abused, that it may be fit to take away the one, and to desire that the other may never be again so used; and that our former kings have thought so. But I will go no farther back than the conjunction of the two roses, and they may find that in Henry the Seventh's time Empson and Dudley harassed the people by obsolete unrepealed laws; nay, it has never been thought mean by our greatest kings to make condescensions to their people: And, as haughty as King Henry VIII. was, my Lord Herbert, in his history of his reign, tells you, that in his first parliament he repealed, explained, or limited those statutes by which his father had taken advantage of his people; and (as my Lord Herbert judiciously observes therein) was willing to restrain his own authority, in some sort, that he might enlarge the people's confidence and affection. This that king did in the celebrated part, to wit, in the beginning of his reign, though he had at the same time in his exchequer what was equivalent to seven millions sterling now, and was in peaceable possession of his throne, and had no particular pressing occasion to please his people. How much more necessary is this measure to regain the people's confidence and affection towards an exiled prince. The author of this history (my Lord Herbert of Cherbury) professes in his epistle dedicatory, great deference to kings; and that the king (to whom he dedicates his history) had lustrated by his gracious eye, and consummated by his judicious animadversions, all the parts of that history, as fast as he finished them. And therefore this instance ought to be of great weight with every body, even with those Jacobites you talk of. It is a royal, as well as my Lord Herbert's, History of Henry VIII.

I am not ignorant that this King Henry VIII. is brought as an instance of a king that could pull up foundations, and do what he pleased; but there was a strange concurrence in his time to help him in the business he was doing, and he did it by parliaments, and often used palliations; and perhaps if a man looks observingly upon his life, he was but the head of the rabble-rout; and that neither he nor the people knew what he would be at. It was an age big with changes; and his greatest exorbitances fell upon a sort of people who were wearing into disesteem, or were of a more private nature. Besides, he began his reign with a wondrous good grace, and he sacrificed now and then a minister; and what he took from the church he divided amongst the gentry and nobility. But, after all, I will own, there are some periods of his reign wherein the prince went farther and faster than the people, and he had the good luck to do strange things by incomprehensible ways: For my Lord Herbert of Cherbury (as judicious and sharp-sighted an author as he is) seems to wonder, and not to understand all the occurrences of his reign. His beginning it so condescendingly, makes it less a wonder, that the people were a great while apt to put good constructions upon what he did afterwards. He gave up Empson and Dudley merely to their rage; and Wolsey's fall was pleasing; and, as I just now intimated, he was more sacrilegious towards the church, which was then going down with the people, than he was otherwise oppressive.

The next person I will introduce shall be Queen Elizabeth, whose speech in the forty-third year of her reign, occasioned by complaints against monopolies, is so excellent, that I think fit to transcribe it at length; though I will not commend the an-

guinary laws she made in matters of religion, as well against Brownists, &c. as papists, no more than I will many other parts of her reign. I have often wondered why mere church of England men cried out against, or whigs so much extolled her, ten or twelve years ago, for she was a mere church of England queen: But, I protest, I know not how enough to commend this speech which she made to her parliament; I wish every body would peruse the context of it in Camden; but the words of it are these:

“ We owe unto you special thanks and commendations for your singular good-will towards us, not in silent thought, but in plain declaration expressed; whereby ye have called us back from an error, proceeding from ignorance, not willingness. These things had undeservedly turned to our disgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear than the safety and love of our people,) had not such harpies and horse-leeches as these been made known unto us by you. I had rather be maimed in mind or hand, than with mind or hand to give allowance of such privileges of monopolies as may be prejudicial to my people. The brightness of regal majesty hath not so blinded mine eyes, that licentious power should prevail more with me than justice. The glory of the name of a king may deceive unskilful princes, as gilded pills may deceive a sick patient; but I am none of those princes, for I know that the commonwealth is to be governed for the benefit of those who are committed, not of those to whom it is committed; and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment-seat. I think myself most happy, that by God's assistance. I have hitherto so governed the whole commonwealth, and have such subjects, as for their good I would willingly leave both kingdom and life also. I beseech you that what faults others have committed by false suggestions, may not be imputed to me. Let the testimony of a clear conscience be my absolute excuse. Ye are not ignorant that princes' servants are now and then too attentive to their own benefit, that the truth is often concealed from princes; and they cannot themselves look precisely into all things, upon whose shoulders lieth continually the weight of the greatest business.”

I cannot but observe, before I go any farther, that this queen was not willing to take upon herself the faults of her servants; but, on the contrary, gave them very hard names. I must observe likewise, that commonwealth was no odious word then, for she calls the government of England so twice in this speech; and in her time Secretary Smith wrote a book of our government, to which he gave that title. This was an age wherein majesty could court, and ministers affect to be patriots of the people; and yet prerogative did not lose much ground, although it sometimes yielded.

But I will come nearer to our times, as far as the union of this island. Sir Francis Bacon advised King James the First (as you may find in his *Resuscitatio*) to amend by consent of parliament some of our laws, and to expunge others, especially penal ones.

He quotes a learned civilian, (though he does not name him,) that expoundeth the course of the prophet, *pluet super eos laqueos*, of multitude of penal laws, which (continues he) are worse than showers of hail, or tempests upon cattle, for they fall upon men.

He goes on, There are some penal laws fit to be retained, but the penalty too great: And it is ever a rule, that any over great penalty (beside the acerbity of it) deadens the execution of the law.

He says also, There is a farther inconvenience of penal laws obsolete and out of use; for it brings a gangrene neglect, and habit of disobedience upon other wholesome laws, that are fit to be continued in practice and execution: So that our laws endure the torment of Mezentius; the living die in the arms of the dead.

I chose to express my Lord Bacon's words; but I will add to what he has said a farther inconvenience that I myself have observed in the reading of histories, which is,

that the revival of obsolete powers and obsolete penal laws, have not only proved a snare to the people, but given kings too often an handle to fall into such measures as have proved destructive to themselves. Powers in a crown, that are wholly unfit to be exercised, are only temptations to oppression and misunderstanding. Knight-service was once a very politic tenure: It was once fit, before the several people of this kingdom were mixed and civilized, that whoever was born upon a lord's land, should be brought up under his care; and that no woman that held land of any lord should carry her estate to any man that was an enemy to that lord. Yet in King James the First's days, the same Sir Francis Bacon, though then solicitor-general to him, in a conference with the lords, by commission from the commons, made a speech to persuade the lords to join with the commons in a petition to the king, to obtain liberty to treat of a composition with his majesty for wards and tenures. This was in the seventh year of King James's reign, in halcyon days. This speech is in the thirty-fourth page of my Lord Bacon's *Resuscitatio*, and worth any man's reading. He therein proposeth, in recompence of the revenue of tenures, a more ample, a more certain, and a more loving dowry: loving dowry expresseth admirably well, that kings should be willing to change any part of their revenue for what may suit better with the people's inclinations. But I won't make remarks upon this speech.

The next paragraph speaks of the nature of those things, and how it is changed with the times. *Vocabula manent, Res fugiunt*, are his words.

And the next paragraph to that says a great deal more in these two axioms, *Natura vis maxima, et suus cuique discretus sanguis*: For restoring children to the care of their most affectionate relatives.

I come to the reign of King Charles I. and must say, that the strained use of some powers and prerogatives, for which the flattering lawyers had some dark semblance of authority in our law-books, gave the fatal rise to the late civil wars, which ended in the horrid murder of that king; and when King Charles II. was restored, though the first parliament he called will be allowed by every body to be sufficiently devoted to him, yet he therein, when they were under the greatest transports and raptures of loyalty, passed many acts that plainly own the great inexpediency, if not illegality, of several things done in his father's days, and secured us against the like abuses hereafter; and had he lived, he must have owned that he himself had carried the *quo warrantos* too far, or he would have sate uneasy; and those very men that were instrumental in quowarranting corporations, did every where declare that regulations, which, (however illegal I take them to be in themselves, how much soever I think them a fanatic Rowland for the church of England Oliver, yet I think they were agreeable to the powers the crown reserved to itself in the new charters,) I say, that those very men that were instrumental to the quo-warranting corporations, did every where declare, that the regulations in the succeeding reign made the very legislative power insecure, and resolved all our government into an absolute and despotic rule. Questionless there should be some to punish the abuses in corporations; but the penal laws that are against corporations have perhaps annexed to them too great a penalty: perhaps it would be better to punish the persons that offend, than to fall upon the poor innocent charter. I would have the body corporate be able to do no wrong, though the members may.

But it is not my business in this place to propound the remedies, but to shew that it is lawful to make, and that there used to be made, and that there ought to be reformations now, as well as there have been formerly. And I hope I have made it plain, both from our histories and statute-books, that civil infallibility was not formerly an article in our politics, nor has it the universality on its side; nor will any party abide by it, unless for personal ends, or when it serves their own party. The papists did not believe it in their days; the church of England did not believe it when his majesty was amongst us; and the fanatics never pretended to believe it. Thus you see my

thoughts; and, as different as they may be from the Williamites that have deluded, or from the Jacobites that have affrighted you, I defy any of the one to be readier to hazard themselves for their country, or the other to venture farther for the service of King James. All I desire is, that the king may have for his motto what the sincere historian says of the two best emperors of Rome. Tacitus his words are, *Divus Neroa, et Divus Trajanus, res olim insociabiles miscuerunt, imperium et libertatem*. And may the remainder of King James the Second's days give yet leave, after he has lived long here, to write upon his tomb, *Divus Jacobus Secundus, &c. Res olim insociabiles miscuit imperium et libertatem*. I would have the king consult his own honour; but I think he does it best, when he considers well and thoroughly of the liberties of the people. I allow that maxim to be true, *Principum actiones præcipue sunt ad famam componenda*. But no English king will preserve his memory grateful in the records of time, or his name dreadful in foreign courts, who is not beloved by his people; and none will be so that does not carefully fence, and inviolably preserve our rights. We have been a people always jealous of our rights, *tenacissimi libertatis*. The word conquest is often met with in our common histories, and misleads our common readers; but though our nation has been often stormed, our essential laws and customs were never carried. The Romans governed us, in great part, by our own laws, and the wisest of their lieutenants found we were more easily governed by gentleness and justice than by force. The Danes made no alteration in our constitution; and the Saxon and Norman invasions ended in treaty; and the Saxon government was homogeneous to our temperament; and when William (called the Conqueror) would have introduced the customs of Norway, the people neither would, nor did receive them. If a man reads histories to understand government, he must observe many things besides the tale of them; and whoever looks into our antiquities, will find the footsteps of our liberties are as ancient as of our being. But to return to what I was saying some time since; I would not injure my country for King James, nor would I injure King James for my country. I think your party wicked, and I fear too many Jacobites are weak: They are weak by fantastic notions, and violent aversions, and personal, party, and church quarrels. But I would rather lament than expostulate too freely, and I desire nobody to serve King James but on the principles of making him the father of his country: I once again assure you, I neither do nor will upon any other; and were he reinstated in his throne, if he pursued partial notions, and ungrateful measures, I would rather make a vow of voluntary exile, than accept the best employment that a King of England has in his power to give: I have many times told him so. And farther, I would always advise him to take into his business popular men, and to let them serve him by the methods that made them popular: But at the same time, I say, I would advise him to forget as well as forgive all our miscarriages. I would have a perfect act of oblivion from him; and I would have the people pass on their part so entire an act of oblivion, that they should not gall any one man for what they did amiss in his reign, or under this usurpation, on condition they testify their repentance by their amendment of life. Though Henry IV. of France (so justly called the Great) was in his absence arraigned and condemned to death, and executed in effigy by harquebusses, and this by the votes and order of the parliament of Thoulouse, yet, notwithstanding he recovered his kingdom by force of arms, that great and excellent king did not in the least revenge their traitorous and rebellious usage; by which generous as well as politic carriage, he added to the conquest of his country the conquest of the hearts of all his people, reconciling at once all the animosities and factions which had been the product of near forty years civil wars. Let a new face of things arise likewise out of our state-chaos. May the king govern with that equal hand, that merit may be rewarded, and nothing but vice in disgrace; that those may be thought to serve him best, that most serve the general good; and let it be a crime, as well as ill manners,

to revive any of our old distinctions ; let there be no distinctions upon the account of ecclesiastical or civil faith ; and let obedience and allegiance to the civil power be the only test for preferment. You know, my friend, I am no papist, though I am for a civil comprehension : And as falsely as your Irish Dr King has traduced his majesty for what he did in Ireland, I am told one thing for which his wisdom and goodness can never be enough commended ; and that is, that he required no oath from any one man that served him, but trusted to their honour and their interest, rather than the obligation of oaths, being sure an honest man would do his duty without them, and being also convinced, by a late and sad experience, that they never bind a knave. And thus he truly made himself the king of all persuasions.

The discipline of the Lacedemonians was positive, that every man should keep his rank or die ; yet they never put an oath to their soldiers : Shame and honour had more power over those brave minds, made them even scorn death, (which is the greatest trial,) had a more infallible effect upon them, than we can pretend all oaths have upon us.

Notwithstanding this short remark about oaths, I am neither quaker nor sectarian ; therefore a hint is enough from me upon that subject : But from the several heads of discourse I have handled, methinks I find myself under a necessity of clearing, at least, briefly three things, and I will do it as briefly as I can.

The first is, That those that are both zealous and jealous for liberty and property are more in number than those that are for the strait and stretches of prerogative.

I find there is a vast and unlucky mistake in the computations of some people, and that by reason that they do not distinguish between the state and religious whig. I allow the fanatic whig, or those that refuse to come to our communion, are not perhaps the twentieth man in England ; but there are very great numbers of men who never went formerly, nor do now go, even by reason of their principle, to any other church but the church of England. There are likewise many others who are not at all bigotted to any particular form of church worship, who yet mostly, if not altogether, go to the church of England ; and yet both the one and the other of these are as much, or perhaps more nicely whigs in civils than are the fanatics, though not so generally called so : so that there are church of England and latitudinarian, or (as the Scotch call them) erastian as well as fanatic whigs.* Now let us consider what interest all these three sort of whigs have in our affairs ; what influence they have over them ; and you will find by matter of fact, that these many years last past, they all joining upon a civil bottom, have all along been too hard for that which is the church of England, as it is contra-distinguished to the whig. They were fatally so in King Charles the First's time. But to bring things within all our memories and observation, the three last parliaments in King Charles the Second's reign is not an improper season to calculate their interest and influence ; for then they chose before any illegal or unwarrantable tricks had been played by either side with charters, and if the nation was inflamed by a popish plot, I am sure the court leaned wholly to the high prerogative church of England. Then you see that the Bill of Exclusion (though it was an excessive and exotic rant, rather than a natural effect or production of whiggism) was carried in the House of Commons, and that though almost all the members were church-goers. But I will shew you yet by a later instance, that state whiggism runs through this nation. All those that are for this government act upon that principle, and lay aside the passive obedience and prerogative notions of the high church of England-men : notwithstanding that they keep up the episcopal order, the pomp, ceremony, and discipline of the church of England. And whoever will turn out a king

* This is perhaps the earliest distinct notice of whigs, as a party in the state independent of opinions as to church principles and government.

for mal-administration of his ministers, will never receive him without a reformation in the constitution: They will be state whigs, though they do not call themselves so. It is for liberty and property that these men struggle, though they do not know how to name their own actions.

The second thing that seems necessary for me to clear is, That it is necessary to give a liberty of conscience; and that these assertors of liberty and property will be for liberty and conscience, and be able, upon the king's giving good securities for our civil rights, to give in exchange of them an impartial toleration. I will not dispute the inconsistency of persecution with either the christian or moral law; nor will I take pains to prove, that where a nation is greatly divided into sects, it is the interest of that nation to give every body leave to worship God in their own manner; but I will shew the likelihood that the state whigs should and will exchange religious liberty for civil security. And now I must again carry you back to the beginning of the late civil wars, and then you will find, because the church of England would not give liberty of conscience, the state whigs set up presbytery. The next consultations I must make you acquainted with, are the debates of the above-mentioned three last parliaments of King Charles the Second, and you may easily recollect they were for liberty of conscience to all protestant dissenters; nay, they made some votes that were thought extravagant in their favour, some suspending dispensing votes; for they resolved it as the opinion of that house, that it was contrary to the interest of the nation to put the laws (which were then in being) in execution against them: But you will say, they did not vote as much for the papists. You must consider the season. Besides that, the papists have been esteemed errant courtiers ever since the Reformation. The parliament then thought they had a popish plot on foot; they thought that plot was not a plot for liberty to worship in the popish way, but to introduce popery, by the destruction of all our civil and religious liberties. You know at the beginning of my letter I charged my country with national intoxications: We can at some times believe invisible pilgrims, black bills, St Jones's gridirons, and that three thousand Irish can massacre all England. And when that popish plot was prosecuted so violently, the generality of men looked upon the papists as banditti and misanthropi, in relation to the protestants; they looked upon them as the partizans or janizaries of the court, propagators of civil as well as religious superstition and idolatry. And if these men had a mind to ruin the papists at that day, it was not because of their prayers and beads, but because they thought them enemies to our constitution, not only from their dependence upon the Roman see, but for a mischief that was nigher at hand, their excessive flattery of the court and crown; whereas the dissenters, being avowedly tender of liberty and property, were not only favoured by all those parliaments, but influenced great numbers of those who were not of their own communion at the respective elections of each of those parliaments: so that the principle of liberty of conscience was perfectly prevalent, though they held a strict hand over the papists, out of the principle of self-preservation; and consequently, a truly chosen parliament will make the papists Englishmen where they find them so. In farther proof of this last assertion, I must beg you to remember how King James's declaration of indulgence was at first entertained. I know the universal joy with which it was first received lasted but a little while; but know that though the whigs disliked that it should be put out upon a dispensing power, yet believing it a preface to comprehensive measures and latitudinarian politics, they forgave that blemish in its birth, and every where so unanimously embraced it, that those narrow spirits of the church of England, who had a mind, were ashamed, if not afraid, to oppose it. Liberty of conscience would have made King James the Second memorable and glorious in our histories, had not Sunderland's artifices, such speeches as Mr Alsop's, and such pamphlets as, "Can there

come any Good out of Galilee?" spoiled the noblest project any English monarch ever set on foot, which was, a separation of religious from civil interests.

I confess we can make popery a bull-beggar when we please, and that ought to teach the papists moderation; but the liberty-and-property-men can also call off the mob when they please: For you see at this time the nation finds no fault with the emperor's and the Duke of Bavaria's idolatry; no, nor with the Spanish inquisition, whilst they fancy (though wildly and falsely) they are by their help supporting their own civil rights. They fall not upon the papists here, that they may not displease the confederates abroad; so that popery is not so dreadful as property and privileges are dear and charming.

And now, since I have been proving that interest governs the world, however men may mistake what is their own interest, I think myself obliged, in the third place, to show that it is the interest of the king, and every sort of men, that he should be restored upon civil securities; and that it is not the interest of the king, or any sort of men, to endeavour that the restoration should be put upon any other foot.

Whilst I show that it is the king's interest, I shall answer the objection of those who say the whigs won't think their properties and privileges sufficiently secured, unless the king part with some of his prerogative. I am sure whilst he is dispossessed he has no prerogative, or at least no exercise of, and benefit by it; and the chance of war is too doubtful to know whether he shall have any, unless the people please. He is out of his estate, and can in all probability only have it upon composition; which if he will not make with us, the nation will try to the last to keep the possession; and it has those "eleven points of the law." Nor are all things prerogatives that flattering lawyers have called so in Westminster-Hall, and some well-meaning, and other self-designing clergymen, have believed so in their closets, or preached for as such in their pulpits. They can see farther than I, that expect to do any thing without an accommodation. I think it impossible he should be restored, or were he, that he should keep his throne without it. I think it impossible for one man to govern the people of England, unless they have a mind he should; and they will never have such a mind, unless he sometimes gives way to their impetuosities. But farther; his age, and the minority of his son, are the highest inducements imaginable for him to endeavour to leave a settled government, to "quiet the minds, as well as suppress the insurrections of the people." There is likewise another reason, why as a man of conscience he must be yielding; for he cannot but be willing that his son should be educated in his own religion; and if he will let the kingdom be secure of their own religion, and of their own laws, notwithstanding that the crown should be of one religion and the people of another, I am satisfied that the people of England will be little solicitous which way our kings think the best to heaven. This has argument, as he is a religious man. But I must again enforce condescensions, as the interest of the king under a natural consideration. Good securities will make the nation own the legitimacy of his son more than all other proofs; and without good securities there will be pretences that his birth is disputable; (though I affirm it impossible for any thinking man to question in his own mind the Prince of Wales's being born of the queen's body). Compliance with the people made Queen Elizabeth's title unquestioned; so that those that flatter the king with his right, and seem to despise our rights, take the most infallible course to destroy both the king and his posterity.

