

These papers, therefore, may it please your majesty, falling into my hands, and being by myself imparted to some persons of eminent degree, and better acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, I was encouraged to believe, that it would be no unkindness to the author, to prostrate them with all humility to your majesty's royal consideration; that so your majesty might, with less trouble, understand the present condition of that your kingdom, in reference to the partial disposal of the lands and possessions in that kingdom; whereby it doth manifestly appear, what interest prevailed in the punishment (if so it may be called) of the subdued Irish, for all the massacres they committed, and all the blood they spilt in the late rebellion, as if the Irish had rebelled to be the only gainers, and the English had expended so much treasure, and the lives of so many thousands, to be the only losers in the distributions of their conquests; the victors not being permitted to enjoy what they had justly won by the sword, while the Irish were restored to what they had as truly forfeited by their cruel disloyalty; by which partial piece of justice, the victors were indeed subdued, and the conquered were, in the conclusion, victorious.

All which being fully made out in the following sheets, I thought it my duty most humbly to add this smaller offering of my sincere integrity to serve your majesty, to the better assistance and information of persons more able, though of none more ready and zealous to approve himself, by all the strictest performances of loyalty and allegiance,

Your majesty's most humble, obedient,
And faithful subject and servant,

J. C.

This Letter, and the Calculations annexed, were transmitted from Dublin, to the late King James II. in the Year 1688, some few Weeks before his Highness the Prince of Orange landed in England.

May it please your Majesty,

The true intent of your majesty's most humble orator, by this and his former address, being to give truth a release from the common restraints of fear, flattery, or favour; that so your majesty having a true representation of persons and things here, may be the better enabled and encouraged to apply suitable and seasonable remedies, to the most desperate maladies of this late happy, but now most miserable, country.

Your majesty cannot but know, that most princes have, by advantageous experience, found public truths made known by private, when suppressed by public persons, yet that the matters herein contained might contract no prejudice by the obscure instrument that conveys it.

As in his former letter he humbly referred the particulars to a person of greater circumstances of credit with your majesty than can be found in this country; and as to the calculations hereunto annexed, your majesty will find their credit most supported on your own records, and where those are defective, that supply is made by those probable conjectures, which are, as well as the records, in themselves evident, those conjectures being either grounded on that common principle of commutative justice, *id valet quantum rendi potest*, or subjected to the mensurations of the altitude and magnitude of celestial bodies made by astronomers, which are demonstrable, may, and must be more, but cannot be less, than those computations make them.

I know that the loss of five millions, and five hundreds, and fifty thousands, mentioned in the foot of the annexed estimate, as lost by a less than two years Irish government, seems to be a prodigious and an incredible loss.

But that sum not appearing to be a third of the whole value of the kingdom, and it being manifest, that at least one fourth of the houses in this city of Dublin are now

waste, and that house-rents here and elsewhere are fallen at least one third of their former annual value, and that lands in the country are generally fallen more than one fourth, and the inheritance now refused at eight years purchase, which would not before have been sold for near double that value.

Some here, and those none of the meanest criticks in calculations, drawing inferences from the aforesaid premises, do conclude that this kingdom is sunk more than a moiety of its intrinsic value within the said time.

Especially, when they add to the aforesaid considerations, the great impair of the British trade; the traders now left being not worth a moiety of those we have lost, and these seeming rather prepared for flight than stay.

While by the open packing of Irish juries, corrupting of evidence, and partiality of Irish judges, they see it in the natives power to take what British life or estate they please, and to make the most innocent person suffer as the greatest malefactor, and all the while not seemingly break any law by so doing. It is well known, that upwards of fifty indictments were found by Irish evidence against the British, who were most celebrated for loyalty in this kingdom; who, though they were afterwards all acquitted as being innocent, had yet, in all probability, suffered as traitors, had not the unexpected coming of the Earl of Clarendon to the government, and his appointing protestant sheriffs, broke those snares.

Your majesty so well knowing the validity of oaths, as to the proof of crimes and titles by the English laws, will easily believe what fatal execution a people let loose may do on a people bound by those cords; especially, where perjury is by some held no sin, by most a venial sin, and by others a duty. How often do we now see forged deeds, formerly most justly condemned, revived; how often do we see, and that to the great scandal of justice and government, your majesty's Irish council making use of your majesty's name, as highwaymen do of your public road, that they may the better violate your law, rob your subjects, and enrich themselves, and, pirate-like, make all prize that are weaker and wealthier than themselves?

How often do we hear the poor British reflecting on the late bad and miserable times, when the Irish made all the British within their reach either accessaries to their guilt, or subject to their wrath? When in six months time, without commiseration to sex or age, without any opposition or provocation, they murdered upwards of one hundred thousand British in one province of this kingdom, and that with all imaginable circumstances of cruelty and barbarity? All which must be true, or the records taken on your father of blessed memory's commission, reciting circumstances of time, place, and number of persons so murdered, must be all false; and had the government, garrisons, and army, been then, as now, in the Irish hands, it is more than probable there had not one British person been left alive in this kingdom.

And can the flight of the British at, and their flight from, these flames now, which they found and felt so destructive then, be matter of blame to them, or surprise to any, or can it be presumed that the natives disappointment by that war had lessened their rage, or bettered their nature, if when the Irish had no share in the government, nor arms, nor knowledge how to use them, and no command of garrisons or soldiers, but these and many other advantages in the British hands; if they were then able to make their wrath so successful, what can rationally be expected to become of the British now amongst them? I do the more willingly enumerate these particulars, rather to confirm the following, and more moderate estimate, than the larger made by others, concerning the aforesaid loss. Yet this I may with more truth than satisfaction affirm, that if the judicial proceedings past in that time are not reviewed, if the gaps lately made, to let in an inundation of arbitrary power on the British propriety is not repaired, and those who made them severely punished; and, lastly, if no better security than Irish judges, sheriffs, and juries can be found to preserve the British proprieties, Ichabod

may well be the character, a foreigner the master, and desolation the portion of this unhappy country, when it becomes a habitation for wild beasts, or worse creatures, under only the shape and resemblance of human features.

Your majesty's improvement of these and better helps may so open your ears, that, in the words of the psalmist, "The sorrowful sighing of the prisoner may come up before you;" and then I no ways doubt, but in the further words of the same psalmist, according to the greatness of your power, and goodness of your nature, you will preserve those who seem appointed to die, that they may yet live to pray for your majesty's long life, &c. as doth, it may please your majesty, your majesty's most humble, dutiful, and obedient subject and servant.

An Estimate, containing,

1. The latitude, longitude, and survey of the whole kingdom of Ireland.
2. What part, or how many acres thereof are profitable, and how many unprofitable.
3. The annual value, with the value of the inheritance of both in 1641, before the late Irish rebellion began, with what it was reduced unto in the year 1653, when the said rebellion was declared at an end.

How the said Irish propriety was settled and disposed in the said year 1653.

How disposed in 1662 and 1663, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and by the commissioners for executing the said acts.

How it stands on the date, of this estimate, viz. in the year 1688.

The particular loss and gain of both protestant and Irish part by the said rebellion.

The whole charge of the then king and the protestant party, to suppress the said rebellion.

Lastly, inferences from all the aforesaid calculations.

Survey.

The latitude of Ireland, north, is parallel to Dumfries in Scotland, which is about sixty miles more north than England.

South, it is parallel to St Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

The longitude, west, to the utmost point of Ireconough, in the county of Galway.

East, to the head of Hoath near Dublin.

The whole number of acres, by comparing several surveys, appears to be about ten millions and four hundred thousand Irish acres (twenty-one foot to the perch) which make about seventeen millions English measure, and makes Ireland equal in quantity to England, Wales excepted.

Of the said ten millions four hundred thousand acres, there appears to be about three millions of mountains, wood, bog, and other unprofitable acres.

So that the profitable part appears to be about seven millions and four hundred thousand acres, which are thus seised, possessed, and enjoyed *anno* 1641, before the rebellion began.

First, The British or protestant propriety was then about two millions four hundred thousand of the said profitable acres, Irish measure.

The Irish, or Roman catholics propriety was the remainder, being about five millions of the said acres.

Memorandum—That *anno* 1653, the rebellion was publicly declared to be at an end, and then the aforesaid Irish propriety of the said five millions of acres was distributed and disposed of as follows.

First, Unto such of Irish Roman catholics, who proved their constant good affection to the British interest, were restored about one hundred thousand acres.

Secondly, There was set aside to satisfy the officers and soldiers who served in the Irish war before *anno* 1649, being the year Oliver Cromwell came over into Ireland, in

the counties of Wicklow, Longford, Letrym, Donnegal, and within the Mileline of Sea and Shannon, about four hundred thousand acres.

Thirdly, There was distributed to the adventurers who advanced moneys on the acts of the seventeenth and eighteenth of King Charles I. to carry on the war of Ireland, about eight hundred thousand acres.

Fourthly, There was set forth to the officers and soldiers, who served from 1649 until 1653, being the declared end of the said war, about two millions of acres.

Fifthly, There was set forth to several grants, about one hundred thousand acres.

Sixthly, To the Roman catholics, according to their several proofs of their qualifications by the commissioners at Loughreagh, pursuant to the decrees of the commissioners at Athlone, about seven hundred thousand acres in the province of Connaught and county of Clare.

Seventhly, There was set aside for the support of the government, the forfeited houses in the walled towns, and about eight hundred thousand acres in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Cork, Cathorlough, and Kildare, the most of which were let in leases of thirty-one years to British protestants.

Memorandum—That the aforesaid British or protestant proprieties were, *anno* 1653, restored to the respective former proprietors.

And thus stood the proprieties of lands in the kingdom of Ireland until *anno* 1660, the restoration of the late king.

Memorandum—That in the years 1661, 1662, and 1663, by acts of parliament, and decrees of the Court of Claims, there were taken away from the aforesaid interests and retrenchments of one third, by the explanatory act, and restored to former proprietors about two millions of acres of the aforesaid lands, so that at the period of the said commissions of claims, the aforesaid propriety was as follows.

First, The protestant propriety, and the propriety of the Roman catholics, who proved their constant good affection to the English, were untouched, either by act of parliament or decrees of the Court of Claims.

Secondly, The lands of the officers who served his majesty in the Irish war, before the year 1649, were reduced to about one hundred and ninety thousand acres, the rest of their lands were restored to former Irish proprietors.

Thirdly, The aforesaid adventurers satisfaction was by the said acts of parliament, and decrees of the Court of Claims, reduced to about three hundred thousand acres.

Fourthly, Remaining then with the officers and soldiers who served since the year 1649, about twelve hundred thousand acres.

Fifthly, There was then left with the transplantable Irish in the province of Connaught and county of Clare, about six hundred thousand acres.

Sixthly, There were confirmed to grantees, by the acts of parliament, about two hundred thousand acres, of which about one moiety was to Roman catholics, the other to British protestants.

Seventhly, There is left of course, lands undisposed, and overplus lands, in the hands of soldiers and adventurers, about one hundred thousand acres.

So that there appears, confirmed by acts of parliament, and the commissioners of the explanatoric acts, about seventeen hundred and eighty thousand acres to the soldiery and adventurers, and to the protestant grantees, by provisoes in both the said acts, about one hundred thousand acres, and the like sum of course retrenched and undisposed lands are still in the king's hands, which makes in all about two millions of Irish acres, which is all that the crown of England interest hath got, and the Irish then lost by that rebellion: But since by his majesty's present rent roll there appears above two-thirds of the aforesaid two millions to be got by pretended deeds, set up by the Irish, or by purchases made at unvaluable rates, both by the Irish and the former British inhabitants of that country, so that now there is little appearance of that late numerous

and victorious interest, which rescued this kingdom out of the Irish rebels and British malcontents hands; which how valuable the foresaid two millions of acres were, and now are, will appear by the next general head, which contains the annual value and inheritance of the said lands in the year 1641, before the rebellion began, and to what value both Roman catholic and protestant propriety was reduced in the year 1653, when the said rebellion was declared at an end: All which will more fully appear by the following diagram.

The Value in 1641, before the Rebellion began.

The whole kingdom contains seven millions four hundred thousand profitable acres, of which the four shillings an acre, comes to one million four hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, twelve years purchase, comes to seventeen millions seven hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling.

Irish propriety then was five millions of acres, one million of pounds sterling comes unto twelve millions sterling.

British propriety two millions and four hundred thousand acres, four hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, comes to five millions seven hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling.

The reduced value of the whole, and of each propriety in 1653, when the rebellion was declared at an end, was, annual value at nine-pence an acre, inheritance at eight years purchase.

The whole kingdom seven millions four hundred thousand acres comes to two hundred seventy-seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling, comes to two millions two hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641 and 1653, is fifteen millions five hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling.

The Irish propriety then about five millions of acres, at nine-pence an acre *per annum*, comes to one million eighty-seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The inheritance at eight years purchase, comes to one million and a half sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641 and 1653 of this propriety, was nine millions four hundred and eighty thousand pounds.

The British or protestant propriety was two millions and four hundred thousand acres at 9d *per annum*, comes to ninety thousand pounds sterling. The inheritance at eight years purchase, comes to seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641 and 1653 in this propriety, was five millions and forty thousand pounds sterling.

Memorandum—That besides the aforesaid Irish propriety in lands, there appears by your majesty's records in the auditory office, that there were as many houses in walled towns, besides tithes and rectories belonging to the Irish, which did yield *anno 1653*, about five thousand pounds sterling *per annum*, which at eight years purchase was then worth forty thousand pounds sterling.

Memorandum—That the protestant propriety, within the walled towns, is not included in the above calculations, neither the tithes or glebe belonging to two thousand four hundred parish churches; there being about that number of parishes in this kingdom.

The next general head is the particular loss and gain of both British and Irish by the said rebellion.

Memorandum—That by the aforesaid article it appears, that the British have got, and the Irish have lost, by the said rebellion, about two millions of acres; which, by the aforesaid valuations in the year 1653, appear to be worth two millions of nine-pences *per annum*, which is seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, at eight years purchase for the inheritance, is six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

This was the common value when the British entered on the forfeited lands; and to

this is to be added the aforesaid forty thousand pounds for their interest in walled towns and rectories.

This six hundred and forty thousand pounds is the whole of the British gain and Irish loss by the said rebellion.

Memorandum—That the Irish loss of houses, goods, stocks, &c. being occasioned by their own rebellion, are not included in this calculation.

The next thing considerable is the Irish gain, and the British loss, which appear by these following particulars :

I. By thirteen years loss of rents, the annual propriety of the British did amount, as aforesaid, before the rebellion began, to four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, which for thirteen years amounts unto six millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling.

II. The said rebellion began the 23d of October, 1641, at which time the British had one whole year's stock of hay and corn by them, which usually supplied them with materials to satisfy their November and May rents then ensuing, and had likewise then sowed their winter corn, both which could not be less worth than half a year's rent of the whole land, which appears, as aforesaid, to be two hundred and forty thousand pounds.

III. The British propriety was, as is well known, well stocked and improved *anno* 1641, and consisting of two millions four hundred thousand acres Irish measure, which appears to be near a third of the whole kingdom, must have, its proportion of the three millions of unprofitable acres as aforesaid, and there could not be less stock on two acres and a half Irish measure (which, considering the addition of the unprofitable, must be more than four English acres) than one beast on the pasturable part; what acres were under corn must be of a much higher value, which beast, *communi rato*, could not be of less value than twenty shillings; by which the value of the British stock, at a moderate rate, appears, in the year 1641, to be worth two millions four hundred thousand pounds.

IV. The value of their houses, goods, and improvements, cannot be valued at less than double the value of their stocks, which makes four millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The aforesaid four sums which were received, and robbed or taken from the British, during the said rebellion, appears to be thirteen millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds, which supposeth the whole British propriety to be robbed, spoiled, or enjoyed by the Irish during the said rebellion; whereas it is evident, that the metropolis of Dublin, the city of Drogheda, in the province of Leinster, the city of Londonderry, Colerain, town and castle of Enniskilling, towns of Belfast and Carrickfergus, in the province of Ulster, the city of Cork, the towns of Bandonbridge, Youghal, and Kingsale, were never in the Irish hands; but these, compared with all the other towns and cities of this kingdom, with more than nineteen parts in twenty of all the lands, which within six months after the rebellion began, were still in the Irish hands, there cannot be abated in the aforesaid consideration one-tenth of the aforesaid sum.

Yet, abating the tenths, there remains nett loss to the British, and got by the Irish, twelve millions one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling.

V. On or about the years 1662 and 1663, there were taken from the British, and restored to the Irish, by acts of parliament and decrees of the Court of Claims, above two millions of profitable acres, the annual value of which said lands *anno* 1653, when the British first entered upon them at nine-pence an acre, appears to be seventy-five thousand, which, at eight years purchase for the inheritance, is six hundred thousand pounds; but by the British enjoyment and improvement of the said lands from 1653 until 1662, and 1663, the annual value of the said lands was raised unto two shillings three-pence an acre, which was two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and the inheritance at ten years purchase, lands being then so usually set and sold in

those times, and the inheritance of the aforesaid two millions appearing not to be worth more in the year 1653, when the British entered on them, than six hundred thousand pounds, which being deducted out of two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, it appears that the British have lost, and the Irish have got by the two millions of acres so as before restored, sixteen hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which being added to the aforesaid twelve millions one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, it's clear by the aforesaid particulars, that the British have lost, and the Irish have got by their rebellion, thirteen millions seven hundred and eighty thousand pounds; to which being added the five millions forty thousand pounds damage done the British propriety, as appears by the forementioned diagram, in reducing the values of the inheritance of the said lands in 1653, from what it was worth in 1641, makes the nett damage of the protestant propriety by the said rebellion to be eighteen millions eight hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling.

The next general head is the particular charge of the said rebellion to the king, and the British or protestant interest of this kingdom.

1. By an adjusted account now on record here in Dublin, it appears, that from the 23d of October, 1641, to the year 1649, there was due only to the commissioned officers, about eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

2. There could not be less than double that sum due to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers within the said time, which amounts to three millions six hundred thousand pounds.

3. There was received by the said officers and soldiers in monies, quarters, and provisions within the said time, one-fourth of the whole, which was defaulted out of the officers debentures, and amounted to one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds.

So that from 1641 to 1649, the charge of the said war appears to be at least six millions seven hundred and forty thousand pounds; and what since to the period of the war in 1653, appears to be these following particulars:

1. By an adjusted account, there appears due to the officers and soldiers, who served within the said time, about twelve hundred thousand pounds, which was satisfied in lands.

2. The said officers and soldiers were paid two parts more in money, which was two millions four hundred thousand pounds.

3. There was one-fourth deducted out of both officers and soldiers debentures on the account of quarters and provision, which amounts to, as aforesaid, twelve hundred thousand pounds.

4. By an adjusted account it appears, that the English adventurers advanced in the years 1641 and 1642, about four hundred thousand pounds, which money being advanced and paid in the aforesaid years of 1641 and 1642, and no satisfaction made until the year 1655 and 1656, the interest must be more than the principal, which amounts at least to eight hundred thousand pounds.

5. There was near ten thousand Scots, who served most part of the war in the province of Ulster, under the command of General Lesley; but their arrears being never stated, adjusted, nor paid, cannot be so particularly ascertained, but cannot be less than one million of pounds.

Memorandum—That there was many independent troops in Ulster and Munster whose accounts were never adjusted, satisfied, or paid.

Memorandum—That in this calculation is also omitted the most christian and charitable relief given and sent by the states of Holland, who in one ship sent thirty thousand pounds in provisions in the beginning of the rebellion, which came so seasonable, that hundreds of British families were thereby preserved from starving and

perishing; nor is there mentioned the charge of ships, arms, or ammunition during the war.

Memorandum—That there is not any mention made of the great collection of charity for the relief of the despoiled protestants of the country.

The aforesaid particulars since the year 1649, amounted to six millions six hundred thousand pounds; before 1649, appears to be six millions seven hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Both sums, containing the whole of the aforesaid charge, amount to thirteen millions three hundred and forty thousand pounds.

The British or protestant loss and damage appears to be, as aforesaid, eighteen millions eight hundred sixty-two thousand pounds, and both together make thirty-two millions one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

From all the premises afore-mentioned the inferences following do naturally arise:

1. Whereas the English adventurers debt, who advanced money on the credit of two acts of parliament in the year 1641 and 1642, for support of the Irish war, did amount to more than eight hundred thousand pounds, and it appearing as aforesaid, that they received more than three hundred thousand acres of land for satisfaction of the said debt, and it likewise appearing by the aforesaid diagram, that the annual value of the said lands was at most but eleven thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, it is manifest that the said adventurers paid more than seventy years purchase for what was not worth really more than eight.

2. Whereas, there appears as aforesaid due to the English soldiery above all the deductions, six millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and those who served before the year 1649, having received but one hundred and ninety thousand acres of land, and as many houses in walled towns and incumbrances as were worth at most but five thousand *per annum*.

And whereas it appears that the soldiery since 1649, had left them by the Court of Claims about twelve hundred thousand acres, making in all about thirteen hundred and ninety thousand acres, which, with the five thousand pounds *per annum* for rents of houses, &c. appears at most to be worth no more than fifty-seven thousand one hundred twenty-five pounds *per annum*, as appears by the aforesaid diagram, it is as clear that the said soldiery have paid more than one hundred and fifteen years purchase for what was not worth more than eight.

3. Whereas it appears as aforesaid, that the whole loss in houses, lands, tithes, and rectories of the Irish do amount at most but to six hundred and forty thousand pounds, and it appearing that the British lost, and the Irish, during their rebellion, got,

1. As much corn and hay from the British as was at least worth, as aforesaid, two hundred and forty thousand pounds, which sum alone is more than one-third of their whole loss.

2. The British stock of horses, sheep, cattle, &c. appears as aforesaid to be worth two millions eight hundred thousand pounds, which appears to be more than four times the aforesaid loss.

3. The British houses, goods, and improvements which the Irish got, and the British lost, appears to be five millions six hundred thousand pounds, which is more than nine times the aforesaid loss.

4. The rents which the Irish received from the British propriety during their rebellion, amounting to five millions eight hundred and forty thousand pounds as aforesaid, is more than nine times the aforesaid loss.

The British loss in their improvements on the restored lands by the Court of Claims in 1662 and 1663, amounts to sixteen hundred and sixty thousand pounds as aforesaid, which alone is near treble of the whole of the Irish loss.

Memorandum—That the aforesaid five sums which the Irish got from the British,

deducting the tenth as aforesaid, is fifteen millions and thirty thousand pounds; so that it is plainly demonstrated, that the Irish got from the British more than thirty times what they lost by their rebellion.

