



Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

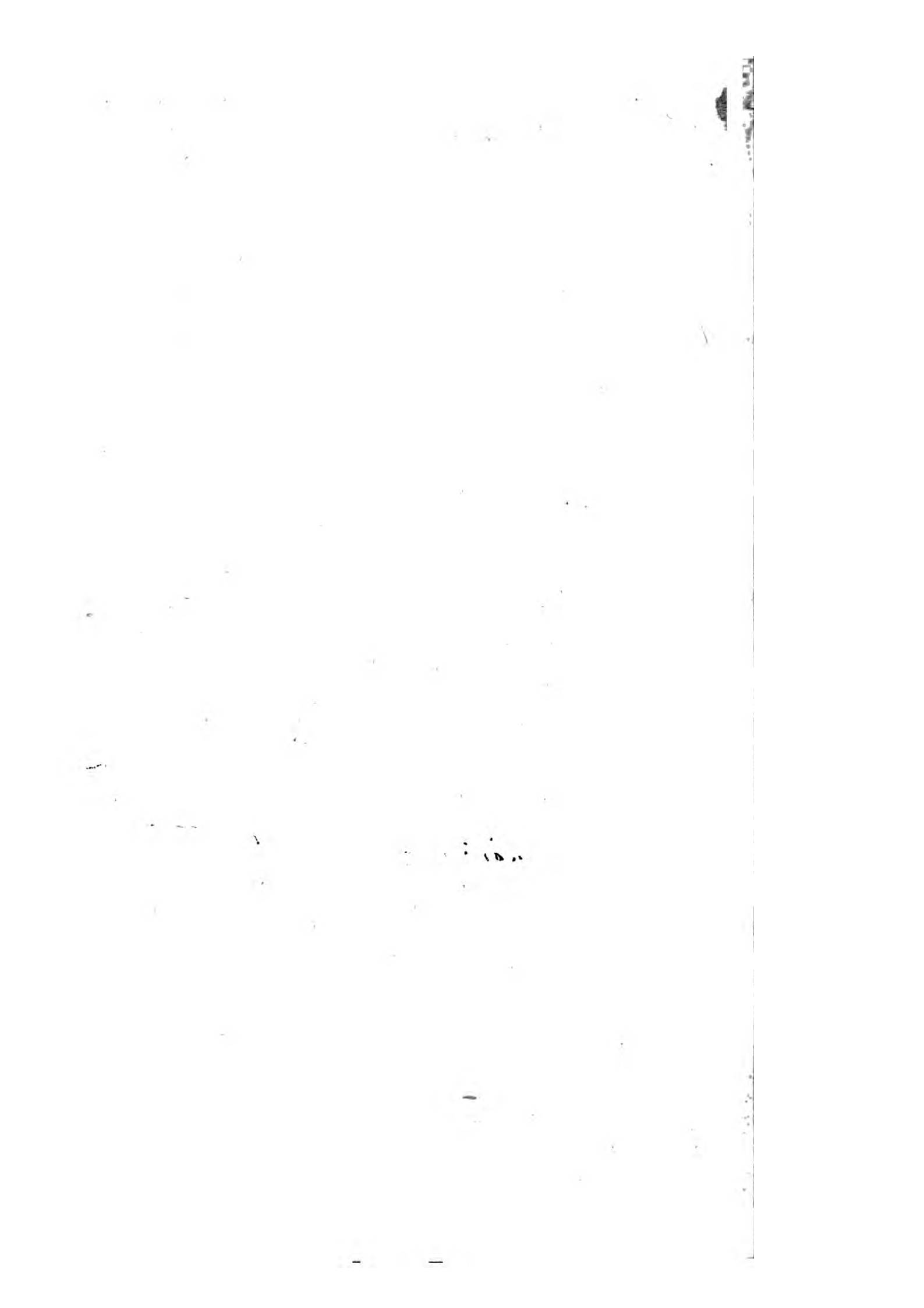
This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.



One thousand

George Washington



David THE God hujus libr

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION.

By ROBERT FERGUSON.



London. 1727.

George Washington

One thousand seven hundred
and seven, th two Year of George

George Washington



T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE Defence of Religion, when real, was always managed with a Candour and Meekness becoming the Character of a Christian, naked Simplicity still conquering bullying mistaken Zeal, and Truth triumphing over fraudulent Artifice. But when the Defence is pretended, it ever serves as a Cloke for Sacrilege and Treason, and ushers in the sad Train of Circumstances which seldom fail to attend it. The Preservation of the Church of England was our only Care, and the Intrusion of Popery our daily Fear. These Apprehensions were so industriously improved by the Romish Factors, that they carried on their Designs of introducing Popery by railing at it, and the more they talked against it, the more it gained Ground.

*The Church of England, as she stood purged from the Errors of the Church of Rome, soon became a formidable Opponent to it; nor was she more fondly nursed and cherished by her Friends at home, than furiously attacked, or clandestinely undermined, by her Enemies here and abroad. And when all open Attempts proved unsuccessful, they changed Shapes, and in puritanical Dress insinuated themselves into the giddy Multitude, whom they so possessed with Enthusiasm, that they fastened the Odium of introducing Popery on the most zealous Protestant King then living. By these Means they soon grew numerous and strong, and finding no Likelyhood of Abatement in the Courage of Archbishop Laud, (who, with a true primitive Spirit, laboured the Promotion and Welfare of the Church) they were resolved to remove the King and him, who were the greatest Impediments, out of their Way. These Scenes of Horror were the Projects of that grand Theolog-
Politico and Arch-Machiavellian Cardinal Richlieu, who, by the Assistance of the Jesuits, blew up inconsiderable Trifles and Misunderstandings in Scotland into an open War, fomented the horrid Rebellion in Ireland, and ratified an unnatural War in England, bewitching the People with this Jesuitical Sophistry, That they might fight against the natural Person of their Prince, to defend his political; till at last, by the Help of these juggling Distinctions, they actually divided his Soul from his Body. The Cardinal died in 1642. and, at his Death, he left Instructions to Cardinal Mazarine, who succeeded
him*

him in his Ministry, to pursue the said Method of keeping the Government of Great-Britain divided. How successfully these Plots have been carried on, these Nations by sad Experience have felt. And thus the Priests and Jesuits have made our Sectaries their Tools, possessing them with such wild Notions of Libertinism, that nothing could restrain them. These Transactions of their's are sufficient to convince any reasonable Man, that all the publick Disturbances, Seditions and Rebellions, have been occasioned by them; and that all the Alterations in our Church and Government were wholly wrought by their Practices with our Sectaries. It would be too tedious to recount all their Treacheries here; I shall save myself the Trouble, by referring the Reader to the Author of *Oxes and Firebrands*, (who hath set them in a true Light) and to the ingenious and learned Author of the *Axe laid to the Root of the Tree*. printed for G. Sawbridge in Little-Britain. In both of which he will find the 'unwearied Diligence of the Church and Court of Rome, to subvert and destroy our Church,

My Design, in the following Sheets, is only to shew, how, upon the same Foot, they have since carried on the same Design, making Use of the same Methods to compass the same End; only with this Difference, that whereas they promoted a Rebellion in 1640. against a zealous Protestant Prince in the Person of K. Charles I. who was a strict Enemy to Popery, and utterly unlike to serve their Purposes, here they undertook the deposing a Prince of their own Church, because he would not support the Supremacy of the Pope, which all Catholick Princes, but himself and the King of France, owned. And thus far I think I may, without Offence, urge the Parallel between the Practice of the Jesuits and Priests in 1640. and of those in 1688. and upwards, that, as they in 1640. had Indulgences and Licences (as Sir W. Boswel tells Archbishop Laud, and Bishop Bramhall Archbishop Usher) to bring about the Ruin of King Charles I. so they in 88. had the same; and farther, procured Resolutions, from Rome and other Places, to authorize the Catholicks in England, to transfer their Allegiance from King James to King William. By which many well-meaning Catholicks were drawn in to relinquish their Prince to support the Pope's Supremacy.

How far I may be exposed to Censure for this Undertaking, by some, I easily apprehend. I shall only say this in my own Defence, and leave the rest to the candid Reader to interpret, That, as I have had the Honour to be baptized into the Church of England, and, by the gracious Goodness of God, have continued a constant (tho' unworthy) Member of the same, I thought it my Duty to offer the best of my Endeavours to discover her Enemy, and warn her of approaching Danger.

T H E

HISTORY of the REVOLUTION.

FEW People at first knew the Reason of those black Reports of the *pretended Irish Massacre, consecrated Gridirons, Protestant Bridles, &c.* but now we have too fatally experienced the Effects they have had upon the Nation: And our fond Credulity, in believing every flying Report, hath proved the Source of all our Misfortunes. This unhappy Temper of the Nation answered the Politician's End, which as greedily swallowed all the Calumny, and imbibed the Prejudice, as the Managers could desire. But what Stratagems and Devices, what Ways and Means will not disaffected Persons find out, to blacken a Government they have a Mind to overthrow?

The Apprehensions we were under for the Sake of the Church of *England* in King *James's* Reign, were more industriously improved by the Enemies of her, than from any just Ground of Fear in her Friends. How glorious, how loved and admired were our Divines! And how unlikely were the secret and open Attempts of *Rome* to prevail against us, when, in the first Year of his Reign, they made the *Romish* Doctors ashamed of the Liberty they had obtained of the Press? And themselves could not deny that they were exceedingly worsted in the Management of their Cause, which they attributed to the great Learning and Sagacity of their Adversaries. They stood firm as Rocks, and the more he struggled, the more he inflamed their Hatred to *Popery*. The more he endeavoured to divide them by indulging the *Fanatics*, the more they united among themselves, and, in a great Measure, with the *Protestant Dissenters*, and they with them, in *Odium* to *Popery*. His Management would certainly (if we had suffered him) for ever have ruined it in *England*: He was suspected; the Nation were upon their Guard against any Attempts, or even looks that Way. *Rome* saw that he would never do their Business; and his plain Dealing, as to their Religion, was quite against their Politicks and Maxims, and much blamed by the Conclave. They knew that *England* would bear any Thing, even *Popery* itself, by Way of Opposition to *Papery*: That the *English* are carried away with violent Passions, and

A follow

follow the Cry that is set up, without considering, till they are out of Breath; that they believe every Thing they hear, and nothing they see: On the other Hand, fondly embracing every the most ridiculous, and even impossible Report that was spread against King *James*. Thus all *England* was most foolishly alarmed, to apprehend a general Massacre of the Nation from Three thousand five hundred disbanded *Irish*; and yet, at the same Time, had no Apprehension from double the Number of foreign *Papists*, who came over in the Prince of *Orange's* Army. Thus King *James's* Attempt to take off the *penal Laws*, upon account of Religion, set all the Nation in a Flame, because they saw that *Popery* was included in it: But King *William's* actually doing it, and not only tacitely including, but expressly naming the *Roman Catholics*, (as in the Articles of *Limrick*) gave no Offence at all. Thus four Bishopricks being vacant in *Ireland*, and the Archbishoprick of *York* some Time in *England*, in King *James's* Reign, did alarm the Nation of a Design to undermine *Episcopacy*, by letting the Bishops die away, and making no new Ones; insomuch that the *English* Bishops did petition the King to fill the vacant See of *York*. But I never could hear that one Bishop in *England* ever made any Address, or the People any Noise, when *Episcopacy* was wholly rooted out in *Scotland*, and so many Bishops and Clergy deprived by a mere Lay-Authority in *England* and *Ireland*; and which may pretend an equal Power to deprive all, as they have done in *Scotland*, and set up what they think fit in the Room of the old *Episcopacy*.