I need not have said one word of this matter, to inform the king's judgment; for he is in that temper in which his subjects wish him, and that would satisfy a parliament-house, were he to receive their petitions and addresses, to stamp their votes, and to end our disputes. I do not speak this by guess, but am convinced of it by many discourses I have had the honour personally to have with him since his misfortune; and the letters I have had from several of the best hands since I left his court, confirm

me he remains in the same opinion. But I thought it was necessary to say something of this sort, to set before those Jacobites you complain of, the interest of the king in the truest light.

As for the whigs of all sorts, every body knows that they will find their account in a restoration upon civil securities, and that no other restoration will please them : So that I will not labour that matter at all, but hasten to show that it is the interest both of the church of England and catholics to promote such a restoration.

The church of England is not secure that she shall be continued the national church, so long as there is unlimited and unexplained dispensing power ; and she saw *quo warrantos* could produce regulations, and so I might go through other things. And the ministers of a catholic king may again mistake in the exercise of his power, if the boundaries of the administration are not plainly chalked out ; and whilst the church of England appear enemies to liberty and property, they will lose their interest with the people ; and the next revolution will conclude in presbytery and a commonwealth ; for popery wants numbers to establish itself ; though some of the members of that communion may have vanity enough to hope to establish it : and if the church of England do not join in civil securities, nay, if there should be a restoration without them, those catholics (though it will be to their certain ruin) may be able to do enough towards it, to make the church of England fall, and the presbyterians get all in the scramble. And though the presbyterians have an odd hankering after a king, yet, after they have been bit once more, they will become tuneable to a democracy. Nothing can destroy the church of England but their opposition to the liberties of their country, or to liberty of conscience, or their closing with comprehension.

It is a little light, but however I will set down what I have often heard said concerning it by men of very large minds. They have said, That if the members of the church of England were as good-natured as the constitution, it is the best-bred civillest national church in Christendom. I set it down as a light expression to be used concerning church-affairs, and yet there may be instruction in it : for I believe its civility, if it does not make too extravagant compliments of our liberties, will for ever make it stand ; but if our liberties are not well guarded, that may be pulled down, and presbytery will be set up.

As for the Roman catholics, I think it is in the highest degree improbable that the king should ever be able to come home by conquest, and yet more improbable he should be able to stay here upon that title, (if indeed it is one in a natural king) : And if the catholics would in all places declare for civil securities, I think this is the properest opportunity for their incorporation. Our having been in confederacy with princes of that persuasion, has made us capable of allowing fair quarter to those catholics that are here. We can follow our interest, notwithstanding our old grudges ; and if the catholics will come to a temper, we are enough in one to embody them : Whereas, should not the restoration be in the life of the king, the Prince of Wales would be fetched home upon a mere church of England plot, and the proofs of his birth will be authentic, and without dispute, during his non-age, and till he has disoblged us ; and the church of England-men will, in point of religion, carry all things before them, as far as is in opposition to popery ; he will be bred up a protestant, and must, in proof of his being so, consent to any farther laws that the church of England will think necessary to secure their church against popery : So far will it then be from repealing the test, or even the penal laws, in relation to catholics. And the church of England, whilst they may have their church secured, will, during the minority of the prince (before flattery will advance to preferment), agree with the liberty and property-men for any good and wholesome laws ; and the protectors of young princes must give way to the opportunities of the people. Now the catholics will not have an op-

portunity to bribe us by civil securities ; the church of England will remember all those mal-administrations of his ministers, for which they turned out King James ; and will say it was the papists hindered us from being redressed against them. And the whigs will throw it in their dish, that they offered them friendship upon legal establishments, and that they did not cry out upon the 'declaration for indulgence, though founded upon a dispensing power, till the Roman catholics flew, or made at least an appearance to fly, at several of our most invaluable rights and privileges. The whigs will say the papists doated upon French power rather than national restoration ; nay, that they slighted the last, and have every where declared against the king's coming home upon terms, concessions, reformati^ons, and amendm^{en}t of our constitution ; though, unless they had intended to exercise a Danish lordliness over us, their own welfare must have been concluded in every thing that made England happy. It matters not how unjust these accusations will be : It is a true, though a coarse proverb, " It is easy to find a stick when one has a mind to beat a dog." Is it the first time that we have against you believed lies ? I neither am, nor I hope to God ever shall be, a Roman catholic ; but I have such bowels towards all mankind, that I seriously protest I have such melancholy bodings for the Roman catholic party, I foresee such a period of calamity (according to human reck^oning) falling upon them, if the king is not restored by great compliances with his people, and in his own person, that it has given me many a painful thought ; and I must confess I am infinitely concerned for many excellent persons of that communion, who deserve better than to be made a sacrifice to our rage and madness, who deserve all the benefits of fellow-subjects. The whigs and church of England-men will come to a compromise at that day ; but in all human appearance it will be a dreadful one to the catholics. Now they have an opportunity to be incorporated with the protestants ; but if they do not make use of it, they may be pitied, but no man will, in all probability, be able to help them. How universal and catholic soever their religion may be in other places, I am sure they are fanatics in England under a civil consideration ; and therefore that they have all the reason in the world to be state-whigs, and as such only will be ever impartially used by us.

* I think nothing that I have said has depreciated the doctrine of passive-obedience. I do not pretend to determine who is in the right in that controversy, much less to handle it as a religious one : But give me leave to tell an admirable story concerning Dr Colvil, a great man in the kingdom of Scotland, but one that was thought not to understand clearly the principle of non-resistance. The late Earl of Middleton having him once at dinner, asked him, " Whether there could be no case in which defensive arms were lawful ?" The doctor replied, " It was fit for the people to believe them unlawful, and for kings to believe them lawful." It was an admirable repartee upon a sudden question : But perhaps, had he thought of it, he would have said likewise, " That it is fit for the ministers of kings to believe them lawful too ;" and I presume the present Earl of Middleton set down that additional instruction to the apothegm. For though, to the eternal shame of the judges who now sit upon the King's Bench, they violated our laws in the continuance of his imprisonment, it must be allowed, for his everlasting honour, that that noble lord was as cautious of making the law the limits of his ministry, as if it were lawful to rise up in arms whenever the laws were broken.

But I must answer your postscript, wherein you tell me, that you neither know how the king can be restored, now the Prince of Orange is in possession, nor what will become of the Prince of Orange if we should restore the king ; nor what security we could have from any conditions the king could make with us. I answer, that if the Prince of Orange is not kept in possession by Englishmen, he may soon be brought to reason ; and I do assure you, that there are many Jacobites that desire rather to see the Prince of Orange return to his station of stadtholder again in Holland, than wish

him any personal injury. And as for the security you require for any promised conditions, you must forgive me if I think you a little insincere, if not trifling, when you place so much weight upon the pope's giving King James an absolution for any promises he should make. You might have said thus artfully to the mob; but you cannot suppose that I would believe you were in earnest, though you make such a clutter with it. I allow, as you say, that our histories tell us of some kings that were absolved by popes; but you know that bulls, absolutions, and the pope's excommunications, were like to go farther with the nation in popish times, than they were like to do now: And yet by your very instance of King Henry the Third, you might be convinced that the people of England never would, even then, let a king be at rest, till he had performed his promises. I will not write a long confutation of a thing that I know cannot stick with you, or any wise considering man: And besides, I do not go about to persuade you to take up with a constitution, that will depend either upon a king's temper or religion, honour or veracity. Make a government that is easy to all, and it will be the interest of all to preserve it: But if you would do so, you must bring the right line into it; you must nicely preserve the church of England as the national church; and yet you must remember that the kingdom of heaven is not of this world: You must take care, in your civil compacts, that priestcraft does not spoil all at last: You must take care even of a protestant, *in ordine ad spiritualia*; and let the tares and the wheat grow up together. But farther, although you have such wild accounts concerning the Jacobites, there are amongst those that serve King James, men that know what you are a-doing; that know you are looking far and near for a deliverance; that know how impotent you think the Prince of Orange is to rule; how that you despise him, as much as the nation disliked Richard Cromwell before the Restoration; that know your extravagant projects, and more temperate thoughts, and yet have accounted for all things; and will, as things ripen, find ways to give you satisfaction, if any thing will. We know that Maud the empress, even when King Stephen was a prisoner, and though her title was indisputable, and though the nation was all catholics, lost the crown, because she was refractory and haughty, and denied to the Londoners Edward the Confessor's laws. And I assure you there will be men that will lay before the king the necessity and wisdom of giving satisfaction to all your reasonable demands. If you do not ask too much counter-security, things unfit for an English king to grant, there are Jacobites that will not only deliver, but second your petitions. A good and settled monarchy you may have; and a commonwealth is scarce practicable, will be hazardous at present, and cannot be lasting.

I know there are some amongst the Jacobites, who are otherwise men of great honour and worth; and yet suspect every thing, such as you promote, is to make the king a doge of Venice: But there are others who have compared and taken in pieces, and viewed in parts, all the models of government; who, if you would rectify, and not change either the name or nature of ours, will receive very kindly any thing you offer, will instruct you how to make it palatable to the king, and shew him how consistent it is both with his honour and his interest. Let the manner be decent, and your propositions allow King James to have the balance that an English king should have, and must necessarily have in our constitution. And I assure you many of the Jacobites know no other but such an English king to be our supreme head and governor.

But, after all, if King James is called home by the nation, we need no other security than a well-chosen parliament. The present parliament may call him home when they please, without any other force but their own denial of money. And the king's being of another religion will in some measure check the effects of a revolutionary joy, and prevent our excesses. And if sober and honest men would in all corporations (instead of all other projects) instruct all the populace, that all those that drink upon their members' cost, hazard being slaves for that draught; and that it is time seriously

to take care of themselves and their posterity, by chusing men of virtue, rather than the favourites or the factions of any opinion, whether they are *jure divino*, or original contract-men; men that are as well loyal to their country as their king, and to their king as their country; men that have good nature, estates, honesty, sense, and moderate minds: Such a parliament would be an healing parliament, might not only end, but take away all occasions for strife and changes. And establishment, virtue, and liberty are a nobler happiness than excessive riches, pompous buildings, and all the other glories that a people can possess. How is the excellency of the Spartan institution every where and every day applauded, though all their pleasures seem to be nothing else but hardships and self-denial? But we may add plenty to our peace, increase our trade and our strength, and by our naval force, and a perfect union amongst ourselves, be again considered as the arbiters of Europe.

But I am unawares launching into a spacious subject. It is time to conclude. I wish all Englishmen would consider how to do it; and I wish there could suddenly, before we are undone, a method be found out to reconcile the king and his nephew, and all his children, both natural and national; a method found out to adjust all our interests, and bring us all to our respective duties. I beseech God so to order things, that all sects and sorts of Englishmen may think it a national good to restore our king. I have read our annals, I wish every body had. Could I here delineate the scars and wounds, the bloodsheds and distresses, that the violation of the hereditary title (which will hover over all usurpations, and all forms of a commonwealth,) have cost the poor people of this nation; could I paint out the executions and extinctions of noble families, that the wars between the two houses have occasioned, they would represent but an horrid prospect, a doleful scene.

"Oh, blessed God! visit not this land for its iniquities with destruction; but in judgment remember mercy. Let righteousness and mercy restore him to it, and on them establish the throne of thy servant James; teach him to go in and out before this great people, which (by our laws and oaths, and his inheritance,) thou hast committed to his charge: Let his children honour, his subjects obey, and his nephew be just to him, and God be glorified, be still glorified in his and our wonderful deliverance; that wickedness may no longer prosper, but peace return to us and our children's children, to all generations, *Amen, Amen.*" And God put it into the hearts of all his subjects to say likewise *Amen* to this national and honest prayer.

I find that my letter has grown under my hands; but if it tires you, you must thank yourself that you started so much game; a great deal has risen before me in writing that I have not followed, though I hope I have writ enough to let you know that whatever spirit you find some Jacobites in, yet there are others that cannot disgust a reasonable man; and also that I am the same Englishman you ever knew me, as well as,

Sir,

Your affectionate friend,
and faithful servant.

Postscript.

The letter I sent you last August, being shewn to some that are yours as well as my old friends, and more so to England than to either of us, it was, at their importunity, sent to the press, soon enough to have been published long before the parliament met; but when part of it was printed, the rest was stopped by some accidents that are not so proper to mention, and therefore some few expressions of it may not be altogether so

seasonable as they were when I wrote it to you, (since the money is now given,) however, I hope in the main it may be of some use. And now we have begun this scribbling conflict, I desire that in your next you will let me know when you can reasonably suppose this war, and consequently taxes, will end? And whether, if the confederacy should break before you have thought fit to restore your rightful and lawful king, or the French are more humbled (as you call it) than they are hitherto, we should not indeed run a greater risk of our liberties for the present, (after such a continued provocation of the king) than either you or I, or any good Englishman, could wish to see? Tell me likewise whether those that are not of our army or fleet, cannot, if they have a mind to restore the king upon a national foot, influence those natives that are in both, to restore King James, as the old army did his brother. You have read history, and know that an army of natives follows the inclinations of the inhabitants; you know the real power your party has in the nation; and that it is not the tories who have broke in upon their own consciences, but you who have forsaken your understandings, that keep the Prince of Orange (as much as you every day ridicule him,) from being sent for good and all to Holland; and though you do not know how to make him either value your persons, or see his own interest, yet you can soon find ways (notwithstanding your own latitude) to make an English army reflect upon their oaths and obligations to King James, and their usage under this man; nay, you cannot but know they begin themselves to have these reflections, and therefore with very little pains you may prepare them nationally to restore the king, which if they do (with all due regard to him be it spoken) he is, as it were, in our power, and he must grant those concessions we really want; and where a king, whose title is undisputed, frankly hears advice from a duly elected parliament, the genuine and united sense of the nation may be gathered up, and a natural cure given to all our troubles, and only from thence can come an impartial settlement. Think of these things seriously, and let not the discourses of such Jacobites as you complain of, (who have as little interest with the king as you say they have with England,) either give you disturbance, or make you any longer willing to undergo worse things under this usurpation, than you can have any just reason to fear, if the king returns; especially, if you yourselves restore him. Besides, I must tell you, I have good reason to believe the King of France himself (with whom you fright the mob) is not politically an enemy to a limited monarchy in England; and that he will agree to a reasonable peace in Europe, if the restoration of King James is made one of the conditions of it; and that he will not be brought to any peace unless we restore him, how much soever the Prince of Orange has flattered you, that (instead of the vineyards and spoils of Paris that he seemed to promise) "he will bring him to an honourable peace." I will only add, that whereas some of your party do now, as you did formerly, raise malicious and unjust calumnies upon the queen, I am fully satisfied that she is as desirous the king should comply with his people, as the noblest and nicest patriots could be, were King James upon the throne: She has a mind that the struggles between the crown and the people should be adjusted, that so the succession of her son may be secured. Think of all this seriously, write me your mind freely, and act as becomes a true lover of England. Be not over fond of your own creation, as a Williamite. Meddle not with those who would yet farther change the name and nature of our government, and then (fiercely as you are so now) be anti-jacobite as long as you can. Once again, adieu.

The People of England's Grievances offered to be enquired into, and redressed by their Representatives in Parliament. By Sir James Montgomery.

Sir James Montgomery was a Scottish gentleman of distinction, endowed, unfortunately for himself, with those versatile and active talents which distinguish their possessors in times of general and public commotion. He was bred a whig, and had been active at the Revolution, but afterwards espoused the cause of James II., whom he had laboured to dethrone. After a year or two spent in intrigue and pamphlet-writing, he became deeply involved, both with the more violent presbyterians and with the Scottish Jacobites, in a plot for domestic insurrection and foreign invasion. Finding that the matter was likely to take air, he anticipated discovery by making a partial disclosure of the plot to the ministers in Scotland, and finding himself called upon to purchase his pardon by bearing witness against his associates, he rather chose to withdraw from Britain; and spleen and vexation soon afterwards ended his turbulent life.

THE present government, under which we expected so much happiness, doth so sensibly decay in the good opinion and affections of all sorts of people, that nothing but the timely help of the approaching parliament can prevent those dangers which otherwise the general want of affection in too many men of all ranks seem to portend unto it.

On Monday, the first day of the term, Westminster-Hall was filled with loud complaints and threatenings against the great men, for imprisoning peers and commoners contrary to law. One brave peer, whose great years cannot abate the fervour of his juvenile courage, by which he rendered himself so famous, and ennobled his posterity, spake aloud against foreigners and foreign counsels; his share in the government could not prevail with him to hide its defects and wrong measures, to the astonishment of the hearers. And the very same day at the Royal Exchange, as if the citizens had been acted with the same spirit of discontent, they talked loudly of their losses by sea, and the mal-administration of the navy, cursing the Dutch, and reciting their losses since the revolution, to the value of several millions. The two or three next days following, and ever since, we have heard our seamen bitterly cursing in the streets for want of their pay; and our land-forces, newly arrived from Flanders, cursing as bitterly for their ill usage there: Nay, the very officers that are come from thence, and some of them members of parliament, curse the Dutch as bitterly in private as their soldiers do in the streets. They tell us, without reserve, of the unequal treatment abroad of them and the Dutch; these are paid, while they and their men scarce have subsistence; and yet they must be called out to fight the battles, in truth, of the Dutch, who stand looking on, and must not come to their relief.

The common people are also querulous in almost all places; they complain aloud of the weight and number of our taxes; while books are written, complaining of the mal-administration from the first oversight in not relieving Ireland; as also of the loss of so many brave Englishmen for want of being relieved and succoured at the battle of Stey-

kirk; as likewise the miscarriage of the descent. From these books, and the free discourses of such true patriots as wrote them, the nation is perfectly informed how empty we are left of stores and ammunition, by the consumption of those King James left, to the value of thirteen hundred thousand pounds, and by sending abroad great trains of artillery. By them we come to know that foreign commodities are risen 30 per cent. and that ours are fallen 20 per cent. That great numbers of land-men, natives of this kingdom, were pressed against law, and the liberty of the subject, for sea-service, and sold into Flanders against their consent; that our best coin is exported into Holland and Flanders, and a great part of it there clipt and demolished; and that our forces are there abused with the change of our guineas, which have escaped melting down. That above two hundred thousand Englishmen have been lost by the war since the Revolution; and that the government hath spent above two and twenty millions, and (as pretended) is six in debt, or thereabouts. That parliament men have been closetted of late, and that in Flanders as well as England. That conspiracies and associations have been forged against peers and commoners; and the forgers of them, though so palpably detected, not prosecuted till lately, that the parliament was ready to meet, who had voted that the attorney-general should proceed against Fuller. That a free-born Englishman hath been tortured in Scotland by order from England, against all law and example; and also against law confined, and so continues without new evidence, after he had endured torture. That men of all degrees are injured and oppressed more than ever, with enormous and excessive fines and bail, against the articles of government. That places of trust, both civil and military, are sold; and that the kingdom is full of foreign forces, to the terror of our own people. That the publick monies, given and designed solely for the defence and preservation of the nation, have been misapplied, of which, though many instances might be given, I shall for brevity sake only instance in one. It appears by the publick accompts delivered into parliament, that two thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds were paid to the Earl of Sunderland, one excepted out of the act of grace; and to whom the nation is only indebted for the dreadful calamities (the effects of his management and advices) which have befallen it.

These things, and many more which might be recited, have bred in many an indifferency for the government, who were before well affected to it; and others dislike it to that degree as to wish for a commonwealth, or any thing that might give them ease. It is the great zeal I have to prevent the ruin of my country, as much as lies in my single capacity, that makes me write this short summary of our grievances, and set it in the view of our representatives, who are only capable to make an effectual enquiry into the true causes of them, and remove them. Some of them indeed are apparently the causes of others; but there is undoubtedly some general cause or causes of them all: And if the voice of the people, by which I understand people of all ranks, speaks truth, Dutch counsels and Dutch measures of acting are the true source of all these mischiefs; or else how come they to curse the Dutch, in the court and in the camp, in the city and in the country, by sea and land, both here and in Flanders? And the English hatred of the French is turning apace, in all sorts of men, into an hatred of the Dutch. Our very soldiers by sea and land, as well as their commanders, wish for a war against the Dutch; and parliament-men enough complain, that they shall never get some bills pass for the benefit of this kingdom, because they are contrary to the interest of the Dutch.

I must avow, I cannot tell what need an English king hath of Dutch counsellors: It is enough that he govern by them in the United Provinces, and by Englishmen in England; as if he were crowned King of France, (for which some hope his good fortune reserves him,) he must not expect to govern that kingdom by English counsels; for the French would never endure English ministers, or English counsels, or English forces; nor do I know why the English should endure the Dutch.

It is the expectation of all true Englishmen, that the parliament will at last remove this cause of our calamities, before they give any more money; but if they do not, they will give to their own and our destruction, and repent when it is too late.

His majesty being King of England, as such is one of the greatest crowned heads of Europe; and it would be an unspeakable satisfaction to his people, if he would be pleased to quit his stadtholdership in Holland; for England and the United Provinces are rivals for the trade of the world, and, as such, have mighty crossing and interfering interests, and will be always jealous of one another.