Memorandum—That to the aforesaid British loss, there is yet to be added the damage done their propriety, from the value it was worth in the year 1641, to what it was reduced to in the year 1653, which appears to be five millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, which makes the whole loss and damage done the British by that rebellion to amount unto above twenty millions of pounds sterling; which sum appears to be lost out of less than a third of the whole propriety of this kingdom, and is,

1. More than double the value of the whole propriety of their lands in the year 1641, and more than twenty times the value it was reduced to in the year 1653.

2. It appears as aforesaid to be more than the whole propriety that all the lands in this kingdom was worth in the year 1641.

3. The protestant loss and damage, as aforesaid, appears to be near double the charge of the aforesaid war.

4. It appearing before the death of Charles the Second, that lands in this kingdom were raised to equal value in 1641, it is demonstrable, that the British industry had raised this kingdom, in thirty years time, notwithstanding all their discouragements, to upwards of fifteen millions of pounds sterling.

The late King Charles, in favour of the Irish, releasing by the Explanatory Act the clear right which the crown had to the whole province of Connaught, counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, his majesty thereby parted with ten times more than the Irish forfeited.

VI. By provisos in the Act of Settlement and Explanation, and by pensions and other donatives given the Irish, as appears by the treasury accounts of both kingdoms, there appears much more given to them than was forfeited or lost by them.

VII. The last parliament in this kingdom giving his majesty twenty-eight subsidies, and three hundred thousand pounds in money, gave more in value than all the forfeitures by that rebellion, they settling a revenue of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds *per annum* on the crown, with a *nemine contradicente*, by that gave more than ten times the value of the said forfeitures.

VIII. The charge of that rebellion appearing to be thirteen millions three hundred and forty thousand pounds, it is evident, that the aforesaid Irish loss will not pay a fourteenth part of the said charges.

IX. Admit the lands of this kingdom were before the commencement of the present Irish government (or Irish administration) raised to the value of 1641, and that lands were only fallen one-fourth in their yearly value, which appears to be about three hundred and ninety-three thousand pounds, and that they were only sunk in the inheritance one-third, which is five millions five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, then both making five millions nine hundred and forty-three thousand pounds, which this kingdom is already sunk, with only one year's Irish government.

X. Whereas it appears by the excellent preface of the Act of Settlement, that *anno* 1660, seven years after the aforesaid rebellion was declared at an end, when persons and things were in calm and serene frame in this kingdom, the most able of the Irish agents were fully heard before his majesty and council in England, what they could answer in behalf of their countrymen; yet on the said hearing, the universal guilt of the Irish, with their horrid massacres and barbarous murders in that rebellion, were fully proved, their just forfeitures of their lives and estates affirmed, and that rebellion declared by the said king and council in England, and afterwards by the parliament and council of Ireland, the most horrid and universal rebellion which ever befel that kingdom; and as thereby it appears to be the highest in point of guilt, so by what hath been said as aforesaid, it appears to be the greatest in point of loss and charge;

and though, as by the said excellent preface it further appears, that, by God's blessing on the British forces, the said Irish were totally, universally, and absolutely subdued, yet it appears, as aforesaid, that affairs have been so managed, that the nocent, conquered Irish party, both in times of peace and war, have been gainers, and the innocent victorious British the only losers by that rebellion: But let it ever be remembered by your majesty, and not forgot by all succeeding kings of England, nor the English nation, that if the public disturbances in England, heightened into a civil war (chiefly occasioned by the massacre and rebellion here) at the same time, and the great corruptions of those through whose hands most of the administrations passed, relating to Ireland, had not prevented, that rebellion had not cost the British one-fourth of the time, nor one penny charge, but on the contrary the very forfeitures of the Irish would not only have paid all that whole reckoning, but an overplus sufficient to have plentifully rewarded the victorious British, which no doubt will be found mathematically true, if ever the Irish give another occasion to try it.

Lastly, Whereas it appears as aforesaid, that the whole loss, costs, and charge of the king and protestant party, to suppress the said rebellion, did amount to thirty-four millions four hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, and whereas it sufficiently demonstrates who have been the greatest gainers and the greatest losers, so it shews who have most cause to complain of the dismal effects of that rebellion, whether the conquering British, or the conquered Irish; and so it is more than probable, that the said rebellion began the 23d of October, 1641, and ended in the year 1653, and that as it cost and lost more treasure, so if there were as careful a scrutiny made after the blood spilt, or occasioned to be spilt, as of treasure spent, both would appear much greater than the price of all the late Christian victories over the great Turk, which may be a sufficient and seasonable caution, both to prince and people to prevent future rebellions in this kingdom, which, since its original conquest, hath by the sins of both been made an *acheldama*, or field of blood. The late unusual prodigies from the heavens, the late dismal apparitions in the air, the late unheard-of inundation on this city, the astonishing variances of our great ones, detecting each other's nakedness, the late revival of our national and religious animosities, with the British *migremus hinc*, and other fatal prognostics, seems to foretel as fatal, or more fatal, judgments, than that which last befel this kingdom, which, next to the abomination of desolation, which befel the Jews, was the heaviest and sharpest that ever befel so small a spot of the world, since the world began; which, were it described, as it ought, could not be believed but by such as saw it, were actors in it, or suffered by it, which, with God's blessing on your majesty's counsels, may be yet easier prevented than hereafter cured, which is the proper end of this estimate, and gives foundation for the British following expostulation with their king and their Irish neighbours.

Dread Sir,

What have we done to merit the severity of your highest displeasure? Nay, what have we not done, which might entitle us to your highest favour? Were we or our ancestors ever false? or were our Irish adversaries, or theirs, ever true to the crown of England? The Irish have frequently made us, and our ancestors, beggars, but never yet made either rebels. Were not our estates seized, our houses burnt, our goods and stock plundered, our chargeable and laborious improvements spoiled, our persons stripped and inhumanly murdered in the year 1641, only for our loyalty to our God and our king? And when, by an article made in the cessation, every individual person was left to choose his party, did not we as universally and unanimously declare ourselves of your father's party, as the Irish declared themselves to be of the rebel's party? We, and our ancestors, have been constantly made the butt, but it is evident that the crown of England, and the sovereignty of this country, have been made the mark of

the natives wrath. Though your father left us, and that by a law, to be supported by the parliament of England, and they really were kind to us, in the day of our extremity, yet our loyalty to him so subjected our gratitude to them, and the natural care of our relations, that when we wanted hands to revenge the innocent blood, which the natives had so inhumanly spilt, or to prevent them of spilling more; yet even then, at your father's command, we sent large supplies of both horse and foot to fight against that very parliament, which then, under God, were our only support.

And did we not continue thus dutiful, till your father's necessities forced him to desert us, and give us leave to shift for ourselves, and in this exigence, which was about the year 1646, was not his grace the Duke of Ormond, by the perfidious treachery, and breach of articles made by the Irish, reduced to that streight, that he was forced to give up his majesty's sword, either to the parliament of England, or to the confederate Irish assembly? And did not the Earl of Castlehaven, who was then a proscribed person by the parliament, and a general to the said confederate assembly, advise his grace, rather to give up the sword to the English, than to the Irish, and is not the reason of that advice made public to the world in his Memoirs?

And did not the said Duke of Ormond then publicly and frequently caution the parliament's commissioners, how they ever trusted the Irish, letting them know, that they would serve any English governor as they had served him? And did he not advise his officers and soldiers to join with any party that was English, to fight against the Irish? Pursuant to this advice, we strait joined ourselves to the parliament's forces, and were eminently instrumental in that great victory obtained against the Irish at Dungan Hill, and though we found a continued series of success to attend our service under the English banners, yet no sooner did we see your father sold by the Scots, little better than imprisoned by the parliament; and easily foreseeing those methods, presaging worse to ensue, though the parliament's forces were triumphant in the three kingdoms, yet notwithstanding all discouragements, we entered into a new treaty with the confederate catholics, and out of our passionate desire to serve and save your majesty's father in that exigency, your brother and we submitted to whatever articles were proposed by the said Irish; yet as advantageous as those articles were to them, and as prejudicial as they were to us, the Irish commissioners could not be prevailed with to sign them, until the 17th of January, 1648, when they well knew, it was too late to prevent what followed the 30th following, which articles, whosoever reads, will find them the most traitorous that were ever made by subjects with their prince.

We thus finding that we could not do what we would for your father, and vainly hoping the Irish might be more loyal and faithful to your brother, we joined ourselves to them, and continued with them, till we found it was more for his service to leave them, than longer stay with them, their armies proving cowardly and treacherous, and their clergy charging us with their crimes, though we stood until we lost our lives by fighting with our countrymen in the field, while they saved theirs, by running into the neighbouring woods and bogs. Though we were the only party that stood, and the Irish the only party that run, at the fight at Dublin, yet their ecclesiastics charged us as the occasion of that defeat, and the same cause producing the same effect elsewhere, the clergy openly preached, that they could expect no better success while they joined with us that were heretics; and being disappointed in their frequent attempts to murder the Duke of Ormond, and charging all their miscarriages on his want of conduct, whereas their supreme trusts had the whole conduct of their army, and his grace nothing left but the bare title of general; and he refusing to quit his empty command at their desire, at a great meeting of their bishops and others their dignified clergy, they fixed up a public excommunication against him, and all that should join with him, or adhere to him; which forced his grace to leave the kingdom *incognito*, and so he left

us the second time to shift for ourselves; and we conceiving it more for your brother's service to leave them, than longer to join with them, we serving again under our countrymen's banners, in less than two years time, with our help, the whole kingdom subdued: But that army being headed by a junto parliament, and they and their confidants put into all places of trust and power in the other two kingdoms, as well as in this, yet so desirous were we to serve your brother, and arrive at a lasting settlement; and so well known were our desires and intentions to our brethren, and they so confident of our assistance, that a few of us, without the help of an Irish hand, on the 13th of December, 1659, surprised and seized the strong castle of Dublin, and in less than fourteen days got the power of the whole kingdom into our hands, and as soon as we had settled it, tendered the government to his late majesty, with the offer of a well-regulated and disciplined army to assist his restoration to his other kingdoms, and had the honour of being the first of the three kingdoms who declared for his restoration. Was not his majesty so highly pleased with the sense of this our seasonable loyalty, that he made our tender and his gracious acceptance to be made a perpetual record in his high court of Chancery in this kingdom, and without any knowledge, petition, or capitulation of ours, of his own free will, gave us his royal assurance of being continued in our employs? And when by previous or legal grants that grace was made unpracticable, in that case, the losing party was to be reprimed in value, worth, and purchase, as in and by the said record, relation being thereunto had, it may and will more fully appear.

And was not most of us soon after chose members of parliament in this kingdom? and did not we then and there, with all imaginable circumstances of duty and affection, without any consideration of our own streights or exigencies, give his majesty twenty-eight subsidies, and the inheritance of a revenue of more than two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*? And so passionately desirous were we of living like good neighbours, good subjects, and good Christians, with the Irish, that we as readily consented to pay his majesty one full year's profit of our estates, which we afterwards made up three hundred thousand pounds in money, which was then more than one-third of all the current coin in this kingdom, and this barely to supply and enable his majesty to exercise his greater bounty to such of the Irish as he knew most deserving; yet was this thought too little by the Irish agents, though we had lost much of our estates and improvements very severely by the proceedings of the Court of Claims, and the said agents promising us an absolute confirmation in what we had left, without expecting more from us, we readily consented to retrench one-third of what we then had. The aforesaid particulars being most of them matters of record, some matters of fact, and all demonstratively true, let all the annals and records of this, or former ages be examined, and see if thence can be extracted a loyalty exceeding this of ours.

But oh! let it not be told in Gath, nor published in the streets of Askalon, the returns we have had for all these our aforesaid services; let them sink in perpetual oblivion, and never be remembered by posterity, that we who gave such evidences of our loyalty to our exiled prince, were not thought fit to be employed after his return; that we who so faithfully served him in war and misery, should be thrown out of his service in times of peace and prosperity, our employs being not only taken from us, without any of that promised compensation made us; but that which is yet worse, those very employs put into the worst of Irish hands. Are not many of them now armed in peace, whom we lately disarmed in war for being rebels? Are not many, we then made prisoners, now made our masters? Are not we made captives to them in peace, which we made our captives in time of war? Did we give up the conquered Irish to your brother's mercy to be now given up by your majesty to their cruelty? Are not the persons, most rebellious, reputed now the most loyal and meritorious? Is not their horrid rebellion made now the standard of loyalty and merit? How often do we now hear

the Ultock Irish boast of their merit, that they killed one hundred thousand heretics in six months time, and reproaching the Leinster Irish, that they killed not half that number in double that time? Who ever thought that the Boyles, Coots, St Georges, &c. should be turned out and pursued as disaffected to your majesty, and the Mac-Gennis, Mac-Mahons, Oneals, &c. brought into their places, and received as good subjects?

And as I have often heard the British making the aforesaid and like expostulations with their king, so have I heard them as frequently making these and the like expostulations with their Irish neighbours.

Sirs, What are our crimes, or what have we, or our forefathers, done? What is the greatness of our, or their guilt, that nothing but our utter extirpation can be our expiation? Have not they and we been ever pursued as beasts of prey, by many of you, who have given clearer evidence of your being wolves and tygers, than men and Christians? Have we not dearly bought the estates we have here enjoyed? Might we not have bought the best land in England on easier terms, than we paid for the worst in Ireland? Did we first get them by oppression or injury, that we must now lose them by perjury and forgery, after we have made the annual value more worth than the inheritance when purchased?

You well know that, Catiline-like, the evils you have done cannot be safe, but by attempting greater; and we as well know, that the speedier is your haste, the sooner you will be at your journey's end. You must believe as your church believes, and do as your priests will have you do; and we well know what they would have done with excommunicated heretics. You cannot be true to your own principles, and continue true to us. We do not expect grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles; such as is the tree, such will be the fruit; your national principles are bad, but your ecclesiastics worse: These are the two bellows that blow up the flame of your wrath to the height, that nothing but our blood can be our expiation. Should we give up our lands, stock, and improvements, should we voluntarily yield ourselves to be your slaves, nay, should we turn papists, that would not save us, nor satisfy you, our original guilt is our unpardonable sin; we are British, and true to the British interest, which can be expiated with nothing less than our blood. Are not thousands of you yet alive, who drank, not many years since, too deep of that cup, and are you thirsty still? Were not hecatombs of our slaughtered brethren then victims to your merciless rage, and are you enraged still? Was the harvest so pleasant then, that, now you have power, you are so industrious to sow the same seeds again? Have you so soon forgot, that when we wanted hands to revenge that innocent blood which you so barbarously spilt then, and were utterly unable to prevent you of spilling more, did not God himself arise and plead our cause, when our swords could not reach you? Did not his arm find you out? Did he not then send a pestilence and a famine amongst you; what the one left, did not the other take; and what both left, did not the sword devour? And were not these as inexorable to your cries, as you had been before to ours? Did not these deal as severely with you, as you had done before with us? Did not these depopulate as many villages, parishes, and towns in your properties as you had before in ours? He that thus miraculously helped us, and has justly punished you in that rebellion, why think you may he not do the like for us in your next, which you now seem to be preparing for? We know his almighty arm is not shortened; your exultations, your *Te Deums*, your church-merriment for the exaltation of Roman catholicism, may, like the music, or rather howlings at Moloch's sacrifices, drown the present cries of the oppressed, and stop the ears of men, but will it, think you, as easily stop the ears, or withhold the hand of God? As we find your malice no ways abated, so we wish and advise you to be very cautious how you force it upon another trial, whether his arm be any way shortened. When many of you had drunk deep of our blood, to satiate your rage, were not many of the same persons shortly after, in the time of famine, as greedy of

our flesh, to satisfy your hunger; and did you, canibal-like, eat several, and were you not at last, by the same just God, reserved to be yet more chastised by the sharpest and severest of English hands? You made it your sport to destroy us, they made it their work to destroy you. They with as much ease conquered you, as you before had murdered us: Their great endeavour was to keep off our hands from being your assistance, and then feared no harm which could come to them singly from yours.

When your supreme council were consulting how to destroy Cromwell, you know the advice given by the Lord Viscount Clammaleer, which was to join with him, giving this as his reason, that he never knew his countrymen join with any party, but they strait destroyed them; you may make yourselves as infamous to posterity as he who destroyed Diana's temple; you may destroy again much of the country, but cannot long keep it.

What if, like Isaac, we are now bound as a ready sacrifice to your rage? Was it your courage that did thus bind us, or our submission to the will of God and his vicegerent; and as God wrought a miraculous delivery for him, so we doubt not but in his time, which is the best time, he will work the like for us? What, if by the misrepresentation of a great courtier, or greater favourite with his prince than with his God, we are now, as the Jews once were to Haman, given up to his hands to be destroyed? Have we not a Queen Hester in our view, who is more able to save than to destroy us? What if we who have been as terribly formidable to the Irish as Sampson was to the Philistines, having now our strength taken from us, are become as contemptible as he, without his locks; yet on the return of our strength, we despair not soon to pull down that Irish fabric which you have now set up to make us your slaves? What if your numbers were treble what they are, or can be, it is well known we never feared your numbers; the more you are, the more will be to kill, to be taken, and to run away. Do not think that the Irish harp, or the fading flower-de-luce, can secure you from the British and Belgic lions in a day of trial.

You escaped well in the last rebellion, think not to speed so well in the next; we know you got favour and forfeitures enough in your last rebellion to make satisfaction for the charge and mischief you may do in your next, *sere sapient Phryges*, wherein perhaps God may arise and spirit men to call to account that ocean of innocent blood you spilt, and as yet unaccounted for, which day of reckoning, his justice will not for ever delay; and though justice have leaden heels, yet it hath in all ages been found to have iron hands; could those who have put arms into your hands, put courage into your hearts, or other souls into your bodies, they might hope to make you good soldiers. It is confessed by all, that the British were ever the best fighters, and it cannot be denied but you were ever esteemed the best runners. Naturalists observe, that where nature is defective one way that defect is supplied another; so the want of courage in your hearts is supplied with the better agility of the heels: Oh! the consolation of a soft bog and a thick wood in a day of battle! Some of you have complained you have been oppressed by English governors. It is confessed, that the government of this kingdom, being a subordinate government, we as well as you have too often received severities from powerful ministers; but did we ever take rebellions, murders, massacres, &c. for a cure, or Irish blood for our revenge? Though you may have some cause, yet we know your complaints have exceeded your cause. We can remember the complaint which the present deputy made to his English predecessor of great partialities in our then judicatures; and we as well remember, that it was desired he would assign one instance to justify his complaint, and for his encouragement was openly assured, that the cause should be re-heard, the injured Irishmen relieved, and the offending judge and jury punished; but we could never hear of any one instance given to make good the complaint.

Do not multitudes of your own people rather wish the return of that English gover-

nor, than a continuance under the present deputy? Was not the kingdom improved under the one, and is it not sunk a moiety already of its intrinsic value under the other? Trade was then increased, improvements encouraged, justice equally administered; is it so now? The army was then well governed, the establishments paid eighteen months in twelve months time; is it so now? All the public debts cleared, the kingdom well satisfied, and near fifty thousand pounds left in the receiver's hands. Will your present deputy ever, think you, do the like; in a word, never was governor received with greater acclamation, never was the government discharged with greater satisfaction, and never was that government left with greater lamentation; will it be so now? As this is the first experiment which the crown of England ever made of Ireland's thriving under an Irish government, so it is hoped it may be the last; and it is our only wish, that it may not now prove to be too dearly bought. It is manifest, by the experience of former ages, that the Irish lived well and safe under the British government, and 'tis as manifest, that the British cannot live so under yours.

But you also further plead, that you are innocent, and most injuriously barred of any benefit by that plea, and that by the express words of the Explanatory Act.

1. You cannot but acknowledge, that in the times of usurpation, you had time without limitation to prove your innocence.

2. Such of you as did appear so, were all restored.

3. When constant good affection was thought too narrow, the qualifications for innocence so opened the door, that you got the whole province of Connaught and county of Clare from the then power.

4. On the late king's restoration in 1660, the clamour of innocence was again revived; and though the universal guilt of the Irish was then fully proved, and the just forfeiture of your lives and fortunes affirmed, as appears by the preface of the Act of Settlement afore-mentioned, yet a year's time more was allowed for trial of your innocence.

5. On passing the Explanation Bill in the House of Commons in Ireland, it was made appear, that your agents had inserted that bar, or clause against innocence in the Act of Explanation, on purpose to reproach the then expected settlement.

6. The commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement being prevailed with by your agents, to put the proof of your guilt upon us, and they severally refusing and undervaluing the evidence of the soldiery, both before and since 1649, as parties, by reason of the satisfaction confirmed to them by the acts, and rejecting the Irish as *participes criminis*, and the Irish having destroyed all the old British within their reach, there was little possibility to prove the guilt of the most rebellious; many who were proscribed by public proclamation, and large sums offered to any to bring in their heads, were by these restraints made innocent: The Marquis of Antrim, the only surviving general which the rebels had in Ulster, was openly declared innocent; and the then Duke of Ormond being so declared the same day, was heard to say, that that judgment was certainly erroneous; for that they heading two different parties, and fighting with each other, on different authorities, could not possibly be both innocent; the lords Taaff, Preston, Muskerry, and Castlehaven, being the only surviving generals in the other provinces of that kingdom, were so far from esteeming themselves obnoxious for what they did in that rebellion, that they not only procured a restoration to their former proprieties by the Acts of Settlements, but had large donatives of forfeited lands confirmed to them by that law; and three of them the addition of new honours conferred on them, to make them the more signally meritorious, and were raised to that elevation of confident merit, that they and others, most active in that rebellion, petitioned the government here to have their arrears stated, for the good services they did his majesty in that rebellion: So that by the aforesaid restraints given by the commissioners, and by the powerful interest of the aforesaid generals, and their clergy, few or none were made nocents, but such as wanted either friends or money

to make them innocent : But when the guilty claimant found, that it was easier buying an inconsiderable part of his estate from the soldier or adventurer, than to run the risque of the whole by the expensive methods of that court, they would usually purchase that small proportion, and limit their claims to the purchased part, and to that no opposition being given, they were declared innocent of course, and being thus declared, they would soon after get their whole estate by due course of law, though this cheat is expressly mentioned in the Act of Explanation ; yet there may the reader find the decrees under the name or title of decrees, *quo ad hoc*, made good by that law, as illegal as were their whole collusive decrees, passed after the 2d of July, 1663, the British well knowing that was the time limited by law for their adjudication ; and the British preparing little or no opposition against the worst of the claimants, innocents were made as fast as their claims were read, and the work was so sweet and pleasant to the commissioners, that they continued making innocents until the 22d of August following, fifty-one days after the time by law limited was expired ; and in these fifty-one days made more innocents than they had done before, and that the benefit (deserves a worse name) might be equally divided, the commissioners agreed, that each commissioner, in his turn, prepare his list of claimants for that day's work ; only the last day, viz. 22d of August, there were upwards of seventy claims posted up to be heard ; and their clerk having not time to read half the claims, and he making that day as many innocents as the court, was reported to share half the benefit of that day's work.

