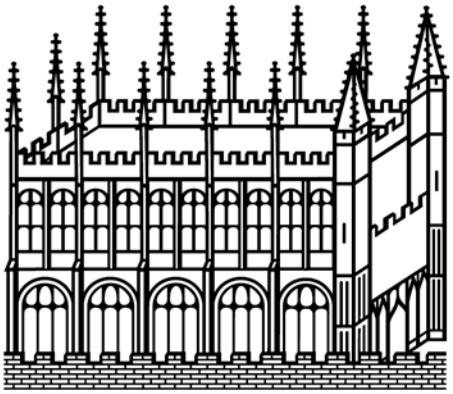

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TI

SECOND

OF TH

Growth of Popery

AND

Arbitrary Government:

BEGINNING

Where the FORMER left,

VIZ.

From the YEAR 1677. unto the

YEAR 1682.

2.

By *PHILO-VERITAS.*

COLOGNE,

Printed for *Philliotus*, in the Year 1682.

Readers,

The Imperfections of the Phraſe and Style, and whatever elſe in this enſuing diſcourſe, that may juſtly fall under your cenſure; you are deſired favourably to paſs by, and out of the many Errours committed in the Printing, you are deſired to mend theſe following, and any other you ſhall meet withall in the reading.

PAge 165. line 23. for *exorted* read *exerted*, p. 166. *l.* 22. r. *believing he would*, p. 172. *l.* 16. for *karty* r. *hearty*, and for *ſtops* r. *ſteps*, p. 177. *l.* 5. for *come* r. *fine*, p. 181. l. 31. for *Boyſe* r. *Boyle*, p. 182. l. 5. for *ſerve* r. *preſerve*, and l. 24. for *ſay* r. *ſaw*, p. 183. l. 29. for *not* r. *now*, p. 185. l. 16. r. 1670. p. 186. l. 23. for *Commitment* r. *Committee*, p. 187. l. 1. for *Relation* r. *Reſolution*, and l. the laſt, for *after* r. *utter*, p. 190. l. 22. for *they knew* r. *the kew*, p. 193. l. 8. r. *to this effect*, p. 205. l. 37. for *tap* r. *top*, p. 206. l. 9. r. *perſwaded*, p. 207. l. 23. r. *reſolved on here in it's due time*, p. 228. l. 22. for 1500. and 2000. r. 15000. and 20000. p. 237. l. 29. for *Street* r. *Gregory*, p. 259. l. 33. r. *preliminary*, p. 261. l. 36. r. *that they might*, p. 262. l. 27. for *but* r. *and*, p. 263. l. 1. r. *to feign themſelves privy to*, p. 166. l. 7. r. *that the*, p. 269. l. 12. for *twenty pounds* r. *twenty Shillings*, l. 17. for *whiteby* r. *White*, p. 270. l. 26. for *Remarque* r. *Reprimand*, p. 281. l. 7. leave out *that*, p. 285. l. 16. for *diſcouraged* r. *diſcovered*, p. 287. l. 14. and 15. r. *and thereby bring all their deſigns to paſs*, p. 288. l. 17. for *upon* r. *of*, and l. 25. for *fact* r. *act*, p. 303. l. 1. for *he* r. *ſhe*, and l. 2. for *he* r. *ſhe*, p. 325. l. 6. r. *to compleat it*, p. 329. l. 5. for *Fever* r. *Fever—m*.

The Second Part.

OF all the Felicities that the *Immortal God* beſtowes upon mortal man, two are the chief; that we are born *Men* and not *Beaſts*, *Freemen* and not *Slaves*; and thoſe that go about to leſſen or ſteal away theſe two excellent Indowments, I dare be bold to pronounce them the worſt of *Beaſts*. The great God when he had made the world out of nothing, and all the Creatures therein; at the laſt to Crown the Work, he makes man out of the Earth in his own likeneſs, giving him Reaſon, Cogitation, and excellent Indowments, and Subjecting to man all the reſt of the Creatures he had made: Man being Lord of all by Divine appointment, and this Crea-

If this were all, that our *unthinking States-men* and others as well as their Ladies do, it might be paſſed by with ſilence, and be forgiven them to be fond of a *French Ape*, but who is ſo blind as not to ſee what farther ſteps have been taken by the *Conſpirators*, not only to be in love with the French Mode and Manners, but alſo with the very French Yoak of Slavery put about the Necks of their own Natives, longing for that day to come, when the ſame Yoak of Tyranny and Slavery, ſhall be fitted upon the Engliſh-mens Shoulders, as now upon the——*French Aſſes*; nay, one of the *Conſpirators* of great *Quality*, not long ſince (whom for modeſty I forbear to name) as well as an Alderman of *London*, who may be named or called by the Name of Sr. *Fames*, was pleaſed to ſay publickly, if not in an open Coffee-Houſe, *That it would never be well in* England, *till our King was as abſolute as the King of France*: But it is true, the time the Knight ſpake it, was when he expected the Grant of the great Park by *Dublin* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and for that wiſe ſaying muſt needs deſerve a great reward (eſpecially if we conſider what ſort of Perſons now a days are *advanced*) and had he had but as much knowledge in *State Affairs* as in *Sugar Plums*, the World could hardly excuſe him from being accounted one of the *Chief Conſpirators* againſt the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the People of *England*, for who could ſay better, and mean worſe?

For this Sr. *Fames* a man would have ſworn had converſed not only at Court, but with the *Conſpirators* beyond Sea, or at leaſt with the French Taylor (here) who the other day in a Diſcourſe with a certain Engliſh Gentleman about Government, being told by the Engliſh Gentleman he was miſtaken in his Aſſerting that Kings could do what they liſted, or take away any mans Life or Eſtate otherwiſe then by the Law, the French man thereat rages and fumes and cries, *Begar he thanked God his King could ſend for his*

Eſtate

Eſtate, his Goods, his Head, and all that he had at his plea[illegible] and he was one boon Prince begar.

That there is ſuch a Slaviſh Temper in theſe poor Wretches is undeniable, but that there ſhould be ſuch a Slaviſh or Knaviſh temper in an *Engliſh mans Breaſt* is admirable.

And to accompliſh and bring us into this *Allamode de France*, nothing was ever thought a better way then firſt to inſlave our Souls by Subjecting them, and our reaſon to the blind Superſtition of the Church, for that Prieſt-Craft having once ſo far won upon the Engliſh men, as to make them truſt, and pin their Faith and Reaſon upon their ſleeves, they may after that bring them to any thing that they ſhall direct: and therefore as in this time, ſo in all ages heretofore, nothing hath ſhewn more the Policy of the Conſpirators, then to drive on theſe two together Popery and Slavery, only ſometimes they have driven on the one by the other, ſometime Popery leads the Van to Slavery and Arbitrary Government: ſometimes Arbitrary Government leads the Van to Popery, and this done chiefly through that common and blind Admonition of the Prieſt to the People, of Obedience to our Governours, be it good they command, or be it Evil, whatever they command muſt be obeyed; and what Nation ſoever came under the misfortune of being rob'd of their rights and liberties: it was chiefly brought to paſs by Prieſt-craft, in Preaching up blind Obedience, and extolling vitious Kings and calling them excellent tho the vileſt of Tyrants, who were riding Poſt to ſwallow them up, and ſuch as were juſt overturning the Government, ſo was it done in the Kingdomes of *Arragon* and *Caſtiel*, by the Prieſts perſwading the People not to diſpleaſe or oppoſe their Enemies, though juſt coming to Riſle them of all Law and Juſtice, and to Rule them not by the Laws and Conſtitution

of

of the Nation for Gods ſake; but to over-rule and deſtroy them in the Devils name, and for their own ſakes.

And who was it that altered the Government of *France*, who heretofore by their Conſtitutions were the ſame with *England*, Governed by the Laws, and not by the will of an Imperious Prince; was it not Cardinal *Richlieu*, and Cardinal *Mazarene*; did not *Mazarene* chalk out the way when the new *French* King was in his Minority, and left him a Tract in writing for the King to follow, whereby to wreſt all inherent *Power*, and Right out of the Nobility and People, and deſtroy their Parliaments, and make them inſignificant things, as now they are; did not theſe *Cardinals* and the reſt of the *Popiſh Crew* contrive all, and is any Noble man or Peaſant now in *France*, any more then a Tenant at will, both for his Life and Eſtate, the Sword being the only Judge? and to demonſtrate that it is ſo in *France* needs no Proof, themſelves confeſs it, which both load and bear the Burthen, Witneſs the *French Taylor*: and what an aching Tooth have we had in *England* to be at the ſame paſs, and how near we have been to be inſlaved after the ſame manner both in our Religion and Liberty for theſe 20 years laſt paſt, by the indefatigable labor of the *Conſpirators*, is not unknown that it was more then an even lay within theſe 20 Years, that we had been in the ſame condition with *France*, if not far worſe: And this will appear moſt Evident by what hath been diſcovered in the *Popiſh Plot*, as well as the enſuing diſcourſe.

The way that *France* got rid of their Parliaments, and thereby of all *Law* but Will and Pleaſure, was this, after divers of the Devices of Cardinal *Mazarene*, had been carefully followed before, in raiſing a new upſtart Nobility from mean and contemptible Fortunes, who were fit to execute any commands Ambition ſhould impoſe and cutting ſhort the *Antient Nobility*, impriſoning ſome, defaming and contemning others; at laſt to crown the work,

a *Parliament* being called at *Paris*, and *Wars* then on foot, and a cloud of *Troubles* by the *French King* made to appear before the *Parliaments* Eyes, and good ſtore of his new made *Nobility* and *Gentry* fitted for the work, in that *Aſſembly* a pretence was made by the *French King* to his *Chief Miniſter*, and the *Miniſter* to the *Parliament*, that ſince they had ſo good and gracious a *Prince*, indowed with *Wiſdom*, *Courage* and *Conduct*, and that ſince *Troubles* and *Wars* were now within their bowels, and that great danger did oft times accrew to the *Kingdom* for want of the timely *Aſſembling* of *Parliaments* to raiſe *Money* to defray the neceſſary occaſions: that in times of ſuch *Emergences* as had happened, and were like to happen, during the War, it was very fit, that an extraordinary care ſhould be taken to prevent ſuch *Inconveniences*, that the King only out of the abundant *Goodneſs* and *Wiſdom*, and the care he had for the preſervation of his *Subjects* in thoſe eminent times of *Danger*, was reſolved to do all on his part that could be done for the preſervation of his people, whoſe weal and proſperity was always more dear to him than his own, that he good man whatever power they intruſted him with was as ſafe as in their own hands, that theſe things conſidered, the King could ſee no ways ſo effectual to prevent the *Miſchiefs* threatned, then to be inabled with ſufficient power to raiſe ſuch ſums of *Money*, as the occaſions might require in the *Intervals* of *Parliaments*.

Theſe fine ſpun ſpecious pretences prevailed with the help of the other Arts before uſed, to get a power inveſted in the *French King* by the *Parliament*, that at any time during the *Intervals* of *Parliaments*, the King ſhould have *Liberty* to raiſe what Money he pleaſed, which that King more faithfully performed than ever any other promiſe he ever made, and by vertue of this Power, the day became his own, and the *People* his *Vaſſals*, until the *Eſtates* of

Parliament

Parliament ſhall again meet to retract that power, which moſt men believe will not be before *Dooms day* in the Afternoon.

And as if this had been a Pattern for *England* to have worked by; in the time of the *Lord Chancellor Hide*, when the Pentioner Houſe of Commons was ſo eager to give what was none of their own, and ſo zealous to advance the Prerogative beyond its due bounds, and the Stream running both high and Strong by that way, a Bill was prepared by the *Conſpirators* for the very ſame thing, and was actually brought into the Houſe of Commons and read once, which deſigned power to the King to raiſe what money he pleaſed, upon an extraordinary occaſion, as the *Dutch War* was pretended to be; and had not that Lord Chancellor himſelf being awakened by an Intimate Friend of his, who underſtanding what was a doing in the Houſe of Commons, came to him, and ſhewed him what the Conſequences were, which ſuch an unheard of thing, would produce, and demanding of him what they were about, uſing one argument to him above all the reſt, in telling him he came to the Honour and Greatneſs he was in by the Gown not by the Sword, and if that Bill paſſed, he adviſed him to conſider what his Gown, or all the Lawyers Gowns in *England* were worth, which that Lord Chancellor, though one of the Actors, to enſlave the Nation, being a man of ſome Sence had yet ſo much Honour

left

left in him as to think it no diſhonour, to retreat from that Deviliſh Invention, which himſelf had before with others of the Conſpirators, either been the cauſe of hatching or conſenting unto, and ſo that Bill, tho once read in the Houſe, for giving his Majeſty Power to raiſe Money at Pleaſure, was by providence dropped ſo far as it only dwindled into a Bill of 75000 *l.* not exceeding a Months Tax.

And no doubt tho this curious Bill was dreſſed up in the *French* Mode for emergent Occaſions, yet had it paſſed in the ſame manner as the Conſpirators deſigned, there would not have wanted emergent Occaſions and extraordinary Services to have given colour for the keeping that Power ſo got, no more than there doth in *France* at this Day; whoſe King hath never been at leaſure yet to call his Parliament to diſpute the Point.

But to omit any farther remarks of the Conſpirators actions, againſt our Religion and Liberties, which hath ſo well been handled by the Author of the firſt part of the groth of *Popery and Arbitrary Power*, which ended with the Adjournment of the Parliament at the pleaſure and will, not only of the King, but by the Authority and Prerogative of Speaker *Seymor* in the Houſe of Commons, where again he exorted his Prerogative, and without the Vote of the Houſe, Adjourned to the 15th of *January* 1677.

In the mean while, to peruſe what had been before by the Conſpirators contrived and ſtrangely carried on, for the advancement of *France* and Ruin of *England*, no care was wanting from the Conſpirators; and notwithſtanding the Courtſhip and Threats for Supplies to enable us to ſpeake, and act in a War againſt the *French* King, yet

nothing more was really intended by the Conſpirators, than to drive off things ſo long untill the *French* King had fully accompliſhed his ends, either of Ruining the *Spaniard* and *Dutch* by force of Arms, or a moſt miſchevious and dangerous Peace: And now the fifteenth of *January* is come, great expectations then are both in City and Country, whether the Conſpirators would appear more openly and bare-faced, or in their old private and clandeſtine manner.

The Conſpirators from *July* before to this time were never idle, but Meſſengers paſſed continually both from *France* and *Holland*, and never was there a greater Harmony between the Court of *France* and our Conſpirators than now, notwithſtanding what paſſed in Parliament, and the outward ſhew of a Breach with that King.

Certain it is that our Court now intended to enrich themſelves, on either hand and if one failed the other ſhould hold; but the *French* King knowing by former Experience our veracity and our conſtant inclinations to him, out of the ſecret love we always bore him for the ſake of his Religion and Government, plaies with us with much eaſe; for when ever he calls we run like his Spaniel-Dogs; the Conſpirators: at the laſt he would ſo far conſider our merits, as to aſſiſt them at home in a very little time, that we might be able to cry *Ala mode de France* both in Government and Religion.

And now for all this Service we both had done, and for what we were to doe, our Conſpirators with their private Treaty with *France* had got aſſurances of Money and abundance of fair Promiſes too boote, and though Mr. *Montague* ſtill continued at *Paris*, yet very much of the Conſpirators affairs went not through his hands; however, his Orders were

to

to aſſure the *French* King that it ſhould go well on his ſide, whatever ſhew appeared otherwiſe at Home to the Parliament. And as the Conſpirators kept up their Trade of under-hand-dealing there, ſo in *Holland* and other places our Embaſſadors might and main they preſs to diſpoſe the Waring Parties to Peace: and tho the *Dutch* all this time had no minde to have Peace, becauſe they knew in that Peace which muſt be concluded at this time a day, in all probability would be their Deſtruction, and the more backwarder were our Conſpirators in making them any fair overtures of Aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding what Votes and Anſwers had paſſed before in that Affair; the *Dutch* perceiving how the Cards vvere ſhuffled, waited with patience till the next Seſſions; in the mean time, the *French* King by his Army prevails in *Flanders*, being there more terrible than ever, tho at the ſame time He, or rather We, ſought for a Ceſſation of Arms.

But now the 15th. of *January* being come, the Houſes met, and by a Meſſage ſent to theHouſe of Commons; They are ordered to adjourn till the 28*th.* of *January* next, the reaſon in the Meſſage is this; That his Majeſty had Matters of great Importance to communicate to both Houſes, in order to the ſatisfaction of their Addreſſes, for the preſervation of *Flanders*, but yet hapning that things are not ſo ripe as in a few days they would be; His Majeſties pleaſure is, That this Houſe do immediately adjourn till the 28*th.* of this inſtant.

This Meſſage mightily pleaſed the Commons, which knew not the Intreague,and many others; and now nothing more to be talked of but Alliances with *Holland* as good as made, and Warr with *France*, tho the Conſpirators nothing leſs intended. The Court begin to ſpeak hardly of the *French* King, and ſome to revile him, a Book is alſo written too by the Court, to ſhew the Jugling and Tricks of the *French* King,

and the neceſſity of a War upon him, and every publick Miniſter big with a War with *France*, and ſeeming to have an intent to pull down what they had ſet up before, in ſo much, that the Lord *Halliſax* being with the Treaſurer and his *Vyraſety*, at the new Biſhop of *Canterbury's* Houſe, the Chancellor offered to lay wagers of a War with *France* with the Lord *Halliſax*: And now that the pretences might make the fairer ſhew of really falling out with *France*, the Prince of *Orange* arrives here, ſtays ſome ſhort time to take right Meaſures from the Conſpirators, how he ſhould demean himſelf towards the *French* in this Juncture of Affairs, and to put it out of all doubt, that we were no longer Friends to the *French* Intereſt: A ſudden Match is clapt up with the Duke's Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, and poſted back for *Holland*, with his full Inſtructions for the next Campagn; and ſo well did all things now work to help forward *Popery* and Arbitrary Government; a great many being thus blinded with the Viſion of a *French* War, that the Conſpirators now had concluded under that pretext to raiſe an Army to do the Work.

The 20*th*, of *January* the Parliament met, the King makes a Speech full of good words, with a Reprimand for their diſtruſt, and to ſhew them how they were miſtaken; they are told of the great care his Majeſty hath for the Proteſtant Religion, that he had concluded in order thereunto a Match with the Lady *Mary* to the Prince of *Orange*, a Prince profeſſing the ſame Religion with us, and engaged in Arms to defend the common Cauſe of *Chriſtendom*, that ſince the *French* King did prevail ſo faſt in *Flanders*, it was high time to enter into Alliances, that he was willing to do, that or any thing elſe that might conduce to the preſervation of *Flanders*, which was now in great danger, that he had concluded ſome Alliances, and ſhould endeavour others when he

he had ſuch Supplies as might ſupport and encourage ſuch Alliances, that nothing ſhould be wanting in his part, and he relied on them to perform what was fit on their parts, that no time might be loſt, concluding that if any thing ſtopped or hindred what they had preſſed him to, it ſhall be their own fault, and not his; and concluded that they would ſet themſelves to provide ſuch ſuitable Supplies for ſuch Alliances, as might put him into a poſture to ſupport them already made, and to effect others, that therefore they ſhould looſe no time, but apply themſelves to the work moſt needful at this time of Emergency.

This preſſing Speech was anſwered not with thanks in general, but only with a particular thanks touching the King's care, expreſſed for the Proteſtant Religion in their next Addreſs, which was concluded on the 31*th.* of *January*, as follows.

We your Majeſties moſt Humble and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do in all Duty and Gratitude render our moſt humble Thanks to your Sacred Majeſty, for the great care your Majeſty hath expreſſed of the preſervation and encouragement of the Proteſtant Religion, by concluding a Marriage with the Lady Mary, *your Majeſties Niece; and the Prince of* Orange *being a Prince profeſſing the ſame Religion with us, and engaged in Arms for the common cauſe of Chriſtendom; for the promoting of which, We do in all Humility, and with the fulleſt Zeal of your Majeſties Honour, and the ſafety of your People beſeech your Majeſty not to admit of any Treaty of Peace, whereby the* French *King ſhall be left in Poſſeſſion of any larger Dominions and Territories, or of any greater Power than what he attained by the pereman Treaty, leſs than which we conceive cannot preſerve your Majeſties Kingdoms, and the reſt of* Europe *from the Grouth and Power of the ſaid King, but that he alone may be able to diſturb the Peace whenſoever he is minded*

to.

to attempt it; the Places reſerved by that Treaty to the King of Spain, *in the* Netherlands *being very advantagious, as well by holding ſome important Towns and Garriſons of the Kingdom of* France, *as by the extent of the Treaty: and We do moſt humbly deſire, that in all Treaties or Alliances and Confederations in order to the obtaining that End, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to provide, that none of the Parties that ſhall joyn with your Majeſty in making War for that purpoſe, may lay down their Arms or depart from their Alliances, until the ſaid King be reduced at leaſt to the ſaid Treaty; and We do farther deſire as one of the effectual means to obtain thoſe ends, That it may be agreed between your Majeſty and the Confederates, that neither our Selves nor any of the Confederates, ſhall hold any Commerce or Trade with the* French *King or his Subjects during ſuch War, and that no Commoditie of the groth, product, or Manufacture of* France, *or of any the Teritories or Dominions of the* French *King, be admitted to be brought into your Majeſties or any of their Dominions, either by Land or by Sea, or to be Sold within the ſame, but that they may be deſtroyed whereſoever they may be found, and Days to be limited for the ſame, in as ſhort time, as the nature of affairs will permit; and that in all Treaties, Articles, and Confederations made in order, to or for the proſecution of ſuch War; it may be agreed and declared, that no Veſſel of any Nation whatſoever, ſhall be permitted to enter into, or remove out of the parts of* France. *but that the Ship and Men ſhall be ſeiſed, and the Goods deſtroyed.*

And We do therefore moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, to proceed in making ſuch Alliances and Confederations as ſhall be neceſſary for the obtaining thoſe ends; and tho we believe your Majeſty can never doubt of the affections of your People, yet upon this occaſion we do with all alacrity and with one unanimous conſent, renew our former promiſes and ingagements, beſeech-

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ing your Majeſty to reſt confidently aſſured of our perſeverance in the proſecution of the ſaid War; and that when your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to impart ſuch Alliances and Confederations to Us in Parliament, We ſhall upon all occaſions give your Majeſty ſuch ready Aſſiſtances and Support, as may by the bleſſing of God bring the ſaid War to a happy Concluſion.

This Adreſs ſtuck terribly in the Conſpirators Stomacks, by which they could not but eaſily perceive, that the Houſe of Commons ſcented their Intreagues under-hand with *France* at the ſame time the Bruit went about both in Citty; and Country of Alliances and a War. And ſo big were the Conſpirators with the War, that they both ſpake and Printed the certainty of it, and not without ſome reflection in their Prints againſt the *French* King, which was yet ſtill to blindfold the ignorant World, for they knew a few words in Print would never do the *French* King's Cauſe the damage, that the *Engliſh* Mens blows would do, and 600000 *l.* from the Parliament under pretence of a War and Alliances, would ſufficiently retalliate a few hard words in *Chriſtianiſſimus Chriſtiandus* written by the Conſpirators own hired Tool, who had long ſince pawn'd his Soul for Bread; but when the Conſpirators now perceived that no Money was like to come, but there muſt be really ſuch Alliances made, and that the Houſe of Commons muſt be all ſatisfied that they were really done, or elſe no Money would come from thence, the Conſpirators reſolved on theſe two Things; Firſt, That Frowns ſhould be given to this Addreſs, to load the Houſe of Commons, and make the Ignorant believe they uſed his Majeſty hardly, and that they took too much upon them, and preſently an Expreſs is ſent to *France*, where the Conſpirators in the ſecret Cabal made this Adreſs very ſerviceable alſo to their getting Money from thence, of which the *E.* of *D.* then Treaſurer undertook

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the Management, and promiſed to himſelf and his Conſederates, that that Addreſs would do their Buſineſs with the *French* King, and force him too, in earneſt, to lend what he had before but faintly promiſed, and in the Houſe of Commons, thoſe in the Conſpiracy were full of briskneſs for a War with *France*, and ſoon after the Houſe fell upon the matter of Supply, ſome mentioning that to make his Majeſty ſpeak, and act on to encourage the Foreign States, and Princes to come in and make ſuch Alliances as they had in their laſt Addreſs read, was needful to give a Million at the leaſt; for that ſuch a Sum of Money would put a new Life and Spirit in the King to ſpeak and act, and the Courtiers by that means would have their Mouths fully ſtopped.

That to give an inconſiderable Sum might be to ſtumble at the Threſhold; That they knew His Majeſty and the Court were karty for the War, and that the ſtops towards the Alliances with *Holland* was a good beginning, and ground enough to believe the Court could not go back.

That the preparing the Fleet, and the fitting and furniſhing the Stores, muſt coſt a vaſt ſum of Money: The Stores as they had too much ground to believe were waſted. That Forces could not be raiſed without Money. That if there ſhould not appear a very great generoſity in the Houſe now, when at their own requeſt a War was ſo earneſtly ſought, it would diſcourage the King and encourage his Enemies,

On the other hand it vvas argued it vvas true, they had been told of Alliances but had ſeen none, nor could any Members of this Houſe be ſure there vvere ſuch as did ſuit vvith the Addreſs and Votes of this Houſe, and unleſs they had aſſurances of ſuch Addreſs, their Money vvould be loſt, and the People cheated, to vvhom they ought to be accountable. That they thought requiſit therefore that his Majeſty be applied to for the ſight of ſuch Alliances, that thereby they might the better

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be able to proportion their Sum, That notwithſtanding what was offered by the other ſide of our ſincerity of a War; yet there was but too much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary both by the private Meſſages to and from *France*, and the great Intereſt the *French* King had amongſt our Miniſters, that they thought it almoſt an impoſſible thing to haue a War with *France* in earneſt, whilſt nothing but *French* Men and *French* Councels were followed.

That they were as forward to give Money, as the other, to deſire it, but they would not be cheated by a private patched up Peace, as ſoon as the Money is given, which by the beſt Intelligences from Parties not unacquainted was conjectur'd, and that theſe were not bare ſurmiſes, and Hearſays, but at this time we laboured both night and day by our *Mediators* at *Nimiguen* to conclude a general *Peace*.

That the giving ſuch Sums of Money without any valuable conſideration or aſſurances we ſhould not be cheated of the ſame as too often they had been already was very neceſſary to be conſidered.

That beſides the appearances of no War notwithſtanding the great Cry and ſeeming outſide ſhew, there was but to much reaſon to be very wary in what was done by this Houſe, now above all times when both our Ships, our Garriſons, our civil Majeſtrates, for the moſt part, and moſt Officers and Offices in the Kingdom were now in the hands of ſuch Perſons that were either Papiſts, or well-wiſhers to the Popiſh and French Intereſt, and till there were ſome change in thoſe perſons and Offices it was dangerous venturing ſuch a ſum, leaſt it being given to preſerve us from the French King and his power, it ſhould notwithſtanding be made uſe of to deſtroy us, and ſet up the French King higher then before.

That it was not unknown to this Houſe the----- Millions had been given for publick good, which came to no ac-

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Account, nor could this houſe get an Accouut, though earneſtly ſought for in the end of the firſt *Dutch War*, when there was as many pretenſions of *Juſtice* and *Sincerity* in the diſpoſal of the money to a right uſe as now.

That to their great grief there were but too many of the ſame ſort of Perſons about the King now; and that Men now put in places of truſt, and that in the greateſt in the Nation, were generally of mean Extractions and mean Fortunes, even that in ſo much it might be ſaid to us, as heretofore of the *Children of Iſrael*, that they made them Prieſts and Miniſters of the loweſt and meaneſt of the people, and therefore they thought before they came to the Raiſing of ſuch Sums they ought to be better ſatisfied, how it ſhould be diſpoſed of, and in whoſe hands it ſhould be placed, that their Country might not juſtly exclaim againſt them, when they came home.

Therefore that they thought the beſt way was to ſee to prevent theſe future evils, that may be now remedied better than to truſt too long and too much, when it will be out of their Power to remedy it: In return to this it was anſwered, *That his Majeſty could not make his Alliances without he firſt underſtood, what his Supplies would be*, which was looked upon by the Houſe as a ſtrange Propoſition, that there needed a Million of Money or any ſuch Sum to make an Alliance now, when to make a War before there was no money, nor proſpect of money.

While the Houſe of *Commons*, or rather the *Aſſembly of Men* were thus debating about the Money deſired, a Meſſage is ſent from His *Majeſty* in anſwer to their laſt *Addreſs* the Subſtance of which is, (*viz.*)

His Majeſty haa peruſed the late Addreſs of this Houſe, and thereunto returneth this Anſwer, He is not a little ſurpriz'd to find ſo much inverted there, of what there ſhould not be, and ſo little of what ſhould; In the firſt place, *His Majeſties* Speech was to both Houſes joyntly, and the matter being of ſo pub-

publick a concern, it is certain the Return made to that Speech ought to be made joyntly; for to receive ſeveral Addreſſes, and poſſibly very different, cannot but adminiſter matter of diſtraction to his Councels; and conſequently to the Affairs of the Nation: nor is the *Houſe of Peers* reaſonably to be left out in the Debate of thoſe things which at laſt muſt needs paſs by them.

In the next place, He obſerves in the *Addreſs* of this *Houſe*, of the 20*th*. of *May* laſt, You invite His Majeſty to a League offenſive and defenſive with *Holland* againſt the growth and power of the *French* King, and for preſervation of the *Netherlands*, and upon his *Declarations* of ſuch *Alliances*, you aſſure his Majeſty of ſuch ſpeedy Aſſiſtance and Supplies as may fully and plentifully anſwer the occaſions *His Majeſtys* hath: accordingly *His Majeſty* hath made the *Alliances* both offenſive and defenſive with *Holland*, and declared it to you in *Parliament:* His part is performed; but as to that of this *Houſe* for Supplies, though he asked it in his Speech you give no Anſwer, nor the leaſt hint of offering him any thing to ſupport the Treaties he hath made; only the old promiſes are put to new Conditions, and ſo he may be uſed to Eternity ſhould he ſeem ſatisfyed with ſuch Proceedings.

You are not to think that his Majeſty or the States General, being to imbark in ſo great a deſign, would deprive themſelves of the other ſo conſiderable Alliances, ſome Miniſters of the moſt concerned Princes have known and approved his Treaty with the States General, and that he hath not formerly concluded one with them, the reaſon is that the diſtance of the places the Princes concerned reſiding; would not give time to perfect ſo many treaties to be ratified in Places ſo remote, and laying well the Foundations in *Holland*, there could not be much doubted of their conſent, for whoſe Intereſt that Treaty is made, but nothing can delay, or indeed diſappoint, thoſe treaties,

more than the failing of this Houſe, to ſupport theſe his Majeſty hath made; he muſt acquit his credit there, and ſo his word ſhall be maintained before he engages elſewere a freſh. In his Majeſties anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe, of the twentieth of *May*, he told you how highly he was offended at that great Innovation of his Prorogative, but you take no notice of it: but on the contrary add to your former ill conduct new Innovations equally Offenſive to his Majeſties Authority as contrary to his, and he thinks moſt other mens judgments.

This Houſe deſires hisMajeſty to obliege his confederats never to conſent to a Peace, but upon condition the moſt Chriſtian King be reduced to the *Perenean* Treaty at leaſt, a determination fitting only for God Almighty, for none can tell what can be fitting conditions for peace, but he that can certainly foretell the Events of War.

You advize *His Majeſty* to injoyn not only his *Allies*, but all the World not to let a Ship of theirs go to or come from *France* upon pain of Loſs of Goods, Captain of Ship and Men, not excepting either Ally, Prince or Ambaſſador, if amongſt them he doth not believe ever any Aſſembly of Men gave ſo great and publick a provocation to the whole World; without either having provided, or ſo much as conſidered, how to provide one Ship or one Peny towards juſtifying it at leaſt as far as you have acquainted him; however to ſhew you how ready *His Majeſty* is to give you all manner of ſatisfaction to this Houſe, how unreaſonable ſoever Propoſitions made to him are, doth again repeat to you what he ſaid on the 28*th*. paſt, that if by your Aſſiſtance, He may be put in arms ſufficient for ſuch a Work: *His Majeſty* will not be weary of them, till *Chriſtendom* be reſtored to ſuch a Peace as it ſhall not be in the power of any Prince to diſturb.

This is the conſequence of it as much as any Princes, that values his Word can ſay to you, and He is ſuch a one; but

but to ſay He will make no other Peace, than ſuch a particular Peace, whether able or not able, whether abandoned by his Allies or not, is not to be ſaid upon ſolemn Engagements, becauſe not certainly to be performed.

In come *Gentlemen*, the Right of making and managing *Peace* and *War* is in *His Majeſty*, and if you think he will depart from any part of that Right, you are miſtaken, the *Reigns* of Government are in his hands, and he hath the ſame reſolution and concern to preſerve them there, as he hath to preſerve his own perſon, and he keeps both for his peoples protection and ſafety, and will imploy them ſo far as he can.

If this Houſe encourage *His Majeſty* to go farther in Alliances by ſupplying him in maintaining thoſe he hath made his care and utmoſt Endeavour will be imployed for you: if this Houſe doth intend this, it muſt be ſpeedy, the Time and Conjuncture affords no leaſure to conſult long, and therefore *His Majeſty* doth deſire without farther loſs of time, you apply your ſelves to the conſideration of that ſupply for from thence he muſt take his Meaſures.

This Meſſage with the Speech before at the opening the Parliament, a man would have ſworn that had not known the Court well, and the Conſpirators deſigns, that there was a real war intended, for herein they put the King upon being angry that it ſhould be ſo much queſtioned: upon this Meſſage and the former Speech, many Debates aroſe now in the Houſe: ſome alledging on the one hand that it was unſeemly to preſs his Majeſty any farther, but to leave it to him: that the extraordinary preſſing on him might be a weakening to the Cauſe, rather then a forwarding the War; that the giving him chearfully a Sum of Money now upon all theſe Aſſurances: would do well for that it was impoſſible the Court could ever look them in the Face, if after all theſe promiſes and proteſtations they were not real: that ſince they had been told of Alliances with the *Dutch*, in part there could no longer be any more doubt: and it would ſeem ſtrange to the Forreign-affairs, to miſtruſt their own Prince at home. On

On the other hand it was urged that though there might be Treaties made, yet they had cauſe to fear the conttary thoſe reports they had from forreign Parts, as well as at home: that thoſe Treaties if any made with *Holland*, were far ſhort of anſwering the real Intention of the Addreſſes made by this Houſe, and that they will know that notwithſtanding the pretended Alliances to be made againſt *France*, yet ſecret Devices, and Popiſh Councels were ſo prevalent, that nothing was done by us, but what the *French*-King's lieve was firſt asked: that at the ſame time a ſecret Treaty was now carrying on for a peace: and that we at *Nimiguen* as well as here, made ſtrange overtures to the *French*-King, and that there was ſmall ſign of War: When the Lord *Duras* was ſecretly ſent to *France*, and negotiating other matters: and *in fine*, ſome did not ſtick to affirm, that notwithſtanding the talk of *Alliances* againſt *France*, there were ſecret Treaties with *France*, and that Copies might be produced of the ſame; therefore that there was good Cauſe to be jealous, when to this day we are wholely influenced by *French* Councels; and the ſolid Councels of that Houſe had been rejected; however at the laſt it was carried that a ſupply ſhould be given, and thereupon the *Houſe* agreed upon another Pole: and alſo mentioned more money to be raiſed afterwards upon the New Buildings round *London*, but for more ſurety, for fear their Money ſhould be miſpended, they at laſt reſolved to Tack the Money to a Bill of Prohibition of all *French Commodities* whatever, reaſoning that if they ſhould be diſappointed by the *Conſpirators* of a War promiſed, yet the *Prohibition* would be worth that Sum they intended to give.

But in the mean time, the *Houſe* reſolved to drive the War and the Alliances as far as they were able to do, and that it ſhould not be at their doors, neither as they were before told it ſhould not be at others doors, and therefore to acquit themſelves, againſt they came home, they reſolved they would do ſomething to atone for all the miſchief they

had

had done before; therefore they agree the Pole Bill ſhould not go out of their clutches but with the clog of *Prohibition*, but though they made many penalties in that Act, that *French Goods* ſhall not be imported at any rate after the time limited, yet the main Clauſe they left out, whether with Deſign or not is not known, and that was the Forfeiture of Ship and Tackle as well as Goods, for want of which, tho it made great noiſe, as doing the *French King* much miſchief, as undoubtedly it had, if it had been ſtrictly obſerved; yet it did not anſwer the end; for as we ſhall ſee by and by, the *Conſpirators* ſo handled the matter by the *Commiſſioners* at the *Cuſtom Houſe*, and others the Officers, that notwithſtanding all the penalties upon them by the Act, yet at this day, there are more *French* Goods brought in then ever was before, eſpecially *French Wines*, under the notion of *Spaniſh*, and by that means, the revenew is augmented to a prodigious Greatneſs to what is was before this trick of cheating the *Parliament* was found out.

Now in all this time of the talk of War and Alliances the *Conſpirators* were more buſie than ever both abroad as well as at home, his *R H.* never failed his Meſſages, but poſted them backward and forward both to *France* and *Rome* to the Cardinals there, and this Sham-War being a good pretence for raiſing Forces; the Pope and the Cardinals and Prieſts there with the help of the other Saints doubted not but their Work would be done, for in truth nothing was wanting, but a pretence to raiſe Forces, and Money to pay them, which now was got done to their hand by the *Parliament*, tho to another end, and then the *Roman Catholick Religion* as well as *French Government* might leap into the Saddle together; and the *Conſpirators* doubted not but to prevail ſo far with the *French* King and the Pope of *Rome*, that when the Army was once up, they ſhould be ſupplyed with Money ſufficient from thence to pay them, in caſe the *Parliament* ſhould ſmoke their deſign, and give them no more Money, therefore a private Negotiation was carried on by *R H.* with the Pope and Cardinal *Norfolk*, who had undertaken for to raiſe Money out of the Church ſufficient to ſupply all the *Conſpirators* wants, until the work were done, and now even at *Rome* it ſelf, when they heard in what already poſture we were in both of an Army and Money to begin, was great rejoycing, and our *Conſpirators* took care, that at the raiſing of this new Army, there ſhould be no other Officers, than what were fit for the Work, four parts in five, either downright Papiſts, tho they ſwallowed the Teſt, or elſe reſolved ſo to be upon the leaſt intimation: His *R. H.* recommending ſuch only as he knew fit for the turn, and not leſs than 100 Commiſſions ſigned by Secretary *Williamſon* to *Iriſh Papiſts* to raiſe Forces with a *non*

obſtante the late Act: And without his *R H.* approbation, no *Commiſſion* was diſpoſed of; or if by chance any had got *Commiſſions* not right for the *Popiſh Cauſe*, no ſooner had they raiſed and accoutred their Men, but a Complement was paſſed upon them, and another more worthy ſet in their place, ſo that then ſuch as would open their Eyes might ſee, that now both the Land Forces, as well as the Sea Forces were in moſt excellent hands, and fit for the Work, there being ſcarce one publick Officer for Sea or Land, but what was the Creature of the *D.* of *Y*, nor ſcarce a *Biſhop*, *Judg*, *Juſtice*, or any *Officer* in *England*, but what was of his promotion; nay his very Lady muſt by all means have one of the new raiſed *Regiments*, which ſome call the *Italian Regiment*.