Another cause of our calamities, proceeding in part from the former, is, as many suspect, the corruption of some members of parliament, who do not give, but sell their votes. This is a great reproach to our nation, under a reforming government, and hath been the complaint of some in the house, as well as without doors; and it is the desire and expectation of all true Englishmen, before any more of our money be given, that the commissioners appointed and enabled to examine the publick accompts of the kingdom, do take and require an accompt upon oath from the respective officers, of all the pensions, salaries, and sums of money, paid, or payable, out of the revenue or otherwise, to members of parliament, and that accompt so taken be delivered into parliament. No sound member can oppose such an enquiry; and if, upon making it, any pensioners (as they are called) can be found, it will be an honour to the house, and a satisfaction to the nation, to have the house purged of them; or if none should be found, it will yet be a greater honour to the house, and a full satisfaction to the people, to know there are no such members among them in this reformed reign.

These are some among many other enquiries which we hope our representatives will make, and redress what grievances they find, before they give any more of our money; the love of their groaning country, and their honour as Englishmen, and as trustees of the English people, we cannot but think will oblige them to it.

I have said nothing of the general excise, because it cannot enter into my heart to think that the conservators of our liberties will lay impositions upon the necessities of life; for though a nation may endure it, whereof nine parts in ten live on trade, yet it can never be endured long in a country where the same proportion live upon land, and not on trade, as the Dutch do. I speak of a general excise, which takes in bread, flesh, salt, soap, tallow, leather, or other commodities, absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the poor as well as the rich of the nation, which I aver will ruin our country, and if it be not so general, will not answer the ends for which it is imposed. The fourth or fifth penny will go away in such a general excise, which is as much as most people lay up, or can lay up, for their children; but if that share must go to the government out of our necessary expences, God be merciful unto us, and to the miserable posterity which we shall leave behind us. I shall say nothing of the legions of excisemen, which must then live upon our vitals. The French will be then by much the happier people, when this gale shall be established. Some say it shall be given but for the time the war shall last; but I say, if it once be given, the government will never want a pretence of necessity to keep it up in time of peace as well as war; and when it is once up, adieu to free parliaments, and then who shall pull it down?

It is already given in the intention of some; for one Parker, agent for the Dutch bankers, is come out of Holland with a plan or method, there contrived, of raising it here in England; and with a proposition, that the Dutch bankers, who cannot but be supposed to do it by the direction of the States General, will advance some millions on that fund, as soon as granted: by which they will, in a short time, devour the whole treasure of the nation: For in Holland money is put out but at 3 per cent. and for money put into the exchequer here 8 per cent. is allowed: So that the Dutch will thereby be clear gainers 5 per cent., and 6 per cent. for remitting our money into Holland. Wherefore such an excise will not only impoverish our country, but enslave us.

to the Dutch, by enriching them, and helping to maintain greater numbers of foreign forces, who have no principle but to fight for pay. It is found by experience, that they will fight as they are commanded, as well against as for our religion and liberties. Duke Schomberg's declaration in Dauphiny (as in the original French) hath helped to open our eyes; and it is most certain, that foreigners in the confederacy fight more for our money than the protestant religion, and make new bargains against every campaign.

I shall not presume to direct our representatives what is fit to be levied for the carrying on of the war, but I must beg leave to acquaint them, that as it is not to be doubted but that they will be minded of their promise, to make up the poll-bill 1,300,000*l.*, which is said not to amount to above 800,000*l.*, so it is to be hoped, before they give the remaining balance, 500,000*l.*, they will please to enquire, whether for carrying on the descent which was to be made into France, the full number of 38,000 men were raised and paid, that being the quota assigned for that particular service in the account of 65,000 men to be raised and maintained for one whole year, for the defraying of the charges whereof the parliament so frankly gave the full sum demanded.

And, before I conclude, I shall take liberty to acquaint our representatives in parliament, that the nation expects that they shall either appropriate what they give this session to the use of the war, and appoint commissioners to receive it, and issue out the payments of it to that intent and purpose, and no other; or, in case they think not fit to do this, then it will be expected, that they will make all officers whatsoever, appointed to receive and issue out any of the said money, liable to the penalties of perpetual disability for any office, civil or military, and an incapacity to sit in either house of parliament, if they, or any of them, shall issue out or misapply any of the said money to any other use or purpose; as also to an action from any person or persons who shall advance money, or furnish any stores or habiliments for war by sea or land upon the fund of the said money, which shall be appropriated to the aforesaid use.

It is also to be desired, that they will require all English officers, civil and military, to bring a true account of the just arrears due to them, and all persons employed under them on the publick service, and vote all such arrears to be paid out of some branch of the publick revenue, as may be most easy to the kingdom.

But it is to be hoped, when you enquire into the receipt of the money brought into the exchequer this last year, and the disbursements, there will then remain money more than sufficient, to pay all arrears due to the land and sea forces; for the customs have this last year clearly brought in eight hundred thousand pounds, the hereditary excise six hundred thousand, the double excise four hundred thousand, the small branches of the revenue forty thousand, the land-tax sixteen hundred thousand, and admit that the quadruple poll brought in but eight hundred thousand pound, the total of this year's receipts amounts to four millions, two hundred and forty thousand pounds; which, with eighteen millions given before, since the Revolution, amounts to above two and twenty millions, received by the government: And if that hath not been sufficient to defray the charge of the war, and all the necessary expences of the government, with a sum remaining in bank sufficient to discharge all arrears, then the nation must sink under the burthen, unless our representatives can find out a way to lessen the charge of the government, and increase the riches of the kingdom.

And whether or no that will not in a great measure be done by opening our trade with France, (even during the continuance of the war,) will be worth their consideration. A member of the House of Commons, who is a commissioner for the revenue in Ireland, can testify that the customs there increased this year to the value of twenty-five thousand pounds, by the import of 2500 ton of French wine, brought in pursuant to the articles of Limerick; and if our trade with France be not opened, we shall still

have French wines and other commodities from thence brought in to us by the Danes, Swedes, and Dutch; the last whereof, as well as our allies in Flanders, have lately taught us by experience, that a commerce of trade is not inconsistent with a state of war. We had much better have in our own bottoms what have been and will be brought to us by foreigners; for, not to instance in other French merchandises, it is notoriously known that we have had Champaigne wine (the undeniable product of France) by the way of Flanders and Holland, at so great a rate, that it could not be sold in taverns here for less than 10s. a flask.

Foreigners thus carrying away our trade, is a great grievance; and if this, with our other grievances, be redressed, and care be taken that no more money be given than what is absolutely necessary for the preservation and safety of the nation, and that what be given be duly applied for the uses intended, the people will part with their money the more chearfully, and more moderate taxes than what we are now affrighted with the apprehensions of, will defray the necessary expences of the war.

If any of our representatives shall not think fit, for private ends of their own, to do these things, and shall prefer their own private gain and advancement before the public good, such must expect that the people will never more chuse them to serve in parliament; but we hope for better things, and are willing to believe they will approve themselves to be the true conservators of the liberties of England, and to take care to redress our grievances, particularly in dismissing all foreign forces, and justly and duly paying all our English by sea and land, which will so encourage our soldiers, and unite us all at home, that no true-hearted Englishman will be terrified or affrighted with the apprehension or rumour of any foreign invasion whatsoever.

Having in this paper taken notice of the barbarity used towards a free-born Englishman in Scotland, by torture and imprisonment contrary to law, that I may not seem partial, by concealing the inhumanity lately used towards prisoners in England, I shall give an instance of such barbarity, that I was very unwilling to credit the relation, till I was thoroughly convinced of the truth from the solemn asseverations made by persons of undoubted credit and reputation.

Two foreigners and an Englishman were committed this last summer prisoners to Newgate as spies, by a warrant from a minister of state, and by order kept in irons under so close a confinement, that no person, except the gaolers, was permitted for a long time to speak to them, see them, or send them any relief; and if the irons did not enter their souls, it did so deeply their flesh, that Major Richardson, now or lately keeper of Newgate, and not much famed for tender-heartedness, was moved in compassion towards them, of his own accord, to strike off their irons, give them plaisters to heal their sores, and move the lord-chief-justice that they might be brought to trial; but his lordship seeing their *mittimus*, was pleased to say, "Being committed as spies, they were prisoners of state, and he could take no cognizance of them;" therefore their names were not inserted into the calendar of the prisoners, which every sessions is presented to the judges, in order to the gaol-delivery. Major Richardson afterward made application on their behalf to the minister of state by whose order they were committed, who, with a more than usual clemency, was pleased to reply, "Knock them on the head;" and, as if to induce him to obey his order, said, "Nobody knew where they were, nor could any discover but from him what became of them:" And what is become of them is very worthy to be enquired into by the parliament, who upon enquiry will find, that one of the aforesaid prisoners, by his barbarous usage, is so distracted, that he is fitter to be an inhabitant of Bedlam than Newgate; and if any humanity hath been shewed to any of them, it hath only been very lately, upon the approach of the sitting of the parliament.

A French Prophecy; or an Admonition to the English concerning their near approaching Danger, and the Means to escape it: Being a Prediction of a Gentleman of Quality in Languedoc, concerning the Downfall of the French King, and several other Things relating to England. To which is added, A fuller Account of Archbishop Usher's Prophecy than has ever yet been printed, (agreeing with this,) and attested by the Lord Chief Justice Hale. and another Person of Honour. Translated from the French Copy. Licensed Feb. 25th, 1690.

The period of revolution and factious dissensions is that in which

——“Lean-look'd prophets whisper fearful change.”

The Huguenots in the south of France, especially those called Camisars, were deeply infected with enthusiastic opinions, some of which afterwards made much noise in London under the auspices of the refugees called French prophets. These men pretended to supernatural gifts, to prophetic powers, and even to that of working miracles. Their alleged inspiration appears to have been a medley of madness and imposture. The following French Prophecy seems to have been of Camisar original. As for the predictions ascribed to the learned and pious Archbishop Usher, the understanding reader will at once consider them as forgeries. This abuse of such a venerable name took place so early as the reign of Charles II.

THE original French of the following Admonition I received lately in Holland of the author, whose name is thereunto subscribed, a gentleman of an ancient family in Languedoc, whose seat is an ancient castle of the same name with himself, about three English miles from Montpellier, with a considerable revenue thereunto belonging; but he was forced to leave it, and all that he had, after two years imprisonment, for his religion. And this is his condition at present. The author of the Admonition, which he mentions, was his younger brother, who died near three years since, of about forty-eight years of age, a person, as he saith, of great piety and credit, and of extraordinary knowledge of things absent and future. And of him our author received both admonition before-hand of the things here said to have happened to him, and an explication afterward of the mysteries of them, and the signification thereof. He is not without witnesses of the truth of what he relates; but they are dispersed into several parts, and some of them now in England.

It was the author's desire to have it committed to the English as soon as might be, and my good-will to my country, and desire to serve them, inclined me to lend him my assistance therein without much difficulty, both because it doth agree so much with the known prediction of Bishop Usher, and because the state and course of affairs seem to agree but too much with both, in a manifest tendency to the accomplishment of them. And that the reader may not be so much disturbed as admonished by it, for his better direction and instruction how to use it, I thought fit to subjoin the principal part of the bishop's predictions: which I can assure the reader to be no imposture, but true and genuine, from the testimony of two witnesses beyond all exception; the one

the late Lord-Chief-Justice Hale, who, when I shewed it him in writing before ever it was printed, and desired his judgment of it, told me he had heard him say the substance of it, the substance of it (repeating those words) twenty times with a great deal of confidence; the other, a person whom I ought not to name without licence, but of great honour by degree, and much greater by real worth and virtue, to whom the words were spoken by the bishop, and who committed them to writing, and was pleased to favour me with the perusal of the original.

*Avis pour les Fidelles
d'Angleterre.*

Il faut être dans un grand avoûglement pour ne s'être pas apperceu, que la colere de Dieu paroît allumée depuis long temps presque sur toutes les parties de l'Europe, de sorte qu'il semble que Dieu vueille comme par un nouveau deluge exterminer toute chair; puisqu'il n'est que trop vray qu'elle s'est portée à toute sorte d'excess. L'indignation du Tout-puissant a commencé à le respendre en particulier presque sur tous ceux, qui portent le nom des protestans. Ces raisons devoient nous porter a nous amender et nous corriger de nous vices; mais le ciel et la terre sont temoins que nous n'avons sçeu que c'étoit d'affliger nos ames et amender le train de nôtre vie; c'est aussi pour cela que les jugemens de Dieu (dont nous n'avons tenu conte, lorsque leur decret a tant et tant de fois si epouvantablement enfanté) se sont tous jours r'enforcées. L'experience nous la fait voir en France, n'ayant pas profité des avis qui nous avoyent été donnez.

Il y a plus de vingt ans que je receus une lettre, qui m'apprennoit nos malheurs et me marquoit le moien de les prevenir, qui étoit d'assembler les intendans pasteurs et anciens de l'église et leur dire de faire faire une jeûne de trois jours à la premiere eglise qui seroit attaquée, et qu'on en verroit les effets. Je negligai cet avis, non sçachant d'ou il venoit. Mais environ dix ans apres, l'ayant sçeu et vu arriver bien de choses qui m'avoyent été marquées, j'en parlay à ces messieurs, qui n'en profitoyent pas; ce qui nous a fait voir de fâcheuses suites. Il y a en Angleterre plusieurs ministres qui estoient presens lors-

*An Admonition to the Christians
of England.*

He must be very blind who perceives not that the wrath of God hath long since been kindled against all parts almost of Europe; so that he seems resolved to destroy all flesh again as it were with a new deluge, since it is but too true, that they have abandoned themselves to all kind of wickedness. But the indignation of the Almighty hath begun to manifest itself more especially against those who are called protestants. And by those means ought we to have been induced to repentance and the reformation of our manners. But heaven and earth are witness, that we have not so much as known, or well considered, what it is to afflict our souls and amend our lives. Hence it is that the judgments of God, which we so little regarded, though the decree hath again and again brought forth so terribly, have been daily more and more increasing. This we in France have been made to see by experience, since we neglected the admonitions which were given to us.

It is now twenty years and upwards since I received a letter, which admonished me of our approaching miseries [in France,] and the means to prevent them; which were, to call together the governors of our church, and acquaint them that they should appoint a three days fast in that church which soever should first be attacked, [by process by our enemies,] and they should see the effects thereof. But I neglected that advice, not knowing whence it came. But about ten years after, when I understood that, and saw the event of much of that which was foretold, I acquainted those gentlemen with it; but they regarded not

que je leur vis voir la lettre, qui m'avoit été envoyée.

Madam de Turene, Monsieur de Rouvigny, et Monsieur Gaches, ministre de l'église de Charenton, eurent les mêmes avis que moy, la synode en eut en suite; et l'auteur voyant qu'on n'en profitoit pas m'écrivait en ces termes.

“Un vaisseau ogité d'une rude tempeste en piteux état. Lorsqu'un enfant, n'ayant su eveiller les matelots pour sortir les eaux qu'il y voioit entrer, est en fin obligé de crier; sauve qui peut. Malheur à qui n'aime le Seigneur Jesus, et ne porte tous les jours ce divin crucifié dans son cœur!”

Il y a environ huit à neuf ans que je receus un coup de Foudre de jour; j'avois été averti de ce coup trois ans avant qu'il tomba sur moy et par trois diverses fois: Ce coup fut suivi environ six semaines apres d'un coup de tonnerre, qui tomba de nuit (dont même étoit averti). Je fus obligé de faire eveiller tous ceux, qui estoient chez moy au lict: Nous fusines au lieu ou je faisois precher; je faisois lire la parole de Dieu, lorsque le tonnerre tomba sous mes pieds: Le lieu ou nous estions estoit pavé et les rochers au dessous: On entendoit gronder le Tonner sous moy qui estois éloigné d'eux néanmoins dans le même endroit, aussi fort qu'il a accoutumé de faire: Il y fut assez de tems: Nous ne discontinuâmes pas pourtant la lecture de l'Ecriture sainte. Ces furent des coups terribles et mystérieux presages et avant courreurs des maux pres à fondre sur la France et sur l'Angleterre: Il y a en Angleterre plusieurs personnes qui estoient chez moy lorsque ces choses se passerent: Ils en ignoroient le mystere, mais je puis bien prouver ce que j'avance.

Etant en état de quitter la province ou je faisois mon séjour, il y a environ cinq à six ans, l'auteur des avis, qui a reçu d'une vie si chretienne qu'on ne luy sçauoit rien

what I said, which made the consequence so sad. There are now in England divers ministers, who were present when I shewed the letter which was sent me.

The same advice which was given to me, was sent also to Madam Turone, and to the Sieur Rouvigny, and to Mr Gache, minister of Charenton, and to the synod of Languedoc. And when the author, who sent these admonitions, understood that nothing was done thereupon, he wrote thus to me:

“Very unhappy is that ship, which being shaken in a grievous storm, the mariners will not be roused even by a child to pump out the water, which he sees running in, till he be forced to cry out, ‘Every one shift for himself.’ Woe to him who loveth not our Lord Jesus, and doth not carry the divine crucified one daily in his heart!”

About eight or nine years since, a sudden stroke as of thunder struck me down in the day-time (about eight in the morning), according to three several warnings thereof given to me three years before. This was followed about six weeks after by a thunder in the night: Whereof I had also been admonished. Whereupon I called up all who were in bed in my house; and we went into the room where we used to have prayers, and there read the Scriptures. While that was doing it thundered under my feet, though the place was paved and upon a rock. We all heard the noise of thunder (directly) under me (who was at a distance from them, though all in the same room,) as loud as it used to be in the air, and for some time: Yet we left not off our reading the Scriptures. Those were terrible claps, and mysterious presages and fore-runners of the calamities which are ready to break out upon the kingdoms of France and England. There are in England several persons who were at my house when these things happened: They understood not the mystery of them; but I am able to prove what I here declare.

About five or six years since, when I was to leave the country where I dwelt, the author of these admonitions (who lived so christian a life as none could blame,

imputer, et à qui Dieu a fait de graces si extraordinaires que je ne pense pas que depuis plusieurs siecles on ait oui parler de semblables, me donna un depôt cachete, et me dit le tems qu'il devoit l'ouvrir; il avoit au commencement de cet escrit.

O Roy, un plus grand roy que toy te commande: songe aut conte que tu dois rendre plutôt que tu ne penses: Et a fin,

O Angleterre, si tu de rends complice du crime, tu auras part à la peine.

L'orage est furieux rempli d'horreur et de carnage: Tachez à le prevenir à fin que votre contree soit une contree de paix, une isle fortunée, et un jardin d'Eden: C'est le souhait de

Votre tres obeissant serviteur,
SAINT JEAN.

Guettes Israel, c'est ici le tems de veiller et de prier, c'est le tems de crier à plein gosier et de ne se point epargner; sonnez du cornet en Sion, reveillez les peuples endormis, insistez en tems et hors tems, et ditez hardiment à Jerusalem, qu'elle se repente à fin qu'il y ait paix pour elle et non une soudain destruction; car le tonnerre a grondé.

and whom God had favoured with such extraordinary graces, as few, I believe, in several ages have heard the like,) deposited with me a sealed paper, and told me the time when I should open it. In the beginning were these words:

O King, (meaning the French king,) a greater King than thee commands [or rules] thee: consider of the reckoning thou art to make, sooner than thou thinkest. And in the end,

O England, if thou make thyself partaker in the crime, thou shalt take part in the punishment.

The storm is violent, full of horror and destruction: Endeavour to prevent it, that your country may be a country of peace, a fortunate island, and a garden of Eden: Which is the hearty desire of

Your most obedient servant,
SAINT JEAN.

Postscript.] You, who are watchmen of Israel, this is the time to watch and to pray; this is the time to cry aloud, and spare not: Sound the trumpet in Zion; awaken the sleeping people: Be instant in season, and out of season, and speak boldly to Jerusalem, that she repent, that so peace may be unto her, and not sudden destruction: for the thunder is already begun.

Archbishop Usher's Predictions.