These, and many other Things, do sufficiently evince, that King *William* was able to do infinitely more for *Popery* in *England*, (and has done it, as will more plainly hereafter appear) than they would on any Terms have endured from King *James*; and therefore shews us the great Policy of the *Roman* Conclave in sending the Prince of *Orange*, and our own fatal Stupidity, who would by no Means hear of the Possibility of his being reconciled to, or anyways acting for the Interest of the Church of *Rome*. How foolishly was this Nation made to believe, that King *Charles I.* and Archbishop *Laud* (notwithstanding the dying Professions of both upon the Scaffold) were *Papists*? And how many, given up to Delusion, do still continue to believe so? Which Delusion has in these Times been very much strengthened, especially by such Authors as the infamously famous *Julian Johnson*, in his Notes upon Dr. *Burnet's Phoenix Pastoral*, Page 103. 104. who lays the Blame of the Rebellion in 1641. upon the Bigotry of King *Charles I.* to convert the Kingdom; and that sending the *Common Prayer-Book* into *Scotland*, (which he ignorantly

antly and maliciously says was taken out of the *Mass-Book*, which he calls the Original of it) *was with a Design to have a new Edition of it, (that is, as he means, nearer to the Mass) the next Year, and then the like in England; which we all know, says he, would have ended in Latin, (that is, plain Mass) and all this he calls a Laudean Religion.*

It is too notoriously plain, how the Church of *Scotland* laboured under the Want of a Liturgy, not only at that Time, but since; and many devout and learned Prelates of that Nation have, not without Reason, charged the Misfortunes which have since befallen their Church, upon a Want of Regularity in their Devotion. And undoubtedly a Liturgy would have prevented many abusive and profane Mockeries, which have been ignorantly, as well as imprudently interspersed with their *extempore* Devotions.

But to return, the great Motive, upon which the Rebel-Parliament in 41. persuaded the People King *Charles I.* was a *Papist* in Masquerade, was from a vain and false Suggestion of their own, *That he had solicited Aid from some Roman Catholick Princes abroad;* and, having gained the People once to believe this, they, without Difficulty, draw this undoubted Conclusion from thence, *That he must needs be a Papist, because it could not be supposed they, upon other Terms, would be confederate with him.* This was a false Suggestion; however, it answered their Turn, and the People believed it. And yet the Blindness of the Nation, since, has continued to that Degree in an opposite Case; for tho' King *William* was confederate with the *Pope* himself, and the most bigotted Kings, Princes and Bishops of the Age, yet none did or would suspect him.

It is ridiculous to think that *Innocent XI.* the original Projector of the Confederacy, the Elector *Palatine*, and Prince of *Orange*, chief Managers, the Emperor, King of *Spain*, Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, Abettors and Assistants, should embark themselves in a War against *France* for the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion*; When, at the same Time, the only two *Protestant* crowned Heads in *Europe*, (those of *Sueden* and *Denmark*) did neither antecedently concur, nor to this Day have engaged in the War against *France*. Besides, it is worthy of Remark, that the last Duke of *Brandenburg*, one of the bravest and wisest Princes in *Europe*, and one of the sincerest and most zealous for the Protection, Glory and Advancement of the reformed Religion, would neither embark in any Design against *England*, nor suffer the Prince of *Orange* actually to enter upon it, so long as he lived; which made his Death to be received

at the *Hague* as a happy and seasonable Providence, because his Son, who succeeded him, was looked upon as a Prince not so likely to avoid being insnared, as his Father had done; being withal under the Influence of those mighty Expectations he stood intitled to, as he was the Prince of *Orange's* Cousin-german, and thereupon rightful Heir to all his personal and hereditary Estates.——This preserving of the *Protestant Religion*, is, I think, the most impudent Banter that ever was imposed upon the Understanding of a whole Nation!——Nor would it be improper or unseasonable to ask, That, if these Powers did unite and assist in the dethroning King *James*, out of mere Zeal for preserving the *Protestant Religion*, why did they not interpose with their Confederate the *Emperor*, for some Lenity and Favour to his *Protestant Subjects* in *Hungary*? It might have prevented a Revolution there at this Time, with as fatal an Aspect as ours was here. Why did they not deal with their other Ally the King of *Spain*, for abolishing the *Inquisition*, and dissuade him from making Bonfires of his Subjects, whenever any of them turned *Protestants*? Why did they not interceed with the Duke of *Savoy*, to shew Compassion to his persecuted Subjects the *Vaudois*?

But, to make it still more improbable that King *James* intended to destroy the *Protestant Religion*, and the Prince of *Orange* to preserve it, I have this to urge, That King *James*, by gentle Persuasions, would have insinuated his Religion I believe; but that he ever intended to do it by Force, I do not believe to have been either in his Inclination or his Power. It was a frequent Expression of his, *That Conscience in Point of Religion ought to be free*. And that this was his real Opinion, he gave a most convincing Proof of it, in that surprising Act of Grace towards the *French Refugees*. By this it is plain he harboured no Design in prejudice of the reformed Doctrine and Worship. He lay under no legal Obligation of relieving those People, but rather under Discouragement. And here I cannot omit to urge one Reason of the King's own, which few Princes but would have made Use of to refuse these Refugees Protection. Upon their applying to Archbishop *Sancroft* and Bishop *Turner* for Charity, those two good Men waited on the King one Morning early, who, having heard the Cause of their Errand, and entertained them with a Frankness natural to him, accosts them thus: *I expected no less than so charitable an Undertaking from your Characters; but let me tell you an Observation of my own when our Family was exiled. Quickly after our Arrival in France, I had a Mind to see the Country, and taking some Friends, I visited several Places worthy of Notice. In*
one

one Place our Host, knowing us to be Englishmen, but ignorant of my Character, and supposing us Abettors in the Miseries of our Country, could not forbear shewing us how he envied the Happiness of the English, who, when they thought themselves oppressed by the Tyranny of their Kings, could rid their Hands of them; but they laboured without Hope under their cruel Tyrant. Now, says the King, my Lords, I do not tell you this Story to obstruct your charitable Design, but to shew you the Nature of the People. Notwithstanding this, at the Instance of these Prelates, he granted them his Letters Patent, giving largely himself to their Relief. This Story many Persons can attest It cannot be forgotten with what Readiness he admitted them into his Kingdom, what welcome and compassionate Entertainment he gave them, and how he not only invited his Subjects to relieve them, but to what Degree he extended his Royal Benevolence to them. Nor was he satisfied with the bare protecting them, and making them Sharers of his and his People's Bounty; but he entertained divers of them in his Service, and admitted some of them into his Friendship and Confidence. So that whoever will impartially consider, either the King's own Religion, in which he was sincere and zealous, or the Terms of Amity he stood in with the King of France, (which he had neither Reason nor Inclination to depart from) will not be able to avoid acknowledging, that the King could have no other Inducement for the doing it, but that he judged it an evil Thing for a Prince to persecute and drive away his Subjects, for differing in religious Matters from what was established; and that he esteemed it a Duty, which he owed to God and Mankind, to succour and entertain such as suffered for their Consciences in Things purely divine. And, notwithstanding his Knowledge and Belief, that it would be very displeasing to the French King, to see them cherished by a Prince that was his Ally and a Roman Catholick; yet, under the View and Cognizance of all this, did the merciful King treat them with the same Royal Goodness and Charity as if they had been People of the Romish Communion, driveu out of some Protestant Country for Conscience Sake, and exiled for the Religion which he himself professed. Surely none, but such as live in avowed Enmity to Truth, can either be persuaded themselves, or hope to impose upon the Faith of others, that a Prince, who had designed to root the Protestant Religion out of his Kingdoms, would do a Thing so inconsistent with and obstructive of it, as this was. The Requital this compassionate King met with, from those Vipers, was very unusual in such Cases: Natural Subjects have, without being wondered at, flown in the Faces of their lawful Kings, but Strangers and Refugees used to receive a deeper

deeper Impression by Royal Bounty and Munificence. They indeed *Hosannah'd* him at first, but many of them, in a little Time, were forwardest to cry, *Crucify him*; and, contrary to all Measures of Discretion and Gratitude, they were the warmest Inflamers of his Misfortunes, and in great Numbers took Arms to oppose him.

And farther, to make it appear that it was neither King *James's* Intent to destroy, or the Prince of *Orange's* to protect the *Protestant Religion*, I will subjoin another Reason, and Matter of Fact, by which the King gave all the Assurance to his People, that the most incredulous could desire, to convince them how remote it was from his Thoughts to injure us in the Possession of our Religion, much less to rob us of it; and that is, His refusing those Ships of War, as well as Land-Forces, which were offered him by the King of *France*. He was conscious to himself of having done or designed nothing ill to any of his Subjects, that might tempt them, with any Shew of Reason, to withdraw their Allegiance from him, and therefore no Alarms of Conspiracies against him, nor the undoubted Certainty of an armed Force, ready to embark and make a Descent into his Dominions, could prevail with him to accept those Succours which a neighbouring Monarch offered him. The late King of *Sueden* offered the same Thing, assuring his Majesty of the designed Invasion, and of his Readiness to assist him: Yet so unwilling was this unfortunate Prince to give the least Umbrage to his People, of invading their Rights, by calling in a foreign Power, either *Protestant* or *Papist*, that, by declining both, it is plain he threw himself upon his Subjects, whose repeated Assurances of Loyalty he thought he had Reason to depend on, and who, if they had stood by him, could have protected him against any Invader. Besides, he could not be insensible that the vast Obligations he had heaped on most of his Subjects, especially Favourites, demanded the utmost Efforts of Zeal to join in his Aid, and to undergo any Hazard for the Security of his Person and Dignity; some being raised from very mean Circumstances by his generous Bounty, of which there remain some notorious Instances to this Day. But, to his Glory, and the indelible Infamy of his Enemies, he chose rather to be forsaken and betrayed by his own People, than to distrust them, well knowing he had always lived in an Abhorrence of giving them Cause to be false to him. And indeed, upon whatsoever Motive his Misfortune and Distress were occasioned, they must be resolved into his own Uprightness and Integrity as the contributing Means; and that, being an honest Man himself, he drew other Men's Pictures by his own Original: Whereas he had continued safe and happy,
if

if he had drawn those of a great many People by the Reverse of his own. The Earl of *Sunderland* did, in a Letter to his Friend at *London*, Printed *March 1689*. endeavour to rob the King of that Honour due to him for having refused the *French Assistance*, and challengeth it to himself, by telling, *That he opposed to Death the accepting them, and that he was the principal Means of hindering the receiving both Ships and Men.* But all this was then published to excuse, or rather put a Merit upon his own Treachery to the King, and to reconcile himself to the Mercy and Favour of the Nation, to whose Anger he stood highly obnoxious at that Time; for no Man can imagine, that either the Earl, or those other Lords, by whom, as he tell us, *he was helped to prevent the King's accepting the French Ships and Troops,* would have been able to have prevailed with the King to refuse so reasonable Assistance, if he had thought his People disgusted at his Administration, or his Favourites and Relations departed from their Loyalty themselves, and debauching the rest of his Subjects in their Duty. Therefore nothing but a Clearness of Mind, as to his own Innocence, could influence him to reject the Offer of the King of *France* at that Time. But tho' this was the only Motive upon which King *James* could do it, yet we sufficiently know, upon what Inducements, and to what End that Earl advised to it, as shall be taken Notice of in its Place, nor was he sly in concealing of it, or unrewarded for it after; for he told General *Ginkle* once at his Table, *That tho' his was the Honour to have subdued the King's Forces in Ireland, and to have wrested that Kingdom from him, yet the Glory belonged to himself, of having contrived the Provocations of the Revolution, and having laid the Foundations of deposing his Majesty from his Throne.*

That it was not in King *James's* Power to introduce *Popery*, most Men living, I believe, will allow, that general Revolt of the Nation, upon the Prince of *Orange's* landing, sufficiently shewing the Impracticableness of it; besides, it was very improbable to introduce *Popery* by the Help of a *Protestant Army*; nor can any Man in his Senses imagine a Prince of that Religion would make Use of such Means.