Yet as illegal, corrupt, and horrid, as these decrees were, they must, and that by a British parliament, be confirmed, and one-third of what was left the British retrenched, or not one foot could be confirmed to the British by that law, as appears to any that reads but that act of explanation : These were fine innocents ! These and their nocents are like to make fair sheriffs, judges, and juries, of such estates as are secured, or left the British by that law.

And as the Irish had these encouragements in times of peace, so on enquiry it will be found, that they had as many or more in times of war, which (as appears) was begun not only with the highest approbation and encouragement of their own clergy, but had the united concurrence, benedictions, and masses of most of the Romish clergy in Europe for their good success. Urban VIII. the then pope, thought it not enough to send his nuntio to be president of their councils, and to act as general over their armies, but with him sent his bull, bearing date the 17th of May, 1642, six months after the beginning of the said rebellion, when above one hundred thousand innocent British had been inhumanly butchered by the Irish, and they at that instant murdering more as fast as they could ; yet in the said bull, his holiness was pleased to call these perfidious horrid Irish murderers, faithful Christians, godly warriors, their rebellion a godly undertaking to relieve their country, and their poor massacred and murdered British protestants, heretics and workers of iniquity ; and by the said bull, gives further encouragement to the said Irish to confess to any secular or regular priest approved by the ordinary of the place, who, on hearing their said confessions, was empowered to give them absolutions from all their sins, how great or heinous soever they were.

In imitation of this holy example, given by his holiness himself, it is notoriously known, that no penance was more usually imposed by their bigotted clergy, on the vilest offenders, than the murdering of innocent protestants, under the name of heretics ; and that before they would give absolution, would frequently advance monies, and promise their saying several masses for their good success.

And to conclude ; at the writing hereof, there is such intelligence here obtained, which gives more than a probable assurance, the same spirit is now at work : and some of the said clergy have actually employed profligate villains to murder such protestants, as are in prospect, under God, most likely to preserve the reformed religion in this part of the world.

Are these the doctrines or practices of Christians? Or are they not rather the doctrines of the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning? Well might the heathen cry, *Sit anima mea cum philosophis*; and as well may the Christian say, *Nostrum non est evangelium, aut hi sunt Anti-christi potius quam Christi pontifices et sacerdotes.*

A List of the Nobility of Ireland, in 1688.

Protestants.

Duke of Ormond.

Earls.

Kildare.

Thomond.

Cork.

Desmond.

Barrymore.

Meath.

Ossory.

Roscommon.

Londonderry.

Donnegal.

Arran.

Conaway.

Carberry.

Ardglass.

Rannalagh.

Cavan.

Inchiquin.

Clancarty.

Orrery.

Mountrath.

Drogheda.

Waterford.

Mount-Alexander.

Down.

Longford.

Papists.

Marquis of Antrim.

Earls.

Clanrickard.

Castiehaven.

Westmeath.

Protestants.

Fingall.

Castlemain.

Carlingford.

Tyrone

Tyrconnel.

Protestant Viscounts.

Grandison.

Wilmot.

Loftus.

Swords.

Kilmurry.

Castleton.

Chamworth.

Sligo.

Waterford.

Strangford.

Tuam.

Cashell.

Carelow.

Cullen.

Shannon.

Dromoor.

Mazarien.

Kells.

Dungannon.

Fitzharding.

Clare.

Charlemount.

Powers.

Blessingtoun.

Ross.

Lisburn

Papist Viscounts.

Rathcoole.

Papists.

Bareford.

Bronkart.

Galmoy.

Kingsland.

Mayo.

Killmaslock

Protestant Barons.

Kinsale.

Kerry.

Hoath.

Mountjoy.

Foliot.

Maynard.

Gorges.

Digby.

Lifford.

Herbert.

Loghlin.

Coleraine.

Leitrim.

Donmore.

Killard.

Kingston.

Colooney.

Santry.

Clawnally.

Altram.

Bishops 24.

Barons Papists

Athenry.

Cahir.

Baltimore.

Strabane.

A true List of the French Fleet for the Year 1692, commanded by the Count de Tourville, consisting of two Squadrons, the Blue and the White, with the Number of Men and Guns. From the Copy printed at Paris, by the French King's Order. Licenced and entered according to Order.

It was now the moment of impending invasion, and Dalrymple gives the following account of the preparations made by France, England, and Holland, for the approaching contest. This passage serves to illustrate this and the following List of the Fleets on either side.

"In the beginning of January" the French "began to equip one fleet at Toulon and another at Brest, with several ships at Rochefort and Port Louis; and sent dispatches to all the other vessels of war within reach, to repair to the same ports. It was intended that this whole force when joined should amount to 75 ships of the line With equal grandeur, preparations were made in England and Holland to oppose the invasion. The first symptom of alarm in England appeared in the beginning of February, when a proclamation, surprising to freemen, was published, which ordered all the seamen of the nation to offer themselves to be enlisted, with threats of punishment if they did not. Immediately after advice-boats were dispatched to all the scattered squadrons which were within reach, to repair home for the defence of their country; and others were stationed to cruize off the enemy's ports, and mark every motion they made. All the ships at home were equipped or repaired. Five new ones of the largest size were built, and with so much dispatch, that one of them of 106 guns went to sea the tenth day after she was launched. Alarmed with the danger which threatened England, different Dutch squadrons were hastily got ready at Amsterdam, in the Maese, in North Holland, and in Zealand. The command of both navies was committed to Admiral Russel."—DALRYMPLE, III. 228, 230.

Avant Garde commandée par Monsieur de Chasteau Renaut.

The Avant Guard commanded by Monsieur de Chasteau Renaut.

<i>Noms des Capitaines.</i>	<i>Ships Names French.</i>	<i>Ships Names English.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
M. Che. Château Renaut	Le Formidable	The Formidable	94	650
M. le Comte de Relingue	Le Foudroyant	The Thunderer	84	600
M. le Chev. d'Anfreville	Le St Philippe	The St Philip	84	550
M. de Coetlogon	Le Magnifique	The Magnificent	76	550
M. Gabaret	L'Orgueilleux	The Proud	90	650
M. du Maignon	Le Conquerant	The Conquerant	84	550
M. d'Alteloire	Le Fier	The Fierce	76	490
M. le Ch. de Belle Fontaine	Le Belliqueux	The Warrior	76	490
M. du Septe Ville	Le Terrible	The Terrible	76	490
M. de Bellile Ecard	Le Florissant	The Flourisher	84	490
M. de Septemes	Le Tormant	The Torment	76	490
M. Manchot d'Ablemont	Le Triumphant	The Triumph	76	490
M. le Che. de Monbron	Le Couronne	The Crown	76	490
M. Daligre	Le Pompeux	The Pompous	74	450

<i>Noms des Capitaines.</i>	<i>Ships Names French.</i>	<i>Ships Names English.</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men.</i>
M. le Chev. d' Anfreville	Le Gaillard	The Gay	68	400
M. le Chev. de S. Maure	Le Contant	The Content	64	380
M. Ch. de Châteaumorant	Le Glorieux	The Glorious	64	380
M. le Marquis Deblenac	Le Sérieux	The Serious	64	380
M. Demericourt	L'Ecneil	The Shelf	64	380
M. le Chevalier Descombes	Le Brillant	The Glistering	68	370
M. de Socquigny	Le Furieux	The Furious	60	350
M. Che. de la Rougere	Le Fort	The Strong	60	350
M. le Che. de Vilars	St Michael	The St Michael	60	350
M. le Che. d'Arbouville	L'Agreeable	The Agreeable	60	350
M. le Che. de Fecquieres	Le Diamant	The Diamond	60	350
M. de Sevigny	L'Entreprenant	The Undertaker	58	350
	8 Brulots	8 Fire-Ships		300

Escadre Blanche Corps de Bataille.

The White Squadron, the Line of Battle.

<i>Noms des Capitaines.</i>	<i>Ships Names French.</i>	<i>Ships Names English.</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men.</i>
M. de Tourville admiral	Le Soleil Royal	The Royal Sun	106	900
M. Forant	Le Daupin Royal	The R. Dauphin	100	750
M. de Nemond	Le Monarque	The Monarch	90	650
M. Panetir	Le Grand	Le Grand	86	630
M. le Mar. de Langeron	Le Souverain	The Sovereign	84	560
M. d'Amblemont	Le Victorieux	The Victorious	92	700
M. le Mar. de la Porte	Le Fulminant	The Thunderer	96	550
M. le Mar. de la Villette	L'Ambitieux	The Ambitious	96	550
M. le Mar. de S. Hermine	L'Intrepide	The Undaunted	84	530
M. de la Galissonniere	Le S. Esprit	The Holy Ghost	74	450
M. Descombes	L'Illustre	The Illustrious	70	450
M. de Reales	L'Aymiable	The Amiable	68	420
M. de la Rochealar	Le Henry	The Henry	64	400
M. de Colbert St Marc	De Courtisan	The Courtisan	64	380
M. de Perrinet	Le Bourbon	The Bourbon	64	380
M. du Quesne Guidon	La Siraine	The Mermaid	60	380
M. le Che. de la Luzeone	Le Courageux	The Courageous	58	350
M. le Che. de Chateaufort	L'Assure	The Confident	60	350
M. le Mar. de Rouvroy	L'Apollon	The Apollo	60	350
M. de la Roche Parcin	Le S. Louis	The St Lewis	60	350
M. du Rivant Huet	L'Excellent	The Excellent	60	350
M. de la Vigerie	L'Arrogant	The Arrogant	60	350
M. de Bagneux	Le Prince	The Prince	60	330
M. Omougon	Le Fleuron	The Blossom	58	330
M. le Che. du Palais	Le Temeraire	The Rash	54	330
	8 Brulots	8 Fire-Ships		300

Arrier Garde Commandée par Monsieur d'Anfreville.

The Rear Guard commanded by Monsieur d'Anfreville.

<i>Noms des Capitaines.</i>	<i>Ships Names French.</i>	<i>Ships Names English.</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men.</i>
M. le Mar. d'Anfreville	Le Merveilleux	The Marvellous	94	650
M. de Beaujeu	L'Admirable	The Admirable	90	650
M. du Hoselart	Le Vainqueur	The Conqueror	84	500
M. le Che. du Chalais	Le Brave	The Brave	60	350
M. de Serville	Le Sans Pareil	The None-such	60	350
M. de Champigny	Le Juste	The Just	64	350
M. Dericourt	L'Entendu	The Skilful	60	350
M. le Che. de Sangere	Le Maure	The Moor	52	300
M. de Very	Le Moderé	The Moderate	52	300
M. le Che. de Pourbin	La Perle	The Pearl	56	300
M. le Che. de Rougemont	L'Heureux retour	The Happy Return	52	300
M. Debellaire	Le Fidele	The Faithful	48	280
	Le Fendant aux Illes	The Tearer of the Isles	54	330
	Le Trident aux Illes	The Trident to the Isles	52	300
	Le Francois	The Frenchman	52	280
	Le Prompt	The Ready		400
	Le Comte	The Count		200
	L'Alcion	The Halcion		200
	Le Tygre	The Tyger		150
	Le Jeu	The Game		150
	Le Neptune	The Neptune		280
	L'Hercule	The Hercules		180
	8 Brulots	8 Fire-Ships		300
	Vingt-six frigattes	26 Frigates		2650
	Vingt-six flusts	26 Pinks		1040
	Quatorze Barques Longues	14 Long Boats		800
	Faisant le tout ensemble quatre vingt dix sept vaisseaux avec les brû- lots	Making in all 97 ships with the fire-ships		
	En hommes 40299 sans comprendre messieurs les officiers	In men without reckon- ing the officers		40299
	En canons des vaisseaux de ligne	Guns in the ships	5019	
	En canon des brûlots	Guns in the fire-ships	162	
	En canon des barques longes	Guns in the long boats	240	
	Toute l'armée est com- posée de 163 voiles, non compris les traversiers	The whole fleet consists of 163 ships, not in- cluding those that have sails and oars.		

An exact List of their Majesties and the Dutch Fleet, designed for the Year 1692.

For the Line of Battle.

The English to lead with the larboard, the Dutch with their starboard, tacks on board.

THE BLUE SQUADRON.

<i>Fireships and Fri- gates.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders</i>	<i>Sea- men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Divisions.</i>
	2	Albemarle	- - Sir Francis Wheeler,	660	90	
	3	Resolution,	- - Good, - - - -	420	70	
	3	Monk,	- - Hoskins, - - - -	340	60	Vice-Admiral
	3	Expedition,	- - Dover, - - - -	460	70	the honourable
	4	Chatham,	- - Leader, - - - -	280	50	George Rook,
Half- Moon.	2	Windsor-Castle,	Lord Danby, - -	660	90	Esquire.
Owners love.	2	Neptune,	- - Gardner, - - - -	680	96	1693.
Cadiz-merchant.	3	Royal-Oak,	- - Bing, - - - -	470	74	Lord Berkely.
Lightning.	4	Advice,	- - Viccars, - - - -	230	50	
	3	Northumberland,	Cotten, - - - -	460	70	
	3	Lion,	- - Wiseman, - - - -	340	60	
	3	Berwick,	- - Martin, - - - -	460	70	
	3	Defiance,	- - Gurney, - - - -	400	70	
	3	Montague,	- - Folks, - - - -	355	60	
Speed-well.	3	Marsprit,	- - Grantham, - - - -	400	70	
Griffin.	4	Adventure,	- - Dilks, - - - -	200	50	Admiral.
Etna.	2	Vantguard,	- - Mason, - - - -	660	90	Sir John Ashby.
Blaze.	1	Victory,	- - Stanley, - - - -	780	100	
	2	Duchess,	- - Clements, - - - -	660	90	
	3	Monmouth,	- - Robinson, - - - -	460	70	
	3	Edgar,	- - Tapley, - - - -	445	70	
	3	Sterling-Castle,	- - Walters, - - - -	460	70	
	3	Dreadnought,	- - Cole, - - - -	365	60	
	4	Crown,	- - Warren, - - - -	230	50	
Thomas and Eliz.	3	Suffolk,	- - Billop, - - - -	460	70	
Vesuvius.	4	Woolwich,	- - Minns, - - - -	280	54	
Hunter.	2	Ossery,	- - Terril, - - - -	660	90	
	2	Duke,	- - Wright, - - - -	675	90	Rear-Admiral
	3	Cornwall,	- - Boyce, - - - -	-	80	the honourable
	3	Essex,	- - Bridges, - - - -	460	70	Richard Carter,
	4	Deptford,	- - Kerr, - - - -	280	50	Esq.
	3	Hope,	- - Robinson, - - - -	460	70	

		THE RED SQUADRON.			
<i>Fireships and Fri-</i>	<i>R. Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Sea- Guns.</i>	<i>Divisions.</i>	
<i>gates.</i>			<i>men.</i>		
	3 Plymouth,	- - Maine,	- - 340	60	
	4 Ruby,	- - Meese,	- - 230	50	
Phæton.	3 Cambridge,	- - Lestock,	- - 420	70	Rear-Admiral
Fox.	4 Oxford.	- - Wisheart,	- - 280	50	Sir Cloudsly
Strumbolo.	2 Sandwich,	- - Hastings,	- - 660	90	Shovel.
Hopewell.	1 Royal William,	- - Jennings,	- - 780	100	
	3 Breda,	- - Lambart,	- - 80		
	3 Kent,	- - Nevel,	- - 460	70	
	4 St Albans,	- - Fitz-Patrick,	- - 280	50	
	3 Swift-sure,	- - Clarck,	- - 420	70	
	3 Hampton-court,	- - Greydon,	- - 460	70	
	3 Grafton.	- - Bokenham,	- - 460	70	
	3 Restauration,	- - Gothe,	- - 460	70	
	4 Greenwich,	- - Edwards,	- - 280	50	Admiral,
Flame.	1 London,	- - Aylmer,	- - 730	100	The right ho-
Roe-buck.	1 Britannia,	- - Mitchell,	- - 780	100	nourable Ed.
Vulture.	1 St Andrew,	- - Churchhill,	- - 730	100	ward Russel,
Spy.	4 Chester,	- - Gillam,	- - 280	50	Esq.
	3 Eagle,	- - Leake,	- - 460	70	
	3 Rupert,	- - Beaumont,	- - 400	60	
	3 Elizabeth,	- - Fairborn,	- - 460	70	
					1693.
	3 Burford,	- - Havloe,	- - 460	70	Killigrew,
	4 Centurion,	- - Wyvel,	- - 280	50	De la Val
	3 Captain,	- - Jones,	- - 460	70	Shovel.
Extravagant.	3 Devonshire,	- - Horton,	- - 80		Vice-Admiral,
Wolf.	1 Royal Sovereign,	- - Jaunders,	- - 815	100	Sir Ralph de la
Vulcan.	2 Royal Catherine,	- - Cornwall,	- - 540	90	Val.
Hound.	4 Bonadventure,	- - Hubbord,	- - 230	50	1693.
	3 York,	- - Deane,	- - 340	60	Sir G. Rook.
	3 Lenox,	- - Munden,	- - 460	70	
	2 St Michael,	- - Hopson,	- - 600	90	

		THE DUTCH SQUADRON.			
<i>Fireships and Fri-</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Sea- Guns.</i>	<i>Divisions.</i>	<i>Squadron.</i>	
<i>gates.</i>		<i>men.</i>			
	2 Northolland,	- - 350	68		
Fregatten.	1 Zeeland,	- - 500	90		
	3 Zercksee	- - 325	60		
	4 Tergoes,	- - 225	54	Schout by	
Branders.	3 Gelderland, R	- - 325	64	Nacht.	White.
	3 Vere,	- - 325	62		
	1 Koning Willam,	- - 525	92		
	2 Ereeste Edele,	- - 400	74		
	4 Medenblick,	- - 210	50		
	1 Brandenburgh	- - 500	92		
	2 Munnickendam,	- - 375	72		

<i>Fireships and Fri- gates.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Sea- men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Divisions.</i>	<i>Squadron.</i>
		4 Gaesterland,	-	210	50	
		2 Gelderland A,	-	375	72	
Edam.	40	1 West-friesland,	-	475	84	
Raedthus.	38	3 Zeeland A,	-	325	64	
Branders.		3 Haerlem,	-	325	64	
d'Gebroeders.		4 Ripperda,	-	210	50	Admiral Alle- monde.
Etna.		2 Stot Muyden,	-	375	72	
Stumboly.		1 Prins,	-	540	92	
Vesuvius.		2 Etswout,	-	375	72	
		4 Schattershoff,	-	210	50	
		3 Leyden,	-	325	64	
		1 Princes,	-	500	92	White.
		3 Amsterdam,	-	325	64	
		4 Stadtenlandt,	-	210	52	
Fregatten.		2 Prins Casimir,	-	370	70	
		2 Frisia,	-	370	70	Vice-Admiral.
		1 Baschamer,	-	475	84	
		4 Hoorn,	-	210	50	
Branders.		5 Veluw.	-	335	64	
Fenix.		1 Casteel Medenblick,	-	500	86	
Wynbergh.		2 Riddershap,	-	375	72	
		4 Delft,	-	250	54	
		3 Maegt van Dort,	-	325	64	
		1 Captain General,	-	500	84	
		2 De 7 Provintien,	-	400	76	

The English fleet consists of

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Seamen.</i>	<i>Cannons.</i>	
	63	27725	4500
The Dutch fleet consists of	36	12950	2494
In all	99	40675	6994

Anno 1693.

English	46	22680	3498
Dutch	29	10886	2077
In all	75	33566	5578

Sir George Rook, Vice-Admiral of the Red, commanded a separate squadron in the Straights, which made our number less in the year 1693, than it was in the year 1692.

Remarks upon the London Gazette, relating to the Streights Fleet, and the Battle of Landen in Flanders.

The battle of Landen was fought with King William's uniform valour and perseverance, but with the ill fortune which usually attended his pitched fields on the continent. "The king," says Smollett, "made prodigious efforts of courage and activity to retrieve the fortunes of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle; he charged in person both on horseback and on foot where the danger was most imminent. His peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf, were penetrated by three different musket-bullets; and he saw a great number of soldiers fall on every side of him. The enemy bore witness to his extraordinary valour. The prince of Conti, in a letter to his princess, which was intercepted, declared, that he saw the Prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and that such valour richly deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his conduct and disposition were severely censured. Luxembourg having observed the nature of his disposition immediately before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, 'Now I believe Waldeck is really dead,' alluding to that general's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment. Be that as it will, he paid dear for his victory. His loss in officers and men exceeded that of the allies; and he reaped no solid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while King William, recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and drafting troops from Liege and other garrisons, was in a few days able to hazard another engagement."—SMOLLETT'S *History of England*, London, 1800, I. 198.

THE penner of this intelligence has, for some time, written with such an unusual range of fancy, as if his design was rather to entertain and amuse, than inform his reader. To do him justice, he seems to be not only a master of style, but of the matter he treats about; for he makes no difficulty to conceal, displace, and perplex things at discretion: so that an ordinary observer must be oftentimes at a loss to know how the world goes. His peculiar talent is to lessen a disadvantage, and make it invisible. It may be, he appears with this sanguine air, because he is unwilling to put us to pain with unacceptable truths. But how much soever he may be commended for his temper, it would in all likelihood be better for us, if we were plainly dealt with. To skin over a wound before it has been sufficiently probed and laid open, is the way to mortify the part, and often kills instead of curing. When a man's fortune is sinking, he should be made sensible of his condition; that if he despairs of stopping the leak, he may quit the bottom. The English and confederates have lately received two blows at sea and in Flanders, which, it is feared, will take some time to recover. These the Gazetteer runs over so lightly, and describes with such a handsome neglect, as if the loss, if any, was inconsiderable.

That he does not deal clearly with us in this case, I shall endeavour to shew, by bringing the fore-mentioned accidents under a short review. And here it may not be improper to acquaint the reader, that I intend to keep within the verge of the confederacy, and to bring no evidence against the Gazetteer, but what is either drawn from

himself, or from some other authority, which he is equally obliged to acknowledge; and if I mention any French proof, it shall be when it agrees with his own.

I shall begin with the loss of the Streights fleet; and here I shall,

1st, Very briefly shew the Gazetteer's account of this accident to be perplexed, and disagreeing with itself.

2dly, That it is imperfect, and far short of matter of fact.