The year before he died, being asked, "Whether he did believe that great persecution of the church of God in England, Scotland, and Ireland" (of which he had spoken with great confidence many years before in time of great peace,) "to be passed, or yet to come?" he said, "That it was yet to come, and that he did as confidently expect it as ever he had done:" adding, "That this said persecution would fall upon all the protestant churches of Europe." And when it was answered, it might be hoped that it might have been past in these nations, by reason of the devastation and bloodshed which had been in the late civil war, he replied, with a very serious and stern look,

"Fool not yourself with such hopes; for I tell you, All you have yet seen hath been but the beginning of sorrows, to what is yet to come upon the protestant churches of Christ: who will ere long fall under a sharper persecution than ever yet has been upon them. And therefore look ye be not found in the outward court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar. For Christ will measure all those who profess his name, and call themselves his people; and the outward worshippers he will

leave out to be trodden down by the Gentiles. The outward court is the formal Christian, whose religion lies in performing the outside duties of Christianity, without having an inward life, and power of faith and love uniting them to Christ. And those God will leave to be trodden down and swept away by the Gentiles. But the worshippers within the temple and before the altar, are those who do indeed worship God in spirit and in truth, whose souls are made his temple, and he is honoured and adored in the most inward thoughts of their hearts; and they sacrifice their lusts and vile affections, yea, and their own wills to him, and these God will hide in the hollow of his hand, and under the shadow of his wings. And this shall be one great difference between this last and all the other preceding persecutions; for in the former, the most eminent and spiritual ministers and Christians did generally suffer most, and were most violently fallen upon; but in this last persecution these shall be preserved by God, as a seed to partake of that glory, which shall immediately follow and come upon the church, as soon as this storm shall be over: For as it shall be the sharpest, so it shall be the shortest persecution of them all; and shall only take away the gross hypocrites and formal professors; but the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be overpassed."

To this I think very pertinent that excellent passage of his to the same person, concerning Sanctification,* in these words:

"I must tell you, We do not well understand what sanctification and the new creature are. It is no less than for a man to be brought to an entire resignation of his will to the will of God; and to live in the offering up of his soul continually in the flames of love, as a whole burnt-offering to Christ. And how little are many of those, who profess Christianity, experimentally acquainted with this work on their souls!"

Some circumstances of the persecution aforesaid are mentioned in the printed paper of his Predictions, to which I refer the reader. But one there is not mentioned there, or ever by him expressly, that I have heard of, viz. the time. Of which yet it may be observed, that he seems in divers discourses to have intimated it so, that it must be now very near, by telling some persons, viz. such as were ancient, that they should not live to see it, and others that they might, that is, by course of years, and among others Judge Hale, who, had he been now living, had been upwards of eighty-one. Besides, if the same was signified by the thunder under ground mentioned by Mr St Jean, that seems to agree well with the manner mentioned by the archbishop, of a sudden unexpected massacre.

* One of Archbishop Usher's posthumous pieces is entitled, "The Extent of Christ's Satisfaction."

An Account of Two Letters, one of which is from the late King James to the Pope, as it is extracted out of the Register taken at Dublin, July 4, 1690; with a Marginal Note, That it is all written with his own Hand. The other is an original Letter from the Earl of Melfort (the late King's principal Secretary of State) to the late Queen; taken also at Dublin at the same Time.

As James had lost his kingdom in the attempt to reduce it to obedience of the papal see, he might be naturally led to apply to the pope for commiseration in his misfortunes, and for such assistance as the pontiff's means could afford. But these means were too limited (had the pope even been prodigal of them) to counterbalance the obloquy which he necessarily incurred in England by applying to so unpopular a channel of aid. And James's letter to the pope was held out to his former subjects as a clear proof of his confirmed bigotry in those principles which had principally occasioned his exile.

It is thought proper, upon this occasion, to expose these Letters to public view, which would not have been so seasonable at another time as now, when the enemy has given open proofs of those designs which, by these Letters, will appear to have been long concerted by them: And although, by the providence of God, they have been hitherto prevented, yet since, hereby, and by the late discovery, the industry of those who endeavour to subvert this government, is not only manifest, but that they give themselves great encouragement to believe they shall be able to effect it, it is hoped, that these warnings will stir up men to such a degree of vigilance, as will make them careful to prevent any future designs against the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

Beatissime Pater,

“Gaudium ex vestræ sanctitatis in B. Patris cathedram elevatione conceptum, literis nostris per Comitem de Melfort primum secretarium nostrum missis expressum. Literæ S. V. manu scriptæ sinceri amoris paterni et teneræ compassionis ob ea quæ patimur testes adeo auxerunt, ut malorum sensum minuerint, et nos verè consolata sint. Unica turbarum contra nos excitatarum origo est, quod Catholicam Fidem amplexi simus, et eandem in tria regna et latè sparsas per Americam nostrorum subditorum colonias reducere statuisse nuper neutrum negamus. Posterius quæ fecimus in hoc regno probant, ubi enim divino auxilio, parvas quidem, sed frequentes victorias de rebellibus reportassemus (magnum impediunt isti, decretoriam pugnam pertinaciter declinantes) iis in religionis bonum usi sumus, quam hinc spero brevi firmiter stabilitum iri. Idem in alijs ditionibus nostris factum, ubi divinâ ope iisdem restituti fuimus. Hoc non ita difficile videtur, modo subsidio aliquo juvemur, adeò ægre ferunt grave usurpationis jugum, et nostri reditus tam sparsum est desiderium. Juvabit pax Catholicos inter principes inita, aut si pacem temporis angustia vetent, induciæ, quæ etiam finem imponant tragœdiæ in Germania inchoatæ, ubi heretici in ipsis ecclesiæ visceribus hærent eaque rodunt. Nihil opus verbis, ubi res ipsæ tam clarè loquuntur, et opem implorant. Apostolicus S. V. zelus aliquam providebit talis parem, et à fidu-

ciâ pleni Deum venerâmur, beatitudini vestræ longum et prosperum regimen largiatur, atque pedibus ejus advoluti, omni cum debito sanctitatis vestræ filiali amore atque observantiâ, apostolicam benedictionem postulamus. Datum Dublinii, 26 Novemb. 1689.

Dublin, 26th Novemb. 1689.

Translation of a Latin Letter, whereof the Copy is annexed, which was then writ by King James to the Pope, as it is extracted out of the Register taken at Dublin; with a marginal Note, that it was all writ with his own Hand.

Most Holy Father,

"WE did, by the Earl of Melfort, our principal secretary of state, signify to your holiness, the joy we had in your promotion to the sacred chair. And those letters which your holiness did with your own hand write us, were such testimonies of fatherly love, and of your tender compassion for what we suffer, that they have lessened the sense of our calamity, and have proved of real consolation to us. The only source of all these rebellions against us is, that we embraced the catholic faith; and do not disown, but that to spread the same, not only in our three kingdoms, but over all the dispersed colonies of our subjects in America, was our determination. To manifest this, there will need no other proof, than to see how, lately, we have proceeded in this kingdom; for as we have frequently beaten the rebels in small parties, (which might have been a complete victory, if they had not obstinately declined to give us battle,) so we have still turned all to the advantage of religion, and hope, very soon, to see it here firmly established. Nor will it look hard, if but aided by some subsidies, to compass the same in our other dominions, as soon as by God's favour we shall be restored, seeing our people do so ill bear the usurper's yoke, and so universally long for our return. It would promote this work, if a general peace were settled among the catholic princes, or a truce at least, in case the time be too short for the other; for this would put an end to those calamities begun in Germany, and where the hereticks lie now gnawing in the very bowels of the church. But what need we speak on this subject, where the things themselves are so loud, and implore your aid? The apostolic zeal of your holiness must find out remedies fit for these evils; and in full confidence hereof, we beseech God to give your holiness a long and happy reign; and we being, with all love and filial observance, prostrate at your feet, do beg your apostolical benediction. Given at our castle of Dublin, this 26th of November, 1689."

May it please your Majesty,

"Since the last post, not having had any new occasion of demanding audience of the pope, I went to the cardinal Ottoboni, whom, after four or five disappointments, I at last found; and informed him of the matter, and begged his assistance with the pope, for all those reasons which your majesty has already seen, and what else I could invent."

"The cardinal seemed much more willing to enter into the matter than formerly; was very glad at the news; told me that he had seen your majesty's letter to the pope, all of your own hand; that it was all their concerns; that he was but the pope's minister, and so could answer for nothing, but informing him right; and that he promised to me he would do with as much affection to your majesty's interest as I could do if I were there. He complained (in confidence) to me, that the pope had some about him who were not so affectionate; and that so he often left him well inclined, and found him changed at next meeting; but that in this he would do all that was in his

power. He said, he doubted not that I was informed of the emperor's proceedings, how angry he was at the pope, &c.

"I told him, that for those about the pope, if any of them contradicted his inclinations, I humbly conceived it to be his fault, who having the double authority of minister and nephew, might easily make the palace too hot for any who would oppose him, especially in things so just, and indeed so necessary for his interest. That I was, indeed, informed of the emperor's huffing; but withal knew how little that would signify, if he took the right way, which was to assist the king to his throne, who would be in a condition to bring Europe to peace on just terms; and not only to assist the pope, but to profit his eminence, and all his family: That I knew what a king of England could do, and what the generosity of this king would do to such as obliged him, as his eminence might do in this conjuncture: That the emperor was lost, however, to them; and that made it the more necessary to hold in with some, so as to have a friend in time of need: That if this was true, I informed him of the nearest way to put himself above what the house of Austria could do, was to push on the wheel that went easiest, and then, the king on his throne, that family would not talk so high.

"I had all the satisfaction in words I could desire; but, in effect, I believe nothing will be done till the news of the rising come, and then I am very confident something will be done; so I pray God we may have the news of it speedily: And if it be not dispatched hither before this come to your majesty's hand, I would humbly beseech your majesty to get the Most Christian King to send an express with it hither, that we may make the greater impression with it. In the mean time I shall (after the post comes) endeavour another audience, that I may still be keeping them in mind of what it is so much their duty to do, however.

"I am sorry that on this important occasion I should be so little useful to so good a master; but it is God's will, and I must submit to it. I am told, how true I know not, that in Ireland they begin to be sorry for their injustice to me; pray God it be true, and that my example may hinder them from falling in the like with Mr De Lauzune, who will certainly carry higher than I did with them, and therefore I have some reasons to fear from the humours he has to do with. I have written to all my friends to do their best to keep peace, and that all may prefer the king's service to their own private interest; which I hope in God they will do, and that all shall go well. I am sorry to hear that there was not preparation made for the reception of the French; the king could do no more but send a lieutenant-general, E. Dover, to take order; but, alas! the negligence of the servant, makes the master suffer, and it will never be well till these negligences be punished as they deserve; as I doubt not this has been, if the story be true, that the fault was so great, and the worse the matter is represented in France, the more the king's honour is concerned not to suffer it to pass unpunished; one example or two is necessary for the recovering of the kingdoms, for there is not one thing I stand so much in fear of as negligence in executing the king's orders. Forgive me, madam, for meddling in this matter, but I'll swear I cannot help it; I must be concerned when I hear of any thing by which the king is prejudiced, either in his reputation or service.

"I humbly pray that Almighty God may send his blessings down upon the king, your majesty, and the prince, and that you may be happy together for many years in your own England, and that all your subjects may rejoice at it as heartily as I, who am,

May it please your majesty,

Your majesty's most humble,

most faithful, and most obedient

subject and servant,

Melfort.

Rome, May 2,
1690.

Lady Melfort has her most humble duty presented to your majesty,
for which presumption she begs most humble pardon.

Animadversion on King James his Letter to the Pope. Published in the Trial of the Lord Preston and Mr Ashton. 1691.

In the year 1691, Lord Preston, Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and one Elliot, were seized aboard a vessel bound for France, having in their possession a packet of papers and memoranda, respecting a plot for restoration of James II. Lord Preston and Ashton were tried, and condemned. The latter was executed, and the former pardoned. Their trial was published; and, to increase the odium likely to be excited by their treasonable practices, the letter of James to the Pope was subjoined to the narrative.

LET truth be never so evident, and demonstration never so manifest, yet infidelity will too often keep its ground, and some invincible persuasions will still persist in that incorrigible obstinacy; that right reason shall have no sway with them; and no proofs whatever shall evince their rooted errors. To come to the particular case in relation to this kingdom, perhaps 'tis not the least part of our national shame that there are too many of us to this very day will never be induced to misconstrue the least grain of the late King James his integrity to his honour and engagements for preserving the protestant religion; that at least all the measures taken before his departure, that looked a little too industrious for the propagation of the Romish religion, they will allow to be no more than a pardonable zeal in him; and that the utmost of his designs were no more than a favouring and countenancing of his own worship (a venial frailty) in order to raise it above the power of its professed enemies: That his whole ambition aimed not at any farther reach than to gain it an absolute toleration and impunity, by rescinding the laws against it; and that no other *anguis in herba*, no usurpation against, or subversion of the protestant religion established, was ever meant or intended by him; his whole endeavours being no more than to give popery those innocent advances of freedom and liberty, without the least intended assumption of any invasive or compulsive power whatsoever.

Nay, there are another sort amongst us, who, though a little staggered at some irregular court-heats in the last reign, and cannot deny but they are convinced ('tis true) that, over-persuaded by too many violent zealots about him, he was a little misled, and indeed was pushing something too far in some unjustifiable favours towards his own Romish cause. However, if any such trips, or such false steps, were then made, nevertheless their inviolable deference, and adherence to King James, inclining them to pardon small royal faults, gives them at present so hearty a good wish for his restoration to his throne, as not in the least to doubt, but his late calamities befallen him have most certainly quite changed his resolves: That the miseries he has underwent, and the too visible repugnance of this kingdom against all invasions of popery, (if ever God Almighty blesses him by a restoration) have and must, past all dispute, have broken all his old false measures (whatever they might have been), and that his late ~~weak~~ will for ever stand that warning sea-mark, as never to venture again into

the like danger, for fear of splitting again upon the same rock; and consequently there can be no farther occasion of either fearing or suspecting him; and therefore they persuade themselves 'tis their duty to be assistant to their utmost power for his return; and this, though the heartiest protestants, without the least shadow of disinterestedness their own religion, they are in all conscience obliged to do; and which, their confidence assures them, they shall never repent when done; but stand confirmed in a full and perfect security of the safety of their religion and liberties, from the accomplishment of so sacred a work as the re-mounting King James upon his throne.

Now as there are but too many poor deluded zealots for King James that are to this day either wilfully or (to speak more favourably) unhappily blinded by these mistaken opinions, perhaps there never appeared a more visible confutation of their erroneous credulity in favour towards him, than in his Letter to the Pope, annexed to, and published with the Trials of the Lord Preston and Mr Ashton, &c. Upon which I shall make some few remarks.

First, For the authority and undeniable truth of the letter. It was found written in Latin, entered upon record in the register taken at Dublin, bearing date, Dublin, 26th of November, 1689. With a marginal note recorded likewise in the same register, That the original letter was all writ by King James his own hand.

Here, before we enter upon the letter itself, 'tis to be observed what affectation of glory, what triumph there is in a Romish bigot, a true son of mother church, in the least achievement for, or promotion of, her darling cause.

'Twas not enough, belike, that such a letter was written in Latin, (the usual language of addresses to the pope,) and no wonder, to gain it ampler credence, and give it the fairer stamp of authority, all originally writ by King James his own hand; and consequently (one would think) it had done its whole work, by being sent to, and received by the pope. But, at the same time, this zealous piece of Romish service in King James, to his fame's eternal monument, must be afterwards entered and registered upon record, on purpose to be transmitted to posterity, with that particular justice done him of a peculiar marginal note, "that it was all writ with his own hand."

Most Holy Father,

"We did, by the Earl of Melfort, our principal secretary of state, signifie to your royal highness the joy we had in your promotion to the sacred chair. And those letters which your holiness did with your own hand write us, were such testimonies of fatherly love, and of your tender compassion for what we suffer, that they have lessened the sense of our calamity, and have proved of real consolation to us."

Remark.

Here we see the first part is his joyful congratulation of his holiness's promotion to the sacred chair, which, though at first reading, may appear no more than a customary compliment, as being dated 26th of November, 89, and thereby written just upon the pope's accession to the papacy. However, as the whole outcry of the Romish party, at the pope's first instauration, roared high, and bellowed loud, with a confident assurance of a Frenchified pope, to no less than almost a publick abjuration of the little-less-than-heretical Pope Innocent, his dead predecessor, the papists themselves (the French and English ones at least) resolved if possible even to abdicate his hated memory. Upon this universal presumption of the then new pope's affections, undoubtedly the transported King James felt some part of their common titillation; and this caress to his new-made holiness bore something of more than ordinary patheticks in it, to so hopeful and promising an apostolick successor. And the testimonies of fatherly love, and tender compassion of King James his sufferings, expressed in the pope's let-

vers to King James, under the afore-mentioned presumption of his holiness's inclinations, unquestionably brought him the real consolation the letter describes.

Letter.

"The only source of all these rebellions against us is, That we embraced the catholick faith; and do not disown, but that to spread the same, not only in our three kingdoms, but over all the dispersed colonies of our subjects in America, was our determination."

Remark.

The only source of these rebellions against him (he says) is, 'that he embraced the catholick faith, &c. That, I am afraid, is a notorious mistake; for his embracing the Romish [catholick] (as he calls it) faith, was so far from raising any thing like rebellion against him, that, notwithstanding the nation's conviction of his adhering to that persuasion before his accession to the crown, not only the throwing out of the exclusion bill, that so strenuously asserted his right, and opened his access to the throne, "but likewise the universal fealty, and indeed even passionate tenderness towards him at his access to the throne," notwithstanding his published religion, sufficiently demonstrate, that a rebellion against him was farthest from the principles or thoughts of his truly loyal and protestant subjects.

Indeed, when he plainly declares, and which the nation too plainly saw, after he once grew warm in the imperial seat, he resolved and determined to spread his religion, not only through his three kingdoms, but likewise through his territories in the American world too; possibly a little abatement of that first heat and love towards him might lessen our fond affections, at least in that part of mankind, that could in conscience do no less than have some reasonable reluctance against the notorious violation of what ought to be most sacred, the repeated vows and protestations (the obligation of a coronation-oath not excepted) of his performing what was never intended; together with some small concern for a religion and liberty so near and so dear to them, at that time under such undeniable dangers of being undermined and supplanted.

But as great an abhorrence as all good people had of such sinister designs, so apparently carried on against the English rights and liberties, and as much as it might cool their zeal for King James; how unjustly we are charged with rebellion against him, in any part of this happy Revolution, has been already proved by larger and more learned discourses on that theme.

Letter.

"To manifest this, there will need no other proof than to see how, lately, we have proceeded in this kingdom; for as we have often beaten the rebels in small parties, (which might have been one complete victory, if they had not obstinately declined to give us battle) so we have still turned all to the advantage of religion, and hope very soon to see it here firmly established."

Remark.

To manifest his determination of establishing popery in that kingdom, he might have pleaded a great deal further back for his proofs than his late proceedings there; for from the very beginning of his reign, the measures taken in that kingdom have been so barefaced, as every eye might see into; the barbarous turning out of all protestants there from all trust either civil or military, even to cashiering every private heretick sentinel, speaks but too plain. Barbarous, I may very well call it, when with so much horrid and shameful injustice and rapine the protestants were dispossessed of all command and trust (for what end is too plain), though their very places were bought,

and by the government allowed to be so, without the least restitution or satisfaction whatever made them : And the same seizure that thought their commands and places lawful prize, brought the heretical money that paid for 'em under the same condemnation.

I am afraid his " frequently beating the rebels in small parties, and his assurance of his completer victory, if offered battle," were only a temporary confidence in him ; the said assurance not always continuing ; witness the planting of horses before hand, and his early, if not overhasty, posting sea-ward before the battle of the Boyne.

Letter.

" Nor will it look hard, if but aided by some subsidies, to compass the same in our other dominions, as soon as by God's favour we shall be restored, seeing our people do so ill bear the usurper's yoke, and so universally long for our return."

Remark.

Here the bolt's struck home ; 'tis not his loss of three kingdoms, not all his at present defeated designs, with all their attending calamities, wholly owing to no other original, if once so blest as to remount his throne, shall deter him from taking up the old broken cudgels, and venturing a second wrestle, though for a second fall, in so meritorious a cause. Dethronement, abdication, nothing shall bare the continuance of his fidelity to that (I dare not say) only sworn, but at least only binding oath, the Romish restoration. And truly, not to enlarge upon this topic, he has not only been always too firm a devotee to France, but under his present obligations to that prince, (if possibly (as Heaven forbid) restored to these kingdoms,) so much a dependant on that monarch, that besides his natural propensity of not easily forgiving injuries, and consequently not being over tender of lashing the backs of a rebellious (as he calls 'em) heretick nation ; yet even supposing a more than popish miracle, his abjuration of all forgotten resentments against them, a beam of mercy we must hardly look for, even in spite of himself, his tenure under France, his royal lieutenancy to the great Lewis, (the highest post he can hope for,) as the sad sufferings of the poor inoffensive hereticks on the other side of the Herring-pond point to us, will tie him up to no extraordinary clemency to the more capital ones on this side.

The latter part, viz. the people's uneasy bearing of the usurper's yoke, (as he calls him,) and the universality of their longings for his own return, perhaps upon due examination, whatever his intelligence has been of their inclinations, possibly is not the first mistake that poor prince has been flattered into.

Letter.

" It would promote this work, if a general peace were settled amongst the catholick princes, or a truce at least, in case the time be too short for the other ; for this would put an end to those calamities begun in Germany, and where the hereticks now lie gnawing in the very bowels of the church."

Remark.