Hitherto we may be satisfied how little Danger we were in of *Popery*; and that, if our Fears and Jealousies had not drowned our Reason, we had not, by avoiding, fallen into the Snare laid for us. Had we dealt with the Church of *Rome* as our Forefathers did, when our Kings were *Catholicks* too, we had checked her Bishops Exorbitancy, without any Incroachments upon the Regal Dignity. Thus, when the Controversy between King *Henry II.* and Archbishop *Becket* was but young, (which began

began in 1163.) the King and States assembled in 1164, at Clarendon in Wilts, where, among other Matters, it was decreed, *That all the Clergy should bona fide swear Allegiance unto the King, and should appeal but unto the Archbishop, or from him finally to the King, without particular Licence.* It was a generous Expression of Loyalty which the Earls and Peers (to whom King Edward I. referred the Case between him and the Pope) returned, who, being an hundred in Number, subscribed their Names to the Resolution, *That their King was not answerable in Judgment, to any Tribunal under Heaven, for any Rights of the Crown of England; and that he should not make the said Truth doubtful, by sending any Deputies or Attornies to such an End, because it manifestly tended to the Disinheritson of the Crown, which, with the Help of God, they would resolutely maintain with all their Power against all Men.* Dated at Lincoln 1301. Pope Boniface VIII. perceiving these high Resolutions, and reasonably imagining, that, if these were the Resentments of the Subjects, those of the King would exceed them, let the Matter drop; besides, at that Time, he had the very same Contest with Philip the Fair of France, who indeed treated his Holiness very coarsly.

Of all the Nations which had submitted to the Usurpation of Rome, England and France retained so much of the primitive true Christian Rights of every National Church, as gave great Disquiet to the Universality of the Papal Supremacy, and was the Foundation upon which the English Reformation was built. The Rights claimed by those Churches are briefly summed up under these two Heads.

I. *To retain the ancient Canonical Discipline.*

II. *The Power to examine whether new Laws that should be made were expedient, and to reject those which they found to be otherways.*

These are the lawful Privileges of every National Church; and these France, as well as England, have asserted. These are what they call the Liberties of the Gallican Church.

There are many Instances in England, before the Reformation, in our very Acts of Parliament, giving Check, upon this very Foundation, to the Exuberance of the Pope's Supremacy, making it *Præmunire* to sue Causes in the Pope's Courts at Rome, without Licence from the King; and prohibiting his Legates and Nuncio's to enter England without Leave first obtained, asserting the Crown of England to be an Imperial Crown, and subject to none upon Earth; (as is mentioned in Henry II. and Edward I.) by which the Pope was particularly meant, who sometimes took upon

upon him to dispose of it, by his Right to all the Kingdoms upon Earth. Nor has the Opposition been less in *France*, against the usurped Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, and the Defence of the *Gallican* Church, which the Popes have invaded as often as they could find Occasion.

There was a Sanction made in Defence of those Liberties, in the Reign of *St. Lewis*, who lived about the Year 82. and was called, *The Restorer of the Liberties of the Gallican Church*. There was another Sanction made to the same Purpose in the Reign of *Charles VII.* and confirmed by him in the Year 1438. which reduced the Pope under the Rules of the Council of *Basil*, and which Council deposed Pope *Eugene*. The Popes were not idle in Defence of their Supremacy, but wrought with their whole Power against this Sanction, till they had got it abrogated by King *Lewis XI.* and after that by *Francis I.* in a *Concordat* betwixt him and Pope *Leo X.* but this *Concordat* was declared of no Effect by the Parliament, at the Instance of the Clergy, anno 1636.

The Kings of *France*, to break off this Thread of Supremacy and Infallibility from the Church of *Rome*, procured the Papacy to be removed from *Rome* to *Avignon* in *France*, and kept it there 70 Years. *Clement V.* being made Pope by the Interest of *Philip King of France*, (upon that Condition) did translate the Papal Chair to *Avignon* in the Year 1305. where it remained till Pope *Gregory XI.* restored it back to *Rome* again, anno 1375. This begat strange Confusions in the Church of *Rome*. Popes were set up at *Rome* in Opposition to those at *Avignon*. These declared each other to be Anti-Popes, and Disputes were raised and managed with the greatest Heat concerning the Validity of Elections, insomuch that there were sometimes two, sometimes three Popes at the same Time, as there was when the Council of *Constance* was called to find some Remedy for this dreadful Schism. This Council did absolutely subject the Pope to the Council, even to be excommunicated and deposed by them; which they actually did to three Popes, and chusing a new one to shew their Power, *Sess. 4.* and *5.* And the Church of *France* has all along adhered firmly to that Council against the Pope, and have been supported in it by the present King of *France*, with a Zeal and Courage beyond any of his Ancestors; and the Popes have repented it accordingly. These Embers, having been often raked into, kindled into a strange Flame in the Year 1673. but I shall make my Computation only from the threatening Letter of Pope *Innocent XI.* to the *French King*, dated 8th of *August* 1680. which was printed in the original *Latin*, with a Translation in-

to *English* in another Column, for *Henry Broom* at the *Gun*, at the *West End* of *St. Paul's*, 1681. and called, *The grand Controversy between Pope Innocent XI. and the most Christian King Lewis XIV. about the Regalia.* There the Pope instances an Edict of that King's seven Years before, *highly incroaching*, as he said, upon *the Rights of the Papacy.*

This civil War was carried on with the greatest Animosity on both Sides, till it seemed to come to a Conclusion in the Year 1692. when, in a full Assembly of the *Gallican Bishops* and Clergy, four famous Propositions were determined by the Authority of that Council, *declaring expressly against the Pope's Infallibility, making him subject to a general Council, according to Sess. 4 and 5. of the Council of Constance, to which they subjected his Supremacy, as the Sanction above mentioned 1438. had done to the Council of Basil, and re-asserted the Liberties of the Gallican Church.* Then were the Eyes of all *Europe* intent upon a speedy and thorough Reformation in *France*, as had been before in *England*, this being a greater Length than *Henry VIII.* went, who lived and died a *Roman Catholick* in every Thing, except only that of the *Pope's Supremacy.* He left Money in his Will for praying his Soul out of *Purgatory*; and, at the same Time, he put some to Death for not acknowledging the *King's Supremacy*, he burnt others for denying *Transubstantiation.*

The Pope then seeing the Ax thus fairly laid at the Root of his *Supremacy, Infallibility, &c.* resolved to hazard his *All* to defend it, for indeed his *All* depended upon it. And therefore he obstinately refused to preconise any Bishop, whom the *French King* after that Time promoted in *France*, unless they would positively and expressly renounce the foresaid four Propositions; which they refusing to do, by this Means, at this very Pope *Innocent XI's* Death, there were above fifty Bishopricks vacant in *France.* He likewise threatned, and it was expected that he would have proceeded to the Excommunication of the King himself: But the ill Success that Method had with King *Henry VIII.* and Queen *Elisabeth*, made him consider better of it. However, to advance by Degrees, he did excommunicate the Marquis *de Lavardin*, the *French King's* Ambassador at *Rome.* But this had no other Effect upon the King, than by a solemn Decree in his Parliament of *Paris*, dated 23d *January* 1688. to undervalue and protest against the said Excommunication, and put in his Appeal to a general Council. The said Proceedings of the Parliament of *Paris*, upon the Pope's Bull, &c. were translated into *English* by Order of his Excellency Monsieur *Barillon*, the *French King's* Ambassador to King *James*, and printed for *Richard Bently*, 1688. This was in the Nature of appealing e-

even to the *English*, as to the Equity of the Case; and shewed likewise King *James's* Approbation of it, who would not otherways have given Way to so publick and notorious a Re-proach and Contempt of the Pope's Authority.

This Thread will lead us thro' many mysterious Steps which have been made towards the Revolution in *England*, and especially in what relates to *Rome*. The received Opinion here was, *That nothing less than a Jubilee could be at Rome, for the Conversion of an English King.* What Demonstration of unusual Joy and Exultations did we expect from them upon the Account of the Arrival of the Earl of *Castlemain*, sent thither Ambassador extraordinary from King *James!* But, to our Astonishment, we found quite another Face of Affairs. King *James's* Ambassador was received very coldly, and slighted. The Pope knew King *James's* Opinion, as to the *Regalia*, to be the same with the *French King's*, and therefore looked upon him, if not the greatest Enemy he had, yet as a dreadful Second: Therefore he tries all Ways to work King *James* into his Confederacy against *France*, for the Re-establishment of his Supremacy there. To this End Count *Dada* was sent over his Nuncio to King *James*, but with this Instruction, *That, if he found the King immovable, then to promote his Deposition all he could, to bring about the Revolution, as it had been long before concerted at Rome.* This Count *Dada* himself owned in Conversation with a Lady *Abbeſs* then in *England.* His Errand was pernicious enough to King *James*, but the Character he appeared in here was of worse Consequence; for it inflamed the Jealousy of the Nation, to see an Ambassador come from *Rome.* However, tho' the Pope missed of his Aim in bringing King *James* into his Interest, yet he gained his End in his Dethroning, placing one upon his Throne who made no Scruple to advance his Interest farther, and did it more bare-facedly than any King of *England* ever did before him.

When the Pope began to suspect King *James*, he first projects how to secure *England* into the Confederacy, without which his Hopes of reducing *France* appeared but very fallible. The Prince of *Orange* was pitched upon to be the Man, if they could sufficiently secure themselves of his Integrity to them. For, 1st. he was of himself eager for a War with *France.* 2^{dly}. Ambitious and young, and therefore liable to the Temptation of a Crown. 3^{dly}. By this they would secure *Holland*, as well as *England*, into their Confederacy. 4^{thly}. And the great End of all this would infallibly create a Schism in the Church of *England*, which would prove a considerable Step toward Destruction. First divide, and then destroy. Whereas all King *James's*
Attempts

Attempts served only to unite them more firmly. These were great and desirable Ends, not only to check the Reformation in *France*, but overthrow that in *England*. They attempt this young Prince with the greatest Glory of this World, the Crown of *England*, and the Hopes (which then seemed greater than since) of conquering *France* itself, at least to lead all the confederate Armies against it; which, if it proved not Victory, would yet be Revenge. And all this upon no harder Terms, than to suffer himself to be privately reconciled to the Church of *Rome*: Only a small Matter of Form; and, if he believed them, he should get Heaven into the Bargain.

