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A S E R I O U S
A D D R E S S

T O T H E
P e o p l e o f G R E A T B R I T A I N .

In which the
C E R T A I N C O N S E Q U E N C E S
O F T H E
P R E S E N T R E B E L L I O N ,
A r e f u l l y d e m o n s t r a t e d .

Necessary to be perused by every LOVER
of his Country, at this Juncture.

*Per Deos Immortales, vos ego appello, qui semper Domos,
Villas, Signa, Tabulas vestras, pluris, quam rempublicam
fecistis: si ista cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini,
retinere; si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere, vultis:
expergiscimini aliquando, & capeffite rempublicam. Non
nunc agitur de vectigalibus, non de Sociorum Injuriis;
Libertas & anima nostra in dubio est.*

SAL. BEL. CATALIN.

L O N D O N :
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1. The first part of the document

describes the general situation

and the main objectives

of the project.

The second part

contains the

conclusion

and

the

A S E R I O U S
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
P E O P L E of *G R E A T B R I T A I N*.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Rebellion lately begun in *Scotland*, under the Banner of a *Popish Pretender*, advised and assisted with the Counsels and Arms of *France* and *Spain*, is no longer an Object of your Derision. The Progress of these Rebels is such, as should awaken your Apprehensions at least, and no longer suffer you

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to

to neglect the proper Methods for your Defence. The Cause, indeed, is of such a Nature, that the *least* Danger is sufficient to *alarm* us; but the *highest* (was it possible to arrive at such an Height) should not *dishearten* or *terrify* us from engaging in it. It is a Cause, Gentlemen, in which our All is concerned; our Religion, our Liberties, our Properties, every Blessing which can make Life dear to ourselves, or our Posterity, are at Stake. A Cause, in which it would be more eligible for us and our Children to fall, than to survive the Success of our Enemies.

I am unwilling to think there is a Man in this Kingdom, Papists excepted, *weak* enough to wish well to this Rebellion. I am as unwilling to believe there is one, who desires to preserve our present Constitution, *base* enough to decline the Hazard of his Life, and of his Fortune, in its Preservation. Is any *Englishman* so ignorant, as not to know the Happiness of our present Constitution? So insensible, as not to perceive the total Destruction with which it is threatned? Or *so mean, so inglorious a Coward*, as patiently to submit to this Destruction! Nay, the very Roman Catholicks themselves must be blinded with Bigotry to desire the Change;
for

for they are to purchase the Re-establishment of their Religion at the Expence of their Liberties, and will introduce SPANISH and FRENCH TYRANNY, together with a SPANISH INQUISITION.

To what Opinion, or to what Principle, must any Man sacrifice himself and his Country, who inclines to the Pretender's Side on this Occasion? The old, obsolete, absurd Doctrine of Hereditary Right, if admitted, would not justify him: The Right of his present Majesty is much stronger and clearer, even in this Light. The suspicious Birth of the Pretender was attended with such glaring Evidence of Fraud and Imposture, that no Jury would have suffered him to have succeeded, even to a private Right descended from *James* the Second, could his Pretensions have been fairly and impartially tried before them. I shall not, however, insist upon this Point. The Doctrine itself of such an indefeasible Right to the Crown hath been justly exploded; the Legislature of the Kingdom have unanimously declared against any such Principle; The Reverse of it is Law, a Law as firmly establish'd as any other in this Kingdom; nay, it is the Foundation, the Corner-Stone of all our Laws, and of this Constitution

B 2 itself;

itself; nor is the Declaration and Confirmation of this great Right of the People one of the least of those Blessings, which we owe to the Revolution. Whatever, therefore, tends to the Shaking of this fundamental Right, doth of itself introduce an opposite System of Government, and *changes not only the King, but the Constitution.*

Admitting, therefore, this Pretender to be the Son of *James* the Second, the stronger is the Reason for rejecting him. Shall we return like a Dog to his Vomit? Shall we bring back that Family which we have expelled, together with the Principles *for which* we expelled them; and which, with the Restoration of the same Family, must be also restor'd? Shall we pronounce, as this insolent Man hath dared to do in his Declaration, that we have been under an Usurpation these fifty Years? That Lords and Commons, and the whole *English* Nation, have been Traitors so long? That the Bill of Rights, the Act of Succession, and the Act of Union, were *High Treason*?

Let us look back to the History of that Prince, from whom this Pretender claims. It was not only the Difference of his Religion from that of this Country, which
made

made him unfit to be King of it; he was unfit to govern even a Catholick Country, which had Liberties to defend, because his Mind was strongly tainted with all the Notions of absolute Power. Passive Obedience, and Non-resistance on the Part of the Subject, and a *dispensing Power* in the Crown, with an indefeasible Hereditary Right, *Jure Divino*, were as much Articles of his political Creed, as the Supremacy of the Pope, or Transubstantiation, were of his religious one: Upon the former he acted thro' his whole Reign; nay, in the Reign of his Brother; whose Indolence gave him a great Share of the Royal Authority, and this it was which chiefly occasioned the Weakness and Faults of that Reign, at home and abroad. By his Instigation, did King *Charles* the Second make War with the *Dutch*, against the Interest of *England*, only because they were a *free State*, and likely to assist this Kingdom in maintaining its Liberties. By his Instigation, did he nurse up the Power of *France*, that *France* might assist the two Royal Brothers in enslaving the People of *England*. By his Instigation, did the same *Charles* the Second dissolve those Parliaments that press'd the Bill of Exclusion. By his Instigation, did he take away, by *Quo warrantos*, the Charters of all Corporations that had oppos'd