This paragraph pushes the Romish zeal a little further than the concern of his own three kingdoms, and his American colonies : the poor indulgence of the reformed religion is an eye-sore to him all the world over ; and he cannot forbear his extraordinary devotion even beyond his own dominions, for rooting (as his own secretary Coleman told us) the pestilent northern heresy from the face of the earth, as gnawing, to his no small anguish, in the very bowels of the church.

Letter.

"But what need we speak on this subject, where the things themselves are so loud, and implore your aid? The apostolick zeal of your holiness must find out remedies fit for these evils; and in full confidence thereof, we beseech God to give your holiness a long and a happy reign: And we being with all love and filial observance prostrate at your feet, do beg your apostolical benediction. Given at our castle at Dublin, this 26th of November, 1689."

Remark.

Thus ends this promising and imploring epistle to the pope. What ready performances he engages on his own part for the Romish cause, we have but too much reason to believe, were, and are heartily intended; and will undoubtedly, if power be ever equal to good will, be as heartily put in execution. The implored assistance on the other side to carry on this work, 'tis thought, has not been so zealously lent as desired; the princes of the empire, though of his own faith, nay, the pope himself, especially Innocent his predecessor, not thinking it worth their while to use their mediation with their catholick sons, either for patching up a peace or a truce with France, after such impardonable injuries received by them from that common disturber of Europe, on so poor an account as the re-establishing of a prince so mixed and linked in the French interests, as he has scarce room left for their pity; nor is it the meanest jewel in the crown of our great and truly protestant defender of the faith, the glorious King William, to be the selected darling of mankind, to sit president of the great council of Europe, chosen by those princes of a contrary persuasion to be their leading worthy.

[Sion College Library, U. 5, No. 13.]

<i>Lettre du Roy de la Grande Bretagne au Lord Comte Portland.</i>	<i>A Letter from the King of Great Britain to the Earl of Portland.</i>
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There can be no doubt that this letter is forged to afford colour to the sentiments which the Jacobites found it convenient to ascribe to King William, and to give rise to the reflections founded upon it.

Guillaume Roy.

William R.

Mon Cousin,

Quoy qu'avant vostre départ pour la Hollande je vous aye amplement expliqué mes intentions, je ne laisse pas de vous écrire la presente pour vous faire part des reflexions nouvelles que ja'y faites depuis vostre embarquement; afin que les joig-

My Cousin,

THOUGH before your departure for Holland I have amply explained to you my intentions, yet I thought fit to write to you this present letter, to acquaint you with the new reflections which I have made after your embarking; to the end, that,

nant à vos premières instructions, vous en puissiez tirer le fruit qui convient dans la conjoncture présente.

Plus j'envisage l'atteinte que la ville d'Amsterdam vient de donner à mon autorité, et le préjudice qu'elle peut porter au bien particulier de mon service, et à celui de la Chrétienté; moins je puis me résoudre à me relâcher de mes droits, et à souscrire à la requête de ces magistrats injustes et méconnoissans, qui oublient les services signalez que mes pères et moy avons rendus à cet état depuis l'établissement de la république, et se laissant séduire par quelques esprits séditeux et jaloux de ma grandeur et de mon crédit dans ces provinces, profitent de mon absence et des engagements dans lesquels je me trouve, et veulent faire revivre une prétention qui est aussi chimerique et aussi mal-fondée, qu'elle est injurieuse à ma gloire.

En effet, quiconque examinera sans prévention les titres sur lesquels cette puissante et séditeuse ville appuie le droit de se soustraire de l'autorité du stadholder, les trouvera si peu solides, qu'il sera surpris qu'aucun homme sensé puisse y donner la moindre attention. Elle produit de prétendus privilèges qui lui ont été accordés en divers temps par Marie et par Philippe II. et qui ont été confirmés depuis l'établissement de la république par les états mêmes au préjudice d'un de mes ancêtres. Elle allègue en même temps l'obligation à laquelle elle s'est engagée par serment solennel à chaque mutation de magistrats, de maintenir les dits privilèges. Pour détruire des droits aussi mal-établis, il ne faut que consulter les loix de la république, qui lors de sa fondation en supprimant le gouvernement monarchique, ont en même temps abrogé tous les privilèges, et toutes les concessions accordées par les souverains; si cette abrogation n'a pas été faite par des actes exprès, elle l'a été du moins tacitement, parce que ces fortes de prerogatives ne couvennent point à l'état d'une république, ny à l'égalité et à l'union qui doivent régner parmy tous les membres qui la composent. D'ailleurs, les préten-

joining them to your former instructions, you may draw from them that usefulness which is convenient in this present juncture.

The more I consider the blow which the town of Amsterdam has given to my authority, and the prejudice it may bring to the particular concern of my service, and to that of all Christendom, the less I can resolve to balk myself of my rights, and to stoop to the request of those unjust and ungrateful magistrates, who can forget the signal services which my ancestors and myself have done to this state since the establishment of the republic; and suffering themselves to be seduced by some seditious spirits, who are jealous of my grandeur, and of my credit in these provinces, do take advantage from my absence, and the engagements in which I am involved, and will needs revive a pretension as chimerical and ill grounded in itself, as it is injurious to my glory.

For whoever shall, without prejudice, examine the titles on which this powerful and seditious city grounds its right of withdrawing itself from under the authority of the stadholder, will find them so little solid, that he will wonder any man of sense can in the least regard them. It alledges pretended privileges which have been granted to it, at times, by Mary and by Philip II., and which have been confirmed, after the establishment of the commonwealth, by the States themselves, to the prejudice of one of my ancestors. It alledges the obligation to the which by solemn oath, at every change of magistrates, it stands engaged to maintain the said privileges. Now, to overthrow these ill-established rights, there needs no more but to consult the laws of the republic, which, from their very foundation, by suppressing monarchical government, have, at the same time, abrogated all the privileges, and all the concessions granted to them by their sovereigns; which abrogation, if it has not been done by express acts, at least it has been made tacitly; because these sorts of prerogatives do not at all agree with the state of a commonwealth, nor with the equality and the uni-

des actes que les états ont donnez en divers temps en faveur de cette ville contre un de mes ancêtres, ne peuvent pas estre des titres valables contre les droits de la charge de statholder que j'ay bien voulu conserver ; puis qu'alors la republique estant encore naissante, on ne consultoit pas toujours les loix et la justice dans les décisions des états ; on estoit obligé de s'accommoder au temps, et de souscrire aux demandes quoi qu'injustes des villes, pour ne point aigrir les peuples, et pour ne pas réveiller un reste d'inclination pour leurs anciens princes, qui n'estoit pas tout à fait éteint dans leurs cœurs. Ce que je vous dis est si vray, que depuis que le gouvernement a esté solidement établi, les états reconnoissant l'injustice de certains actes que la nécessité des temps avoit arraché d'eux, y ont dérogé sagement dans la suite. Je pourrois mesme pour ancantir ces pretendus droits, avoir recours à la prescription, puisque depuis près d'un siecle ceux d'Amsterdam ne se sont point avisez de les faire revivre, quoy que l'occasion s'en soit présentée plusieurs fois pendant l'absence de mes ancêtres, lorsque l'interest de l'état les appelloit en un pais étranger, pour y commander les armées. Alors ceux qui exerçoient la magistrature à Amsterdam plus instruits de leurs devoirs, et moins ambitieux que ceux de ce temps-cy, ne croyoient pas que ce fust déroger aux droits et aux privileges anciens de leurs villes, que d'envoyer demander les suffrages du statholder absent, pour le choix des bourguemestres et des echevins. En dernier lieu mesme, lorsque le bien de mon service, ou celui de l'état m'ont appelé hors des ces provinces ; ils n'ont fait aucune difficulté d'avoir recours à moy, comme au legitime dispensateur de leurs magistratures. Je reconnois à ce trait injurieux, l'ancienne aversion de cette ville pour la grandeur de ma maison, et l'opposition qu'elle a toujours affecté de montrer à toutes les propositions que je faisois autrefois pour le bien de la republique ; mais ce qui me surprend le plus c'est l'aveuglement des membres des états, mesme des plus éclairez, qui se laissent fasciner les yeux par les insinuations trompeuses de cette artificieuse ville, et

on which ought to reign amongst the members that compose it. Besides, the pretended acts which the States have at diverse times made in favour of this city against one of my ancestors, cannot have any title to be held of weight against the rights of the office of stadtholder, which I have set myself to conserve, because the republic being at that time in its infancy, the States did not, in their decisions, always consult what was law and just ; they were forced to accommodate themselves to the times, and yield to the demands of the cities, even though unjust, lest they should irritate the people, or awake in them a hankering inclination towards their ancient princes, which was not altogether extinguished in their hearts. What I tell you is so true, that after the government was firmly settled, the estates, being conscious of the injustice of certain acts, which the necessity of the times had wrung from them, did, in process of time, derogate from them. I could too, to shew the nullity of these pretended rights, have recourse to prescription ; since, for almost an age after, they of Amsterdam did not judge it advisable to revive them, although the occasion was many times presented in the absence of my ancestors, when the interest of the state called them to a foreign country to command their armies ; at which times they who exercised the magistracy of Amsterdam, better instructed in their duties, and less ambitious than those now-a-days, thought it no derogation from the rights and ancient privileges of their cities to send to ask the suffrages of the absent stadtholder for the choice of their burgo-masters and sheriffs. Lastly, I could alledge, that when the good of my own service, or that of the republic, have called me out of those provinces, they made no difficulty at all to have recourse to me, as to the lawful disposer of their magistracies. This injurious treatment makes me reflect on the ancient aversion this city has had to the grandeur of my house, and on the opposition that it has ever designedly shewn to all the proposals I have at other times made for the good of the commonwealth. But that which surprises me

qui ne s'apperçoivent pas du piège qu'elle leur tend ; car elle les surprend avec adresse en revestissant son mauvais-dessein d'une fausse apparence de nécessité et de justice, pour pouvoir plus impunément anéantir le reste de l'autorité du statholder, et introduire ensuite dans la magistrature des gens à sa dévotion, dont les suffrages lui soient assurés, soit pour se séparer de l'union des provinces, si elle le juge à propos, soit pour les engager à se séparer de la ligue, et à conclure à sa fantaisie une paix aussi honteuse que celle de 1678, en demeurant unie avec elles. Je ne sçay point quelle résolution les états prendront sur une affaire aussi délicate que celle-ci, mais j'ay peine à croire qu'ils imitent leurs prédécesseurs, en acquiesçant contre moy à l'injustice et dangereuse demande de cette ville, et qu'ils manquent en cette occasion au respect, à la considération et à la reconnaissance qu'ils me doivent ; je sçay bien que s'ils prennent ce party, je ne seray pas si traitable, ny si complaisant que celui de mes ancêtres, à qui ils firent ce passe-droit : Comme ma fortune, mon élévation, et mon caractère, sont infiniment au-dessus de ceux dont il estoit alors revêtu ; ils doivent aussi s'attendre un ressentiment différent et proportionné à mon rang et à mon génie, et compter que quand un roy a bien voulu s'abaisser jusques à ne point mépriser l'employ de leur statholder, non seulement ils ne doivent pas penser à en diminuer l'autorité et les prerogatives, mais qu'ils doivent au contraire en mesurer l'étendue à la grandeur et à la majesté royale. Je ne suis pas cependant si peu informé de mes véritables intérêts, que je ne sçache que mon sort est comme attaché à l'amitié et à la protection des états, et que lors que je hazarde de me brouiller avec eux, je commets mon établissement en Angleterre, dont vous connoissez aussi-bien que moy l'incertitude et le peu de solidité. Mais il n'importe, quelque risque que je puisse courir ; il n'y a extrémité à laquelle je ne me porte pour soutenir mon rang et ma gloire ; quiconque a osé entreprendre l'affaire d'Angleterre peut n'estre pas aimé, mais il doit estre craint et ménagé. Qui a sçu réduire la ville de Londres du moins aussi

is the blindness of the members of the state, even of those who are the most judicious, who suffer themselves to be bewitched by the delusive insinuations of this crafty city, and are not aware of the snare that is laid to entrap them ; for they surprise them by cloaking their wicked design with a false appearance of necessity and justice, that they may with more impunity destroy what is left of the authority of the stadtholder, and thence to introduce into the magistracy people devoted to them, of whose suffrages they are assured ; whether it be with intent to separate itself from the union of the provinces, if they judge it convenient, or to engage them to depart from the league, or remaining united with them, to conclude a peace at their pleasure, as shameful as that of 1678. I do not know what resolution the States will take in so tender a business as this is, but I can hardly believe that they will imitate their predecessors by condescending, in opposition to me, to the unjust and dangerous demand of this city ; or that in this occasion they will fail of the respect, the consideration, and the acknowledgement they owe me ; but this I know for certain, that if they side with that party, I shall not be so tractable, nor so complaisant, as was that ancestor of mine, to whom they did the same injustice : As my fortune, my elevation, and my character, are infinitely above those he then wore, so they ought likewise to expect a resentment both different and proportioned to my rank, and to my genius ; and to reckon that when a king has been pleased so to abase himself as not to despise the office of their stadtholder, not only they ought not to think of diminishing its authority and prerogatives, but, on the contrary, that they ought to enlarge it in proportion to the grandeur and sovereign majesty of a king. Yet I am not so little seen in my own true interests, as not to know that my fortune is attached to the friendship and protection of the States, and that when I hazard to embroil myself with them, I at the same time endanger my establishment in England, which you know, as well as I, how uncertain and weak it is. But 'tis no mat-

sauvage et aussi difficile à gouverner que celle d'Amsterdam, peut bien mettre cette dernière ville à la raison, et à la faire repentir de son ingratitude. Entrez dans mon esprit et dans ma pensée, et insinuez vivement aux états la ferme résolution que j'ay prise de ne me point relâcher de mes droits, s'ils ne me rendent pas la justice qu'ils me doivent. Le ressentiment que je seray esclater contre eux m'affermira sur le Trône ; car enfin je connois l'ancienne jalousie des deux nations l'une contre l'autre ; je sçay que le commerce a toujours esté la pomme de discorde entre elles, ainsi je ne doute pas que la proposition de ruiner le commerce de Hollande ne soit agreable reçue en Angleterre, et ne reunisse en ma faveur les Anglois, auprès desquels les engagements étroits que j'ay avec les états, me rendront toujours suspect. Vous m'alleguerez sans doute que la France ne manqueroit pas de profiter de ce desordre, et qu'enfin le malheur en retomberoit peut-estre sur moy ; j'en conviendray avec vous, mais on sacrifie souvent la politique à la vengeance, et cette couronne qui est peut-estre moins agrie contre les Anglois que contre les Hollandois, qu'elle regarde comme les instrumens et les moteurs de cette guerre, suivroit peut-estre les memes maximes, pourvu que d'ailleurs elle y trouvast également son compte. Je remets à votre prudence la conduite de cette affaire, et vous recommande de vous servir de toute votre adresse, pour la faire réussir à mon avantage ; mais sur tout apprenez à connoistre le caractere des republicues, auprès desquelles il faut moins employer la douceur que les menaces ; la premier voye les rendant ordinairement fieres et intraitables, et l'autre produisant un effet contraire. Sur tout, ne recherchez point avec trop d'empressement les amis et les serviteurs que j'ay en Hollande, car quelque affectionnez qu'ils me puissent estre, quand ils ne sont pas contenus dans le devoir par ma presence, ils sont toujours Hollandois, c'est à dire republicains, ennemis du statholder, et susceptibles de l'esprit seditieux des anciennes factions, que vous sçavez n'avoir pas esté entièrement étouffées dans le sang des De-Witt ; ce que je vous dis, n'est pas

ter ; let me run what risque I will, there is no extremity which I will not undergo to maintain my rank and my glory. Whoever has been so hardy as to enterprise upon the affair of England, cannot hope to be loved ; he ought to make himself feared and humoured. He who knew how to reduce London, a city at least as wild and as hard to govern as that of Amsterdam, will easily be able to bring this latter town to reason, and make it repent its ingratitude. Enter well into my mind, and into my thoughts, and insinuate feelingly to the States the firm resolution I have taken not to abate a tittle of my rights, in case they should refuse to render me the justice which they owe me. The resentment which I will flash out against them, will perhaps gain me credit in England, and make me stand firm upon the throne, for I am not to be taught the ancient jealousy of the two nations against one another ; I know well that trade has ever been the apple of discord between them ; whence I cannot doubt but the proposal of ruining the trade of Holland will be very welcome to England, and will re-unite the English in my favour, with whom the strict engagements I have with the States will always render me suspected. You will, I doubt not, alledge that France will be sure to make its advantage of this disorder, and that the mischief will, at last, possibly fall upon me. I grant it ; but men often sacrifice their policy to their revenge ; and that crown, which is perhaps less exasperated against the English than against the Hollanders, whom they look upon as the instruments and inciters to this war, will, it may be, follow the same maxims, so it can in other regards equally find its account in it. I leave the conduct of this affair to your prudence, and recommend it to you to use your best dexterity to make it succeed to my advantage ; but, above all, learn to know the character of republics, with whom 'tis less effectual to use sweetness than menaces ; the former method does generally make them fierce and untractable, the latter works a contrary effect. Particularly, do not too earnestly court those friends and servants which I had in Hol-

seulement fondé sur la connoissance particuliere que j'ay du genie de ces peuples, mais encore sur les avis que j'ay receûs de ceux qui par devoir ou par inclination me sont le plus affectionnez ; qui au lieu de detester un pareil attentat, et de me'exciter à la vengeance, me convient mollement à soutenir mes droit, et me font tacitement connoistre que l'acquiescement qui viendrait de ma part, seroit plus de leur goust que l'opposition et la resistance ; tant est grand l'aveuglement des peuples, qui ont en general une aversion naturelle pour leurs superieurs, quelques bien-faits et quelques services essentiels qu'ils en ayent reçus.

Si vostre negociation réussissoit comme je le desire, quoy qu'entre nous je n'ose l'esperer, parce qu'il me paroist un concert ferme entre ces gens-la de diminuer l'autorité du stadtholder, et que d'ailleurs le long commerce que j'ay eû avec eux, m'a appris que je n'y pouvois prendre que tres-peu de confiance, lors qu'il s'agissoit de leur interests. Sollicitez puissamment les etats de m'envoyer au prin-temps prochain, s'il est possible, un renfort de troupes Hollandaises, pour employer à la conquête du reste de l'Irlande, et representez leur vivement ; non pas tant par rapport à moy parce que cela pourroit leur estre suspect, que par rapport de la guerre dans laquelle ils sont engages contre la France, et à la diminution de la dépense, qui est, comme vous sçavez, un puissant charme pour eux ; que sans ce secours, que j'offre d'entretenir à mes dépens, j'auray peine à venir à bout de mes desseins, et à consommer heureusement cette enterprise. Menagez pendant cette negociation avec beaucoup de delicatesses et d'habilité ; car si vous témoigniez de l'empressement, ils sont assez soupçonneux pour croire que je leur ferois cette demande plutôt pour me rendre maistre de leur forces, et pour les reduire à se sou-

land ; for, however affectionate they may be to me, yet when they are not kept within their duty by my presence, they are still Hollanders, that is to say, republicans, enemies of the stadtholder, and susceptible of the seditious spirit of the old factions, which you know have not been yet perfectly quenched in the blood of the De-Wits. What I tell you is not only grounded on the particular knowledge I have of the genius of these people, but also on the advice I have received from those, who, out of duty or inclination, are the most affectionate to me ; who, instead of detesting such a procedure, or exciting me to revenge it, wish me to maintain my rights with sweetness, and in soft terms give me to understand, that acquiescence on my part will better please them than opposition and resistance. So great is the blindness of people who have generally a natural aversion to their superiors, what benefits or essential services soever they have received from them.

If your negociation succeeds, (though, betwixt ourselves, I dare not hope it, there being, as appears to me, a firm resolution concerted among those people to lessen the authority of the stadtholder ; and, besides, by long converse with them, I have learned that I can put very little trust in them when their own interest is in agitation,) then solicit the States with all your power to send me next spring, if possible, a reinforcement of Holland troops, to be employed in the conquest of the rest of Ireland ; and represent it to them lively, not so much for any regard it has to me, because this may breed in them some suspicion, as in reference to the war against France in which they are engaged, and to the retrenching the expence, which you know is a powerful charm with them. Tell them that without this succour, which I offer to maintain at my own cost, I shall have great difficulty to compass my designs, or bring this undertaking to a happy end. In the meantime manage this negociation with all chariness and dexterity ; for if you shew an earnestness in it, they are suspicious enough to apprehend, that I make this demand to them more to make myself master of their forces, and to bring

mettre à mes volontez, que pour terminer l'expédition d'Irlande. Cependant quoy que j'aye pris de mesures pour tirer des troupe d'Allemagne, je ne me scaurois que difficilement passer de celles de Hollande; car sans cela, veû les renforts considerables que le roy tres Chrestien se dispose à faire passer en Irlande, je serois obligé d'avoir recours aux Anglois, que je n'oserois armer non plus que des furieux, et desquels je ne dois pas attendre plus de fidelité et d'affection, qu'ils en on témoigné au Roy Jaques mon predecesseur lorsque je suis entré en Angleterre; sur ce je prie Dieu, mon cousin, &c. à Vitehal le 20 Janvier, 1690.