1. His account is dark and inconsistent. His business here is to let us know the fortune of the English. Now, had he been disposed to inform us of what had passed, he would (after the list of those which escaped with the admiral) have immediately mentioned the others which gained the ports of Spain, and distinguished the English from the rest. This account had been easy and intelligible. But his design, it seems, was not to be understood. To this purpose he gives you the number of those with Admiral Rooke: Then tells you how many were missing; and, at last, sets down those which were got into Cadiz and St Lucar, and intermixeth them with Dutch, Danes, &c. and with part of his latter list: And by this confused relation, he has conveyed himself out of sight. But, upon enquiry, I believe it will appear, he has lost himself, as well as his reader.

Let us compare his list from the Gazette, July 17th.

His first list contains those English merchant-ships which were with Admiral Rooke. The number of these is sixteen, beginning with the *George*, and ending with the *Fidelity*. His second list consists of those English merchantmen which were missing; this begins with the *Chandois*, and ends with the *Mary Flower*; and in all makes twenty-four ships.

His third account is of those ships which escaped into Cadiz and St Lucar; which, though it does not reach the number of what was missing, yet it brings in nine English, seven in Cadiz, and two in St Lucar, which were unmentioned in the former lists. Their names are,

The *Johanna* and *Anne*, the *Success*, commanded by Isaac Stoneham, and therefore different from the *Success* in the missing list, whose master was David Bishop.

The *Sarah* and *Elizabeth*, the *Sarah*, Marmaduke Raydon; the *Sarah*, commanded by Lawson; the *John*, commanded by Ware; the *Tetuan Merchant*; Captain Cooper, his ship not named; the *Malaga Factor*, Captain Newland; and therefore different from that ship of the same name in his second list, which was commanded by Richard Love. Now, where a man pretends to be particular in naming the ships which were safe, and those which are missing, one would think, the joining these two numbers should comprehend the whole fleet: But besides that, he is far short in the sum total, as will appear by and by. There is an unusual accident happened to the computation; for he has brought in nine merchantmen, seven to Cadiz, and two to St Lucar, which were unmentioned in the former lists: So that, by his account, we have nine sail, which were neither safe nor missing, neither in the enemies hands, nor in their own, which I confess is something extraordinary.

I am now, in the second place, to prove his account far short of matter of fact.

We must go back to his former lists. The number with Admiral Rooke is sixteen, the list of those missing is twenty-four; so that it seems the whole fleet of English merchantmen bound (as himself tells us, *Gaz.* July 17,) to Smyrna, Scanderoon, Messina, Galipoli, Alicant, Cadiz, St Lucar, Venice, Tunis, Malaga, and Leghorn, consisted but of forty sail. But this is a great mistake, for it is granted by all the merchants of London (and by many of them too much felt) that the English, when they fell in with the French at Lagos-Bay, were about eighty sail of merchantmen.

This number the Gazetteer ventures to abridge to forty, to conceal the loss of the rest. And here we may observe, that the fleet bound to Smyrna consisted of eight Dutch and eleven English; the Dutch were all taken and destroyed, at Lagos; and

two of the English were then destroyed, and four since at Gibraltar, making above two-thirds of the value of the eleven; the *Sussex*, worth above 50,000*l.* was likewise burnt at Lagos. The *Gazetteer* owns the misfortune at Gibraltar, (and that at Malaga) but as for the rest, he knows not of one Englishman taken, except the *Friendship*, a small vessel of about seventy tons. (*Gaz.* July 17.) This relation he afterwards repeats with more assurance. "Of the English," says he, "there is not one ship taken, either man of war, or merchantman, except a small vessel called the *Friendship*." (*Gaz.* Aug. 3.) Now, by this account, one would imagine all was well; but if we observe him a little closer, we shall find he is not so hardy as to affirm, that none of the English were burnt or sunk at Lagos-Bay. This he durst not say. Now, if they are destroyed this way, they are as much lost as if they were taken, though not with the same advantage to the enemy: But the *Gazetteer* hoped to conceal the matter, by saying they were not taken. And since the Confederacy is deeply concerned in this misfortune, I shall just mention the whole from the Dutch prints. The *Recueil*, Aug. 6, informs us, that the French took two Dutch men of war, one of 66, the other of 68 guns, and burnt a rich pinnace, and an English man of war of 56 guns. Besides these, the French took 25 merchantmen, and burnt 45, which in all make 74. All this was done at the Bay of Lagos. The same intelligence (*Recueil*, Aug. 13,) continues the narration of this misfortune, and says, that the *Sieur Coetlogon* burnt four English *Smyrna* ships, and one Dutchman at Gibraltar, and took seven; that *Count d'Estree* took four, and burnt some; so that here are sixteen more lost, which, added to the former number of seventy-four, makes ninety, besides those burnt by *Count d'Estree*. And if the ships destroyed at Malaga are not included, the misfortune rises still higher.

Having shewn what an untoward account the *Gazetteer* has given of the *Streights* fleet, I shall now proceed to the late great battle in *Flanders*. Here, if we enquire of the *Gazette*, July 27, we shall find that the enemy was beaten back in all their attempts, and the advantage on the confederate side, till four in the afternoon.

This account is contradicted by a paper, published by authority, and called, "A Relation of the Battle at Landen."

For here we are told, "that though the enemy had been beaten at the left, they had nevertheless kept a part of the village of *Winden*, and made themselves masters of the hedges of the rising ground, which laid the flank of our entrenchment open to them, &c." Now this is a flat contradiction to the *Gazette*. For, if the French kept part of the village of *Winden*, and continued possessed of a considerable post, through which they broke into the confederate army, and forced them to quit their camp, as this Relation affirms, then it is plain they were not beaten back in all their attempts, as the *Gazette* pretends. So that we have two relations, both published by order of the court, directly clashing in their narrative: Now, he that can swallow contradictions, and believe an evidence who convicts himself, may be a good-natured man, but I am sure can be no wise one.

Farther, *Gazette*, Aug. 3d, tells us, that when the left wing went off, which stood after the right was routed; this left, says the *Gazette*, retreated towards *Lewe*, without being attacked by the French; who had already suffered so much, that they were willing to part with us. This story is not only incredible in itself, but plainly contradicted by the relation of the battle, &c. which was printed but a day or two before this *Gazette*, and about a week after the first news of the battle; so that there was time enough for a full information. This print makes no scruple to say, "that when the left wing were ordered to retire to *Lewe*, the enemy, whose horse were drawn up in two lines upon the rising ground, adventured to attack them in their retreat." Now, what is to be done in this case? here are two *Whitehall* papers, both of them positive and peremptory in their stories, and yet fall foul upon each other. The Relation, &c. frankly owns, that the confederates were attacked in their retreat: The *Gazetteer* (I

suppose) finding this relation grated a little upon the people's stomachs, tells us very roundly, that the French were willing to part with the confederates, and let them retire without disturbance. Thus, to please the people, the Gazetteer ventures upon a desperate expedient. For by contradicting a paper, which stands upon the same authority with his own, he sinks the credit of the court, and brings a suspicion upon that he writes himself. Well! when two witnesses disagree in their evidence, we are sure one of them must be in the wrong; and that the Gazetteer is out, will plainly appear, if we consider, that when the same party gives a different account of any disadvantage, we may be assured that relation which makes the misfortune greatest has most of truth in it. For, as a man who trades upon reputation, will not magnify his losses beyond reality, for fear of being blown up, so a state-faction, which is sunk in its proper strength, and lives only upon art, will be sure not to make things worse than they are. So that, if at any time their memories happen to fail them, or they presume upon the easiness of the reader, or the greatness of a misfortune makes them drop a secret, and disorders them into contradictions, we are then to believe that part of the account which is least favourable to the reporters; for no man in his wits will tell an untruth to his disadvantage. To apply this remark, we may conclude the Gazetteer a misrepresenter, and that the confederates were pursued, as the Relation of the Battle, &c. affirms; and that the relater gives us the truth, though not the whole truth, will appear farther, if we observe,

2. The condition of both armies, when the confederates were said to be pursued. How things went, I shall describe from the London Gazette, and Relation of, &c. above mentioned, which may be both drawn up by the same hand for ought I know. 'Tis certain they both came from Whitehall, and pass the nation for intelligence of equal authority. The Gazette tells us in these words: "That the French broke into us (*i. e.* our camp) at the head of our retrenchment, which our men were no longer able to maintain: That the enemies numbers prevailed: That upon this occasion we were forced to remove, and change the form of our lines of horse, who were thereby put into disorder. The English horse and guards were sent for from the left, but before they came up, the enemy had poured in so many squadrons, that they had neither time nor ground to put themselves into regular lines. At length, when it was found impossible to remedy this disorder, and the enemy advancing with fresh forces, the foot of our left, as also the dragoons, &c. were ordered to retire towards Lewe: The rest of the army retreated towards Tirllemont." Thus far the Gazette, the Relation, &c. give much the same account, only somewhat plainer; particularly, it tells us, that the French cavalry forced the Hanover, Brandenburg, and Spanish troops to retire; that is, they beat them. That to remedy this disorder, part of the left-wing was ordered to advance, but before they could form themselves, the Dutch horse retired, and the right-wing were forced to pass the river, and the English were quite encompassed. And then it follows, that the left-wing were ordered to retire to Lewe, and that the general himself passed the bridge at Neer-Haspen with great difficulty.

And when matters were come to this pass, when the French had fought up to the mouth of the confederate cannon, forced their retrenchments, and broke into a fortified camp: When they were superior in number, order, and success, and had surmounted all the difficulties of the enterprize: When the Hanover, Brandenburg, Spanish, and Dutch troops were beaten: When the last reserve of English had neither time nor ground to draw up in, but were encompassed by the enemy: In fine, when all the nations were broken and routed, the right-wing forced to fly through a river, and the left ordered to shift for themselves: When affairs were in this posture, does any person of common sense imagine that the French would not push the advantage, and pursue the confederates? Were they too generous to set upon an enemy, who was in no condition to resist? Had they no inclination to revenge the loss of their friends?

Were they afraid of making the victory too absolute, and of over-loading themselves with glory and spoil? Few men, one would think, would impose such stuff as this upon the belief of the nation. 'Tis true, the Gazette was hard set; for all the publick accounts owned, that the French forced the camp at four in the afternoon, and that the confederates were broken and ruined from that time. The Gazetteer was aware, that allowing a conquering army four hours of day to trample and slaughter in, must needs give the people a horrid notion of the defeat. And therefore, to prevent the impression of truth, he denies what had been publicly owned before, contradicts the paper published by authority, and that with such wretched incredible reasons, as cannot be put upon men without the greatest affront to their understandings.

I shall go on with the Gazette to compute the loss of the battle, which may be reduced to two heads, the men, and the baggage and cannon.

1. With respect to the men.

The first Gazette of July 27, says, 'tis certain, they have lost double the number of men we have. The Gazette of August 3 is still more hardy, and tells us, that 'tis certain, that our loss is not so great as that at Steinkirk; and that the French, according to their own account, had lost more than double the number. One would think by this relation, the French had printed an account of their loss; but upon enquiry we shall find no such matter: For this very Gazette has the ill luck to tell us, in the Paris article of August 2d, that the list of the killed and wounded is not yet made public.

What does the Gazetteer mean then by their own account? Why, he will inform you in another part of his works.

The Gazette, July 31st, is clear in the point. For there a nameless captain, who came express about his own business, who neither saw the fight himself, nor pretends to be informed by any who did; there this gentleman affirms, that the relation that was printed at Lisle (in Flanders) the Sunday after the fight, owns they have lost 16,000 men.

Very well! I'm afraid this relation will miscarry for want of a little geography; for the battle being fought on the 29th July, N. S. the Sunday after falls upon the 2d of August. At which very day the London Gazetteer has the misfortune to tell us, that then there was no list of the killed or wounded published at Paris.

And can we imagine there should be a list printed at Lisle, when there was none at Paris? Durst any subject in Flanders publish an account of so great a battle without authority, and instructions from the court of France? Does any government, much less the French, allow so wild a liberty as this? And as for the French king's leave, it could not be sent at the time the captain pretends. For the London Gazette, August 31st, says, that M. d'Artagnan arrived at Paris upon the 31st at night, N. S. with the news of the battle. By this account, the journey from the camp to Paris, which we may imagine was made with speed, cost the express two nights and two days, i. e. from Wednesday at night till Friday at night, for that was the 31st. Now, if the court had been at Paris, and a dispatch immediately sent to the governor of Lisle to publish the news, there would remain but one day and two summer's nights to perform the journey, and print the narrative; for from Friday at night to Sunday is no longer, which makes the story impossible. Thus far the London Gazette; but by that of Paris, Aug. 8th, we are assured that Mr d'Artagnon did not arrive at the French court, which was then at Marli, till August 1st, which, if there be any degrees in impossibilities, makes the relation still more incomprehensible. Besides, to what purpose was this romantic haste? To none that I know of, except to oblige the Lisle-men with a favour which it seems the Parisians were not vouchsafed, and to furnish out the Gazetteer's captain for his voyage to England. To proceed; the Gazette, July 31st, says, "We are assured, that our loss does not exceed 9 or 10,000 men, including the prisoners and wounded." The Relation of the Battle, &c. which came out a day or two after, seems

to have none of the Gazette's assurance, but tells us, that our forces being not yet all of them come together, we cannot give a certain account what loss we have had. The Gazette, August 3d, says the same thing, adding withal this remarkable passage; that 'tis certain, our loss is not so great as that at Steinkirk; which, according to the last year's Gazettes, did not amount to 3000 men. Gazette, August 4th, 1692. This is still more mystical; therefore we must try if we can inform ourselves otherways: Now, in order to satisfying this question, we must,

1. Know how strong the confederates were before the battle: How far they are, or expect to be reinforced, and to what number the army will amount after the reinforcement. These three things will give us a true state of the loss. Now the Gazette, August 3, confesses the army, when they fought, to be about 45,000; which expression ought rather to be interpreted above the letter than otherwise, it being the interest of the Gazetteer, after a defeat, to diminish the confederate forces. However, we will be so fair as to take him at his acknowledged number of 45,000.

The second thing to be enquired, is the number of the recruits, which we may learn from the Gazette of July 27, in these words: "Our army will be speedily reinforced with twenty-five battalions and forty squadrons, who are with the Duke of Wittenberg; besides which, there are thirty battalions at Liege." The Gazetteer must mean, that the battalions at Liege were to make part of the reinforcement, otherwise to what purpose were they mentioned? If this were not his meaning, he might as well have said, "Besides the reinforcement which we expect from the Duke of Wittenberg, there are thirty battalions in New Batavia in the East Indies;" which, though true, would be horribly impertinent. We may observe farther, that these forces the Gazette mentions at Liege were not long since detached thither, ten battalions being sent but eight days before the fight. (Relation of the Battle, &c.) 'Tis no wonder therefore, if they should be drawn back after so great an accident. And if this point were not sufficiently proved, Mr Dyckvelt's letter to the States-General would put it beyond dispute. This gentleman, who had a publick character in the Dutch army, gives his masters a short account of the action in a letter of July 30, which is inserted in the slip of August 4. At the end of the letter we have these words: "Our army will be very numerous in a short time; for besides twenty-five battalions and forty squadrons, with which the Duke of Wittenberg forced the lines, there are moreover thirty battalions at Liege."

Taking therefore these Liege battalions into the reinforcement, as we evidently must, let us see what it will amount to. There are twenty-five and thirty battalions, which make fifty-five. Now, reckoning 500 to a battalion, which is no extraordinary computation, and the number will be 27,500 men. Add to these the forty squadrons of horse at one hundred and fifty in a squadron, and the cavalry makes 6000, which, added to the former, mounts the reinforcements to 33,500. If you please, we will cut off 6,500 of this number, and state the recruits but at 27,000, and then the reckoning will be made upon a low foot. Having done this, let us see how numerous the confederates will be after the reinforcement. For satisfaction in this enquiry, I shall, as formerly, apply to the London Gazette. That of August 3 affirms, that the confederates, after the Duke of Wittenberg, &c. has joined them, will have an army of 50,000 men. Let us cast up the whole. The confederates were 45,000 before the fight: They have, and expect a reinforcement of 27,000, which, added to the other, makes 72,000. After which reinforcement they pretend no higher than 50,000 men. Now, if we substract fifty out of seventy-two, there remains twenty-two, which number contains the loss of the confederates. So that, even by the Gazetteer's reckoning, the battle has cost the confederates 22,000 men. This account agrees with several letters of good intelligence from Flanders, and with the Paris Gazette, which mentions the killed and

wounded to amount to above 20,000. To this the *Recueil*, a Dutch print, August 13, adds 1500 prisoners, of which 200 are officers of note.

I mention the *Paris Gazette*, because it concurs with our *Gazetteer*. Besides, this *Gazette* is a paper of reputation, and is more relied on, even in the confederacy itself, than that of London. To give one instance, we may remember the last summer, that the *Paris Gazette* gave us as fair an account of their loss at sea as we received at home from Admiral Russel's journal; as may be seen by comparing the two papers. Now, those who give a just relation of their misfortunes, cannot in reason be suspected of art, when they report any remarkable success. In such cases, there is scarce any temptation to restrain truth; for the naked representation of fact is a sufficient advantage. Indeed, great kings scorn to embase their publick intelligence with such incredible alloy. For in soft language, to deceive and misrepresent, to maim and murder truth, are mean and inglorious practices. I wonder any thing that pretends to be a government can stoop so low. But we gained so much by romancing in 88, that I'm afraid we shall never leave it. Then the French league, and the impostor-prince, and the handful of Irish, who, after they were routed and disbanded, were to massacre the whole nation, English and Dutch armies, and all: These, and a great many other bull-beggars worked beyond expectation in that *annus mirabilis*. But if they think to keep the people under the same vassalage of belief, and always ready to swallow the same absurdities, I hope they may be mistaken. To return to our *Gazetteer*; some of whose scattered sentences being tacked together, we see, make it evident that the confederates have lost above 20,000 men. However, the *Gazetteer* gives us to understand, that our loss is not so great as that at Steinkirk. Did we then in earnest lose 20,000 men at Steinkirk, and could we not find in our hearts to own above 3000? This is a discovery would never have come out, had it not been upon this occasion. In short, either our loss was greater at Steinkirk than in the late battle, or it was not; if it was, then we may perceive what an exact history we had of that action the last year; if it was not, then this summer's *Gazette* endeavours to impose very unfairly upon the nation. Now, though it is pretty plain, the *London Gazettes* did not give us much above a third part of the Steinkirk misfortune, yet it was, in reality, far short of the present accident: For I desire to know of the *Gazetteer*, whether more than one-third of the army was engaged at Steinkirk? Did the confederates then lose their cannon, and great part of their baggage? Was the general's plate taken at Steinkirk, and his tent left to the Duke of Luxemburg to write his letters in? Did the whole army go off routed, and broken into little bodies at Steinkirk? or did Mr Harcourt come in, and defeat several thousands in their retreat? But, after all, "'Tis certain the French have lost double the number we have," *Gazette*, Aug. 27. Pray how is this certain? Did we remain upon the field to count the slain? No, we were forced to retire. Have we mustered since the battle? We don't pretend to this neither, I suppose, because our forces are not all of them come together. (*Relation of the Battle, &c.*) Have we received an account from the French? That cannot be; for this *Gazetteer*, Aug. 3, tells you, they have published none; and the *Paris Gazette* says the same. How then are we certain? No doubt by instinct, as we are certain of every thing else. For I perceive the *Gazetteer* does not pretend to come by his knowledge the same way with other mortals. Most people, I believe, would be so far from thinking the *Gazetteer's* relation certain, that they would scarce imagine it possible. Indeed how should it? For the French were granted to be almost two to one. This gives them the advantage of fighting fresh men against those who were fatigued. Farther, they forced the camp, and had three or four almost unresisting hours to slaughter in; and, to complete the misfortune of the confederates, several thousands of them were set upon, and pursued into a river by a fresh enemy. (*Recueil*, Aug. 13.) I shall now,

In the second place, examine the Gazetteer's relation concerning the cannon and baggage, &c. and here the first Gaz. July 27, says nothing of the matter, which is a plain confession that all was lost, (and thus we must construe the Gazette in like cases). The Gazetteer was apprehensive of this inference; and therefore, in his next of July 31, he brings in his captain, who secures all into a trifle. And since he has put this captain upon the nation for an intelligencer, he must be answerable for him. Now this gentleman assures us, "That we have lost none of our great cannon, but only seven or eight field-pieces." I confess this looks so like a jest to all men who can distinguish between a cannon and a pistol, that I was some time before I could believe the Gazetteer would put it upon us. I could not at first imagine he would give his pass to such a ridiculous story to travel the nation: I was willing, for the credit of the Gazette, to suppose an error in the press; and that instead of *We have lost* none of our great cannon, &c. it should have been said, *We have saved* none of our great cannon, but seven or eight field-pieces. That this was the true reading, I thought I had reason to conclude, both from particular relations of this circumstance, and from the general issue of the battle. However, considering the Gazetteer's custom, I believe the print may be much more correct than the story. Let us examine which way the cannon could be saved, to bring the point to a short issue. If the artillery was saved, it must be sent off either before, in, or after the fight. That it was not sent away before the fight is unquestionable; for, would the confederates part with their cannon, when the French were in sight; when they expected an immediate attack, and designed to keep within their entrenchments? Would they unfortify their camp, and lay themselves open to the enemy? We may as well suppose they would send away their pikes and muskets, as their cannon, upon such an occasion. Farther, to suppose the artillery sent away during the fight, is as unaccountable as the former scheme; For, can we suppose they would part with their principal defence at the time they were using it? We may as well imagine they detached half their men, and chose to fight with the remainder: From hence it appears, that unless the cannon was saved in the retreat, we must give it for lost. Now, I appeal to any one of common sense, whether this was not impossible, when the defeat was so entire, and the flight made with such haste and precipitation? Could the horse lodge the artillery in their holsters, or did the foot run away with it under their arms, as St Dennis is said to carry off his head? I desire not to be misunderstood; I am far from being pleased with the misfortune of any party; I lament the loss of the English, and heartily wish we might have peace and justice, without the expence of an ounce of blood; but such a reporter as the Gazetteer cannot be too much exposed. To be short, the loss was so visible, that the Dutch, despairing to hide it, have frankly owned a great part of it in their *Recueil* of Aug. 10, where we are told, "That after the camp was forced, the French took sixty pieces of cannon, and cut off eight or ten English battalions, who were posted to guard it." And their next *Recueil*, Aug. 13, owns the losing of some mortars. It is now time to look after the baggage, if there is any. The Gazette, Aug. 31, assures us, "it was all saved, being sent away the day before the fight." Under favour, not all sent away; for, no doubt, they left ammunition to fight with; they left provision and their tent too, unless they intended never to eat, or lodge there more. Now, to put their men, after they were fatigued with fighting, and embarrassed with the wounded, upon a march of several miles for lodging and refreshment, is a strain of discipline somewhat extraordinary. I think the Gazetteer is too free with the confederates; for, as he represents the matter, they seemed to despair at the approach of the enemy, and resolved before hand to quit their camp. But to say this, is injustice to the confederates, who behaved themselves with bravery and resolution, and were far from making such an ignoble provision as the Gazetteer account supposes.