pos'd the Crown in Elections. By his Instigation, did he shed some of the *best and noblest Blood* in this Kingdom, against Law, and by Form of Law, which is the worst of all Tyranny. It was *James Duke of York*, who whetted the Axe which beheaded *Algernon Sidney*, for writing a Book in Defence of our Liberties, and the good Lord *Russel*, for promoting the Bill of Exclusion, *as a Member of Parliament*. When in spite of that Bill he ascended the Throne, he fully justified the Caution of Parliament, and of those worthy Patriots, in their Design of excluding him, both as a Bigot and as a Tyrant; and this in direct Contradiction to the strongest and most solemn Promises of maintaining both our Religion and Liberties; Promises which he again repeated, when he thought his Crown was in Danger, and again broke, when he thought himself in the least delivered from that Danger. Besides his avowed Design of establishing Popery, besides all those Acts of arbitrary Power, enumerated in the Declaration of Rights, *which struck at the very Root of Liberty, and the Fundamentals of our Constitution*, there are many Instances of wanton Cruelty and inveterate Revenge, where neither the Interest of the Priest or Tyrant were concern'd, (and which could proceed only from

from that cruel Disposition, which he had before discovered in *Scotland*, by the Delight he testified in the Groans and Skreams of Wretches under Torture;) witness the inhuman and unparallel'd Butchery committed in Cold Blood, by his immediate Order, on *Monmouth's* conquer'd People in the West; for which his wicked Instrument, *Jeffreys*, was at his Return immediately rewarded with the Seals: The unmanly, as well as illegal Murder of *a poor old Woman*, in the Case of *Lady Lisle*; and that ever-memorable Removal of Lord Chief Justice *Herbert* from the King's Bench, *in order to hang a private Soldier contrary to Law*. These are Facts, which bespeak not only a bad Prince, but a bad Man; not only an arbitrary and wicked, but a base and contemptible Mind: Facts which would have glar'd in the History of a *Dionysius*, or of any the most abhorr'd Tyrants of Antiquity.

But it may be said, that though this Pretender derives a Right, he ought not to derive any Infamy from his supposed Father, since *He* may possibly protect that Religion and Liberty, which the other endeavoured to extirpate.

Upon what these Hopes are founded, is not easy to conceive; on the contrary, without allowing the Legitimacy of his Birth, of which however the Temper he hath always disclosed, is the strongest Evidence, we might be allowed to draw some Apprehensions from the Education which he had in his Infancy, under this very Person, and which was afterwards completed in the Courts of *France* and *Rome*.

These Circumstances alone would justify our Fears, had his own Conduct given us none: But when of all the Professors of that cruel Religion, he is known to be the most bigotted; when without Power, without Dominions, he hath in the little Circle of his Mock Court exhibited the strongest Picture of a Tyrant, affecting every Opportunity to express his Resolution of being arbitrary, what further, what stronger Assurances can we want, nay, what could we possibly have of the *Misery*, the *Perdition*, which such a Choice must entail on ourselves, and our Posterity?

His Bigotry is so well known to the whole World, that it requires no Instances. His whole Life is one constant Act of Superstition. A single Example, however, is too glaring to be pass'd by, as it shews an Abhorrence to our Religion scarce to be parallel'd. When he was in *Scotland* in the Year 1716, he absolutely refused to admit Dr. *Lesly*, a Protestant Divine, to say Grace at his Table ; but ordered a *Roman Catholic* Priest to perform that Ceremony. This Dr. *Lesly* was a *Non-juror*, one who had embraced his Party, and was by him made a Bishop. He was a *Scotchman*, refused this little Favour in the Face of his Countrymen, who were to venture their Lives and Fortunes in order to set this Popish Bigot on the Throne of *Great Britain* : All these Men he ventured disobliging, rather than he would shew the least Countenance to that Religion, which some simple Protestants have been weak enough to flatter themselves that he would better defend than a Prince of our own Religion.

Nor is the Civil Tyrant less apparent in this pretended King, than the Religious : His little Court at *Avignon* was compared
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by the late Lord *Mar*, who was at it, to that of *Lewis XIV.* in the absolute Demeanor of its Sovereign ; for indeed it could resemble it in no other Instance ; where this mock King strutted about with a kind of Theatrical Pomp, and, though conquer'd, banish'd, deserted, without a single Smile of Fortune to swell his Ambition, he retained all those Principles of Pride and arbitrary Power, with which Flattery and Success inspired the Mind of *the Grand Monarch*. This is a Fact publish'd by many, who from Detestation of his Principles abandoned the Cause of a Man who thus tyranniz'd over voluntary Slaves, whom Rebellion alone had subjected to his Authority.

And shall we be cheated with so gross an Imposition, that it is not under the Banner of this Pretender, but of his Son, that the *Highlanders* have now taken up Arms! What, is the Son but the Tool of the Father? Doth he not act by Commission from him? Hath he not taken upon himself the Title of Regent only, during the Absence, and in the Name of his Father? Is not his Father now actually removing from *Rome*, to come and take Possession of his Son's Conquests,
were

were we either so weak, or so miserable as to be conquered by such an Invader ?