GUILLAUME.

them to submit to my will, than to finish the expedition for Ireland. Now, though I have taken some measures to draw troops out of Germany, yet I cannot without difficulty want those of Holland; for, without those, considering the reinforcements which the most christian king is preparing to send into Ireland, I shall be put to have recourse to the English, who I dare no more arm than so many madmen, and from whom I ought not to expect more fidelity and affection than they shewed to King James, my predecessor, when I came into England. For this end I beseech God, &c. Given at Whitehall, the 20th of January, 1690.

WILLIAM.

Reflections on the foregoing Letter.

IT is neither flattery nor pique to any party which made me translate and publish this letter. I am an Englishman, and only the sincere love of my country was the motive which induced me to meddle with such a dangerous business. I am sure no other consideration did influence me but a due regard to the good of England, whose miseries now cry so loud, that they awaken every true son of hers to seek her redress, by communicating to many what is the common concern of all. The letter itself is so natural in all its parts and circumstances, that it vouches its own reality to every intelligent reader; and the original is producible when it may be safe and prudent.

The contents of it lead us to reflect on the genius of the inditer; what Holland thinks of him, what he thinks of England, and what England must expect from him. We were made believe that he was far from any selfish ends, but came over out of pure zeal for our religion, laws, liberties, and properties; but this letter, the true index of his mind and most inward thoughts, (as being writ to his most intimate friend,) plainly discovers a temper solely bent to pursue his own private grandeur. It is, from first to last, an ambitious and most anxious anhellation after his own private glory; and with that transport as to disregard the ruining himself, and sacrificing all his other engagements and pretended general goods, rather than to suffer the diminution of the least tittle of it. The Hollanders had, to their cost, had experience of this haughty and arbitrary humour, which threatened the ruin of their government, and therefore had the wit to send him over to us at our charge, and, when he was gone, to wipe their hands of him: They were so prudent too as to consider, that since King William owed more to England than to them, he could not possibly be true to both, but must divide his kindness (perhaps unequally too) between them and the English. And have not we the same reason to be jealous of his heartiness to England, seeing that he set such a value on the office of stadtholder, (the keeping or losing which depends on their pleasure,) that he will hazard all, rather than one jot of that authority should be baulked

him? He threatens to bring their trade to England if they do not comply; and if he can do this favour, (as he grants,) why does not he actually do it? I am sure England, thus loaden with heavy taxes, and impoverished with frequent losses, and an infinity of poor foreigners hanging upon her, does exceeding need his favour in that particular. Is not this to tell us in plain terms, that he will not do what he can for England, in case the Dutch will but carry it civilly with him? and to confess that he has been hitherto but half friend half foe to us in that our main concern? To what degree he has assisted us in this, the impoverished merchant, and decay of trade, will feelingly inform us, without need of the letter of *Min Heer* — to *Min Heer*,¹ which lays it open at large. But certainly that people must be very unhappy that has made choice of a king, whose interest obliges him to be indifferent, and a kind of neuter between them and those who are competitors in that which is the most stable subsistence of the nation, and the main fund of their riches, and consequently of their power. This letter plainly shews us, that his circumstances force him upon the policy to let his protection hover, with doubtful wings, betwixt the two nations, (as it does here between the church of England and the dissenters,) and they who please him most shall partake the greatest share of it, but he will be entire to neither.

And yet, if gratitude may sway with him, England may still with all reason expect that this son of glory will shine with a fuller aspect upon it than upon the Hollander, since they have disobliged him; whereas we on the other side have obliged him infinitely, for we have abdicated our lawful prince, and accepted him, though a foreigner, for our king: To do this we have violated the most fundamental laws of England, by traversing the immediate succession. We have engaged ourselves in the costly, dangerous, and (in likelihood) the lasting war of the confederates against France, which we were free from before; a blessing to England, which (amongst diverse such others) he brought over with him. We have exhausted ourselves, to give him vast sums of money, besides what we have kindly lent him out of our pockets, and, as things stand, upon very slight security. We have raised him great armies of soldiers, to keep him in the throne, if we can, and have reposed such a trust in him as to let him bring in as many foreigners as he will; nay, so many, that, siding with the government, they were able, if he pleases, to subdue England. We have broken our oath of allegiance to King James, nay, that of supremacy too, by bringing in a new king by election, which makes the people absolutely supreme and king-makers. We have suspended, if not renounced, the avowed principles of our protestant religion, indispensable allegiance, and have more than cracked the commandments themselves. Lastly, we have slighted, and wilfully shut our eyes against God's astonishing and most evident judgments of diverse kinds. All this, and many other such like extravagant kindnesses we have done for him; and Holland has not done one jot of all this; and what is our reward?—The highest and utter disconfidence in us, and the highest confidence placed in the Dutch. We English are looked upon and characterized by him as *tant de furieux*, so many madmen, not at all to be trusted with weapons in our hands, and upbraided for deserting our own king, and running over to him. Those sober men, Danes, Germans, and Hollanders, may be suffered to handle edged tools, but not Englishmen by any means, in case enough of other nations can be hired for our money. And what is the plain English of this, but that those out-landish forces shall govern England, or he govern it by them? We madmen are good for nothing but to be shackled, manacled, tied up, kept in the dark, (which we have been sufficiently,) lest we hurt ourselves or others; we are to be kept at spare diet and hard fare; good feeding will increase our distemper, and make us pampered, fierce, haughty, and ungovernable. The city of London is (as he says) wild too, nay, at least as wild as Amsterdam; (which is described here

¹ See a preceding Tract bearing this title.

to be little better than extravagantly mad;) yet he brags he has reduced, that is, tamed, that too: And it is true, for nothing tames rich men so much as poverty. The lieutenancy is doubtless wild also, and therefore it is to be shifted to and fro, that one side may tame the other. Yet London is not tamed half enough. Four (some say five) millions are owing already, and yet there needs two millions more for his present occasions to carry on the war; and this money, and (in likelihood) twice as much more when that is spent, must be had on some fashion; but how? The country is already at the bottom of its purse. Universal excise is so perfectly Dutch tyranny, and so unheard of here, that it will never down with the English. What remains then but that our magazine of money, London, is to be in due time rifled, the wit of man cannot imagine: Talk not of law; necessity, that knows none, will demand it; and a necessity too the most pressing and extreme that can be; for otherwise the war against King James cannot be upheld, and so the grandeur of the Tamer would be abased, the high elevation depressed, and the glorious character darkened and defaced. In such a desperate case, then, immense sums are absolutely needful; and when the lending hand draws back, for fear of none-solvency, necessity will be put to speak in its own language, and cry, I must and will have it. And how must it be extorted? Not by our own countrymen; this cannot be expected; it can only then be wrung from us by foreign hands, and by the help of those sober men above-mentioned, whose prey, though they whet their courages first in Ireland, England is in all likelihood designed to be: For, if the great commander of them and us be (as himself has told us in this letter) so over fond of glory, and hurried towards it with such an impetuous affection that he will hazard his own ruin rather than abate one tittle of the (in comparison) contemptible authority of the stadtholder of Holland, do we think he will stick to ruin us, rather than lose the majesty of a sovereign King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, which he esteems to be infinitely above his former condition? And by what means can he do this, and wreak the revenge he so threatens to the diminishers of his glory, but by outlandish instruments? All which duly considered, I see no reason why we should not be as jealous as the Hollanders, and more justly fear that he sends for their forces more to subdue us, and make us submit to his will, than to finish the expedition for Ireland.

In a word, he declares himself utterly disconfident of the English as of so many madmen, and that he expects not that they will be more faithful to him than to King James when he came over: he confesses he cannot be loved in England, after his bold attempt upon it; which shews it impossible he should love England, that cannot love him. He declares, that it is his proper method of ruling it, and his best play to make himself feared, which shews he looks upon himself as disobliged by us; and what severe revenge he breathes out against his disobligers, his own angry expressions inform us. And by what means can he think himself able to make Englishmen fear him, and (if need be) to revenge himself upon them, and to get money to support himself by carrying on the war, but by foreign forces subduing and enslaving us, and then paying themselves when we will not, or cannot? *En qua discordia cives perduxit miseros, en queis conscovimus agros!*

[From the late Earl of Oxford's Collection.]

Reasons for a new Bill of Rights: Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the ensuing Session of Parliament. By Sir Bartholomew Shower, Bart. 1692.

No reign abounded so much as that of William with pamphlets written against the government in the most daring tone. It was in vain that a proclamation was sent forth against libels, threatening pains and penalties to the authors and publishers, and offering to informers a reward of fifty pounds in every case of conviction. And, to render the censure more marked, a similar proclamation was issued in the same gazette against highwaymen, the reward for whose apprehension was rated ten pounds lower than that for detection of the libeller. Yet the press continued to groan not only with Jacobitical pamphlets, but with those of the malcontent whigs, and with others, which, without treating of the right of the king, had only in view the grievances of the subject.

Among the Jacobite tracts, Ralph distinguishes that which follows, as being apparently occasioned by the numerous and arbitrary commitments of the preceding summer. The author accordingly insists, first, for a new effort in favour of the bill for regulating trials in the case of treason, as a necessary security for the life of the subject; secondly, for security of the subject's estate against the prerogative court of chancery; thirdly, for liberty and security of the subject's person against encroachments of power, on which he dilates at great length. Ralph has inserted a summary of the arguments used by the author in his history, vol. II. p. 383.

CONSIDERING the many impetuous and convulsive struggles which this land hath so frequently groaned under, between the people and their prince, and that some persons of honour, sense, and sagacity have always been engaged in those convulsions, it must provoke an agony of wonder, that no more or better provision is hitherto acquired for the insurance of men's lives, estates, and liberties.

The defect can be ascribed to no other original than the sudden cesser of violent and eager essays for that purpose, which violence is seldom durable, and therefore the occasion of its own disappointment. But now, in the present circumstances, when a foreign war hath employed the warmer and more sanguine part of mankind, and an entire calm o'erspread the face of domestic councils and affairs, the season perchance is arrived for a mature and sedate, and consequently successful, consideration of sound, proper, and true methods to secure ourselves and posterity in these particulars.

However, a provocative of this kind can never be unseasonable; though provisions of money in the approaching parliament will be one thing, yet it cannot be the only one necessary, especially when a flaw in our title to any of these ingredients of bliss destroys the necessity of that. It is therefore to be hoped that the courtier, statesman, and officer will permit the country gentleman, in some soft degree, to attempt the supply of his own, as well as their occasions; nor can the proposal of the one obstruct the just progress of the other; for it is the old fundamental doctrine of a true English parliament, that they should always concur, and now there's reason and opportunity for both.

To obviate prejudice and objection against a perusal or regard of the following lines, it may not be amiss to premise, that the author is neither republican nor enemy to the present establishment; nor can the usual artifice of nicknaming a proposition as anti-monarchical, render it the less acceptable to him that's concerned, as every Englishman formerly was, is to-day, or may be to-morrow, in this: It is too well known to have been an ancient, as well as modern court trick, to advise kings from encouraging, and the commons from prosecuting, of a full security by just and rational means, with the terror and dread of a commonwealth, as the unavoidable consequent of a true liberty, though whoever knows men in England, must also know that figure of government here to be impracticable: But methinks since the discovery of priestcraft in religions, and the detection of intriguery in state-matters, men should be wiser than to slight or reject endeavours for their own happiness, because of names, titles, or epithets, if of an harsh sound, though improperly applied.

I am sensible of another objection from the Bill of Rights, but surely that scruple vanishes upon the first reflection; for the nicety of the then circumstances, the multitude of incurring exigencies both at home and from abroad, may well be agreed to have hindered a plenary, or sufficient comprehensive thought of all our then grievances: It must be confessed, that the instances there mentioned are considerable and great, and the provisions made for them are useful and good, though too generally expressed, and perhaps obnoxious to some different constructions, whensoever reduced and applied to particular use: the settlement of religion and churchmen's property by those items is politic and happy; and, in truth, the bill doth extend to little more than that and the health of corporations; but the acquirement of those reliefs was never intended to be exclusive of more, if more appeared necessary. The private lay-gentlemen deserve some consideration, for their number exceeds both clergy and officers, though the latter are sufficiently numerous; nor is the balance of the gentry inconsiderable in the government.

Another cavil is expected at these papers as needless; because the judges are fixed and free from temptation; their patents are not now upon pleasure, and those at present in B. R. (where the ensuing queries do most frequently arise, and are most properly determinable) are persons endued with learning, probity, and resolution.

Agreeing all this, and more, that they are, and so indeed they are, the glory of the whole Revolution, it doth yet still remain worthy of a thought that they are mortal, and another king may arise in Israel that may make another choice; and notwithstanding they should be more dependent, through the certainty of their office and salaries, than formerly, yet it may be of men temptable by the accruer of a greater pension or the like. It cannot be forgot what some ministers have rung in the ears of former princes, that hearts, not heads, were necessary for that court; that the humour of the man, and not his knowledge in the law, was the most considerable in the election of a judge; that complaisance to prerogative was a much better quality than that of a judicious and crabbed, if stubborn lawyer. But further, we should deserve the pity of fools, if after so much treasure and blood spilt for the redemption of liberty, the same should be ascertained by no better a fund than the lives of three men at the present in power; nor can their preservation ensure Englishmen against hardships in the subsequent cases; for this proposal evinces the imperfection of our laws as now received and practised, and the necessity of another statute to explain or amend them; and therefore this objection is an argument rather to enforce than to discourage the prosecution on't; for sure we are these judges will, and must, (as by oath obliged,) observe those rules: And from thence springs the true cause for new, but better provision. Nor do those remarks aim at, or import reflection upon the present practice; but merely endeavour to demonstrate the necessity of a law or two more. Now new laws do not always suppose faults in fact, but many times in posse; they are as often made to obviate as to relieve

against grievance and oppression; and, were it otherwise, this is no more than every act of parliament past hath done; and therefore such new law (as is here contended for) doth still appear necessary.

Now for Particulars.

First, As to life: The late bill for regulating trials in cases of treason is a clear evidence of the imperfect defence which the laws in being afford to men's lives; the misfortune which attended that bill doth call for a reinforcement of that design; the proposal it met with (considering the persons who made it) doth, in a demonstrative manner, declare its conveniency and necessity; and therefore the honest part of the nation do hope that the next session will pass that or another such; nor is there any reason to despair on't, unless men improve in their fondness of danger, even of death; for no person living can be undoubtedly secure, that he never shall become or be deemed a mal-content, both which are one in point of danger. As to the pretended reasons against such relief, a line of answer is more than they deserve; but, however, to propose some hints convictive of their weakness may not be improper: It argues some defect in thinking to pretend that the 25th of Edw. III. hath governed our forefathers, and hitherto to the present age, and therefore we need no other law; for might not this objection have damned the petition of right, or any, or every other act of parliament, because we had a Magna Charta before; besides innovation, and the dismal consequences on't, was always a bugbear both in church and state, to prevent alterations even for the better; but wise men, if honest, have as often condemned the pretence as ever 'twas objected, or otherwise we should have wanted that pittance of security which we have acquired already; but do hope to increase. It is manifest, upon the first, second, third, and every reading of that statute, that 'tis a general, uncertain, and obscure provision; sufficient confusion, doubt, and contradiction hath there been in expounding it; the chronicles and reports of every age since Edward III. proves this, nor can our own observations fail of furnishing us with arguments of infinite difficulties resulting from that law, and many with semblance of reason and authority on both sides: The late paper skirmishes about the unhappy Lord Russel's case do prove the need of a new explanatory, directive act; as also the new notions vented in the Earl of Stafford's case about witnesses to several facts, or rather circumstances, which have preceded it almost to every subsequent trial. Then, in the name of God, what harm can accrue to the public in general, or to any man in particular, that in case of state treason counsel should be allowed to the accused? What rule of justice is there to warrant its denial, when, in a civil case of a halfpenny value, the party may plead either by himself or advocate? That the court is counsel for the prisoner can be no effectual reason, for so they ought to be in every action, unto each party, that right may be done; but the Frenchman's remark upon this phantom, for 'tis no more, hath sufficiently censured it, "That my counsel ask no good questions for me, my counsel make no good sign for me, me no like my counsel:" And it hath too often proved according to that poor fellow's observation, nothing but practice: "No written law excludes from counsel in any case," (says the great and late honest Coke); and there is the same pretence for denying a copy of the indictment; though that has been granted in case of felony in one Botte's case, the which is in a book, called, "Mole's Reports."

But some bold whisperers do pretend, that the times are, or may be dangerous; the crown ought to have a power to support itself; this will make convictions difficult; the government must sometimes have a lift; there must be methods to lop off an enemy, or the head of a party now and then; and there is no better convenience for it than a doubtful law; and therefore no explanation or amendment is politic.

It was thought that these principles had been abdicated with the late king; but since their renewal calls for an answer, I'll briefly observe to those which vent them, That all human affairs are so unstable, and courts under several, nay, under the same sovereigns, do so often change interests and inclinations, and consequently parties, that 'tis possible a malicious chance may make the enemy's lot to become the objector's; and so hath fate most frequently doomed it in a most smart and exemplary form upon the opponents of their country's liberty, that they have been lashed with that very rod which they have refused to remove; have endured that very oppression which, when in their power, they denied to redress. English story is too full of such instances, and God forbid the increase of them again.

This objection is absurd, and subverts fundamentals; for in such extraordinary emergencies of state and consequence, the parliament is, or ought to be at hand: The use of that assembly is not barely the gift of subsidies, but to help the king and people according to their respective occasions; and there is the crown's recipe; impeachments or bills are his infallible remedy: And our constitution never intended any other relief in cases of such difficulties, than that of a parliament. Then, if we consider the strict rules of common natural justice, 'twill appear much more eligible, that sundry offenders should escape than one innocent should suffer; for that such cases admit of no restitution, the reversal of an attainder injuriously procured cannot render a satisfaction; the head returns not to the shoulders, nor life to the party, though the title be restored to the name, and the estate to the son of such a martyr.

It is evident, beyond contradiction, that within twelve years past, many would have resigned the half of their estates for the procurement of such a law, as now (to the wonder of the nation) themselves have opposed: The fact admits of no reason but revenge, or the change of their principles upon the occasion of power and employments, each whereof is alike unmanly, and therefore unwarrantable; but methinks they should consider, that they are not certain of the stability and continuance of their present settlements, much less of their interests, and the same occasion as formerly may in future ages revive, and then the reviver of complaints with their suffering may be fruitless and vain, when the opportunity of relief is fled and gone; not good hopes concerning future administrations but good laws only, that can give a plerophory or full assurance of security. Now is the season, if ever, for a fixation of our franchise from the perils, from the actual endurance whereof we are but just delivered. It may be presumed, that the late turn of our English affair is not yet banished our memory, nor the end of the change buried in oblivion; and the present proposal was unquestionably one design of the Revolution. The convention of the estates of the realm in 1688-89, intended somewhat more than the ejection of thirty or forty fat officers, and the preferring as many others in their places, though of the more intelligent and honest principles; for these are still men, and liable at least, I will not say prone, to human infirmities; and though not possibly equal, yet like to those of their predecessors. The purpose of the nation's wisdom was to gain a security beyond the reach of construction, power or craft, to evade; and if the same be not hitherto accomplished (which whether it be or not, let the reader be judge). It is now therefore the duty of all sincere and true Britons, to endeavour the perfection of such their security against every of their former, or the like mischiefs; the necessity of the war summons a parliament for supplies, and this renews our opportunity for to finish the intended errand of the first assembly after the abdication. "This is the time," said a great man upon a less occasion, and every man may say the same now, and with more reason. Then as to the second, concerning our estates.