This is not only a Notion or Surmise framed by the Fancy or Malice of any dissaffected to his Person or Government. Alas! there are positive Proofs of it; and it was generally believed, not only at *Rome*, but through *Spain* and all the *Roman Catholick* Countries. Of this no Body can doubt who had been in the *Spanish Flanders*, where they laughed at any of the *English* who made the least Demur about it. At *Rome* it was so publick, that they wrote Books in Defence of it against the *French*, who only, of all the *Roman Catholicks*, deny him to be any more than a pretended Convert to the Church of *Rome*. But this, the other *Roman Catholicks* say, is only out of Malice, lest he should have the Honour of supporting the Papal Chair, which, they say, the *French* King was going to pull down; and lest the *French* themselves should think King *William* a better Catholick than their own King. Agreeable to this is what we are told in the *Amsterdam Gazette*, 22 February 1694. *Art. de Gent*. That the *French* Ambassador at *Rome* did sollicite the Excommunication of the Author of a Book, in which it was demonstrated, *That the King, who reigns at present in England, has neither done, nor attempted any Thing to the Prejudice of the Roman Catholick Religion*. This the *French* King would not have to be believed, and this at *Rome* they do believe: Otherways, no Doubt, he would have been able to have obtained the Censure of an Author, who durst thus write, even at *Rome*, under the Pope's Nose, as if King *William* were fighting for, and the *French* King against the Church of *Rome*, which all the *Roman Catholick* Confederates believe to be the Case. This we are told more plainly, in a Pamphlet printed 1691. and licensed by *J. Fraser*. (who was thereunto authorised by the Government) intituled, *The French King an Enemy to the Catholick Religion*. It is said to be translated from the *French* Copy that was printed at *Turin* in *Savoy*. It sets out, with great Bitterness, the Encroachments which

which the *French King* has made upon the *Papal Authority*, and his Design to overthrow it.

If the Testimonies of private Persons could add to the Credit of so many Nations, in a Case wherein they are so nearly concerned, there might be many produced, and the very Persons actually now alive, and *Catholicks* too, who can affirm, That it was publickly known at *Rome*, and in all *Popish Countries*; that the Prince of *Orange*, long before the Revolution, was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; several Cardinals reported it, particularly Cardinal *Howard*, and the Auditor of the *Rota*. There was at *Rome* a Gentleman of very good Sense, in the Month of *June*, in the first Year of King *James's* Reign, who there saw Father *Morgan*, the Rector of the *English College* in that City, well known to him, demand Audience of Cardinal *Howard*, and, after his Return to the Anti-Chamber, he pulled out of his Bosom a Letter from a Correspondent of his at *Liege*, wherein the Prince of *Orange* was often mentioned, and, among other Particulars, there was this Expression, *That you may no longer doubt of the Prince of Orange's being a Catholick, I do assure you, that the Hand which writes this did communicate him in the Catholick Church.* Nor was this whispered about privately, and to particular Persons, but it was the general Discourse through all *Rome* at that Time. And several Gentlemen, who after that Time travelled into *Italy*, have declared, *That the Priests did justify the Revolution from being any Usurpation in King William, and would tell them, That in England they had only exchanged one Roman Catholick King for another, King James for King William, whom they believed as much to be a Roman Catholick as the other, and more in their Interest.* The Person above mentioned likewise saw there Dr. *Burnet* in Night-Consults with Cardinal *Howard*, and other Ministers of the Court of *Rome*. What his Errand there was, is easy to guess. He was not at that Time so Purse-proud as to take so long Journeys and Voyages of Pleasure. He was sent thither, from *Holland*, to concert and reconcile. And no doubt but he had a prevailing Interest there, and that they acknowledged his great Service in the promoting their Interest, or else they had not permitted him to wear the Habit of the Clergy there. His Letter from *Rome*, (what Reason he had to wear the Habit, who was by us reputed a *Protestant*, and consequently by them a *Heretick*, I shall not undertake to prove, tho' I believe, as to those Points, there might be no great Quarrel) and indeed the great Service he did the Court of *Rome*, deserved the deepest Sense of Acknowledgment; for he conquered the greatest Difficulty in the whole
Affair,

Affair, which was, his persuading the Princess of *Orange* to consent to the intralling and dethroning her Father; for the Prince of *Orange* had no Claim in Right of himself, but that of his Wife the Princess; and therefore her Consent was absolutely necessary, and of the highest Concern. This difficult Task (and indeed I look upon it to have been the most difficult Undertaking a Man could meddle in, to persuade a Child to enslave and distress a Parent) he was pitched upon to manage three Years before the Revolution, which he to well succeeded in, that she, after the first Surprise, was overcome, and (without question Nature could not but be violently shocked in her at the first Motion) did consent, provided that the Prince of *Orange*, her Husband, might be King, as well as she Queen. He told this, or to this Purpose, in the Deanry House at *St. Paul's*, in the Presence of *Dr. White* Bishop of *Peterborough*, and *Dr. Stillingfleet* then Dean; both which have often spoke to that Effect in other Places. Let this be written upon his Monument, and embalm his Memory to Posterity. Putting all this together, I leave it to the Reader, without labouring for farther Proof, to judge of the Design of his Journey to *Rome*, at such a Juncture of Time, and of his kind Reception there, (which he is so far from concealing, that he glories in it, and values himself upon it) and put into the other Scale quite the contrary Usage to the Earl of *Castlemain*, tho' a *Roman Catholick*, and Ambassador from a Catholick King. But the Distinction was in their Errands, and not in their Persons and Characters. It was very preposterous to outward Appearance, to see a Man, who fled from the Justice of his own Country, and was a Refugee in another, to be allowed the Preference to a Man of Quality, both in his own Person and the Character he bore. There are many concurring Testimonies of the Prince of *Orange's* Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, and which in their Way will fall in; and, if any publick Disquisition had been suffered some Years since, it would have appeared no Case could be attested with a greater Cloud of Witnesses.

But, to confirm what is laid down, let us observe the whole Procedure and Management of Affairs from the first Conception of this Confederacy, and see, how their Actions agreed with the Scheme before projected; and particularly as to the Part which the Prince of *Orange* has acted in it, in relation to the Support and Advancement of the Papal Authority. And here we must first look into the Order of Affairs at home, and see how all Things were disposed to render King *James* odious,
and

and his Administration suspected by his Subjects, to hasten the Revolution. But, before this could be begun, there was an Obstacle to be removed, and that a grand One. Tho' King *Charles II.* had subdued the Faction in outward Appearance, and disarmed his Enemies of Power, for the present, of giving any Disturbance to his Government; and tho' the whole Nation enjoyed a most profound Tranquillity and Peace in the latter Part of his Reign, and King *James* ascended the Throne upon his Death with universal Joy and Satisfaction, as yet the Spirit of Faction was not totally conquered; nor was it probable that restless Fury could be quelled in two Years, which had, for so many, thrown these Kingdoms into such violent Convulsions. Tho' the very Life and Soul of it seemed to vanish and die in the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, yet there were several Gions grafted upon the old Stock, which, upon the first Sunshine-Opportunity, were likely to sprout forth and shew themselves to the World. *Holland* was then, as formerly, the Refuge and Harbour for disgusted Malecontents, and out-lawed Rebels. And here it was that *Ludlow*, that Arch-Rebel, one of King *Charles I.*'s Judges, with many others, lived secure, and out of the Reach of Justice. These were Sparks that had lien for many Years raked up in Security; but it was the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was then in Disgrace for his frequent Conspiracies, and had fled to the old receptacle for Cover, in whom the Hopes of the Faction centred. He was their only Deliverer in View; and, so long as this Idol of the Populace was in Being, it was impossible for the Pope to make Use of his Engine the Prince of *Orange*. Therefore, to remove this Impediment, there was all the under-hand Encouragement given to prepare for an Invasion of *England*. His natural Forwardness and Ambition so blinded him, that he did not see the Snare laid for him. But *Ludlow* and the rest were too wary to be so trepanned, but waited for a more probable Opportunity. The unhappy Duke puts to Sea with one poor Frigate, very meanly equipt either with Money or Ammunition, and at the same Time betrayed by the Prince of *Orange*, even to the very Place of his Landing. But he, depending upon his Interest among the Faction, resolutely lands, and assumes the Title of King. King *James*, by the Intelligence of the Prince of *Orange*, was prepared to receive him; and tho' the Duke arrived so slenderly provided, and so unfurnished for such an Expedition, he was very near disappointing the Prince of *Orange* of his hopeful Prospect. And tho' the Defeat at *Sedgemoor* seemed to remove the only Obstacle to the Prince's Design, yet had it like to have been again frustrated by the said Duke. After his Defeat, and his

his being taken and brought up to Town, he began to cast about with himself how to save his Life, which was now, more than ever, forfeited. During his Stay in *Holland*, he had discovered something of the Earl of *Sunderland*, then one of the Secretaries of State's Correspondence with the Court at the *Hague*. He importuned the King for an Interview, promising to reveal such Secrets to him as would secure the Crown to him and his Posterity. This may, with some, look like a last Effort to save his Life; but Mr. *Hook*, the Duke's Chaplain, could, and can still, if alive, satisfy the World of the Discoveries he was to make of the Prince of *Orange's* Designs. (This Mr. *Hook* did positively aver to a Gentleman of undoubted Sincerity, in the first Year of King *James's* Reign, at the *Hague*, That the P. of *Orange* was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*.) But the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was aware of this, prevented any Discovery, by hastning the Duke's Execution, very much against the King's Inclination.

This imprudent Gentleman being removed, and the Brow of Affairs smoothed up into Calmness and Serenity, all Engines are forthwith set to Work. The Earl of *Sunderland*, the better to insinuate himself into the King's Bosom, turns *Catholick*: Which being told by some, ignorant of the grand Secret, to the Prince of *Orange*, without Surprise he merrily replied, *Let him turn any Thing, rather than turn out*. However, he continued in his Post, and was esteemed by the King as the most faithful of his Subjects, and nothing of Moment past without his Inspection and Approbation. And now the popular Fury began to rouse itself, which appeared first in Fears and Jealousies, and insinuated the Notion of *Popery's* coming in throughout the whole Kingdom, which was vastly improved by several subsequent Passages. No Man can imagine, but the King was mightily pleased with the Conversion of the Earl of *Sunderland*, which his Quality and great Abilities rendred the more considerable. His Eagerness to promote the Interest of the Church of *Rome*, deluded the King into a great Opinion of his Zeal and Sincerity; and, being himself zealous in his Religion, he thought this new Convert so too, upon this Supposition allowing him the Liberty of ordering every Thing as he pleased. The *Romish Faction* having gained this Point, all Things in outward View bore a fatal Tendency to *Popery*. Father *Peter*, a furious bigot Priest, is introduced into the Privy Council, (tho', as I am well assured, much against the Inclination and Opinion of that most injured Lady the Queen, who, in Tears, and on her Knees, begged the King to refuse him, with too just Reason, foreseeing the fatal Consequences, which the King rejected as a Woman's Reason.) Who, no
sonner