This relation, together with that of Count Tilly's taking the French baggage, sixty

pieces of cannon, &c. was so superlatively extravagant, that I thought it had been calculated only for the meridian of England, and that the Gazetteer would never have sent it beyond sea in his French translation; but upon enquiry, I find he has courage in all languages. I suppose he might present the allies with this narrative, by way of triumph, to shew to what degree we may be practised upon, and how far he is master of our understandings.

But if we are thus far out of our wits, he does unkindly to expose us in foreign countries, especially considering from what quarter the distemper began. Upon this occasion, it may not be improper to observe one surprising passage from the Relation of the Battle, &c. This relater does not stick to affirm, *That we have lost some standards, and taken as many.* Taken as many! That, considering the event of the day, seems very strange; pray let us hear the Holland prints in this matter, for the Dutch are both well planted for information, and, without doubt, inclined to do right to their allies and themselves; we have no reason therefore to suspect their testimony, to their own disadvantage. Now they (Recueil, Aug. 13.) are so candid as to acknowledge, that the confederates had taken but seven standards and colours, and lost above eighty. The whole is thus: In the beginning of the day, the confederates are said to have taken about twenty-six standards, &c. (which, though far short of the number possessed by the enemy) yet even these were all regained to the seven above-named. And after they were lost, to what purpose should they be mentioned? This was so mean an equivocation, that the Holland print was ashamed to use it. However, it is the only shelter to which the English relater can pretend; and thus we have taken as many standards as we lost. That the Dutch should have so much more modesty than we have! Into what declensions of honour and conscience are we fallen! Thus I have shewn what an excellent account of fact we are likely to receive from the London-Intelligencers; I have shewn in what material points the Relation, &c. and the Gazetteer clash with each other, how the latter contradicts himself and the confederate prints abroad, how he turns defeats into a kind of victory, charges through impossibilities, and even exceeds the liberties of a romance. These are blessed memoirs to transcribe into history. Truth must be handed to posterity in a noble light at this rate, and the Chronicle obliged for ever. And if he treats us in this manner just at home, what discoveries may we not expect from more distant places. What admirable return of news we make from the East and West Indies, from Moscow and Constantinople? And can any Englishman see his country thus used without resentment? Is it not enough to have our ships burnt and taken to a prodigious value, to lose our trade by sea, and our armies by land, without being bantered into the bargain? To bear us down, that all these accidents are insignificant, is like cutting a man's throat, and then swearing to him he ails nothing! To imagine such wretched stories as these will pass muster, is to treat the nation with the utmost scorn and contempt, and, in effect, to proclaim them fools in print.

One would think the Gazetteer might have moved with a more moderate compass: Had he only flourished an advantage, and lessened a misfortune; had he called running away, retiring, and broken the loss, by the softness and distance of his style, this had not been surprising; such strokes of breeding and rhetorick are expected from him. Farther, had he published the gaining a penny, and concealed the loss of a pound: Had his expression been perplexed upon occasion, and his meaning mystical and two-handed; this freedom might have been, in some measure, charged upon the present service, and pleaded off by the privilege of an heathen oracle. But to make us believe we have no senses; to run a tilt at notorious fact, and attempt the extinguishing the sun, is too much in all conscience.

I thought this gentleman had finished the battle, by his intermitting Gazette of August 7th. But I perceive I am mistaken; for August 10, he invokes his muse

afresh, and runs a great length of poetry. I hope the key I have given to interpret his flights will make him better understood, and more admired for the future.

As for the other little newspapers, they are below notice; I shall therefore dismiss the argument.

August 1693.

[illegible]

and is too much in all conscience we have no senses, to run a tilt at notorious fact, and attempt the extinguishing the service, and pleaded off by the privilege of an unwritten article. But to make us believe handed, this fiction might have been, in some measure, charged upon the present Had his expression been perplexed upon occasion, and his meaning physical and two- Further, had he published the gaining a penny, and concealed the loss of a pound, not been surprising; such strokes of birding and rhetoric are expected from him, away, retiring, and broken the loss by the solemn and distance of his style. (This had Had he only founded an advantage, and issued a manifesto; had he called running One would think the Cassiter might have moved with a more moderate compass;

August 26. But I perceive I am mistaken; for August 30, he invokes his mass I thought this gentleman had finished the battle by his interesting Gazette of

A List of the Seven Thousand Men, appointed by his Majesty, in his late Proclamation, to be the Standing Forces of this Kingdom. 1699.

472

This and the two following Tracts refer to the reduction of the standing army of England to 7000, and that of Ireland to 12,000 men, which took place in the winter of 1699. It is known how much King William resented this measure, considering the risque of invasion from France, and that part of the troops dismissed were his favourite Dutch guards.

Tracts during the Reign of King William III.

REGIMENTS.	COLONELS.	Major.	Captains.*	Cornets.	Guidons.	Exempt.	Brigadiers.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Quarter Masters.	Lieutenants.	Sub-Lieutenants.	Surgeons.	Surgeons Mates.	Kettle Drums.	Trumpets.	Solicitors.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Deputy Marshals.	Drum Majors.	Hautboys.	Drummers.	Number of Men in each Regiment.	Troops or Companies.	Number of Men in each Troop or Company.	Making in all.
1. Troop of Horse Guards	The Earl of Scarborough	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	160	9	36	181
2. Troop of Horse Guards	The Duke of Ormond	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	160	9	36	181
3. Troop of Horse Guards	The Earl of Rivers	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	160	9	36	181
Troop of Grenadiers	George Cholmondy, Esq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	6	6	4	4	145	9	36	390	
Royal Regiment of Horse	The Earl of Oxford	1	1	9	9	1	1	1	1	9	1	1	1	1	9	1	9	18	18	18	18	18	18	324	9	36	390
	Henry Lumley, Esq.	1	1	9	9	1	1	1	1	9	1	1	1	1	9	1	9	18	18	18	18	18	18	324	9	36	390
	Cornelius Wood, Esq.	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	12	12	12	12	12	12	204	6	34	248
Regiments of Horse	The Earl of Arran	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	12	12	12	12	12	12	204	6	34	248
	Hugh Windham, Esq.	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	12	12	12	12	12	12	204	6	34	248
	Duke of Scomberg and Leinster	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	12	12	12	12	12	12	204	6	34	248
	The Earl of Macclesfield	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	12	12	12	12	12	12	204	6	34	248
Royal Regiment of Dragoons	The Lord Raby	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	228	6	38	283
Regiments of Dragoons	William Lloyd, Esq.	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	228	6	38	283
	The Earl of Essex	1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	228	6	38	283
1. Regiment of Foot Guards	The Earl of Romney	1	1	28	28	1	1	1	1	32	1	1	24	1	2	1	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	1120	28	40	1383
2. Regiment of Foot Guards	The Lord Cutts	1	1	14	14	1	1	1	1	16	1	1	12	1	1	1	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	560	14	40	694
	William Selwyn, Esq.	1	1	10	10	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	10	1	1	1	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	360	10	36	445
Regiments of Foot	Charles Churchill, Esq.	1	1	10	10	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	10	1	1	1	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	360	10	36	445
	Henry Trelawney, Esq.	1	1	10	10	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	10	1	1	1	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	360	10	36	445
		16	16	138	138	4	12	12	19	12	69	152	266	9	6	10	60	2168	282	2	5	136	5737	138	544	7000	

*. * Whereof the colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major of each regiment, are three.

A List of King James's Irish and Popish Forces in France, ready (when called for :) In Answer to an Argument against a Land-Force, writ by A, B, C, D, E, F, G, or to whatever has been, or ever shall be, writ upon that Subject.

Some partizan of King William, by pointing out and exaggerating the numbers of King James's forces in France, endeavours to support William's favourite proposition, that England would not be safe without a large standing army.

HORSE.				Private Men.	Comm. and Non-Com. Officers.	Total.
Two troops of guards.	{	First, Lieut. Gen. D. of Berwick, -	-	80	20	
		Second, Earl of Clancarty, -	-	80	20	
Two regim.	{	K. James's royal regiment,	-	300	72	
		Brigadier Sheldon,	-			
		Queen's regiment, Brigadier Lord Golmoy.	-	300	72	
				760	184	944
DRAGOONS.						
Two Regi- ments.	{	K. James's royal regiment,	-	450	108	
		Killmallock, -	-			
		Queen's regiment, Carrol	-	450	108	
				900	216	1116
FOOT.						
			Bat.	Private Men.	Comm. and Non-Com. Officers.	Total.
24 Batal. 3 Independ. Companies.	{	Guards, Dorrington, -	2	1100	242	
		Queen's regiment, Luttrell	2	1100	242	
		Leigh, -	3	1650	363	
Regiments.	{	Marines, Fitzgerald, -	2	1100	242	
		Limerick -	2	1100	242	
		Charlemont, -	2	1100	242	
		Dublin, -	2	1100	242	
		Athlone, -	2	1100	242	
		Mac-Elligot, -	1	550	121	
		Lord Clare, -	3	1650	363	
		Dillon, -	3	1650	363	
Three independent companies,		-	180	21		
				13380	2925	16305
Total				15040	3325	18365

Some Queries for the better Understanding of a List of King James's Irish and Popish Forces in France, ready (when called for): In Answer to an Argument against a Land-Force, writ by A, B, C, D, E, F, G, or to whatever has been, or ever, shall be, writ upon that Subject.

An indignant refutation of the inferences which the author of the preceding Tract meant his readers to draw from the preceding list of King James's army.

Query—Whether 18,000 Irishmen cannot conquer England, when 100,000 could not defend Ireland?

Query—Whether 150,000 English militia do not want a land-force to defend them against 18,000 bogtrotters, headed by that mirror of valour, and epitome of all courage, K. Jemmy?

Query—Whether we have not an honourable peace, when King James, that had never a soldier during the war, hath 18,000 since the conclusion of the peace?

Query—Whether, if the king of France keeps up 18,000 men at King James's devotion, he doth not punctually observe that article, not to assist and abet any enemy against King William?

Query—Whether King James ought not to be canonized for working of miracles, in maintaining an army, when he lives upon charity himself?

Query—If 500 Inniskilling men could beat 10,000 dear-joys, whether 900, when sent for, will not beat these 18,000, when called for?

Query—Whether 1100 marine soldiers, commanded by the redoubted Colonel Fitzgerald, be not a proper assistance for King James, who is not master of a cock-boat?

Query—Whether it is more for our interest to call for them, or the French king's to send them; and whether, all things considered, they will come when call'd for?

Query—If that true Brentford king and his forces come here with a whoop, they will not be gone with a hollow?

Query—Whether this peace is to be headed by King James or his wife, and which of them is the head?

Query—What water-force will be necessary to bring over this land-force?

Query—Whether this list of King James's forces be not the best answer that hath been published to the argument? and whether they ever shall, or can, write better upon this subject, "and all that, egad!"

Query—Whether the author understands A, B, C, D, E, F, G. &c.?

Query—Whether the author of this libel against the king and the government will be ready when called for?

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III.

CLASS FOURTH.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

KING WILLIAM III.

CLASS FOURTH.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

An Address signed by the greatest Part of the Members of the Parliament of Scotland, and delivered to his Majesty at Hampton-Court, the 15th Day of October, 1689.

NOTHING save the great and general surprise of this long-distressed and at present unsettled kingdom, upon the late adjournment of your most loyal parliament for so long a time, and in so critical a season, with the deep concern of your royal interest therein, could possibly have induced us to this so necessary a petition; but the visible consternation and discouragement of thousands of your good subjects, delayed in the relief and comfort which at this time they assuredly expected, with the advantages that we apprehend your majesty's enemies, both within and without the kingdom, may think to reap by such an interruption, being our only motives, we cannot, we dare not, be silent: And therefore, to prevent these evil consequences, we in the first place most solemnly protest and declare, in the presence of God and men, our constant and inviolable fidelity and adherence to your majesty's royal title, right, and interest, so frankly and cheerfully recognised by us in this current parliament, wishing and praying for nothing more under the sun than your long and prosperous reign, as that wherein the security of all our lives and liberties, and also of our holy religion, more dear to us than both, is infallibly included. It was the persuasion we had of the justice, as well as the necessity, of your majesty's heroic undertaking for the delivery of these kingdoms, with the conviction of the divine confirmation that appeared in its glorious success, that moved most, if not all of us, to endeavour and concur most heartily in the late meeting of estates, for the advancement and establishment of your majesty upon the throne, when some discovered their disaffection, and were too open retarders and obstructors of that good design: And it is from the same true affection and zeal, that we do now most heartily make the above-mentioned protestation, to obviate all the misconstructions your enemies may make in this juncture.

Nor are we less assured of your majesty's most sincere and gracious intentions, to perform for us to the utmost all that the estates of the kingdom have either demanded, or represented as necessary and expedient for securing the protestant religion, restoring their laws and liberties, and redressing of their grievances, according to your majesty's declaration for this kingdom. Neither can it be imagined, that so wise and just a king as your majesty will ever be persuaded, that so loyal a parliament as this can be induced either to wish or design any prejudice to, or diminution of your true interest and prerogative; but such as have slavishly served and flattered arbitrary power and tyranny will be always studying for their own sinister ends, to state a separate interest betwixt king and people; a practice which we are confident your majesty abhors.

But that we may clear ourselves upon this present occasion to your majesty's full satisfaction; and refuting of all misrepresentations we can incur on any hand, we shall briefly rehearse to your majesty the votes passed in the present parliament, to which the royal assent is not given, with such short reflections as we hope may tend to the better vindication of all concerned.

The first act, upon which the vote of parliament has passed, is that, declaring the privilege of the estates of parliament, to nominate and appoint committees, as they shall think fit, and excluding therefrom the officers of state, unless they be chosen: And omitting what the parliament hath already represented to your majesty as reasons of their vote, it is humbly conceived, that this act is exactly framed to the extent of that grievance, which, together with the rest, is desired in the instrument of government to be redressed unto us in parliament.

The second was an act abrogating the act of parliament 1669, asserting the king's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical; and this act is so exactly conformable to the second article of the above-mentioned grievances, and the aforesaid act of supremacy in itself is so dangerous to the protestant religion, as well as inconsistent with the establishment of any church government, that we doubt not your majesty will ever approve all that voted to it.

The third is an act relating to persons not to be employed in public trusts; and all the ruins and distresses of this kingdom have so certainly flowed from the persons therein noted, especially such as, by their contriving of and concurring in the dispensing power, have thereby imminently endangered our religion, and overturned all the fences of our liberties and properties (which we have good grounds to believe the parliament would have extended but to few persons) and your majesty in your declaration hath so justly charged the same upon evil and wicked counsellors (the only persons pointed at in this act) that we are persuaded that you will find it absolutely necessary for attaining all the ends of your majesty's glorious undertaking for our relief.

The fourth is an act concerning the nomination of the ordinary lords of session and the election of the president, to wit, that in a total vacation they be tried, and admitted or rejected by parliament, and in a particular vacation they be tried and admitted or rejected by the other lords: And that the president be chosen by the lords themselves, conformable to our old practice and express statute. And this act is so agreeable to practices, laws, and acts of parliament, and so necessary for the true and equal administration of justice (the great security of all kingdoms) that your majesty will unquestionably approve it.

The fifth and last is an act ordaining the presbyterian ministers yet alive, who were thrust out since the first of January, 1661, for not conforming to prelacy, and not complying with the courses of the time, to be restored. And this act is in itself so just and so consequential from the claim of right, and agreeable to your majesty's declaration, that less in common equity could not be done. And here your majesty may be pleased to consider, that though prelacy be now by law abolished, yet these few ministers, not exceeding sixty (though restored, as they are not, for want of the royal assent to the aforesaid act) would be all the presbyterian ministers legally established and provided for in Scotland.

It is not unknown to your majesty what have been the sad confusions and disorders of this distressed country under prelacy, and for want of its ancient presbyterian government; and now the whole west and many other parts of Scotland are at present desolate and destitute, having only ministers called by the people upon the late liberty, without any benefice or living, or convenient place to preach in. It is also certain, that there are many hundreds of fore-faulted and fined persons who are yet waiting to be restored and refounded, according to the claim of right, and your majesty's gracious instructions relating thereto.

It is true, the last thing proposed by your majesty's commissioner in parliament was a supply of money for maintenance of the forces so necessary for our present defence; and we should have proved ourselves ungrateful to your majesty, and false to our own interest and security, if we had absolutely refused it: But there being a sufficient and certain fund to maintain all the forces, and support all other incident charges of the government for some months, all that we demanded was, that some things visibly necessary for the satisfaction of the country, and the better enabling and disposing them to pay the said supply, might be first expedited. We are confident that the vote of parliament, which was only for a short delay, will not give your majesty the least ground of offence.

And now, having presumed to lay these things before your majesty with all humble submission, purely out of duty for preventing the evil constructions of your majesty's enemies, and for our own just vindication, we most humbly beseech your sacred majesty graciously to consider what is here represented; and in prosecution of your majesty's acceptance of the claim of right, and your declaration emitted for this kingdom, to take such courses as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit, for passing the aforesaid acts of parliament, and redressing all our other grievances. And we your majesty's most humble petitioners and faithful subjects shall, as in duty bound, ever pray for your long and prosperous reign over us.

The Grievances represented by the Estates of Scotland to the King's Majesty, to be redressed in Parliament, together with his Majesty's Instructions to his Commissioner for redressing the same, published by Authority, 1689.

I. THE estates of the kingdom of Scotland do represent, That the committee of parliament, called "The Articles," is a great grievance to the nation, and there ought to be no committee of parliament, but such as are freely chosen by the estates, to prepare motions, and overtures that are first made in the house. Instr. 2.

II. That the first act of parliament 1669, is inconsistent with the establishment of the church government now desired, and ought to be abrogated. Instr. 4.

III. That forfeitures in prejudice of vassals, creditors, and heirs of entail are a great grievance. Instr. 6.

IV. That the obliging of the lieges to depone upon crimes against delinquents, otherwise than when they are adduced in special process as witnesses, is a great grievance. Instr. 10.

V. That assises of error are a great grievance, and that juries be considered by parliament. Instr. 7.

VI. That the eighteenth act of parliament 1681, declaring the cumulative jurisdiction, is a grievance. Instr. 8.

VII. That the commissariat courts, as they are now constituted, are a grievance. Instr. 9.

VIII. That the twenty-seventh act of parliament 1663, giving to the king power to impose custom at pleasure upon foreign import and trade, is a grievance, and prejudicial to the trade of the nation. Instr. 17.

- Instr. 11. IX. That the not taking an effectual course to repress the depredations and robberies by the Highland clans, is a grievance.
- Instr. 13. X. That the banishment by the council of the greatest part of the advocates from Edinburgh without a process, was a grievance.
- Instr. 12. XI. That most of the laws enacted in the parliament *anno* 1685, are impious and intolerable grievances.
- Instr. 14. XII. That the marriage of a king or queen of this realm to a papist, is dangerous to the protestant religion, and ought to be provided against.
- Instr. 19. XIII. That the levying, or keeping on foot a standing army in time of peace, without consent of parliament, is a grievance.
- Instr. 15. XIV. That all grievances relating to the manner and measure of the lieges, their representation in parliament, be considered and redressed in the first parliament.
- Instr. 16. XV. That the grievances of the boroughs be considered, and redressed in the first parliament.

HAMILTON.

WILLIAM R.

Instructions to our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, William Duke of Hamilton, our Commissioner for holding the first Session of our next ensuing Parliament of our ancient Kingdom of Scotland.

I. You are to pass an act for turning the meeting of estates into a parliament; and the three estates are to consist of the noblemen, barons, and burgesses.

- Grievan. 1. II. You are to pass an act for regulating the articles, to consist of twenty-four persons, besides the officers of state, whereof eight are to be chosen by the noblemen of their estate; eight by the barons, and eight by the boroughs of their estate: And in case of the decease of any of these persons, that estate out of which the persons deceased shall supply the same: These are to prepare matters and acts for the parliament, but not to exclude the parliament to take any matters into their consideration, though it hath been thrown out, or rejected in the articles; and all former acts, especially the first act, Parliament 1st. Ch. II. Sess. 3d, inconsistent with this, are to be rescinded.

III. You are to pass an act recognizing our and the queen's royal authority, and right of the crown; ordaining an oath of allegiance to be taken in place of all former oaths of allegiance and supremacy, declarations, and tests.

- Griev. 2. IV. You are to pass an act, establishing that church government which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people, rescinding the act of parliament 1669, and all other acts inconsistent therewith.

V. You are to endeavour to pass an act for raising such a supply, as

may be necessary for securing the kingdom from the present danger, and foreign invasion.

VI. You are to pass an act, that forfeitures shall only be extended to such interest as the rebel had, and that innocent vassals, or lawful creditors for debts upon record, shall not be prejudged, nor such heirs of entail whose rights of succession are established by a publick infestment.

Griev. 3.

VII. You are to pass an act, either to take away assizes of error, or otherwise, that they shall take place as well against a jury that condemns, as a jury that assolzies any pannel.

Griev. 5.

VIII. You are to pass an act rescinding the 18th act of parliament 1681, asserting the prerogative in point of jurisdiction.

Griev. 6.

IX. You are to pass an act regulating the abuses in the commissary courts, and all other inferior courts.

Griev. 7.

X. We are satisfied, that an act should be past for securing the lieges against enquiries by way of inquisition, but in respect of the present juncture of affairs, this matter will be well considered by the parliament; and therefore when the terms of this act shall be adjusted, you are to transmit the same to us, that we may give you particular instructions thereanent.

Griev. 4.

XI. You are to endeavour to procure an act for an effectual course for redressing the depredations and robberies by the Highland clans; and when this matter is digested, you are to transmit the proposals to us, that you may get particular instructions thereanent.

Griev. 9.

XII. You are to pass an act rescinding such acts as were made in parliament 1685, as are justly grievous to the people,

Griev. 11.

XIII. You are to pass an act, that no person be banished out of the kingdom, or from any part thereof summarily without a process.

Griev. 10.

XIV. You are to pass an act, that the kings or queens of the realm shall not marry with papists under this certification, that a popish queen consort, or the husband of a sovereign queen, shall be incapable to enjoy the benefit, or advantage, of any provisions or settlements which the law provides, or particular contracts or agreements may have secured to them.

Griev. 12.

XV. You are to pass an act, that the greater shires of that kingdom, such as Lanerk, Air, Perth, Fife, Aberdeen, and Midlothian, or others where it shall be found convenient, may send three or four commissioners to parliament, that the representation may be the more equal.

Griev. 14.