It cannot be denied, that both law and equity do in their practice need a regulation: the exorbitances of that prerogative court, called Chancery, do loudly cry for a bridle, and that by an act of parliament: There 'tis that the single and sudden thoughts of a

keeper are the only rules for justice, and the power is but *duranté* (it must not be said) *secundum bene placit' R.*; and this may caveat the rich and bulky to promote some moderate reformation of that court, or else to resolve, that his quarrel shall never be with a courtier, and that he'll never incur the unfortunate character of disaffected to the government; for it hath been formerly, and may be hereafter very easy, with one of those monosyllables, fraud and trust (which have already almost devoured every other title in the law) to decree such a one a beggar; nickname his purchase and his estate doth instantly change its owner; then if a commoner prove his adversary, whose inheritance commands a borough, the wretch is remediless, and his beggary everlasting; for there's no appeal but in parliament, and with his hopes of relief commences privilege, and then he must wait, at least till the issue-male of the family be extinct, and that is too long an expectancy to be called a relief. To expose the dilatories and expences of that court is a province much fitter for some lawyer's pen than mine: My only remark is this, that that court is too dependent upon another, that its power is too arbitrary, and its pretended rules too uncertain; and although the probity of the present keepers do prevent mischief at the present, yet future reigns may use creatures of a worse kidney, and to worse purposes, and then the authority of the seal, as now in practice, will afford opportunity to do mischief more than sufficient. Then for the law, it must be agreed to stand in the like need of a purge too; but such topicks would be proper to employ the head of some practitioner, whose experience capacitates him to discover its blind side and corruptions: That which I observe is this, that there wants some act to facilitate the practice of attaints, by allaying the severity of the judgment therein, and then we might hope to see corruption of standing juries reformed, and the consequences of that corruption banished too, viz. the forced practice of granting new trials, when the verdict displeases the judge, though the fact be not within his sphere. At our assizes I have for several years observed a great uncertainty in the rules of evidence, in the gift of actions, and in the notions both of titles of land and property in goods, every circuit perhaps differing from the last; but that seems ascribable to the great latitude given to the sudden opinion of a judge by the predominant increase of general issues, which leaves too much at the discretion of a single person. These, and many more hints might be given of this kind; but of this enough, for they are trifles to my last and chief topic, because concern but a few; for men with temper and wisdom may easily prevent the plague of lawsuits, and the want of one of them is generally the cause of vexation either by common law or Chancery; but there's no fence against imprisonment, for the cast of a man's eye, the smiles or frowns of his face, entire silence or too much or too little speech, as the company pleases to interpret and represent, may raise suspicions concerning principles: If he keeps company he is judged by the humour of that, if he keeps none he's thought reserved, and therefore the more dangerous; if a maggot in his head or a fanciful thought in his brain occasion a laugh when ill news is arrived to the court, or if the disasters of his personal or family concern, or a pain in his body, provokes a sour look upon the talk of a victory or the like, these and a thousand more such are badges of malice to the government, where construction is at liberty; so that the following doubts are of consequence to every one.

Thirdly, Liberty of person. 'Twould be subject of ridicule and jest to attempt the conviction of our countrymen, that liberty is pleasant, and to preserve it deserves our care: It's one of our first principles co-natural to an English heart, to be tender and jealous of its loss and abridgment. The contentions here both with tongue, pen, and sword for its continuance hath proved such a theme needless; our Magna Charta places the contrary in equal rank with disseizin and exile, both which are sufficiently odious, the one depriving a man of his country, the other of his fortune; and this debars him of the pleasure, nay use, of both. 'Tis pretended by all the judges, that liberty is the darling of the law, and restraint the badge of bondmen and vassals; but the

practice in almost all ages hath given the lie to such pretence; for nothing hath been so often and easily lost, to peers and commons, to the grandees and the peasant, upon every little or no suspicion, as personal liberty: That particular piques, or private malice of state-ministers, or perchance that which is less cause, the insolent humour of commandments in power, or the generous behaviour of a gentleman, with its usual attendant popularity, (which is always an eye-sore at court), or the fears of statesmen, though resulting from their own weakness, when there's no danger, or from their own false steps in government. Where there is these and such like occasions, have frequently goaled great numbers of the best part of the nation in all ages. It must be impertinent to recollect instances, since members of parliament have not been free even in parliament time; as for the oppressions of which imprisonments, whosever hath suffered them is sufficiently convinced, and he that hath not, may easily conjecture; for much the greater part of the nation, either by themselves, or their friends and acquaintance, hath experimented the pleasure of such forced retirement within less space than forty years past, and therefore I'll forbear to enlarge on't.

The cause of this grievance hath sprung from the imperfection or uncertainty of our laws concerning this subject; the questions about it in Car. I.'s time were so fiercely debated, not only within the walls of the Commons' House, but in the press and field too, that their notoriety recalls them to every man's remembrance; the opinions of parliaments was always against indefinite, general, or causeless commitments; but no man imagined himself secure till the late Habeas Corpus act, which inflicted penalties upon its violators, nor hath that accomplished the design of ensuring a true liberty, as I shall now endeavour to demonstrate. That this act was, and is a wholesome law, cannot be denied, and 'twas worth the price it cost; but yet another will deserve twice as much, for the former is deficient to a great degree. To convince that it is so, let it be considered that 31 Car. II. did that statute pass the royal assent, and since that time five hundred persons to one have been committed more than ever were tried, or so much as indicted. It is observable that, every year or two, a dozen or twenty lords are usually shopt, together with incredible numbers of the greatest commoners, over and besides the small fry of, &c. Halls and churches have been turned into prisons, when the common gaols were crowded even to the danger of infection; and I am apt to believe that hundreds have been committed without oath, and consequently without just cause of suspicion; for there ought to be oath of that fact or circumstance which rendered the party suspected: And this is the first defect in the statute, that it doth not enjoin an oath to be mentioned in the warrant, which is unquestionably consonant to reason, that the person and his judges may become privy to the true reason of his commitment; perhaps it may not be for the service of the crown to name the informant upon the first accusation, but that no commitments ought to be without oath first made, is certainly law; and an injunction to mention an oath in the warrant, together with a penalty for imprisonment without oath in writing, will make the ministers concerned more cautious in cases of liberty: nor can any reason be assigned in nature why privilege should not be denied by act of parliament, in case of the violation of the subject's freedom, which is and ought to be dear to us all. The end of frequent parliaments is for maintenance of personal liberty, and why such frequency should hinder suit for encroachments on that liberty, the reason is behind the curtain. Another fault is, that the cause of commitment is not enjoined to be specially signified; charged for compassing the king's death, or adhering to his enemies, is in truth no more special or plain than to say for treason, for there are a thousand acts and ways of doing both these, and those dependent upon construction, so that a man is not a whit the better informed to prepare for his trial or defence by the one than by the other; for when he considers of one action obnoxious to strain, another, a third, or a hundredth, may be trumped to his charge; the end of that provision certainly was to have

the fact known whereof the party was accused. Again, Warrant to seize being charged for high treason "in compassing or adhering, &c. and to bring before me to be examined," and such messenger to detain for days, weeks, and months, seems somewhat unreasonable, when the party granting such warrant expresses himself doubtful in his judgment concerning the charge, and the fact indeed to need an examination, yet this case is not ballable; whether secretary or privy-councillor, not having actually taken the oath of a justice of peace, can commit for felony or treason, is no small query, but the ferments of latter times, and the supposed necessity arising from thence hath answered that problem by some years practice, and therefore that point is not to be stirred without doors; but surely they ought to be in the same state as other justices, to answer suits, for unjust or wrongful restraint of men's persons, and the greatness or privileges of these officers ought not to exempt from common actions, but the rather an access to relief against them should be made more easy, since they monopolize that trade, and consequently are more frequently liable to mistakes wilful or by accident; the method for such relief is above my reach either to contrive or propose.

When the cause is only suspicion, bail, and that at discretion of the judge, is now required, and this is all the relief at present, and that is tantamount to none; for if the judge or minister pleases, such extravagant sums and estates may be required as to render the party remediless, and his continuance in gaol inevitable; here's no measure prescribed, nor any penalty imposed on the judge if he be guilty of excess in such his demand. In case of an actual breach of peace, and the complainant swears a danger of his life, the common rate is 40*l.* principal, 20*l.* a-piece the bail; but for suspicions of treason, or as generally disaffected to the government, swinging streties for bulk in their own estates, and sums in their recognizance, have been and may be again exacted, and no relief.

Commitments with the clause of denying pen, ink, and paper, or friend or relation, are not provided against, nor yet in truth warranted by that or any other law; for if the party be not guilty of the charge, or but suspected without evidence sufficient, the usage is not humane or English; if he be guilty and there's evidence for such guilt, then liberty of access ought to be allowed to his friends with the use of writing, that he may prepare for a trial: For the law never impowered a secretary to commit a man because thought dangerous to the government, but because he is guilty of a crime, and that he is only to secure him to be forthcoming to a trial, not to punish him before his trial, for till then it remains in doubt whether guilty or innocent.

Another defect is this: suppose a man committed in Trinity term for the charge of treason, and after the expiration of four or five months, and before the arrival of Michaelmas, the secretary thinks fit that bail be admitted, then, though no indictment or other prosecution, this bail may be continued from day to day, and from term to term, for seven years together, and he can't help himself; within the memory of man this hath been practised for seven, nine, nay twelve terms successively upon the same recognizance. Then it is an infinite default, that if a man be committed to a country gaol, and perhaps that may be, as it hath been, to Hull or Canterbury, this man is remediless till an assizes, and that sometimes not happening in several years, and then this wretch can't make his prayer in B. R. he hath not money to procure a commission of gaol delivery, or oyer and terminer, and, if he could, perhaps 'tis denied him, and no provision made against such denial: Now here's an indefinite imprisonment; this difficulty arises from a constructive opinion upon that law, that the prayer may be either in B. R. or before oyer and terminer, as to be taken distributively and respectively, if here about town in B. R., if in the country then at the assizes, though the words are general, one or the other.

Further the remedy is, "If no indictment the first term, the party is to be bailed, unless oath be made that the king's witnesses could not be produced that term." Now

this needs an explanation, for the end of our law-makers unquestionably was, that he should be bailed, unless there was evidence sufficient whereon to indict, and such evidence could not be produced; whereas, according to a literal construction of that clause, any man may be detained, though not evidence enough to found an indictment, as if oath be made that there is evidence against A. B. and C. and every of them, that the witnesses against them could not be produced, and no possibility to convict the jurate of perjury, for it may all be true in some sense, (and if true in any sense it excuses from perjury,) and yet besides the intent of the law to have the persons detained, there might be two witnesses, one against one, and another against the other, and yet no indictment could be on this for want of two witnesses against each. Now 'tis plain when the law says, "If he be not indicted he shall be bailed, unless oath be made that the witnesses could not be produced," it must be meant such witnesses as could swear to the indictment, which one alone could not, because the statute requires two even upon the bill; besides such literal constructions renders the affidavit-maker judge of what is evidence, when perhaps he is ignorant of the thousandth part of the difficulties and the doubts upon that subject; then for "could not be produced," 'twould be but reasonable that the court should know and judge of the reason of the non-produce, and not the swearer; perhaps the reason might be sufficient in the court's opinion, but more than sufficient in the swearer's; he might think an horse race, or wedding, want of pay or recantation, or forgetfulness of part of his testimony, a reason: nay, the witness might be dead, and yet his oath true, for there might be evidence by papers, and one witness to prove them, and the other witness departed, and so could not be produced; though these thoughts are equivocal, yet they'll deliver him from the charge of a wilful, false, corrupt, and devilish perjury. These short notices are enough to shew an occasion of an additional explanatory act.

Another defect is this, that if committed to any gaol in Wales as a dangerous man; or upon suspicion of treason; he is remediless by this law, unless he has money to pay for a journey to London, and that must be paid down before he shall be brought; for no judge or other authority there is bound to bail him; and then if he lies till their session of gaol delivery, he can't be bailed upon the want of an indictment, because the treason is not specially signified; and then he is left as at common law, and how uncertain and merciless a remedy that was before the making of this act, we and our forefathers have been sufficiently taught. A further enemy to liberty is a power still reserved to judges of a court to commit upon pretence of contempt to them, and this out of the act, and such an authority hath every little petty court of record in the nation; and Mistress Experience tells us, every slight matter makes a contempt to them, and there's no examining the cause, for the court that commits is judge of the contempt; and further there's no deliverance till submission and their discharge.

Add to these opponents of bodily freedom, the new found offices of a king's solicitor, &c. a novelty never heard of till the latter end of Charles II., and the subject has reason to thank God that 'tis so late an invention, for before that time the king had as few, and since hath had more, causes than any of his subjects; 'tis from those mutes that characters are received, which extorts a bleeding in the culprit's pockets, for as that moves either open or shut, so doth the sign of a shrug with the shoulder, or a wink tilt upon his superior officer, produce hardships or ease to the trembling gaol bird; perhaps the hint doth not take, and then there's a necessity of a secret whisper, that the bird in the cage is either a damned tory or a confounded republican, as the times respectively require; but if the medicine requisite was duly applied, then with a smile in the face and the hand on the purse as the cause, proceed these or the like words, "He is an honest, harmless, fair-conditioned fellow;" and an immediate assent to the parties bailment or discharge is the certain consequence. In old time the ability of bail was tried by examination upon oath in court, but this new office hath introduced

a new practice of giving notes of the names in order to enquiry, and the use and the profit of such practice is notoriously evident.

Lastly, there's a penalty on the judge or judges if they deny any *habeas corpus*, but none if they refuse to bail or discharge when and where they ought; then there's one thing more which ought to be considered, for it plainly spoils our claim or pretence of being a free people, and that is the power of our lieutenancy as now established, for they are made and continued at the will of another, and they at their own wills may commit whom, and when, and for so long as they please; and, as I am informed, there's no relief; they sit and act whensoever they are bid, and are composed in all places and times of some one predominate party, for the balance can seldom be supposed exactly equal in such assemblies, and by consequence the lesser party must expect their mercy on every the least occasion; now, considering the sides and factions in England, and their natural eagerness each against the other, and the small hopes there are of an union, methinks true policy should direct some measures and rules of restraint, to prevent oppressions and hardships on either part; the form of making such provision must be submitted.

These are but few among many instances which might be produced to evince the necessity of a new law; nor is it convenient for a private person to enumerate every thing of this kind deserving remedy; it suffices to offer such, and so many *items*, as may excite the parliament to consider of these and the other mischiefs which need a provision, and to continue methods accordingly.

To conclude, a word of religion cannot be improper; the act of toleration hath exempted dissenters from the prosecution of the sanguinary and other penal laws; but that exemption is imperfect, for that a force still remains on their consciences in respect of their children, for though themselves are not constrained to frequent the legal church, yet, absurdly enough, they are constrained to educate their children in methods contrary to their own opinions and sentiments, for no school is permitted them, though but to teach the assemblies catechism, and this seems inconsistent in itself, that their judgments may be freely persued in the one and yet restrained in the other, especially if a religious reason induced the former, for if so the same obliges to the latter.

Now, after all, the intent of these lines is only to propose and not reflect, and surely thinking must convince men that such a law would add to our happiness if procured; nay, it seems strange that any should oppose it, since that the want of it may prove any man's misfortune, and no man can be professedly desirous of slavery, or dependence on another's will for liberty; but, to the shame of our nation, there are too many in it that are willing to be slaves to a few, so as many may be slaves to them; and from that corner we expect an opposition; therefore, to provoke an appetite and zeal for true liberty, let us consider our government and its nature. 'Tis a monarchy royal (as an attorney-general hath confessed) and not seignoral, and by our law the subject hath an entire, absolute, independent, and uncontrollable interest both in land and goods; now yet without freedom of person, and that ascertained, we are not freemen but villains, and shall Englishmen content themselves to hold their liberty upon will? Let us consider the examples of our forefathers and follow them; let us read and recollect how the patriots of last age, Coke, Selden, and the rest, did esteem and value it, when they tugged it so nobly in their conference with the lords, *anno Car. I. quarto*; though the argument then was against general commitments, yet their zeal and courage was true and cordial for liberty in general, and so ought ours to require an ample and complete security on't: If we conceive ourselves in person to be exempt from the danger, because the complaisance of our principles may secure us from hazard upon every turn, let generosity and a true English good-nature raise a concern for others, whose discretion may prove defective upon such an occasion; nay, the inconstancy of men and things may deceive even ourselves in some events, and baulk such our confidence.

Let us be humane, and pity the miserable and forlorn, that have been made so upon suspicion only, during the rage of other men's plots, either real or sham, or that may become so hereafter upon the like contingencies; to describe the misfortunes of patients in this kind, with their several circumstances in particular and at large, would, I am confident, melt the soul of the most obdurate reader, and to affect him there would need no use of rhetoric. My request is only, that he would once visit our common prisons, and view those lodgings which have at several times received the best of our English worthies, and perhaps some of his own acquaintance. If this be too nauseous a task, let him but frame an image in his mind, that he saw the body of a disturbed citizen hauled and dragged with swords and staves from his house and bed in the midst of night; then consider him as bled by some harpy of a messenger for a certain season, and withall listen to those insolent huffs and abuses of those insatiable devourers of coin and liberty, during such his bondage, under their dominion; then see him hurried to a gaol or dungeon, there loaded with irons in abundance, disabling him to sit, or lie, or stand, without actual and continued torment, excluded from the benefit of light or friend, pen or ink, paper or book, fire or candle, or other help of nature; then consider the fears and anxiety of such a captive, either for himself, or family, or other relation, and that continued for nights, days, weeks, months; and invisible to any human creature, except some griping turnkey, whose visits perhaps are followed with the approach of some devilish tempter; who comes to increase his torture by the false promises of reward, if he will confess, discover, and evidence some unknown story, or else inhumane menaces of an infinite misery and death as its only end in case of refusal; then review him as alone, his soul wrecked, tortured, and distracted between the dread of dishonour and gallows, and his keeper's usage changed, (and that by command of the tempting undertaker to facilitate his design;) and then the wretch's corpse is reloaded with a double train of artillery, and therewith removed to a nastier sty, if such there be, and immediately the nickhole of light, if any, is stopt, and the man left alone, overwhelmed with chains, darkness, and stench, to which you may add the disturbance of his mind and thoughts about the last temptation, which is usually repeated while in this or the like condition; and here you may leave him a while to himself, and turn your eye to his wife and children, with tears and trembling attendant at the grate, after having by pawns or beggary got some guineas wherewith to soften (if possible) the gaoler's heart, you may hear them begging and entreating for a sight of this their relative, though at a distance; nay, sometimes praying but a notice and view of those exteriors of those walls, within which such their dearest lies thus entombed, and even this shall be denied, with execrable reproaches and insults, and all under pretence of express orders.

Then follow those ambulatory wretches, and you'll find them making their court to the criminal, agent, or his deputy, for leave to apply to the secretary for leave to see this English slave, and this first leave must be paid for too, or else there will arise an hope of evidence with an aggravation of his ill character, and so an opposal of this their just and legal right; but anon you'll meet them at Whitehall, where, after four or five days expence in waiting, and a courtesy dropt with a crown to the porter, and two of them with double the sum to the footman, my lord's clerk becomes visible, and when both are doubled again to him, at last the secretary is seen; but then her first address proves certainly abortive, and the second procures only an adjournment for enquiry and recollection after the much no evidence, which however, to her assurance of the accused's innocence, yield some hopes; and then it may be the widow's importunity extorts a promise of speech with king or council about the matter, especially if the dun be followed close; but then business of necessity enforces two or three more excuses, and at last, if the woman's patience and money can hold out to gain a frequent access, so as to disturb his lordship with repeated cries and tears, a

promise is made of an order for leave. Now, to tire the reader no longer with these difficulties, upon payment of expedition money, and the usual fees, the order is drawn and signed, and with thanks and joy received; notwithstanding all this labour and charge, this order is not legible at the prison, unless the keeper's spectacles be gilt, and when allowed 'tis worth but little, for the keeper's presence is commanded, and not a word must pass between wife and husband but in his hearing, which frequently makes it a silent though mournful meeting, for fear of misrepresentation; and this dear-bought leave can serve but once, and its renewal in price comes little short of the first.

After all this, when the man's body hath contracted distempers, and his small fortune is quite exhausted, and his employment with his credit lost, and consequently his family undone, and his children, if not himself, consigned to parish care, then, without trial or indictment, *ex mero motu*, of a sudden an order issues for the delivery or bailment of this miserable captive; and this called, and must be owned as grace, though nothing but suspicion did found the commitment, or that the man was thought of a party, or had been in company with some that were thought so, and some of them perchance had been dabbling at treason, or it may be only at true politicks. And now what reparation ever was, or ever can be, made for such injurious hardships? This hath been the English practice, and the same may be possibly repeated: It is certainly therefore the duty and interest of our senators to be wise, and consider and provide for their own and our posterity now in this, their, and our day.

Further, consider imprisonment as a possible and safe instrument, or means of revenge, even to death; for there the nod of a great man may be an easy but effectual guide to a gaoler (I need not add here any epithet, or harder name than his own) to provide unwholesome lodging and worse diet for his enemy, especially if he be of a tender constitution, and then 'tis finishing work, without the useless formality of a challenge, or the ignoble method of hirelings and assassins, or the more base fatigue of belabouring witnesses and managing juries, in all which there's somewhat of danger and hazard to the avenger, and this hath been practised too in England.

When these particulars are duly considered, with the pretty trickling retirements of the nobles and rich of our realm, and those repeated several times in one age and year, and without evidence upon some of them, it may be justly expected that such consideration will create an abhorrence of the least uncertainty or doubtfulness in the laws of liberty.