sooner got into Power, but he exerts it to the Ruin of his Master; Mass-Houses are opened in many Places, and, by the Advice and Management of these *Jehu-Drivers*, the King is put upon such desperate Exigencies, as could not but in the End prove fatal to him. To add to these, the Arrival of Count *Dada*, in the Quality of *Nuncio* from the Pope, increased the Jealousy, and alarmed the Minds of most Men aresh. In short, nothing was left unattempted by this treacherous Ministry to render the King odious. They had Judges to tell him he might, according to Law, do some Things, and dispense with others; in which they misled him, on Purpose still to alienate the Affections of the People from him. Nay, so restless was their Importunity, that the most inconsiderable Trifle was sufficient to pick a Quarrel, which, when then they had once undertaken, the royal Authority must assert; as in the Case of Dr. *Sharp* Dean of *Norwich*, and the Bishop of *London*. Yet, how trifling soever these Occasions might be in themselves, they answered great Ends, and the least Spark in this Confusion made a great Blaze in the State. And, lest the People should cool in these dreadful Apprehensions of the *Invasion of their Liberty and Property*, there was Care taken to supply them with a constant Series of Stories; not a Day passing without some terrible Instance of the Effect of *Popery*, *Slavery*, and *arbitrary Power*; whether true or false was not the Case: And the more the King's Interest and the Affection of the People declined, the more violently was he pushed upon some dangerous Attempt or other. The Case of *Magdalene* College in *Oxford* was a frightful Precedent to the rest; and, lest this should not blacken him enough, they importunately press him to issue out a Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, obliging and commanding all the *Clergy* to read it. This was indeed to make them do what Father *Peter* had boastingly said, *viz. To make them eat their own Dung*; and was the most distasteful and unpalatable Act he could have imposed on them. The Archbishop, and other Bishops, in the Name of the whole *Clergy*, in a very dutiful Address, remonstrate to his Majesty the Hardship of the Thing. The King persists; and they, refusing to obey, incur a *Præmunire*, which they are to answer in *Westminster-Hall*, and in the mean Time to find Security: Which they obstinately refusing, (tho' their own Recognizance might have been taken) were sent to the Tower. Some of those Bishops, I believe, repented of this perverse Temper; for they plainly afterwards saw it created such an irreconcilable Hatred in the People to the King, that all Sorts of People spoke of him with the utmost Irreverence, not knowing that their own Words might have

been taken, without going to the Tower. This was the homest Stroke made for the King's Ruin, and, more than any Thing before, ripened the *Revolution*: But, till the grand Opportunity arrived, they were resolved not to be wanting on their Part. The having 3500 *Irish*, (who must needs be *Catholicks*, because they were *Irish*, and not 500 *Scots* and *English* *Catholicks* in the whole Army besides, was a good Handle to improve the Notion of *establishing Popery by Force of Arms*. This, among other Reports, coming to the King's Ear, in *August* 1688. at the Camp on *Hounslow-Heath* he made an unhappy Step towards his Ruin; for he ordered the Earl of *Dumbarton* to send one of the Field-Officers of every Regiment, that were *Catholicks*, and the Majors of the Regiment wherein neither Colonel nor Lieutenant-Colonel were *Catholicks*, to give him a List of all the Officers in their Regiment that were *Roman Catholicks*: Which they did. The Number proved very inconsiderable; for, in the Duke of *St. Alban's*, (which had the most) there was but one Lieutenant, one Quarter-Master, and thirteen Troopers that were *Catholicks*. This Order proved of fatal Consequence, and was a Furtherance of the Business of associating Officers, who daily and openly in the Camp aggravated it with all the Rancour and Malice imaginable, affirming, with Vollies of Oaths, it was in order to turn out all *Protestant* Officers and Soldiers in the Army, and to have none but *Catholicks* in Military Employments; and that, in order thereunto, the *Irish* Regiments were sent for hither, and the *English* would be exchanged at several Times, and be reformed in *Ireland*, and not a *Protestant* left in them. This was so far credited, that it brought over many to their Party. Lieutenant-Colonel *L——on*, who commanded the Duke of *St. Alban's* Regiment, being deeply concerned in the Association, was very diligent to aggravate the foresaid Order, with all the Bitterness he could, to most of the Officers and Soldiers of the Regiment, generally expressing it under these Heads. *That, in a short Time, the King would not leave a Protestant Officer or Soldier in the Army. That he had entred into a close League with France, to have all the Protestants Throats cut in England, and that the Prince of Orange had given a Valet de Chambre to the King of France, 30000 Pistoles to pick his Pocket of the original Instrument; which he did, who brought it to the Prince, and it was all of King James's own Writing. That the Prince of Orange had his own Taylor, who was a Papist, and his Boy, in Custody, who was hired by King James to poison the Prince of Orange's Waistcoat, which was discovered by the Boy that very Morning the Prince was to have worn it, and the Master also confessed the same. That King James,*

so soon as the Army was modelled to his Purpose, would have Mass said in every Church in England and Scotland, and he that was not a thorough Papist should be hanged, burned, &c. (Considering the Obligations this Gentleman had above many others to the King's Bounty, he ought to have been silent, for the King made him Lieutenant-Colonel, and twice discharged his Debts, under which he was very uneasy.) With these, and such like Stories, he wheedled several Officers into his Design of deserting; and farther, to effect what was designed, he introduced them into the Company of the *Treason-Club*, (as it was commonly called) at the *Rose-Tavern* in *Covent-Garden*, where they frequently met to consult with several of the Nobility and Gentlemen of the Army. And it was in that House that the Desertion of that Regiment entire was resolved on. The Duke of *G——n* likewise, on Board the Fleet, used the same Arguments and Stories to debauch and wheedle the Officers and Seamen to desert the King, and Care was taken by their Party to do the same at *Wapping* and all Seafaring Places. So that now, all Things being ready, nothing was wanting but the Prince of *Orange* to give the finishing Stroke.

But, whilst the Earl of *Sunderland* hugged himself in his prosperous Treachery, an unexpected Accident surpris'd him; which, had it been managed with more Privacy and Caution, had, tho' late, given the King an Opportunity of revenging his Perfidy, and the Nation the Satisfaction of seeing his Apostasy punished as it deserved. There was a Person whose Name was *Hugh Wickstead*, a Man well educated, and accomplished with all the Qualifications becoming a Gentleman, whose Occasions or Curiosity leading him to *Holland* in the Year 1688. he there, by his ingenious and pleasant Conversation, had so insinuated himself into the Secrets of the Court at the *Hague*, that he soon learnt the whole Intrigue of the intended Invasion, and who were the Managers there and in *England*. Upon which he hastes back to *England*, and directly applies himself to the King; in whose Presence he charges my Lord *Sunderland* with the Knowledge of the Intrigue, affirming him to be a Traytor, and that he had from Time to Time betrayed the King's Council to the Prince of *Orange*, and turned *Catholick* for no other End but to abuse him. The King was surpris'd at the Bluntness of the Discovery, telling him the Danger he expos'd himself to, in aspersing a Man of my Lord *Sunderland's* Quality, and one in whom he had much Reason to confide. But *Wickstead*, noway discouraged at this, confidently persisted in his Accusation, and offered to engage his Life upon the Proof he could bring of what
he

he asserted, desiring to be confronted with the Earl. He was dismissed, with Order to appear next Morning; but either that Night or next Morning he was taken into Custody by *Strutt* the Messenger, where, understanding how the King was managed and over-ruled by the Earl, he made his Escape, upon which there was an Advertisement in the *Gazette*, with a Reward of twenty Pounds for apprehending him. See *Gazette*, October 25. 1688. But he retired to a Relation's in *Essex*, where he lay concealed till the Prince of *Orange* landed, and finding how Things were likely to go, he came to Town a little before the King went off, on whom he waited and was kindly received by him. The King's Eyes were then too late opened, for my Lord *Sunderland* was retired, and he found all that *Wickstead* affirmed to be too true. Soon after *Wickstead* found Means to follow the King into *France*, where he died quickly after the *Revolution*.

And now this unhappy Prince being brought to the lowest Ebb of Fortune, deserted by his Friends, and even his Person insulted by the vilest and meanest of his Subjects; he could not expect Security longer here, and therefore proposes to take Sanctuary in *France*, where soon he arrived, and was received with all the Marks of Friendship and Esteem from that Prince. Thus King *James*, by consulting his Interest too little, and his Religion too much, soon brought his Reign to an End, which had the most auspicious and promising Beginning; and which nothing but so black and dark a Design, as this of the *Roman Conclave*, could have obscured. For as to the King's being a *Roman Catholick*, it was no Objection to his Friends, his natural Candour and ingenuous Temper was their Security; and he might (if well advised) have been as great, or greater, by being a *Catholick*, than if he had been a *Protestant*. And, for Confirmation of this Truth, I refer to the Behaviour of that Parliament towards him, when Duke of *York*, (notwithstanding the crafty malicious Endeavours of that Time to the contrary) how they refused the Bill of *Exclusion* brought against him on the account of Religion; how they settled him on the Throne with that Reverence, that Security, that Joy in all his Subjects, as never King met with more. How firmly they stood by him in that early Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth*; how the first Parliament of his Time, laying aside their Apprehensions of *Popery*, unanimously settled a greater Revenue upon him than any of his Predecessors had during Life; and how far, in the Opinion of wise Men, they were from being prejudiced by his Religion. And, on the King's Side, it was allowed by un-biassed People, and cannot be denied by the most prejudiced, that

that he had the publick Virtues of a King, and the private ones of a Gentleman : That his Courage, Constancy, Justice, Liberality and Frugality, in their due Places, fitted him more properly for the Government of *England*, than any King perhaps who governed it before himself ; and, however he might be deceived, he generally aimed laboriously at the Good and Glory of the Nation. But wherever the Fault lay, (call it Fault or Misfortune of the King or People) the Matter of Fact was plain, and the Corruptions of the People's Minds, like a sudden and furious Gangrene, spread and diffused so swiftly throughout the whole Kingdom, that the People changed from the best to the worst Opinions in the World of the King, and proved the Citizens in the Parable, who sent their absent Lord Word, *We will not have this Man to reign over us* ; nor was it possible at that Time, for all the Wisdom of Man, to stop that rapid Torrent. I have only this to say of this unfortunate Prince, (and which all Men must allow that ever had any Affection for him, who was their natural and lawful Sovereign) That, as Kings are more exposed than other Men to the Delusions of disguised Craft, which is always very active and importunate in imposing on them, King *James's* Fault and Misfortune was, hearkening too much to intriguing Priests at the one Ear, and to misguiding Ministers at the other ; who, under Pretence of promoting a Religion in which he was zealous, laboured to render him odious, that they might make the very *Protestants* themselves the greatest Instruments of supporting and introducing *Popery*. This will appear no Paradox, when we come to inquire into the Advancement it hath obtained by the *Revolution*, and the *glorious Reformation* which was stifled by it in the *Gallikan Church*. But to return.