And as things were thus managing by the Conſpirators: both at home and abroad, ſo alſo in *Scotland* was the game a playing as ſtrong as in *England*, for *D. Lautherdale* brought all the Law of *Scotland* into the Councils Chamber, there he played moſt excellent Government, pulling and halling all Perſons and things to their Arbitrary Councel there, who acted as Lords Paramount Parliaments? and ſo zealous were the Conſpirators there to ſupport the *French* Intereſt, that continually new levies were making in *Scotland*, for the *French* Kings Service, whilſt we were pretending a *French* War at home, and there the Councel of *Scotland* being influenced by the Conſpirators, lay about them might and main to get an Army there to be a ſtanding Army, in the room of the *Militia* of that Kingdom, whom they did not think ſo fit for the Popiſh deſigns: and the means to effect, which no way was thought ſo effectual as firſt to oppreſs and enrage the Diſſenters, the which could not be done better then to proſecute their Conventicles, which they did with all imaginable diligence, and having found out a new way by Caution, they deviſe a Bond that ſhould be impoſed on every man they had a mind to; which Bond was that the Land-Lord ſhould be bound for his Tenant, and the Maſter for his Servant, and his Wife and Children not to go to Conventicles which they knew many would not do, for that the People of *Scotland* generally hate the Epiſcopal Government, but this way they thought would ſo enrage the People whom they knew would not forego their Conventicles, that they doubted not but to force them to a Rebellion, and thereupon have a fair pretence to raiſe forces for the ſecurity of the Kingdom, againſt reſtleſs Conventicles, which deſign the Conſpirators at laſt effected, as will appear hereafter, another device the *Scots* had of ſeaſing the Field Conventicles by the Armed forces, and deſtroying them both in Bodies and Eſtates; and dragging them to Goals, till they were weary, and then by whole Ship-loads, ſelling them to Plantations, as Condemned men, wherefore Ship-

loads

loads came here for *London* in order to be tranſported, and were by ſome means or other ſet free, and beſides this forcing a Bond upon the Poor men for their Tenants, Wifes, Children, and Servants; which they did under a pretence of keeping the peace from Conventicles, to the ruin of many Thouſands; the Conſpirators found out more ways to vex and enrage thoſe poor Souls in *Scotland*, for the *D. Lautherdale*, who had been hatching all the villany in the world, ſo that he might accompliſh his ends of enſlaving the people which he had undertaken to do in *Scotland*, procures the Council there to diſſarm divers Shires in the Low-Lands of *Scotland*, being the Prime of the Kingdom, and when that would not ſufficiently exaſperate the Natives, he procured the Council there, to order the *Hylanders* a ſort of *Barbarious* Papiſts to be armed and arrayed by *Regiments*, to come down upon the *Inhabitants* ſpoiling and deſtroying the whole *Country*; living at *Diſcretion* amongſt *them*, and thoſe very *Highlanders* thus armed, & under the pretence of keeping the peace had in their Commiſſions from the Councel of *Scotlands* Authority to live at free quarter upon theſe Inhabitants which they did to the Deſtruction of the poor Inhabitants divers months together, and all was to procure a Rebellion at any rate; and ſo this very thing of arming the *Hylanders*, and allowing them free Quarter upon the Inhabitants, was afterwards juſtified by *D. Lautherdale* in Print, publiſhed in *London* in the year 1678. by Authority.

Scotland being thus Bridled and Saddled ſomething like the *French* Mode, differing in nothing, but that the *Scots* were the greater Vaſſal of the two: *Ireland* was alſo in ſuch Hands as the Conſpirators wiſhed for, whoever is Leiftenant, *Boyſe* the Arch-Biſhop there is Governour, a zealous man for the Conſpirators and the Catholick Cauſe, and ſo that was in a condition to be overrun and ruind, at the pleaſure of the Conſpirators.

Thus the Game began to look fair on the Conſpirators ſide, for now if they could but ſham the Confederates into

a peace with the *Engliſh* new raiſed Army in their hand and money to boot, all was like to do well, and now the *French* King need not ſue himſelf for a peace, that he might ſerve his Conqueſt, for our Conſpirators had undertook that ſervice for him almoſt voluntarily, for the moſt that ever our Conſpirators expected from him, was but 300000*l.* for 3 years, which the *E. D.* the Treaſurer coveted moſt earneſtly, and not ſo much for the carrying the general Conſpiracy on, although he was one of the Chief Actors in it, but by that means to help the better to make up his broken fortunes.

But the Commons having notice what Intregues were then carrying on by the Conſpirators, began to be very Cautious of their ſupplies, notwithſtanding they ſaw the War with *France*, of that abſolute neceſſity, for by ſome way or other Mr. *Garraway* of the Houſe of Commons, had gotten the great Copy of the private Treaty between *France* and us, at the very ſame time when the *Secretary* is in the Houſe, and all the Court Pentioners cryed out a *War*, and that they were ſure it would be, for it was in effect already, and that Gentleman telling the Houſe, he knew there was a deſigned Cheat, for he could produce the very Articles of Treaty between *France* and us; this put the Houſe into a great Conſternation, and the very Conſpirators themſelves that were in the Houſe began to bluſh, when they ſay that ſome of the Engliſhmen had ſented the Cheat, thereupon the Houſe reſolved upon an other Addreſs to the King, in Anſwer to this Meſſage ſent to them, though not giving it a name of an Anſwer, which follows.

We your Majeſties moſt humble and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, do in all duty and faithfulneſs to your Majeſties Service humbly Preſent to your Majeſty, with this our Advice, that for the ſatisfying the minds of your good Subjects, who are much diſquieted with the apprehenſions of the dangers ariſing to this Kingdom from the growth and power of the French King, *and for the Encouragment of the Princes and States Confederated againſt him: Your Ma-*

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jesty would be gratiously pleased immediately to declare and proclaim, and enter into an actual War against the French King, *for the Prosecution whereof, as we have already passed a Bill of Supply, which only wants your Royal Assent: So we desire your Majesty to rest constantly assured, that we will from time to time proceed to stand by and aid your Majesty with such plentiful supplies and assistances, as your Majestys occasion for so Royal an Undertaking shall require; and because your Majesties Endeavours by way of Mediation have not produced those good effects your Majesty intended: We do most humbly beseech your Majesty, That you would gratiously be pleased to call your Embassadors from* Nimiguen *and* France, *and to cause the* French *Embassadors to depart from hence: That your Majesty being publickly disingaged from acting as a Mediator, or upon such Terms and Conditions as were then proposed: your Majesty may enter into the War to no other end, than that the said* French *King may be reduced into such a Condition as he may be no longer terrible to your Majesties Subjects, and that Christendom may be restored to such a Peace as may not be in the power of the said King to disturb.*

After this *Address* was voted, Intimation was given, that the Bill of *Supply* was now ready for the *Royal Assent*, which had layed ready some days, and no *Intimation* of coming to pass it, a thing not a little strange, That any such *Bills* should stick a hand; but at last it was accepted, and the dreadful Clause of *Prohibition* with it: And the Title of the Bill was, *for an actual War with the French King*, and to be appropriated to no other use, which was worst of all: And therefore tho not by this time, all men of *Honesty* and *Common Senses*, saw plain enough, what device the *Conspirators* were upon; yet the passing this *Bill*, with these clogs, kept up an opinion with some, that the intent of the *Pole-Bill* should be fulfilled; but no sooner was it passed, but the *Vizard* began to be pulled off divers of the *Members* of the *House of Commons*; being cajoll'd

at the *Treaſurers* for their *Incivility* to the *King*, to impoſe ſuch hardſhip on him, as to force him to accept of ſupplies upon ſuch hard *Terms*, even to entrenching upon his *Prerogative*, notwithſtanding the diſguſt formerly taken to ſuch forward proceedings; but the *Penſioners* they excuſed it to the *Treaſurer*, that for their part they could not help it; no endeavour was wanting in them to do the work they were paid for; but the *Engliſh Gentlemen* in the *Houſe* by ſome means or other, having ſmelt the Deſign, the *Penſioners* were not ſufficient to withſtand it; and beſides, his *Lordſhip* was told plainly, *That ſome of their Penſioners, which his Lordſhip had fed at his Table for want of their uſual pay had either d ſerted them, or at leaſt had been negligent in their places, and remiſs in their Attendance, not ſo boldly appearing againſt the* Country Gentlemen, *as before.*

The *Treaſurer* hereat fell a ſtorming, *That he ſaw now plainly, thoſe to whom His Majeſty had been moſt liberal to, were the firſt that would leave him in the Lurch*, and to ſome of thoſe *Penſioners* at his next Dinner, told them plainly, *He now ſaw the Old Proverb verifyed*, no longer Pipe, no longer dance, and, *That ſince it was ſo, They ſhould find his Majeſty had as little need of them and their Service, as they had of his bounty*; intimating withal, *That if the Houſe of Commons did not behave themſelves better; He knew his Majeſtys mind ſo well, and the Temper of the People, That he doubted not but His Majeſty would leave them, as they had left him, and make choice of a New Parliament, which ſhould not be ſo chargable and burthenſom to him, as this had been.*

But notwithſtanding all this anger and threats; the Houſe begun rather to be more conſiderate, and jealous of the deſign of the *Conſpirators* then before, and in ſteed of going upon raiſing of Money upon the New Buildings for a farther Supply, they ſlackened that too, and went about other buſineſs beginning to take into *Conſideration*, What thoſe Treaties were that they were ſo often made to believe

ſieve were concluded with *Holland*, and alſo beginning to fall foul upon ſome *Miniſters* of *State*; and the grand *Conſpirators*, and began to talk of the Imbezilement of a vaſt *Treaſure* within theſe few years: nay, they once doubted, if it were ſafe to let any Money, given to any publick *Uſe* to be intruſted in the hands of the *Treaſurer*, the thing being put to queſtion, and carried but by very few Voices from going to the *City*.

But now it growing towards *Eaſter*, and the *Houſe* uneaſie, they pray his Majeſty, *for a ſhort reſt, and withal pray, That ſuch notice may be given for their next meeting, That there may be a full Houſe*, they receive a Meſſage, *That his Majeſty will be pleaſed to paſs the Pole Bill to morrow, and wiſhes them to haſten the reſt of the Supply, that the Sea and Land Preparations may not receive prejudice by longer delays*, and on the 27*th*. of *March*, in the beginning of the year 70. notice was ſent them, *They might Adjourn themſelves until to morrow Fortnight*, which they did accordingly, during which time ſome of the *Houſe of Commons* or *Convention* for ſo were they called in one of the Anſwers to their *Addreſſes*, was very buſie a prying into the *Secrets* of the *pretended Leagues*, and found by ſome *Item, That really whatever was pretended yet nothing leſs intended than a War with France*, for this Fortnights time had given them greater light into the *French Affairs* than before, and they knew well that money was to come from *France*, in caſe it failed from them, for tho *E. D.* had managed the *Affair* by a *ſecret way* in *France*, and not altogether through the *Engliſh Embaſſador* there; yet it was diſcovered, and ſome were of opinion, that Mr. *Montague* himſelf might give ſome Light into the *Affair*, however the *Houſe of Commons* were fully informed of all the privat *Intreagues* carried on by the *Conſpirators*, and the chief buſineſs, the L. *Duras* went for in his private journey to *France*, which was two *Errands*, one was for ſhew of *Anger*, the other, *The Project of Articles for Peace, and to ſettle and confirm all things faſt with France about the Money, and the ſecret intreagues, how to ſham the Confederates about Alliances*; the *Conſpirators* having, as they thought, hid every thing they had a mind to conceal, and the *Pole Bill* being now paſſed, tho appropriated to the *French War* only; yet great part of it was immediately converted to other uſes, as paying of old Debts, and

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old Scores, inſomuch that little was left to pay for any neceſſaries bought or ſuppoſed to be bought for and towards the pretended *French War*, which was well known alſo to the *Houſe of Commons*, but to blind the World, or rather cheat the Merchants, vaſt quantities of Hemp, and their proviſions for the Navy was beſpoke, and the *Eaſtland-Merchants* agreed with for ready Money, for ſome Hundred Tuns of Hemp, and other like ſtores, which were by the Merchants delivered into the Commiſſioners of the Navy, the Lord *Brunkard* and the reſt, and told by them that their money was ready lying by them, ready to break down the ſealing on their Heads, therefore wiſhed the *Merchants* to haſten in their goods, which they did, with greater diligence then could be imagined, for which ſervice of theirs, they were not only unrewarded, but are unpaid to this day, and the very money thought to be in Mr. *Seymors* the Preaſurer of the *Navys* hands drawn thence by the grand *Treaſurer* for his ſecret ſervices, which the Conſpirators ventured to do againſt the expreſs letter of the Act for theſe reaſons, the one was becauſe they knew well enough no war was intended the other becauſe at the meeting of the next Parliament, they were pretty ſure of farther Sums to be added by the Parliament, for the Service of the *French-War*, which it may be had they received, they might have been ſo honeſt as to have paid the Merchants for their goods, though others think it a deſigned Cheat at the firſt, which did manifeſtly appear before the Commitment, 12 months afterwards, and now the fortnight being ended, the Parliament met, and a Speech is made by the *King ſhewing them what Progreſs had been made in the preparations for the War both by Sea and Land, which did amount to vaſt charges, that he had put all things in the beſt frame could be, and that he had taken great pains and care in making alliances for ſecurity of the Netherlands, and in perſuance of their Addreſſes, nevertheleſs the ſum they had already given unleſs followed by them would be of but little value, therefore wiſhing them to conſider the vaſt charges of the Land and Sea forces, and immediately provide h m fit and ſuitable ſupplies for ſo great an undertaking done at their requeſt, and that it was no time now for delays, the ſeaſon calling for diſpatch either for War or Peace, and he ſhould do any thing that his great Councel the Parliament ſhould inable him to do, therefore expect their ſpeedy reſolutions.*

The *29th of April* two days after their *Meeting*, and this *Speech*, the *Houſe* fell into the *Grand Debate* of the *State-Affairs*, and to take into conſideration his *Majeſties Speech*, ſome being very zealous for thanks to be returned to his *Majeſty* for it, & providing ſuch ſupplies as were fit & neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking as they had put his *Ma-*

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jeſty upon urging that ſuch a *Relation* from that *Houſe* would give life to the *Confederates*, with whom his *Majeſty* by their *Advice* had entred into *Alliances* that now it would be no longer doubted of a real *War*, for in effect it was began; Sr. *Joſeph Williamſon* the then *Secretary* told the *Houſe*, it was a *War*, and taken to be both in *France* and *England*, to which was *Replied* on the other *hand*, that it was ſtrange a *War* ſhould be talked of with that *Certainty*, as if they had ſeen it, and yet it was moſt *Evident* that at *Nimiguen* our *Embaſſadors* were preſſing with all *diligence* for a *General Peace*, as they ever had done, & that they wondred how any *Perſon* in that *Houſe*, durſt aſſert a *War* when at this *Moment* there was the greateſt *Neareneſs* and *Dearneſs* Imaginable, betwen *France* and *Us*, and ſo urged, that certainly *War* could not be had againſt *France*, until all *French-men*, and *French Councels* and *French-Religion* were *abandoned* neither of which were yet done, nor any *Sign* of doing, that they thought there was more *Probability* of a *War* againſt *Holland and Flanders* then againſt *France*, that for their *Parts* they would be as *willing to conſent* to the *raiſing money* for the *Kings* and the *Nations Service*, as any could deſire, but to their great ſorrow, they had but too much cauſe to *believe*, that let them give what they would, it would be uſed as heretofore and not *applied* to the *right uſe*, that for *pretentions of Alliances* made, they thought it was but fit, they might ſee them, if they were ſuch as were *agreable* to their *Votes and Addreſſes*, before they gave more Money, that they *Judged* it *neceſſary* that as well *care* ſhould be taken, into whoſe *Hands* the *Treaſure* ſhould be put, as how to *raiſe* it, and that it was as *highly neceſſary* to *inſpect* the *Stocks* and *Proviſions*, and how matters were *Managed*; as it was to give *Money*, for that the *giving of Money* might be to no *purpoſe*, as heretofore, that it was moſt *Evident* that the *great Officers* were not to be *truſted*, and ſuch as were now about the *King in his moſt ſecret Councels* were ſtrongly *preſumed* to be ſuch after *Enemies* to *the King* and *Nation*, and

thoſe which had adviced his Majeſty to give ſuch Anſwers to the Addreſſes of this Houſe, as had been done, were very diſſervicable to his Majeſties Intereſt and almoſt ruine to the whole Kingdom, that it was as well fit to fall upon the enemies at Home as thoſe abroad, that it was not probable, nor ſcarce poſſible that *France* ſhould be beaten by French-men, which now ſwarmed about our Court, and ſeemed to be the only Councellors in our greateſt affairs, that notwithſtanding, the Addreſſes formerly made by this Houſe, about removing evil Miniſters from about the King, yet nothing was done, but the ſame men like to mannage the War if any, to their great grief and terror that they found none but Papiſts and Popiſhly effected, got places of Truſt, and till they ſaw a new Face of things, it was in vain to raiſe more money, therefore it was urged, that his Majeſty might be applyed to Communicate to the Houſe, all ſuch Allyances and Leagues, as were made, which was reſolved by the Houſe the 29 of *April*.

His Majeſty ſent them word by Secretary *Williamſon*, that his Majeſty had given leave that the Leagues and Treaties he had made, ſhould be brought to the Houſe, which was done accordingly, only the Articles of Treaty with *France* of which the Lord *Feverſham* had been over in *France* agi ating, did not appear, which was one thing mainly aimed at by the Houſe, having privately heard thereof, whereupon they vote an Application to his Majeſty, to ſee thoſe Articles ſent to *France*, which were ſent over by the Lord *Duras*.

But inſtead of ſending them the 10 of *April*, a Meſſage was ſent to the Houſe by Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* to this effect.

That his Majeſty had commanded him to acquaint the Houſe that the Propoſals ſent by the Lord Feverſham, *were the ſame verbatim contained in the Treaties Offenſive and Defenſive, already delivered in, and that the anſwer of the French King was verbal. That he did not think it reaſonable, and that if he ſhould accept it, he knew not how to anſwer it to his People.* This Meſſage being delivered, plainly ſhewed however what was already believed, that there had been overtures made to *France*, but how to get at the Bottom was to hard a taſk for them to do, and if thoſe Articles were not to be ſhown they had little hopes of coming at the ſecret contrivances of the Conſpirators with the French King whereupon the Houſe began to be more ſenſible then before, for now it appeared even ſince they had been told in the Houſe by the Secretaries, that there never was any treaty on foot for a peace with the French King ſince their Addreſſes, but that it would be a war, and was an actual war, yet now his Majeſty himſelf diſcovered there were ſuch Articles ſent over to the French King by *Feverſham*, but that nothing came of it the Anſwer being verbal, was not worth regarding.

Whereupon the Houſe fell upon the conſideration of the Articles of Treaty made with *Holland* and found them altogether inſufficient as to thoſe ends were pretended and far contrary to what they did expect, being no ways ſuitable to their Addreſſes, notwithſtanding they had raiſed and made a Poll Bill upon aſſurances to them made that the Allyances with *Holland*, and the reſt perfected, for would be compleated according to their ſeveral Addreſſes for the Actual war againſt the *French* King for ſaving of *Flanders*

To which was anſwered none ſhould be more ready to give money then they ſhould be, but they were unwilling to give it for a wrong end, and were unwilling the money they gave to prepare for a War ſhould be imployed to patch up a deſtructive peace, or that thoſe Weapons which were framed and made by us for our preſervation ſhould be uſed againſt us for our deſtruction: the King had enemies about him ſo many, and ſo great that no good could be expected till they were removed, that they knew well enough what underhand dealings, there were to get a vaſt Sum of mony privately from *Holland*, as well as other places, and that was it made the

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Treaties no better. In fine, they concluded that the Treaties and Articles were not according to the ſence of the Addreſſes, and agreed upon this Vote, (*Viz.*) Saturday, *May* the 4th 1678.

Reſolved, That the League offenſive and defenſive with the *States General* of the United Provinces, with the Articles relating thereto, are not purſuant to the Addreſſes of this Houſe, nor conſiſtent with the good and ſafety of the Kingdom.

And then the Houſe took the matter of the War farther into Debate, and concluded the ſame day upon this following Reſolve:

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that his Majeſty be humbly deſired and adviſed forthwith to enter into preſent Allyances and Confederations with the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the *States General* of the United Provinces, for the vigorous carrying on the war againſt the French King, and for the good and ſafety of his Majeſties Kingdoms; and particularly, that effectual endeavours be uſed for continuing the *States General* in the preſent Conſederation; and that it be agreed by all the Parties confederate, to Prohibit all Trade between the Subjects and Countreys of *France*, and all other the Dominions of the French King, and that no Commodities of *France*, or any the Dominions of the French King, be imported into other Countreys from any place whatſoever, and alſo that all Endeavours be uſed to invite all other Princes and States into the ſaid Confederation, and that no Truce or Peace be made or agreed to with the French King by his Majeſty or any of the Confederates, without general Conſent firſt had therein.

And for expedition, (without being drawn into Form) was Order'd to be Preſented to his Majeſty, which was done, and *May* the 6th produced this Anſwer.

His Majeſty having been acquainted with the Votes of this Houſe of the fourth Inſtant, was very much ſurpriz'd both with the matter and form of them; but if his Majeſty had had Exception to neither, yet his Majeſty having asked the advice of both Houſes, does not think fit to give any Anſwer to any thing of that nature, till he hath a concurrent Advice of both Houſes.

Now the Conſpirators had got by this two great points, the one was time, that they might poſſeſs the *Hollanders* by our Embaſſadors and other the Conſpirators, that there was little ſign of real joyning in an actual War with them againſt *France*, that thereby the French Plenipotentaries, together with ours at *Nimiguen*, might induce the *Dutch* and *Spaniard* to hearken to the French Propoſitions all this while by Sir *L—— Jenkins* and the reſt of the Conſpirators; inſomuch that *France* need but ſend his

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mind to us, what he would have, and let us alone to effect it; nay, if it were to get an Article ſtipulated in the Treaty at laſt with *Holland*, for a free Toleration of the Catholick Religion, we ſhould do it. The other deſigned Advantage the Conſpirators got, was, they knew the Houſe of Peers were not likely to joyn in with the Commons in ſuch Addreſs and Advice of an Immediate War, ſome body having them at a beck, and under their Girdle: Theſe things put the *Hollanders*, the *Spaniards*, and the reſt of the Confederates, with our Solicitation both at the *Hague* and at *Nimeguen*, to hearken to the French Propoſals for Peace; the Popes Nuncio at *Nimiguen*, driving on the Deſign with the corrupted *Spaniſh* Miniſters with our help, might and main; for in thoſe Debates it now appeared that the Houſe of Commons would not be wheadled by the Conſpirators out of more Money, unleſs they ſaw the face of things Change: and here the *D.* of *Y.* plying both *Rome* and the Popes Nuncio at *Nimiguen*, by all means to incite the Catholick Princes to hearken to the *French* Terms of Peace at any rate; and keeping a Correſpondence with the Prince of *Orange*, order'd matters ſo to be repreſented to the States, that they began to be as mad after a Peace, as before they were to join in a War with us; our Conſpirators telling the Prince that there was no way better to effect his Deſign of Lording it over *Holland*, than by ſtrictly following the *Engliſh* Councels, which faithfully he followed, never doing any thing but Marching to and fro as they knew was given him from the Conſpirators here, and on the other ſide the *D.* his Father plyed him with thoſe ſurmizes, that to Lower the *French* King was to ruin the Dukes Intereſt, and ſet the turbulent Hereticks in *England* higher than now they were.

In the mean time while theſe things were tranſacting, the Conſpirators did aſſiſt *France* underhand with Men and Ammunition, ſeveral thouſands of Barrels of Powder, and other warlike Proviſions were ſecretly Shipt off under colour of ſupplying the *Iſle of Wight* and other places, which was well known to the Parliament, and made them make another Addreſs to this effect, Fryday the 10*th* of *May*, 1678.

Firſt, That they thanked his Majeſty for demanding their advice upon the State of Affairs, that according to his Command they had immediately enter'd upon the Conſideration of what was imparted to them, and did reſolve upon an Advice, which becauſe of the Emergency of Affairs was not in the uſual manner, which they ordered to be excuſed, and that no more time might be loſt, did apply themſelves, as was uſual in matters of this Nature, and wholly in the Choice of the Houſe, having been frequently Practiſed thereofore, that now they do earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty

to communicate to them the reſolutions his Majeſty had taken upon their Advice, that the Eminent dangers may thereby be prevented that lye upon this Kingdom, and might have been prevented, had his Majeſty hearkned to their Advices before, on the 26*th* of *May*, and the 13*th* of *January* laſt; that the not following thoſe Advices occaſioned by the Clandeſtine Practices of ill men, without the participations as they conceived of the Council Board, as thô they had Intrenched upon his Prerogative; whereas they did not, but according to right never yet queſtion'd; upon which Anſwer given to thoſe two Addreſſes by his Majeſty, had brought great diſcouragement, and put the Nation in a deplorable Condition, that therefore they now Prayed for Satisfaction of his Subjects, that thoſe Councellors might be removed that adviſed thoſe two Anſwers, that whilſt he relyed upon his Councel the Parliament, he ſhould never want ſupplies to ſupply him, whatever ill men may ſuggeſt to him; that he would be pleaſed to remove the Duke of *Lauderdale* from his Preſence and Council, *&c.*

Before this Addreſs was deliver'd, a Meſſage by the Secretary was ſent to put them in mind of the ſupplies promiſed, otherwiſe the King muſt be forced to lay up his great Ships, and to Disband ſome of the Army; the Houſe knew well enough that now the War was over, therefore it was time to think about ſecuring themſelves againſt Popery and Arbitrary Government; which that Houſe had heretofore ſo eagerly helped forward by Mercenary Penſioners, and ſince they knew right well that the new rais'd Army was every way qualified for Popery and Arbitrary Government, and the Souldiers wanting their Pay, it was high time either to imploy them in earneſt, or elſe provide for their Disbanding, if they could; for as things now looked, it was very uncertain whither all that the Houſe could do, could get them Disbanded, thô they were ſo eaſily raiſed. The Houſe now begin to talk of ſecuring the Nation againſt the Romiſh Religion, which was not only crept in at every Corner, but bare-faced put into all profitable and Publick Employments, the Prieſts alſo and the Romaniſts ſwarming all over Town and Countrey: therefore much time is ſpent in Debates by both Houſes, for fit Methods to be taken for ſecuring *England* at home from her implacable Enemies, thô they could not from them abroad with all the Art and Skill they could uſe: But no ſooner did they fall upon this work, but the Conſpirators met them half way, and ſoon put a Spoke in their Cart, as we ſhall ſee by and by; however, for the preſent they begin roundly in the Houſe, and certain Propoſitions were made, and Bills pepared, and a Vote paſſed, No Money ſhould be raiſed until they were ſecured from Popery and Arbitrary Government, whereupon they are Prorogued for a ſhort time;

and the 28*th* of *May* they met again, and by that time it was publickly owned that a Ceſſation was concluded by the Conſpirators, earneſt Induſtry both at *Nimiguen* and *Paris*; and ſome Money we got from *France* for this Job, but not ſo much as we were privately Promiſed, which made the Treaſurer not well pleaſed, and threatned that yet as far as it was gone towards a Peace, if the *French* King did not Perform his word about 300000 *l.* Annuity for three Years, he would undoe all againſt the next Parliament: but the *French* King gave them fine words, and his Embaſſador here laughed in his Sleeve, and to be ſhort, never fed our Conſpirators with more than a bit and a knock; for if we were not contented with his Terms, and do and ſay to our Parliament what he did pleaſe to direct, he threatned to Diſcover them and their Correſpondencies in Betraying the Nation, and to Publiſh all their ſecret Villanies againſt the Kingdom, eſpecially the Treaty at *Dover*, ſince Publiſhed in *France*; and ever ſince (as well as long before) they did never dare to diſoblige him, althô ſome of our Conſpirators Letters have been ſince Diſcover'd, and much of their Correſpondencies in this Affair, both in *France* and *Rome* by the Earl of *Danby*, and thoſe taken with *Coleman* ſince the Plot.

And now our Embaſſadors at *Nimiguen* were directed by their fellow Conſpirators a little to clogg the Peace with the *Dutch*, in regard they were running too faſt to *France*, that the Conſpirators Markets were ſpoiled both with *France* and our Parliament at home, as to the geting more Money: but the *Dutch* having been baffled all this while in hopes of Aſſiſtance, and of our real declaring War againſt *France*; and ſeeing the Jeſuits as well as the Biſhops Foot was in all this Intreigue, poſted on a Peace with all ſpeed, and ſlighted our Plenipotentaries themſelves at *Nimiguen*; and not only the *Dutch* ſhewed their ſlight to *England* and our Embaſſadors, but the *Spaniards* and the very *French* themſelves, whom we had ſo Induſtriouſly ſerved and ſet up; and therefore Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* had order to retard the concluding the Peace for a time: and the good man who is never wanting to ſerve the Catholick Cauſe, ſo now at this time he would be nothing behind hand in that Service; and whether out of his own mother Wit and following the orders of the *D.* of *Y.* or other the Popiſh Crew, is not known: he Propoſes as one Article in this bleſſed Treaty, That the States ſhould allow the Exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion throughout their Dominions, which the Nuncio from his Holineſs well approved of as well as our Conſpirators and the *French* King; yet this took no effect, notwithſtanding it was ſtoutly inſiſted upon, for the *Dutch* would not yield to that whatever come on't, and ſo at laſt was dropped, and much

wondred

wondred at, even at *Nimiguen* it ſelf as well as other places, that our Mediators ſhould be ſo Zealous for the Popiſh Cauſe, when we our ſelves profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion in ſhew; but Sir *Lyonel*, who had ſo long Converſed with his dear Friend and good man Father *Goff*, and others of his Order, was eaſily able to have unridled the thing.

And now it being no longer to be concealed, but that there was a Peace, at the opening of the Parliament the 23*d* of *May*, 1678. a Speech was made by the King and the Lord Chancellor this effect;

When I met you laſt, I asked your Advice upon the great Conjunctures abroad, what returns you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons made me, whether it was ſuitable to the end I intended, which was the ſaving of Flanders, *I leave to your ſelves in cool Blood to conſider; ſince I asked your Advice, the Conjunctures abroad have driven things violently towards a Peace, and where they will end I cannot tell; but will ſay this only to you, that I am reſolved to ſave* Flanders *either by War or Peace; and which way ſoever I ſhall find moſt conducing towards it, and that muſt be Judged by Circumſtances as they play from abroad; for my own part, I ſhould think being armed was as neceſſary to make Peace as War, and therefore if I were able, would keep up my Army and my Navy at Sea for ſome time, till a Peace were concluded, if that muſt be; but becauſe that will depend upon your Supplies, I leave it to you to conſider, whether to provide for their ſubſiſtence ſo long, or for their Disbanding ſooner, and to take care in either Caſe not to Diſcourage or uſe ill ſo many worthy Gentlemen, who came to offer their Lives and Services to their Countrey upon this occaſion, and in purſuit of your own Advice and Reſolutions.*

That he expected their renewing the additional Exciſe, and making up the loſs in the Clauſe by the Poll-Bill; deſires their Reſolutions may be ſpeedy, tells them whatever ill men may ſuggeſt, he never had any deſigns but good for the publick; wiſhes them to avoid all differences, which otherwiſe would be prejudicial to him and them, and worſe for the Nation; one thing more particularly, that he would never ſuffer the method to be changed again in paſſing Acts, whatever Bills ſhould be tacked to one another ſhould certainly be loſt, whatever the event were hereafter.

Then his Veracity opened in his wonted ſtarched manner, who endeavours to make the World believe nothing leſs than that the reaſon why there was now no likelihood of a War, becauſe the Parliament had been the fault in not doing what they were bid, and giving without ſence or ground what the Conſpirators had put the King upon demanding, for the eſtabliſhing their Deſigns: and tho his knowledge was too

little

little to be of their ſecret Cabals, for management of the Affairs in the grand Conſpiracy, to enſlave the Nation, to bring in Popery and Arbitrary Government; yet like a well taught Spaniel he would fetch and carry, and do every thing the Conſpirators put him upon, with as much Zeal according to his Knowledge as the beſt of them all: therefore here he tells the Houſe that the reaſon there was like to be a Peace, Truly it was the *Dutch* that Preſſed it, and the *Spaniards* too, in regard our Councils were ſo uncertain; when we ſhould have been ſupporting them, we buſied our ſelves about matters of Religion, things uſually taking up long Debates; and this the Houſe had done without ground or colour, for that the Proteſtant Religion was ſo ſecured and fenced about by the late Act, and other good Laws, that it was impoſſible that there could be deviſed by the Art of man for further ſecurity; that our Fears were groundleſs and hatched by our Enemies, for that it was impoſſible for the little Finger of a Papiſt to get into any Office or place of truſt, no fears of Arbitrary Government can juſtifie, no Zeal to Religion can ſanctifie ſuch a Proceeding.

Yet at the ſame time was there at leaſt a hundred Iriſh Papiſts that had Commiſſions; how great a foreſight his Veracity had, may eaſily be ſeen, if this part of the Speech be conſidered with the Popiſh Plot that was diſcovered about the latter end of this year; but then to revert this into the dull Houſe of Commons, and that the People without doors might be affrighted from inſpection, preſently his next Paragraph is to put you in mind of the late Troubles, how Arbitrary Government and Religion then was the pretence; But, quoth he, How did it end? and will you be led away again? Thus his Veracity cautions them to be wiſe, and tells them now was the time to ſhew their Zeal for his Majeſty, and leave off fears and jealouſies, for never was any Nation in ſo happy an Eſtate of Convaleſcency as this Kingdom, no Grievance, no Juſt Complaints, the moſt Capricious perſon in *England*, nay, in the whole World, is challenged to aſſign the ſmalleſt fault; and that his Veracity might not leave any thing untouched, which he thought might help on the Conſpirators work, he tells them, that the diſlike of the League by the Houſe of Commons was ſo ill reſented by the *Dutch*, that they by that were out of all Hopes, and deſpaired any longer——of winning upon *England* for Aſſiſtance, which drove them for to preſs for a Peace as well as the *Spaniards*, who could no longer rely upon *England*. But his Veracity never told them the Treaty with *Holland* was far otherwiſe than that Houſe had adviſed, and alſo inconſiſtent with reaſon, it being in truth, nothing more than a patched up thing, offenſive and defenſive; that in caſe *France* would not con-

condeſcend to ſuch terms of Peace as ſhould be propounded by the Mediators at *Nimiguen*, then they would ſtand by each other for the preſervation of the *Netherlands*; this was the ſubſtance of the Treaty: the Conſpirators well knew before hand that the *French* King had done his work, and had now got what he aimed at, which was *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and other places, the Chief of *Flanders*, and that the Terms of peace the *French* King would have, the Mediators had privately agreed with him before.

But then his Veracity alſo threatens and endeavours to fright the Houſe, telling them, they had ſo anger'd the *French* King, and provoked him by the Prohibition and preparations againſt a mighty Monarch, that he might be at leaſure in time to reſent it; ſo now this Monarch is terrible to us, before but only to the *Spaniard* and *Dutch*, and a mighty Monarch he muſt be called in the Aſſembly of our three States, and that by our prime Miniſter of State; but the reaſon of this Huffing Speech, was ſtill to help on the Work, to be a pretence for our Popiſh Army to be kept up, for now they owned there was a Peace like to enſue the Ceſſation, which was to end in *July*: then it was high time to beat it into the dull Brains of the Houſe of Commons, that there was no other way to prevent their groundleſs Fears and Jealouſies of Popery and Arbitrary Government, which they had given life to, but by keeping up a Popiſh Army; therefore he inſinuates that we ought to keep up our Forces, leſt we meet with Affronts; when God knows the Nation never a day miſſed one from *France*, either by Sea or Land, ever ſince a Peace was concluded between the *Dutch* and us, he taking our Merchants Ships, (and —— our Men of War looking on) carrying ſome hundreds of them into his Ports, under the notion of carrying *Dutch* effects; and if ever they did get off, yet it was upon ſuch Terms as it coſt uſually half the value of the Ship and Goods; for by the care of our Secretaries here, and the Zeal of the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours there, it was even as good for men to have given over looking after their Ship and Goods when taken, as to have gone about to redeem them: but his Veracity being no Merchant, might forget Grievances, and then his Lordſhip fell upon the Houſe for miſtruſting Arbitrary Power: For, ſaith he, how can it be thought that there is danger of that, when his Majeſty ſuffers ſo much ſcandalous talk and Libels againſt him, about the Streets, and Coffee-houſe talk go unpuniſhed? this was moſt admirable, and a great inſtance of a free State of Convaleſcency: only his Lordſhip had forgot Mr. *Harrington*, who was fined 1000. *l.* not long before, for ſaying, *there were three Eſtates in England*, and Mr. *Brown*'s 500. *l.* for Endeavouring to convey to the *Eaſt Indies*, to a Friend, a Pamphlet called *The long Parliament diſſolved*, and every body elſe ſeized, that did but dare

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to ask what a time of the day it was. But in the next place, his Lordſhip wheedles them as well as he can, and tells them, the King will not ſuffer himſelf to believe it poſſible, that you ſhould ever forſake him, when any difficulties or Diſtreſſes are near him, *&c.* and that they will take Care to preſerve him as well as your Concurrences to his preſent ſupplies; then he ſhews the vaſt Charge of raiſing the Army, fitting the Navy, and continuing it, and the want of the 200000 *l.* the King borrowed upon their Credit; then puts them in mind of the Branch of the revenue expiring, the dammage the Poll-bill had done, in having *French* Wines, by which a great deal was loſt.