XVI. You are to pass an act ratifying the privileges of the boroughs, and securing their rights, in electing of their own magistrates for the future, and that the boroughs of Glasgow and St Andrews shall have the electing of their own provosts, baillies, and town council, as the other royal boroughs of the kingdom have.

Griev. 15.

XVII. You are to endeavour to procure an act or acts for the encouragement of trade; and if the 27th act of parliament, 1663, be found inconvenient, it may be regulated or rescinded, and when the proposals are adjusted you are to transmit them to us, that you may receive our instructions thereanent.

Griev. 3.

XVIII. You are to pass an act for regulating the universities, so as good order and discipline may be preserved, and that pious and learned persons may be employed and provided.

XIX. You are to pass an act against a standing army in time of peace, but so as the guards, garrisons, and necessary standing forces may be continued.

Griev. 13.

XX. You are from time to time to adjourn the parliament as you shall find necessary, and in respect the meeting may not be fully convened upon the 5th day of June, which is appointed for the first diet; therefore, after passing the first act of turning them into a parliament, you are to adjourn them to the 17th day of the month.

XXI. You are impowered to confer the honour of knighthood upon such persons as you shall find deserving of the same, not exceeding the number of six.

You have particular instructions anent what is represented to us as grievances; if there be any other things that may be necessary for the good of that kingdom to be past into laws, you are to acquaint us, from time to time, with such overtures, that you may be authorized with particular instructions thereanent.

Given under our royal hand and signet at our court at Copt-Hall, the 31st day of May, 1689. And of our reign the first year.

By his majesty's command.

MELVILL.

WILLIAM R.

An additional Instruction to our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, William Duke of Hamilton, our Commissioner.

You are to nominate our right trusty, and well-beloved cousin and councillor William Earl of Crawford, to be president of the first session of parliament, in regard we have no chancellor for the time being.

Given under our royal hand and signet, at our court at Copt-Hall, the 31st day of May, 1689. And of our reign the first year.

By his majesty's command.

MELVILL.

WILLIAM R.

Additional Instructions to our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, William Duke of Hamilton, our Commissioner.

1. By the second article of your instructions, dated the 31st of May last, you was empowered to pass an act for regulating the committee, called the Articles, which were to consist of twenty-four persons, besides the officers of state; notwithstanding of which, these are to authorise you to pass an act for them to consist of thirty-three persons, besides the officers of state; whereof eleven to be chosen out of every estate according to your former instructions, who are to prepare matters, &c. as is therein expressed, not excluding the parliament to take matters into their consideration, though it hath been rejected in the committee, nor to prevent their moving of any thing, and regulating of it to them, and the said eleven out of every estate to be chosen monthly, or oftner if the parliament think it fit, and all former acts, especially the first act, ch. 2. sess. 3. inconsistent with this, are to be rescinded.

2. You are to pass what acts shall be proposed for settling the church-government, according to your former instructions.

3. You are to pass an act rescinding all forfeitures past against any of our subjects, either in parliament or criminal court, since the first day of January, 1665, which shall be thought fit by the parliament to be rescinded: Likewise you are to consent to what our parliament shall propose for restitution to be made of fines, or compositions for

finer or forfeitures from those who had the benefit of them; and you are to rescind such acts as were made in the years 1681 and 1685, as are justly grievous.

Although the first of the above instructions is not complied with, yet you are to move the other two, and have them past before any adjournment.

Given under our royal hand and signet, at our court at Hampton-Court, the 4th day of July, 1689. And of our reign the first year.

By his majesty's command.

MELVILL.

WILLIAM R.

Additional Instructions to our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, William Duke of Hamilton, our Commissioner.

1. You are to touch the act already past, abolishing episcopacy as soon as you can, and to rescind all acts inconsistent therewith.

2. You are to rescind the act past in 1683, annexing forfeitures to the crown.

3. By the third article of your instructions, dated the 4th instant, we did empower you to reduce all forfeitures past against any of our subjects since January, 1665. Now we do authorise you to pass what acts shall be proposed for reducing forfeitures, &c. since the year 1660, if the parliament desire it, and to consent to what shall be proposed for making restitution of fines, or compositions for fines or forfeitures, as is expressed in the forementioned article, and you are to touch what acts passes conform to this.

4. You are to recommend to the parliament to raise a supply of money for paying the army, and supporting the government, according to your first instructions.

5. You are to allow the parliament to choose committees for the three foregoing instructions, notwithstanding the committee of the articles be not appointed, as also for what concerns church-government.

Given under our royal hand and signet, at our court at Whitehall, the 17th day of July, 1689. And of our reign the first year.

By his majesty's command.

MELVILL.

Proceedings of the Convention of the Estates in Scotland: Giving an Account of their coming to a Resolution of settling the Crown of that Kingdom upon King William and Queen Mary of England.

Edinburgh, April 4th, 1689.

The reasons for declaring the throne vacant were again read, and argued, one by one. They are in the terms following:

I. King James the Seventh being a professed papist, did assume the regal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law, whereby every king, at his access to the government, is obliged to swear to maintain the protestant religion, and to rule the people according to the laudable laws.

II. "By the advice of evil and wicked counsellors he did invade the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotick power; and by publick proclamation asserted an absolute power to cass, annul, and disable all the laws; and particularly, arraigning the laws establishing the protestant religion; and did exert that power for the subversion of the protestant religion, by erecting publick schools and societies of the jesuits, and not only allow-

ing mass to be publickly said, but did invert protestant chapels and churches to publick mass houses, contrary to express laws against saying and hearing of mass.

III. "By disarming protestants, while, in the *interim*, he employed papists in the places of the greatest trust, both civil and military, such as chancellors, secretaries, privy-councillors, lords of session; thrusting out protestants to make room for papists; and by entrusting the forts and magazines of the kingdom in their hands.

IV. "By allowing popish books to be printed and dispersed, by a gift to a popish printer, designing him printer to his majesty's household and chapel, contrary to the laws.

V. "By taking the children of noblemen and gentlemen, sending and keeping them abroad to be bred papists, making great funds and donations to popish schools and colleges abroad, by bestowing pensions upon priests, and perverting protestants from their religion by offers of places and pensions.

VI. "By imposing oaths contrary to the law.

VII. "By giving gifts and grants for exacting money without consent of parliament, or conventions of the estates.

VIII. "By levying and keeping on foot a standing army in time of peace, without consent of parliament.

IX. "By employing officers of the army as judges through the kingdom, and imposing them where there were heritable offices and jurisdictions; and by them many of the lieges were put to death summarily, without legal trial, jury, or record.

X. "By using inhuman tortures without any evidence, and in ordinary crimes.

XI. "By imposing exorbitant fines, to the value of the parties estates; in exacting extravagant bail, and by disposing of fines and forfeitures, before any process or conviction.

XII. "By causing pursue and forfeit several persons upon old and obsolete laws, upon frivolous and weak pretences, upon lame and defective probation, as particularly the late Earl of Argyle, to the scandal and reproach of the justice of the nation.

XIII. "By subverting the right of the royal boroughs, the third of the estates of parliament; imposing not only the magistrates, but also the whole town-council and clerks, contrary to their liberties and express charters, without the pretence either of sentence, surrender, or consent; and the commissioners to parliament being chosen by these magistrates and councils, the king might in effect as well nominate that entire estate of parliament: And many of the said magistrates put in by him, were avowed papists, and the boroughs forced to pay money for letters, imposing these illegal magistrates and council upon them.

XIV. "By sending letters to the chief courts of justice, not only ordering the judges to stop and desist, *sine die*, to determine causes; but also ordering and commanding them how to proceed in cases depending before them, contrary to the express laws, and by changing the nature of the judges gifts, *ad vitam aut culpam*, and giving them commissions *ad bene placitum*, to dispose them to compliance with arbitrary courses, and turning them out of their offices when they did not comply; and particularly, those who in parliament opposed the abrogating of the laws made for the security of the protestant religion.

XV. "By granting personal protections of civil debts, contrary to law, notwithstanding the representation of the privy council in the contrary."

After this, the following declaration, which had been prepared by the committee, was read, and the vote was approved, as also the declaration and reasons:—

"The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that King James the Seventh, being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and acted as king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and hath, by the advice of wicked and evil counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom, and altered it from

a legal limited monarchy, to an absolute and despotick power; and hath exercised the same, to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the nation; inverting all the ends of government; whereby he hath forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne is become vacant."

The whole house approved both, except twelve; of which number, seven were bishops, all the bishops that were present.

"This being done, the following vote passed, That an act be brought in from the committee for settling the crown upon William and Mary, king and queen of England, and to consider the terms of the destination of the heirs to the crown. And likewise, to prepare an instrument of government to be offered with the crown, for securing the people from the grievances which do affect them."

When all business was over, one of the bishops offered to say prayers, as the custom is; upon which it was moved, that King James being no more our king, he must pray for him at his peril; the bishop discreetly said only the Lord's prayer. So the house adjourned till next morning.

His Majesty's Letter to the Lords and others of his Privy Council.

This letter, which should have been taken in among the Civil Tracts, is accidentally misplaced. It was made public, and being dispersed over all England, had the effect of exciting some sympathy for James's distresses. But kingdoms are not so easily recovered as they are lost.

JAMES R.

My Lords,

When we saw that it was no longer safe for us to remain within our kingdom of England, and that thereupon we had taken our resolutions to withdraw for some time, we left to be communicated to you, and to all our subjects, the reasons of our withdrawing, and were likewise resolved, at the same time, to leave such orders behind us to you of our privy council, as might best suit with the present state of affairs, but that being altogether unsafe for us at that time, we now think fit to let you know, that though it has been our constant care, since our first accession to the crown, to govern our people with that justice and moderation, as to give, if possible, no occasion of complaint; yet more particularly upon the late invasion, seeing how the design was laid, and fearing that our people, who could not be destroyed but by themselves, might, by little imaginary grievances, be cheated into a certain ruin; to prevent so great mischief, and to take away not only all just causes, but even pretences of discontent, we freely and of our own accord redressed all those things that were set forth as the causes of that invasion; and that we might be informed by the counsel and advice of our subjects themselves, which way we might give them further and a full satisfaction, we resolved to meet them in a free parliament; and in order to it, we first laid the foundation of such a free parliament, in restoring the city of London, and the rest of the corporations, to their ancient charters and privileges, and afterwards actually appointed the writs to be issued for the parliament's meeting on the 15th of January. But the Prince of

Orange seeing all the ends of his declaration answered, the people beginning to be undeceived, and returning apace to their ancient duty and allegiance: And well foreseeing, that if the parliament should meet at the time appointed, such a settlement in all probability would be made, both in church and state, as would totally defeat his ambitious and unjust designs, resolved, by all means possible, to prevent the meeting of the parliament; and to do this the most effectual way, he thought fit to lay a restraint on our royal person; for as it were absurd to call that a free parliament, where there is any force on either of the houses; so much less can that parliament be said to act freely, where the sovereign, by whose authority they meet and sit, from whose royal assent all their acts received their life and sanction, is under actual confinement, the hurrying of us under a guard from our city of London, whose returning loyalty he could no longer trust, and the other indignities we suffered in the person of the Earl of Feversham, when sent to him by us; and then that barbarous confinement of our own person, we shall not here repeat, because they are, we doubt not, by this time, very well known, and may, we hope, if enough considered and reflected upon, with his other violations and breaches of the laws and liberties of England, which by this invasion he pretended to restore, be sufficient to open the eyes of all our subjects, and let them plainly see what every one of them may expect, and what treatment they shall find from him, if at any time it may serve his purpose, from whose hands a sovereign prince and uncle, and a father, could meet with no better entertainment. However, the sense of these indignities, and the just apprehension of other attempts against our person, by them who endeavoured to murder our reputation by infamous calumnies, as if we had been capable of supposing a Prince of Wales, which was incomparably more injurious than the destroying our person itself, together with a serious reflection on a saying of our royal father of blessed memory, when he was in the like circumstances, That there is little distance between the prisons and the graves of princes, which afterwards proved too true in his case; could not but persuade us to make use of that right, which the law of nature gives to the meanest of our subjects, of freeing ourselves by all means possible from that unjust confinement and restraint; and this we did not more for the security of our own person, than that thereby we might be in a better capacity of transacting and providing for every thing that may contribute to the peace and settlement of our kingdoms; for as on the one hand no change of fortune shall ever make us forget ourselves so far as to condescend to any thing unbecoming that high and royal station, in which God Almighty, by right of succession, has placed us, so, on the other hand, neither the provocation or ingratitude of our own subjects, or any other consideration whatsoever, shall ever prevail with us to make the least step contrary to the true interest of the English nation, which we ever did, and ever must look upon as our own. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you of our privy council take the most effectual care to make these our gracious intentions known to the lords spiritual and temporal, in and about our cities of London and Westminster, to the lord mayor and commons of our city of London, and to all our subjects in general, and to assure 'em that we desire nothing more than to return and hold a free parliament, wherein we may have the best opportunity of undeceiving our people, and shewing the sincerity of these protestations, we have often made, of preserving the liberties and properties of our subjects, and the protestant religion, more especially the church of England, as by law established; with such indulgence for those that dissent from her, as we have always thought ourselves, in justice and care of the general welfare of our people, bound to procure for them; and in the mean time you our privy council, who can judge better by being upon the place, are to send us that advice what is fit to be done by us towards our returning and accomplishing these good ends. And we do require you in our name, and by our authority, to endeavour so to suppress all tumults and disorders, that the nation in general, and every one of our subjects in particular, may receive the

least prejudice from the present distractions that is possible: So, not doubting of your dutiful obedience to our royal commands, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at St Germain's en Laye, the 1 January 1687-8, and of our reign the fourth year.

By his majesty's command. MELFORT.

Directed thus,
To the Lords and others of our Privy Council
of our Kingdom of England.

From Sion College. V. 5. No. 12.

An Account of the Affairs of Scotland, relating to the Revolution in 1688; as sent to the late King James II. when in France. By the Right Honourable the Earl of B

[From the Collection of Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart.]

Colin Lindsay, third earl of Balcarras, author of the following memoirs, was an accomplished nobleman with a considerable taste for letters. He had been gratified by Charles II. and his brother James with a pension of 1000*l.* and the post of a commissioner of the Scottish treasury. Thus rewarded and employed, he declined to quit the interest of his unfortunate master after the Revolution; attached to it by affection, gratitude, and the delicacy of sentiment which the love of letters commonly inspires. William requested him personally to embrace his interest. Balcarras pleaded the trust which had been put in him, and asked the king, If, after that, he could enter into the service of another? William generously answered, "I cannot say that you can." But added, "Take care that you fall not within the law, for otherwise I shall be forced against my will to let the law overtake you." Balcarras did fall under the grasp of power, being for some time imprisoned in the common jail of Edinburgh. After obtaining his freedom, he went upon the continent for several years, and then returned to Scotland, where he died at his house of Balcarras, in the year 1722. As he was chiefly trusted by King James in his civil affairs, the following letter has always been accounted a valuable historical document, containing many particulars of the causes and effects of the revolution in Scotland, not to be elsewhere found.

INTRODUCTION.

The publishing such nice things, as the memorials of ministers of state, as they are many ways useful and very advantageous to the publick, so they are of a nature so particular, as to require some necessary explanations on behalf of the editor.

The memoirs here published are of this kind; the writer, as is usual in such cases, speaks in the first person, and treats the characters of the persons he writes of with a freedom which nothing can excuse.

It is the editor's opinion, that this is no reflection on the gentlemen named; nor is it published with that intent. It is no new thing for the instruments of the mal-administration of that reign, to brand those who assisted in deposing King James, and

bringing on the Revolution, in the most odious and the most opprobrious terms; this we always esteemed a reputation, rather than a reflection; nor have the injured gentlemen failed to be gainers by it, the scandal of it falling always upon their authors, not upon the object.

The matters treated of here, are such as relate in particular to the carrying on the Jacobite cause in Scotland, and lets us much into the secret history of those times immediately after the Revolution, and of the transactions within doors, as we may call it, among the favourers of the late King James, and the reader will be diverted with a great variety of transactions, and that by persons who we have seen act in a quite different sphere since that time, and that with an undisputed vigour and fidelity.

Let no man think that it will lessen our just esteem for the characters of the several persons of the first rank, to say of them, That they were not at first in the secret of the Revolution; some had no clear notions of transposing their allegiance from the person of the prince, and stuck closer to the opinion of the divine right of a succession in the line, than others did: Some struggled with scruples about the oath of allegiance taken to one king, and of its being indissoluble, but by the death of the king to whom it was sworn: Others were under personal obligations to the king, and the like; some one thing, some another; each consideration, while it lasted, prevented the person coming in till those obstacles were removed; and yet we have found, by good experience, that when those gentlemen had satisfied themselves and come in, they have acted since with all that fidelity, usefulness, and steady loyalty, that can be imagined; and come up to a zeal equal, if not superior, to those who were more early in the case.

Thus in England, the Earl of Nottingham, and several others, protested against King William's coming to the crown. The late Earl of Godolphin adhered to King James, and was one of the three whom King James sent with propositions to the Prince of Orange, to know what were his demands? His grace the Duke of Somerset was some years before he came into a full concurrence with those times, yet no man doubts now the sincerity of all these noble persons in the interest of their country; and we now see them, or most of them, in places of the highest trust in the kingdom.

In Scotland it was the same thing; nor will all that is said or suggested here of his grace the Duke of Argyle, and the Lord Ross, and others, to be able to deface the records of all the great and illustrious things which they have since done in the publick affairs, wherein they have shewed, and especially at this time, to the present government, a sincere zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and for the laws and liberties of their country.

It is no wonder that such men should be traduced by every author who writes in the cause of an arbitrary and popish government, with whom it is not the crime of these great persons that they acted or concurred at all; but that they acted no farther, and that when they saw their designs, they abandoned the Jacobite interest, and came in sincerely and effectually to the revolution principle; nay, it may very justly be said of these men, and of his grace the Duke of Argyle in particular, that the vigorous steps they have taken since that time, even above others, in the prosecution and settlement of a protestant government, have abundantly made amends to their country for their not coming so early into those things as some other men might do.

Upon these accounts it is, that the publishers of these memoirs give this necessary caution, as well to clear themselves from any reflection in the publishing, as to guide the thoughts of the readers to do justice to the characters of such honourable persons, who they shall find the author falls upon in this book, and that they may distinguish between a Jacobite writer giving a partial and unjust account of persons to King James, and a faithful historian stating things to the world, as their consequences make them appear.

In the mean time, the publication of these memorials will be found very useful, to

let us see in what posture things stood at that time; what the designs of King James and his party was, if they had prevailed; and who they were who carried on those designs for him; and this, in short, is the true end of the editors hereof in making them public.

A brief Account of the State of Scotland, &c.

By this, which I humbly offer to your majesty, I am far from pretending it is an extant relation of all that has happened these six unhappy years.

All I intend is to give you a short view of your affairs in Scotland since the beginning of the Revolution, that your majesty may know when you attempt the recovery of your just rights, whom you may rely on; for all these that has kept firm to their duty, after so long and severe a trial, you may safely depend on; and these that appeared at first against you, and now pretends to be in your interest, having missed what they expected by this revolution, you may be persuaded nothing will ever make them thoroughly so, but a sufficient force: I shall say nothing in this out of partiality, nor any thing that is not consistent with my knowledge, and cannot be denied by these I write of, there being so many witnesses alive, who can assert the truth of all I shall offer to give to your majesty an account of; which I pretend I may do as justly, though not so correctly, as any of your majesty's subjects, who have had the honour to be entrusted by your majesty with so much, before this revolution, or was so deeply concerned in the unsuccessful attempts that has been made for your service.

How discontents and jealousies began, and disturbed the happy peace the nation was in after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Argyle: I cannot give your majesty so good an account of it, without going a little back, and letting you know the reasons that were given for them.

The first symptoms of discontent appeared in Scotland after the restoration of the king your brother, was in the Earl of Murray's parliament, for I reckon not the two tumultuous risings in the western fanatick countries,¹ nor the jarrings of Duke Hamilton's party, as being nothing national, but to the contrary; for these were rather means to shew the concern and affection of all the other parts of the nation for the king's interest, wherever that came to be debated by his few insignificant enemies.

Never king succeeded to a crown or throne more with the love and esteem of his subjects than your majesty did, generally to all Scotland, of all professions; nor could any thing have disturbed your happy reign, but the jealousies and fears that was industriously spread abroad, as if you had designed, by giving a general liberty of conscience, to ruin the religion then established; if that had not been too much believed, and the fears of again encouraging, by such a liberty, the fanaticks, then almost entirely ruined, there would have been few that would have refused to comply with 'all your majesty's demands in that parliament; but the fears in bringing back the fanatick party then scattered through the world, that were always lying in wait, for every opportunity, to ruin the monarchy, and all those that were faithful in it, made even your faithfulest subjects comply but with an unwilling mind, considering that such a toleration would again set up a party that had cost so much care, time, and treasure, to destroy.

The Earl of Murray not succeeding in that parliament, because of these apprehensions, and his small skill in managing such an affair, where there were so many interests to unite, your majesty dissolved that parliament, and issued out a proclamation of indulgence and toleration to all persuasions.²

¹ Quelled at the battles of Pentland-Hills and Bothwell-Bridge.

² The Scottish parliament of 1686, caught the general alarm at the king's intentions in favour of the catholics, and refused his application to them for dispensing with the penal laws; upon which the parliament was dissolved, and James, as in England, proclaimed a general indulgence as an exercise of his own prerogative.

This put the episcopal clergy in such a rage, that they could not conceal it, neither in discourses nor pulpits; and the presbyterians grew so insolent with it, that the letter your majesty wrote to them then at Edinburgh, wherein you told them your predecessors had been severe, and ruined several of them, but they might be confident of your protection against all their enemies.

This, and the Earl of Melfort's employing James Stuart to draw most of the public papers sent down, who was known to be a professed and inveterate enemy to the crown and your order, made the episcopal clergy at that time say, and do many things, which afterwards they heartily repented when it was too late; for their dislike of the greatest part of the nation, and their jealousy, misfortunately meeting with the inveterate malice of the presbyterians, gave the greatest advantage could have been wished for, to the unbounded ambition of the Prince of Orange; for nothing ever made him make so bold an attempt, but these divisions, and the jealousies that were industriously spread abroad, few being satisfied.

The episcopal clergy, or party, out of fear to lose what they had long professed, and though the prebyterians for a few months first after the getting their liberty seemed satisfied, yet some grew as malicious as ever, being disappointed of getting the government into their hands, as they hoped, and a revenge on their enemies.