The Distemper of the Nation was now come to a Crisis, and the Prince of *Orange*, whose Arrival in Town was most impatiently expected, was looked upon to be the only Means pitched upon by Fate and the People, to interpose in this critical Juncture, and reconcile all Things. And now, the King having withdrawn himself, was the Time when every one expected the popular Fury should have exerted itself to the utmost against *Popery* and *Papists* ; and indeed, to cover the main Design, some Severity was absolutely necessary in the Beginning, to get the Affections of the People, and to persuade them into a Belief of the Prince's coming over to suppress and root out *Popery*. Accordingly the Mob began with the Mass-Houses in and about Town, insulting some Catholick Noblemen's Houses, and threatening others ; but the greatest Blind of all, was the plundering
and

and rifing of *Don Ronquilo* the *Spanish* Ambassador's House in *Wildstreet*; where indeed there was no Rudeness or Uncivility left unattempted that the Mob could be guilty of. However, he was even with the Nation upon his Death, for his Body lies mortgaged in *Westminster-Abbey* for 40000 *L.* which his Master never thought worth the redeeming. This *Ronquilo* was one of the most useful Instruments, of any foreign Minister, in bringing the *Revolution* about, and very serviceable in confirming it, notwithstanding his whining Remonstrance of Sincerity to the contrary, and his pretended Zeal for the King's Interest; and was the last Ambassador that recognized the Prince of *Orange* as King of *England*. But we shall have Occasion to mention this Gentleman hereafter, so let him rest for the present. And now, lest the Design should drop, and the People cool, and begin to think, it was necessary to keep up the Ferment with something that carried a Face of Horror, that the People thereby might set the greater Esteem upon their Deliverer. In order to which, one Mr. *Speak*, famous for the pretended Discovery of the Earl of *Essex's* Murder, having travelled *England* through-out, and knowing most Country Gentlemen and the Places of their Abode, with the Assistance of Marshal *Shomberg*, projected the sham *Irish* Massacre. They had contrived it so, that the Letters they sent came to hand the very same Day to all the Parts of *England*, (I had almost said the same Hour.) This spread so universal a Horror in all Places, that nothing but a real Massacre would have exceeded the dreadful Apprehension People laboured under. A Gentleman that had Relation to the Treasury since the *Revolution* received the Account, and to more than one has declared that Marshal *Shomberg* brought it in, and that it amounted to near 6000. And tho' all People were convinced that it was a sham Alarm, yet so great was the Delusion, that this Stratagem had its Effect of making the Prince and his Army more welcome. And tho' there might be some discerning Heads, which could see into these publick Falsities, it had been very unsafe for them to have spoken their Mind, for they had run the Hazard of a real Massacre themselves: For the Politicians of that Time had so prepossessed and prejudiced the Minds of People, and wrought them up to so high a Ferment of blind brutal Rage, that Truth durst not shew its Face.

And here any Body would naturally inquire what became of all those Engines and Contrivers of the poor King's Misfortune and Ruin. These, tho' at the Time useful to the main Design, were highly obnoxious to the Fury of the People; who, as they were ignorant of the Parts they acted, would have made them

them sensible of a severe Resentment. This they were aware of, and no Doubt but Provision was made accordingly for their Security and Escape. (I will not affirm, whether in *St. Martin's*, or elsewhere, the Earl of *Sunderland* for some Time lay concealed; but a certain Gentleman, who now awkwardly manages a high Post in the Church, can inform the Reader, that (false and perfidious as he was to his God and King) he was a very grateful Guest to him, in putting a Mitre upon so unworthy a Head, and a Crosier into so clumsy a Hand.) Count *Dada* escaped without the least Inquiry; Father *Peter*, who, at the King's Expence, had vastly enriched himself, got off unsuspected, and carried with him so much Gold, as an eminent Banker in *Lombard-Street*, now living, got fifteen hundred Pounds by changing his Silver into Guineas.

These Incendiaries being likeways withdrawn, the Prince of *Orange* is importuned to take the Government upon him, and afterwards the whole Kingdom; which he was no sooner possessed of, but he began to make good the Engagements he lay under to his Confederates: And the first Step he made towards this, was the establishing a *Toleration* by Act of Parliament, which King *James* was not able to compass with all his Interest or Power. This was by the Prince of *Orange*, in his Declaration, Par. 15: charged upon King *James* as a Crime; where he says, *The evil Counsellors endeavoured, under the specious Pretence of Liberty of Conscience, to sow Divisions between those of the Church of England and the Dissenters; the Design being laid to engage Protestants, that are equally concerned to preserve themselves from Popish Oppressions, into mutual Quarrels; that so by these Means some Advantages might be given to them to bring about their Designs.* Let the World judge who hath promoted Divisions in the Church of *England* most, King *James* by granting a *Toleration* by Proclamation only, which could be but *pro tempore*, or King *William* who has established it by Act of Parliament for ever? But this is like the rest of his specious Pretences for defending and preserving the Church of *England*. And, if we look into *Scotland*, we may there see the sad Havock he made in that poor Church, by rooting up an *Episcopacy*, settled by many Acts of Convocation and Parliament; not only depriving the Clergy of their Livelyhood and Subsistence, but driving and scattering them, with their Wives and Children, in a severe cold Season, like Sheep upon the Mountains. This was no Persecution! This was defending and maintaining an established Church. So was the Butchering of a Tribe of People, as that of *Glenco*, in cold Blood, no Murder; but a preserving of the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects!

This

This barbarous Fact was by his own positive Orders; the Instructions being not only signed, but (which is very unusual) counter-signed by himself. And yet the same tender-hearted Gentleman was so squeamish when he came to that Part of the Scots Coronation Oath, *We will be careful to root out Hereticks,* that he declared, *He did not mean by these Words, that he was under any Obligation to become a Persecutor.* And yet, as squeamish as he was, he would have carried Fire and Sword among the *Highland Clans*, if he had not been dissuaded by the Duke of *L—ds* (then Marquis of *G—n*) who told him, *Such Methods would sound harshly in the Ears of a People governed by Laws.*

As to his Proceedings in *England* hitherto, as to Church Affairs, it cannot be said he has made one false Step in the Interest he was engaged; but that he effectually ruined one National Church, and struck as deep at the Foundation of the other, as the present Opportunity would let him. Let us now look abroad a little, and see how far he has answered the Engagements he lay under in propagating the Pope's Supremacy. In the first Article of the Resolution of the Princes, Allies and Confederates, which was taken in the Assembly at the *Hague*, February 1691. having resolved to make a Descent into *France*, &c. they take a solemn Oath, *That they will never make Peace with Lewis XIV. till he has made Reparation to the holy See for whatsoever he has acted against it, and till he has annulled and made void all those infamous Proceedings against the Holy Father Innocent XI.* This was translated out of *French* into *English*, and printed here. These *infamous Proceedings* were the Decrees of the *Gallican* Bishops and Clergy above told, and the *French King's* appealing from the Tyranny of *Rome* to a general Council, and other noble Steps which he made towards a thorough Reformation in that Kingdom. Which, how can any *sincere Protestant* call *infamous*? And how can we bear to have them so called, when the same Infamy must necessarily be fixed, (and with more inglorious Circumstances) upon the Reformation in *England*? Or why should we set our Hand to re-establish that Authority, where, by the Providence of God, it hath been shaken off? And this King *William* expressly engaged himself to do, in the fourth Article of his League with the Emperor and King of *Spain*; wherein he promises, *That no Peace be begun before all Things in Ecclesiasticks be restored in their former State.* This is in the Abstract of the foreign Leagues which was given in to the House of Commons, and more at large again affirmed in King *William's* Letter, since that, to the Emperor.

And

And now let us see how far these Engagements have been made good. As to *France*, that King, upon the Prospect of so many Kingdoms and States united against him, and to prevent any Schism in the *Gallican Church* as such Irruptions might cause; by above fifty Bishopricks remaining vacant for Want of the Pope's Preconization, to secure Peace at home when he had so many Enemies abroad, found himself obliged, at least for the present, to let fall the Contest with the Pope concerning his Supremacy, especially while *England* set its Shoulders to support it, and to suffer the new preconized Bishops to renounce the above-said four Propositions, which were established in their National Synod 1682. By these Means that hopeful Reformation, thus happily begun in *France*, was stifled in its Birth, at least for this Age. And, if we look at home, we shall find no less dismal Effects of it here; and that, as he had begun with settling a *Toleration* by Act of Parliament in *England*, and rooting up *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, he continued true to his Engagement still. For tho' he could not at once destroy *Episcopacy* in *England*, as he had done in *Scotland*, yet he divided it, (the next Step to its Destruction) by an open and flagrant Schism, depriving, by a Lay-Authority, an Archbishop and several Bishops. This was a Point which all the Arts of the Court of *Rome* could never bring to pass since the Reformation, and by the unlimited Toleration, and the open Countenance of Dissenters, he let in such an Inundation of Latitudinarians, that the Church seemed to be swallowed up. The most notorious and virulent Dissenters were, by a new Regulation, placed in all Offices, from Secretaries of State to the Lieutenancy of *London*, to the Justices of the Peace, and Officers of the Militia throughout all *England*; and those of the Church of *England* barefacedly turned out. This the wiser Sort saw was driving from the Beginning of the Revolution, and that it was concerted before it, but afterwards it was owned above Board.

Nor were the Sectaries and Dissenters the only Persons indulged; the Priests of the Church of *Rome* took a greater Liberty than ever, and made more Profelytes than in any Reign before, since the Reformation. Indeed, in King *Charles II's* Time, they skulked here, and several of them were hanged upon the old Statute, for being Priests, and found within this Kingdom, without any other Crime laid to their Charge. But, at this Time, they not only freely trafficked in *England*, but appeared at Court: And tho' it was Treason for them, according to our Law, to be in *England*; yet they not only demanded their Indemnity, but the Protection of the Government, (and had it allowed too)

by virtue of the secret Articles between the *Emperor*, the *King of Spain*, and *King William*. There never was a more notorious Instance of Favour to that Party, than was shewn in *September Sessions 1692.* to *Graham* and *Thursby*, two Popish Friars, who were indicted for the Murder of a Coffee-Man in *Holborn*, after having debauched his Wife in her Religion, and he was jealous otherways. They had their Pardon secretly assured them in case of the worst, but for the Scandal's Sake it was thought best to have them acquitted, if possible, at their Trial, which was managed with that Care and Tenderness of them, that surprised all who were then in the Court. The Coffee-Man's Wife was admitted as an Evidence for the Friars, who, by the Judge's kind and prudent Charge to the Jury, were acquitted; and (which was a Favour never shewn to any before or since) all Account of their Trial, or so much as the Mention of their Names, was left out of the Session Paper, which is printed by Authority. And indeed those that heard the Trial, said, *It ought to be concealed as much for the Credit of the Court as of the Friars.*

What Number of Priests have been taken up and imprisoned by Proclamation, and, notwithstanding the severe Acts against Priests coming into *England*, to this Day unrepealed, they were always bailed and discharged; they went to Mass publicly in *London* every Day, in several Places, without the least Notice being taken of them. And if any Constable or Informer gave them any Trouble or Molestation, they were sure to meet with a severe Reproof, or see themselves baffled and disappointed in the Execution of their Office. This Method indeed made good an usual Expression of *King William*, when any Offers were made about controversial Points with the *Papists*, which was, *That he came not to divide, but unite.* Undoubtedly he spoke his Mind, which his Practice proved.