Then falls upon them for tacking their Bills, tells them the King will not loſe his Negative voice, nor the old Method ſhall not be changed of paſſing Laws; he tells them it gives too great a legiſlative Power to the Commons, and that it may be of evil Conſequence, for that the Peers may take the ſame advantage hereafter, of taking advantage to ſpoil one of their good Bills: This is ſo ſtrange from a Lawyer, that it cannot but be taken notice of, that he who hath been bred to read, and argue upon Records, ſhould know no better; that Laws are not uſual to be tacked: his Lordſhip muſt know better, for until the time of *Harry* the *7th*, or *Harry* the *8th*, all the Laws that paſſed in a whole Parliaments time, were alwayes tacked together in one Roll, and are called Rolls of Parliament in all Law Books; and that his Lordſhip ſhould talk of the Kings loſing his Negative Voice is as ſtrange, for his Lordſhip cannot ſhew by Law, that ever any Kings of *England* before had a Negative Voice, their Anſwers being *Le roy la vult*, or that the King will adviſe upon it, but no Preſident of Denyal, that being contrary to the Coronation Oath, which ſaith, he will paſs all rightful Laws the People ſhall Chooſe; but his Veracity thought this was Logick good enough for ſuch an Aſſembly of men that ſat there ſo long till neither his Lordſhip nor themſelves knew on what Foundation they ſtood upon, and therefore it was not much matter what was ſaid to them, or what came from them, ſcarce worth a regarding, it ſeems, by the reſpect they had to all their late Addreſſes about a War.

And his Lordſhip to Pin the Basket faſt, laces it with this Elegant Sentence of Latin, *State ſuper vias antiquas.*

Which if that had been well obſerved in other tranſactings, *England* need not have been afraid of the *French* King nor Arbitrary Government now.

Thus his Lordſhip concluded, that this Seſſion may imbelliſh the Hiſtory of this Parliament, telling them that his Majeſty and they had never more need of happy Union than now, but the Scope of all is, Supplies ſtill: Upon theſe Speeches the Houſe of Commons were Confirmed in what before they ſtrongly ſuſpected, that was, that notwithſtanding their Addreſſes, and what Preparations they had made for

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War and what aſſurances had been given them from time to time from the Court and though the Army was raiſed for a Culler, and ſent over ſome to *Oſtend*, and to other places, yet all was but a pretence and trick to help forward the Conſpirators in their enterprizes, this Speech cauſed great Debates in the Houſe, ſome began to look round about upon the Walls, and ſay, how often had theſe Walls been cheated; others on the other ſide argued that great care had been taken by the King to make a Peace very advantagious (they doubted not if any were made) to *England* by the ſaving of *Flanders*, as was always promiſed that they looked upon it as a great Act of Prudence done to keep us out of troubleſom War, and yet reap the benefit we expected; and that it was the very terror of the Votes of this Houſe, which they had made, and the readineſs of our forces to enter into an actual War, that had been the cauſe of this fine peace; they now perceived by His Majeſties Speech, and that ſince we had the experience of the good effect of our being armed, and in a War-like poſture it was highly rational to continue ſo, and to provide ſuch ſupplies for his Majeſty, as he deſired for their Subſiſtance, leaſt it ſhould be ſaid we had now taken the Thorn out of our own Foot, and put it into the Kings; therefore it was high time to think of both the Sum, and the means to raiſe it for the keping up of thoſe forces, new raiſed, till we ſhould ſee and be farther informed, whither a general peace would enſue or not.

On the other ſide, they were told they were on a very critical minute, and they were more ſurprized now than ever, firſt, for that at their laſt meeting, thoſe very Gentlemen, which now believe a peace, did then tell us, that nothing could hinder a War, and that when the *Poll Bill* paſſed, which was reſtrained only to the War, if it ſhould not be applyed to the uſe given the Court, could never be able to look this Houſe more in the Face again, and is the

Tale turned now in ſo ſhort a Time, it was a very ſtrang and unheard of thing, and yet to preſs for more Money was yet more extraordinary than all the reſt, when it was not poſſible, that half the Money they had given ſhould be ſpent, and for them to give more Money, till they knew what became of that they had given was to undo our ſelves, and to do his Majeſty no good; for if after all a War ſhould happen, the Country by theſe extraordinary ways would be impoveriſhed, or at leaſt diſcouraged to give when there was no Uſe made of what was given, which now they could not foreſee, that for the continuing an Army without a probability of a War, which they that urged it well knew the contrary, as they did believe, was the only way to deſtroy the Nation in a little time, inſtead of preſerving it, for that Army would ſoon make work rather than be idle, ſome did not ſtick to ſay, that they were told before they were raiſed, *what now is come to paſs*, and that thoſe *Forces* too readily raiſed were never intended to be disbanded, in ſhort, they concluded, that the keeping an Army up any Time without a War with *France* was pernicious and dangerous, at laſt the *Houſe* agreed upon this way, that if more Money muſt be given, and no War muſt be had, that the disbanding the *Popiſh Army* was highly neceſſary, and therefore agreed upon this Vote to be preſented to his Majeſty in Anſwer to his Speech *viz.*

Reſolved, That the Houſe taking into conſideration the State of His Majeſties Affairs, and the great charge and burden of his Majeſty and the Nation lyes under by the Army now in being are humbly of an Opinion, That if his Majeſty pleaſes to enter into a War againſt the French King, the Houſe is, and always will be, ready to ſupport and aſſiſt in that War, but if otherwiſe, then they will proceed to the conſideration of providing for the ſpeedy disbanding of the Army.

And the reaſon of this Vote ſeemed to be but juſt, yet this

this was not the thing aimed at by the *Conſpirators*, nor did they ever intend that Army to be disbanded from the firſt hour it was raiſed as will manifeſtly appear by and by, for an Army thus Officer'd, was that which the *Catholick Cauſe* built upon with the *Aſſiſtance* of *France*, when it was at leiſure by the general *Peace*, which we had now fully accompliſhed for him, and ſuch a one as he wiſhed leaving him abſolutely victorious, and in the poſſeſſion of the chief Towns of Strength in *Flanders*, and for what remains untaken, was, and is, yet at his Mercy, unleſs by ſome hand of *Providence* prevented; but this *Meſſage* coming inſtead of Money upon theſe hard *Conditions* no ways ſuited with the *Conſpirators* deſigns, for tho they had got all that *Money*, yet that being imployed by *L. D.* the Treaſurer, and the reſt of the *Conſpirators*, as was ſaid before, great part of it for other uſes, *Money* was wanting to pay the *Soldiers* and *Shiping* very much, and theſe private Intreagues together with ſecret Service had ſwept away vaſt Sums of Money.

So the *Conſpirators* began to be very uneaſie, when they ſaw this laſt *Vote*, and therefore they prevailed with the K. to return a very mild Anſwer to the laſt *Vote* (*viz.*)

His Majeſty having peruſed the Vote of this Houſe of the 27th. of May hath thought fit to return this Anſwer, That the moſt Chriſtian King hath made ſuch Offers for a Ceſſation till the 27th. *of July, as his Majeſty doth not only believe, will be accepted, but does alſo verily believe will end in a general Peace, yet ſince that it is not certain, his Majeſty doth by that means think it prudent not to diſmiſs either Fleet or Army before that time*, &c. *That in the mean time, his Majeſty deſires ſome ſupply may be provided for their Subſiſtence*, &c. *which is the want of the* 200000 *you promiſed to repay*, &c.

The Houſe having received this *Meſſage* took it for granted; as well they might, that their Work was done, and began to look about and conſider what was firſt to be done; they knew well enough to what intent the Army was raiſed

fed, and did begin to ſuſpect, that they ſhould never be able to lay the Devil, they having ſome *Intelligences*, how the *Treaſurer* and the reſt of the *Conſpirators* were now managing matters, both by the *Monſieur* abroad, and the Affair at home, whereupon they reſolve, ſince it muſt be ſo, and could be no better, and that they knew well, that the *Conſpirators* was to have *Money* from *France*, and that it was unpoſſible to unhinge their deſigns, they reſolve to raiſe *Money* to disband the Forces with all ſpeed, and to continue none in pay longer than the *Money* could be raiſed, ſo they Vote a Land Tax of 200000 for the disbanding the Army, which was to be done by the latter end of *Auguſt* at the fartheſt, and begin to think of another *Bill* to ſecure the *Nation* from *Popery*, and to take care of us after we were dead, by paſſing a *Bill* to mend the *Act*, for burying in *Woolen*, the Lords in all this time make fair *Speeches*, and our reverend *Biſhops* in the Houſe they ſtudy to frame *Bills* for the ſupport of themſelves under the notion of the *Church*, and with a fine name of *Securing us againſt Popery, and the better Diſcovery of Papiſt*, but the thing driven at was the excluding of all the *Diſſenters* of *England* from Life and Breath, if it had been poſſible to attain it, but the *Houſe of Commons*, who uſed to lead the way in framing of Bills, againſt the *Diſſenters* were much cooled, and all thoſe *Bills* with fair Titles almoſt at any time, that came from the upper Houſe proved abortive; but whilſt the *Houſe of Commons* were now buſied upon disbanding the Army, upon receit to the laſt *Meſſage* from the King in anſwer to their Vote or Reſolution, the 7*th* of *June* came another *Meſſage* to the *Houſe* to this purpoſe, *His Majeſty in his Speech to both Houſes on the* 23*d. of May laſt, told you, That if he were able, He would keep up his Army and Navy at Sea*, &c. *but that would dep nd upon the Supplys of this Houſe*, &c. *th refore he left it to them to conſider whether to provide for their ſubſiſtance, or to disband them ſooner.*

His Majeſty hath often ſince had his thoughts imployed upon the ſame Subject, and is every day more and more confirmed in his opinion, that the ſaving a few days expence can no ways Countervail the prejudice that would ariſe from his parting with his Fleet and Army, if after that a peace ſhould not follow, and though it ſhould, yet the hazzarding ſo much upon a bare preſumption of the iſſue of the thing, in it ſelf altogether uncertain, and quite out of his own power, is hardly to be countenanced by any Preſident, his Majeſty therefore again recommendeth to the conſideration of this Houſe, his advice of the 13 day of *May* laſt that they ſhould ſee the effects of the Ceſſation of *Flanders*, before his Majeſty be neceſſited to diſarm himſelf, but more eſpecially that you would conſider that part of the Army that is in *Flanders*, which if he ſhould recal before the peace it would be liable to a very bad Conſtruction (*viz.*) that having taken ſeveral of the King of *Spains* Towns into his Protection, He had without any reaſonable warning in order to their Regarriſoning, withdrawn his forces, and abandoned them to the diſceſſion of the Enemy.

However after this Meſſage came, the houſe did not think fit any longer to keep up the Army, ſince now they ſaw the whole ſcheme was out, and they knew well enough who adviſed the laſt Speech, and theſe two Meſſages, and had a pretty good gueſs at the meaning, and therefore though ſome of the Houſe were for giving longer time, yet the generalty were of opinion they had been keep to long already, and they ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary, notwithſtanding the fair ſtories, that the deſign was never to part with them, now they were raiſed, but that the Conſpirators had another work to do for them, and as ſecret as things were carried, they had an account both of the Letters of *France* and of *Flanders*, and of all the Conſpirators negotiations with the French King and his Miniſters, as well as the Conſpirators from time to time had an account of the motions in the

Houſe

Houſe in ſhort, after many Debates, the Houſe concluded of a Bill to raiſe money for the disbanding the Army; and gave time for doing it but t ll *July* them at Home, and thoſe in *Flanders* until *Auguſt* following; and having alſo paſſed the aditional Bill for Bury ing in Woolen, and provided the reimburſement of the 200000*l.* formerly borrowed, and which had been ſo often preſſed to be paid, they aroſe, being adjourned, and ſo continued adjournments till *October* next, but fain the Conſpirators would have had longer time by the Parliaments conſent, for the Disband ing their Army, but ſince they could not have their conſent, they were reſolved to do it without conſent; the next thing was the trying a project for to ſettle a new Exciſe upon the Crown, for the better ſupport of the Government, upon pretence the Revenue was not ſufficient, but the Houſe of Commons did not reliſh it, the very Pentioners themſelves oppoſing it, and the reaſon for it was, in caſe there ſhould be more ſtanding Revenue, their trade would be ſpoiled, for then there would be no need of their Service, and both the *Treaſurer* would keep his Dinners, and his money too, without which the Pentioners could not live, but the Parliament being gon, and the Conſpirators a little unſatisfied that they had not bubled them out of more money, began to mutter behind their backs, of their unhandſom carriage to his Majeſty, and to load the Parliament with the infamy of being the cauſe of the Ceſſation like to be, and the peace which was expected to inſhew, the *French* all this while playing their recks in *Flanders*, and ſtreight they blocking up *Mouse* with a vaſt army, expecting to carry that before the peace.

The *Dutch* and *Spaniard*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* forces that were in *Flanders*, under the command of the Earl of *Oſſory*, were reſolved, if poſſible to ſuccour *Mons*, before the peace took place, but the *French King* being aware of their deſigns, preſſed night & day the more, toſtraighten the

the Town without Attaches upon the place, by incamping round, and ſtoping up the way that hindred any relief, which was done by the *French* General, the Duke of *Luxenburgh*, having a vaſt army with him, the very flower of *France*, the Prince of *Orange* with the *Dutch* and *Spaniard*, at the *Spaniards* earneſt Solicitation were reſolved to ſuccour the Town, that it might not fall into the hands of the *French*, before the peace was concluded, they march directly for *Mons*, where they find it cloſe blocked up with the *French Army*, under the command of the Duke of *Luxenburgh*, but notwithſtanding the difficulty of getting into *Mons*, by reaſon of the blockaid, and the advantagious Poſts the *French* lay in, as if there had been a new courage put into the *Spaniard and Dutch*, & as if it were a fatality on the *French*, to blemiſh all his former enterprizes, and to give him a parting blow, the Prince with the *Engliſh*, then with him, preſſed upon the *French* ſo hard, that they forced them out of their advantagious Poſts, and made them quit the Field, and ſo *Mons* was ſuccored, though with the loſs of many men on both ſides, but the *French* were perfectly beat and retired in great diſorder in the Night, which was ſo great a blemiſh to the *French* Kings glory, and ſtrock ſuch a fear upon his Army, that it was verily thought by Judicious perſons, that had the *Dutch and Spaniards* followed that Blow upon the *French*, they had quite turned the State, and ruined his whole deſigns.

This was done to the admiration of all both friends and foes, and the Conſpirators as well as the French King, were moſt deeply concerned, though the French Court diſſembled the matter; giving out it was a hair-brain'd raſh Act, done by the Prince and Duke of *Monmouth*, who juſt came in as they began the Fight, not like Souldiers, but like mad men, this happens about the 13, or 14. of *Auguſt* 1678. And however the French King diſſembled the matter, he ſent ſeveral Meſſages to us, telling us, that our Forces were the cauſe of this Abuſe and Affront put upon him, in plain terms, calling us to an account for our breach with him, in ſuffering the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Engliſh, to fall upon him contrary to the private agreement-

ments; which made us here very uneaſie, fearing the French King would in time reſent it, and ſtop his hands of feeding us with money, according to Agreement; the Conſpirators here alſo proteſted their innocency, and had not the leaſt thoughts of any ſuch Action; and his R. H. poſts away his Meſſengers to *France* and *Holland*, to excuſe the thing, and promiſed to ſtop ſuch ungenteel proceedings for the time to come, and withal aſſures the French King, that the Duke of *Monmouth* went not over by his conſent, nor had he any buſineſs there, but his curioſity only led him to it; and for the time to come better care ſhould be taken of him, then to be ſuffer'd to be buſied about ſuch Affairs unſent; withal aſſuring the French King, he ſhould have no thanks for his pains when he came home; and ſo it fell out: For from that time his R. H. had an Eye, much more than before upon him: And now though this great blow was given to *Monſieur*, yet inſtead of retarding the Peace, it rather further'd it; for the buſineſs was ſo well order'd, by the French Kings Emiſſaries, among the States, and with the Governors of *Flanders Villa Hermoſa*, that the Prince had poſitive order, immediately, if not before the Battel began, to go on no farther; for that the Peace was concluded. From which Peace, the *States* as well as the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, may in all probability, if not *England* too, date their Ruine, as will appear hereafter by the conſequences; and this the Conſpirators well knew, and therefore night and day laboured the point, firſt to get *Holland* in, then the *Spaniard*, and then the *Emperor*; even to the Abondoning of their Allies, *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, who were drawn into this War, for the common cauſe of Chriſtendom, and had been moſt eminently ſerviceable with their Arms, to divert the *Swed* and *French* Intereſt, yet now are left in the lurch by them, whoſe part they took, and forced to acquit all their conqueſts aud looſe their charges, or elſe liable to be undone; which made the Duke of *Brandenburgh* ſay to our Ambaſſadour, Sr. *Robert Southwell*, ſent to him ſhortly after to make an Alliance with us, that he knew us too well, and that we were only influenced with Jeſuitical Councels; and therefore he would not meddle with us; and ſince out of revenge for the injuſtice done him by the Emperor and the reſt of the Confederates, he hath now joyned with *France*, againſt the Emperor and the Proteſtant Intereſt.

And now the Peace being concluded with *Holland*, a day was given alſo for the *Spaniard* and *German* to come in, which at laſt by degrees was alſo obtained, and great part of our Forces returned for *England*, a thing all along deſigned by the Conſpirators, that aſſoon as the Souldiers were pretty well trained up abroad, they ſhould come

come home here under the notion of disbanding, to do the reſt of the work: And now the Peace being concluded, the *Spaniard* began to be as weary of our Forces as poſſible could, and preſſed us to call them home, uſing them but after a coarce manner, beating their children for their fathers faults, for they knew who was at the bottom of forcing this peace upon them; and now they begin to come over in Companies and Redgiments, and were Quartered round about the Countrey, and not well liked by the Inhabitants, which cauſed great complaints; and indeed *Douglaces* and *Dunbartons* Regiments and others, who were moſt *Popiſh* as well as their Officers, did even terrifie the people; but that which moſt troubled the Countrey where they were Quartered up and down, was, that they had no pay, and run all a ſcore, as well for their victuals and drink, as before when they were Raiſed they had done for their Cloaths in the Drapers and Cloathiers Debts; which became very burthenſom; yet the Countrey and City every day expecting their being disbanded, according as the Law directed, were the better contented; but whatſoever their expectations were, it was the leaſt deſign'd by the Conſpirators ever to disband them; for inſtead of the money raiſed by the Parliament for that uſe, and a fixed time ſet, yet the Conſpirators ſo got the matters ordered, that it was now preached up for good doctrine, that the Service they might do of being kept together, would be far greater to the nation, than their disbanding; and ſome did openly declare, they ought not to be disbanded, the better to keep us in awe, and that their being kept ſtill in their arms would facilitate the Affairs abroad; the better to the good liking and Advantage of *England*: And though the money given for their disbanding ſhall be applyed for their maintainance, yet it would not be a loſs to the Nation; for by the Engliſh Army being kept up the *French King* was kept in awe, (and our ſelves too) and brought to Terms; this was the Doctrine Preached about the Town by the Conſpirators and their Tools.

But this was ſo home a ſpun thread, that it was eaſily diſcern'd by every obſerving man, however it ſerved a great while to beguile a great many unthinking people, nay at laſt ſo confident the Conſpirators were, of this *Sham* paſſing currant, that the Conſpirators deſign'd to Tap the ſame upon the next *Parliament*, as a ſufficient excuſe, if not a piece of Service they had done in keeping them up, contrary to an Act of *Parliament*, as we ſhall ſhew by and by.

But now all things running on the Conſpirators ſide as they could wiſh, what with the Popiſh Souldieas Officers, Popiſh Councels, and Popiſh Prieſts, and Jeſuite, ſwarming about the Town and Coun-

trey, *France* coming off more a Conqueror by Peace, then he had, or could expect by a War, and now in power abroad, and we in good eſtate at home, having our Army about us, and ſome money though not enough, which to make up we had aſſurances from *France* nothing now was leſs thought of by *D.* of *Y.* and the reſt of the Confederates, but to pull off the vizard, and ſet up what had been debated often, both at St. *Jamese*'s and other places; and though his *R. H.* was very eager to ſtrike now, when we had all things in this good poſture, yet others derſwaded him to Act privately a little longer; and ſee if there could not be a way found out to get more money wiſely, conſidering that he which deſigns to build a great Houſe, in wiſdom firſt ought to ſet down and conſider the coſt, and in a cloſe *Cabal* at *White-Hall* upon a Couriers coming from *France*, ſoon after the Peace was concluded; it was ſtrongly debated, whether to try to'ther experiment for money with the *Parliament* again, or rely upon the *French King*; from whom we had merrited ſo much; There was in this Conſult three Factions, and three different opinions amongſt them, though all agreed in the main, that they never had ſo fair an opportunity as now, yet they could never be ſure of their Game, without money, and more money they wanted: The *French* Ambaſſadors here was admitted to much of their ſecrets, yet not all, for he was no Friend, but to his Maſters Intereſt purely; no begot to the Church, but whatever he drove, was ſtill tricking with our Court: Great part of the *Cabal* ſpake to this effect, that our Services to *France*, had been ſo great, and our Intereſt with him ſo interwoven, that they doubted not his aſſiſtance, both with men and money; others were of opinion, that how willing ſoever he might be now, yet his purſe by this long War muſt be exhauſted ſo far, that it could not be expected his helps could be ſufficient, and it was better to have two ſtrings to their Bow, than one; and try the other bout to get money from the Parliament. The Treaſurer undertaking for the Houſe of Commons, that by the time of their next Sitting, he doubted not but win upon ſo many of the Pentioners Members, as to have the Major part in the Houſe of Commons; as for the other Faction, their Advice was to ſend to the City, to borrow money, and if refuſed, to force it; And *Duraſs* offer'd his Service to Command the Forces into the City, but it was thought too ſoon to begin, the Orthodox Papiſts amongſt the Conſpirators were preſſing to make a mutiny among the Proteſtants, either here or in *Scotland*, and that way to begin the work out of hand, which was well approved on by all; only firſt they would uſe ſome ſecret intrigues to inſnare ſome perſons, as ſhall be ſhown hereafter. But

to

at laſt it was carried to try the *Parliament* once more, and to prepare all things ready in order, to bring them in a good humour; and now come over great perſonages out of *France*, and are very merry with the Court, and the ſecret devices agitated againſt the next *Parliament* met, were agreed on; The Court now is at *Windſor*, very well at eaſe, and the Conſpirators hug themſelves with the thoughts of their future happineſs.

But now whil'ſt all things go on in a ſweet Harmony, to the Conſpirators full content, of a ſuddain in *Auguſt* 78. a Cloud appears very black, even in the very height of all their expectations, and though it ſeem'd but a trifle, and ſmall at the beginning, yet by degrees increaſed extreamly; and that was the moſt ſecret devices of the Conſpirators, for the introducing of Popery and Arbitrary Government, came in ſome meaſure to be ſo diſcovered by Mr. *Oates* who had been Trained up among them, both beyond Sea, and here negotiated their Affairs, that converſing with Dr. *Tongue*, prepares himſelf to diſcover, the damnable Plots and deſigns of the Jeſuits and Papiſts; who were in ſtrict Alliances with our Conſpirators, to root up the Proteſtant Religion and Government; and though all our Conſpirators themſelves were in the grand Plot, yet ſome of the zealous Prieſts and Jeſuits in conjunction with the *D.* of *Y.* had not patience to ſtay the ordinary courſe, to eſtabliſh Popery and Arbitrary power, which was fully reſolved on here, but in it's due time; and to go on gradually, being well aſſured of their Game, if not ſpoyled with raſhneſs: And therefore ſome of the grand Conſpirators were not made privy to the Secrets of ſome of the Prieſts and Jeſuits Councel; for they ſtill impatient to be in poſſeſſion, and knowing the *D.* of *Y.* was right for their turn, drove on a ſecret Plot among themſelves, to remove the King into another World whil'ſt this Army was in Being; and ſo though all were concerned in the grand Plot, yet but few were, beſides the Prieſts and Jeſuits in this wheel, within a Wheel; and therefore when this ſecret thing came to be diſcovered by *Oates*, though the perſons he diſcover'd it to, knew well enongh what he ſaid, as to the general Plot to be true, yet they themſelves being kept ignorant of the other ſecret Wheel in their wheel, would not by any means, ſcarce to this day, be brought to believe that part of that Teſtimony.

But that we may take all things in their courſe, before we come to ſhew the effects of this diſcovery, we muſt ſhew how ſome of the grand Conſpirators with their prime Leader the *D.* of *Y.* had layed their Deſign, for the bringing their devices to paſs about the King, whom they thought being obliged otherways, could not be ſo hearty

with them, as the *D.* certainly would be, therefore they contriv'd his diſpatch among themſelves into another world, but to caſt the *Odium* on the Fanatick party; ſo about *Auguſt* Mr. *Claypole*, who was Son in Law to *Oliver Cromwell*, was to be Seized for High-Treaſon, and brought before Secretary *Coventry*, and Charged with a deſign of Seizing the King as he was to go to *New Mark t*; *Claypole* being thus Attached by the Secretary, and knowing nothing of the matter, demands to know his Accuſers, that was denyed him, and he frown'd upon, as if he had been the greateſt knave in the world; Mr. *Claypole* he was as ſtout as the Secretary was proud, and would ſcarce anſwer any queſtions, ſo away he is ſent to the *Tower* a cloſe Priſoner; this amazed all people, but the Conſpirators themſelves, who were in the Intrigue, for this was done by the *Papiſts* procurement, that when the blow ſhould be given upon the King, it might be immediately charged upon the Fanaticks; and this Mr. *Claypole* was to be a pledg or Token charged; and to that end, they had procured their Tackle and Witneſs ready to prove it, which was one *Sing* a Papiſt, and one *Throgmorton*, and ſo as one man, they had agreed to revenge the death of the King upon that ſort of people, concluding that the Church of England men, who hate the Fanaticks worſe than the Papiſt, would certainly ſtrike in with them, being made believe this horrid Act when it ſhould be done, was done by thoſe ſort of men; and therefore as a Prologue to the deſign, they could not think of a man fitter to be firſt clapped up, then ſuch a man as *Claypole*; for the name of being Son in Law to *Oliver Cromwell* was ſufficient: This damnable Deſign having ſo proſper'd, the next thing was, to continue ways and means how to diſpatch the King; divers ways were propounded by the Jeſuits whil'ſt the King was at *Windſor*, which *Oates* being privy to, reſolv'd to diſcover out of hand; and having digeſted his Matter well, though a hot brain'd man, yet he by the means of Dr. *Tongue*, gave private information by ſome means to the King through the Treaſurer, but little credit was given to it; and inſtead of diligent inquiry after the diſcoverer and the Parties, *Oates* found that he himſelf was like to be diſcover'd among his own Creatures, as the perſon that had given private intimation of their Intentions to *White-Hall*; for thoſe very Informations given by *Oates* were by the Treaſurer ſecretly communicated to the Duke; and he to ſtifle the farther diſcovery, communicated it to the Jeſuits, and Prieſts at the *Savoy* inſtead of taking notice of the Information to the Councel; this put the Jeſuits at the *Savoy* upon inquiring among themſelves who it was had deſigned to betray them.

Oates being miſtruſted to be the man, and finding how he had been dealt with, reſolved to withdraw wholly from the Jeſuits company; and to take ſome other courſe; ſo applies himſelf to Juſtice *Godfrey*, and gives him a Scheme of the Plot, relating moſt to the Kings death, which was deſigned, and ſo home and full was that Information, that the Juſtice thought fit to communicate immediately to the Treaſurer, whom he was very intimate with; the Treaſurer took it, but made very ſlight of it, and inſtead of communicating it to the Councel, or taking any care in it, communicates it forthwith to the *D.* again, and he aſſoon to the Prieſts, or his Servant *Coleman*; by which means, what papers and Perſons they had a mind to convey away, was carefully done, and this his Lordſhip kept without any notice ſome days, unleſs to the King, as he ſince pretends; but Sr. *Edmondbury Godfrey* having theſe Original Informations, and being great with *Coleman* the Dukes Secretary, diſcourſed to him ſomething of the matter; *Coleman* knowing the point better than *Godfrey*, could tell him; and being well aſſured that ſuch diſcoverers could not hinder their deſigns, did in effect, confirm all to the Juſtice that *Oates* had informed him of, if not much more; and told the Juſtice his wiſeſt way was to meddle no farther in this buſineſs, for he would find but little encouragement, or thanks for his pains, their game was ſure, and gone too far, and too great perſons concerned in it, to value any thing that could be done: This very much ſurprized Sr. *Edmondbury Godfrey*, who was always looked upon to be a very fair man, and a zealous Churchman, and not any way inclining to Popery, yet carried it fair to all, & the Papiſts had a good eſteem of him as well as others: But Sr. *Edmond.* finding the Treaſurer had done nothing in this Affair, thought it fit the next Councel to have it Communicated there, which was done; and *Oates* was ſent for, either then or ſometime after to be examined at *White Hall*; where he managed himſelf with that courage and prudence, that though he were brow-beaten and oppoſed moſt ſtrongly, yet he maintained his ground, and demonſtrated the Plot ſo clearly, that though many there ſtudied all ways poſſible to daſh him and confound him, yet it was impoſſible, he ſtood like a Rock, and gave ſo many reaſons for what he ſaid, that the Councel how unwilling ſo ever to meddle, or ſtir in this thing, yet at laſt did grant Warrants to Seize on ſome Prieſts that night, who were taken and ſent to priſon; This made ſome talk about Town of a Popiſh plot, but few or none except the Conſpirators themſelves, knew what to make on't; the Papiſts were ſo bold as to laugh and deride it; and *Coleman* who was the Factor in all this ſecret part of the Plot, came to the City

that morning he was to appear before the Councel, in a Bravado, however his Papers being ſeized by a Meſſenger, and he appearing before the Councel in the Afternoon upon a Summons, only was ſo ſure of his power, and ſo well ſatisfied that it was not in the power of man to hurt him, eſpecially when moſt of the Councel themſelves were deeply engag'd in the general deſign, and upon this preſumption only upon a bare Summons he appears, and ſtruts and hectors there like an Emperour, telling the Councel, that in accuſing him, they ſhot at his *R. H.* but thoſe papers being read before him, although the chiefeſt they had conveyed away before, having notice time enough, there was found ſo much in them, that the Conſpirators themſelves had not a word to ſay for him; ſo at laſt this great Gyant was committed to *Newgate*, care being taken both for him, and the Cauſe by the Conſpirators both in Councel and abroad, to hide all papers that could be hid, and to ſend all perſons away that ihey dare not truſt, nay for a ſhift, the Secretaries themſelves gave Paſſes and ſafe conduct to ſuch as were minded to travel; and ſuch admirable care was taken by the Conſpirators, that the witneſſes were not only ſlighted and diſcouraged, but ſome of the Clarks of the Councel very officiouſly, were ſpyes upon the Witneſſes to intrap them by their minutes, what they ſaid at the Councel, that they might witneſs againſt them for the Conſpirators, when any of them ſhould be brought to tryal; however notwithſtanding *Colemans* being Committed, yet the Conſpirators doubted not but to Rub it off, and carry the point, their own friends being in all places of Truſt about the King and Councel, by whoſe Help they got moſt of the Writings of the chiefeſt import, that concerned the greater Conſpirators ſo well ſecured, that whatever became of theſe little Prieſts and Jeſuits, yet they doubted not but to ſave the Cargo; therefore moſt of what concerned his *R. H.* Letters to the Fathers abroad, the *French* King and the Pope, and others which concerned the other great Lords never appeared; and there being but one poſitive Witneſs which was *Oates*, they hoped to baffle the Plot quite, before the *Parliaments* meeting; only one thing lay in their way, which was *Colemans* diſcovery to Sr. *Edmundbury Godfrey*.

But the Duke ſome way or other got this Meſſage ſent him to *Newgate* to be of good chear, a way would be found to ſecure Sr. *Edmundbury Godfrey* well enough, and bid him not be afraid, but rely upon him, they would not leave him whatever it coſt them; which aſſurances were ſo welcome to *Coleman*, that it perfectly recover'd him from a melancholy fit now upon him in *Newgate*; and had not ſuch aſſurances came to him time after time, he had certainly diſcover'd

cover'd the whole Intrigue which the Conſpirators began to be jellows of; and therefore to continue him right and to damn the plot, [as they thought] care is taken to ſend Sr. *Edmundbury Godfrey* into another world to tell Tales there, reſolving he ſhould tell none here; but ſome days were ſpent in contriving the thing, at laſt by a Letter coming to him overnight for him to meet ſome great perſon at his Houſe which is ſuppoſed to be the Treaſurer, the next day he went and was ſeen at the Treaſurers Houſe that day about twelve of the clock, and where afterward he went is not very certain; but to be ſhort, as he was paſſing by *Somerſet houſe*, he was decoyed in by thoſe Bloud-hounds that had deſigned his deſtruction, where he was informed men were a fighting, and he deſired to appeaſe the quarrel; and no ſooner being entred within the yard, but they got him ſeized and ſtrangle him, where they conceal him ſome days even behind the Holy Altar, in *Somerſet Houſe*; and ſuch care was taken for concealing this murther, that *Somerſet Houſe* was kept very ſtrict from peoples coming in and frequenting it as before; which is ſorely ſuſpected to have been ordered by perſons of great Authority, from divers remarkable paſſages, and ſo jocund were the Conſpirators after they had accompliſhed this damnable murther, that ſome of the Divels daunced round the dead Corps as he lay thus murder'd ſpitting ſome of their venom upon the dead Hereticks face; and as he was thus ſecretly murther'd, ſo was he at laſt as ſecretly removed from place to place in that Houſe, and after carried forth on Wedneſday night following, to *Greenbury Hill*, (which was the Ancient name of the place where they layd him) about three or four miles off, left there in a ditch, with his own Sword run through him, hoping by that means to murther his reputation, as well as they had done his perſon, that when he ſhould be found, it might be given out he had murther'd himſelf; he was not fouud out till Thurſday morning after, but ſuch a perſon as Sr. *Edmund.* being miſſed ſo long as Saturday to Thursday from his own Houſe, very much allarum'd all perſons, and the Councel began to inquire ſometime before he was found, and Order'd a Proclamation immediately to iſſue for the better diſcovering him; but the Murderers and the Conſpirators having not yet diſpoſed of his Body, found out an invention to ſtop the Proclamation coming forth, which was, the Treſurers Emiſſary brings word that Sr. *Edmondbury Godfrey* was married to the Widow *Offley*, and found there in bed with her, this device put off the Proclamation for that Councel-day, and before the next time the Councel met, they had got his Body in the night conveyed to the place where it was found, which being

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brought home, a Crowner was ſent for and a Jury Impanel'd, to conſider how he came by his death.

But this Gentleman being found in this condition, made the thinking ſort of mankind almoſt amazed, multitudes of perſons of all ſorts flocked to ſee his Body, the *Papiſt* and the Conſpirators they preſently gave out he was a melancholy man, and it was incident to the Family to make away with themſelves; the Gentlemans Brother and Friends knowing the falſity of that Aſſertion, looked very narrowly into the thing, letting his Body lie to be viewed a great many days together; but ſoon after his being found, the Treaſurer out of his good nature and tender affection as pretended, was ſo generous, as to ſend to his Brother *Godfrey*, the Merchant in *London*, that he muſt needs ſpeak with him, Mr. *Godfrey* comes, though full of trouble, and confuſion, where meeting his Lordſhip, he was told, that he was heartily ſorry for the loſs of his Brother; but that he was a melancholy man and out of the friendſhip and reſpect he bore Sr. *Edmund* he would be ſo much his friend, as to endeavour to ſave his Eſtate, and find a way to prevail upon the Coroner to Return him diſtracted, that the Eſtate might not be forfeited to the King, or he would beg the Eſtate of the King for him and his Relations, to this purpoſe the Treaſurer diſcourſ'd Mr. *Godfrey*; Mr. *Godfrey* began to be highly concerned at thoſe inſinuations, that inſtead of accepting the Treaſurers kindneſs, went away more unſatisfied then before at this kind of Treatment, and diſcourſe; and upon all hands whil'ſt the Coroner and Jury were examining the matter of Sr. *Edmundbury*'s coming to his end, the Treaſurers Servants and Pimps were ſtill very buſie with both Coroner and Jury, and it is certain, there were under-Hand Dealings, to have gotten a Verdict *ſelo de ſe*. But his Neck being broke, and the Shoes on his Feet clean, with other apparent Proofs was ſo manifeſt, that theſe tricks to

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to ſmother the Murther, would not take; ſo the Jury brought it in a barbarous Murther: thus it continued. At laſt he was Buried, with a very great Number of People, as ſcarce had ever been ſeen at one Gentlemans Funeral before; the greateſt number of Mankind then certainly concluding him Murder'd by the Papiſts, the Council Iſſued out their Proclamation to Diſcover the Barbarous Murtherers.

He being now diſpatched, *Coleman* in *Newgate* having notice, was at eaſe, and the Conſpirators much encouraged, that their ſecret Villany would not be detected, and by Conſequence the Plot would be ſoon at an end: But this Murther ſtuck upon mens minds extreamly, all conjecturing the Papiſts did it, which made ſome fear their turns ſhould be next; and the City began highly to reſent this Murther, inſomuch that this did Confirm the People in belief of a Popiſh Plot more than all things they had heard before, and did not turn to ſo good an Account for the Conſpirators Intereſt as they expected, but on the contrary made their Cauſe much worſe: And now the time of the meeting of the next Parliament drew near, great Debate arole among the Conſpirators, whether it were adviſable to let the Parliament ſit or not; ſtrong motives there were againſt it, the chief of which was from this Plot, and this Murther now in every Bodies mouth; the *D.* and the Jeſuits Faction were utterly againſt the Parliaments ſitting, for that very reaſon, leaſt they ſhould pry into theſe things; the Treaſurer and the other were for their ſitting, by any means, that Money might be raiſed to Pay the Army, which had run them out deſperately; and the *French* King, notwithſtanding all his fair Promiſes, now his work was done, did little regard to help them, thô his Intereſt and the Dukes were intirely one and the ſame: As to that it was anſwer'd, the Parliament would not give more Money to maintain, whatever they did to Disband; that therefore it was better to get them Prorogued for a while longer, 'till this Cloud was blown over: but the Treaſurer being eager after Money, and undertaking to mold them by that time fit for the work, at laſt it was agreed they ſhould ſit, and the better to bring them into a good humour to give Money, they ſhould be told of the great Service had been done to *Europe* by keeping up the Army they cauſed to be raiſed, and that the Service they had done by being kept on Foot ſtill, did well compenſate the Charges of maintaining them: and to Sweeten them, it was thought fit they ſhould be told of the Plot as onely a Plot of the Jeſuits and no more; but that which made the Conſpirators conſenting to this, was the neceſſity of Money, they were made believe by the Treaſurer was wanting, and the fear of diſobliging the Army for want of their Pay.

So that now the Parliament being met the twenty firſt of *October*, 1678. his Majeſty makes a very mild Speech to both Houſes, to this effect:

The SPEECH.

" I Have thought the time long ſince we parted laſt, and " would not have deferr'd your meeting by ſo many Pro- " rogations if I could have met you ſooner; the part which " I have had this Summer of the Preſervation of our Neigh- " bours, and the well ſecuring what was left in *Flanders*, it is " ſufficiently known and acknowledged by all that are abroad, " and thô for this Cauſe I have been obliged to keep up my " Troops, without which our Neighbours had abſolutely de- " ſpaired, yet the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation have " been ſo far improved by it, that I am confident no man " here would repine at it, or think the Money raiſed for their " Disbanding, ill imployed in their Continuance; and I do " aſſure you I have been ſo much more out of Purſe for the " Service, that I do expect you ſhould ſupply it: How far " it may be neceſſary, conſidering the preſent State of *Chri-* " *ſtendom*, to reduce the Land and Sea Forces, or to what " degree, is worthy of all our ſerious Conſiderations.