This is the Person who is now to be obtruded upon us ; this is he for whom we are to exchange a Prince, who, during a Reign of eighteen Years, hath not stained a Scaffold with a single Drop of *English* Blood ; (an Instance not to be parallell'd in any one Reign since the Conquest.) Nor can his Enemies shew any one Example in his whole Reign, where any, even the lowest Subject, hath been oppressed in his Person, or deprived of his Property by Means unauthoriz'd by the known Laws of this Realm.

But if the Sins of this Pretender's Forefathers, the Religion and Principles in which he hath been educated, the popish Bigotry and civil Tyranny which he hath always profess'd and practis'd, be not sufficient to raise our Terror and Detestation of his Name ; there is yet another Reason behind, one more conclusive, if possible, against his Cause, than any I have yet urged. This Firebrand is not only the Instrument of *Rome* and *Spain*, but of *France* too : He brings not only papal Bulls, and *Spanish*

Inquisitions, but *French* Gallies and Bastiles along with him.

If Popery and arbitrary Power, if the Destruction of our Religion and Constitution cannot alarm us, still the Apprehensions of *French* Government must be surely sufficient. Whatever the highest Degrees of Wickedness or Folly might prompt us to submit to under an absolute popish Monarch of our own, there is not, I hope, a single Person so base, as patiently to see his Country betrayed to be a *Province of France*, the certain the inevitable Consequence of the Pretender's Success. True it is, that neither of these Powers have been yet able to land any Forces in this Kingdom; a happy Circumstance, for which we are only obliged to the excellent Disposition and Care of our Fleets: For are they not known to have both Transports and Men ready for this Purpose? Nay, was not that *French* Man of War, which was providentially defeated by one of ours, filled with both Men and Arms for his Service?

Is *English* Liberty, or is *French* Slavery so little known, that it is necessary to expatiate a Moment on either? Shall I even be permitted to remind you of the Security,

curity, with which the Freedom, the Life, the Property of *Englishmen* are guarded by the Law? Can the greatest Man among us, even the King himself, take one of these from the poorest? Can any Man be imprisoned wrongfully, without present Redress, and future Satisfaction? Can he be punish'd without a Trial, without an unanimous Conviction, by twelve Men of his Equals, having been first accused on the Oaths of a Grand Jury of the like Number? Is he then liable to any other Sentence, than that to which the express Letter of the Law adjudges him, a Sentence which the King can neither aggravate or alter?

Is his Property less safe than his Life? May he not enjoy it how he will, and give it to whom he pleases? Can any Man take from him an Acre, or a Shilling, but by a due Course of Law, in which his Cause is to be determined by the same Jury of his Equals?

Perhaps the Slavery of *France*, though too nearly our Neighbour, may be less known, and her *Lettres de Cachet* may be a Word less understood than the *Habeas Corpus Act*.

Give

Give me Leave, therefore, to inform you, that the Person of a *Frenchman* is so far from being protected by their Laws from Imprisonment, that they are every Day liable, without any Crime, nay, *without any Accusation*, to be seized by the Authority of a *Lettre de Cachet*, (a Warrant under the King's Signet, backed by a Secretary of State) and conveyed not only to Prisons, *but Dungeons*, where their Friends and Relations neither know the Places of their Confinement, nor if they did, would they have any Method of obtaining their Discharge, (however innocent) nor even of procuring Access to them.

And as they may be sent to these Prisons without any Accusation, so may they be detained there without any Trial, often for many Years, and sometimes to the End of their Lives, however long Nature may be able to struggle with all the Miseries, Wants, and Inclemencies of a noisome Dungeon.

Nor is this Cruelty exerted rarely, on high Exigencies of State, or against dangerous and traitorous Persons only; but on the slightest Occasions, and to satisfy the
private

private Resentment of one Man against another. Lettres de Cachet (says a celebrated *French* Writer) * sont les Armes que certaines Gens emploient en France contre leurs Enemies. *These Letters are the Arms which several Persons in France employ against their Enemies.* The Jealousy of an amorous Intrigue hath frequently brought on this Mischief: This an *English* Gentleman, well known in the World, experienced; who was confined, or rather hid, seven Years in the *Bastile*, by one of these Letters, on Account of an Amour. Nor need this be the Jealousy of a Minister of State, a Prince of the Blood, or of any great Man; that of a *Valet de Chambre* to any of them will be sufficient; nay, or of any other Person, who by Interest or Money can purchase one of these Letters; which may be had from the lowest Court-Dependant: So common are they, that in the Administration of Cardinal *Fleury*, the gentlest and mildest Prime Minister which *France* ever knew, no less than FORTY-EIGHT THOUSAND of these Letters were granted, which were sold by his Officers and Servants to any who would pay for

* *Richelet.*

them

them ; so that well may the abovementioned Writer say of them, *That they make the Abbés and Courtiers tremble.*

Nor are the Lives of these miserable People more secure than their Liberties. As to all the lower Sort, they hold their Lives in a manner at the Will of their Masters ; who, if they think proper to kill them, are seldom in more Danger than of a moderate Mulct ; it being inconsistent with *French Politeness* to hang a Gentleman for the Death of a Slave or a Peasant.

Asto their legal Method of destroying Persons, take the following Instance. A *Gasconne*, in the Year 1713, killed an Officer of the Finances. It appeared on the Evidence, that it was done in the Defence of his Wife, who was assaulted and very rudely treated by the Officer ; on this he was acquitted. Upon Application of the superior Officers of the Finances, (the Craft being in danger) the Cause was try'd over again before other Judges, by the King's special Mandate ; and the poor *Gasconne*, notwithstanding he made the same good Defence, was convicted and executed.