The order your majesty sent down, commanding all in any office, either civil or military, to give up their commissions, and take up new ones, without taking the test; this made all employments liable to several penalties of the laws, and occasioned a great consternation: But not near to what by another order, all in employments were commanded to take out remissions for breaking of the laws, which they had done by your majesty's command, by which they thought themselves sufficiently warranted, as may appear by a letter the council sent to your majesty; wherein, not only they, but the judges, gave it as their opinion, That your majesty giving a commission, was sufficient to hinder any being liable to the law, especially considering, that the penalty was due to yourself; but notwithstanding of this advice, a severe proclamation was sent down by the Earl of Melfort, That all should take out these remissions in three months, and pay for them three pounds sterling to himself, and twenty pounds to James Stuart, who was to give them out, and such as did not take them out, to be pursued for breach of law, and be rendered incapable for ever thereafter, of your mercy; this was thought very hard, even by the loyalest of your subjects, to be paying for such remissions, and especially to be giving so much to Mr Stuart, that had but some months before got a remission for plotting and contriving against your majesty and government, and was generally believed at that time, by all that wished well to your majesty's government, to be underhand betraying it; nor has their apprehensions been false, for since the Revolution he has bragged to hundreds, that he gave several advices, designedly to ruin it, and to advance the interest of his friends.

When first this order was read in council, all were silent; but the next day a representation was sent up to your majesty, both by the council and secret committee, to shew how inconvenient it would be if such an order were proclaimed, nor was there any man more against it than your chancellor, and those you trusted most.

Your majesty was pleased, on these representations, to discharge its being pressed; but it gave such bad impressions of some who was employed, that nothing will ever take it off; and it was generally believed, that nothing but your majesty's own goodness could have hindered a thing that would have been so advantageous to the contrivers, though dishonourable to all that served you; nothing vexed the episcopal clergy

² All who were in public station in Scotland were required to surrender their commissions, and take out new ones, without complying with the tests; and immediately after, they were commanded to take out pardons, for having transgressed the laws by their obedience.—But Melfort and Stewart had large fees for issuing the commissions and the pardons.

more at that time, than to see some fanatics put both into council and session; but all these discontents were but like smothered fire, until the birth of the Prince of Wales, which afterwards broke out more violently; for after that, several of the episcopal clergy were so far misled, that they left off, in a few weeks, the praying for the Prince of Wales, and were so apt not only to believe the most calumnious reports of that time, but to insinuate in their people fears of popery and arbitrary government, which did no small prejudice, and made many, that have appeared since of a far different temper, extremely satisfied at the noise of the Prince of Orange's coming over; being so weak as to believe he had such an attempt only to secure the laws, and relieve them of their fears; but these discontents of the episcopal party, though they cannot be justified, yet they proceeded from jealousies more than from any ill design after your majesty's government; but the presbyterians being encouraged from their friends in England, and the rebels who fled into Holland growing then more insolent than ever, being put in hopes again, by another way, of getting entirely the government in their own hands, and a revenge on their enemies, which were the two things they so long wished to have an opportunity for, but would never have attained the same, if the indulgence granted them had not brought them together from the West-Indies; so that they appeared in far greater numbers than could well have been believed to be yet remaining after so long a tract of discouragement. They not only were joined together, but many that never were of that profession before, joined with them, as all the discontented of the nation has ever done since the Revolution, making religion always the pretext of gaining their other ends.

The jealousy of the catholics did not a little heighten the discontents of both these parties likewise; and though they were not so afraid of them as of each other, because of their small number, yet with very uneasy eyes, they beheld them coming into the chief posts, both in civil and military employments; and the presbyterians, by the liberty granted to all, had their share, and were also admitted into employments which they never had before, but when necessity compelled former kings; yet they were so far from being thankful for it, that both in their pulpits and conversation, they openly declared they thought themselves nothing obliged to any toleration they had, it being given to introduce the catholics, and ruin protestants among themselves; nor were these jealousies and apprehensions only among the clergy.

For after your majesty had given warrant to the chancellor, Viscount of Tarbut, and myself, to enquire of all the officers of state, judges, and officers of the army, their opinion and consent, for taking off the penal laws and tests; most of them, though they consented to it, yet had such a cruel apprehension of other things farther to be pressed upon them, that it made them extremely uneasy; and the turning out of Sir George Mackenzie from being your advocate, and the Lord Harcuss,² and Edmiston,³ from the session, for refusing to consent to what was offered, heightened extremely the humour, for they were esteemed of the greatest integrity and learning of that judicatory, and it seems not without reason, for though they were humorous in that, yet after, and since the Revolution, they have behaved themselves exactly well, and refused the offers of employment which was made them.

Except for these fears and jealousies that was spread like a plague through all the land, and the too covetous taking of money by some of your servants (but that I will not meddle with, being resolved to say nothing here but what consists with my own knowledge) all other things in the government were as easy, and managed with as much justice as was ever known in any age; for never was a treasury and exchequer

¹ Lord Chancellor Perth, Lord Tarbat, and Lord Balcarras were entrusted with the task of secretly soliciting those in public offices to consent to the repeal of the test.

² Sir Roger Hogg, a lawyer of some eminence.

³ Mr. John Wauchope.

more favourable in all sorts of compositions, which your majesty allowed us to do; nor was there ever before, in the council or session, more justice and quick dispatch of business, nor soldiers better paid, and with less trouble in the country, which the worst of your enemies must acknowledge.

In this condition was the kingdom till September 1688, when your majesty sent down an express to your secret committee, which consisted of seven, viz: your chancellor, Marquis of Annandale, Viscount of Tarbut, Archbishop of Glasgow, Sir George Lockhart and myself, to let us know you expected an invasion from Holland, which at first was thought, by the generality of the nation, to be absolutely impossible, and only a pretext to raise money, or draw the army together for other designs, which added still to former jealousies; but these mistaken fears were quickly suppressed, when they knew of such preparations as your majesty was making in England; and we likewise affirmed by seamen coming daily from Holland of great preparations there, and noise of a war quickly to break out.

Your majesty's council appeared all of them ready and willing to concur in every thing that could be offered for making the nation as capable as could be for serving you, and it seemed for a time the noise of foreign war had banished their jealousies and fears from among them, and from all quarters of the country. The gentlemen and burgesses sent to the council new offers of duty; the militia was ordered to be raised and modelled to a fourth part; and the forty days pay which the country is obliged to of the whole, would have paid this fourth part six months; the castle of Edinburgh, Stirling, &c. furnished the gentry, modelled into troops, with arms, and orders sent to the chiefs of the Highland clans to have their men in readiness, which, with the standing forces, would have made a considerable army.

On the first notice of the invasion, Captain Mackay, nephew to the major-general, was taken up, upon suspicion of having laid down his employment in Holland, to be the better able to serve the Prince of Orange in what he intended, which was reasonable to believe by a letter found upon him, written by himself to his uncle, wherein he expressed great affection to the service of the Prince of Orange, and desires his uncle to let him know, that though he had quitted his service, yet he hoped, in the condition he was now in, he could be more useful, which he was willing to do with the hazard of his life, and that he wanted only to know how he might put his intention in execution. He was examined by a secret committee several times, but gave his oath frankly, he knew nothing of any design, nor meant nothing by these expressions, but a compliment to the prince, who had concerned himself in getting him a rich marriage; but, after the Prince of Orange's coming over, he bragged of knowing all the design, and valued himself for swearing frankly, rather than discover.

There was likewise taken one Blackadder, a doctor of physic, who was sent over, by the banished lords and gentlemen in Holland, to encourage their friends, and give them an account of the inclinations and affections of the people to the Prince of Orange's interest; the only traffic could be made out against him, for he likewise would disclose nothing, but rather perjure himself, of what he knew was betwixt Lord Murray, son to the Marquis of Annandale, and one Murray of Tippermoore; for, by a letter taken on him from Mr Murray to the Lord Murray, he told him, He had delivered his message to the Prince of Orange, who received it very kindly, and desired Blackadder to give him an account weekly of all that had passed, and to let him know how the nation stood affected to the Prince of Orange: More might certainly be known from the doctor, if the Marquis of Annandale, who had been lying in wait from the first noise of the invasion, for a pretext to appear discontent, had not taken this opportunity; he complained highly, that any who belonged to him should be suspected, and that all the work made against Blackadder, was only designed against his family; so, to satisfy him, the doctor was no farther meddled with, that he might not have the

least ground, at such a time, to complain; but all this did not satisfy him, for in all meetings, both in secret committee and council, he affected an air of chagrin and discontent, though to please him we were too indulgent to his humours; yet a little while after, pretending sickness, he retired into the country, until he was assured of the landing of the Prince of Orange, and then he returned and acted a part more to the prejudice of your interest than the most inveterate of your enemies was then able to do; the chief reason he gave for his discontent was, family piques betwixt him and the Earl of Perth, and fears of his doing him ill deeds; but it was known to all the nation, that his hopes of advancing his interest by the Prince of Orange, on the account of his relation by his lady, was the chief motion of all his actions; or at the least, by his seeming discontent with the present government, he thought he would secure himself of all that your majesty had bestowed on him but too prodigally; after he withdrew, every thing went on smoothly in council, and even the western and fanatick gentry were contending for employments in the militia troops; but by what afterwards appeared, it was with a design to betray.

Nor was there any of them more forward in offering his service, than Sir James Montgomery, though at the same time he was assisting the Lord Lorn, to borrow a considerable sum of money to carry him to Holland; the reason given for borrowing this money was, to make a present to the Countess of Melfort, nor could they have found a pretext that would have past more easily, for it was reasonably believed; otherwise, the lending of such a sum by such disaffected persons at so critical a time, could not have missed to be suspected, and his journey stopped.

One Mr Campbell, who was sent over by the Lord Stairs, to invite him over by warrant from the Prince of Orange, but I believe told little of the design, though Sir James bragged, after the Revolution, of his knowing all, and of his having messages from the Prince of Orange, but was contradicted by all who were entrusted in it, who were few enough; this was the first appearance of Sir James Montgomery, nor had he any manner of influence, except with some few of the most bigotted fanaticks, who had made a party, and exclaimed against the rest of their profession for accepting of the indemnity, or taking any favour from the government; nor would any thing please them, nor could any six of them agree, being left to their discretion; but notwithstanding these divisions, all parties kept within bounds until the calling away of the standing forces, when the government was left bare, and at the discretion of their enemies.

About the beginning of September, your majesty ordered the Earl of Perth to let you know how the presbyterian ministers intended to behave themselves at the juncture, judging, as they behaved, their followers would follow their example; but he believing very justly, that they would not use freedom with him, desired me to employ some person to try their pulse. Sir Patrick Murray was one then that had not attached himself apparently to any party, but was generally well with all parties; I desired him to go to some of the leading men, that were then assembled in town, and tell them from whom he was sent, and that your majesty, considering the many favours you had shewn, expected they would now shew their gratitude in influencing their people to join heartily against the unnatural invasion; and that, according to their present behaviour, they might expect favour and protection from you for the future. They answered them dryly, they were but a few then, but in a fortnight there would be a general meeting of them all, that then they doubted not but they would give your majesty satisfaction, with such answers. When that time came, they put off giving any positive answer, until they had new assurances from their friends in Holland, and made high with expectations that the Prince of Orange would put all the government both of church and state in their hands; and then they sent me word by Sir Patrick Murray, that they owned God had made the king an instrument of shewing them some

favour; but since they were convinced, that what favour was shewn them, was only with a design to ruin the protestant religion, they would meddle no more with him, nor have any communion with any that belonged to him; especially, since he had employed in the chief offices, papists, or persons popishly inclined, and so desired to be excused from giving any farther answer, but that they would behave in this juncture as God would inspire them: This answer shewed plainly, what was to be expected from them, and from that time forward, both they and the gentry of that party took little pains to disguise their resolutions; but still fears of accidents kept them from doing any thing the government could publicly punish; nor were any of them thoroughly in the affair or trusted in it, so much as to make them venture any thing for what they so much desired: If any was thoroughly trusted, it was the Earl of Anandale, then at London; at the beginning of the indulgence he turned fanatick, but in a few months wearied of it, and came to the Earl of Perth, and told him it was only his youth that misled him in joining with such a rebellious, mutinous pack; but henceforward he would serve the king heartily, and that he intended to go for London immediately, and to offer his service.

Therefore he desired his recommendation, which he got, and was very kindly entertained by your majesty, and at first was to have the Earl of Airly's troop of horse; but the Earl of Airly coming up, and not being willing to part with it, he had the promise of a regiment which he was to raise in the southern counties; but finding your majesty's affairs in greater disorder than he imagined, he chused rather to join with some of the disaffected lords in England.

The first he proposed to was the Earl of Drumlenrick; he told him, he found by the company he kept constantly, that he was not satisfied with the present government, and that he was as much dissatisfied himself as any, though he was forced to dissemble it, until he had got some things done he came for; that he was resolved never to draw sword against the Prince of Orange, and that if he and his friends would trust him, he would serve them faithfully, and run their fate.

The Earl of Drumlenrick told him, he was joined with others, and could not act without their liberty; but he should speak to them of it, and give an answer: The next day he appointed him to meet him in the city, with the Duke of Ormond, Mr Boyle, and Mr Maul, who belonged to the Princess of Denmark, after they had dined; the Earl of Drumlenrick told him, he had spoke to Prince George, and the rest then with him, of what he had offered; that they all accepted willingly of it, but expected that he would give an oath of secrecy the most binding way they could demand, which he also readily promised; so Mr Maul officiated and gave him the sacrament, and took the oath, that he would go in with them to the Prince of Orange, whenever he landed; but when it came to the push, his heart failed him, and he excused himself, that he had got a misfortune; for which, when the Prince of Orange came to London, he was for some days in the messenger's hands, which made him immediately quit them, and join with those intended to serve your majesty in the following convention. What more of this kind of treachery was carried on, I cannot be positive; for, I believe, very few Scotsmen were concerned in it; for I doubt not, if they had, but they would have themselves valued in it with the rest, for several did so that were not concerned; nor could any such treacherous designs have been concealed, considering the pains both the secret committee and council took to find them out: And how entirely well affected to your majesty was the little army you had in Scotland, which was so advantageously posted through the kingdom, that even the most disaffected lived peaceably expecting the event?

But so soon as your majesty sent your orders, that they should be brought together, and be in a readiness to march into England, then all discontented people and fanaticks

in the nation thought they had hit on their own time, believing your majesty's affairs in England must be in a miserable condition, when you had need of so small a force, and for it to leave a government naked, and lose a whole country, which otherways might have been so useful to you.

When first the Earl of Melfort, by your majesty's order, wrote of it to the secret committee, they immediately sent an express, to lay before your majesty the inconvenience of it, and likewise to propose a design they had, that with it and the modelled militia, and a detachment of the Highlanders, to make an army of 13,000 men, with half year's pay, to have lain either upon the borders of Scotland, or in the north of England; which, certainly, would have hindered all those risings in the north of England, which made a noise so far above what really they were, and proved so prejudicial to your affairs; but, instead of following this advice, which was the unanimous advice of the whole council, the Earl of Melfort wrote down an order, not subscribed by your majesty, but only in your majesty's name, ordering, that the army should immediately march, and that if any of your servants were afraid to stay behind, they might go along with the army: with a sorrowful heart your majesty's orders were obeyed, for the consequences were too evident; so about the beginning of October they began their march.

The council after that ordered the modelled militia to be brought together about Edinburgh, and some to be quartered in the suburbs; but the new-raised men, that would quickly have been brought into order, if mingled with modelled troops, signified little to keep up the face of authority, nor was their commander, Sir George Munro, better at his trade than the rest, having lost any thing he had learned in Germany long ago; nor had he retained any thing, but affected nastiness, brutality, and fanaticism. Necessity, and the recommendation of some more out of friendship to him than the service, persuaded the council to give him a commission, until your majesty's pleasure should be known, which afterwards you confirmed.

The presbyterians, and discontented party, seeing the miserable and abandoned condition your affairs were in, took their opportunity accordingly; for so soon as the army passed the border, Edinburgh was filled with numbers of them of all degrees, from all places in the kingdom, who then thought it safe to take off their masks, and meet publicly in several clubs, where they deliberated, as formerly, what was fit for them to do in that juncture, as if they had been allowed by authority; and the council and secret committee knew from some spies they had among them, all that passed at their meetings, yet they were forced to overlook what they had not force to suppress; the chief of these meetings, were the Earl of Glencairn, Earl Crawford, Earl Dundonald, Earl Tarras, Lord Mersington, a fanatick, few months before put into the session; Sir James Montgomery, Anstruther Younger, Mr William Hamilton, Mr William Lockhart, Murray of Philliphaugh, Richarton, Drummond, Blair of Greenock, Mochrum, Livingstoun, master of Burrley, Mr Francis Montgomery, Major Buntin of Bailie-Hall, Sir George Stirling, chirurgion, one Menzies, a merchant, Bruce of Broomhall, Pitliver, Reidy Luchat, the Master of Melvil, Lord Bargany, Sir Patrick Murray, Ormiston, &c.

Several joined with them afterwards, but these were the chief beginners and head men among them, until the banished rebels from Holland met them at London and eclipsed them. The presbyterian ministers did not publicly meet with them, but, according to their ancient custom, nothing was determined without their advice and approbation. One of the first things they took into their consideration was, how to hinder all correspondence betwixt your majesty and your council, which Sir James Murray undertook, and did it so effectually, that few packets missed him, which was easy to be done, having correspondence both about Berwick, and the north of England, with the Earl of Derby, and Lord Lumley; then they opened all packets, and only suf-

ferred such letters to pass as they thought fit ; some expresses were sent down by the Earl of Melfort to his brother, but for fear of discouraging, always made things better than what was reported by these meetings at Edinburgh, or other letters that came down.

That the secret committee was in great perplexity to know the truth, this obliged them also to seize the packet, and open the letters ; but it had so oft been done before, both by the discontented party in Scotland, and the lords in the north of England, that there was little or nothing learned by it ; for several weeks after, there came neither packets nor express ; at last, one came with an account of the landing of the Prince of Orange, and that your majesty had marched down to meet him, till the Earl of Melfort gave his brother all the hopes imaginable, but the Earl of Dundee wrote in so different terms to me, that my lord chancellor resolved to send one to receive your majesty's commands, to let him know the truth of what was doing ; for which one Baillie Brand, merchant in Edinburgh, was sent express, and recommended by the Viscount of Tarbat, as one most proper, being accustomed to travel that road about his own affairs, and so might be the less capable of suspicion.

The chancellor, by him, gave you an account of the bad station this nation was in, since the calling away of the forces, and the presbyterians declaring entirely against you ; but the messenger betrayed his trust, and went streight into the Prince of Orange's camp, and was introduced by Dr Burnet ; he told the prince he was sent by several to offer his highness their service ; this was no sooner known, but the Viscount Tarbat was extremely suspected to be one of these, but I am convinced he had not at that time any correspondence ; for there was no man in the nation in such apprehensions of danger, after he read the Prince of Orange's declaration, and saw by it he intended to sacrifice all to satisfy the presbyterians, and these rebels that did come over with him, and who were for the most part the Viscount Tarbat's personal enemies.

This way failing of having your commands, the council ordered three of their numbers to wait on your majesty, viz. the Viscount of Tarbat, the president of the council, and myself ; the other two fearing to get through, and not being able to ride post, excused themselves ; so I was sent alone. Some days before I left Edinburgh, it was spread abroad, that the rabble of the town designed to make an uproar, which was purposely set about by these meetings to frighten these you trusted, and by some who had a mind to be rid of my lord chancellor, to have the government in their own hands, that they might be in a better condition to make their court to the Prince of Orange. The chief of those was the Marquis of Athole, who thought that so early an appearance, for the Prince of Orange, could not but be extremely meritorious ; nor could they have done it more effectually, than by stirring up the rabble against the government, and making a public mutiny and exclamation against those things mentioned by him in his declaration.

The news of the treachery of your army, and of your majesty's being come back to London, was no small encouragement to them that designed to make their courts, especially to the Viscount of Tarbat, and Sir John Dalrymple, who, though the Marquis of Athole appeared the head of all, yet they were the springs by which every thing was moved and ordered so well, that he was satisfied with the vanity of the name ; whereas, they were sure of the profit, without the hazard ; for if your majesty had succeeded contrary to their expectation, all the stress of the disorders they could fairly put upon him ; and if the Prince of Orange prospered, they knew they had such friends about him, that they would keep all the honour of ruining the government and getting the council to declare for him.

Their chief design to get this accomplished, was to get rid of the lord chancellor. The Marquis of Athole designed it, both out of family pique, and to get the government into his hands, as falling due to him after the chancellor's departure, he being

next officer of state. The way he proposed for this, was to have all the troops disbanded, which he knew would have all been at the chancellor's devotion, except their miserable general, and, bad as they were, would have been better than could have been brought against them; for the council having kept some inferior officers of the Earl of Dumbarton's regiment that came down for recruits, put them in tolerable order.

The Viscount of Tarbat proposed in council that these troops may be disbanded, being an unnecessary charge, since he believed there would be no more to do with soldiers, and the Prince of Orange had declared in his declaration the illegality of keeping up forces in time of peace.

The Earl of Perth, who was desirous to do every thing to satisfy them, and not considering their design, too easily consented to it, and trusting some of those he saw most earnest for it, next day they were all dismissed, except four companies of foot, and two troops of horse, for bringing in the publick money. So soon as they had got them dismissed, the Marquis of Athole, and the rest of the councillors that were of his party, came to my lord chancellor's own lodging, and told him, they thought themselves no longer in safety to meet in council where he was, and several others, incapacitate by law; but if he and they would retire, it would soon be seen how vigorously they would act in the king's service, and get all the rabble pacified, and the discontented meeting dismissed. Before he gave them any positive answer, he retired into another room, where the Duke of Gordon, and all the catholic councillors were met upon the noise of this advice of the Marquis of Athole's, and he told them what had passed, all unanimously advised him to be gone, and that it would look better to do it voluntarily than be compelled, as certainly they would do, now when they had begun, and had all the rabble and discontented meetings on their side. Several others likewise, out of concern for him, gave him the same advice, thinking it dangerous for him to trust an enraged multitude; these advices of his friends determined him, so he returned to these lords and took his leave of them, and went strait to the country: Before he went away, the rabble began to meet in companies upon the street, being encouraged by these lords and gentlemen I have already named, George Stirling and William Menzies; so soon as they saw them beginning to beat drums through all the town, and when the inhabitants came out to see what was the matter of so sudden an alarm, they had their friends posted in all quarters to tell them, that all the townsmen that were protestants should immediately gather together for their own defence, for they were certainly informed, that a great number of papists had got into the town, and designed to burn it that night. This made an alarm through all the town, and few staid in their houses. When they were all gathered together, and saw no appearance of any such thing, some, who were called there of purpose, proposed, that since there were so many honest men got together, it would be a pity they should part without doing something, and that they could not propose a more worthy action, than to go down to the abbey and pull down the chapel. It was no sooner proposed, but (as in such tumultuous meetings) all cried, Agreed; and in a tumultuous manner, men and boys, marched away: Captain John Wallace, who was then in the house with six score men, raised a little before by the council on that design, so soon as he heard of their coming, sent a serjeant to desire them not to come near, otherways he would be obliged to do his duty and fire; but notwithstanding of his fire they pressed on, and he gave them a volley of firelocks among them, which killed about a dozen, and wounded thrice as many; on the first they immediately run, and the noise was industriously spread by the gentlemen and lords sitting the same time at their meetings, as if Wallace had made a butchery of the inhabitants; and, to make it inflame the more, there were few burghers, or people in town of any consideration, but was said to have children killed; The first meeting was but the meaner sort and boys; but after this, the whole inhabitants got to arms, and the discontented meetings came out to the streets, and offered

their service, which was gladly received; but as they were again going against the captain, one of them proposed, that what they were a-going about might, some time or other, be challenged; therefore he advised them, that since they were sure of the Marquis of Athole, and some other counsellors, he might be desired, by some of their number, to give them a publick warrant for what they were to do, and likewise might offer the concurrence of the magistrates. The advice was thought very reasonable, and deputies were sent to the marquis; he immediately sent for the Earl of Breadalbin, Viscount of Tarbat, and Sir John Dalrymple; these four signed a warrant to the magistrates, that they should go down in their robes, and with the help of their trained bands, militia regiment, and town company, should assist the rabble against Captain Wallace, and force him to deliver up the house; and likewise that they should carry down your majesty's heralds and trumpets in their coats, to summons Captain Wallace, in the king's name, to give up the house.