" I now intend to acquaint you (as I ſhall alwayes do " with any thing that concerns me) that I have been In- " formed of a deſign againſt my Perſon, by the Jeſuits, of " which I ſhall forbear any Opinion, leſt I may ſeem to ſay " too much or too little, but I will leave the matter to the " Law: in the mean time will take as much care as I can " to prevent all manner of Practices by that ſort of men, and " of others too, who have been tampering in high degree " by Forreigners, and contriving how to introduce Popery " amongſt us. I ſhall conclude with recommending to you " my other Concernments: I have been under great dif-

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"appointments by the defects of the Poll-Bill.

"My Revenue is under great Anticipations, and at the "beſt was never equal to the conſtant and neceſſary ex- "pence of the Government, whereof I intend to have the "whole State layd before you, and require you to look in- "to it, and conſider of it with that Duty and Affection "which I am ſure I ſhall always find from you.

Then his Veracity began, and tells them that they may perceive how much his Majeſty relies upon their Advice, in that he hath not ſuffer'd them all this Year to be out of his reach, but hath continued them from time to time by ſhort Prorogations; that we could not meet ſooner, becauſe we could not take right meaſures of our Neighbours; and tells them the cloſe of the laſt Meeting ended with different Aſpects, War or Peace, which was occaſioned by various Aſpects of Proceedings from abroad, and not from unſteddineſs at Home; then tells them how his Majeſty was ſolicited from abroad not to Disband his Troops, and juſtifies the keeping up of the Army, for in regard by that means ſo much was ſaved of *Flanders*; and acknowledges it is ſuch a Peace as could be got; and then, ſaith he, let no man wonder that the Money given towards Disbanbing, was employed toward the Payment of the Army, telling them there needs no excuſe for that which was inevitable: Now was there ever ſuch a Speech made by a Chancellor before? eſpecially a bred Lawyer, that he and the reſt of the Aſſociates ſhould not only conſent to the breach of a Law of the three Eſtates ſcarce dry, which commanded the Disbanding the Army? but that in the Face of the Nation ſhould go about to commend and juſtify the Action of breaking the Law as ſoon as made: what may not be done, if ſuch a thing as this dare be done in the Face of the Sun? and then flam you off with *Chriſtendom*, and all the Worlds commending us for breaking our own Laws to patch up a Peace, the end of which tends to nothing but miſery.

And then his Veracity farther goes on to ſhew, that by this experiment found out to fruſtrate the Law, the King was in Debt to the Souldiers more than he would have been if they had been Disbanded in *June* and *Auguſt*, which was expected to be paid by them: So the Summe is, here we have drawn the King and Kingdom into a Snare, having ventured to diſpence with a Law, but you muſt not only be contented, but you muſt pay us for it too.

But as a Sugar-Plum at laſt, he tells them, That they cannot but be well pleaſed, that they have the Honour of it too, that is, of geting theſe fine Peaces, which the Houſe alwayes abominated: but ſuch a tool is this for the Conſpirators, that let them put him upon the moſt Knaviſh and Nonſenſical piece of Stuff in the whole World, he would do it, were it to lick their very Breeches.

Then his Veracity complains of the diſappointment his Majeſty met with by the Poll-Bill falling ſhort, and with a gentle touch ſhews how we ſtill ought to be in a Poſture of defence; that is, ſtill to keep up this Army, whatever you do, no way like this to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion but by keeping up this Popiſh Army; then tells them the danger of reducing them, for his Leſſon was taught him near a week before, what he ſhould ſay, and how he ſhould bring it in; and in the next place what is moſt remarkable, his Veracity having forgot his laſt Speech, thô not above five or ſix Months old, now is of a clear contrary Sentiment of what he was then: for now he tells us of the danger we are in by the Jeſuits, and the unwarrantable Proceedings of the Papiſts, medling with our State-affairs, being of pernicious and dangerous Conſequences, which Crimes muſt be left to Law: Yet in his laſt Speech he was pleaſed to ſay, we were now ſo well hedged and fenced againſt Popery, that it was impoſſible for the leaſt ground of any Jealouſies to fear Popery amongſt us, and that no fears or Jealouſies could Sanctify ſuch Proceedings as to meddle with farther and better ſecuring the State and Church from Popery; and ridicules the Houſe of Commons for medling with matters of Religion and Church affairs, as long and tedious Debates, and for being jealous of Popery and Arbitrary Government; and now the Parliament is told (after he hath fetched them about to augment the ſtanding Revenue) that our dangers are great, and if we do not ſtand up and Reſcue his Majeſty from them, we are all in danger to be loſt; yet before in the laſt all was well, it was impoſſible for any juſt grounds of fears, but ſuch fear he told them proceeded from ill men without doors, but within doors by his own ſhewing we are in a fine Condition now: But here his Lordſhip went beſide the laſt, and beyond what the Conſpirators intended; but he was in, poor man, and could not tell how to get out; at laſt he concludes, that there is ſuch a ſtrange concurrence of ill accidents in this time, (which certainly he meant the Diſcovery of the Plot to be one) that 'tis not to be wondred at if ſome very honeſt and good men begin to have troubled and thoughtful Hearts: Thus his Lordſhip ends, only

Prays

Prays that the Houſes will take care to prevent differences amongſt themſelves, and that they may take care to Steer the Ship into a ſafe Harbour, from ſuch a Tempeſt which ſeems to threaten us.

The Houſe finding the note extreamly changed from what it was at their laſt parting, immediately fell upon that part of the Kings Speech relating to the Popiſh Plot, and thô they grumble and were angry at the Violating of their Law, and miſuſing their Money given for Disbanding, yet at preſent they began firſt to look into the Plot; for by prying into that, they conjectured they might find out the Authors of all their deſigns and Tricks that had been carrying on againſt the Nation; the Lords as well as the Commons now look about them, and ſeem all in earneſt to ſearch into the bottom of this Helliſh Plot: the two Houſes both chooſe out Committees to inſpect the whole, and to find out and inquire into the Murther of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, and Addreſſes from both Houſes were almoſt every day Voted either for the Baniſhing of the Papiſts, or for having the Papers found relating to the Plot to be deliver'd to them to examine, and to have the Militia of *London* and *Middleſex* raiſed, and Pardons for the Witneſſes, and to the outward appearance the Conſpirators were but in an ill Condition; Complaints coming both to Lords and Commons daily: and ſo buſie were the Parliament about the Plot, that the Supplies were not ſo much as moved for in the Houſe, for now all care was little enough to Diſcover what had been acted by the Conſpirators, and to come at the bottom to know whom they were, and then to take care for further Preſervation: and now the Scales are quite turned, the two Houſes had no longer hard thoughts of the Fanaticks, but the Papiſts were their only trouble.

Yet notwithſtanding the daily Applications of ſome worthy Gentlemen as well as Lords in each Houſe, the Conſpirators were ſo Powerful and Prevalent at Court, that divers of the chiefeſt Papers were miſlayed, and whatever was privately done in either Houſe by their Committees,

for

for the Diſcovery of the Plot, falſe Brethren got in amongſt them and gave Intelligence; and ſuch diligence was uſed by the great Conſpirators, that every thing was cover'd and conceal'd that could be: however ſo much did appear, that made the Houſe of Commons Vote it to be a Damnable and Helliſh Plot of the Papiſts, to root up and deſtroy the Government; and very privately got my Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs* to ſign Warrants for the apprehending of the Popiſh Lords, which was done: And the Earl of *Danby* being alſo under Conſideration, which at laſt came to both an Accuſation and an Impeachment, for that it was found out by his Letters the Intreagues he had held with the *French* King for Money to procure a Peace and deceive the Parliament, which Letters, were preſerved, and brought into the Houſe by the Procurement of Mr. *Montague*, who had wiſely kept them for a reſerve againſt a rainy day; and now many of the open Catholicks began to trudge beyond Sea, and ſome of the other Conſpirators found it too hot longer to continue here: for the Murther of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* ſtuck in their Stomachs, and ſeveral of the chief Contrivers of that black piece of Villany, were got neſsled beyond the Sea, for fear of being Diſcover'd to be in the Murther, or their being privy to the deſign; and to facilitate and make the Murtherers and the Conſpirators Journeys more eaſie, our good natured Secretaries gave them ſure Paſſes and Licenſes for their ſpeedy Tranſportation; nay, the *D.* of *Y*'s Confeſſor, and the Prieſts about him, had the ſame good Fortune to be helpt to make their eſcape, by the generoſity of the Secretaries: and how diligent ſoever the Engliſh Gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons were to detect the Conſpirators, the Plot and the Murther, the Court and the Conſpirators were as diligent to conceal, if not far outdo them: The Houſe of Peers Acted as Prudently as the Commons; for they being reſolved to find out the Murther, choſe a Select Committee of five or ſix Lords, and no more, which they called a Secret Committee, as indeed they were a long time, which was then made up of the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Earl of *Shaftsbury*,

Shaftsbury, Lord *Hallifax*, and the Biſhop of *London*, and two or thtee more; they do by this piece of Policy, by keeping private their Examinations, Diſcover that the *D.* as well as *Q.* were in the bottom of this Deſign; and *Buckingham* having got a Scheme of the Plot from *Oats*, well underſtood how to manage the matter, which he did with admirable Dexterity, and committed all men that they had the leaſt Suſpection of into Gaol about the Murther of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*; which ſtruck ſuch a Terror into thoſe that were concerned in that Villany, that they both fear and tremble, and ſome of them being pricked in their Conſciences, began to think of Diſcovering, as will appear preſently. The Nation being in this Confuſion, and expecting every day when our Throats ſhould be Cut by the Papiſts, reſolved to have the Nation in a Poſture of Defence, and to raiſe the Militia throughout the Kingdom; and therefore prepared a Bill for that purpoſe, for the Militia to be in Arms for ſo many dayes, which Bill paſſed both Houſes without difficulty; the Papiſts and the Conſpirators ſeeing ſo great a Harmony between the two Houſes, and their Zeal to defend themſelves and the Nation, as well as to ſecure them from further miſchief, bethought themſelves of this Stratagem, to divide the King from the Houſes, and put a ſtop to the Paſſing that Bill, fearing that if the Militia of the Kingdom were raiſed, it would quite put the Conſpirators out of their Gears, and be a means to fruſtrate all their Deſigns after the Parliament was riſen; and ſo they Poſſeſſed the King with the danger of this

Bill,

Bill, and whatever he did he ſhould not paſs it, telling him, it was too great a truſt to be repoſed in the People, and would be of dangerous Conſequence to him, thô they knew the true danger they feared was their own, and not the Kings ; but ſo far the Conſpirators wrought with the King, that he abſolutely denyed the Paſſing the Bill, which put a great damp upon the People, more eſpecially becauſe they were ſurrounded with unlawful Armed men, who lay Quartered up and down the Countrey upon the Inhabitants without being Disbanded, as they ought to have been, and the rejecting of which Bill was looked on as no good Omen.

But to Compenſate this, his Majeſty to prevent all miſunderſtanding that may ariſe from his not Paſſing the late Bill of the Militia, is pleaſed to declare that he will readily aſſent to any Bill of that kind which ſhall be tender'd to him for the publick ſecurity of the Kingdom by the Militia, ſo as the whole Power of calling, continuing, or not continuing of them together during the time limited, be left to his Majeſty, to do therein as he ſhall find moſt expedient for the publick ſafety.

But by this time unexpected, comes in a full Diſcovery of the Murther of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* by Mr. *Bedlow*, who was imployed in it, or at leaſt was Privy to the whole Intreague, and had been greatly imployed

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to carry on the Plot beyond the Seas by the Prieſts and Jeſuites, ſo that now *Oates*'s Evidence was again corroberated very unexpectedly, and the *Conſpirators* much more caſt down then before, and though all imaginable care was taken by theſe Conſpirators to diſcourage *Bedloe*, and cry down his Evidence, and to baffle him upon the knowledge of the Rooms at *Summerſet Houſe*, where the murthered Perſon lay, yet it prevailed very little, in regard that the Parliament was then Sitting, and the ſecret *Committee* of the *Peers* had got his Examination, ſo that by *Bedloe*'s freſh Evidence, all but the Conſpirators and their Adherents were infinitely well pleaſed, and now he having been throughly Examined, both as to the Murther and Plot, made ſuch diſcoveries, that the two Houſes began to look about them more ſtrict then ever, in regard it plainly appeared that the D. as well as the Jeſuites, was at the bottom of all this curſed Plot and Conſpiracy, or the Wheel within a Wheel which ſome of the *Conſpirators* knew not off.

The *Commons* therefore began to provide againſt all Papiſts ſitting in either Houſe, and after ſome ſhort time framed a Bill with a Teſt againſt *Popery*, to be taken by every Member of each Houſe, or elſe to looſe his Seat, the *Conſpirators* then ſeeing what the Commons deſigned, were reſolved to rally all their ſtrength to oppoſe the Paſſing that Bill, and therefore upon a cloſe conſultation held at St *Jameſes*, where was preſent *Leg* and *Littleton*, with ſome Jeſuites and other Papiſts: and before the Bill came up from the Commons, they agreed that ſince it was like to paſs in the Lower Houſe, they ſhould openly by their ſtrength in the Houſe of Peers oppoſe it, and it was concluded to do it by the Negative voice of the Houſe of Peers, rather then to go about to prevail with the King to reject it, after it had paſſed both Houſes; So to work they went, and to baffle the Bill, they poſſeſs ſuch of the Upper Houſe that were indifferent, that the Teſt in the Bill which the Commons had made, was an Unchriſtian like thing, becauſe it called the Maſs Idolatry, and the Major part of the Biſhops having the kew given them, as readily fell in with the Conſpirators for the Non-paſſing the Bill with the Teſt, as the Conſpirators deſired and ſome of thoſe Prelates made Speeches againſt the Teſt in the Bill, and would not allow that the *Maſs* ſhould be called Idolatry, eſpecially B —— G —— the two Arch Biſhops, and diverſe others, there not being above five in the whole number for Paſſing it, ſo that the Bill being brought up, and debated in the Lords Houſe, the Viſards were pulled off, and many that were thought to be Enemies to Popery, began to ſmell exceeding Rank, inſomuch, that when it was put to the queſtion

upon the laſt reading it was carried very hardly, not by above five or ſix voices difference, but it being carryed in the Affirmative, and it having been agreed before, that in caſe it did paſs, a *Proviſo* ſhould be inſiſted on for the Duke, According to which upſtarts the *L---- Winſor*, deſired that a *Proviſo* might be in the Bill, to exempt the Royal Family from taking the Teſt, which was no ſooner ſtarted, but ſeconded by abundance of the Peers, inſomuch, that by the Earneſt Solicitation of the Conſpirators the day before, and the Solicitation of a certain Gentleman in the World, in the Houſe that day, who was taken notice of to go from Lord to Lord in the Houſe Soliciting, as for his life there was ſuch a party made, that uopn the Queſtion put for the *Proviſo* it was agreed to, And carried, That the Duke of *York* ſhould be exempted from that Act, this was ſo ſurprizing a thing, that the Bill which was deſigned to throw out all Papiſts, of which the Duke was known to be the chief, that it very much ſurprized the thinking ſort of men, that at this time the Dukes friends ſhould now own him a *Papiſt*, by providing him ſuch a Clauſe, which indeed did wholely ſpoil the very intent of the Bill, for the Bill was chiefly to remove him both out of the Lords Houſe, and out of all Imployments, and the Bill coming back to the Houſe of *Commons* with this *Proviſo*, it was verily thought, That the *Commons* would not allow of it, but the *Commons* that were *Penſioners*, being hard laboured by the *Court* the day before, they came to debate this *Proviſo*, They after a long *Debate* of the *Matter*, and the queſtion put, carried it for the *Proviſo* by about 16 Voices beyond all expectations, ſo that now the *Conſpirators* had ſlipped their great *Minions* neck out of the Coller; but at the ſame time by doing of this, they declared to all the World that His R.H. was a *Papiſt*.

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The *Biſhops* now having carried the point in the Houſe of Peers, all mens eyes were ſufficiently open, ſo far as to ſee what ſide they were of, and therefore every mans mouth was open againſt them; for all the whole number of Prelates in the Houſe of Peers, there were but three, but what ſided with the *Proviſo* for the Duke, and the Conſpirators having thus ſeated him faſt in his Robes there, began to take heart again, and go farther to work on their deſigns: By and by the Treaſurer was put up in the Houſe of Commons, as a perſon that had been one of the chief Agitators, to the contriving all the miſchiefs, that had fallen upon us, and at laſt an Accuſation was prepared againſt him of High Treaſons upon theſe ſix heads, *That he had endeavoured the ſtifling of the Plot*, *That he had betrayed the Councels of the King and Kingdom*, *That he had waſted the Treaſure*, *That he had endeavoured the Subverting of the Government, by endeavouring to get Forreign Supplies, and thereby the Hindrance of Parliaments*, *That he had aſſumed Regal Power. and had actrewed to himſelf a vaſt Eſtate*, with other like things, moſt of which were diſcovered by Mr. *Montague* from Letters under the Treaſurers own hand to him in *France*, which Mr. *Montague* had kept as a precious bag of Jewels to be brought forth in a fit time, which was now come, ſo that by the Treaſurers thinking to ruin Mr. *Montague* did his own buſineſs moſt effectually, but this being like to be carried againſt the Treaſurer in the Houſe of Commons, all imaginable care and induſtry was uſed by the Conſpirators to break up the Parliament for fear of more miſchief; however the Articles of Impeachment againſt him were agreed on, and carried up to the Houſe of Peers, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition the Petitioners made in the Houſe; but his Lordſhip perceiving how matters run now, he by the Intereſt of others, as well as his own, lyes at the King night and day, with the help of *Portſmouth*, to get the Parliament prorogued, which at

laſt they brought the King to condeſcend to, tho as was then ſaid was much againſt his Will, however one night late at the Dutcheſſes Lodging it was agreed on, being all pretty warm with Liquor, and were ſo kept till next morning, giving no time for ſecond thoughts; and ſo having got the Bill to exclude the Popiſh Lords ready, all of a ſuddain it paſſed and ſoon after a *Prorogation*.

The Houſes now being up, the *Conſpirators* had ſome time to look about them, and to caſt about what to do next: There were two pinching things upon them: the one was how to baffle the *Plot*, the other was how to get Money to keep the Army quiet; all men now beginning to complain of this ſuddain *Prorogation* in the very height of the Diſcovery of the *Plot*, and all ſober people did conjecture, that ſuch a thing was never attempted before: The *Parliament* being gone, the *Conſpirators* take heart again, and now the Game they begun was to diſcredit *Oates*, and *Bedloes* Evidences about the *Plot*, and 41. was got into all the ignorant pates about Town, and that we were running the ſame Game under the notion of a *Popiſh Plot*, which deſign took admirable well with the motly *Proteſtants*; Inſomuch, that our B----p of *London*, who pretended himſelf a very zealous man in the Committee the laſt *Parliament* to diſcover the *Popiſh Plot*, now began to ſhew himſelf, and to follow the kew given, and was heard to ſay, it was true, *There was a Popiſh Plot, but there was alſo a greater deſign carrying on by the* 41. *Party*. Theſe notions being diſtilled into ſuch mens brains, eaſily facilitated the grand Deſign, and the better to infuſe theſe *Principles*, the *Conſpirators* having the *Preſs* at their Devotion, got *Pamphl-ts* writ, as it were, with a ſide wind, to inſinuate to the *People*, the danger of proſecuting the *Plot* with too much Violence, and this time of leiſure was wholely imployed in ſending to and fro to hide and ſtifle ſuch things as they feared would appear, and ſuch as were fled to *Flanders*

ders and other places, ſat in conſultation, what courſe was fitteſt to be taken, and how our *Conſpirators* ſhould play the reſt of their Game: Thoſe at S. *Omers* and at *Paris* agreed upon this, *That there was no way under* Heaven *ſo effectual, as to divide the People at home, and turn the Popiſh into a Proteſtant Plot*, if poſſible, however, to brute it about the Town and Country, tho but as Diſcourſe, would do good; for if once they could but make a little ſmoak, it would be eaſily conjectur'd there was ſome fire, therefore now every one of the *Conſpirators* were to take their Stations to manage this deſign, and the greateſt of them were very buſie in promoting this *Affair*; in order to which, ſome of the looſe kind of *Creatures* that uſed to attend at St. *Jameſes*, were imploped as *Agents* to ſee, if they could any way lay ſnare for the confounding *Oates* his Teſtimony, or by ſome way or other to take him either off, or out of the way, but that part the *Treaſurer* undertook chiefly, and fell to work by the means of Doctor *Tongue*, who being but an eaſie man, the *Treaſurer* got himſelf much in his Favour, and *Tongue* began to ſpeak to *Oates* mighty well of the *Treaſurer*.

But *Oates*, who knew much of the *Tranſactings* of his *Lordſhip*, ſlighted both *Tongue* and the *Treaſurer* very much nor would *Bedloe* be brought to touch with him: his *Lordſhip* finding *Oates* an obſtinate Fellow, left his *Courtſhip*, and fell foul on *Oates* wherever he had an opportunity, and ſecretly imployed one *Knox*, a Follower of *Danby*, to intice *Oates* his man *Lane* to betray him in his Diſcourſe, but that not proving ſo effectual, they get his man to promiſe to accuſe *Oates* of Buggery, a thing that no man could have thought upon, unleſs his *Lordſhips* Family, who, as is ſaid, are well skilled in thoſe Cardinal Vertues. The Game was laid, but no ſooner laid, but *Oates* trac'd it and diſcover'd it and found out theſe two Fellows his Lordſhip had imployed, indicted them, and found them guilty of the *Conſpiracy*,

a very great diſappointment and reflection on his *Lordſhip*, the *Treaſurer* now might and main courted ſome, and cajoll'd others of the Houſe of Commons to mend their manners at the next Meeting, which was wholely left to his care, but after much time ſpent he began to deſpair of accompliſhing his end on them, the Money falling ſhort; for ſo much had been ſpent in ſecret ſervice, that, really, there was little or none left now to buy *Votes* any longer, and beſides the *Penſioners* had been before inquired into by the Houſe, of which great numbers were diſcovered, which made them shy of dealing with the *Treaſurer* any more upon thoſe Points, and therefore was at a ſtand what to do, both as to the ſaving himſelf againſt the *Impeachment*, and as to the getting more Money; his Lordſhip therefore now no longer relyed on his own power to work the Houſe into a better humour, took his *Ladies* advice this once, that it was beſt for him, if not ſure to get money, to get the King to diſſolve this Parliament, uſing this for an Argument, that the *Nation* ſo much loathing this, that it could not be doubted but to be for his Service, the getting this Diſſolved, would be a ſure means to make him in favour with the People, and ſo baffle the *Impeachment*, eſpecially when it ſhould be known that it was done by his Procurement; his *Lordſhip* agreed the Notion to be good, at leaſt the beſt expedient now to be thought on, and preſently *Communicates* it as his own Project to ſome of the reſt of the *Conſpirators*, a few of which did approve to the thing, but the moſt *Politick* did not; however he was now reſolved on the thing.

While this was in Conſultation, the other things were carrying on how to frame a *Countermine* for this *Plot*, and ſeveral Rakeſhame and profligate Wretches, were conſulted in this point, how to frame a *Sham-Plot* that might take of the *Odium of this*, and the Chief undertaker in it, was his *R. H.* and one more which muſt be nameleſs; but

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at the preſent, the *Deſign* was only a hatching, and was not able to lay ſuch *Foundations* as to rely upon, therefore the preſent thing was to have their *Setters* go about *Town* to ſee how matters ſtood, and what People moſt talked of, and from time to time to give an Account at *White-Hall* and St. *Fameſes*; and the inſtructions were, they ſhould Preach up the danger of *Forty one*, and of *Fanaticiſm*, and ſuch like *Inventions*; but in regard the Parliament was to meet again ſuddenly, they could not make any great *earnings* at preſent, altho' they had Mr. *Claypole* Priſoner on purpoſe, who was not delivered till the laſt of *Hillary Term*, 1678. and much a do then; and when he was delivered, the *Lord Chief Juſtice Scroggs* fell upon him as hard as poſſible he could, tho nothing ever was really againſt him.

In this Intervale *France* was again *ſtrongly Solicited* for money, and our Conſpirators verily thought once, that the *Unchriſtian King* would have helped us at this pinch; but intruth as he had ſerved us by his *Fleet* heretofore in the *War againſt the Dutch*, ſo he ſerved us now, with large promiſes and ſhowes, but no real intention, farther then to have his own ends upon us; and his *Embaſſador* here, tho underhand felt and treated with them about it, yet ſtill put it off with excuſes, how ready his Maſter was to ſerve us at all times, but his occaſion could not yet permit him; and beſides, the Embaſſador, here a little before this, had taken exceptions, for his Maſters Confeſſor had been charged with the *Plot*, as alſo had the *Portugal* Embaſſador: thus the Conſpirators having toil'd and moil'd *themſelves* to *January*, 1678, all of a ſuddain as the *Treaſurer* and his *Lady* had contrived it, whoſe Councils then were *predominant* above the reſt of the Conſpirators at this time, the *Parliament* was by *Proclamation Diſſolved* before the next day of Meeting, to the great admiration of all men, and a happy day for *England*, tho at this time

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the Diſſolution ſeemed to be ſtrange; in regard it was manifeſtly ſeen why it was diſſolved.

But now this *Proclamation* publiſhed, with an Intimation of a new one, to ſit the 6. of *March*, but the *Conſpirators* began to ſee their *Error* moſt apparently, inſomuch, that they would have given all they had been worth they could have recalled what they had done, and the Band of *Penſioners* were ſo inraged, that their ſervice was ſo ſlighted, and their Livelihood loſt, that they began to talk boldly, they could not be diſſolved before they met, and ſome ſaid they were reſolved to meet the day fixed, notwithſtanding the *Proclamation*, but all this availed them nothing, there was no retrieving. The great art now was to get in again, for the other 17 years, which ſome of them hoped to do, others quite deſpairing, began to ſhift for themſelves, and caſt about them how to keep out of the Goal for debt.

And now the *Conſpirators* get all hands to work to fit for a new *Parliament*, and a new *Parliament* for them, and what money could poſſibly be ſpared out of the *Treaſury*, was iſſued out to *Charles Bertue* the *Treaſurers* Kinſman to manage the Elections all over *England*, under the old notion of ſecret ſervice in one Article 1500, and 2000 in another for ſecret Service, beſides otherways, and the *Guinees* flew about the *Countries* far and near, to the Corporations to hier places, and get men into this new *Parliament*, and divers of the *Miniſters of State*, who were privy to the *Conſpirators*, made it their buſineſs night and day, to influence the *Elections* all over the *Nation*; nay, they ſent for divers of the *Heads* of the *Counties* and *Corporations*, and told what men would be Serviceable and Acceptable to His Majeſty,

particularly the Gentlemen of *Eſſex* were ſent to by *Serogs* and told, that they ſhould not chuſe *Milemay* whatever they did, and the Treaſurer got new Charters for ſome Corporations with new Priviledges, and ſent them down to be hung out of the windows in the Towns, to animate the people to chuſe ſuch men as they were directed; but all would not do, for however the Conſpirators laboured with their money and other Artifices, the Project would not take, which they quickly perceived before half the Election were over, which put them into great perplexity; however the Conſpirators ſo managed it, that divers falſe Returns were made, though that was eaſily afterward by the Houſe cleared, and divers of thoſe ſo returned were thrown out of the Houſe again; ſo that upon the whole, it was abſolutely a compleat Engliſh Parliament.

But the Day drawing on for their ſitting, and now all the choice being known to the Conſpirators, that in the whole, the Parliament was not for their Turn, but they were cheated in their expectations; the Treaſurer with the reſt of the Conſpirators labours to put the King out of love with them before they met, and before they had done good or evil, telling him the Countrey had choſen Factious men & no ways fit for his Majeſties Service; & fearing leaſt this Parliament ſhould begin where the other left, about the Plot, the murder of *Sr. Edmundbury Godfrey*, & the Articles againſt the Treaſurer, they get a book written about two or three ſheets, by one of his minions, as if written by the Jeſuits, ſhewing their policy, and turning it as their Councel, that the next Parliament ſhould fly upon the Miniſters of State and cry them down; and that would be a way to blow up the Parliament and ſave the Papiſts; thus artificially done to be a beakon to warn the Parliament of Attaching any of the great Miniſters of State; but this pretended Jeſuits Letter was at laſt proved in the Houſe of Commons, to be the Lord Treaſurers contrivance, and ſent by him to be Printed, and the Treaſurer now ſeeing the Parliament muſt Sit, with the help of the reſt of the Conſpirators adviſes the King to ſtand upon his Prerogative in rejecting their Speaker, in caſe they ſhould chuſe ſuch a perſon as was not liked, fearing at that time that the Choice would be of Mr. *Seymour* the former Speaker; who now at this time had a particular quarrell with *D.* or at leaſt as was pretended; but others could not believe but it was a real deſign to break with the Parliament aſſoon as met, for the Conſpirators were now out of all hopes to gain their point on them, the Earl of *Danby* therefore to obſtruct the ſtroke like to fall on himſelf by the laſt Impeachment, procures a Pardon to paſs the Seal, in an unheard of

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private way, his *Veracitie*'s man *Harris* putting the Seal to the wax, without the paſſing any Offices at all, in which pretended pardon, His Lordſhip had innumerated all the villanies that could be raked up, and by this ſtampt pardon, (by Creation as His Veracity called it) afterward His Lordſhip hoped to Set up with again, or at leaſt to throw a bone between the King and the people, and thereby ſlip the halter.

And now before the Meeting of this new Parliament, whom the Conſpirators by the inſight they had in the Elections, knew it would be ſuch a Parliament as was not for their Turns; therefore a deep Conſult was held how to make them and the Nation believe that we were now in earneſt, reſolved to diſcover the Plot, and diſcourage Popery, though in truth, it was the only two things ſecretly aim'd at, to be ſtill ſupported; however to blind it was reſolved all imaginable Symptoms ſhould publickly be profeſſed, both for the diſcovery of the Plot, and the leaving of Popiſh Councels; and as the only expedient it was thought fit, for the Duke to abſent himſelf from his Brother, and go beyond the Seas for ſome time; upon theſe conſiderations, the one was, that he being abſent and out of the way, it might ſtop the further Examination of the Plot, which related to him, and thereby preſerve their chief Conſpirator ſafe; the other was for a gloſs and ſhew that we were ſuch enemies to Popery and their Councels, that we would not ſuffer ſo much as the breath of a Brother near us, for fear of Infection; and this Stratagem the *E.* of *D.* and thoſe ſort of the Conſpirators, mightily valued themſelves upon, and doubted not but this Cheat would take; but notwithſtanding *Danby* and his Faction were for this experiment, and preſſed it home as the only way to accompliſh their ends; yet the Duke and the reſt of the Conſpirators, who had been ſeized and thoſe like to be called to Account, were of a different opinion, and ſome of them might and main oppoſed the Dukes leaving the Kingdom, and the great

reaſon

reaſon they uſed for his not leaving the Kingdom was, that that it would weaken the party extreamly, and make perſons more forward and bold to come in and give evidence againſt the Duke when he was abſent, then if he were always preſent, and that his abſenting himſelf, though under the notion of a Command, yet the people would be ready enough to ſay, he fled for fear; and that it was in effect to conclude himſelf guilty, theſe and ſuch like arguments were uſed by thoſe that were the Duke's friends more then the Treaſurers; but at that time money was ſo much wanted, and the *French King* playing *Ledger de main* with our Conſpirators, and not ſupplying them, the Councels of the Treaſurer moſt prevailed; and *Portsmouth* with others of her feather helped on the going of the Duke; and therefore all of a ſuddain, a Command was ſent to the Duke, that it was His Majeſties pleaſure he ſhould withdraw, with all aſſurances of Love nevertheleſs.

This amazed ſome who knew not for what end ſuch Councels had been taken, and rejoyced others, thinking now indeed that our Court would be purged from Popery, and the Popiſh Fabrick which had been ſo long a building, would again tumble down, when they ſaw one of the chief Props had left his Station.

Thus his Highneſs departing as into another world, the Conſpirators being not yet daunted, reſolved to ſtick as faithfully to him as before he had done to them; and though by this Flight of the Duke many had an opportunity likewiſe to leave England under the pretences of waiting on him, and being Servants to the Duke, as many did; yet the greateſt Politicians of the Conſpirators ſtayed behind and watched the Affairs at home, letting nothing be done really that was without the Dukes and their Diſcretion; and by His Highneſſes being abroad had the opportunity of ſtudying and adviſing what was

fit to be done in England, for being ſo near as *Flanders*, expreſſes were ſent to and fro every day, and this we muſt obſerve by the way, that before he could be prevailed with to go, he was faithfully promiſed nothing of moment ſhould be either done or Acted, without his participation; nay the Speech to be made to the Parliament was concluded on before he went; yet for all that at the Meeting of this New Parliament which was now become almoſt a Wonder in *England*, a very great panick fear was ſtruck in all or moſt of the Conſpirators; and they had certainly ſo much fear from the guilt upon them, even from the leaſt to the Greateſt, that they were even ready to Cry quarter, or at leaſt offer Terms of Accomodation; the Nation being in a very great Ferment, and thoſe of the Conſpirators who had relyed ſo much now on the King of *France* for money, began to Curſe him for driving them upon theſe Extremities, nay the Duke himſelf reviled him.

And now *Danby* who thought himſelf ſecure by getting a new Parliament, and a ſtampt Pardon for all his Crimes, was very uneaſie too, and fearing the Houſe of Commons at their Meeting, ſhould chuſe Mr. *Seymour* Speaker, whom at that time would be no friend to him, in regard of a private grudg betwixt them, contending who ſhould be uppermoſt, it was contrived that a bone might be thrown into the Houſe of Commons aſſoon as met about the choice of their Speaker, which *Danby* chiefly contrived, not ſo much out of ill will to *Seymour* as is before hinted, though in truth there was a feud between them, but that by this Advice the Houſe of Commons might be at variance with the King, and ſo break them up, ſince they ſaw ſo little good to be done by them, and therefore His Majeſty was put upon ſtanding upon the point of Right, as they called it, to reject their Speaker; ſo the Parliament being met the ſixth of *March* and all things thus ſetled, the King makes a Speech to them to this effect.

The KING'S Speech.

I *Meet you here with the moſt earneſt deſire that man can have, to Unite the minds of all my Subjects, both to me and to one another; and I reſolve it ſhall be your faults, if the Succeſs be not ſuitable to my deſires; I have done many great things already in order to that end; as the excluſion of the Popiſh Lords, from their Seats in Parliament, the Execution of ſeveral men, both upon the ſcore of the Plot, and of the murther of* Sr. Edmundbury Godfrey; *and I have disbanded as much of the Army as I could get money to do; I am ready to disband the reſt, ſo ſoon as you ſhall reimburſe what they have coſt me, and will enable me to pay off the remainder: And above all, I have commanded my Brother to abſent himſelf from me, becauſe I would not leave the moſt malicious men room to ſay, I had not removed all cauſes which could be pretended to influence me towards Popiſh Councels* &c.

Then goes on to deſire a good Union, and to take care of Diviſions, he hath and ſhall do all he can, to the farther Diſcovery of the Plot, and the murder of Sr. Edmundbury Godfrey, *and expects aſſiſtance in it from both Houſes, that he hath not been wanting to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts, that he ſhall be ready to joyn with them in any good Laws for to preſerve the Kingdom againſt Popery* &c *then deſires aſſiſtance for Supplies, and about paying the Fleet, tells them of the Anticipations that are on his Revenue, the Loſs by prohibiting the French Wines to him, and only of advantage to the* French; *he would have a good ſtrength at Sea this Summer, when our neighbours are ſo powerful,* &c. *Concludes, that he will with his Life both defend the Church and the Laws of the Kingdom: and the reſt left to the Chancellor.*

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The CHANCELOURS Speech.

THen his Veracity began to ſpeak many hard and peſtiferous words, though little to the purpoſe; but that he aimed at was, to ſhew how much the Parliament was beholding to the King, for Diſſolving the laſt, and calling them, which he would fain inſinuate was altogether Grace; for that the Old one might have ſerved turn ſtill, though but an Aſſembly of men; and to wedge it into thoſe raw new members; he reſolved to touch upon the good affections which the King had for his people, which was the onely moving cauſe of this new Parliament; and that the King might be acquainted with his People, he having an equal confidence in all his Subjects.

Then his Veracity ſhews them the neceſſity of their help in theſe ſurprizing times of danger at home, therefore our Councels ought to be united, that we had need look about us, for His Majeſties Royal Perſon had been in eminent danger by the malicious contrivances of Prieſts and Jeſuits, having vowed the Subverſion of the true Proteſtant Religion; thus his Veracity is alter'd of what he was before, then there was no danger of Liberty or Religion, now nothing elſe but danger, even of that and all the reſt; but the reaſon was then, he was told it by the Conſpirators for a truth, and though they cheated him then, and he deſigned to cheat the Aſſembly of men, yet now he would be their Tool no longer, for his Veracity God help him, thought the other ſide would turn up Trump, though the Conſpirators knew well enough they had their Game before them.

But his Veracity goes on ſtill in this Speech, and falls upon the Pope and the tripple Crown at a ſevere rate, then boaſts of the Care had been uſed to find out the Plotters into all parts of the Kingdom, the Juſtices of the Peace had been quickned to their duty; He tells them alſo of paſſing the Law for diſſabling Papiſts from ſitting in Parliament; but the ſurprizing thing of all was, that which the King had mention'd to them this morning, was ſufficient to diſcharge all their fears of Popiſh influences, which many good men had too far entertained. For now you ſee his Majeſtie of his own accord had deprived himſelf of the converſation of his Royal and only

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Brother, by commanding him to d part the Kingdom, to which Command h s R. H. *had paid a moſt Humble and entire Submiſſion, that this ſeparation was attended with more than an ordinary Sorrow on both ſides, but he that could part with ſuch a Brother for your ſakes, may be ſure hath now no Favourite but his People; that ſince the Church as well as the State was now in danger to be diſturbed by her enemies, that watch for our ruin; it will be neceſſary for us to diſtinguiſh between the Popiſh and other Recuſants, between them that would deſtroy the Flock, and them that only wander away from it; then his Veracity touches upon the dangers that may ariſe by the wants of the Crown; but all is not expected this Seſſion, only ſuch Supplies now as would provide for the ſetting out and paying the Fleet, and d:sband ng the Army; that their time was little, and therefore ought to husband it well; and if ever they would ſerve the Nation by ſecuring the Religion at home, and ſtrengthen it from abroad, this is the time that foreign nations dread the Engliſh nation, when the King is in Conjunction with his Parliament, then looking upon him as great and terrible: Then he concludes, that it was his Majeſties pleaſure, that the Houſe of Commons ſhould go and chuſe them a Speaker, and be ready with him there to morrow at three of the clock.*

The Houſe of Commons thereupon go back to their Houſe, and immediately Mr. *Seymour* their Old Speaker is nominated, ſuppoſing him to be ſuch a perſon as the Court would be glad to accept of, without the leaſt heſitation, he having been one of the Band, and one that had oft ſerved the Court moſt eminently in the Pentioner Parliament; ſhuffling of queſtions, and timing them well for the Conſpirators work.