Inferior Punishments (the Gallies for Instance) are inflicted often in a summary Manner, without any Form of Trial ; and many are condemned to them for Life by Order of the King, or of the Secretary of State.

Nor is it only in civil Matters, from Jealousy of State, that these Severities are exercised ; the Clergy are allowed the Use of them against the *Jansenists* ; that is, against those of their Countrymen who dare to maintain the Liberties of the *Gallican Church, in Opposition to the illegal Claims of the Pope*. Such a wicked League will there always be in Roman Catholic Countries, between ecclesiastical and civil Tyranny.

If their Lives and Liberties are so insecure, we ought not to suppose their Properties to be in a better Situation. And first, no Man in the Kingdom (of what Quality soever) dares cut his Corn, when ripe, till the King's Officers have chosen what Part they will receive for his Service, and this at their own Price : A Restraint of the utmost Inconvenience to the poor
D Farmer,

Farmer, who is obliged to bribe these Officers to do their Duty, which, in order to exact Money of these Wretches, they will often neglect it till the Corn becomes rotten on the Ground.

And how easy it is to deprive them even of this precarious Property, may be gathered from the Conduct of their Courts of Judicature; which, whenever a Cause is to be tried between a great Man and his Inferior, are always filled with the Nobility, who never fail by their Presence (as their Intent visibly is) to influence and awe the Judges by whose Voices the Cause is determined.

Instances of this kind happen almost every Day; indeed they are as common there in Decisions of private Property, as Examples of Corruption in *England* at Elections in the most corrupt Burrough of the Kingdom.

Lastly, as to their Taxations: The Method is in all their Provinces, that whereas a certain Sum is arbitrarily demanded by the Court of the Province, the *Intendant* (an Officer appointed by the Court) hath
Power

Power to levy it in what Manner he pleases; a Power which is always exercised with the greatest Oppression and Partiality. Such are the Cruelties with which the levying these Taxes are attended in this present War, that there is scarce a Peasant in *France* who hath a Bed left to lie upon; and to such Miseries are they reduced, as I am assured by a Gentleman just come over from thence, that by Filth, Famine and Grief, they have almost lost the human Countenance.

And this, Gentlemen, is the Constitution, this is the Government now endeavoured to be obtruded upon us, and which is to rage here with all the Aggravation with which the worst Governments exercise their Tyranny over a dependant Province.

This then being the Civil Exchange we are to make, let us now examine the Religious. And here I shall omit the Advantages which, in a spiritual Sense, our Religion has over popish Heathenism and Innovation; that Task hath been often executed by much more able Pens: It is suf-

ficient for my present Purpose to set before you the Horrors of Popery in a temporal Light only.

On this Head, I may be excused from an unnecessary Panegyric on that Freedom with which all Men in this Nation are suffered to enjoy their own Consciences, and to serve their God in what Manner they please.

How different from, indeed how opposite to this is the Temper of Popery, even in *France* itself, where the Malignity and Fury of that Religion rages with somewhat less Violence than in those Countries from whence the religious Model brought over to us by the Pretender must be derived. Hear a learned and ingenious Writer *, speaking of *Marseilles* in the Year 1686, at a Time when *James II.* was attempting to introduce this very Religion into *England*.

‘ The Instances, says he, I saw, are so
 ‘ much beyond all the common Measures
 ‘ of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confess they
 ‘ ought not to be believed, unless I could
 ‘ give more positive Proofs of them than

* *Dr. Burnet.*

' are fitting now to be brought forth ; and
 ' the Particulars that I could tell you are
 ' such, that if I should relate them, with
 ' the necessary Circumstances of Time,
 ' Place, and Persons, these might be so fa-
 ' tal to many that are in the Power of their
 ' Enemies, that my Regard to them re-
 ' strains me. In short, I do not think that
 ' in any Age there ever was such a Viola-
 ' tion of all that is sacred, either with rela-
 ' tion to God or Man : And what I saw
 ' and knew there, from the first Hand,
 ' hath so confirmed all the Ideas that I had
 ' taken from Books, of the Cruelty of that
 ' Religion, that I hope the Impression that
 ' this hath made upon me, shall never end
 ' but with my Life. The Applauses that
 ' the whole Clergy give to this Way of
 ' Proceeding, the many Panegyricks that
 ' are already writ upon it, of which, besides
 ' the more pompous ones that appear at
 ' *Paris*, there are Numbers writ by smaller
 ' Authors in every Town of any Note there ;
 ' and the Sermons, that are all Flights of
 ' Flattery upon this Subject, are such evi-
 ' dent Demonstrations of their Sense of this
 ' Matter, that what is now on foot may
 ' well be termed, The Act of the whole
 ' Clergy of *France* ; which yet hath been
 ' hitherto

' hitherto esteemed the most moderate Part
 ' of the *Roman* Communion. If any are
 ' more moderate than others, and have not
 ' so far laid off the Human Nature, as to
 ' go intirely into those bloody Practices, yet
 ' they dare not own it, but whisper it in
 ' secret, as if it were half Treason ; but
 ' for the greater Part, they do not only mag-
 ' nify all that is done, but they animate
 ' even the Dragoons to higher Degrees of
 ' Rage : And there was such a Heat spread
 ' over all the Country upon this Occasion,
 ' that one could not go into any Ordinary,
 ' or mix in any promiscuous Conversation,
 ' without finding such Effects of it, that it
 ' was not easy for such as were touched
 ' with the least Degree of Compassion for
 ' the Miseries that the poor Protestants suf-
 ' fered, to be a Witnesses to the Insultings
 ' that they must meet with in all Places.'