Some will object, that these proposals will embarrass the king's affairs in the next session, and therefore unseasonable; but this objection doth answer itself; the occasion for supplies at present makes our relief probable in this conjuncture, which upon another meeting may find greater opposition; and if the last session countermined part of this, a future may damn the whole, therefore now, if ever, is the attempt convenient: besides, a sound zeal for the present government cannot be better testified than by a cheerful promotion of such laws, for that these methods do conciliate and fix the interests, opinions, and affections of the people to the crown, and a sense of present ease, safety, and liberty, with a certain security of its continuance, is the surest preservative of duty and assistance from the subject, whereas an opposition hereto must make the government lose ground by narrowing of its bottom; for that which crosses the interest must alienate the affections of the people, and this hath been found true in three reigns already within our memory. No authority or power can be so considerable and lasting as that which is founded on love and esteem, and these can never be acquired with any great certainty, but by the allowance of such concessions as the people need, or think that they need, and do desire or demand; now the miscarriages of former reigns, with the observation of the French and others tyranny, which multiplies commitments upon slight fears or suspicions, are so continually in their minds and mouths, that their belief of the need of such securities is not to be eradicated.

'Tis a gross mistake^{*} to imagine, that an easy and full power of chopping men in pieces upon a block, or confining them to Newgate, or other gaols, can add any strength to the crown; for Englishmen, generally speaking, are fond of a king, not only for his, but their own sakes, and consequently such fondness can be but of an equal duration with their ease and liberty, and a suretyship of its permanency; for the loss, or fear of the loss of either, will quickly produce aversion, and that hatred, and that somewhat worse: upon which account, 'tis incumbent upon all true friends of their present majesties to promote this prosecution of an additional security.

Postscript.

At last it may be queried, What need of all this bustle and stir about liberty, when parliaments meet so often, that their awe prevents all these and many more possible oppressions? To this I'll answer by another query, What new security have we got, that if the war cease, we shall have a frequency of those assemblies?

Adieu.

His Majesty's Speech to the States General, as he was seated in the Chair in their Assembly, 1692.

On passing to the continent to assume the command of the allied army in 1692, King William and the States General met, as usual, with reciprocal joy and acknowledgment; and no doubt the king was not sorry to exchange for a time the turbulent and disputatious parliament of England for the sober and acquiescent assembly of the Dutch States General.

MY LORDS,

UPON my last departure from this country, I did intend to dispatch, with what expedition I could, the affairs of my own kingdoms; which having done accordingly, I am come hither again, to execute my office as captain general, admiral, and stadtholder; and to contribute all that is possible for me to do for a speedy peace; and to put an end to this war: To which end I have sent over all the forces out of my kingdoms that I could spare, to join those of this State. And as to the fleet, I have taken such care that the most part of it is now ready, and hope that of this State is in the like posture; desiring, that the great God, the Maker of all things, would so bless the arms of this State, and the rest of the confederates, that they may obtain that which is most in their eye,—a good peace. I will do all that I can for the common good and welfare of this State, not sparing my own person; and I assure you of my sincere intentions and good affection to you; and thank your lordships for the honour you have done me, and for your congratulations upon my arrival.

The Answer of the States General to the King's speech.

Most Sovereign Prince,

We thank your majesty for the honour you have done us, to appear in our assembly; as also the constant care, good-will, and affection, you have always manifested towards us, in promoting the common welfare; of which your majesty has given us fresh proofs, in coming to us at such a season of the year. We assure your majesty, that the favour which you have always shewn, and daily continues, shall be for ever owned by us with great thankfulness; and that, as much as in us lies, we will second your majesty in your good intentions and designs.

A true Account of the horrid Conspiracy against the Life of his sacred Majesty William III. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. setting forth by whom it was contrived, how it was to be carried on, and the Manner of its Discovery. Published by Authority. 1692.

This is a particular account of a transaction highly dishonourable to the courts of France and St Germans. It is said, however, that the extent of the purpose was not communicated to James, and that he was only told of a purpose to seize the person of the Prince of Orange. It is also said that the scheme was originally devised by Louvois, the celebrated minister of Louis XIV. and afterwards carried on by his son, the Marquis de Barbesieux. Madame de Maintenon and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, were privy to this dishonourable scheme of assassination.

SOME of the ministers in the highest employments, and of the greatest credit in the French court, having formed a design to assassinate his majesty of Great Britain, they made choice of one Bartholomew de Linier, Kt. Sieur de Grandvall, as their instrument to manage the enterprise, to find out persons fit to be employed in it, to engage them by promises of great rewards; as also to be aiding and assisting in his own person.

The said Grandvall, being informed that one Anthony du Mont had already been engaged in this design, in the life-time of the late Marquis of Louvois, he proposed it to him again, to execute the same, by order of the Marquis of Barbesieux and some others. Whereupon several projects were drawn up, several petitions delivered, and many conferences were held, and at last the resolution was taken to bring it to effect the last campaign, 1691. But the providence of God having disappointed them, yet, notwithstanding, they did not let fall the prosecution of their horrid design; but Grandvall was employed to write frequently to Du Mont, (who was retired to Hanover,) to stir him up to another attempt this campaign, which at last they agreed upon.

One Leefdale coming to Paris about that time, Grandvall making an acquaintance with him, discovered to him the said design, which Leefdale shewed a willingness to be concerned in; but soon after gave notice of it by letters to his relations in Holland, that they might inform his majesty. And the like discovery was made by Du Mont to his Highness the Duke of Zell, who acquainted his majesty with it about the same time that he received the other account.

In the mean time Grandvall, having appointed Du Mont a rendezvous at Uden, in the country of Ravesteyn, he set out from Paris in company with Leefdale, passing through Brussels, where he communicated his design to one John d'Amours, who was formerly a domestic servant to Leefdale's father. From thence they went to Antwerp, and so to Eyndhoven, where Grandvall was seized, and carried to Bois le Duc.

His majesty directing the examinations to be taken there, Leefdale was first examined, who declared, with great exactness, all the circumstances of the conspiracy. But it is not necessary to mention more of them here, than that Grandvall told him, the King of Great Britain was looked upon as the only obstacle to the French king's designs; that Grandvall had sent to Du Mont last winter above 200 pistoles, to keep him firm to the business; and that he sent him ten ducats from Brussels, by bill of exchange. That whilst they were at Mons, a report being spread of some disorders in Scotland, which would oblige his majesty to cross the sea again, Grandvall fearing it might happen before he could execute his design, spoke to Leefdale in these words; "Dear friend, we are like to lose our fortunes: I beg of you that we may go away immediately."

John d'Amours being next examined, deposed, That Grandvall told him at Brussels he had a great business to do, which had miscarried the last year. And they two falling into a discourse about his majesty, John d'Amours asked Grandvall, if he had any thing to say to the king. "Yes," answered he, "to break his neck." John d'Amours representing to him the difficulties that might attend such an attempt, Grandvall replied, "I have given my word to Monsieur Barbesieux, and I'll do it." D'Amours adds further, that going one day with Grandvall and Leefdale by the jesuits church at Brussels, Grandvall said, "Let us go in and say a pater-noster, that God would bless our undertaking." And accordingly they went into the church.

Du Mont having been examined since, has owned the fact in all its circumstances, adding several other particulars, viz. That Madam Maintenon was acquainted with the design; and that Grandvall, in one of his letters sent to him, used this expression, "That he would accommodate the matter by the means of Madam Maintenon." That Grandvall told him, the business succeeding, he (speaking of himself) should have an ample recompence, even to be a duke. That whilst he was at Hanover, he imparted the design to Monsieur Bedal, alias Hasfelt, who was at that time the French king's minister in that court; that he shewed to the said Monsieur Bedal all the letters he writ to Monsieur Barbesieux and Grandvall, as also the answers he received from them; that the said Bedal approved the design, saying, It would be a very good business, if it could be brought to pass; and that Bedal lent him fifty crowns at Hanover. Du Mont adds further, that he was intimately acquainted with one Miller, an agent for Bedal; that the said Miller told him, as a great secret, that Bedal had sent him several times to Holland with dispatches, that came from France, for Monsieur Moreau, envoy to the King of Poland; that he always gave those packets into Monsieur Moreau's own hand, and Monsieur Moreau gave him the answers to them in like manner: And that by the help of Monsieur Bedal and Monsieur Moreau, the court of France managed their choicest correspondence in Holland.

At last Grandvall was examined, who, perceiving that the matter was discovered, and that his own letters could be produced to convict him, he ingenuously confessed all the circumstances of the design, as they are particularized in the sentence.

After which Grandvall, being brought to the army, he was put upon his trial before a grand court-martial, consisting of general officers, where he appeared several times, together with the witnesses above-mentioned, who not only persisted in what they had already deposed, but added many other particulars and circumstances, of which there were very few that Grandvall did not agree to, and that freely, without so much as naming the rack to him, either before or after sentence.

Grandvall, during his imprisonment, drew up two petitions to be presented to his majesty, all written with his own hand; in which he says, That as to the before-mentioned design, he acted in it but in obedience to the orders he had received from Monsieur Barbesieux and Monsieur Chanlois; that Du Mont was guilty; that Leefdale was guilty; and that he (Grandvall) was guilty, since every one that conspires against a crowned head is worthy of death, acknowledging his own fault.

The judges, after this, having met several times, at last gave this sentence, which is here inserted, word for word.

“Whereas Bartholomew de Liniere, Knight, Sieur de Grandvall, born at Liniere in Picardy, aged about forty-three years, and now a prisoner, hath confessed before the grand court-martial, without any constraint by pain or being in irons; and it further appearing to the said court-martial, that the late Marquis de Louvois, in his lifetime secretary of state to the French king in the year 1691, entered into an agreement with one Anthony du Mont, about the murder of his Majesty William III. King of Great Britain, &c. and that the said Du Mont had framed a project, setting forth in what manner that design might be executed; that he delivered the said project to the said Marquis of Louvois; that the prisoner, some time before the Marquis of Louvois's death, asking his leave to go somewhere else, was ordered by the said marquis not to go away, for that he had some business of consequence to employ him in, which the prisoner supposes to have some relation to the said design; but the Marquis of Louvois dying some time after, there was no farther progress then made in the said design.

“That the Marquis of Barbesieux, son to the said Marquis of Louvois, as also secretary of state to the French king, having, five days after his father's death, found the said project, together with a warrant for thirty pistoles to be paid to the said Du Mont, among his father's papers, the said design was revived again, and the thirty pistoles were paid accordingly. That the prisoner contracted an acquaintance with Du Mont, at Monsieur Rabenac's house, where Monsieur Paparell, paymaster-general to the French king's armies, saying one day to Monsieur Rebenac, (the prisoner being present,) that if they had a mind to seize the King of England, Du Mont would be a fit person for it; Du Mont replied, with execrations, That he would carry off his majesty alive or dead, as he had promised to Monsieur de Louvois.

“That Du Mont, having delivered the same or the like project to Monsieur de Barbesieux, the prisoner, to promote the said design, had several conferences with Monsieur Barbesieux and Monsieur Paparell, in one of which Monsieur Barbesieux told the prisoner, That he suspected his father was poisoned by order of the Prince of Orange, (meaning his present majesty of Great Britain,) and therefore he would be revenged of him. That Monsieur Barbesieux told the prisoner in another conference, That he would give Du Mont notice that his majesty of Great Britain wore a coat of mail, which the prisoner acquainting Du Mont with, he answered thereupon, “It is no matter, I'll kill him for all that.” That Barbesieux had said further, He would not speak himself with Du Mont, fearing he might be taken prisoner; and if he should happen then to name him, it might make a great breach in his fortune.

“That the prisoner was engaged with one Parker, a colonel belonging to the late King James, to put the said design in execution; and that Parker had told him, He had formed the said design with the late Marquis of Louvois.

“ That at last the prisoner, with the said Barbesieux, Paparell, Parker, and Du Mont, agreed upon the manner of executing the said design, viz. That the prisoner and Parker should meet at the grand guard of the Duke of Luxembourg’s army, where they were to have fifteen hundred horse; that Du Mont should go to the King of England’s army, and watch the time when his majesty went to visit the grand guard, and at the same time he was to shoot his majesty; that the prisoner and Parker, with fifteen hundred horse, were to rescue and bring him off, the said Du Mont giving timely notice to the prisoner of the intended execution. That Barbesieux, giving the prisoner orders to accompany Du Mont to Menin, he gave him at the same time an order to the Duke of Luxembourg, for furnishing the prisoner with such a detachment of horse as he should require and think necessary for the design.

“ That the prisoner, by Monsieur Barbesieux’s order, received of Monsieur Paparell eighty lewis d’ors; and, in pursuance of Monsieur Barbesieux’s directions, he gave to Du Mont fifty-five lewis d’ors out of that sum, viz. fifteen pistoles in specie, and a bill of exchange for 460 livres, French money, to be paid at Ghent; that the prisoner accordingly left Paris the 11th of September, 1691, and went post with Du Mont to Menin; that he defrayed the whole charge of the journey; that Du Mont acquainted him on the way, that Monsieur Barbesieux had promised him an annual revenue of 20,000 livres, and to make him a knight of the order of St Lazarus, in case the design took effect. That the prisoner coming to Menin, went to the governor, Monsieur Pertuis, as he had been directed by Monsieur Barbesieux, and obtained of him a passport for Du Mont, who parted immediately for Ghent, promising the prisoner, that, according to their agreement, he would send to him at the grand guard; that the prisoner thereupon went to the Duke of Luxembourg’s army; and he and Parker continued at the head of the grand guard till the day before the rencounter at Leuze, without hearing from Du Mont.

“ That Du Mont going to Hanover, the prisoner had kept a constant correspondence with him about executing the same design at some other opportunity; that the prisoner communicated what letters he received from Du Mont to Monsieur Barbesieux, who gave him directions what answers he should return. That the prisoner resolved with Monsieur Barbesieux, that the design should be executed this campaign, *anno* 1692, which had failed the last; that the prisoner had taken some measures concerning the same with Monsieur Chanlais, quarter-master-general to the French king.

“ In the mean time one Frederick Aelbreyt Leefdale, heretofore captain-lieutenant of a troop of dragoons in the service of the high and mighty States-general of the United Provinces, coming to Paris, was brought acquainted with the prisoner by the means of one Sterck; that the prisoner having contracted an intimate familiarity with the said Leefdale, discovered the said design to him towards the latter end of March last, 1692, telling him, That an officer who would ingratiate himself in the king’s favour, must venture at something of consequence; that he, the prisoner, had concerted the execution of a design upon which his fortune depended; that it was indeed a matter not without hazard, but the greater the difficulties were the more would be the honour, encouraging Leefdale to be concerned in it; and the said Leefdale shewing a readiness to comply with him, the prisoner opened himself with greater freedom, and told him, That he was engaged last campaign, with one Du Mont, to assassinate the King of Great Britain, but it had no effect, by reason of his majesty’s leaving the army so soon; but it was resolved again to put the same in execution this year. That Du Mont, by many repeated oaths, had sworn he would do it; yet he, the prisoner, feared that if he were not present, Du Mont would not so exactly observe his orders, and therefore he was resolved to go along with Du Mont, asking Leefdale, if he would be of the party, who answering, that he would, the prisoner discoursed to him at large of

all particulars concerning the design, and afterwards brought him to Monsieur Barbesieux and Chanlais.

"That Chanlais, in one of the conferences held upon that subject, told Leefdale, the prisoner being by, that a great reward should be given him, the business succeeding: That Barbesieux and Paparell had both of them knowledge of the promised rewards.

"That he, the prisoner, with the said Leefdale and Colonel Parker, went to St Germain's on the 16th of April, 1692, to speak with the late King James about the same design, who had knowledge of it, and to take leave of him before they began their journey; that the prisoner had audience at the same time of the said King James, the late queen being present; King James telling him, "Parker has given me an account of the business; if you and the other officers do me this service you shall never want:" and Parker, the prisoner, and Leefdale, entered into a discourse about this design.

"That Du Mont's wife delivered to Monsieur Barbesieux several letters, which she received from her husband whilst he was at Hanover; and the prisoner continuing his correspondence with him all the said time, he engaged Du Mont by letters, especially those dated the 20th and 25th of April, and 12th of May last, to come from Hanover to a rendezvous at Uden, in the country at Royesteyn, in order to take a final resolution with the said prisoner and Leefdale concerning the manner of executing their design; the prisoner pressing Du Mont to hasten his journey, for fear the King of England should have occasion to repass the sea; the prisoner adding withal, that he should be mad if he failed in his business.

"That the prisoner, with Chanlais and Leefdale, there agreed in what manner the assassination should be committed on the person of his majesty, viz. that when the king should ride along the lines, or should go out to take any view, or when the army should decamp, that Du Mont should lie in ambuscade, and when his majesty should pass within a hundred paces of him, he should then fire upon the king; that Chanlais (to whom notice was to be given before of the time) should be with three thousand horse at the Duke of Luxemburg's grand guard; that the prisoner had told Leefdale there would be no danger for him, since Du Mont had a secret to charm people's eyes, and at all adventures they two would keep with those who followed the king; and when every body was pursuing after Du Mont, they should have time to escape and save themselves, and carry the account to Monsieur Chanlais; and it little concerned them whether Du Mont should be taken or not, provided they could escape themselves; that the prisoner and Leefdale received their last orders from Chanlais, who told them he was going to Mons, and that they should stay for him there.

"That the prisoner and Leefdale went from Paris the 17th of April last, and arrived a few days after at Mons, having waited some time for Monsieur Chanlais's arrival, and finding he did not come they resolved to go forward to the rendezvous by the way of Brussels; that the prisoner, as they were travelling on the way, told Leefdale, that their design taking place, the alliance among the confederate princes would be broken; that the princes concerned would each of them recall their troops, and the country being thereby left without soldiers, the King of France would easily make himself master of it, and King James would be restored again.

"That the prisoner with Leefdale went to the mayory of Bois le Duc, and was apprehended at Eindhoven.

"And whereas this horrid design is contrary to the laws of God, of nature, and of all nations, and ought, for the deterring of others from the like machinations, to be punished with the greatest rigour, the said court-martial having with mature deliberation examined and considered the whole matter, have thought fit to judge and declare, as they do hereby declare, the prisoner to be guilty of high treason, and do condemn him to be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, there to be hanged on a gal-

lows ; to be cut down before he be dead ; his body to be opened, and his bowels taken out and burnt ; his head to be set upon a pole ; his body to be quartered, and the four quarters to be hung up where his majesty shall think fit. And do further declare all his estate to be confiscated, and condemn him to bear the charges and costs of this trial.

“ Given and pronounced in the head quarters of the army under the command of his majesty of Great Britain, by the Earl of Athlone, general of the horse, president ; the Lieutenant-General Van Scnavenmore, and Lieutenant-General Talmash ; the Marquis de la Forest, the Heer Van Weede, Count Noyelles, and the Heer Zobel, Majors General, and the Brigadiers Churchill and Ramsey ; Cornelius Van Wou, and Richard Uthwayt, Judges Advocates assisting, at Lembeck, the 11th of August, 1692.

Signed,

ATHLONE.

And lower,

By order of the court-martial,

THOMAS DU VAL.”

In pursuance of the sentence abovementioned, the Chevalier De Grandvall was executed in the camp on the 13th day of August, 1692. All that he said at the place of execution, was to recommend himself to the prayers of those that were present : But the same morning before he went to execution, he writ this following letter :—

Du Camp de Halle, ce 13 Aout, 1692.

From the Camp at Hall, Aug. 13, 1692.

Mademoiselle,

Je vous prie d'aller trouver Monsieur l'Archevêque de Rheims, avec Monsieur Jourduil, et faire connoître au dit Seigneur Archevêque, qu'il m'en couste lavie, pour avoir obeyé aux ordres de Monsieur Barbesieux. C'est la grace que vous demande vôte serviteur,

DE GRANDVAL.

Madam,

I pray you to go to the Archbishop of Rheims, with Monsieur Jourduil, and to let the archbishop know, that it cost me my life for having obeyed the orders of Monsieur de Barbesieux, which is the favour desired of you by your servant,

DE GRANDVALL.

Voyez Monsieur le Marquis d'Arsy, qu'il contribuë à faire prier dieu pour moy.

Speak to the Marquis D'Ar-
sy, that he take care I be
prayed for.

A Mademoiselle Juré, ruë Trevelle, vis à vis de la ruë des deux Escus, près de l'Hostel de Soissons, à Paris.

To Madam Juré, in Treville-street, over against the street of the Two Crowns, near the hospital of Soissons, at Paris.

Upon the occasion of this letter, it will not be improper to take notice of a passage that happened some days before Grandvall's condemnation, since it has so great an agreement with the said letter, and may serve to explain it, if it needed any clearer light, which is as follows.

One discoursing with the Chevalier Grandvall in prison, and observing he sought to justify himself upon the orders he had received from the Marquis of Barbesieux, he told him, though that was in itself a very weak excuse for being engaged in a base action, yet still it might prove so much the worse, as that it was like enough Monsieur Barbesieux would disown that he gave any such orders, or that he was any ways concerned with him in a business of this nature. To which Grandvall replied, “ Let him