But there being a Councel that night, and notice coming that Mr. *Seymour* was choſen, the Treaſurer privately with this inſinuation perſwaded the King from accepting him; the next day to ſhew his Prerogative Right of rejecting, ſo that the next day, when the Houſe came to preſent their Speaker, he was rejected, but the Houſe having ſome intimation he would be rejected, order him, or he himſelf reſolved not to make the common formal Apology of inſufficiency at the Lords Bar, but inſtead thereof, roundly told the King, that he was unanimouſly choſen by the Suffrages of all the Commons of *England* to be their Speaker; and that he was reſolved to ſerve his Majeſty in that Station to the utmoſt of his power; ſo that the Chancellor who had order to accept of his Excuſes, now had not a word to ſay; at laſt upon deliberation, and whiſpering aſide, he recollected himſelf and told the Houſe, that His Majeſtie had other

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Services for Mr. *Seymour*, and therefore would not accept him for Speaker; intimating withal, His Majeſties juſt right by his Prerogative to reject at his pleaſure; hereupon the Houſe went back, and all men looked upon this as a bone thrown in among them, and an ill *Omen* of this Parliament, and therefore took time till the next day, to conſider of this new point; the next day they reſolved upon an humble Application to the King, in the Name of the Houſe to this effect. (*viz.*)

The Reſolve of the *HOUSE* of *COMMONS*.

Reſolved, that an Humble Application be made to His Majeſtie, to acquaint His Majeſtie, that the Matter delivered yeſterday by the Lord Chancellour relating to the Speaker, is of too great importance; that this Houſe cannot immediately come to any reſolution therein, and therefore deſire His Majeſtie, that he will graciouſly be pleaſed to grant ſome farther time for this Houſe to take the matter into conſideration; and that Sr. *Robert Carr* and the Lord *Ruſſel*, do attend His Majeſtie with this Vote.

This being delivered, His Majeſty returned this Anſwer. Gentlemen, I have conſidered of your Meſſage, and do conſent to a farther time; which I appoint to be *Teuſday* next, unleſs you will find out ſome expedient in the mean time; for as I would not have my Prerogative intrenched upon, ſo I would not do any thing againſt the Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons.

The Houſe hereupon did Debate the Matter ſtrongly, and though ſome good men were for yielding rather than break upon this point, when the Nation was in ſuch Eminent Danger, yet the greater Number and Courtiers too in the Houſe, all agreed it to be

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the undoubted Right of the Houſe to chooſe their own Speaker, agreeing the preſenting of him to be but a Ceremony, and the rejecting him, was never but upon account of inſufficiencies and inabilities of the Perſons; whereupon another Addreſs the 11*th* of *March*, to this effect:

Firſt, They thank his Majeſty for his expreſſions of not doing any thing againſt the Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons, that they ſhould always acknowledge a Prerogative inveſted in the Crown, for the benefit and Protection of his People, and for the clearing all doubts which may ariſe about this queſtion, they crave leave, humbly to lay before his Majeſty, that it is their undoubted right to Chooſe their Speaker, and not to be rejected; that they had Choſen ſuch a one as was every way qualified for that Service, being ſo lately imployed in the laſt Parliament, therefore humbly Prayed his Majeſty to give them a good and gracious Anſwer: this was preſented to his Majeſty, which cauſed this following Anſwer.

"Gentlemen, All this is but loſs of time, there-
"fore I deſire you to do as I have directed you.

Whereupon the Houſe aſſumed the Debate again, and agreed this was not an Anſwer, and therefore Voted another Application to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to conſider their former Meſſage, and give them a good and a gracious Anſwer, that they might proceed upon the Buſineſs they came about; To which his Majeſty ſent them word, He would ſend them an Anſwer to morrow morning; which Anſwer proved to be a Prorogation for a few dayes. When that time came for their next Meeting, the Houſe Choſe Mr. Serjeant *Street* to the Chair, who was preſented to his Majeſty, and allowed, much to the diſlike of the Conſpirators; for ſome of them were not without their hopes, that the buſineſs of the Speaker would break them up, as was intended; and whileſt the thing was in agitation, the Treaſurer thought fit to reſign his place, hoping by that means to have wether'd the point; but when he ſaw that would not do, he alſo withdrew for ſome time, hoping to allay the Anger

of the Houſe of Commons againſt him, but he went no farther for Shelter than *White-Hall*, which was not unknown to the Members of the Houſe.

And now the Preliminary points being over, the Houſe of Lords and Commons began to fall briskly to work about the Plot, and the Murther; and the Houſe of Commons choſe out a ſecret Committee, by which means great things were Diſcover'd, even ſo much that almoſt every one near the King had ſome hand or finger in the grand Conſpiracy: This put the Conſpirators might and main to work, caſting about what to do: ſome were heard to ſay, This Plot will undoe us all; ſome began to think of making their terms; the Advices from the Duke were for blowing them up, as the only means to ſave their Stake: and now were two of the greateſt Maſter-pieces done by the Conſpirators, that ever they Acted in *England* ſince the firſt deſigning to Introduce Popery and Arbitrary Government; and that was to blind and Cozen not only the Houſe of Commons, but our moſt wiſe States-men, the Enemies of the Conſpirators; a Deſign laid at leaſt three removes off from the firſt ſight, and a Deſign which took the deſired effect the Conſpirators aimed at: and that was, in this Outcry againſt Popery and Popiſh Councels, to make it appear to the World, that the Court was as eager and as real in the Proſecution, as the Houſe of Commons could be; and that was, the Conſpirators had agreed that all of a ſudden to ſhew their utter diſlike of all former Councels that had brought the Nation into this Condition: they agreed the Councel ſhould be Diſſolved, and in their room Choſen the greateſt Sticklers, moſt popular Perſons, and Darlings of the People, that matters might now no longer be ſuſpected to be guided or influenced with pernicious Councels, and private Cabals; deſigning by that means to Lull the People aſleep in ſecurity, while they had ſuch rare Miniſters and Watch-men at the Helm which they themſelves would wiſh, and ſo at laſt it proved.

The other Device thought upon by the Jeſuits and the Conſpirators, was to find a way to turn this whole Plot, and all the Odium of it upon the Fanaticks; for elſe they plainly ſaw their Credit would be ſo great with the Parliament for their quiet Carriage heretofore, and Vigorous help to Diſcover this

Plot,

Plot, that there was no way to prevent their being freed from their Penal Laws, which was now intended for them, but by Inſnaring them into ſome black Deſign, or at leaſt the Name and colour of it; for the Papiſts and the Conſpirators well knew, that if once the Penal Laws ſhould be taken off the Diſſenters, their Hopes of gaining their Deſign was utterly loſt; and therefore having contrived this at a Cloſe Cabal, reſolved forthwith to put the ſame in Execution, and thereupon prevailed with the King to Diſſolve his Councel all together in a publick manner; and at the ſame time to pitch upon the moſt eminent to ſupply their places, both of Lords and Commons, which was done; his Veracity having received a Letter of Command one day in the Councel, Diſſolved the Councel, and declared ſuch to ſucceed in their places, as he was Commanded.

This piece of Policy was not ſeen into at the firſt, but by a very few by-ſtanders; and the Court to make this Change to be talked of far and near, prevails with the King to make this known to the two Houſes in his Robes, immediately, which was done by the King himſelf, in a moſt excellent Speech worth obſervation, to this Purpoſe.

The Kings SPEECH.

April the 21*ſt*. 1679.

"MY Lords and Gentlemen, I thought it requiſite to acquaint you with what I have "done now this day, which is, that I have eſtabliſhed a new Privy Council, the conſtant number of "which, ſhall never exceed Thirty.

"I have made Choice of ſuch Perſons as are "worthy, and able to adviſe me, and am reſolved "in all my weighty and important Affairs, next to "the Advice of my great Councel in Parliament, "(which I ſhall very often Conſult with) to be ad-

"viſed with this Privy-Council; I could not make "ſo great a Change without acquainting both Hou- "ſes of Parliament; and I deſire you all to apply "your ſelves heartily, as I ſhall do, to thoſe things "which are neceſſary for the good and ſafety of the "Kingdom, and that no time may be loſt.

Now there was not only this Alteration in the Privy-Council, but alſo in the other great Offices, the Lords of the Admiralty, and Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and in theſe places were put in the chief Leaders for the Countrey of both Lords and Commons, who being now Choaked with great Places, every thing in the Houſe of Peers began to fall flat; it is true, ſome fine Speeches were made there, but little elſe done, the Biſhops and the Court-party turning taile to every thing almoſt Propoſed by the Commons, and ſome of the chief Commons were ſilent too; among the reſt of theſe new eſtabliſht Councellors, were the Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Roberts*, Lord *Hollis*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Bridgewater*, Lord *Halliſax*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Cavendiſh*, Lord *Falconbridge*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Mr. *Powel*, &c. and divers others in expectation of other places: nevertheleſs the Commons purſued the Plot and the Plotters with great diligence, and demanded *Danby* to be ſecured, to Anſwer his Charge made by the laſt Parliament: The other piece of Policy the Conſpirators had agreed to ſet on foot, was now put in Practice too; which was, to hire Mercenary Villains to be Inſtruments to make a Sham-Plot upon the Presbyterians, as the Conſpirators dictated; but inſtead of drawing only the Presbyterians into this Sham-device, it was deſigned to draw in all Noble-men, Lords and Commons, that were active Engliſhmen, to be charged with this Presbyterian Plot: to accompliſh this, divers Snares were layd, and the Gaoles ſearched to find out fit Inſtruments for this Villany: and ſo intent were the Conſpirators upon this Project, that it is certain a great man at *White-Hall* having ſuch a tool but lately come out of *Newgate* preſented to him, as a fit Inſtrument to do this deviliſh work, this great man was

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ſo overjoyed he had found ſuch a Knave for his turn, that he ſets him down in a Couch, kiſſes him, huggs him, and Embraces him with all the Careſſes of Love imaginable, inſomuch that the *Newgate*-Bird himſelf began to be amazed at that Sweetneſs, where we leave them and the Conſpirators a little, carrying on the private Intreague.

And now the grand Debates were in the Houſe, both as to the Trying the Lords, and ſecuring the Nation againſt Popery and Arbitrary Government; but in regard that *Danby* had been firſt Impeached and fled, the Houſe were reſolved to fall on him firſt, judging him the moſt notorious of all the reſt: the Houſe therefore Addreſs to his Majeſty for a Proclamation to call him in by a day certain, which was Promiſed by the King; but ſtill his Lordſhip not appearing, or not to be heard of, the Houſe of Commons prepare a Bill of Attainder againſt him, if he came not in by a day certain; that being like to paſs the Houſe of Commons, and being ready to be brought up to the Houſe of Lords, the Conſpirators had ſo well dealt now with ſome of the Members of the upper Houſe, that there was no hopes of its paſſing there; ſo when it came up, being brought up by Sir *Robert Peyton*, the Lords had a mind to dwindle it into a Bill of Baniſhment onely; whereupon divers Conferences were had between the Lords and Commons: but the Commons ſtanding to it ſtoutly, and laying the blame on the Houſe of Lords for not doing them Juſtice upon him, by not Committing him when he was firſt Impeacht, was now the cauſe of his Eſcape; which the Lords owned, and Promiſed it ſhould be enter'd in their Journal for time to come, that upon the Impeachment of any Perſon by the Commons, that it was the Law and Uſage of Parliament to ſecure the Perſon Impeached without further delayes: So at laſt the Bill paſſed both Houſes, and a Meſſage ſent to the King for his Royal Aſſent the next day; but that night when it was known the Bill muſt Paſs, and no more could be done to hinder it, his Lordſhip unexpected to every body but the Conſpirators, ſurrenders himſelf to the Black Rod, and ſo to the Houſe of Peers, whereupon he is Committed to the *Tower*, (but very hardly, his Lordſhip having ſo many Friends in that Houſe,) and preſently notice is ſent to the Houſe of Commons

mons of his Surrender; which highly incenſed the Commons, that they ſhould be trifled with ſo long to ſo little purpoſe.

But being ſecured, the Commons reſolved to try him firſt, as the Perſon who had been the deepeſt in Adviſing and Acting for the Deſtruction of the Kingdom, having his own Letters writ to *France* againſt him, for Teſtimony: therefore the Commons ſend to the Lords for him to Plead, which was granted, and he brought to the Lords Bar; and having heard an Impeachment, and deſired a little time, at laſt produces a Pardon under the great Seal, and Pleads that in Bar to the Impeachment; which Pardon by the Date appeared to be obtained ſince the Impeachment againſt him Lodged in the Houſe of Lords; this being Pleaded, his Lordſhip deſired Councel in point of Law to be Aſſigned him, to argue the Validity of his Charter of Pardon: hereupon notice is given to the Commons, the Commons all agree it to be an illegal Pardon, and Pray Judgment, and Order'd a Committee to Examine the regularity of Paſſing that Illegal Pardon: the Committee upon Inquiry at the Offices, and of the Chancellor, found it had Paſſed no Offices at all, nor that the Chancellor had Sealed it himſelf, but Confeſſed the Seal was ſent for to *White-Hall*, and out of his Poſſeſſion *pro tempore*: and upon the whole matter it was found that his man *Harris* was Chancellor, and he put the Wax to the Seal, and ſo Stampt the Pardon: This being reported to the Houſe, they reſolved to Try him forthwith, and take no notice of the Pardon at all, but demand Judgment againſt him at the Lords Barre upon his Plea of his Pardon: Whereupon the Houſe of Commons is ſent for to the Barre of the Houſe of Lords; Where his Majeſty tells them, he had as was uſual in ſuch Caſes, when he parted with his Servants who had born great Offices under him, given the Earl of *Danby* a Pardon, and if it were not full

enough

enough in matter and form, he was reſolved it ſhould be done effectually, to all Intents and Purpoſes whatever, and therefore wiſhed them to reſt ſatisfied, he was reſolved neither his Life nor Eſtate ſhould be touched, or to that Effect.

The Commons goe back to the Houſe, and Debate the matter ſome ſmall time, and all unanimouſly agree it to be a moſt Illegal Pardon the Earl had obtained; in that no Pardon can barr the People of Juſtice when they are Proſecutors, as in this Caſe; and many excellent Reaſons and Arguments were urged by them: one was, that if ſuch things ſhould be Allowed, it was eaſie for a Miniſter of State, at any time, to undoe both King and Kingdom, and yet goe Unpuniſhed; and that no man could be ſafe but a Knave, if ſuch Pardons ſhould be Allowed: whereupon the Houſe of Commons goes in a Body, with their Mace, to the Barre of the Houſe of Lords, to demand Judgment againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, which ſhewed the Houſe of Peers, the Commons would not be put off with ſuch Devices: and ſoon after the Commons agreed with the Lords in Chooſing a Committee to adjuſt the Ceremonies and Diſputes that might ariſe at the Tryals of the Lords in the *Tower*.

And now the Commons take into Conſideration the ſecuring the King and Kingdom for time to come againſt Popery and Arbitrary Government; and in a Grand Committee, after the ſecret Committee had made their Report to the Houſe, of the D. of Y's Letters, wherein it appeared what great Joy was conceived

conceived at *Rome* by his Holineſs for the Dukes Converſion to the Catholick Faith; that it cauſed Tears from his Holineſſes Eyes for very Joy, with divers other Letters, ſhewing much of the Intreagues with *Rome* and the Fathers: The Houſe came to this Reſolution, That the Duke of *York* being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of his Coming ſuch to the Crown, had been the Chief Cauſe of this Helliſh Plot and Conſpiracy for the Deſtruction of the King, and Altering the Government: and having then viſibly before them the Scheme of the Plot, by thoſe Letters, they come to this Reſolution, That a Bill ſhould be brought in to Diſable *James* Duke of *York* from Inheriting the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and Reſolved his Majeſty ſhould be Addreſt to this Effect.

The Commons ADDRESS.

Wedneſday the 14*th* of *May*, 1679.

WE your Majeſties moſt Loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, *&c.* have applyed our ſelves in making ſuch Proviſions by Law as may defeat the Popiſh Adverſaries, their Abettors and Adherents, of their hopes of gaining an Advantage by any violent Attempts againſt your Majeſty, whil'ſt any ſuch Laws are in preparation and bringing to Perfection, it is our Reſolution, and we do declare, That in defence of your Majeſties Perſon and the Proteſtant Religion, we will ſtand by your Majeſty with our Lives and Fortunes, and ſhall be ready to Revenge

Revenge any violence offer'd by them to your Sacred Majeſty, in which we hope your Majeſty will pleaſe to be aſſured as we our ſelves are the more incouraged in that the hearts of all your Majeſties *Proteſtant Subjects* with the moſt ſincere affection and zeal joyn with us herein: Theſe Votes of diſinheriting a *Popiſh Succeſſor* could by no means be born with by the *Conſpirators*, therefore abroad, and at home now they began to poſſeſs the King, that it was high time to ſend them home, their Votes tending to the rooting up all their deſigns at one ſtroak, and accordingly from this time all diligence was uſed to find an occaſion to break this *Parliament*, the Duke ſent his Meſſengers every day privatly to haſten their being ſent home and his Friends about the King were very vigilant in ſetting forth the danger it would be to the Crown of *England* for ſuch anInnovation to be made upon the lineal diſcent of the Crown, all the Dukes friends would leave him and then he had none to ſtick to but ſuch as would be ſtill impoſing on him, and by that means he would be in danger to be ſerved as his *Father* was, that if he deſerted the Duke now, it was the way to exaſperate him and to make other Princes the Kings Enemies, and farther urging to the King the unkindneſs to do ſuch a thing to a Brother, tho leſs Arguments would have ſerved the turn, yet more were uſed, ſo that it was at laſt concluded, their time of ſitting ſhould not be long, but to find a way to quarrel was ſtill wanting, for hitherto between theKing andParliament all things went very ſmoothly on: In the midſt of theſe *Debates* the *Popiſh Lords in the Tower* with the *Conſpirators about the Court* had in perſecution their *Reſolutions* of baffling the *Plot* and throwing it upon others, to get one *Reading* a *Councellor*, a notorious, infamous Perſon: for no other was indeed fit for their work to try upon Mr. *Bedloe* and others to baſle their Evidence about the *Plot* againſt the Lords came to their Tryal: *Reading* being fit for ſuch

an Enterprize, undertakes it, and being well instructed from the *Lords in the Tower*, lays his baits and Temptations to Mr. *Bedloe* to recant his *Evidence*, *Bedloe* hearkens to him, and resolves to ketch him at last, and therefore bareing Mr. *Reading* in hand some days together, until he got him fast and good proof of his Temptations, and so ordered the matter that one day in the Lobby, he gets *Reading* seised, and secured by the *House of Commons*, and discovering all to them, they supplicate his Majesty, that he may be tryed forthwith by a special *Commission* of *Oyer* and *Terminier*, which was granted, and upon a fair Tryal was convicted, and set in the *Pillory*, this was the second *Attempt* of this Nature which had miscarried, but yet this no way daunted the *Conspirators*.

The *House of Commons* having faln upon the *Bill* of *Exclusion*, and resolved upon the Tryal of *Danby*, first send word to the *Lords* of their *Resolutions*, who took no notice of it, but appointed the day for the Tryal of the other *Lords*, and the *Bishops*, *Good men*, to save their friend *Danby*, and to help on this Work, they eagerly assume a right to *Vote* in *Capital Causes*, and to be at all *Debates*, but when *Sentence* was to be given, and then they would ask leave only to withdraw, and now great questions arose by that means, which caused many *Disputes*, the *Commons* also fell upon the *disbanding the Army* once more, and framed a *Bill* for that purpose, and gave 200000 *l.* moreover again for the same purpose, intrusting the *Disbanding* to four of their *Members* with a pardon to the *Officers* for the not *disbanding* according to the first *Act*, and that all their Money might not be lost they got a clause incerted in the *Act*, an *Explanation* of the Old Law, That no persons should be compelled to quarter any Soldiers whatever against their Will and got the Bill of *Habeas Corpus* ready, which met with great opposition from the *House of Peers*, and many conferences were had about it, at last it passed that *House*, almost

moſt to a Miracle, which tho it was far ſhort of what it ought to be, according to the Right of the *Subject*, yet that Bill and the *Clauſe of Nonquartering of Soldiers* in the other Bill very much retarded the *Conſpirators* in ſetting up *Arbitrary Government* preſently, and indeed theſe two things were ſuch Clogs to their Intentions, that they began to curſe themſelves for their Folly, that they ſhould no better underſtand, what the effects of not having the power of clapping up Men at their pleaſure; and be ſtopped in their burthening the people with *Soldiers*, ſo that themſelves now muſt be forced to part with their dear Army, otherwiſe find them Money to pay their quarters: Theſe things and the *Diſcoveries* made in the *Houſe of Commons* about the *Plot*, and the falling away of diverſe great Lords and Commons to the Court, being wheedled by the *Conſpirators* to believe that all was meant well, produced in the Houſe of Lords a perfect ſtand and oppoſition to any thing the Commons propoſed, and right or wrong, the Commons muſt be forced to try the five Lords firſt before *Danbys* pardon, and muſt allow of the Biſhops right to judge in Capital Cauſes, the Commons now perceived how the Game run, and therefore were reſolved to deſire a Conference with the Lords about thaſe matters, which was granted the 20. of *May*, but the night before the Conſpirators had prevailed with the King to prorogue the Parliament next day, which was kept privately, and it was certain, that ſome of theſe new made privy Councellors were prevailed with to conſent, if not to adviſe this Prorogation, either out of hope to ingratiate themſelves, or ſome worſer ends, and tho the Commons had been ſtrugling hard to get eaſe for the Diſſenters to make the Nation more formidable againſt the Papiſts, yet they had brought nothing to perfection being chiefly bent upon the Trying of *Danby*, and the reſt of the Conſpirators, and providing for the Succeſſion, which was that the Con-

ſpirators were reſolved ſtrongly to oppoſe, and ſo the People of *England* found it at laſt; for the *Houſe of Commons* out of a Zeal to preſerve the *Nation* from a *Popiſh Prince*, or elſe blown up to this heat by being impoſed on by ſome perſon, who had got more repute than Honeſty, and Judgment they did nothing but vote for the *Nonconformiſts* till it was too late, nor any other good Bill but this of *Excluſion* could be thought of, tho otherwiſe men as well as ſome of themſelves thought it was not the only way, tho it might be one way.

But this day being the 20*th*. of *May* 1679. the *Commons* pray a *Conference* to adjuſt matters relating to the *Biſhops Pretenſions* in the *Tryal* of the *Lords*, and the going upon *Danbys* Pardon before they proceeded to the *Tryal* of the reſt of the *Lords* in the *Tower*, whom the *Houſe of Peers* had that day brought up to *Weſtminſter-Hall* in order to their *Tryals*, as was pretended, and tho but few knew or dreamt of a *Prorogation*, yet thoſe *Lords* knew it well enough, for at their coming to the *Scaffolds*, where they ſtayed ſome hours, they told their friends; the *Parliament* would be *Prorogued* that day.

And now the *Commons* coming to meet the *Lords* in the *Painted Chamber*, Mr. *Sacheverell* being appointed by the *Commons*, began to this effect,

My Lords,

THE *Commons* have always deſired, That a good Correſpondence may be preſerved between both *Houſes* There is now depending between your *Lordſhips* and the *Commons* a matter of the greateſt weight, *&c.* to clear this the *Commons* have deſired this *Conference*, and by it to manifeſt to your *Lordſhips*, that the *Propoſals* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, made by their *Committee* in relation to the *Tryal* of the *Lords in the Tower* have been only ſuch as have been well warranted by the Laws of *Parliament* and *Conſtitutions* of the *Government*, and in no ſort intrench upon

on the *Judicature* of the *Peers*, but are moſt neceſſary to be inſiſted upon, That the Antient Rights of *Judicature* in *Parliament* may be maintained.

The *Commons* readily acknowledg, that the Crimes charged upon the Earl of *Powis*, &c. are of deep guilt and call for ſpeedy Juſtice; but withal they hold any change in Judicature in *Parliament* made without conſent in full *Parliament* to be of pernicious conſequence both to his Majeſty and his Subjects: That the *Commons* in bringing the Earl of *Danby* to Juſtice, and in the Diſcovery of the execrable and Traiterous Conſpiracy of which the five Lords ſtand impeached, *&c.* have laboured under great difficulties are not unknown to your *Lordſhips*, that upon the Impeachment of the *Houſe* of *Commons* againſt the Earl of *Danby* for *High Treaſon*, and other *High Crimes*, *Miſd meanors* and *Offences*, even the common Juſtice of *Sequeſtring* him from *Parliament*, and forthwith committing him to *ſafe Cuſtody* was then required by the *Commons*, and denyed by the *Houſe* of *Peers*, tho he then ſate in their Houſe, of which your *Lordſhips* have been ſo ſenſible, That at a free Conference the 12*th* of *April* laſt, your *Lordſhips* declared, *That it was the right of the Commons*, and well warranted by Preſidents of former Ages, that upon an Impeachment of the Commons, a *Peer* Impeached ought of Right to be ordered to withdraw, and then to be committed, and had not that *Juſtice* been denyed to the *Commons* a great part of this Seſſion of *Parliament*, which hath been ſpent in framing and adjuſting a Bill for cauſing the Earl of *Danby* to appear, and anſwer that Juſtice from which he was fled, had been ſaved and had been imployed for preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, and in ſecurity of the Nation, and in proſecution of the other five *Lords*, neither had he had the opportunity of procuring to himſelf that *Illegal Pardon*, which bears date the firſt of *March* laſt.

laſt paſt, and which he hath now pleaded in Bar to his Impeachment, nor of waſting ſo great a propo:tion of the Treaſure of this Kingdom, as he hath done ſince the *Commons* exhibited the *Articles* of *Impeachm.nt* againſt him; after which time thus loſt, by reaſon of the denyal of that Juſtice, which by right belonged t.the *Commons* upon their Impeachment, the Bill being ready for the *Royal Aſſent*, the ſaid Earl rendred himſelf, and by your *Lordſhips* Order of the *16th.* of *April* laſt was committed to the *Tower*, after which he pleaded the ſaid pardon, and being preſſed did declare, he would rely upon, and abide by that *Plea*, which pardon pleaded being Illegal and void, and ſo ought not to preclude the *Commons* from having Juſtice upon their Impeachm.nt, they did thereupon upon the fifth of *May* inſtant in the name of themſelves, and all the *Commons* of *England* demand Judgment againſt the ſaid Earl, not doubting, but that your *Lordſhips* did intend in all *Proceedings* upon *Impeachments* to follow the uſual courſe and methods of *Parliaments*, but the Commons were not a little ſurprized by the Meſſage from your *Lordſhips* delivered them on the *7th.* of *May*, thereby acquainting them, that as well the *Lords Spiritual* as *Temporal* had ordered the *10th.* of *May* inſtant ſhould be the day for hearing the Earl of *Danby* to make good his Plea of his pardon, and that on the *13th.* of *May* the other five Lords ſhould be brought to their Tryal: and that your Lordſhips had Addreſſed to his Majeſty, for naming of a High Steward, as well in the caſe of the Earl of *Danby*, as the other five Lords, upon conſideration of the ſaid meſſage the Commons found: that the admitting the Lords Spiritual, to exerciſe juriſdiction in theſe Caſes was an alteration of the Judicature in Parliament, which extended as well to the proceeding againſt the five Lords, as the Earl of *Danby*, &c. after which the Commons Communicated to your Lordſhips by your Committee

mittee a Vote of theirs, *(viz.)* That the Committee of the Commons, ſhould inſiſt upon the former Vote of their Houſe that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any proceedings againſt the Lords in the Tower, and that when that matter ſhould be ſettled, and the method of Proceedings adjuſted; the Commons would be then ready to proceed to the Tryal of the Pardon of the Earl of *Danby*, upon whom before they had demanded Judgment, and afterwards the Tryal of the other five Lords, *&c.* but the Commons have received nothing from your Lordſhips towards an Anſwer to that Vote, *&c.* ſave that the Biſhops have asked lieve of the Houſe of Peers, that they might withdraw themſelves from the Tryal of the ſaid five Lords, with the liberty of entering their uſual proteſtation, *&c.* and yet your Lordſhips without having given the Commons any ſatisfactory anſwer to the ſaid Vote, or permitting any conference or debate thereupon, and contrary to the ſaid Agreement, *&c.*

The Commons are therefore obliged not to proceed on the Tryal of the five Lords the twenty ſeventh of this Inſtant *May*, but to adhere to their aforeſaid Vote; and for their ſo doing, beſides what hath been now and formerly ſaid by them to your Lordſhips, do offer theſe Reaſons following.

(1.) Becauſe your Lordſhips have received the Earl of *Danby*'s plea of Pardon, with a very long unuſual proteſtation, wherein he hath aſperſed His Majeſtie with falſe ſuggeſtions, as if His Majeſtie had Commanded or countenanced the Crimes he ſtands charged with, and particularly Suppreſſing and diſcouraging the diſcovery of the Plot, and endeavouring to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyranical way of Government, which remains as a Scandal upon Record againſt His Majeſtie, tending to render his Perſon and Government odious to his people; againſt which it ought to be the firſt and principal care of both Houſes, to vindicate His Majeſtie by doing Juſtice againſt the ſaid Earl,

(2.) The Setting up a Pardon to be a Bar of an Impeachment, defeats

feats the whole Uſe and Effects of Impeachments, and ſhould this point be admitted or ſtand doubted, it would totally diſcourage the exhibiting any for the future, whereby the chief juſtification for preſervation of the Government, and conſequently the Government it ſelf would be deſtroyed) and therefore the Caſe of the ſaid Earl which in conſequence concerns all Impeachments whatever, ought to be determined before that of the five Lords; which is but their particular caſe, and without reſorting to many Antiquities of greater Antiquity; the Commons deſire your Lordſhips to take notice (with the ſame regard they do) of the Declaration of that Excellent Prince King *Charles* the firſt of Bleſſed Memory; Made in this behalf in his Anſwer to the nineteenth Propoſition of both Houſes of Parliament, in ſtating ſeveral parts of this Regular Monarchy: He ſays the King, the Houſe of Lords, and the Houſe of Commons, have each particular priviledges, and among thoſe that belong to the King, he reckons power of Pardons; after the innumerating of which and other his Prerogatives, His ſaid Majeſtie adds thus, again, that the Prince may not make uſe of this High and perpetual power, to the Hurt of thoſe, for whoſe good he hath it, and make uſe of the Name of Publick neceſſity for the gain of his private Favourites and Followers to the detriment of his people: The Houſe of Commons an excellent Conſerver of Liberty, is ſolely intruſted with the firſt Propoſitions concerning the Levies of Money, and the Impeaching of thoſe, who for their own Ends, though countenanced by any ſurreptitiouſly gotten Commands of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knows it) to protect; and to the protection of which they are bound to adviſe him, at leaſt not to ſerve him in the contrary; and the Lords being intruſted with a judicatory power, are an excellent skreen and bank between the Prince and the people, to aſſiſt each other againſt any Incroachments of the other; and by juſt Judgment to preſerve that Law which ought to be the Rule of every one of the three, *&c.* Therefore the Power legally placed in both Houſes, is more than ſufficient to prevent and reſtrain the power of Tyranny *&c.*

(3.) Untill the Commons of *England* have Right done them againſt this plea of Pardon, they may juſtly apprehend that the whole Juſtice of the Kingdome in the caſe of the Lords may be obſtructed and defeated by Pardons of the like nature.

(4.) An

(4.) An Impeachment is virtually the voice of every particular Subject of this Kingdom, crying out againſt an oppreſſion, by which every member of that Body is equally wounded; and it will prove matter of ill conſequence, that the univerſality of the people ſhould have occaſion miniſtred and continued to them to be aprehenſive of utmoſt dangers from the Crown; from whence they of Right expect protection.

(5.) The Commons Exhibited Articles of Impeachment againſt the ſaid Earl, before any againſt the five Lords, and demanded Judgment upon thoſe Articles; whereupon your Lordſhips having appointed the Tryal of the ſaid Earl to be before that of the other five Lords; now your Lordſhips have ſince inverted that Order, gives a great cauſe of doubt to the Houſe of Commons, and raiſes a jealouſie in the hearts of all the Commons of *England*; that if they ſhould proceed to the Tryal of the five Lords: In the firſt place not only Juſtice will be obſtructed in the Caſe of thoſe five Lords, but that they ſhall never have Right done them in the matter of this *Plea* of Pardon; which is ſo fatal a Conſequence to the whole Kingdom, and a new device to obſtruct Juſtice in Parliament.

Which Reaſons and Matters duly weighed by your Lordſhips, the Commons doubt not, but Your Lordſhips will receive ſatisfaction concerning their Propoſitions and Proceedings, and will agree that the Commons ought not nor can, without deſerting their Truſt, depart from their former Vote communicated to Your Lordſhips, that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any Proceeding againſt any of the Lords in the *Tower*, and when that matter ſhall be Setled, and the Methods in Proceedings adjuſted, the Commons ſhall be then ready to proceed upon the Tryal of the Pardon of the Earl of *Danby*, againſt whom they have already demanded Judgment, and afterwards to the Tryal of the other Lords in the *Tower*.

This was ſo home put upon the Lords, that it was better to Anſwer them by a Prorogation, than an Argument, and therefore the Robes being privately brought into the Princes Lodgings, aſſoon as ever the Conferences were done, and the Houſe could Robe themſelves, the Commons were ſent for to the Lords Bar, where they were told, the King underſtood there was like to be a difference between the two Houſes, and therefore he thought fit to Prorogue them for a ſhort time, which was done to the Admiration of all men but ſuch as procured it.

And now the Conſpirators have a fine breathing-time, and this Prorogation was the firſt viſible fruit reaped from the Preſident and new Privy Councellors, though we muſt do them right; moſt of the new ones were not concerned, but many others were, and the reſt of the Ill men and Conſpirators ſtood on their ſhoulders as was ever intended, for now though this ſuddain and ſtartling Prorogation came, yet the noiſe was not ſo great, becauſe we had now an honeſt and wiſe Councel about the King, wherein a great many well meaning men relyed, not inquiring or driving into the myſtery, nor foreſeeing for what end they were placed there.

No ſooner was the Houſe up, but the Duke is Advertized, and a Conſultation held, whether he ought not to come over, that was objected againſt by the Conſpirators in the private *Cabal*, that by no means at preſent, not to drive too faſt, it would make the Privy Councellors his Enemies more than before, eſpecially the Preſident they were ſure would ſnort, and therefore adviſed to carry all things fair yet, and make it their work by degrees, to win over by Places, and hopes of places, four or five of the moſt popular in the Councel to be on the ſide, that would beſt pleaſe the Duke and ſome Body elſe; that Project was ſet on foot, and Lord *Hx.* and four or five more of the Councel began to warp fearfully, inſomuch that they did now adviſe the Diſſolution of this Parliament as well as before they had been drawn to acquieſce in its Prorogation, and ſo by little and little the Conſpirators brought theſe new popular men, or at leaſt ſome of them, to do their work as effectually, if not better than themſelves could have done it, if they had been in their places; and thoſe that could not be wrought upon, to joyn heartily in what was put to them, in full Councel there was a device found out of agreeing the matter at the *Cabal* before hand, and then cauſing it to be Started in Councel, and if it were ſtrongly oppoſed in Councel, then it went under this denomination, it was the Kings pleaſure it ſhould be ſo, and it was reſolved upon and ſo order'd by the King in Councel, and not with the Advice of the Privy Councel; and then thoſe that did not heartily joyn, had good words given them, and told all things were meant well, which made ſeveral of the Councel give credit & believe they were real; So that now all that was done by the Conſpirators was under the curtain; and theſe popular Gentlemen were made uſe of only as an *Umbrellio*, to hide them from the ſcorching Sun and heat of the people, and all things now went on to hearts content, only money there was none in the Treaſury, which much diſcouraged the new Commiſſioners, which made ſeveral of the

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Councel preſs for the Parliaments ſitting at the day appointed, which was onely put off for three weeks: The Conſpirators now having got this great Advantage by the new Councel, and a future hope, reſolves this Parliament ſhould Sit no more, and now having all things ripe in *Scotland* to make a Rebellion, which they got at laſt, by the oppreſſion of thoſe poor wretches, and by the Conſpirators procurement in getting ſome Incendiaries mixed among the poor diſtracted people, who ſtirring them up to a Rebellion, and News being ſent to *England* of a dangerous Rebellion of the Fanaticks in *Scotland*, as if the ſame had been a new thing, (when God knows) they had long ago layd it as a Deſign to take off the edge of the *Popiſh Plot*, and to Root up the Proteſtants under that pretence.