Again, a little afterward :

' I must take the Liberty to add one
 ' thing to you, that I do not see that the
 ' *French* King is to be so much blamed in
 ' this Matter, as his Religion, which, with-
 ' out question, *obligeth him to extirpate*
 ' *Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith with*
 ' *them ;*

‘ *them* ; so that, instead of censuring him,
 ‘ I must only lament his being bred up in
 ‘ a Religion that doth certainly oblige him
 ‘ to *divest himself of Humanity, and to*
 ‘ *violate his Faith, whensoever the Cause of*
 ‘ *his Church and of his Religion require*
 ‘ *it* ; or if there is any thing in this Con-
 ‘ duct, that cannot be entirely justified from
 ‘ the Principles of that Religion, it is this,
 ‘ that he doth not put the Hereticks to
 ‘ Death out of hand, but forceth them, by
 ‘ all the Extremities possible, to sign an Ab-
 ‘ juration, that all the World must needs
 ‘ see is done against their Consciences ; and
 ‘ being the only End of their Miseries,
 ‘ those that would think any Sort of Death
 ‘ a happy Conclusion of their Sufferings,
 ‘ seeing no Prospect of such a glorious Issue
 ‘ out of their Trouble, are prevailed on, by
 ‘ the many lingering Deaths, of which they
 ‘ see no End, to make Shipwreck of the
 ‘ Faith. This Appearance of Mercy, in
 ‘ not putting Men to Death, doth truly
 ‘ verify the Character that *Solomon* giveth
 ‘ of the *tender Mercies of the Wicked, that*
 ‘ *they are cruel.*’

But

But what is the State of Popery in *Italy* and *Spain*, where the Inquisition flourishes, that Inquisition which we are to expect here, could this *Italian* Pretender, by the joint Assistance of *Spain*, succeed in his Attempts : For it is the only Interest (as we shall prove by and by) that *Spain* can propose from the Enterprize wherein she is embarked.

I will here present you with a very short Sketch of this Inquisition, every Word of which I have extracted from the famous History of *Philip a Limborch*, after having recommended the Book at large to the perusal of such as are able to procure it.

The Judge of this hellish Court, who is called the Inquisitor, is appointed by the Pope, and is always a Person duly qualified for the Exercise of such a Power, which is almost totally arbitrary : For though (says *Limborch*) he is bound to certain general Laws, yet many things are left to his Pleasure. Besides, the very Application of the Laws to particular Cases which come before the Inquisition, and also the Method of Proceeding and drawing a Confession
from

from the Prisoners, depends very much on their Will.

In order to bring any Person before this Court, no direct Charge is necessary; it is sufficient, that the Accuser relates to the Inquisitor that there is such a Report, and that it hath frequently come to the Ears of the Inquisitor from grave and reputable Persons, that such a one hath done or said some Things against the Faith; and by this Means (says he) the Process is carried on. Now, as to the Witnesses against these Criminals, in favour of the Faith, all Persons, even such as are not allowed in other Tribunals; are admitted; nay, even perjur'd Persons, who having taken an Oath before the Inquisition to speak the Truth, have forsworn themselves by concealing it, and would afterwards correct themselves, and swear back again; nay, all other infamous Persons whatsoever.

The Method of examining these Witnesses is as iniquitous as the admitting them; for at this Examination none are present but the Witness himself and the Judge, the Writer, and two Assistants to the Inquisitor; nay, sometimes these two are omitted

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at the whole Examination, and are only call'd in to attest the Witness's signing his Deposition. And how doth their Presence (says my Author) make any thing to the Defence of the Criminal? Or what doth it avail him, that his Accusers are known to Persons, whom he himself knows nothing of, and who are forbidden to discover any thing after.

The Prisoner having been kept in Dungeons and in Irons, and having been accused as above, is at length brought before his Judge, where being under all the Circumstances of Horror, he is privately examin'd before his Judge, and a Notary only: Here every Art is made use of to entrap and ensnare him into a Confession, by which, if they do not prevail, they have usually Recourse to Torture, the last and greatest Argument on the Side of Popery. Of the Manner of this Torture, as it is very singular, I shall give a short Account from the aforesaid Author, after having premised, that the slightest Proof imaginable renders the Criminal liable to undergo it.

The Place of Torture in the *Spanish* Inquisition is generally an under-ground and very dark Room, to which one enters thro' several Doors: There is a Tribunal erected in it, in which the Inquisitor, Inspector and Secretary sit; when the Candles are lighted, and the Person to be tortured, brought in, the Executioner, who was waiting for the other, makes an astonishing and dreadful Appearance; he is cover'd all over with a black Linen Garment down to his Feet, and tied close to his Body; his Head and Face are all hid with a long black Cowl, only two little Holes being left in it for him to see through. All this is intended to strike the miserable Wretch with greater Terror in Mind and Body, when he sees himself going to be tortured by the Hands of one, who, thus, looks like the very Devil.

The Torture being prepar'd, the Criminal, having been exhorted, or rather insulted over by the Priests, is delivered to the Torturer to be stript.