And now the *Earl of Sunderland*, having a long Time lien hid, was allowed to appear, His Apostasy was forgotten, and he, with as much Assurance as ever, came to Court. He had merited much from the *Prince of Orange*, and *King William* was bound in Honour to reward him. And if we consider the inward Confidence he was admitted into with him, the vast Sums he obtained, the Removal of the *Earl of D——t* from the Chamberlainship, in the order to promote him to it, (tho' so many of the Nobility were disgusted at it, and abhorred this execrable *Judas*, that *King William* was obliged in Prudence to lay by the Thoughts of a publick Promotion of him) and many other Favours which he continually received, are plain Evidences, as well

well as they are thankful Remembrances and Recompences of the Counfels, which, in Favour of the Prince of *Orange's* Designs, he gave to his Master King *James*. I believe it a puzzling Task to any Man to prove this pious Earl's Recantation for deserting the Church of *England*; and till then, I am sure, in common Sense and Reason, we cannot suppose he ever returned to her again. Much Good do their Church with such hopeful Profelytes.

But Instances are endless. There is no *Roman Catholick* can deny, and many of them have confessed, that (barring only some outward Expressions, which were of no real Consequence) they enjoy as much Liberty, Indulgence and Encouragement in the free Exercise of Religion, as while King *James* was here. They lost nothing by the Change, but some *Fioccos* and Trappings. Their Bishops have made more numerous Consecrations, and have made many more Profelyte. than in all King *James's* Reign. And in *Ireland* they were set up higher than ever. Our Parliament was filled with Complaints of the *Protestants* there, for the excessive and partial Favours shewn to the *Papists* in that Kingdom. The first Article of *Limrick* grants in these Words. *The Roman Catholicks in this Kingdom shall enjoy the same Privilege, in the Exercise of their Religion, &c. as they did in the Reign of King Charles II. And their Majesties, as soon as their Affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholicks such further Security in that Particular, as may preserve them from any Disturbance upon the Account of their said Religion.* King *Charles II.* was accused as being a Favourer of *Popery*, for the Liberty granted to the *Irish Papists*. Here the very same is granted them. King *James II.* desired the *Penal Law* to be taken off by the Act of Parliament, so that the *Roman Catholicks* might be preserved from any Disturbance upon the Account of their Religion. Here the very same is promised them. Thus, both at home and abroad, through *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, *Popery* hath gained Ground by this *Revolution*. The *Papal Supremacy* re-established in *France*, *Episcopacy* abolished in *Scotland*, divided in *England*, and a mere Cypher in *Ireland*.

It cannot but be a most melancholy Thought to any Man, who professes any Regard for the Church of *England*, to think that her Members should join with the Church of *Rome* to introduce it, where its exorbitant Power had been thrown out, and for many Years vigorously opposed Re-entrance. Since the Reformation from *Rome*, we managed a most inveterate and irreconcilable War: Blood, Treachery, Idolatry, on one Side, Heresy and Apostasy on the other, have been the Terms we could afford

afford one another. These were the Sentiments of the *Protestants* formerly. The *Papists* were looked upon as *Canaanites*, *Antichristians*, no League to be made with them : What Concord between *Christ* and *Belial* ? This was the Language, and a Multitude of Texts of Scripture were wont to be applied. But, alas ! the Case was altered, when we came to join in a close Confederacy with *Rome* (under Pretence) against *Rome*. Not against a *Heathen King*, but one, tho' a *Roman Catholick*, yet the least so of any Prince of that Communion, and had been less so, if we had not stepped in and prevented him ; and against whom the chief Quarrel was, That tho' not totally an Apostate, yet he had been a Deserter, and publickly had disputed that Plenitude of Supremacy which was submitted to by other *Roman Catholick* Princes, who were joined (and we with them) to reduce him to that thorough Obedience to their common Father the *Pope*, from which he was in a great Measure fallen.

But to come somewhat closer yet to the great Progress and Advancement *Popery* has gained by the *Revolution*, there is one Proof beyond Contradiction or Dispute, and so publick that all *Europe* rung of it, except that Part of it that was most concerned. The *Papists* never pretended that King *Charles I.* or King *Charles II.* were of their Religion in their Lifetime ; yet how easy was it swallowed that they were both *Roman Catholicks* ? But the *Papists* do generally (especially abroad) own that King *William* was a *Roman Catholick*, and yet we will not hear of it ! They pleaded for his Title to the Crown against King *James*, and a final Resolution was sent from *Rome*, directed to the *Roman Catholicks* of *England*, and subscribed by several of their most eminent Professors, persuading them of the Lawfulness of taking the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

There is another likeways of the same Piece with that which came from *Rome*, and was handed about to convince several *Catholicks*, who retained their Loyalty, and would not easily be brought off. There was another likeways procured at the Instance of *Don Ronquilo* the late *Spanish* Ambassador, from the University of *Salamanca* in *Spain*, (where *Titus Oats* never took the Degree of Doctor) to the same Purpose ; which I did not see, but his Secretary, whom I knew, told it, and, I think, shewed it to a Friend now alive. Nor can we well suppose that they can be of any other Opinion : For, would they not avow his Right whom they had set up ? It is plain, that all the Confederates did own and acknowledge him. And how could they say it was unlawful to swear to him, whom they acknowledged to be rightful King ? Whom an Army of *Papists* attended to fight
for

for against King *James*, with their Priests and Confessors, who gave them Absolution *permissu superiorum*, which they could not have done if they had not thought the Cause to be just, or would have been censured if they had done it without Leave of their Superiors. I think the Design of that Confederacy to promote the Interest of the Church of *Rome*, cannot come within the Yerge of Scruple or Suspicion, if we consider the Figure King *William* made in the Confederacy, and his Inveteracy against the *French* King; and add to that the Bigotry of the Emperor, and the inflexible Temper of the *Spaniards* as to Matters of Religion; and it is not to be conceived how they should enter into a Negotiation of this Nature with the Prince of *Orange*, without an Assurance of his coming over to their Persuasion, and Resolution of promoting the *Roman Catholick* Interest in these Kingdoms. Neither is it reasonable to suppose they would contribute their Assistance to remove a Prince of their own Principles, tho' with a grand Prospect of advancing their civil Interests, to the Hazard of impairing their Religion, to make Way for an heretical Prince. Besides, how can we imagine they would ever communicate such a Secret to him, if they were not first sure of him without such an Engagement? The sole Refusal, or Discovery of it, would have infallibly prevented all their Designs, brought an indelible Dishonour and Scandal upon their Religion, as well as their Persons, and provoked King *James* and the *French* King to take the utmost Vengeance upon them (as in Conjunction they were sufficientiy powerful to do) and made them justly odious to all the rest of the Christian World, of whatever Persuasion. Yet all this Demonstration was no Argument against this Popishly assisted and affected Prince; nor all that he did openly, and in the Sight of the whole World, to the Destruction of *Episcopacy*, and abetting of the Pope's Supremacy, tho' the thousandth Part of it was sufficient to possess the Nation against King *Charles* I. and II. who supported *Episcopacy*, and had no *Popish* Confederates or Armies.

Consonant to the Authorities for *Catholicks* taking the Oaths, there was a famous Instance of Father *Corker* in the late Reign, a Man whose Character has been remarkably known in former Reigns. This very Priest, being taken up and brought into Court, was tendred the Oaths, which were likeways at the same Time tendred to an *Irish* Clergyman, that was a *Nonjuror*. Father *Corker* never scrupled them, but the *Nonjuror* did; which so surpris'd a young Gentleman that was present, and a *Catholick* too, that he went out of the Court with the greatest Horror and Detestation of such a Practice in a Priest of the Church of *Rome*.

It

It ought not to be forgotten, how, in the last Reign, when Prince *Hess Darmstadt* courted the King of *Sueden* for the Government of *Catolonia*, that Prince would not admit him because he was an Heretick, and King *William* was forced to labour hard to persuade him to reconcile himself to the Church of *Rome*, which was no sooner done, but he was invested with the foresaid Command.

But as the Case of King *James* was a most palpable Evidence of the Unnaturalness of the Church of *Rome* to one of her most devout and zealous Sons, because he would not go all Lengths which she pointed out, and that he was laid aside to make Room for one that would, therefore we may justly conclude, that since crowned Heads could not escape her severe Censure and Resentment, inferior *Catholicks* might expect no better Treatment. And of this there remains a sad and deplorable Instance, in five of the six unhappy Gentlemen who have been confined in *Newgate* near ten Years. They were committed upon the bare Information of *G—e H—is*; and, tho' they often made Application for Trial, Discharge, or Bail, were still continued from Year to Year, without any Benefit of Law. Their being *Catholicks* had been no Objection to them, if they had relinquished the Interest of their Prince, whom they thought they were obliged in Honour and Religion to serve, but their stubborn obstinate Loyalty was their Fault. Major *B—dy*, one of these unhappy Number, was a particular Instance of King *William's* Severity: He had served under the Prince of *Orange* 15 Years in *Flanders* and the *Low-Countries*, with much Honour and Reputation; he was personally known to the Prince, and as much respected by him as an *Englishman* could expect: But when King *James* sent for his Troops from *Holland*, the Major, as he thought himself in Duty bound, quitted the Service of the *States*, receiving a very cold Farewel from the Prince when he took his Leave of him. He chose rather to obey his King under any Circumstances, than stay in a Service where he had all the moral Assurance and Prospect of advancing his Fortune, which he thought he could not do without Violence to his Duty and Honour. However, after the Reduction of *Ireland*, these Gentlemen thought they might with Security stay in their native Country, according to the Treaty of *Limrick*, tho' they had bore Arms under King *James* against King *William*. But the *Affassination-Plot* breaking out, it was a fit Opportunity to secure them; and tho' they were all of them Strangers to any Discoverer of that Plot, and were never confronted by any one of them, or charged with the Knowledge of it, they were committed, and have endured a long and severe Imprisonment.

prisonment. Far be it from me to offer any Thing here that might seem to challenge the Justice of the Nation, but I believe it worth While for any Man to consider the Prudence and Care of our Forefathers, to preserve that valuable Jewel called *Liberty*.

I. It is commonly said, That three Things are favoured in our common Law; *Life, Liberty, Dowry*. *Coke, Little. 124 B.*

II. *IMPIUS & crudelis judicandus, qui Libertati non favet: Angliæ Leges in omni casu Libertati dant favorem.* The Laws of England in all Cases shew Respect to Liberty. *Fortescue de Laudibus Angliæ legum, Cap. 42.*

III. The Liberty of a Freeman is so much favoured in Law, as there is ever a benign Interpretation made for the Benefit thereof. *Coke, 2. Inst. 115.*

IV. The Law of England is a Law of Mercy. *Lex Angliæ est Lex Misericordiæ*; For three Causes,

1. *That the Innocent shall not be wasted and worn by long Imprisonment; but, as by the Stat. of Gloucester, C. 9. or Stat. 6. Ed. I. C. 9. and by Magna Charta, C. 29. and 26. speedily come to Trial.*
2. *That Prisoners for criminal Causes, when they be brought to their Trial, be humanely dealt with.*
3. *The Judge ought to exhort the Prisoner to answer without Fear, and that Justice shall be administrated to him. Coke in his Comment on the Stat. of Gloc. 19. his 2 Inst. Fol. 315, 316.*

But the Parliament made several Acts to continue the Gentlemen longer, and I do not dispute their Authority, but hope Hints of *Mercy* may be thought worthy Consideration; and when that Part of the *Litany* is read, which recommends Prisoners to the Mercy of God, it may not be an Offence to offer it to the Consideration of Man. I hope the charitable Reader will excuse this Digression, which I think is not a great Way wide of our Design.