This made our *Papiſts* and the motly *Proteſtants* prick up their Ears, concluding the day their own, for ſo it was deſigned, that if ever they could make a *Combuſtion* either here or there, they were well enough: And our *Popiſh Army* was to cut their *Throats* firſt, and then all *Engliſhmen* that ſtood in their way afterwards, thus news came from *Scotland* every day by Poſt to *Whitehall* of the increaſing of the *Rebels*, and *Lauderdail* highly valued himſelf upon this *Action*, boaſting, that now the *Fanaticks* had ſhewn themſelves in their colours, and that it was by that ſtrict hand that he had kept over them in *Scotland*, that had been the Cauſe of keeping them quiet ſo long, hoping by this to get *Honour* for his prudent *Management*, altho he had received ſuch a *Reprimand* from ſome of the *Lords* in their Speeches in the laſt Parliament, being told of his ſtriving to force the people to a Rebellion; ſo now they had raiſed a Devil in *Scotland*, ſome began to queſtion, whether it would not be difficult to lay him again: But others of the Conſpirators well knew, that their friends whom they had appointed the Ringleaders in that Rebellion, would ſoon fly, and leave the reſt of the poor deluded Souls in the Lurch when the Watch-word was given: His *R. H.* had news ſent him into *Flanders* as if he had not known the contrivance before, and now it was Conſulted who ſhould go to Allay the Devil they had raiſed; Some were for only ſending Forces and no General from *England*, but the Conſpirators better knew the Game, they intended to kill two Birds with one ſtone, deſtroy the people there and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s perſon, or his Reputation here, if not in *Scotland*, and there-

fore the Conſpirators and them that were the only Favourites of the *D.* of *Y.* preſſed by his direction from *Flanders*, that the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould go in all haſte General for *Scotland* againſt the rebels, on purpoſe to inſnare him if poſſible, or at leaſt to loſe his Intereſt among the people, both in *Scotland* and *England*; for nothing more vexed and perplexed the *D.* of *Y.* and the Conſpirators, then to ſee *Monmouth* ſo great in the peoples affections; beſides they knew whoever went Armed into *Scotland*, without Aſſent of *Parliament* in both Kingdoms, was by an Act made in King *Charles* the firſt's time, Treaſon, and the Conſequences might have been fatal every way; However he went by the General conſent of the Councel, as well as the *Cabal*, and the Preſident of the Counſel though his great friend, not oppoſing it; for indeed he never look'd ſo far off. Accordingly the Duke receives his Commiſſion, and with ſome Attendance goes for *Scotland* where he is well received, and by Vertue of the Commiſſion given him, draws the Army in *Scotland* together & faces the enemy, & indeed ae matters had been managed in *Scotland*, it was a great Queſtion if the Forces of *Scotland* would have been prevailed with ſo willingly to be commanded to go againſt thoſe poor Creatures, had it not been to go under the command of the Duke: However the Duke he marches up to the Enemy, they by their Petition, deſire the liberty of Religion, and offer to lay down their arms, it being Politickly given out by the Conſpirators, that the Duke had power to grant them Terms; but that could not be granted by the General, for the Conſpirators never meant any quarter ſhould be given them, nor had the Duke any power by his Commiſſion to grant any thing as was made believe he ſhould, nay ſome ſay that after he was gone on his Journey, the Inſtructions he had to grant Terms were recalled by another order before ge got there, ſo that ſome of our Councellors meant well, and though all things were promiſed not long before, to be acted before their faces, and abooe board, yet they were miſtaken for the chief of all their Conſults were privately acted among the Conſpirators behind the Curtain, and they only ſat there for Cifers, and to give the wicked Conſpirators a better Re-

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putation as if all were done by order of King and Council.

But the Duke ingaging the *Rebels* they ſoon were overcome, their *Popiſh Trickers* and *Officers* among thoſe poor Souls ſoon left them, even before the battel was begun, ſo that the pains for reducing them were not very great, nor hazardous, and divers of the *Rebels* deſtroyed upon the place, the others cryed *Quarter*, which they were promiſed, but how well that hath been kept is ſeen ſince many hundreds of them having been put to death as *Traitors*, this being over His *Grace* comes home a *Victor* in the ſenſe of ſome, and a vanquiſhed Perſon in the minds and Affections of others, who would not out of love to him have had him ingaged in ſuch a thing in *Scotland*, they knowing it hazardous in many reſpects, however for more ſurety he procures his pardon, which was an *Act* of foreſight.

The *French* King all this while under notion of *Dependancies* and particular *Claims* upon the foot of the *Treaty* of peace makes daily *Incroachments* upon the *Emperor* and the *Spaniard*, which was now out of our power to help, tho we were *Guarrantees* of the laſt *Treaty*, and tho the D. of Y. was ſo near him as *Flanders*, and had ſo zealouſly ſerved him, yet he would not ſee him, but inſinuated to the contrary, nor was the *Spaniard* kind to the Duke at all, which made him very eager of returning home.

And now the Conſpirators having got the length of ſome of our Privy Councellors feet, they ſo far prevailed with ſome of them to conſent to the Parliaments being diſſolved, and a new one called againſt *October* under the notion of frequent Parliaments being the beſt and accordingly out comes a *Proclamation* for the *Diſſolving* this preſent *Parliament*, and *Calling* a *New One* in *October* next, ſome of our *Privy Councellors* now aiming to be in great *Places*, and new *Additions* of *Honour* given, but the Lord H——x who moſt expected to be Lord *Lieftenant* of *Ireland*

ſtill ſtill miſſed it, tho he was made believe he ſhould have it for a long time together.

The King this Summer happens to be indiſpoſed at *Winſor*, which being poſted to D. of *Y.* he come haſtily over and unexpected, and being here had no mind to go back, and finding the Duke of *Monmouth* much in eſteem in *Court* and *Country* reſented it highly, and before he would be prevailed with to go back, he obtains a *Grant*, *That the Duke of Monmouth ſhould leave* England *as well as himſelf*, and now the Duke of *York* having reſolved on the point, his Will muſt be done, and ſo the Duke of *Monmouth* is in all haſte ordered to depart *England*, and not to come back until His Majeſties pleaſure, which the Duke ſubmitted to ſome time after, and the D. of *Y.* again goes back to *Flanders*, where he is coldly entertained as before.

And now the new Parliament is to be choſen to meet, and ſet, and diligence is uſed by the Conſpirators, to bring in the band of Pentioners, into this new Parliament, but notwithſtanding all their diligence, the Country now being awakened, did moſt vigorouſly oppoſe the Courtiers every where, inſomuch, that inſtead of getting this Parliament better moddled for the Conſpirators turn, then the laſt, it rather proved a better Parliament for the Country and the Proteſtants Intereſt, then the laſt, ſo that by that time the choice was half over; the Dukes Creatures and the reſt of the Conſpirators were upon taking of new meaſures, how to defeat this Parliament as they had done the laſt, and now thoſe in the Privy Council, that were intirely the Dukes Creatures, made their buſineſs by degrees gently, to lay by ſome of the Privy Councellors, which ſtood in the way, and by this time, the new made Councellors, or at leaſt ſome of them, began to ſee the cheat, and how they had been made a property to ſerve

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the Conſpirators turn; and therefore the Lord *Shaftsbury* the Preſident, began to make Speeches in Council, and to oppoſe diverſe things that were offered to be paſſed there, and when ever any thing was propounded there, or at Court, that concerned or was in Favour of the Duke, his Lordſhip was very zealous in oppoſing it, and where only indeed lay his Maſter piece, for ſo little a States man was his Lordſhip, what ever eſteem he puts on himſelf, that indeed he either did not ſee, or would not ſee, to what end he was placed there, nor could he be drawn to any thing, or follow any methods or devices, for preſerving the Nation from Popery and Slavery, but by levelling all his ſtroaks at the Dukes Head, eager was his Lordſhip upon that notion, that there was no way of helping us, but by removing the Duke from Succeſſion, that his Lordſhip always oppoſed vigorouſly, all other overtures whatſoever, nay eſteemed all men as indiſcreet or Knaves, that did but think of any other expedients, inſomuch, that when propoſitions were made by Perſons of great Honour and worth, that the arming our ſelves againſt the Papiſts, and the unbinding the Diſſenters from the penal Laws, was a thing moſt neceſſary to be firſt done, yet nothing of that muſt be hearkened unto, but the Duke muſt be firſt dealt with, though it was next to an impoſſibility, for that on the welfare of the Duke, depended the whole Catholick cauſe, which his Lordſhip might eaſily have foreſeen, and that it would be a harder task to accompliſh it without ſtrength, then with it, and who but his Lordſhip that had converſed with Statesmen and Polititians, would have gone about, or undertaken to remove the greateſt prop and ſupport of the Saviſh and Roman Fabrick, ſo faſt fixed, without ſome Weapons beſides the Tongue, and ſome preheminary points; Firſt as the eaſing the Diſſenters and ſweeping *Weſtminſter-Hall*, but all that can be ſaid, his Lordſhip was outwitted, and the

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Conſpirators by dandling him and others; firſt into the Council to take of their edge, and poſſeſſing themſelves with a probability of the Kings yielding that point, was the cauſe I fear of all the Ills that have of may happen both to his Lordſhip ſince, and to the whole Kingdom.

But now the Majority of Voices in Council, were clearly on the Conſpirators ſide, and though for a ſhew and colour, the Council every day buſied themſelves in ſearching into the Plot, yet all came to no other effect, but to betray and baffle the Diſcovery, for by the great power the Conſpirators had among them, every thing was as ſoon ſtifled as diſcovered, and now ſome of the honeſteſt of the Council began to leave coming there, others that came in reſolved now they were to Sail with the Tide, having loſt their Reputation with the Country, and having dipped themſelves in Prorogueing the firſt Parliament, were reſolved to ſide with the Conſpirators, and Prorogue the ſecond, even before the day of meeting came, and thereby gain time to bring about their intended Sham-Plots upon the Proteſtants, that when the next Parliament came inſtead of being ſo buſy about the Popiſh-Plot, they might have other work to do againſt a Proteſtant-Plot, or at leaſt to make the generality of the People in Parliament, be glad of an Act of Indempnity, theſe were the ſecret deſigns carryed on by

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the Conſpirators, but hid from the Tools by which they Acted, and according to their Contrivance the L. *Hx.* and divers others were willing the *Parliament* ſhould be Prorogued, which was agreed on, and Declared in Councel, but to colour over the thing, the *Pop ſh Plot* was pretended to be ſtill Inquired into, and *Wakeman* and others in all haſte muſt be Tryed.

But the Councel growing weary of having any among them but ſuch as would go through-ſtitch, reſolved to part with every Diſſenting Brother by degrees, and His *R. H.* having got by his Accomplices the *Parliament* to be Prorogued, had a mighty itching mind to be at home this Winter, wiſely conſidering that it is better to be near ones Buſineſs then far off; He being Adviſed that the want of his preſence made things not go on ſo faſt as otherwiſe they would: A Motion is therefore made that the Duke might be ſent for home, or at leaſt, that He might be in the Kings Dominions, but *Shafts-bury* ſtickling againſt it one day in Councel, and demanding it to be Enter'd in the Councel Books, the Calling Him home not to be done but againſt the Opinion of the Councel; He was thereupon rebuked by Secretary *Coventry*, and told, he wondred how any perſon that Sat at that Board dared ſo boldly to Affront his *R. H.* which His Lordſhip was forced to take with ſilence, for the Scene was alter'd, they wanted now no more of His Service; but in the mean time, whil'ſt His Lordſhip and divers others that came in with Him were Labouring to get the *Parliament* to Sit & Diſcover the Plot, the Conſpirators were all this while laying devilliſh Snares for the moſt Innocent, for having now Raked the Gaols, they find out a moſt dexterous Perſon *Dangerfield* to be their Miniſter of wickedneſs, and this Perſon being brought before a great man at *Whitehall*, was told his Work he ſhould do, which was, to follow Inſtructions, and Lay a deſign of a Plot to draw in the *Presbyterians*, and that Great man gave him Supplies privately to Carry on this Bleſſed Work; *Dangerfield* as dexterouſly goes about the Work, and now Sir *George Wakeman* the Queens Phyſitian coming to his Tryal, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Scroggs* having engaged before-hand to the Conſpirators and the *Portuguees* Ambaſſadour for a Round Sum of Guinneys to bring him off did effect it; which was moſt diligently Labour'd, they might be freed from the Suſpection of being Guilty of employing *Wakeman* to Deſtroy the King; *Scroggs* therefore at the Tryal turns all things upſide down, and the Witneſſes that now came againſt *Wakeman*, which before were credible Witneſſes, are now not to be Believed, but he muſt be acquitted; which by the Judges management was

done very dexterously, and which ſo well fleſhed the Conſpirators, that from that time they gave out there was no *Popiſh Plot*, but a *Proteſtant Plot*; Inſomuch that even in the very Councel-Chamber not long after, Sir *Phillip Floyd* when he was queſtion'd for his laying aſide the Papers that Related to the *Popiſh Plot* and other miſdemeanours to make himſelf known(though but a little whiſſling Welſhman) to be one that wiſhed well to the Damning the *Popiſh Plot*, in Inventing a new one, was pleaſed to ſay to the King in Councel under a deep ſenſe, (no doubt on't) that he prayed God His Majeſtie did not find another Plot, beſides the *Popiſh Plot* very ſhortly, and truly ſo diligent were theſe ſort of Creatures, in buzzing the noiſe of a *Proteſtant Plot* into the ears of every body that converſed with them, that it began to be a Town talk, eſpecially amongſt the black Crape-Gowns, that here would be a *Proteſtant Plot* ſhortly, far worſe than the *Popiſh Plot*; and ſo exceeding Greedy were theſe black Coats of ſpreading the Rumour, that all the Jeſuits in *Rome* could not have propagated their own Deſign better, every Pulpit almoſt Sounding *Allarum*.

The Conſpirators having now got off the *Parliament*, and put off all other things ſucceeding ſo well in *England* and *Scotland*, reſolve upon Bubling the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and ſome others a Second time; for now they had gotten good footing every where, and therefore the Conſpirators contrive how to inveagle the E. of *Shaftsbury* the E. of *Eſſex*, and others, with the belief of a moſt dangerous *Popiſh Plot* in *Ireland* joyned with, and in nature with the ſame of this in *England*, which was deſigned only to abuſe theſe Lords and others, but if they ſucceeded at what they aimed at, it would overthrow the belief of the Plot in *England*. The deſign and aim was this, the Conſpirators having obſerved in ſome of Mr. *Oates's* Depoſitions, mention had been made of raiſing of money and men in *Ireland*, & for the introducing the *French* by one *Tyrone* there, into that Kingdom reſolve to carry on the ſtory and make this Subſervent to their purpoſe, by making the Lord *Shaftsbury* and others who were great ſticklers to find out the Engliſh Plot, believe a plot in *Ireland*, tho there was none, and that ſhould when it appeared to all the World, that all the Hunting of an *Iriſh-Plot* was but a falſe ſcent, the Engliſh Plot could not but meet with a baffle by that means, or at leaſt a jealouſie, that the Plot in *England* was of no other mettal then the *Iriſh Plot* was; and therefore the Conſpirators having as well their Agents and Correſpondents in *Ireland* as elſewhere, provide a parcel of profligate Wretches, Cow-ſtealers, High-way-men, and ſuch

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like Villaines, to feign themſelves to an *Iriſh* Plot carried on there, in Copartnerſhip with this in *England*; ſome of the cunning Jeſuites and the Conſpirators crew eaſily both framed and layed the ſtory of this *Iriſh Plot*, and got all their tooles ready, and as a principle Agent and Inſtrument for the management of the Evidence, they make uſe of one *Hethrington* who was eſcaped out of *Priſon* for debt in *Dublin*, and ſend him with their inſtructions, and bid him apply himſelf to the L. *S---y.* who then was Preſident here, he comes and tells the Council of his being a Juſtice of Peace, and a great man in the Queens County, and diſcovers a perfect *Iriſh* Plot made to his hand by his Imployers, but by this time the Lord *Shaftsbury* is turned out of the Council, however the whole diſcovery is offered, or was really made to him, which his Lordſhip liked well of, and looked upon the ſame as a mighty diſcovery, and of great ſervice to the Nation, and though his Lordſhip was now out of the Council, yet he gave notice to the Council, and to the L. *Roberts* of this matter, and *Hethrington* he ſets up himſelf for a mighty diſcoverer, and by degrees brings over the under *Iriſh* vermin to prove what he had declared, which Plot appeared ſo great now that in effect, the whole Engliſh Plot was drownded, and theſe Creatures whom the Conſpirators had ſent over to be Witneſſes were ſo miſerable poor, that many ſober people being affected with their condition, and glad of a Diſcovery of the Plot taking all for truth that thoſe Villains had related, gave them their Charity, which was the thing aimed at by the Conſpirators, and it was ſo ordered here, that whenever they came over and had given in their Depoſitions, they had no Subſiſtence allowed them by the Court, but were put to ſhift for themſelves; in ſhort, ſo were things ordered, that if there had been any real Plot, as is not very probable there was, at leaſt to come to the knowledge of ſuch Thieves and Tory-Bog trotters as theſe, yet the Uſage theſe Creatures met with from the Court, was enough to diſcourage much better men than they ever were, which was principally deſigned from the beginning. But however by the Charity of ſeveral perſons, theſe *Iriſh* Cattel were kept together all of a ſide, in hopes that when the Parliament next came, proviſion would be made The Court being now clear, the Duke he comes over, and is reſolved for *Scotland* to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion; but the true drift of his coming was chiefly to fix the Proteſtant *Sham-Plot*, and by it to hook in all ſuch perſons as had in the laſt Parliament any ways oppoſed his Intereſt; and now *Dangerfield*, who had been taken out of *Newgate*, and inſtructed well by the Lady *Powis*, Mrs. *Celier*, and a Great Man at *Whitehal*, ſo fairly effected this intended Villany, that they had laid the whole

Scheme of their Plot, and done it ſo artificially, that a Duplicate of it was writ in a *Whitehal* Book with red Ribbons, the Names of ſuch perſons, and the ways they ſhould be trapann'd, and *Dangerfield* had ſeveral ſums of Money, and an allowance paid of 12*l. per* Week out of the Privy Purſe, for carrying on this bleſſed deſign.

But although it was ſo well laid, and ſo ready to take effect, as that the Papers were to be ſcattered in divers perſons Houſes and Lodgings with certain Treaſonable matters in them, yet by an unexpected hand of Providence, this peice of Villany was defeated for *Dangerfeild* having orders to plant his Papers privately in Collonel *Manſell's* Chamber, who was Retainder to the Noble Earl of *Eſſex*, or at leaſt ſo reputed, that was yet actually a Servant to the Court, and a Privy Counceſſor, *Dangerfield* accordingly making a pretence to ſearch his Chamber for uncuſtomed Goods, left Treaſonable Papers privately in the Collonels Chamber, in which Papers was a Liſt of certain Noblemen and Gentlemen to be in a Conſpiracy which were intended afterwards to be ſeazed in the ſame place as the Actings of *Manſel*, or to make the world believe that the ſame Papers were really true which were found in his Chamber, but theſe Papers being ſo lodged, *Dangerfield* as directed, repairs to Secretary Coventries for a Warrant to ſearch *Manſels* Chamber, under the pretence of Traiterous Papers there lodging purporting a great Plot againſt the Government; *Coventry* for his own ſafety demands an Oath of *Dangerfield* of the Treaſon alledged, But as God would have it, though to that day he had been an Infamous Perſon in all other Villanies, and a man of parts too, yet he ſcrupled that little thing of an Oath, which put ſome ſtop as to the granting a Warrant by Coventry; *Manſel* coming home in the mean time and finding what was done, and that Papers had been found in his Chamber, where he never knew of or laid any, imediately goes to the Council and Informs them of what had paſſed before *Dangerfield* had told his ſtory.

Dangerfield is hereupon firſt queſtioned, and though he had many friends in the Council, and ſome that knew the deſign, yet *Dangerfield's* ſtory hung ſo ill together, that all were at a ſtand, the Conſpirators themſelves in the Council began to bluſh, and mightily caſt down, that their Champion had no better ſucceeded, ſhrewd proofs being againſt him; yet notwithſtanding the plainneſs of the Teſtimony againſt *Dangerfield*, he carryed it very boldly at the Council board and ſtood in it, that the Papers

taken

taken in *Manſels Lodging*, were not put there by him, but at laſt by Proof of the Cuſtom Houſe Officer that ſearched, and *Dangerfield*'s own words, the cheat and roguery began to be moſt manife , ſo that th e Council themſelves, though many of them his Intimate friends, were forced to commit *Dangerfield* to *Newgate*, who being there was ſtill upheld by his Mrs. *Celier* and the Conſpirators, who had redeemed him out of *Newgate* for that purpoſe, and had now forbad him to diſcover, but ſome of their Letters being intercepted, and *Dangerfield* being out of all hopes, made his application to the Lord *Mayor* of *London* to take his diſcovery, which was done, and he by that Diſcovery made it moſt plainly appear, who ſet him on to frame this damnab e piece of Villany, which ſo netted the Conſpirators that they knew not what to do, yet procured that the Major inſtead of having thanks returned him for his ſervice to King and Country, met with a check at *White hall* for medling with that concerned him not.

But now this whole Sham-Plot thus miſcarrying, and the book being found in the Meal-Tub, of the Perſons Names that were deſigned to be trapand for their lives as Traitors, put the Conſpirators to a ſtand at preſent, for the deſign was, if this Sham Presbiterian-Plot had taken effect, to have cut of by a form of Juſtice, all ſuch perſons as oppoſed their preſent deſigns, and to have opened the new *Parliament* with the noiſe of this horrid *Presbyterian Plot* but the *Conſpirators* being thus moſt ſtrangely fruſtrated all of a ſuddain, ſend immediately a Meſſage for *Scotland*, both to inform of the Miſcarriage, and to adviſe with the Duke upon new meaſures, who reſolved not to give the Game ſo, but to get the *Parliament* again prorogued for longer time, which they effected, but the Duke was now forced to part with a ſmall ſpell of Money to get this thing done, and a greater Sum was preſſed from

France,

France, which to effect ſome of the *Conſpirators* made divers Journeys to *Paris*, where the *French* Miniſters undertook if the *Parliament* were put off, their Maſters would lend 200000*l*, which was ſmelt in *England*, notwithſtanding the *Conſpirators* acted ſo privately, and the Duke of *Bucks* having certain knowledg, that Money was to be had in *France* to keep the *Parliament* from Sitting, the *Conſpirators* might work their *Deſign*, He plants himſelf in *Paris* ſecretly, and like an *Heroick Engliſhman* reſolved to defeat the *Conſpirators* of that Sum of *Money*, for he well knew, if that Avenew was ſtopped, a *Parliament* would certainly be permitted to ſit, even for the hopes of Money, which they wanted exceedingly, for tho the D. of Y. had a *Treaſure*, which he travel'd with, yet he was unwilling to part from it, not knowing what occaſions he might have for it, in caſe the *Conſpiracy* took not effect: the D. of *Buck.* lying privately for ſome time, worked himſelf ſo far into the ſecrets of the *French King*, and ſome of his *Miniſters*, that with his Reaſoning the Caſe, and laying open our Foly, and that the Money given to us, would certainly be a loſs to the *French King*, making it appear to him, the veakneſs of the *Conſpirators Party*, that he wholely turrd the Scale, and the Money aimed at to be paid to us from *France* came to nothing, which moſt deſperately enraged our *Courtiers* and the *Conſpirators*, for they had got intimation of *Bucks*'s Negotiation, tho he did it ſo dextrouſly, that for ſome time it was not known, who it was ha put this Spoak in the Cart.

And now the *Parliament* being *Prorogued*, and the *French King* unwilling to truſt to us with money, *Daby* and the *Conſpirators* endeavoured all they could to undeceive the *French King*, and put him out of conceit wth *Bucks*, but *Bucks* reputation and carriage was ſo far exeeding thoſe mercenary *Conſpirators* and *Penſioners*, tht the *French King* could not be drawn from belief of wht *Bucks* had ſo

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ingeniouſly poſſeſſed him with: and therefore the *Conſpirators* reſolve what ever it coſt to have his head at any rate but the *Sham Plot* being ſo lately baffled, it was not thought expedient to attack the Duke of *Bucks* that way of charging him with *Treaſon*, but were reſolved upon *Danby*'s Advice, which was to take off the Duke upon colour of *Felony*, and ſuch a Felony, as might in ſome probability gain belief, and where proof might be eaſily hired upon him, which might appear plauſible to the world, therefore ſuted the charge they intended againſt him, as near as they could to the humour and inclination of the perſon of the Duke, and ſince it was notoriouſly known to all mankind of the Dukes exceſſive loving of Women, they reſolved to charge him with *Buggery*, as a crime that would moſt eaſily gain credit, and thoſe that put them chiefly on this way of murdering him and his reputation to boot, was the *Dukes* old Friend the *E. of D* whom he had by his Intereſt advanced to all his great Offices and Honours too, and to bring this about theſe *Devils Incarnate* finds out a common Strumpet one Mrs *Leymar*, who had a Boy called *Philip Leymar* bred about the Court, and after the Court faſhion, one of the moſt impudenteſt Villains, that ever was heard of, and this *Boys* Mother being a *Procurer* to the *Court*, as heretofore it may be to the Duke, and uſing the Dukes houſe ſhe now growing very poor, and out of date both at *Court* and every where elſe, is ſent for to the E. of Ds. Houſe, and the Lady D. with the Stuard *Chriſtian*, and this infamous Creature contrive to lay *Buggery* to his charge, ſuppoſed to be committed on her Boy, but they could not tell well how to do that neither, in regard the Boy had not lived with the Duke for above ſix years before, however they concluded that time would do well enough, and ſo with the help of Mr. *Chriſtian*, who was afterward convicted for this Conſpiracy, and ſtood in the Pillory, with divers others, they ſettled the point ſo well that the Boy

and

and Mother are taken into *preſent pay*, and introduced to the *Treaſurers Preſence*, who inſtantly got a *Juſtice*, no leſs then Sir *George Gefferies* the *Recorder of London*, to take the depoſition of the *Boy* and the *Mother*, relating to the Buggery againſt the *Duke*, but to give Sir *George* his due, he did not at all reliſh the buſineſs, but was ſo far from it, that he plainly told the Earl when he had done it, that it was an old ſtale thing, and it looked too like Malice, and adviſed his *Lordſhip* not to meddle further in ſuch a dirty *buſineſs*, but Sir *George*'s advice did but little *prevail*, for his *Lordſhip* pretended he was commanded by the King to do what he did, and therefore told Sir *George* he muſt take the *Depoſition*, it was his *Majeſties pleaſure*, which Sir *George* did take the Heads of, but did not finiſh it till another day, which being done, and the *Boy* and the *Mother* ſworn, his *Lordſhip* made a ſhift to get a *Warrant* to apprehend the *Duke*, ſigned by *Barron Bertue*, and Meſſengers were out to way lay the *Duke* at his comiug over, both at *Dover* and elſewhere, and the *Conſpirators* once *motioned* a *Proclamation* for the caling *Home* his Grace, but that was diverted by ſome means or other, and notwithſtanding all the means & power of the Court, and *Conſpirators* to take him and to do his work that way, yet by the care and Induſtry of Mr. *Jenks* and *Whitaker*, the roguery was ſtill diſcovered as faſt as acted yet the *Conſpirators* had ſo far prevailed, that to put a better Gloſs upon

their

their villanies they had obtained the Councel-Board to take Cognizance of the Buggery, and that Board not only Examin'd the pretended Evidence of *Leymar* and his Mother againſt the Duke, but alſo made Orders to the then Attorney-General, to Indict the Duke upon the Teſtimony given, and to encourage the Buſineſs, though *Leymar* had been ſo bold as to ſay, the beſt man in England ſet him to work, and promiſed him three hundred pound *per Annum* out of the Dukes Eſtate for his pains, which was proved by undeniable Witneſſes in the Councel-chamber; yet inſtead of Reproving the Villain, that had aſperſed ſuch a man, the Councel aſſoon as the Dutcheſſes back was turn'd who complain'd of the Conſpiracy againſt her Lord, Allowed that very Villain *Leymar* twenty pound *per week* to keep him in Priſon, where he was put by the Dukes Agents in order to be Indicted for the Conſpiracy, and to ſhew that there was as well great as little Villains in the Deſign againſt the Duke, this very Creature *Leymar* before he was Seized by the Duke of *Buck's.* Agents, and Apprehended, had been kept at a Meſſengers Houſe one *Whiteby* by Name, and that by Order obtained by the Treaſurer from one of the Secretaries on purpoſe that he might not be out of the way when they were ready, and the money for keeping him was paid to *Whiteby Bridgman* belonging to *Sunderlands* Office; and ſo cock-ſure were the Conſpirators of effecting this device on the Duke, and getting his Head, that it appeared upon the Diſcovery, that the Dukes Eſtate was ſhared before his Head was off.

But to return, the Meal-tub Plot now having miſcarried, and *Dangerfield* having quite acquitted the Conſpirators Service, care was taken by the Conſpirators to find out other fit Inſtruments which might Act ſuch a like part, though not in the ſame Track; and the Dutcheſſes woman one *Nel Wall* an *Iriſh Papiſt*, and a wench formerly employed only to empty Cloſe-Stools at *Whitehall*, but being advanced for her Religion-ſake to be a Woman to the *French* Dutcheſs, ſhe became mightily in favour with a great man, and at laſt was a States-woman as well as a Common Whore; and great part of the Conſpirators Secrets were diſcovered to her, and ſhe coming of an Excellent *Iriſh* Stock, became a mighty Procurer for fit underlings to manage the Cauſe, and undertook to find thoſe of her own Nation that ſhould do and effect what *Dangerfield* had miſcarried in; and by her means *Fitz-harris* was firſt Introduced to the Dutcheſs and ſo to ſome body elſe; where he was told, that this Plot would undo us, unleſs way could be found out to make a Counter-Plot, and therefore bid him try all ways to effect it, no Coſt ſhould be ſpared,

and ſuch Rewards given as were fit for ſo great a Service; He though but a weak *Iriſh* man, yet with the directions of the Conſpirators and Aſſiſtance of his Wife, a woman of excellent good parts undertakes to do ſomething, and his firſt work was to find out Seditious Lampoons and Pamphlets, and to bring them to *Whitehall*, where he ſhould privately receive his pay, and have Audience of a great Perſon at all times, where he had ſometimes given him for ſecret Service a Hundred and two Hundred pounds at a time, this ſo fluſhed our Younker that had never ſeen ſo much money and plenty before, that it made Him Set up for a deep Projector in this new Employ, and he promiſed himſelf to be a man of Honour ſhortly, and was ſo great, that he was brought divers times privately in a Sedan, and had private conferences not only with *Nel Wall* His kinswoman and the Dutcheſs, but with ſomebody elſe, who highly careſſed this poor mercenary Tory, and ſlabber'd him as much as *Dangerfield* before; ſo zealous were we for the cauſe, that rather than miſs of the Deſigns of enſlaving the Nation by Arbitrary Government and Popery, that we ſhould debaſe our ſelves even to kiſs the Breech as well as the mouth of the moſt deſtitute and contemptible creature in the World: But now while the Conſpirators are thus buſied, the Duke of *Monmouth* finding that in his Abſence his Uncle and the reſt of the Conſpirators, had as well layd a ſnare for Him at Home as abroad, and he underſtanding himſelf to be in the Mealtub as well as others, and deſigned to be murder'd, He comes over without leave, and going to the King, is Forbid and Commanded back with a Remarque, that His coming over (*Gods-fiſh would ſpoyl all*) and therefore bid begon; but the Duke knew now well enough what had been Acted, and had ſufficient *Items* given him what they were a doing, and therefore thought not fit to go back at any Rate, but rather chuſe to leave all his Employments, then to venture abroad any more, having narrowly eſcaped abroad as well as at home, which did mightily perplex the Conſpirators; and now the Earl of *Eſſex* Lord *Cavendiſh* Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Mr. *Powel*, began to be weary of the Privy Councellors places, and asked Leave to withdraw, which was as readily granted, for they had done the Work they were placed there for, which was only to give Reputation to the Conſpirators Actings, and Sir *William Waller* and others who had been Active in Hunting the Plotters and taking Examinations in *Bucks*. Buſineſs, are Order'd to be put out of Commiſſion, and all Hands to work, not only to make a new Plot, but to blaſt the belief of the Old one, as well as the murther of Sr. *Edmundbury Godfrey*,

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But the Lord *Shaftsbury* is buſying himſelf with the finding out the *Iriſh Plot*, in hopes to work miracles by that time the next Parliament met, the Duke having a mind to be preſent here, he makes a Journey from *Scotland*, and a Cabal preſently called at St. *Jameſes*, where it was reſolved to uſe all means for the Dukes ſtaying in *England*, and the putting of the Parliament to a longer time, and that the *French* King ſhould be once more tryed, and care taken to take of ſome noted men that had oppoſed the Dukes Intereſt, as Sir *R Peyton*, and others, moſt of which reſolutions were brought to a perfection, only as to the Dukes ſtaying it was not thought convenient, his preſence now not being ſo neceſſary as in *Scotland*, and withal the Regiment of *Scriblers* were ſet on work to write of 41. and to cry down the Plot: but petitioning for the ſitting of the *Parliament* began much to perplex them, however little Incouragement was given to petitioning, but on the contrary, all imaginable care and dilligence was uſed to ſuppreſs them, and now it was termed by the *Conſpirators* and their *Emiſſaries*, that petitioning for a *Parliament* was next to a *Rebellion*, and to prevent *Petitioning* to the King for the ſitting of the *Parliament*, the *Conſpirators* prevail for a *Proclamation* to be cunningly drawn up to forbid all manner of *Petitioning*, as a ſeditious and dangerous thing, but the *Conſpirators* to get this done were forced to procure the ſly blade L.C.J. of the Common *Pleas* and one of the *Confederates*, and the ſlieſt Enemy to Laws and Liberties in the whole knot to draw it in Form privately, and ſo get it paſſed in the Attorneys name, which afterwards was confeſſed by the Attorney General in *Parliament*, but tho this Proclamation was ſo cunningly worded, and tho the Juſtices, Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants all over the Country as well as the Court ſtood up againſt petitioning, and vindicating the Proclamation, yet all would not do, for it made a great many, that ſaw this trick of enſlaving the people in forbidding them to petition, that ſome did it the more, and ſo ſly boots that drew it, and the reſt of the Conſpirators had not that effect, which they expected, and ſtill ever and anon, ſome Information or other blurted out, that ſtill ſet the Conſpirators back a little, particularly a notable Diſcovery was made by one *Sergeant* a Prieſt from *Holland* of the Popiſh Plot, and he being willing to come over, and bring over others, which he intimated to the Court, they took care he ſhould both come and go, but ſo the matter was ordered by the Conſpirators, when his coming over could not be avoided, that the Conſpirators get their Agents abroad to buy him of, and tell him how far he ſhould go, and no farther, and for this ſervice Pillory *Car* was the fitteſt man to be made uſe of, ſo this Prieſts coming over was palleated well enough, for he was ſlily exami-

ned, his pardon given him, and he ſent back with five pounds *per* week to ſay no more, in which work Sir *Lionel Jenkins* played his part, being now juſt entered Principal Secretary of State in the room of *Coventry*, who had leſs of a Fool than *Jenkins*, tho as much of a knave, as *Jenkins* for his life, but *Jenkins* would make the better drudging ſlave for the Popiſh Cauſe of the two than the other, who wiſhed well, but would not take the pains, nor venture ſo far as *Jenkins*, who now having got the Office by the D. of Ys. Intereſt, which now as *Colemans* Letters tells us, *made a great Figure*, that he only had power of placing and diſplacing, and another offer being made of a Diſcoverer that would come from *France*, and one *Norris* being impowred with a Warrant, and ſupplyed with Money to bring him over, found himſelf and the Prieſt that he went for betrayed by the Conſpirators, the Prieſt being murdered at *Abbe Ville*, and he hardly eſcaped their hands, in his return for *England*, where being no ſooner arrived at *Dover* than he was clapped up into a *Priſon* by order from the ſaid *L. Jenkins*, thinking to ſpoil his giving an account, how the prieſt had been *Godfryed*, and how narrowly he eſcaped himſelf, all which was thorowly examined by a Committee of Parliament, appointed for that purpoſe, this piece of ſervice of deſtroying ſo great a Witneſs of the Truth and Villany of the *Popiſh Plot* was a ſecond Token of Sir *Lionels* zeal for the Cauſe, though he was known well enough before to be Father *Goffs* Creature by the ſign of his Faſting, and other Tokens more infallible.

And now the *L. H——x.* having dipped himſelf ſo deep among the Conſpirators, as well as outragious mad againſt *Shaftsbury*, that he feared it was impoſſible to retreat with ſafety, and believing, as well he might, that it would be proved againſt him in the next Parliament, that he had been one of the chief that had adviſed the Proroguing of the Parliament, and to ſtifle the Plot; was reſolved to go on, and be rather the Leader then the Follower of any miſchief to the Kingdom, rather then be termed a Coward, or to look back, and being over Shoos reſolves to be over Boots too, and now who but he for the Dukes Intereſt, and he who but two years ago was reviling the Court, and Miniſters of State, with all the oprobrious language in the world, is now on the other ſide, railing and vilifying the Kings beſt Subjects, and labouring Night and Day to diſpoſe the King to fear, or at leaſt be out of love with Parliaments, and it hath been no ſmall art he and the reſt of the Conſpirators have uſed to make the King believe Parliaments were his Enemies, which they really did, not for that the thing

was

was ſo, or that they loved the Kings preſervation as they pretended, but a moſt Mallicious and Jeſuitical device to blind the King, by bringing him to ſuch a belief, that they themſelves might eſcape the Judgment of the Parliament for their Villanies, for it was not the King they feared would come to damage, but themſelves, who were ſhrowded under him, and made the King a property for their ends.

But now *France* feeds us with a ſmall ſum, and therefore once more the Parliament is Prorogued till *October*, 1680, and now the Chancellor Prorogues them by Commiſſion under the great Seal, in which Commiſſion are expreſſed abundance of Lords Names, and done by the King, with Advice of his Council, which one of the Lords obſerving, asked one of the Privy Counceilors, preſent in the Houſe, if he gave his Advice for Proroguing the Parliament, who anſwered not he, nor was it done by Advice in Council, which made the Lord *Howard* ask his Veracity how it came to be entred in the Commiſſion, the Parliament to be Prorogued by Adviſe of the Privy Council, when there was no ſuch thing mentioned in the Council, his Veracity gave this Gracious Anſwer to his Lordſhip, it was only words of Courſe; ſo the Parliament is now Prorogued, and the Conſpirators in their Gere, the Duke in *Scotland* a ſetling the Proteſtant Religion, the Biſhops and the Council there are angry his *R. H.* ſhould be affronted by the Parliament of *England*, for their parts they were reſolved to declare againſt it, which they did, and though in *England* we were ſo dimſighted, as not to ſee that the only way to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion, was by a Popiſh King, yet they could ſee it and declare it as an undoubted truth; and therefore in their Scotch Parliament, the Conſpirators having now got into the Chair in the room of *Lawtherdale*, he is there Lord *Parramount*, and drives all things before him, and repealing and altering the Laws, as well as governing the Council at his pleaſure, but the beſt of all was, the Duke is no ſooner got into *Scotland*, but preſently he is deſigning againſt *Lawtherdale*, who was the great Inſtrument of ſending him to that place, and from that time to this *Lawtherdales* Intereſt hath much dwindled away, as well in *England* as *Scotland*.