This Stripping is performed without any Regard to Humanity or Honour; not only to Men, but to Women and Virgins, tho' the most Virtuous and Chaste, of whom they have sometimes many in their Prisons; for they cause them to be stripp'd, even to their very Shifts, which they afterwards take off, and then put on them straight Linen Drawers, and make their Arms naked quite up to their Shoulders. As to the Torture (which they call Quaffation) it is thus performed: The Prisoner hath his Hands bound behind his Back, and Weights tied to his Feet, and then he is drawn up on high, till his Head reaches the very Pully; he is kept hanging in this Manner for some time, that by the Greatness of the Weight hanging at his Feet, all his Joints and Limbs may be dreadfully stretched, and on a sudden he is let down with a Jerk, by the Slackening the Rope, but kept from coming quite to the Ground, by which terrible Shake, his Arms and Legs are all disjointed, whereby he is put to the most exquisite Pain; the Shock which he receives by the sudden Stop of his Fall, and the Weight at his Feet stretching his whole Body more intensely and cruelly.

There

There are many other Kinds of Torture too tedious to be transcribed here: Two, however, for their singular Cruelty should not be omitted.

The first is this: There is a Wooden Bench, which they call the Wooden Horse, made hollow like a Trough, so as to contain a Man lying on his Back at full length, about the Middle of which there is a round Bar laid a-cross, upon which the Back of the Person is placed, so that he lies on the Bar, instead of being let into the Bottom of the Trough, with his Feet much higher than his Head; as he is lying in this Posture, his Arms, Thighs and Shins are tied round with small Cords or Strings, which being drawn with Screws at proper Distances from each other, cut into the very Bones, so as no longer to be discerned. Besides this, the Torturer throws over his Mouth and Nostrils a thin Cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe through them, and in the mean while a small Stream of Water like a Thread, not Drop by Drop, falls from on high upon the Mouth of the Person lying in this miserable Condition, and so easily sinks down the thin Cloth to the
Bottom

Bottom of his Throat; so that there is no Possibility of breathing, his Mouth being stopp'd with Water, and his Nostrils with the Cloth; thus the poor Wretch is in the same Agonies as Persons ready to die, and breathing out their last. When this Cloth is drawn out of his Throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the Questions, it is all wet with Water and Blood, and is like pulling his Bowels through his Mouth. The other Torture, which my Author says is *peculiar to this Tribunal*, is called the Fire; and this is, by holding a large Chafing-dish of Charcoal close to the tortured Person's Feet, being first greas'd with Lard, that the Heat may more quickly pierce thro' them.

I now proceed to their Punishments, (for what you have hitherto heard, is only their Method of Trial) and these are in Number seven: First, Confiscation of Goods; and this is so extremely severe, not only on the Criminals, but on their Relations and Heirs, that even a Daughter's Portion, tho' paid before, is to be revoked and confiscated; the second is the Corruption of Blood, and disinheriting their Heirs; third, they are render'd infamous; fourth, they are deprived

prived of all natural Right ; fifth, they are imprisoned ; sixth, they are laid under the Bann, *i. e.* put out of the Protection of the Law, and any one may kill them with Impunity ; seventh, and last Punishment, is Death, and that by burning, or indeed sometimes rather roasting them alive ; for all these Punishments are inflicted with the utmost Severity. Nay, sometimes (says my Author) this Punishment of burning is heightened by another Kind of Cruelty. In *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, lest they should speak to the Spectators, when brought to the Stake, and piously testify their Constancy, they were gagged with an Iron Instrument ; so that in the Midst of their Torments they could utter only an inarticulate Sound. And if they could invent any thing more terrible, they would not fail to use it against Hereticks. This *Carena* testifies, affirming, that the Custom of punishing Hereticks with Fire is most reasonable, *because burning is the most terrible Death, and therefore the most grievous of all Crimes ought to be punished with it ; so that if any Punishment more terrible than this could be found out, it ought to be inflicted on Hereticks ; and also because by this Means the Heretick*

retick

retick and his Crime is more speedily blotted out from the Remembrance of Mankind.

My Author concludes his Chapter of their Punishments in the following Words.

‘ Thus we see, that there is no Kind
 ‘ of Punishment that can possibly be in-
 ‘ vented, but is enacted against Hereticks,
 ‘ and that greater Gentleness is used to-
 ‘ wards Thieves, Traitors and Rebels, those
 ‘ Enemies of Mankind, than towards mi-
 ‘ serable Hereticks; who, endeavouring to
 ‘ worship God with a pure Conscience, and
 ‘ regulate their Lives by the Gospel Rule,
 ‘ *yet oppose some Doctrines of the Church of*
 ‘ *Rome, which they are persuaded are con-*
 ‘ *trary to the Gospel;* and that it is a much
 ‘ more grievous Offence in that Church,
 ‘ to oppose certain Opinions by the clear
 ‘ Light of the Word of God, and to re-
 ‘ ject certain Pharisaical Superstitions, than
 ‘ openly contemn the Divine Commands
 ‘ by an impious and profane Life, and
 ‘ vilely to dishonour the most Holy Name
 ‘ of God.’