The provost of Edinburgh, a timorous poor man, though very honest, obeyed their order, and went down so soon as their affairs could be in readiness, first marched the town company commanded by Captain Grahame, who a day before this was turned out of his employment, but, on his offer of service on that occasion, he was restored; next the discontented gentlemen, the chief of these were Sir James Montgomery, Houston, Greenock, Mochrum, Mr William Lockhart, Richartou, Drummond, William Drummond, clerk to the artillery; Lord Mersington,¹ the fanatick judge, with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as ale and brandy could make him; next, the provost and magistrates, with a mob of two or three thousand men; when they came within distance of shot, the trumpets and heralds were sent before to command him to surrender; Captain Wallace told them, he was put in by the council, and would never deliver it up without the king or council's command; the order then produced was but a *quorum* of the council, so he absolutely refused to obey; at which they began to fire straggling shots at one another, which made all the magistrates, and others, draw down to stairs and lairs, and left Major Grahame, the trained bands, and his company, with the rabble, to dispute the matter. Captain Wallace had certainly been able to defend the house, if he had kept his men within the court and fired out of the windows; but he left the house, and posted himself in the outer court, which, when Captain Grahame perceived, he marched out at the town post with his company, and came in by the back court, and so got behind him, which, when Captain Wallace heard, he slipped aside without telling his officers and soldiers, and left them to shift for themselves. When they knew that he was gone, they laid down their arms and begged quarters; the gentlemen and rabble, when they saw all hazard over, ran in upon them, killed some, and made the rest prisoners, and sent them to prison, where several of them died for want and of their wounds; then all the rabble rushed into the house, pulled down every thing they could find in the private chapel and in the abbey, which was but furnished some days before; next they fell upon the house where the jesuits lived, and almost pulled it down: then they broke into the Earl of Perth's cellars, and made themselves as drunk with wine as they were before with zeal; for two or three days thereafter they rambled up and down the town, searched and plundered what Roman catholic houses they could find, which were very few, except some catholic ladies whom they used villainously; nor did the council any thing to hinder their disorders.

For such of them as abhorred these barbarities, thought themselves happy to escape their rage; others were so far from discouraging these abuses, that it was generally known they were the chief promoters of them: After the noise of the rabble was

¹ Mr Alexander Swinton, Lord Mersington. When James new-modelled his Scottish ministry, it is remarked by Fountainhall, "The king divided his favours between the presbyterians and papists." Lord Mersington was a zealous presbyterian. He was of the ancient house of Swinton.

a little abated, the Marquis of Annandale, as next officer of state, called the council, and proposed an address to be sent up to the Prince of Orange, with the highest acknowledgments of gratitude for his generous undertaking of freeing them from popery and tyranny, and offers of future service; but there were so many who opposed it, so that it was stopped. Those that hindered for a while the Marquis of Annandale and his party, were the two archbishops, the president of the sessions, Sir George Mackenzie, master of Balmerino, Mr Charles Home, now Earl, and the Lord Lochmore; but though they got the address first offered stopped, yet they were out-voted when it was debated, if it was proper to send away at all, and so Lord Glains was sent up with an address very short, and in general terms, which was very coldly received, a franker one being promised and expected. The next thing gave them some work was, the apprehending of the Earl of Perth, who, finding he could not live in safety at home, and being desirous to be with your majesty, he embarked at Bruntisland in Fife, for France; but though he had disguised himself, one Cook, a fanatick, knew him as he was going on ship-board, who immediately rode to Kircaldy, where the most of that profession, in that country, dwells; and, by accident, met with a great company of seamen walking on the shore. He told them he could set them on a way whereby they might be all rich; that he had seen the Earl of Perth take ship at Bruntisland, and that he had a vast sum of money aboard, and that he was confident to apprehend him would be acceptable to many of the council. Among these seamen there was one Wilson, who had been a buccaneer; he willingly accepted the employment, and all the rest submitted to him; but to get their affairs done without hazard, they sent to the magistrates of the town, and told them of their resolution, and desired their allowance, which they very willingly did, and gave them an order; the two who signed it were Captain Crawford and James Lundee, both at that time in beneficial employments. The wind being quite calm, they got in a long-boat to him near the Bass; my lord (which was a great oversight in him) had but very few seamen aboard, who immediately rendered, and after they had plundered him and his lady, they brought them back to Kircaldy, and threw them into a common prison, and used them with all barbarity and insolence a rabble was capable of, which the magistrates rather encouraged than hindered, after they had put them in prison (as the magistrates pretended since) to secure them; one of them went over to the marquis, and told him what their townsmen had done, which he not only approved of, but gave an antedated order for their warrant; but this his lordship denies, and they affirm they still have; so I shall not determine the truth of it; the Earl of Marr and several others told me, when they came afterwards to London, that they had seen it. What to do with him made a great debate in council; the Marquis of Annandale, and all his party, were for sending him to Stirling castle; others were for his liberty; besides the Earl of Cassils, who was made one of the council a little before; but they were out-voted, and the Earl of Marr was sent with orders to Kircaldy, to carry him to Stirling castle, which he commanded on pretext to secure him from the rabble; and thus took him out of their hands, but mended nothing the barbarous usage, for first he was carried to the Earl of Marr's own house at Alloway, where they kept centuries standing within the room with him, and then made him close prisoner in Stirling castle, where he remained almost four years.¹

¹ The following curious account of his captivity is contained in a letter from the earl to his sister, copied by the Editor from the original manuscript.

Stirling Castle, 29th December, 1688.

"My dearest Sister,

"I cannot express how much your most obliging letter of the 20th instant was refreshing to me in this my present condition, which, that you may the better know, I will inform you of what happened since my Lord Erroll parted from me.

"Upon Tuesday was seven-night, Blair came from Edinburgh, and told me that the king was gone into

The marquis and most of the council began to prepare for going up to make their court; but that they might do it the better, it was voted in council, that they should desire the lords of treasury to pay their expences, which was likewise carried; the Mar-

France, &c. and that if I did not immediately gett away, I was a gone man; that he had provyded a ship, which would be ready to saill next night by 5 a clock at night from Bruntisland, and bid me make all haste to that place, for the snow in the Ochells was deep, and if I rode in day-light I could not escape, and having said this, away he went towards Bruntisland, and left my wife and me to disguise ourselves the best way we could, which indeed she did so well that I could not have known her, but I could find no means to keep myself from being known to every body. She went one way and I another from Drummond, about 6 a clock. She went only to Duning, but I went over the hills through heaps of snow at a place where never one crossed before, and gott before day two miles beyond Kenross, where my master Mr David Drummond, whose cloak-bag I carried, and I, staid until one a clock afternoon next day, which was Wednesday, and then through unfrequented ways we gott to Bruntisland about 5 a clock at night, but to our ruin (though my wife was already before us, and nothing on our part hindered) we wanted two men of our ship's company, and so not only were forced to lie in a common inn that night, but to go over to Leith roads, and lie 5 hours, until our master went a-shore and took up two men and brought aboard. So about one a clock afternoon we came under sail, and with an easie gale, made towards the mouth of the firth. My wife was known to nobody, nor did any body suspect her with us; but two fellows who lay in a bed in a room without that in which I lay at Bruntisland, knew me, and one of them run to Kirkaldy about 10 a clock, before ever we gott out of Leith roads, and told I was aboard of such a ship, with four horse-load of money with me, that the councell would give 1000 lib. to any who would apprehend me, &c. and sett all the town in an alarm, and one Bailly Boswell (who owed many obligations to our brother) animated the people so, both by expressions and example, that 25 of the desperate fellows of the place followed him to man a passage boat (an excellent sayler) to pursue us, who dreamed no danger save from storm and Dunkirkers.

"Boswell's wife, fearing we had had some with us to defend us, waded into the water and took back her husband; so one Wilson, a notorious thief, who had been fifteen years a buccaneer, (if you have yet heard of that infamous sort of men) headed the rabble, and with saills and oars (for now it was almost quite calm) they followed us till near night that they overtook us. Dr Nicholson (who only accompanied us) began to dread that the boat meant us no good as soon as ever he saw him, but I did not. However, when she came near, the master hid my wife and me. They came aboard like so many furs, and asked for me, and had it not been for the falsehood of one of our men, they had gone off again. But one of our own people betrayed me, and so they broke open the place where we were hid with hatchets; my wife would have fain gott out first to have exposed herself to their fury, but I pulled her back, and then they pulled me out, threw off my hat and periwig, and clapt their bayonets to my breast, for a great while keeping me in the expectation of being murdered. I cryed to them (for they were all very clamorous at once) to save my life, which at last they said they would do. But they pulled us up out of the cabine, and so soon as my wife could gett on her cloaths (for she was in men's disguise) they forced us into the boat. By this time it was night, and we within three miles of the Bass, so that to have sailed two hours sooner had preserved us. They begun to smoak tobacco, and speak filthy language beside my wife so soon as ever we were into the boat, and used us with all the barbarity Turks could have done, keeping my wife five hours without shoes, or any thing on her head: And having rode twenty-four miles the day before, being with child, you may judge if the condition she is now in be not bad enough. They had not sailed and rowed many hours from the ship (into which they had left eleven of their men to bring her back) when they heard a musket shot from her, and took it for a sign to go back. We must go and see how all went with their comrades; and back we did goe, and found they had gained our skipper to play the rogue with us, for he had pretended they had stolen the stock purse of the ship, with 100£ sterling in it, and there we must all be searched. One fellow moved that if I had any gold or money I would give it them to keep it for me, seeing that at Kirkaldy the rabble would robb me undoubtedly. I told them that if they came with a warrant to take, I was to yield to the terms of it, if not, and that they would use violence, I must submit, but I saw no colour they had to ask my money; however, finding they would search, and haveing what I had no mind to lose, I resolved to give them six score guineas I had in a bass provideing they would be answerable to me for it; and I myself choosed one to give it to. All night we were, whiles in the boat, whiles in the ship; and about nine a clock on Friday they put us ashore at the peer of Kirkaldy, exposed to the mockery and hatred of the people. The baillys came and mett me, and denied that any of them, or of the substantiall people in town, had authorized, or did approve of the matter. Then I pleaded to be sett aboard of our ship, that I might be gone, but they (haveing really edged on the people to take me) pretended they durst not do that without a warrand from the councell, and in a solemn procession they carried me to an inn, accompanied with the whole rabble of that place, the better sort being in the windows. At the inn they would not lett me send away some letters I had write before in the ship, untill the rabble had them read to them: And the baillies (Lundin and Crawford, who held their places of me) told me that only Bailly Boswell had interest with the people, and so all application must be made to him. We had not been half an hour in the inn when the baillies called for my gold, which the buccaneer produced: haveing first taken the half of it; next the gold must be deposited in the hands of Bailly Boswell (the tribune of the people) to be theirs if the counsel so ordered it, and in the next place, 100£ sterling, which I had in money aboard, was to be put in that bailly's hand likewise; or else I was to be cut in collops (for so the rabble swore when they drew their swords about

quis and Viscount of Tarbat, were very ready to comply; since, they were to have their share; but the Earl of Tweddale (who with these two were all that were in town of the treasury) was not then in a condition to go up himself, and absolutely refused; so, for want of a *quorum*, the whole project was broke, and they were forced to go on their own charges; after the Viscount of Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie, and the president of the session were gone, the Marquis of Annandale took upon him absolutely the government while they stayed.

There was at least some decency kept, but they were no sooner gone, but the marquis, like another Mazenello, ordered all at his pleasure, turned out several from their employments about the treasury, customs, and other places, and put in creatures of his own, and when he had ordered all as he thought fit, he followed the rest of the council, and left the Earl of Strathmore, and some others of the council of his own party, to manage in his absence.

Never was such a confluence seen on the road of all sorts, degrees, and persuasions as at that time going up; for no sooner was it known that your majesty was gone, and the Prince of Orange come to London, but all that could scrape so much money together went up, the presbyterians and discontented noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers, to receive the fruit of their labours and great promises; the episcopal party, to

the house to that end.) This being done likewise, their next desire was, that I should be immediately carried to their tolbooth, for the inn was too good for me, which was immediately done, and there we called to gett a little meat, for we had watched and fasted long. Before the meat was gott ready, they sent over two of their number to Edinburgh to gett the councell to approve of what was done, and they were not gone an hour when the people began to fancy that some people might rescue me, and burn their town, and all the town gott into a tumult to have me immediately sent to Edinburgh; (though the tide did not serve, and though they knew that at Edinburgh I had been torn to pieces, for there they believed that Johnny Wallace was commanded by me to fire upon the people, and to shoot poisoned shott) with much difficulty this was diverted, and on Saturday we gott an account of the counsell approving of my being apprehended, and that the Earl of Mar had gott orders to carry me prisoner hither. On Saturday night Earl Mar came, and intended to have carryed me away on Sunday; but (upon what design God only knows) one made a story about ten a cloak on Sunday as if Pitkellony had gott together 500 men, and came down to Kirkaldy, spareing neither sex nor age, burning and slaying: So the whole people left houses and churches, the streets were filled with crys and clamour, women wringing their hands, and men cursing the day that their town ever meddled with me. But at last it turned to fury, and they began to call for cords to dragg me down the tolbooth stairs by the neck; and thus matters continued untill they sent people six or seven miles off to try the verity of the cause of their fear. The hole we lay into was cold, strait, and ill aired; the bed so bad we could not lye on it, and a continual clamour about the prison: yet here we stayed Munday all night too, and (the wind comeing easterly,) we were put aboard our boats, with above 100 men for our guard, (my takers being always next to me lest I should escape.) About ten a cloak on Christmas day, and in five or six hours time, we gott to Alloa, where a guard from Sterline met us. In all the matter E. Mar was most kind to me, but at Kirkaldy the rabble mastered him, so that he durst not speak. You may possibly wonder how the councill would homologate the rabble's deed in taking of me, and how I, haveing the king's commission, should be made the counsell's prisoner, which is no councell if I be not at their head. But this will clear itself in tyme, and all these mysterious things come plainly to the view of the world. Here I have a centinell at my door at night, and, with an officer, I am allowed to go about the house. My room has no prospect from it save that narrow court called the Lyon's Den, and the place is most inconvenient to live into. But, after all, my dearest sister, let me tell you, that (except while the daggers were at my breast that I was somewhat confused) I have not one less contented thought than I had while Scotland was at my beck, nay I am exceedingly more satisfied, for now I am under the great Phisitians hand, and I can say with joy to him, Burn, cutt, administer bitter things, provided all my sufferings be here. Yes, Lord, lett me dye in the agony of sufferings, amidst tortures and disgrace, provided it can either advance thy honour, the interest of thy holy church, or the salvation of my own soul, or that of any other. I confess many of my friends, of whom I had far other thoughts, have left me. My own tenants have presumed, with Comrie at their head, to enter my house, and domineer there over my children and servants. My enemies, who are such without any cause, insult over me, the rabble curse and would tear me to pieces. The grief of a few friends melts my heart, the prospect of approaching death cannot but be uneasy to flesh and blood. But in all this I have a clear conscience, an innocence unspotted in all my administration, an excellent religion, a good cause, and an infinitely mercifull God; so that on him I do relye, and will do so as long as I live, that I may be his to all eternity.

"It is very like that the liberty of writing to any body may be very soon taken from me, so I beseech you to send this letter either to my son or our brother, but do it by a sure occasion, and keep a copy of it; what else I have to say I will put in another letter. I earnestly pray God to bring you to the light of his truth, and make your lord, you and your children, every way happy. Adieu."

endeavour to save themselves from the ruin they saw inevitably coming upon them by their enemies getting the absolute disposal of the government both in church and state; but their number was nothing to be compared to the others, after they had met with their friends from Holland. Every night after they were once gathered together, they kept their meetings in St James's-street at the Ship tavern, then they consulted what was next to be done, both to get the government in their hands, and how to hinder all others who were not of their party.

One of the first things proposed was, who should be for ever incapacitated for all publick employment; five only were named at first, and sent with Monsieur Beaton to the Prince of Orange, at the desire of the whole meeting, and these were the Duke of Queensberry, Viscount Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie, Viscount of Dundee, and myself; but the Prince of Orange absolutely refused, being resolved to put nobody in despair, till once he knew how they intended to behave for his interest; which stop made us go on no further in that affair, though they intended (as was mentioned) next parliament, that all should be incapacitated who ever had served your majesty in any employment whatsoever. But this took so many in, and so many of themselves and friends being concerned, it was likewise hindered, not only by the Prince of Orange, who desired not to be confined to them, but by most of the leading men among them, who accepted the chief employments, and particularly the Duke of Hamilton, whom I cannot pass by, without giving your majesty some account of his behaviour, not only in this affair, but a little before; and especially what I was most concerned in myself.

The day after your majesty's first going from London, I came there, and hearing the unhappy news, I thought it was reasonable to desire the advice of all other counsellors who were there, what I should write to the council, who had sent me up to receive your commands, and let your majesty know the condition of the kingdom, and give you new assurances of loyalty and fidelity, in terms very different from what was alleged by some.

Before your majesty went away, as if the council of Scotland had been sending some of their number to join with these that had petitioned you for the calling of a parliament, after I had got together all the counsellors, which were the Earl of Airly, Lord Livingstone, Viscount of Dundee,^{*} Lieutenant-General Douglas, we went to the Duke of Hamilton's lodging, where I told them on what account I was sent, and now that your majesty was gone, desired their advice what I should write home; for all that time we knew nothing of what troubles had happened, and gave the duke a letter from the council, wherein they desired he might assist me in receiving your majesty's commands, and letting you know the condition they were in. So soon as he read his own, he desired to see the letter I had brought to your majesty, otherwise he would not meddle in our affairs; to satisfy him I gave him a double of it, and though he pressed with all the passion his natural fire and insolent temper could permit, that I might give him the principal, I absolutely refused to do it at all; and I had no reason, since he was not to deliver it, and that your majesty was gone: This put him into such a fury, that he no more could conceal his design of desiring the letter, and told, that if he had the principal letter, he should give it to the lords met at Whitehall, to shew them what a letter I had brought up, subscribed by a chancellor and several other counsellors still sitting there contrary to law; that he would meddle in nothing wherein they were concerned, and that he was free himself, having never acted since the last indemnity, but that he would consult with the English lords what was proper next to be done; and so in a rage left us in his own house. But three days after, when he heard of your majesty's coming back from Feversham, and that things were like not to go on as he

^{*} The celebrated James Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee.

expected, he sent for the Viscount of Dundee, and made great excuses for his passion, and desired him to go to us all and offer his friendship, and in his own lodging prays and entreats us, that we might make no more of it. After your majesty's coming back, no man for the short time you staid, appeared more concerned for your service; but your majesty had no sooner come to Whitehall, than he had his coach ready, and went straight to the session-house to the Prince of Orange, and offered him his service, and was received more kindly than any other, not of affection, but that he saw him the fittest tool to manage the different interests of that nation; for with the discontented noblemen and gentlemen, none appeared more dissatisfied with all that had been done in the former reign, though none had a greater hand in all that was done.

With the presbyterians he always pretended he had been in their interest, and what he did that looked like compliance in the former government against them, was only to keep them from greater misfortunes. With the episcopal party, at least with such as trusted him, who were very few, he begged they might suspend their judgment of him until a convention, and then it should be seen who were most for the interest of the king and the nation.

With these pretexts, which is no hard task for men that will abandon for their interest all truth, honour, and religion, he cajoled a vast number of all persuasions, and made himself thought absolutely necessary; which was the only thing he aimed at, both in your brother's reign, and your own; and, to carry on this the better among different parties, in appearance, he meddled with none of their meetings, for that would declare him too much a party, until he got all things ready for their great meeting held at Whitehall, whereof he was chosen president; he proposed the great disorders at home, that all the nation was cast loose without any shadow or order of government.

Therefore it was absolutely necessary, that the government should be lodged somewhere, until a convention of estates were called; the great disorders that had fallen out, and the licentious liberty the mob had taken, made many comply to that proposition, though extremely against their inclinations; and what made it pass the easier was the time of this government, being prefixed to so short a day as the 16th of March, 1689; besides, it could hardly be avoided without being imprisoned, all the road being stopped, and passage absolutely denied, and so would have rendered them incapable of appearing for your interest. In the convention met then, the Earl of Argyll did read over a short paper, wherein he told them he believed there could be no other means to restore peace and happiness in Britain, but to send to your majesty, and desire you would return.

There were a great many there, who would willingly join in such a proposition, but his lordship brought it in without letting any of your friends know it; besides, at that time the Earl of Erroll was extremely suspected both for his going into the Prince of Orange on the first noise of your majesty's going away, and the great interest his father had with the Prince of Orange, and all the fanatick discontented party. The most sensible and best of your friends judged likewise, that though this proposal seemed just and bold, yet it was then ill timed, considering if any had joined with him, the Prince of Orange would immediately have sent down troops to Scotland, which would inevitably hinder all appearance for your interest in the convention, which was believed to be the only place proper to appear in, and that at that time, no wise man ought to do more, but to get out of the claws of their enemies. In this meeting there was nothing else done, but an offer of signing the association; which all refused, who intended to act for your interest; after that was over, both parties made what haste they could to get home, but still the Prince of Orange denied passage until he was declared king, which was thought he did, that all the Scots there might kiss his hand, which would be a kind of acknowledgment; but, notwithstanding that, Duke Hamilton and all