The Parliament being ſo from time to time Prorogued, the Conſpirators got great heart and footing again, and their deſigns went on very proſperouſly, nothing was wanting but that curious thing called money, which ſtill they found very difficult to obtain from *France*. For

France

France like a good Husband, as well as a great *Politician*, his aim was always only to keep the Chins above water, and not to clog us with Riches, leaſt we ſhould grow wanton, and to keep open the differenee between the *Parliament* and the *King* was his chief care, leaſt by *Uniting*, they might be too hard for him, which has ever been the *French Policy*, but in this *Interval* of time, *Meſſengers* are continually ſent to our *Catholick Friends* at *Rome*, and other their *Aſſociates* to adviſe, whether having the buſineſs in ſuch a forwardneſs, and in ſo good a poſture, they ſhould not now ſtrike, and lay hold of this opportunity before ever the Parliament met again, and though it was generally held amongſt them, that now was the only time, yet the principal thing being wanted, which was *Money*, nothing could be reſolved at the preſent, until *France* were again tryed and He according to his old way made *Excuſes*, and put them off with his own Emergencies, the *Pope* alſo, though eagerly preſſed by Cardinal *Norfolk*, and others, yet he ſliped his neck out of the Collar, and would lend none, though he was told the whole *Catholick Cauſe* lay at the ſtake, but his Anſwer was, *The Engliſh Catholicks were not to be truſted giving ſome of them very opprobrious Language, calling them perfidious Raſcals*, and though the Dutcheſs Mother layed hard at the *Pope*, and among the Cardinals, yet his Holineſs would not bleed now at any rate: and for what other Applications were made to the *Jeſuiſts* for Aſſiſtance in the *Common Cauſe*, truly they could not, nor would not give help, alledging that their charges were great in relieving the Diſtreſſed, which were fled from *England*, and in defending ſuch as the Laws of *England* had, or were like to take hold of; and all that ever the *French Kings* Confeſſor at *Paris* could do, was to no purpoſe at this time, though abundance of good words were given,

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the *Conſpirators* had therefore another project to get *Money*, and that was by the *Parliament*, and to make the thing the more feaſible, beſides the common wants, it was concluded to endeavour to enter into Alliances with *Holland*, *Spain*, and the Princes of *Germany*, and that endeavours ſhould be uſed in order thereunto, as if we were now again out of Love with *France*, and accordingly, ſeveral are ſent over to propoſe Terms to FORREIGN NATIONS, *&c.* and *C. Bertue* to be put out of the way is one, but all to very little purpoſe, for *Brandenburgh* ſlighted us, every one elſe ſcarce believed us, *Spain* knew well enough what kindneſs we had to them before, and therefore lent but a ſmall ear to our pretenſions, notwithſtanding the daily Incroachments of the *French* in the *Low Countries*, as well as in *Germany*, ſince the Peace; as for the Governour of *Flanders*, the Prince of *Parma* was actually a *Confederate* with our *Conſpirators*, and held a Correſpondency by Letters and Meſſages with the Duke and he on all occaſions was for him, and was *Penſioner* to *France*, which at laſt was diſcovered to the Court of *Spain*, though too late; but to make a ſhew ſomething had been acted withal in the nature of an Alliance Defenſive, though to as little purpoſe as poſſible could be thought of, however the Conſpirators thought by the very name of Alliances with *Holland* and *Spain* would take with the next Parliament, to give Money ſince they muſt ſit.

But by this time before the time for the Parliaments meeting, and while the *Duke* was in *Scotland*, the *French Dutches*, together with the Secretary S. and ſome others of the Conſpirators, had a contrivance among themſelves, a part from the Grand Cabal to

ingratiate

ingratiate themſelves with another Party, which were not in the Grand Conſpiracy for advancing the *Duke*, and her deſign and drift was to ſet up for her Baſtard Son, and bring him in favour with the People, *but Nell Wall* her woman ſtuck faſt to his *R. H's.* intereſt, and gave him an acccount of thoſe private Intreagues of her Miſtris, for the *Duke* had left her as his ſpy upon the *French Dutches*, and her Faction was now by all means for the Parliament ſitting, but the *Duke* and his gang were no otherwiſe for it then, as it was not to be helped, and ſo were forced to make a Vertue of a *Neceſſity*; for the *Diſeaſe* of wanting Money pinched ſore, and therefore to diſpoſe the *Parliament* to a humour of giving Money, it was reſolved to tell them of Alliances made with *Holland* and *Spain*, and to ſhew them the want of a Supply for the better *Maintaining* of *Tangier*, and it was agreed amongſt them, That all Fairneſs ſhould be uſed with this *Parliament*, and to yield ſomething but be ſure to hold faſt the two main points, and never depart from them that of the *Succeſſion*, and the not yielding up *Danby* upon the ſcore only of his *Pardon*, for ſome of the *Conſpirators* were willing enough to have parted with the man, for fear of his telling Tales; but to have the Pardon adjudged Illegal was not to be ſuffered at any rate; for then all the Conſpirators, who had

betrayed their Countrey as well as the Religion they profeſſed, could never be ſhelter'd by the like pardons when they were diſcover'd, and ſo the Nation could not be Betrayed as they intend, but they muſt be ſubject to Reckon for it to the *Parliament* hereafter, which would not go down with our Courtiers at any Rate for Treaſon againſt the Nation, they knew they were guilty of and ſhould be all undone by it; except the King might be allowed to pardon offences againſt the people, as well as againſt his own perſon; this point the Conſpirators were reſolved never to yield.

And the Conſpirators by all theſe Prorogations had gained a mighty point, beſides the preſervation of the Duke, and the Seating him in *Scotland*; for by this time Mr. *Bedlow* was taken ſick and died at *Briſtol*, and all other Evidences were diſcouraged by ill uſage from coming in and giving Evidence about the Plot; and by *Bedlows* death there was now but one material Witneſs left, which was Mr. *Oates*, ſo that the Lords in the *Tower* thought themſelves very ſafe; yet Mr. *Bedlows* dying at *Briſtol*, and taking it upon his death, the truth of what he had before depoſed, was a great heart-breaking to the Conſpirators, for they hoped and did attempt, to have caſt out a *Sham-Recantation* of Mr. *Bedlow* to his former Evidence, but that was prevented by Mr. *Bedlow* who ſent for the Mayor of *Briſtol*, and he for Judg *North*, and gave him his Teſtimony before he died, that all was true he had before depoſed, and ſomething farther, part of which hath been concealed to this day; And now *France* refuſing, or at leaſt excuſing, the parting with more money, and his ſlighting the Duke as he had done for above twelve months, there could be no way at preſent found out by the Conſpirators but to Suffer the *Parliament* to meet, and Sit after above 12. months Prorogation, in hope that either for Allyances, or for the preſerving of *Tangier*, money might be got, eſpecially if they would yield up ſome of the Lords in the *Tower*; which the Conſpirators reſolved to make a Shew as if they intended it; but it was fully reſolved they never would, onely permit ſome of them to be Tryed and ſo acquitted by the Intereſt the Conſpirators had in the Houſe of Peers; for the Conſpirators were well aſſured they had the majority of the Temporal Lords Votes in that Houſe, to do as they ſhould be directed; beſides, the Biſhops who never fail at a dead lift, and are always watching for the Signal to be given which way they ſhall Vote; and in all theſe devices and intreagues, none were ſo zealous for their cauſe as they and the new made *E.* of *Hx.* who was now almoſt Foreman in the chief of the Conſpiracie, the peak

between him and *Shaftsbury* being the firſt moving Cauſe, and therefore ſtuck at nothing, to be revenged of him, and for that he being obnoxious to Juſtice, as well as the reſt of the Conſpirators, having juſtly merrited puniſhment, found no other way to cover their former villanies of both, but by adding one Roguery to another, to cover and hide the former; and being now ſo dipped that nothing can Save them from hanging if a *Parliament* come, they reſolved to hang them firſt that ſhould but attempt to bring them to it.

And now the day of Meeting is come, the Conſpirators had agreed that all fairneſs ſhould appear in Shew to the *Parliament*, and great pretences of Reality, not only to diſcover the Plot, but to Secure the Nation for the time to come; and truly ſo fearful was this Intereſt and ſome Body elſe of no ſmall Quallity among the Conſpirators; that they ſhould not be able to Weather the Point, that they were minded to yield ſomething if the Succeſſion might no more be inſiſted on and the Miniſters of State let alone; for *France* flagging and the *French King* lowering upon the Dukes Intereſt, the Duke began to be affraid, notwithſtanding *Jockeys* great noiſe for him in *Scotland*; for the *French King* ſupported the Conſpirators with might and main to diſtract the Nation: yet he had now left ϒ. and *Portsmouth*'s Game was by him and ſome of our Conſpirators driven at privately, which the Duke perceiving, made him and ſome of the Catholicks very uneaſie in their mind, the Parliament being met the King makes a Speech to this effect.

THat *He had called them together to Conſult of the weighty Affairs of the Nation, that he expected their Advice and Aſſiſtance, that he had made Alliances with Holland* &c. *and wanted Supplies to ſupport thoſe Advantagious Alliances for the Kingdoms good, that it was neceſſary to be in a good poſture, and that* Tangier *muſt be preſerved, which to do, had been a great Charge to his Majeſtie, which he was not longer able to bear, that they ſhould go on to diſcover the Plot, and bring the Lords to Tryal, which had layn ſo long under reſtraint, therefore it was high time to put a period to that Affair, that he would be ready to agree with them in the making any Laws for the ſecuring the Kingdom againſt Popery, not to impede the Succeſſion in the Right Line; that there was nothing for them to ask that was reaſon, but he would readily grant it, and therefore wiſhed them to go on ſpeedily to their Buſineſs, without loſs of longer time.*

The Houſe of Commons were ordered to go back and chuſe their Speaker, which they did, and did ſet Mr. *Williams* in their Chair, who was the next day accepted without any diſlike, and after the Preliminary points were over, the Commons began to conſider of

thoſe that had obſtructed and hindred the Sitting of this Parliament, and as a principal matter they looked upon the obſtructing of Petitioning for its Sitting to be one main cauſe, as well as a violation of the Peoples Right, to take that away which God and nature, as well as the Law of the Land had given them; therefore the firſt thing they began about was, to inquire who had obſtructed Petitioning the King for the Sitting of this Parliament, and upon their inquiry, by their Committee, they found not only the Juſtices of the Peace and Lieutenancy of *Middſx.* but of moſt Counties elſe, had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed Petitioning, by order from ſome of the Conſpirators, which perſons divers of them, the Houſe queſtioned, as they might, betrayers of the Liberties of the people of *England*, and going on, found that the *Proclamation* put out to hinder Petitioning, was adviſed and drawn by Judg *North*, which *Proclamation* had been the Cauſe of obſtructing Petitioning from the *Parliament*, and therefore the Commons ſhortly after Voted him and others guilty of betraying the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*, and order'd him and three more of the Judges, to be Impeached for that and other Offences; two whereof, were Judges of the *Kings Bench*, who were Accuſed for obſtructing Juſtice in Diſſolving a Grand Jury, on purpoſe to hinder them from making their Legal Preſentments, which were then before them, particularly that Indictment of *Recuſancy* againſt the Duke of *York*: And now the Commons all Search into the Old Plot, and the New Meal-tub Plot, which was layed to Trappan Innocent Noblemen and Gentlemen for their Lifes.

The Commons took ſpecial care not to fall into any Diſputes with the Houſe of Peers; and about the 29 th. of *October* having examin'd Mr. *Dangerfield* at the Bar about the Old and New Plot, came to a Reſolution to Addreſs his Majeſty for the preſervation of his Perſon, giving him thanks for his expreſſions of his laſt Speech, of his Reſolution to Suppreſs both the Popiſh Plot and Popery, and to aſſure his Majeſty of their zeal and readineſs to ſtand by his Majeſty for the effecting thoſe good deſigns; and alſo they told His Majeſty, it was his Glory to be the Head of the *Proteſtants*, and that in the Intervals of *Parliaments*; the Popiſh Deſigns have been contriving with unparrallel'd Inſolence, a moſt Damnable and wicked deſign to transfer their own Crimes, upon ſo many of your *Proteſtant* Nobility and Gentry, hoping thereby to deſtroy thoſe, who, with the greateſt zeal and Integrity, endeavours to proſecute them This Addreſs His Majeſty received very graciouſly, and all things hither-

hitherto went on fairly, but now upon the Reading the Letters about the Popiſh Plot, the Houſe fell into a great Debate about ſecuring our Religion and Liberty, and though there were in the Houſe many Courtiers, yet none of them had much to ſay, or how it was poſſible to ſecure the Nation from *Popery*, ſo long as the *Papiſts* had their hopes upon a Popiſh Succeſſor to the Crown; there were very ſtrong Debates in the Houſe tending to this purpoſe, that it was impoſſible ever to Root out *Popery* out of *England* if the Head of the Government was a *Papiſt*, and that it did appear, that the Dukes being a *Papiſt* by thoſe Letters now Read; and other teſtimonies had been the chief cauſe of the now Plot, that it was impoſſible for the Proteſtant Religion to thrive under any Prince, who is zealouſly, and avowed *Papiſt*; that to think of any means without taking away the hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor to the Crown, was in effect but to hedg in the *Cuckow*, that till he was disabled from Inheriting the Crown by a Law, the *Papiſts* would never leave Plotting and Contriving to bring it in at any rate; that the Sole Evil under which the Nation now groans, was occaſioned by the Dukes apoſtatizing from his Religion, that the Nation found it hard and difficult now under one that profeſſed himſelf a *Proteſtant*, to keep out Popery, much more would it be difficult, when a Popiſh Prince ſhall Raign.

To which was objected by the *Court Party*, that other means and experiments might be found out, ſome urged, that they knew his Majeſties Love to the Duke of *York* was ſo great, that he would never be drawn to exclude him from inheriting the *Crown*, but yet his Majeſty had ſignified to them his readineſs to joyn in any *Laws* to ſecure them againſt *Popery*, after his death ſome offer'd to the Conſideration of the *Houſe* theſe *Experiments*, that in caſe his Majeſty did not ſurvive the *Duke* of *York*, that then the *Parliament*, which ſat laſt ſhould again meet, and ſit without new *Summons* for ſix months without any interruption to provide *Laws* to ſecure the *Nation*, that in caſe the *Duke* of *York* ſhould ſurvive, all great places ſhould be held by perſons nominated in *Parliament*: Others that of a *Regent*, and that the *Duke* to be contented with only the bare name of a King, to which was anſwered, that theſe Experiments ſeemed incoherent, that it was Nonſenſe to believe, that

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the *D.* of *Y.* would be contented to have the name of a King, and yet not the power, that as to meeting and ſitting of the laſt Parliament, what ſecurity could be given, that that Parliament, if they did meet, ſhould ſit and act, if the *D.* of *Y.* had the power, that then it was too late to ſay; they would force him to paſs what Laws they had a mind, to that, as to the Officers it was impoſſible to believe, that could any way be accompliſhed, it being to make the King but a Cypher, and as to all other Experiments, they ſaw no colour in them, but that rather they ſeemed to give themſelves anſwer in the very propounding: Yet there were ſome honeſt Gentlemen in the Houſe, which meant as well as the beſt, who tho they did agree with every thing the Country Gentlemen laid down, that it was impoſſible to keep out Popery under a Popiſh Prince by any arts or devices, yet they would have had this debate have reſted for ſome time, and to have paſſed ſome other Laws advantagious to the Nation, in regard his Majeſty had made ſo full an Offer, it was therefore urged by theſe ſort of men that *Weſtminſter-Hall* might be ſwept firſt by a good Bill, for the making of honeſt and juſt Judges, who ſhould not be afraid to do Juſtice, becauſe of looſing their places, and to ſettle the Judges in their places, *Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, that the Juſtices in each County ſhould be pricked in Parliament, that the Laws now in force, and which fetter'd and weaken'd the Proteſtant Intereſt by bearing hard upon the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* from the Church of *England* might be taken of and repealed, that free Liberty might be given, whereby to ſtrengthen our hands againſt the common Enemy the Papiſt, who had ſo great Intereſt now among the Officers, that they always ſaved themſelves from the Laws which they *Diſſenters* could not do, ſuch Juſtices and Magiſtrates being in Commiſſion in all parts, as if *Popery* were already eſtabliſhed, that for them to ſay they could reach the *D.* of *Y.* without more ſtrength and pow-

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er then now they had, was to build upon a ſandy foundadation, that to put by the *D.* of *Y.* without ſome better cauſe, though it were rational to the Major part of mankind in *England*, yet it could not but be better Satisfaction both at Home and abroad, to have the cauſe ſhown, and therefore to juſtifie the putting him by the Crown, ſince they had that Evident Proof againſt him, it was reaſon to impeach him as well as others, not ſo deeply concerned, that though he ſhould have ſo many Favorites in the upper Houſe, as not to bring him in Guilty, though the Proof were ſo plain, yet it would then be a better time to put him by then now when all the world hearing the charge and the Evidence would be much more ſatisfied then now in its being kept ſilent, beſides they urged, that ſince they had been told they ſhould have any thing they asked, but that of altering the Succeſſion it was reaſon to try how far they were in earneſt, and to let this alone till other Bills as neceſſary paſſed, that delays, tho they might be dangerous, yet to get ſomethimg was better than nothing, and that if the Houſe did immediately fall upon the laying the *D.* of *Y.* aſide, it was more then ten to one they had nothing at all, which certainly would be very bad to the Nation, to leave the Nation ſo fettered without any relief, when it will be ſaid it was in our power to have given you relief, that for their part they did believe there was but two ways to root out Popery out of this Nation, the one was the way now propoſed, the other to weaken the Papiſts by ſtrengthening the Proteſtant hand, and arming them againſt the Papiſts; but for to fight with the Papiſts without either Arms on Strength, and to ſtrik at their Head, which was the *D.* of *Y.* with Armor on, was not the readieſt way certainly to attain the end they aimed at, and therefore theſe ſort of Gentlemen were for beginning at the other end firſt, and to ſtrengthen our ſelves by good laws before we offer at ſo great a difficulty, beſides if we ſhould

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be broken up upon this point again, before we had tendred wholeſome Laws, which are now offered to be paſſed, our Enemies will take advantage and diſclaim againſt us, and the Court will find an excuſe for the breaking us up, which otherwiſe they cannot; and it is more than an even wager, that ſuffering us to ſet after ſo many Prorogations, is but to watch for an opportunity to break us up, beſides all this the Houſe of Peers, as now it is quallified, they were ſure would never paſs that Bill, the Biſhops being his reſolved Aſſociates.

To all which the Major part of the Houſe, who were influenced very much by the Lord *Shaftsbury*, who hath the misfortune only to ſee, and not to foreſee, and he having and old peak and grudge againſt *Y.* and loving to be adored for his Polliticks, though ſeldom right, overbore all the *Argument* offered, and replied, that the Bill to Exclude the Duke of *York* would paſs as ſoon as any other, and tho His *Majeſty* had declared againſt that way, and himſelf to be unalterable in that particular, yet they doubted not but the reaſon of the thing would prevail for its paſſage with the *Houſe of Peers* and the *King*: And ſome of the L. *Shaftsbury*'s Friends in the *Houſe* were too confident of carrying it through, that they began to tell the *Houſe*, no doubt could be made of its Paſſage, ſo that now it came to the queſtion in the *Houſe*, and carried almoſt *nemine contradicente*; for all the *Court* Party fell in with it, *That the Duke of York ſhould be excluded*; They knowing it to be the only way, to break them up, and no ſooner had that *Vote* paſſed, and the *Bill* ordered to be brought in, but every thing run up the *Hill*, if not backward, the *Addreſs* came home lamely, the *Bill* is at laſt ſent up to the *Peers*, they throw it out as ſoon as read, yet ſtill the *Houſe* ſit and fall upon the *Tryal* of *Stafford*, which took up a great deal of time, and hard the *Houſe* found it to convict him; for the *Conſpirators* were ſo ſtrong in the *Lords Houſe*, that it was verily thought, they had

had the major *Vote* there, even ſo much that it became now an even wager, *whether a Plot or no Plot*; for the Earl of *H— x* ſtickled m ght and main with the *Conſpirators* for bringing *Stafford* in *Not guilty*, and ſo bold were they now, after the throw ing out the *Bill*, that ſome of the *Conſpirators* in the Lords *Houſe* cryed, *Let us give our Vote in the Hall publickly in the Face of the Sun*, which however at laſt he is brought in guilty by the *Majority* by about twenty *Voices*, and is at laſt *Executed*, being deſigned to be given up for his offering to bable, and beginning to tell Tales at the *Houſe* of *Lords Bar*, after he was condemned, nevertheleſs at laſt they ſo work upon his *Age*, and *Ignorance* by the help of his *Daughter*, a notorious *Champion* of the *Church of Rome*, that they lulled him aſleep with hopes of a *Saintſhip*, for his ſuffering, and ſo ſtopped his mouth, that he dyed as the reſt of the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites* did with a *Lye* in his mouth, to ſave the *Catholick Cauſe*, and now the *Conſpirators* were willing to be rid of the *Parliament*, yet wanted a Sum of Money, but had no hope to obtain it, unleſs for relief of *Tangier*, which the *Commons* had denyed in their *Addreſs* in anſwer to the Kings Meſſage with reaſons, and the *Bill* being now thrown out, the *Commons* began to ſee the time was not long they had to ſit, the *King* ſends them another *Meſſage, That he is confirmed in his opinion againſt the altering the Succeſſion by the throwing out the Bill in the Houſe of Lords, therefore again adviſes them to think of ſome other Expedients, which he ſhall be ready to agree to*: The *Houſe of Commons* they can find none, the *Houſe of Peers* they are upon *Expedients* too, which is *Baniſhment*, during the *Kings Life*, for 500 mile diſtance; the *Commons* having received the *Meſſage* from the *King*, reſolve upon a *Bill* of *Aſſociation*, and to add a *Clauſe* againſt the *Duke* in that, ſo that there being no hopes to break the *Commons* of that point, it was high time to diſmiſs them too, and now the *Houſe of Commons* having examined a great deal of the *Plot*, tryed *Stafford*, attempted

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to root out *Popery* by this *Bill* of *Excluſion*, they think it high time to drive on the *Bills* for the eaſe of the *Diſſenters* and to repeal the 35. of Queen *Elizabeth* now in force, as ſome believed, but alaſs it was too late, for all things were at a ſtand; and ſince the *Parliament* would not let fall the *Bill* againſt the Duke of *York*, nothing elſe was like to be done, nor indeed was any thing promiſed, but upon that conſideration, ſo that now every day the Parliament is expected to be broken up, and the Diſſenters ſhackled with Laws againſt them, as well as the Popiſh Laws ready to be turned upon them as ſoon as ever the Parliament was gone and the Conſpirators now a Ploting as well as ever, only money was wanting, which the Duke undertook to ſupply if the Parliament were ſent home; and though this long Seſſion had produced nothing to paſs for the good of the Subject, yet it had diſcouraged a great deal of the Plot, and the Conſpirators weakneſs in ſuffering ſo much of their Roguery to be rack'd into, for they had not only brought many of the Abhorrers on their knees, but had alſo diſcovered the Counter Plots of the Conſpirators, and had ſhaken ſome of the great Miniſters of State, inſomuch that ſeveral Addreſſes were made againſt ſome of them, and they Voted dangerous to the Government; but all to no purpoſe; wherefore ſeeing no good could be had on either hand, it was reſolved upon by the Conſpirators, to get the King to diſſolve them, and ſince they, had not let alone the Bill of *Excluſion*, that nothing more ſhould be granted them, nay not ſo much as the repeal of 35 of the Queen, which had paſſed both Houſes, but to make all things look fair inſtead of a ſuddain diſſolution, they got the Parliament to be Prorogued for three weeks time, by which ſome honeſt men were made believe that it it was done in favour to the Country, that the Commons might have an opportunity again to bring in the Bill of *Excluſion* but the Conſpirators knew better things, and now the day

being come, which was in *January* 1680. the King comes to the Houſe of Peers, and privately the Robes are brought, which the Commons had no notice of, till about a quarter of an hour before the Black Rod came, but in the little time they had, they paſſed four or five good Votes; and being come to the Bar of the Lords, and care taken that the Bill of Repeal, of the 35 th. of *Elizabeth*, ſhould be layed aſide by a Command, a thing never heard of before; and ſo not tender'd the King: The Bill for prohibiting *Iriſh* Cattle, and ſome other private Bills were paſſed, and the *Parliament* Prorogued till the 26 th. of the ſame *January*; and now the Conſpirators having gained the point, they eaſily knew how to get the reſt; and they themſelves began to ſhew themſelves in their Colours, to abuſe and villifie the *Parliament*, and all their proceedings, and bid defiance to their Adverſaries; therefore the next thing they did, was to prevail with the King to Diſſolve them too, and to pleaſe the people, promiſe them a new one at *Oxford*, this the Conſpirators procured, by perſwading the King it would make him look great, and would change the face of things to his liking; when he got the *Parliament* to *Oxford*; urging that the *Parliament* being diſtant from the troubleſome City, would be more ready to hearken to his Terms; theſe and ſuch like pretences were uſed to colour over the matter, but the Conſpirators well enough knew what they did, by getting the *Parliament* to *Oxford*, not to ſerve the King, but to murther and deſtroy innocent men; by Sham-Plots and Contrivances which now they had ready to Spring; *Oxfordſhire* being now in the hands of a Sheriff fit for the work, they doubted not but to have Juries that would believe their *Iriſh* Evidence, whom they had now under their beck, both to make an *Engliſh* Plot, as well as an *Iriſh* one; and to Swear it upon as many as the Conſpirators ſhould direct; therefore all of a ſuddain, a *Proclamation* comes out for Diſſolving this *Parliament*, and Calling a New one at *Oxford*; to Sit the 21th. of *March* next: And now whil'ſt all men were amazed at this Invention, and every man buſiing his thoughts upon theſe tranſactings, the *Parliament* they were a new chuſing over again; the Conſpirators they did their utmoſt endeavours to get in their friends but all they did was to little purpoſe, the generality of the choice was very good, ſo that there being no hopes of carrying their Deſigns that way, by bad Votes, they had recourſe to their more deviliſh Inventions of Betraying the innocent, as well as by the Scriblers crying down the Actions of the laſt *Parliament*. Now the *Iriſh* men ſuch as had made the Diſcoveries of the *Iriſh* Plot to the *Parliament*;

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as well as to the Lord *Shaftsbury* and others, before the *Parliament* ſome of them began to warp, the Ringleader one *Fitz Gerrald* a notorious Villain, by the Conduct of *Jenkins Warcop* and others of the Conſpirators, who had filled his pockets with Silver and Gold, and a promiſe to make him a Captain, not only disowned what he had before depoſed, about the *Iriſh Plot*, but alſo undertook to make all the reſt of the *Iriſh* Witneſſes to come into his ſide, and lay all the Plot as a made thing, contrived by them at the Solicitation of the Lord *Shaftsbury* and others: And the part which Mr. *Fitz-Harris* was to Act it being brought to a pitch of perfection, was to Trapan *Everard* and ſuch like perſons, who they thought converſed with the Lord *Shaftsbury*; the Conſpirators now reſolved to welcome the *Parliament* to *Oxford* with a *Proteſtant Plot* in good earneſt, which they no longer doubted but to effect, and thereby all their deſign brought to paſs; it was therefore agreed among the Conſpirators that Papers containing Treaſonable matters ſhould be got writ, and Lodged privately in divers mens Houſes, and ſhuffled into Gentlemens pockets at *Oxford*, and before they came there to be Seized with ſuch papers about them; and *Fitz Harris* who had and was to be this Tool in this black deſign was both highly courted and payd well by private ways at *White-Hall*, for the carrying on this curſed Deſign, and of ſuch power and greatneſs were his Employers in this Villany, that an *Engliſhman* cannot but bluſh to name them: *Fitz-Harris* having his Inſtructions from day to day what to do, confer'd with *Everard* in this matter, laying their heads together to get money as well as to ſupport the Cauſe, for *Fitz Harris*'s buſineſs was heretofore known to *Everard* to be employed by the Court, to find out ſcurrilous Libels and Lampoons againſt the Government; and *Everard* being an *Iriſhman* and his old companion, and wanting employment, as well as *Fitz-Harris*, they one tempt the other to make a devilliſh Scandalous Libell, which ſhould be feign'd to be made, or come from the Fanatick party, & eſpecially from the Lord *Shaftsbury*; who had been a mighty Stickler to Diſcover the *Iriſh Plot* the laſt *Parliament*, having ſuffer'd thoſe *Iriſhmen* to be always buzzing in his ears their Inventions: And *Everard* to egg on the other, made Complaints to *Fitz-Harris* of the baſeneſs of the E. of *Shaftsbury*, and the City, and began to tell him, he knew all their deſigns and Intreagues, and had a good mind to diſcover them which *Everard* pretended he did on purpoſe to find out *Fitz-Harris*'s Deſign; this mightily agreed with the humour *Fitz-Harris* was to goe upon, and ſo they Reſolved to draw up ſome Libells, which ſhould be carried

to the King, as if they came from, and were really made by the Kings enemies; and theſe Fellows Meetings being frequent, and *Fitz-Harris* fancying great things to be got out of *Everard*, and *Everard* fancying great things to be got out of *Fitz-Harris*, each perſon reſolving to make his Game one way or other, they both give Intelligences of their Negotiations, *Fitz-Harris* he tells his Employers privately that he ſhould get ſuch a Libell from *Everard* who was privy to all *Shaftsbury*'s and the Cities Deſigns, that by it the King might ſee what Rogueries they were about, and as for *Everard* he had *Fitz-Harris* ſo faſt, that he doubted not but to make great matters as he pretended the other way: *Fitz-Harris* he tells his Employers, he ſhould ketch *Shaftsbury* and his Gang, and tells them that by the help of this *Everard* he ſhould be able to Lodg what papers he pleaſed in the Fanaticks cuſtody; this now was as much as the Conſpirators hearts could wiſh, on the other ſide *Everard* he diſcovers to *Smith* that was the Prieſt, and he diſcovers to Sr. *William Waller*, and *Everard* tells them that he could diſcover an Intreague upon *Fitz-Harris* and the *French* Ambaſſadour, ſo the next Meeting theſe two *Iriſhmen* had together they agreed upon ſome Heads to be put in this Libel; *Everard* he undertook to draw it, and the other knowing what the Conſpirators aimed at, which was to be all put in form of a Declaration for a Rebellion againſt the King by *Everard* and his Creatures, this being to come as from the diſcontented party (for ſo were they called) by the Conſpirators; and *Fitz-Harris* undertook to prove this to be the Fact of divers worthy perſons which were concerned in the Libel; ſo it was to be finiſhed and fit to be ſhewed at their next Meeting.

Fitz-Harris having given order for the perfecting ſuch a Treaſonable Paper, and relying upon his Countreyman *Everard* to make it good, by ſuffering himſelf or proving it upon others, as their Act came to ſome of the Conſpirators and told them, what he ſhould have ſuch a time and from *Everard*; and finding *Nel. Wall* his couzen he was introduced by her to Some body elſe, where great joy was for the very hopes of Succeſs in this piece of Villany, the drift being to hang *Everard*, unleſs he would Accuſe ſuch as they would direct; the time being now come that *Everard* and *Fitz-Harris* ſhould meet to perfect their Roguery, (for no one can tell which was the greateſt Deſigner) though *Harris* had the Luck to be ketched for a fool by *Everard*, they came to the place appointed where *Everard* had drawn his Libel, being as full of Treaſon as it could well be ſtuffed, and there they promiſe each other not to betray one another, though

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the Villains knew they had both done it before; and *Everard* he had placed this *Smith* and Sr. *William Waller* behind in another Room to be Witneſſes; the thing being done, each of them keep a Coppy of what the other had to ſhew, *Fitz-Harris* having got it, immediately goes to *White-Hall* to *Nell. Wall*, and ſhews it her, and demanded to be introduced —— as before to ſhew it and to take farther Orders; but it being *Satturday* and the Perſons not to be ſpoken with at that inſtant, *Fitz-Harris* ſhews it, to ſome of the Conſpirators, and deſired to be introduced with it as formerly, but the party not to be named, being at *Windſor*, it was put off finiſhing till *Monday*, though News was ſent by one of the Duke of *Ormonds*'s Sons, that the thing was got by *Fitz Harris* which was promiſed, but before *Monday* came *Fitz-Harris* is Seized in his Bed and Accuſed by *Everard*, with two Witneſſes, who pretended they ſaw him Interline the Paper through the Wall, and heard him dictate ſome of the words of that very Paper which now *Everard* produced, he is carried to *Jenkins* by Sr. *William Waller*, and *Everard* he gives his Information with his Vouchers to the Secretary, who Commit him for High Treaſons, the next day *Fitz-Harris* is brought to the Councel, who is known immediately, and one did ſay in his behalf that *Fitz-Harris* was his friend, and when *Waller* and the reſt were gone out, notwithſtanding, thanks was given to *Waller*; yet a great man cries aſſoon as he had turned his back of the Councel-table, this *Waller* is a Rogue and has ſpoyl'd all; but *Fitz-Harris* is Committed to *Newgate* for High-Treaſon, and an *Item* given him not to be afraid, he ſhould be brought off, and his Wife and Family provided for.

Fitz Harris is now no ſooner in *Newgate*, but he trembles and is greatly afraid of the Gallows, well knowing how they left *Coleman* and others, when they could do them no more Service; and therefore without more adoe fails a diſcovering who ſet him on this deviliſh deſign, and alſo to diſcover the Plot, and to Accuſe ſome of the Murther of Sr. *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and ſent to the Juſtices of *London*, and deſired he might give in his Information, and one of the Sheriffs hearing him wiſh and deſire to be examin'd, goes to *White-Hall* to deſire he might be Examin'd but is denyed, and inſtead thereof, the Secretaries are ſent privately to Examin him, which they do; and he telling them his mind pretty freely, though perhaps not more than they knew, before they made ſlight of what he ſaid, yet would ſuffer no body to be by; whereupon at laſt the Recorder with ſome other Juſtices of the City, went to *Newgate*, and Examin'd him there, who gave a great Diſcovery, and particularly what was deſigned

ſigned by the Conſpirators at *Oxford*, of throwing Papers into Gentlemens Pockets, and into their Lodgings of Treaſonable matters; and to ſeize the Perſons with ſuch Papers about them.

This Confeſſion enraged the Conſpirators extreamly, ſo that one was heard to ſay he ſhould dye, for if there were no more men in *England*, and now *Fitz harris* their own Villain is cryed out upon as the greateſt Rogue in the World, and to prevent any farther Communication with him, and any farther diſcovery, he is ſent for to *White-Hall* as if to be again examined, and ſo removed to the Tower, where the Lieutenant kept him ſo cloſe, that it was ſcarce known where his Chamber was, muchleſs for his wife or any perſon to come at him, but the Lieutenant himſelf, who would come to him ſometimes to curſe and damn him for his Confeſſion, and to make him retract, there was all the hardſhip uſed to this Wretch, that could be thought of as well as Invitations by Sir L. *Jenkins*, who made viſits often to him for that purpoſe, under pretence of examining him: but this hopeful Project thus miſcarrying was not only a great diſappointment to the *Conſpirators* in ſtopping the mouths of the *Parliament* to meet at *Oxford*, as they had calculated, but they alſo feared that by *Fitzharris* his Confeſſion and his Wives, who the *Conſpirators* had alſo tamper'd with to take off her Husband, and to make him retract (which ſhe refuſed) would turn much to their diſadvantage, for they knew, that *Fitzharris* and his Wife could not only prove who ſet them at work, but could prove Two hundred and fifty pounds paid him at *White-hall* for this kind of Service, and therefore whereas they intend to open the *Parliament* at *Oxford* with the noiſe of this *Proteſtant Plot*, of which the Treaſonable Libel, when taken about *Everard*, would have been a great Teſtimony, but now they feared that the whole Intreague would be diſcovered by the Parliament, to the ruin of themſelves; and that the Pit dug, and Net laid by them for others, would enſnare themſelves, whereupon a great Conſult is held amongſt the greateſt Conſpirators, what to do to ſtop *Fitz-harris*'s mouth, and to paint over this dirty buſineſs, at laſt it came to this reſult, that there was no way to do it if they ſuffered the Parliament to look into it, nor could any of them be ſafe, and therefore two things were reſolved on, one was to hang *Fitz-harris* immediately, the next that ſince the Parliament now choſen, was not for their turn to ſlight them, and have no more dependance on them, and ſince the time of the Parliaments meeting grew ſo near, that the King ſhould be adviſed either to put them off ſometime longer till they had hanged *Fitz-harris*, or elſe to give them but cold entertainment at *Oxford*, and that if they would med-

meddle with *Fitzharris*'s buſineſs to blow them up and not ſuffer them to meddle with that at any rate; to this advice agreed all the *Conſpirators*, and as well the *Deputies* from *Scotland* as at home, and now they were reſolved to carry all things with a high hand, and bare faced, and they would not be controled any longer, and whereas *Fitzharris* had miſcarried, yet upon the foot of that Libel of his, they would ſtrive to inſnare ſeme of the leading men of both Houſes, as ſoon as they had rid their hands of him, and ſome of them ſwore they would be revenged of *Shaftsbury*, and the Sheriffs of *London*, and ſome others, for buſying themſelves ſo much in this affair of *Fitz-harris*, and their point they would carry before another Parliament ſhould ſet in *England* to queſtion them. And thus went on the Plot more ſtrenuouſly then ever; and the 21*ſt* of *March* being come the Parliament met at *Oxford*, and are ſurrounded with Foot and Horſe Guards, both in *Oxford* and ſome of the neighbouring Villages, yet the Country Gentlemen and divers of the Peers met, where the King makes a Speech to this effect.