I know it had been industriously urged by several Catholicks, as improbable that King *William* should be of their Church, because he communicated with the Church of *England*. To this I answer, that Dispensations have been allowed to inferior Catholicks, much more then to Kings and Princes, to disguise themselves under any Shape whatever necessary to carry on their Designs. And for the Truth of this I appeal to the Practice of the Catholicks in all Times since the Reformation; but especially, in the Reign and Troubles of King *Charles I.* none were so great Promoters as the Catholicks, both Clergy and Laity,
of

of the Misunderstanding between that King and his Parliament ; none more active in Arms to oppose him than they, and none so instrumental as they in bringing the best of Kings to the worst of Ends. See Sir *William Boswel* and Bishop *Bramhall's* Letters in the *Appendix*.

But to make an End. Whether King *William* be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, or not, or whether in Jest or Earnest, whether he cheated them, or they him, it is plain and apparent that the poor Church of *England* was cheated betwixt them ; and that he carried on their Work as industriously, and more effectually, than any the most bigotted *Papist* of them all could. But, upon Recollection of all the forementioned Passages, I believe no Man will allow him to be of any other Interest than that of the Church of *Rome*. Can we believe that the *Pope* and a *Popish Confederacy* could in Earnest intend the Establishment of the Church of *England*, from which they all were strict Separatists ? Or that a Prince, at the best, supposed to be a *Calvanist* by those that knew not the grand Secret, sent by the *Pope* with a *Popish Army*, came over to *England* to support *Episcopacy* ? I cannot think, at this Time of Day, any one is so blind or besotted to give the least Credit to it. Besides, we never so much as heard any Mention of *England*, or the *Protestant Religion*, in any of their Articles or Resolutions ; but to pluck down the exorbitant Power of *France*, to defend holy Church and See, and reduce that rebel Prince to his Obedience to holy Father the *Pope*. These Things were rung in our Ears, and was the sole Aim of this holy War ; tho' the Preservation of the Church of *England* was the Pretence, and the Liberties and Properties of the People the Cloke for it.

But there was still one Thing which proved the Dislike or rather Hatred of King *William* to the Church of *England*, and that was the promoting so many known Enemies to it, I might say even in the very Church ; for who can think an Encourager and Favourer of *Independency* and *Presbytery* will ever prove a canonical Dean or an Orthodox Bishop ? And yet such he dignified. The Liturgy of our Church, not without great Struggling, narrowly escaped some of their *Vultur-Claws* ; they longed to be clipping and shaping it according to their old *Directory Order*, with which they were best acquainted. Had these Church-Cobblers once got it in their Power, they would quickly have stiffened her Ceremonies and Discipline, and made her walk in their own upright Manner. All religious Harmony had been banished, and these godly *Hectors*, who put on the *Sheep's Clothing* for a Cloke, would have reformed at Will, expelled Regulari-

ty and Order, and suffered no Body to be civil to God Almighty. But Providence interposed, just as their *ravenous Talons* were ready to grasp the sacred Prey, and prevented that Inundation of Sacrilege and Impiety, which had once before over-run this Church and Nation. They ran bluntly at their Prey at first, expecting no Opposition in the Hurry and Change of the Government; but, finding a vigorous Resistance, they turned Tail, and changed the Note of their Pretences. No vigorous Attack or Design, no Heat or Fury now is owned in open View, but under the Mask of *Moderation* all the Mischief imaginable is intended. Thus in them is Fury, Zeal, and Indifference, Moderation. May that Providence which hath hitherto preserved her, make her worthy its Protection, and still keep her from those *Wolves in Sheep's Clothing*, who are still seeking to devour her.

A P P E N D I X.

A LETTER from Sir *William Boswel*, to the most Reverend *William Laud* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, remaining with Sir *Robert Cotton's* Papers.

Most Reverend,

AS I am here employed by our Sovereign Lord the King, your Grace can testify that I have left no Stone unturned for his Majesty's Advancement; neither can I omit (whenever I meet with Treacheries or Conspiracies against the Church and State of *England*) the sending your Grace an Account in general. I fear Matters will not answer your Expectations, if your Grace do but seriously weigh them with Deliberation. For, be you assured, the *Romish Clergy* have gulled the misled Party of our *English* Nation, and that under a puritanical Dress: For which the several Fraternities of the Church have lately received Indulgence from the See of *Rome* and Council of Cardinals, to educate several of the young Fry of that Church of *Rome*, who be Natives of his Majesty's Realms and Dominions, and instruct them in all Manner of Principles and Tenets contrary to the Episcopacy of the Church of *England*.

There be in the Town of the *Hague*, to my certain Knowledge, two dangerous Impostors, of whom I have given Notice to the Prince of *Orange*, who have large Indulgences granted them, and known to be of the Church of *Rome*, altho' they seem

to be Puritans, and do converse with several of our *English* Factors. The one *James Murray* a *Scotsman*, and the other *John Napper* a *Yorkshire* Blade. The main Drift of their Intention is to pull down the *English Episcopacy*, as being the chief Support of the Imperial Crown of our Nation : For which Purpose above 60 *Romish* Clergymen are gone, within these two Years, out of the Monasteries of the *French King's* Dominions, to preach up the *Scots* Covenant, and Mr. *Knox's* Prescriptions and Rules within that *Kirk*, and to spread the same about the *Northern Coasts* of *England*. Let therefore his Majesty have an Inking of these Crotchets, that he might be persuaded, whenever Matters of the *Church* come before you, to refer them to your Grace, and the *Episcopal Party* of the Realm : For there be great Preparations making already against the *Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church of England* ; and all evil Contrivances here and in *France*, and in other Protestant Holdings, to make your Grace and the *Episcopacy* odious to the *reformed Protestants* abroad : It has wrought so much on divers of the foreign Ministers of the Protestants, that they esteem our *Clergy* little better than *Papish*. The main Things that they hit in our Teeth are, *Our Bishops to be called Lords* ; *The Service of the Church* ; *The Cross in Baptism* ; *Confirmation* ; *Bowing at the Name of Jesus* ; *The Communion-Table placed Altar-ways* ; *our Manner of Consecrations* ; and several other Matters which be of late buzzed into the Heads of foreign Clergy, to make our Grievances the less regarded in case of a Change, which is aimed at, if not speedily prevented.

Your Grace's Letter is carefully delivered, by my Gentleman's own Hand, to the Prince.

Thus, craving your Grace's Prayers for my Undertakings abroad, as also for my safe Arrival, that I may have the Freedom to kiss your Grace's Hand, and to tell you more at-large of these Things, I rest,

Your Grace's

most humble Servant,

W. B.

Hague, June 10.
1640.

A LETTER from the Right Reverend *J. Bramhall* Bishop of *Derry*, (afterwards Primate of *Ireland*) to the most Reverend *James Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*.

Most Reverend,

I Thank God I take my Pilgrimage patiently, yet I cannot but condole the Change of the Church and State of *England*,
and

and more in my Pilgrimage than ever, because I dare not witness and declare to that straying Flock, of our Brethren in *England*, who have misled them, and who they are that feed them. But that your Lordship may be more sensible of the Church's Calamities; and of the Danger she is in of being ruined, if God be not merciful unto her, I have sent you a Part of my Discoveries, and is from creditable Hands, at this present having so sure a Messenger, and so fit an Opportunity.

It plainly appears, that, in the Year 1646. by Order from *Rome*, above a hundred of the *Romish Clergy* were sent into *England*, consisting of *English, Scots and Irish*, who had been educated in *France, Italy, Germany and Spain*, Part of these within the several Schools there appointed for their Instruction. In each of these *Romish Nurseries*, these Scholars were taught several handycraft Trades and Callings, as their Ingenuities were most bending, besides their Orders or Functions of the *Church*.

They have many yet at *Paris* a-fitting up to be sent over, who twice in the Week oppose one another, one pretending *Presbytery*, the other *Independency*; some *Anabaptism*, and other contrary Tenets, dangerous and prejudicial to the *Church of England*, and to all the *reformed Churches* here and abroad. But they are preparing wisely to prevent these Designs, which I heartily wish were considered in *England* among the Wise there.

When the *Romish Order* do thus argue *Pro* and *Con*, there is appointed one of the learned of those *Convents* to take Notes, and to judge, and as he finds their Fancies, whether for *Presbytery, Independency, Anabaptism, Atheism*, or any new Tenet, so accordingly they be to act and to exercise their Wits. Upon their Permission, when they be sent abroad, they enter their Names in the *Convent Register*, also their Licences, if a *Franciscan*, if a *Dominican*, or *Jesuit*, or any other Order, having several Names there entred in their Licence; in case of a Discovery in one Place, then to flee to another, and there to change their Names or Habit.

For an Assurance of their *Constancy* to their several Orders, they are to give monthly Intelligence to their Fraternities, of all Affairs wherever they be dispersed; so that the *English* abroad know News better than they at home.

When they return into *England*, they are taught their Lesson, to say, (if any Person inquire from whence they came) *That they were poor Christians formerly that fled beyond Sea for their Religion Sake, and are now returned with glad News to enjoy their Liberty of Conscience.*

The hundred Men that went over 1646. were most of them Soldiers in the Parliament's Army, and were wont daily to correspond

correspond with those *Romanists* in our late King's Army, that were lately at *Oxford*, and pretended to fight for his sacred Majesty: For, at that Time, there were some *Roman Catholics* who did not know the Design a-contriving against our *Church* and *State*.

But, in the Year following 1647. many of those *Romish Orders*, who came over the Year before, were in Consultation together, knowing each other; and those of the King's Party asking some, why they took with the Parliament-Side; and asking others, whether they were bewitched to turn *Puritans*, not knowing the Design: But, at last, secret Bulls and Licences being produced by those of the Parliament Side, it was declared between them, *There was no better Design to confound the Church of England, than by pretending Liberty of Conscience.* It was argued then that *England* would be a second *Holland*, a *Commonwealth*; and, if so, what would become of the King? It was answered, *Would to God it were come to that Point.* It was again replied, *Yourselves have preached so much against Rome and his Holiness, that Rome and her Romanists will be little the better for that Change.* But it was answered, *You shall have Mass sufficient for an Hundred thousand in a short Time, and the Governours never the wiser.* Then some of the mercifullest of the *Romanists* said, *This cannot be unless the King die.* Upon which Argument the *Romish Order*, thus licensed and in the Parliament Army, wrote unto their several *Convents*, but especially to the *Sorbonists*, whether it may be scrupled to make away our late godly King, and his Majesty his Son, our King and Master, (who, blessed be God, hath escaped the *Romish Snares* laid for him.) It was returned by the *Sorbonists*, *That is was lawful for Roman Catholics to work Changes in Governments for Mother Church's Advancement, and chiefly in an heretical Kingdom, and so lawfully may make away the King.*

Thus much have I seen and heard since my leaving your Lordship, which I thought very requisite to inform your Grace; for myself would hardly have credited these Things, had not mine Eyes seen sure Evidence of the same. Let these Things sleep within your gracious Lordship's Breast, and not awake but upon some sure Grounds; for this Age can trust no Man, there being so great Fallacy amongst Men. So the Lord preserve your Lordship in Health, for the Nation's Good, and the Benefit of your Friends: Which shall be the Prayers of,

July 24. 1654.

Your humble Servant,

J. DERENSIS.

F I N I S.

One thousand seven hundred and
Seventy. Year of God 1770

II,
III,
IV,