This

This is the Temper of Popery ! Of that Religion in which the Pretender was educated, which he hath always profess'd, to which he is the most devoted Bigot ! This is the Religion now practis'd in those Countries, where he hath been bred, by whose Assistance he now invades these Kingdoms ! And this is the Religion, which by their Assistance is to be introduced here : A Consequence which would so certainly attend his Success, that it is almost capable of Demonstration ; first, from the Nature and Temper of the Religion itself, which regards the Professors of all other Religions to be in a State of Damnation ; that no Faith is to be held with them ; that they are to be extirpated with Fire and Sword ; Methods which have not only been prescribed, but practis'd in the most barbarous and violent Manner ; witness the two famous Massacres at *Paris* and in *Ireland*, where so many *Thousands of miserable Protestants were in the dead of Night surpriz'd in their Sleep, and murder'd without Mercy or Exception, for the Sake of Religion only.* And this not by Thieves and Robbers, but religious Cut-throats, who thought that by spilling the Blood of Hereticks they wash'd

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away

away their own Sins. Secondly, The extreme Bigotry of this Pretender, who must consequently hold all these Tenets in the highest and strongest Degree. Thirdly, From the Parties who espouse his Cause, particularly from the Cabals of the Court of *Rome*, where the Restoration of this Family hath been the favourite Scheme ever since their Expulsion ; nay, why else should the Catholicks themselves, even in this Country, have ever ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes in his Cause ? Why should they even wish well to it, since all, who have any Understanding among them, know they are sacrificing their Liberties. As to a bare Toleration of their Religion, they have it already in the fullest Manner by Connivance. The absolute Establishment of their Religion, and Extirpation of Heresy, is and must be their only Motive ; and we may trust to the Assurances they have of effecting it. Lastly, From Experience ; for what greater Security, what Promises more solemn, can this Pretender give, than his Father did before him ? How he kept those Promises, hath been mention'd already.

If

If we want more Instances,

Can this Nation hope for better legal Securities for the Toleration of its Religion under a Catholick Prince, than the *French* Protestants had for the Toleration of theirs by the Edict of *Nantz*? And yet did not *Lewis XIV.* revoke that Edict, though it was the Act of his Grandfather, a Prince whom he always affected to make his Model and Example in Government? Can any Prince be laid under stronger Restraints by the freest Subjects, than the Emperors of *Germany* have been by their Capitulations, and by the Treaty of *Munster*? And yet how ill have these Capitulations been kept with regard to the Protestants? The Genius of Popery will break through all Restraints; the most watchful Care cannot prevent it; and yet, were that the only Evil, what a terrible Misfortune is it in Government, for a Nation to be always distrusting its Sovereign? But Instances are numberless, that no Precautions can save a People under this Circumstance. It is but lately, that the Palatinate, by the Failure of the Protestant Line, has come under a Popish Prince. Have we forgot how many *Palatines* were

forc'd to take Refuge here against the Rage of Popish Persecution, no longer ago than in the Reign of Queen *Anne*? How cruelly, how perfidiously, were the *Bokemian* and *Hungarian* Protestants used by their Sovereigns, almost to the Ruin of the *Austrian* Family. And I pray God, that the great Services they are now doing the present Queen, may not be forgot hereafter, as those of the *Vaudois* were by the Duke of *Savoy*, if the Jesuits ever regain that Ascendant over her Councils, as they had over those of that Prince, though he was otherwise a very wise Man! But how much more certain will be the Infraction of any legal Restraints, under a Prince coming in by Force of Arms, by the Assistance of Popish Powers, who will consider this Nation as a conquer'd Country, conquer'd not only for him, but for his Lord and Protector the Pope. To dream of Security under such an Invader, is like setting open our Doors to a Highwayman, and trusting to his Honour and Conscience not to rob us. Nay, it is more absurd; for a Highwayman is not bound in Honour or Conscience to rob us, whereas the Pretender is bound by both, to destroy our Religion and Liberties: His Conscience tells him he must do
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the one, his Engagements with *France* oblige him to do the other. For till we are enslaved, *France* very well knows she cannot be Mistress of *Europe*, and therefore she uses this Tool to do that Work for her, which all her own Power cannot perform.

But should this great Work be once effected, let us never hope for another Deliverance. If we give up these great Purchases of our Ancestors, our Posterity will never be able to regain them. It will, indeed, put a final End to the Protestant Religion, as well as to Liberty, in *Europe*.

In what Light, therefore, can we see this Measure of our Enemies to introduce such a Government and such a Religion, but as the highest Insult on our Understanding, as an open Declaration that they suppose us to be Fools, as well as intend to make us Slaves. This is indeed a pregnant Example of that Contempt for *English* Wisdom, which *France* hath of late particularly affected.

Could

Could the Instability of human Nature, or that Satiety which the Possession even of Happiness too often induces; nay, could the Sense of any Grievance incline us to a Desire of Change, yet surely the Colours under which this Invader comes, are sufficient to make the most fickle, the most simple, or the most angry Man reject him. Was the Throne vacant and elective, would it be possible to give a stronger Reason against the Pretensions of any Candidate, than that he was recommended by those two Crowns, under whose Protection, and by whose Assistance, this Pretender now disturbs these Kingdoms! One of these Crowns, divided from us by incompatible Interests, the natural Enemy and Rival of our Trade, and which hath long regarded us as the principal Obstacle to that Ambition, whose Views extend themselves all over *Europe*, and which in this last Campaign, hath by many Instances of Cruelty exerted an unwonted and an unwarranted Fury towards us. The other, naturally less an Enemy perhaps to our Power, but more to our Religion, and both at present making War on our Trade with the most violent and implacable Rage.

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Were therefore the Views of our Enemies less apparent on this Occasion, were the Advantages which they propose in this Measure to acquire to themselves, or the Destruction which they will necessarily bring upon us, less manifest ; yet, surely, if that known Line,

Hoc Itbacus velit & magno mercentur Astridæ,

may ever be quoted with any Force of Argument, it is on this Occasion. If *France*, if *Spain* would chuse this Man to reign over us, common Sense cries aloud to us, *reject him*. If it be their Interest to support, it is that of *Britain* to oppose him. If he will strengthen them, he must ruin us. Nor are the particular Views of each Crown less obvious. What can be plainer than the Advantage which *France* must gain in her two grand Views of extending her Dominions and her Trade, than by placing a Lieutenant (for he would be absolutely and really no more) to reign over that People who are the most capable of obstructing her in both ; and who, in all Ages, have had the greatest Share in clipping

ping the Wings of her Ambition, and in checking the Growth of that Commerce to which her late most prudent Ministers have so vigorously applied themselves; well knowing that in that alone, and not in vast Tracts of Land, consist the Riches, and consequently the Power of a Kingdom. In this Branch she hath lately felt the Force of *British* Opposition, and is at present thoroughly sensible how dearly she hath bought her Success on the Continent, by a War which hath almost totally ruin'd her Trade, and which must have effectually destroy'd it, had she not found this Way of distressing us at Home, and of confining our Naval Force to the Defence of our own Coasts.

And what can the Views of *Spain* be, other than to settle here that Religion which is profess'd and practis'd in her own Realm, with a Cruelty and Persecution in which she out-does even *Rome* herself. In a political Sense, it cannot be the Interest of *Spain* to subject this Nation to a Dependance on the Councils of *France*, which must be the necessary Effect of the Pretender's being establish'd here. Such a Design can be espoused by that Court on no other

other Motives than the Desire of propagating their Religion, even at the Expence of their Civil Interest ; and to that bigotted View they have at all times sacrificed every other ; witness, among many other Instances, their Conduct in the *Low Countries*, in the Reign of *Philip II.* This therefore must be her Purpose, in abetting the Enterprize now carrying on with *France* against our establish'd Government ; and the Zeal with which she hath engaged in the Cause, shows the Assurances she hath received from this her Agent of fulfilling her Design.

As to our Loss by this detestable Exchange, what would it be less than of every thing dear and valuable, of our pure and excellent Religion for Popery and abject Superstition ? Of our inestimable Liberties for *French* Slavery ; and of the Trade, Wealth and Commerce, of a powerful, a free and a flourishing People, for the Misery and Poverty of a subjected dependant Province ?

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And

And what are the Pretences with which this Invasion is colour'd over? What is the Creed imposed on our Minds, by our more impudent than powerful Enemies, but that a popish Pretender, educated in all the Tenets of Bigotry, will maintain a Religion to which he is a profest Foe; and which he cannot even tolerate, according to the Faith in which he is bred, under Pain of Damnation? That one nursed up in hereditary Principles (for I may justly so term them) of absolute Power, will protect our Liberties? And that the Creature, the mere Instrument of *France*, will secure us the Possession of those Blessings which to deprive us of is the Interest, and hath been the principal Aim of that Crown? God be praised, as these things are gross and visible, so they are seen and felt. It is not, therefore, with a Purpose of correcting an ignorant, a supine, or a perverse People, that the Friends of our Religion and Liberties have taken up their Pen; but with the more pleasing Intention of encouraging and animating Men already resolv'd to continue to themselves and their Posterity those Blessings they enjoy, and chearfully to hazard their Fortunes and Lives, rather than

than submit to render those precarious, or these worthless, under popish and arbitrary Power.

I will not on this Occasion descend to consider particular Interests; I will not remind all those who are possessed of Abby-Lands or forfeited Estates, or who are interested in the Funds, how much they are concerned to oppose a Torrent which threatens to overwhelm their Fortunes. The Whole is at Stake. We have the Pretender's own Word for it, in his Declaration now publish'd in *Scotland*, that he is above our Laws; that he will regard none of them, not the most antient, upon which the Security of every Man's Property rests, nay, even the Security of their Lives, and of the Bread, the Inheritance of their Children. For even *Neutrals are to be included in his Resentment, and all those who do not take Arms in his Cause subjected to the Penalties of High-Treason.* A most detestable and bloody Declaration! Which may raise a Doubt, whether its Inhumanity flies more in the Face of natural Justice, or of our Law; by which, even as long ago as the Reign of *Henry VII.* it is declared that any Man may support the King, *de facto,*

facto, without incurring those Penalties which this wicked, insolent, incensed Tyrant hath denounced against the whole People of *England*, (some few Rebels only excepted.)

Good God ! Is this a Bait to allure us ? Nay, can such a Curse be imposed on us by any Force, unless what is capable of conquering the whole Kingdom, and extirpating its Inhabitants. But with what less than such an Extirpation are we actually threatned, by this Incurfion of Barbarians ? Shall we open our Gates to a Banditti, a Rabble of Thieves and Outlaws, who have already exercis'd the most barbarous Methods on those who have yielded to their Force. What are they indeed but Savages, who, as they inhabit as barren a Country, have the barbarous Manners of *Huns* and *Vandals* ; and like them, would by their Swords cut their Way into the Wealth of richer Climates. What are we to expect but Rapine and Massacres, from a Gang of Wretches whom the Desire of Plunder and an innate Love of Rebellion and Civil War have animated to this Undertaking.

Let