That the unwarrantable Proceedings of the laſt houſe of Commons were the occaſion of parting with them, that the King never uſing Arbitrary Government himſelf, reſolved not to ſuffer it in others, *&c.* That he was unwilling to remember faults, *&c.* That he did recommend to the laſt Parliament the Alliances abroad, the looking into the Plot, the preſervation of *Tangier*, but that there was not ſuitable returns to his expectations, *&c.* That yet he is not weary of Parliaments, nor ſhall any irregularities make him out of love with them, *&c.* That he hopes the ill example of the ill ſucceſs of former heats will diſpoſe them to a better temper, & wiſh them not ſo much to inveigh againſt what is paſt, as to conſider what is beſt for time to come, therefore he tells them the farther proſecution of the Plot, the Tryal of the Lords in the Tower, the providing of more ſpeedy convictions againſt Popiſh recuſants, and the ridding our ſelves quite of all that party that have any conſiderable Authority or Intereſt among them, is ſo obvious, that it hardly needs recommending to their conſideration, that what he had before ſo often declared, touching the Succeſſion he could not depart from; but to remove all reaſonable fears that may ariſe from the poſſibility of a Popiſh Succeſſour coming to the Crown; if the means may be found out that in ſuch a caſe the Adminiſtration of the Government may remain in Proteſtant hands, he would be very ready to hearken to any ſuch expedient, by which the Religion might be preſerved, and the Monarchy not deſtroyed; that he moſt earneſtly requires them to provide for the Religion and Government

vernment together, and in all their Votes to have regard to the Law of the Land, which he reſolves to make his Rule, *&c.*

After this the Houſe of Commons went to their Houſe, and choſe Mr. *Williams* to be their Speaker again, who coming the next day told the King he was choſen by the Suffrages of the *Commons* of *England* to ſerve his Majeſty as *Speaker* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, that his Majeſty and all the World might ſee they were not given to change, and therefore came to receive his Commands, and to ask the uſual *Petitions*, which being granted, and the preliminary points being over, the *Houſe* fell immediately to buſineſs: but this *Speech* of the *Speakers* in ſaying *They were not given to Change*, made ſome in the Houſe of Peers to bite their lips, and therefore the Conſpirators they reſolve too not to change their minds, but to get them blown up as faſt as poſſible they could, and ſo the Houſe of Peers were no ſooner ſet, but the *Conſpirators* have *Denby*'s Petition ready to tender the Houſe of Lords, to pray he may be bailed which they delivered, well knowing that to attempt any ſuch thing was to make an irreconcileable difference between the two Houſes, and no ſooner was the Petition read in that Houſe, but divers there were as ready to bail him, as if he had been the moſt innocent man alive, yet the L. *H* —— *x* and ſome more of the Conſpirators themſelves oppoſed it for this reaſon, they knew, that if he ſhould once come out of the Tower, he would rule the reſt, and it may be put ſome of their Noſes out of joint, ſo at laſt the debate was adjourned till ſome other ſhort day. The Commons they fall roundly to the buſineſs, and were reſolved to let ſlip no time, but preſently fell upon the Conſiderations of ſecuring the Nation from Popery, and as a leading Card thereto, began to examin the matter of *Fitzharris*, which being reported to the Houſe, and Sir *W. Waller* reading the Paper, and giving them an account of the Caſe, and the Houſe hearing of his being removed from *Newgate* to the *Tower*, in order as was ſuppoſed to ſtifle the Diſcovery of his Imployers in this black deſign by the privately trying and executing him, to prevent which they reſolve to impeach him, and ſo bring him up to *Oxford*, that thereby the whole Roguery might be diſcovered, but the day before this Concluſion was taken, the Houſe fall upon the ſecuring the Nation from Popery, and after many *Debates* and *Experiments* propounded in the Houſe by the Courtiers and others, who would have put off this for a time, they came to the ſame reſolution, that the laſt Parliament did, that there was no way ſo effectual, as to diſable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the *Imperial* Crown of this Realm, which being paſſed into a Vote it was ſoon known to the Court, and the Conſpirators preſently reſolved thier Debates ſhould not be long, and *Fitzharris* his buſineſs being alſo the next

day

day agreed upon and the Impeachment ordered to be carryed up to the Houſe of Peers by Sir. *Lionel Jenkins*, who had ſtrongly oppoſed his being impeached, as well as refuſed the Meſſage, but at laſt being forced to it tho ſuch an unwelcome Office it was done, and the Impeachment lodged with the Houſe of Peers in the uſual manner, which was no ſooner brought into the Houſe of Peers, but the Conſpirators were as ready to throw it out again; and therefore the new Attorny General Sr. *Robert Sawyer* had Inſtruction overnight from ſome of the Conſpirators to inform the Houſe that he had order to indict *Fitzharris*, and that care was taken to have him tryed by the Common Law at the Kings Suit, intimating to the Houſe as if there were no need for their Lordſhips to trouble themſelves with any Impeachment, Sir *Robert* having opened to that effect, there wanted not ſome to carry it on farther in the Houſe, for the Conſpirators flew like Lightning up and down the Houſe, labouring to corroborate what wiſe Sr *Robert* had ſo learnedly declared, that it was not fit to trouble the Houſe with impeaching of *Fitzharris* in regard the Common Law was fitter for the purpoſe, ſo divers Speeches were made in the Lords Houſe to this effect, That *Fitzharris* being but a mean Commoner, and the matters being of no weighty concernment to the Nation it were better to refer him to the Common Law at this time, urging alſo, that they had weightier affairs in hand than to be troubled with ſuch a Tryal, that it was in the choice of that Houſe to accept or reject Impeachments, and his Veracity tho bred a Lawyer yet had no more wit or honeſty than to inſiſt upon an old Record of Parliament to make good that Aſſertion, that the Houſe of Lords ſhould not be driven to try by Impeachment Commoners, but at their own pleaſure, which ſuppoſed Act being looked into was as far from the matter as light from darkneſs, for that record was only made to bar the King from impeaching Commoners at his pleaſure, which was found a great grievance then to the *Subject*, but had not one word in it relating to the Impeachments brought by the Commons *ſecundum uſum Parliamenti*, but only, that the King ſhould not alter or force the Lords to judge of ſuch matters, as by the Common Law remedy might be had, in regard the Common Law provided Commoners to be tryed *per pares*, but his Veracity being confronted, and told by other Lords he miſtook the caſe, and likewiſe urged the right of the Commons to impeach before them, and that they could not deny without denial of Juſtice, and farther urging that theſe ways of Proceedings to reject Impeachments when brought up by the Commons, was ſuch a deviſe that was never yet heard of, and a perfect denying the Commons ſuit which was not according to the conſtitution of the Government and Laws of Parliament, which mightily differed from all other Law.

Yet notwithſtanding the plainneſs of the Caſe, and ſuch reaſons urged as were not to be anſwer'd, all was in vain, for the thing was concluded upon by the Conſpirators the night before at *Chriſt Church* that the Impeachment muſt be thrown out, and the *Parliament* too; rather than ſuffer that piece of villany to be raked into by a Committee of *Parliament* and therefore out it went; for it being put to the queſtion whether *Fitz-Harris* ſhould be Tryed upon the Impeachment of the Commons, or at the Common Law, it was carried that for this time he ſhould be Tryed by the Common Law: But the Houſe Riſing before any Order was made upon that queſtion, it remains upon the Journal of the Lords Houſe that *Fitz-Harris* ſtands yet Impeached.

The Commons now underſtanding what the Lords had done, and likewiſe having notice of *Danby*'s Petition to be Bayled, and looking into the miſcarriage of the Repeal of the 35 th. of *Elizabeth*, having heard that the Clark of the *Parliament* for his excuſe to the Lords, had layd the Saddle upon the right Steed, and not diſſembled the matter, they firſt of all deſire a Conference upon that great Point, which was granted, and then fell to conſider *Danby*'s Caſe, and to prevent the Lords Bayling him, which they had Intimation they intended; on the *Monday* or *Teuſday* following they agree to go up to the Lords Bar and demand Judgment againſt him, upon the *Plea* of his Pardon to the Impeachment, which they had ſent up to his Lordſhip but had no Anſwer, and having underſtood the Lords had carried it in their Houſe, to throw out *Fitz-Harris*'s Impeachment, they order'd the Journals of the Lords to be inſpected againſt the Afternoon, and Reſolved to Sit again that *Saturday* the 26 th. of *March*, 1681. which they did, and having full Aſſurance that it was done, and no Tract of the like in any Age, they came to this Reſolution, that the Rejecting of the Impeachment was a Denyal of the Commons Juſtice, that no inferiour Court ſhould dare to Try the ſaid *Fitz-Harris*, &c. The Conſpirators hearing what was done by the Commons, and underſtanding that *Fitz-Harris* Wife and her Maid were come to *Oxford* in order to diſcover what they knew, as they ſuppoſed, reſolved to ſtop the Commons *Carreer* early on *Monday* morning, by procuring the *Parliament* to be Diſſolved; but having Sat in Conſultation at *Chriſt Church* on *Sunday* night very late, they not only reſolved on that point, and that the ſame ſhould be kept ſecret, but to procure the King aſſoon as the thing was done, to fly out of *Oxford* to *Windſor*, as if he feared ſomething, or ſome Perſons to ſtop him; for after this *Parliament* was goue, they were

reſolved

reſolved their Projects of Plotting and Subornation ſhould take effect to take off the Heads of ſuch as ſtood in their way, before ever another *Parliament* ſhould Sit in *England*; very much of their malice being chiefly Levell'd at the Earl of *Eſſex*, *Shaftsbury*, and four or five more Lords, and ſome more of the worthieſt of the Commons, which they had a good mind to have Seized at *Oxford*, and once the *Cabal* had Reſolved on the point, but the Buſineſs of *Fitz-Harris* put them off that Reſolution; however ſince *London* was ſo well furniſhed with Able Sheriffs that they could not expect to find perjur'd Jury-men there, though they had their Witneſſes ready, yet at *Oxford* they had a Sheriff fit for their Turn, and no ſooner was the blaſt of Royal Breath given on *Monday* morning following for the Diſſolution, which was very Surprizing to the Commons: but immediately the Conſpirators Set their Deſigns on foot, for the Framing their Intended *Sham-Plot* to be Acted at *Oxford*, yet to Clap up any there, ſo ſoon after the Diſſolution they thought it not adviſeable, but firſt of all go back to *London*, and do things by degrees, having now time enough; and beſides, it was thought neceſſary firſt to deceive the people a little more, by making out ſome pretences for the Diſſolving the two laſt *Parliaments*: The Conſpirators being now come to *London* began to lay about them might and main, firſt by their little Emiſſaries, as Scriblers and the like, to villifie and reproach the two laſt *Parliaments*, and to back that, and to put a better gloſs upon the diſſolutions, the L. *Hx.* and the reſt of the Conſpirators get a Paper Signed by *Guin* one of the Clarks of the Councel, in the Nature of a Declaration, of the Cauſe and Reaſons for the Diſſolving the two laſt *Parliaments*, as if the ſame had been put out by the King and Councel; in which Papers were ſome plauſible pretences, but many ſcurrilous reflections upon the *Parliament*, as well as the breach of the *Act* of *Indempnity*, which the Authors of the Paper did; and this going out in ſuch a Dreſs, as if done by Authority, with *Guin*'s hand to it, was a Leading Card for all the Popiſh Scriblers, as well as the High-flown *Yorkiſts*, which now began to appear bare-fac'd, to follow and do the ſame in a ten times worſe manner, (if poſſible) ſo that now from the time of the Diſſolution to this day, the Conſpirators have found it one of their beſt Inſtruments for the carrying on their Grand Plot and Deſign to Libel and revile by Printing and Scribling the very Memory of *Parliaments*, and reproaching all men not of their Stamp, with a Reproachful Name of either *Fanatick* or *Whigg*, intending thereby to Root up the Ancient Government and ſhackle the people; and this Paper Signed by *Guin* he directs it to

be Read and Publiſhed in all Pariſh-Churches throughout *England* which was directed to our *Crapegownorums*, the generality of theſe Black-coats lipping at this Paper, as if an Angel from Heaven had ſent them ſome notable thing, (nothing being ſo welcome) to theſe poor wretches, as ſuch a thing that cries down *Parliaments*, and the Rights and Properties of the people, for they pretended not to know any God but the King, nor to enioy any thing but at his pleaſure *jure divino* being their word; but the Conſpirators being at *libitum* and free both in their thoughts and Actions, and having nothing to fear from a *Parliament*, they now in a formal manner as a Committee, Sit every day in Conſultation at *White-Hall*, either at *Jenkin*'s Chamber or elſewhere, to compleat their Plot and Conſpiracies; in the firſt place it was Reſolved to Hang *Fitz-Harris* out of hand if they could find a Judg that dared to venture; for though it may be *Scroggs* would have ventured, yet he lying under an Impeachment for Treaſon, the Preſident of the Councel and ſome others, lay at the King to turn him out of his Chief Juſtices ſhip, which the King was prevail'ed upon to do, being told he was an obnoxious man to the generallity of the people; yet for all that the Conſpirators in general had no mind to part with him, unleſs they could be ſure to find a Tool for their Turn to do this Job on *Fitz-Harris*: His *Veracity* being Conſulted by the Conſpirators, who was fit for the place, His *Veracity* directed them to Sr. *Francis Pemberton*, but he was miſtruſted by the Conſpirators, and the generality of them were againſt him to be Chief-Juſtice, urging that he would never be fit for their Turn, being a man in ſuch great Reputation and practice, that he could not ſtand in need of relying upon them for his place when in it, for none was ſo fit for their Turn as mercenary and poor Raſcals, and that they judged him to be of a contrary temper; His *Veracity* was of a contrary mind, and gave it as his opinion, that he was the only man, and doubted not but he was ready to Serve, and being once in that place, did not doubt but he would be very Serviceable to His Majeſties Intereſt; however it was concluded he ſhould at a diſtance be Sounded in the point of his thoughts as to the Trying of *Fitz-Harris*, without ſaying any thing to him of the Place; this one of the Conſpirators undertook to do, which was the *M.* of *W.* a great Intimate of *Pembertons*, and one that much delighted in his company, accordingly he viſits *Pemberton* at his Chamber, and in diſcourſe asks him, what he thought of the Vote of the Houſe of Commons, relating to the Inferiour Courts not daring to Try *Fitz-Harris*, *Pemberton* cryed piſh, thoſe Votes were no Law, and he ſaw nothing in it

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at all, but that he might be Tryed if the King had a mind to it; then the *M.* of *W.* went farther and told him he would not venture to do it if he were in the place, *Pemberton* cries out, but he would, and so the *M.* came away extreamly well satisfied with the opinion he found *Pemberton* in, and immediately goes to the reſt of his Companions at *White-Hall*, and tells them, he would undertake for *Pemberton* that he ſhould do the Work; whereupon one of them cries is it ſo? *Godsfiſh* he ſhall be the Chief Juſtice; this being Concluded upon the Commiſſion is Sealed a little before *Eaſter Term* without *Pemberton*'s knowledg and is ſent him, and *Scroggs* honourably layd by, his Son being Knighted and made one of the Kings Councel, and a (wiſe one too)

Pemberton being now made Chief Juſtice all of a ſuddain, ſtartled all men but thoſe that knew him throughly, and they cryed Sr. *Francis Pemberton* is made my Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, and ſo it proved; the *M.* of *W.* who had been the chief in getting him to that Imployment with divers others of the Conſpirators, they viſit him and congratulate him in this great Imployment.

But to Blind the World that all things might go the ſmoother on the *Iriſh Plot* is ſtill pretended to be ſearched into, and the *Iriſh men* they ſtill Buz about the Lord *Shaftsbury* like Bees, egging him on to put them in a way how to preſerve their Evidence, and to get him to Intercede at the Court that they might be provided for, which His Lordſhip was ready enough to do, not knowing the Snare that was layd for Him by the L *Hx.* and the reſt of the Conſpirators, for the Conſpirators put the *Iriſhmen* upon complaining to him, and to get their pardons that they might have the better Advantage, and ſome plauſible pretence hereafter in producing theſe *Iriſh Cattel* as Witneſſes againſt him when the thing was ripe.

And now before the Term came to give a Sanction to *Guins* Paper purporting a Declaration, the Lord *Hx.* and the reſt of the Conſpirators contrive throughout all the Shires and Burroughs almoſt of *England*, Addreſſes in the nature of Thanks to His Majeſty for Diſſolving the laſt *Parliament*, but generally they were worded to thank His Majeſty for his Expreſſions that he would Govern according to Law, as if it had been his meer grace ſo to do and not his Duty, but that the Conſpirators chiefly aimed at, was to beat down the eſteem of the Government in three Eſtates, and ſet upan Arbitrary and Deſpotick power Paramount; the Law and Government of *England*, and turn the Government upſide down; and with this Invention ſtruck in all our hot-headed Churchmen, for they were as

diligent

diligent as bees to get ſuch *Addreſſes* ſigned, altho with all their labour, and power of the Juſtices and *Militia men* of the *Country*, yet but few hands were got, tho a mighty noiſe was made by the *Gazetts*, for many of the ſober *Gentry* and *Freeholders* eaſily perceived the cheat, that it was done by the *Conſpirators* to make the people out of love with *Parliaments*, and thereby to unhinge the *Government*, which was the chief part of the *Conſpiracy*, that had been carried on ſo long, but was now mightily diſcerned: for tho the *Conſpirators* and *Courtiers* at *Whitehall* cryed up theſe *Addreſſes* ſo high, and put ſuch an eſtimable value upon them, eſpecially ſuch men of the ſize of the Lord *H——x*, yet at laſt, they themſelves began to ſay, *They could not ſo much reſt upon the credit of the Addreſſers as to call a Parliament*, notwithſtanding ſome of the hot ſpurs believed by the Multitude of *Addreſſors*, they had the people in ſuch a kew, that they could have what Parliament men they pleaſed.

And now the Conſpirators in their Committee, having corrupted and bribed all the *Iriſh*, that were not before corrupted, and having anvelled out a *Proteſtant Plot* to be proved by *Popiſh* Evidence or at leaſt but newly converted by the Lord *H———x* and the reſt of the Committee by the Omnipotent power of Money, and the help of Juſtice *Warcup*, and *Fitz-gerrald*, who were the great Agents in this Work, the Conſpirators ordered the matter ſo, that tho theſe *Iriſh Evidence* were in with them, and ſworn to the work, and to be ready at a beck, they ſhould ſtill viſit *Alderſgate* and the *City*, and indeavour to get maintenance from them, and allowed them to rail a little againſt the Court, for not better providing for them, which they did for ſome time, and *Warcup* having provided the Tool for ſwearing as the Grand Committee had appointed, and the Conſpirators having a great mind to act the ſcene here, put the Petty Juſtices of *Middleſex* upon petitioning his Majeſty, that for time to come, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to prick a Sheriff for *Middleſex*, like other Counties, that London might no more enjoy that priviledge, which the Conſpirators ſaw was now like to be a great thorn in their ſides, as to the Villany they had in hand, for tho they had agreed to lay ſome part of their pretended *Plot* againſt the *Proteſtants* at *Oxford*, yet the bulk of it muſt be laid here, otherwiſe the Evidence could not be believed with any handſom face, becauſe that at *Oxford* the ſtay was ſhort, and but few of the *Iriſh* breed were there: this motion being therefore made by the Juſtices, tho the zeal was liked well, yet were told that point reſted upon Law, that it muſt be determined judiciouſly before any thing elſe could be done: So now Eaſter Term 1681. comes on, and all the talk is that *Fitzharris* ſhall be tryed, notwithſtanding the Impeachment: for before he is hanged out of the way, the Conſpirators

ſpirators thought not fit farther to go on, or to ſpring their *Sham Plot* for fear of its miſcarrying again, they being reſolved, and having built it upon the foot and the ſame bottom of what *Fitzharris* by their direction had contrived, ſo now all hands to work to get him tryed, and the Term being come, and the grand Juries for three ſeveral Hundreds of *Middleſex* being ſworn, which were men of wealth and Parts, ſuch as the Conſpirators did not well reliſh, for it began to be now a queſtion, if an Indictment ſhould be brought againſt *Fitzharris* at the Suit of the King being impeached before by the Commons, would be found or not, however they were reſolved to venture it; but before any Indictment was brought it was thought neceſſary to fetch up Sir *William Waller* and *Everard* and *Iriſh Smith* alias *Barry* to ſee if they would give their *Evidence* againſt him now: and tho all theſe three men knew he was impeached, and had boaſted themſelves they would never give any Evidence, but in Parliament; yet they all being ſummoned to the Council, either entred into Recognizance to give their Teſtimony, or elſe ſuch promiſes as were relyed on, and Sir *William*, among the reſt, altho he was one of the Houſe of Commons and helped to impeach him, and agreed to the Votes that followed, and tho he had a good excuſe to have not been in the way, which was his being plunged over head and ears in debt yet he as readily appeared, as the forwardeſt of them all out of hopes of a *Protection*, and a match for his Son for *Chiffins* Daughter: a meer decoy to ketch a Fool: yet he miſſed not all he was promiſed, for a *Protection* he had from the Court of *Chancery* with abundance of love, yet that laſted no longer than till the Tryal was over.

Matters being thus prepared, and the *Attorney General* obſerving there were many worthy and knowing Gentlemen upon the Grand Jury, that uſed to do the buſineſs of the *Kings Bench*, thought it not fit to bring the Indictment againſt *Fitzharris* there, leaſt they ſhould reject it, upon the point of the Impeachment, and therefore very ſilently carries it to the *Edmington hundred* Grand Jury, who only uſed to preſent the High ways, and ſuch like *Preſentments*, ſome of them ſtarted at it; but ſo diligent was our new willing Attorney, and our fine Sollicitor, that they themſelves come to the Country Jurymen, and ſollicited their finding this Indictment, and made fine Speeches to the Jury, but Sir *Edmund Bury Godfreys* Brother happening to be the Foreman gave a little ſtop to it until he adviſed upon the point with the Court of Kings Bench, and alſo by Councel moved, That *Fitzharris* might be examined about the Murder of his Brother, but the Court of Kings Bench left it flat upon the Jury, that they muſt and ought to find the Bill, if brought to them, and not to take notice of any thing of the Impeachment, which made

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the Conſpirators highly value their new Lord Chief Juſtice, his colour then beginning to be tranſparent: ſo at laſt the Jury find the Bill upon the Evidence of *Walter*, *Everard* and *Barry Smith*.

This being over *Fitzharris* is brought from the Tower to plead, but ſome both out of love to the Intereſt of the Commons of *England*, and to vindicate their right, had drawn a Paper purporting a Plea to the Juriſdiction of that Court, that he was impeached by Parliament, his cauſe being there, he ought not to be tryed by any inferior Court, which Paper being given into the hand by his Wife, he offered his Plea, and demanded Council to be aſſigned him in the beſt terms he underſtood, he never being ſuffered to have any living Soul come at him, but the keepers or the Lieutenant ſometimes to terrify him and damn him for ſpoiling ſuch a hopeful deſign, the Court at laſt did order him Council to be ready within three days both to ſign his Plea and argue it, the Council he prayed, were *Sir Franci. Winnington*, Mr *Williams*, Mr. *Pollexfen* and Mr. *Wallop*, who excepted the Imployment, provided they might have longer time to finiſh his Plea, and a Sollicitor to aſſiſt them, with much ado it was granted, and two or three more days time was given and leave given, that Mr. *Whitaker* might be the Sollicitor between the *Council* and the *Priſoner*, but not to be ſuffered to ſee him alone, the *Plea* being perfected, and ſigned by thoſe four *Council*, it came to be argued upon Mr. *Attorney Generals Demurrer*, which by the Lawyers was looked upon not to have been the beſt way for Mr. *Attorney*, however the Argument, tho by moſt By-ſtanders the *Pleas* were thought to be ſufficient, yet after two or three days time of conſideration thereof, the Judges gave their opinion againſt the Plea, but without any reaſon ſhewn, notwithſtanding the many brave reaſons were offered them to the contrary by thoſe learned Council: and *Fitzharris* is ordered to plead over, which He did, *Not guilty*, and had time for *Tryal* till next Term, about three weeks after, but he being in Court, and preſſing to be examined about what he had to ſay about the Murder of *Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey*, and the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*, he was told by the Court, *They could do nothing in it*; but a day or two after, upon the motion of Mr *Godfreys* Council, that he might be brought up to the *Grand Jury* to give his *Teſtimony* upon a Bill of *Indictment* againſt the Earl of *Danby*, touching the Murder of Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, it was allowed, that he might be brought up to the *Court*, and in open *Court*, give in his *Evidence* to the *Grand Jury*, but not be ſuffered to be examined privately by the *Grand Jury*; for the *Conſpirators* feared if the *Grand Jury* ſhould have been alone, he might diſcover yet ſomething to them, which they were unwilling ſhould come to *Light*, ſo he is brought to the *Court*, and

there

there gives his *Teſtimony* againſt *Danby*, *That he had heard Danby ſay, he had ſent Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey of a long Errand*, or to that purpoſe ſo the *Indictment* was found as acceſſary to the Murder.

But now the time of *Midſummer* drew on, when the Sheriffs of *London* were to be choſen for the year enſuing, therefore the *Conſpirators* might and main labour the point again to carry a couple of Sheriffs fit for their *Service* this year, for every thing now favoured their deſigns only this one thing of *Sheriffs*, without which little good was to be expected, therefore their Emiſſaries are ſent into every corner to make Parties for *Box* and *Nicholſon* again, and the great *Conſpirators* themſelves are every day in *Pauls Churchyard*, and up and down to ſtir up the people, and the *Factious Aldermen*, ſuch as *Bludworth*, *Smith*, *Pritchard*, *Edwards* and *Peak* were continually at Sir *Lionel Jenkins* his Chamber, conſulting the point, and divers of our *Factious Commoners* too, as *Loads Dodſon* and *Maſters*, and ſuch like ſtuff, they are the *Setters* and *Intellegencers*, and at laſt were ſo cock ſure of their game, that they undertake to the *Conſpirators* to carry the point for *Box*, &c.

But to return to *Fitzharris* a little, the time of his *Tryal* being near, Mr. *Attorney* moves, that the *Sheriffs* of *London* and *Middleſex* may not return the *Jury* to try him, but the *Maſter* of the *Crown Office*, and to back his *Argument* produces a *Statute* of *Hen.* 8. no more to the purpoſe than if he had produced a *Sentence* from the *Biſhops Court* for himſelf to be made a good *Lawyer*, ſo the *Chief Juſtice* told him, *that would not do*, but whereas before the *Under-Sheriff* uſed to return the *Pannel*, they would make a *Rule*, *That the High Sheriffs ſhould do it*, which they did ſo the day being come for the *Tryal* of *Fitzharris* he depended upon his witneſſes, whom he ſummoned to have ſpoke what they knew, as to his being imployed, but alaſs inſtead of any ſuch thing *Fanſhaw* and two or three more, that heard a great Man own he ſet him at work, they none of them dared appear, and for his Couſ. *Nell Wall* ſhe confeſſed, that *Fitzharris* did only tell her of a *Paper*, and the *French Dutcheſs* ſhe pretended, *That the Money given him was Charity*, and on the other hand, the witneſs againſt him they go through ſtitch, not only through an inch board, but the *Hangings* too, *That he gave the Paper to* Everard, and interlined it: ſo the Jury after their demanding of the *Court* their opinion about the *Impeachment*, and the *Court* telling them, it did not concern the matter, the Jury ſoon found him guilty, and ſo zealous were the *Conſpirators* of this Mans bloud, who had been before their Creature, and Slave, that they would not ſuffer ſo much as any to be by him to help his memory in his *Tryal*, but over and above the hardſhip of all others, the *Attorney General* challenged divers of his Jury without ſhewing a-

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any cauſe, and the reaſon of all this Cruelty to this *Iriſhman* was for no other end, but to force him to retract what he had before confeſſed, and to lay that ſcandalous *Libel* upon the L. *Howard*, whom the *Court* well knew had out of *Charity* heretofore relieved him at his *Table*, looking upon him as an harmleſs, innocent, poor man: *Fitzharris* being now condemned, the *Conſpirators* believed, that to ſave himſelf from hanging, being naturally a very timerous, fearful fellow as well as an *Iriſh man*, he would retract whatever he had ſaid before, and do what elſe they would now have him to do upon hopes of a pardon: and no ſooner was he caſt but he going to the *Tower*, he had an opportnnity to ſpeak to his Wife, that ſhe ſhould contrive the matter to ſave his life by any ways and means, for ſhe was the better intreaguer of the two by far, and the *Conſpirators* having gotten their point, by the help of their tool the Lieutenant got *Fitzharris* put out of conceit with Dr. *Burnet*, who before had leave in the *Keepers* preſence to come to *Fitzharris* for his Souls health, which they eaſily effected, for that very night he was caſt, the Lieutenant offers one *Hawkſworth* or *Hawkins* the Miniſter of the Tower to be his Prieſt inſtead of Doctor *Burnet*, which *Fitz-harris* readily accepted, and indeed was a fit tool for the purpoſe, this *Hawksworth* being both a Papiſt, and the French Dutches Chaplain, and in whoſe Houſe *Danby* lodged in the Tower and ſo by that means was ordered to put in to be his Ghoſtly Father, to fit his Soul for miſery as well as the Conſpirators had done his body for deſtruction: And by this contrivance the Prieſt though now the Parſon of the *Tower*, is Introduced to heal and cure this poor wretch, or rather to deſtroy his poor Soul; So that now Dr. *Burnet* was no more to come at him, under pretence *Fitz-Harris* cared not for his company, for the truth is, the Dr. had put things very home upon his conſcience, and had almoſt brought him over to the *Proteſtant* Religion; theſe things the Parſon of the *Tower* had in Command, firſt that he ſhould feed him up with the hopes of a Gracious pardon, then that he muſt deſerve that pardon, which is the Conſpirators uſual word, which could not be better done but by diſowning what he had ſaid againſt the E. of *Danby*, and denying his Confeſſion made in *Newgate*, and to Accuſe the Recorder Sr. *Robert Clayton* and the Sheriffs, and others of forcing that Accuſation from him, and to lay the Libell as made by the Lord *Howard*; the poor Creature to ſave his Life did as readily yield as the Prieſt could deſire it; his wife having given him an *Item* at whoſe door he ſhould lay the paper at, and alſo that ſhe and her Maid would find a way to diſcover it to the Court in ſuch a manner, as ſhe doubted not but would be well received: Accordingly ſhe came the next day to *Whitaker* who had been employed

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about his *Plea* and there tells him, that he had thrown away her husband's Life, for that he had been the cauſe of his not declaring who writ the Libell, he asks her why ſhe did ſo, and who it was, who anſwered the Lord *Howard*, whereupon without more ado leaſt he ſhould be trapan'd, having been employed as an Agent in the Tryal, he immediately tells her, he would diſcover it and ſo did to Sr. *Lionel Jenkins*, for which ſhe ſeemed to be troubled, but yet had deſigned it, whereupon ſhe and her Maid are ſeized and examined by Sr. *Lionel Jenkins*, who ſaid the ſame there, and accuſed the Lord *Howard* of giving Inſtructions for the Drawing of that Libel in their preſence; immediately ſome of the Conſpirators poſt to the *Tower*, and no leſs than His *Veracity* goes to Examin *Fitz-harris* about this matter, and *Fitz-harris* being informed that his Wife and his Maid were taken by a Meſſenger as they went from him out of the *Tower*, concluded ſhe had played her prank, and therefore was found in the ſame Story as his wife, that the Lord *Howard* made the Paper; but his *Veracity* asking how that could be, when it appeared that *Everard* and he writ it; then he told him the Lord *Howard* gave Inſtructions for the doing it, ſo they did not agree in their very firſt ſtep; but this being known abroad, came quickly to the Lord Howards ears, who inſtead of keeping out of the way, came on purpoſe into the way to be taken, knowing his own innocence, and the ridiculouſneſs of the Story: And a day or two afterwards he is Seized by a Serjeant at Arms, going by or near *Charing Croſs*, who coming before Sr. *Lionel Jenkins* is queſtioned about many things, but he drilled *Jenkins* on to ſee what he aimed at, at laſt Sr. *Lyonel* in his fore right manner told him he muſt Commit His Lordſhip to the *Tower*, which His Lordſhip told him he might if he pleaſed, and ſo theſe were the firſt fruit of the Conſpirators new invention of clapping up men upon *Sham-Plots* of their own contrivance.

And now *Midſummer* day draws near therefore all their ſtrength is put forth to get a pair of Sheriffs to return ſuch Jurys as would hang men as faſt as they would Accuſe them, therefore all hands to work; but the Conſpirators and their City-ſlaves prevailed but little, for when the day of Election came, there were near a thouſand againſt the Conſpirators choice, which mightily dampt them for the preſent, for they at *White Hall* were made believe all was their own; and *Boxe*'s health was drank there as the next Sheriff: But now before *Trinity Term* is done, the Conſpirators reſolve to ſtrike off *Howard*'s head whil'ſt the Iron is hot, and knowing the decrepidneſs of their Evidence, they thought it adviceable before they hang'd *Fitz-*

Harris to get the Bill of Indictment found againſt *Howard* upon the Teſtimony of *Fitz-Haaris*'s Wife and his Maid, and to put a better Reputation to the Jury they Summons in *Everard*, and *Barry Smith* too, and Mr. Attorney in his zeal for the Cauſe ſlips the uſual grand Jury, and he and Mr. Solicitor finds out the *Enfield* Grand Jury again, and goes up with the Bill of Indictment to them, having got Sr. *Charles Lee* a Creature of their own Foreman; but the Jury though moſt of them Countrey Gentlemen, ſoon began to ſmell the Deſign, and inſtead of Examining thoſe Witneſſes together, they examined them apart, and found that the Maid and the Miſtreſs were of two different Stories, almoſt in every point they pretended againſt the Lord *Howard*, and that the other two could ſay nothing at all againſt him, but were meerly brought to give Reputation to the other two, ſo they Concluded to Return the Bill *Ignoramus*, and order'd the Clark which was *Ward*, to Attend them the next day with the Bill to be Indorſed; but he being inſtructed by Mr. *Attorney* who afterward had no more wit than to own it to the next Grand Jury, forbids *Ward* to produce the Bill, but bid him withdraw it: This was the ſecond or third piece of new Law and Practice Mr. *Attorney* had found out; but this device miſcarrying, and *Fitz-Harris*'s Wife and Maid not being able to get the Bill found againſt His Lordſhip, it was Reſolved notwithſtanding all that they had promiſed *Fitz-Harris* and his Wife of life, yet be hanged he muſt: Now though this *Hawkins* or *Hawksworth* the Parſon had ſo far wrought upon this poor creature in Hopes of a Pardon, bidding him never diſtruſt, the never-failing mercy of a Gracious Prince, that he had got a Scheme of a Plot of thouſands of men that were to be Raiſed by the Fanaticks, and of divers Treaſonable matters which he and *Fitz-Harris* had contrived together; for now this Parſon or Prieſt was the only Conductor of Soul and Body, and the Agitator between him and *Danby* and the Conſpirators at *White-Hall*, none but this *Hawkins* being admitted to be private with *Fitz-Harris* where they were locked up in his chamber five or ſix hours together, till at laſt they got not only *Fitz-Harris*'s Renunciation of all he had ſaid before, but alſo his Acquittal of *Danby* of that he Charged them with about the murther of Sr. *Edmundbury Godfrey*, &c. *Hawksworth* ordered the matter that every thing he had ſaid before to the Recorder *&c.* was retracted, and a perfect Scheme of a *Fanatick Plot*, which the poor Creature deliver'd to *Hawkins* to carry to *Windſor*, ſaying to him, is not there enough to Save my Life; ſo to *Windſor* it is gone poſt by *Hawkins*, who produces the ſame as an extraordinary Prize indeed, and ſo much did

Hawkins

Hawkins value himſelf upon this villanous Act of Extorting things from him, though thereby to deſtroy the poor Soul, that he boaſted how far his experience in Divinity had out done Dr. *Burnet*'s, and what a miracle he had wrought; but notwithſtanding *Hawkins*'s promiſes of Mercy upon the getting theſe Papers from this poor Wretch yet when he came to *Windſor* though he found himſelf highly applauded for his zeal, and had thanks given him for getting the Papers; yet for the Pardon that could not be expected, for cryed they, he can do us no good, now it may be he will retract hereafter, but bid him hope for mercy to the very laſt; and fear not though the Rope was about his neck, which Meſſage the Villain *Hawkins* did faithfully carry to this poor Wretch, and bore him up even till he was up in the Cart, and was told, that what he had now given under his hand, had ſo far ſatisfied the Court, that care ſhould be taken for his wife and children, which mightily rejoyced the poor Creature, who was almoſt as much tormented in his thoughts for what ſhould become of them, as for his own Life; thus this poor Soul was born in hand by this *Hawkins*, and all this done ſtill to carry on the Conſpiracy; and though to deſign to damn the poor Soul of the man was wicked enough, yet that they aimed at farther was, to have this to be Publiſhed to all the World in Print after He was hanged to put an *Odium* upon Worthy perſons, and to wipe off the blemiſh and *Odium* from the Conſpirators; but at laſt within a day or two of His Execution, He was told by his wife and his Warder, it was in vain to flatter himſelf, die he muſt, which made the poor Creature almoſt diſtracted, and being bid by his wife to prepare to ſay ſomething at the Gallows, alaſs he cryed! what can I ſay that have ſo lately wronged ſo many innocent perſons; ſend for Doctor *Hawkins* that I may get the Papers back again from him, for I cannot die till I have them. *Hawkins* he comes, and *Fitz-Harris* tells Him what he heard, that he muſt die notwithſtanding all his engagements, and therefore bids him deliver back his Papers He had given him under his Hand according to his promiſe, for he could not die till he had them, having wronged ſo many innocent perſons, therefore he begged for Gods ſake they might be given him; *Hawkins* then told him He had done what he could for him, and bids him be of good comfort, never to miſtruſt the mercies of a Gracions Prince, but for His Papers they were with the Court, and if they ſhould Hear of his retracting, and unſaying what he had ſaid before, that would be worſe than anything, and loſe his Wifes and Childrens maintainance as well as his own Life; However he ſtill inſiſted to have them back again, whatever was done,

done, which was promiſed ; but the next day, which was the day before His Execution, *Hawkins* comes again, *Eitz-harris*'s Wife being preſent, and bidding her Husband prepare for Death, He cryed out in the ſame manner, How could he die that had wronged ſo many innocent men, and preſſed but to have his Papers : His Wife demands of the Doctor if her Husband could be Saved, that went out of the World with ſuch a Lie in his mouth, or at leaſt left behind him an Accuſation undetected againſt ſo many innocent men : *Hawkins* told them yes, he might be abſolved, and accordingly did abſolve him in the Wifes preſence as well as upon the Cart next day ; and the wife leaving him towards night this *Hawkins* draws a fine Speech for him in half a Sheet of paper, and having done it, they call in the Warders, and the Warders wife to witneſs that *Fitz-harris* owned that to be his Hand, and made the Warders Witneſs it ; which *Hawkins* did on purpoſe to make the World believe after he was dead, that he had given his Hand to a pretended Confeſſion, which *Hawkins* Publiſhed after his death, and made uſe of the Witneſſes name both to the Speech and the other Paper, which was two or three ſheets, which truly they knew nothing of, nor were called to witneſs to the truth of any ſuch thing ; but howerver *Fitz-harris* that night before He died, He to eaſe his Conſcience writ two Letters, one to His Wife, another to his Father, to bid them go to the Perſons He had wronged, and ask them forgiveneſs, and told her how and for what end he had given *Hawkins* thoſe Papers, out of hopes to get his life, and there diſcovering how He had been dealt with by *Hawkins*, and Sealed them up and Charged *Hawkins* for his Life to deliver them to his Wife, for no body elſe might take them, which *Hawkins* promiſed to do ; but inſtead thereof carries them to *Whitehall* where they never more were heard of ; but being Challenged for them by the woman, *Hawkins* told her, he dared not deliver them to her, but had given them to the Court, and it was her beſt way to be quiet and make no ſtir about them, leaſt ſhe disobliged the —— whom ſhe muſt now have her maintainance from, but ſhe preſſing *Hawkins* ſtill for them, at laſt was told plainly, ſhe muſt not have them, and ſhe had beſt be quiet at her perrill ; and after he was Executed and *Hawkins* by the Conſpirators Directions had Publiſhed thoſe papers in form as the laſt Confeſſion of *Fitz-harris*, his Wife finds *Hawkins* ſeeing ſuch things were Cryed of Her Husband, and demands of him if thoſe were her Husbands papers, he avows they were, then ſaid ſhe, my Husband is Damned for I know all thoſe things to be falſe ; *Hawkins* Replyes, do not fear that, for I gave him Abſolution before he de-

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parted, and from that day to this, none of thoſe Letters left for her with *Hawkins* could be received, nor could this be known but by ſome Papers ſecretly conveyed from *Fitzharris* before his Execution to his Wifes hands, and by her ſhown afterwards, by which alſo the miſerable uſage of that poor man by the Lieutenant was diſcovered, who uſed ſome time after his Condemnation to come up to him, and curſe him, bidding, *God damn him for a Rogue*, and the morning he went down ſtairs to be executed, cauſed him to be ſearched for fear he had writ ſome Papers to his Wife to give an account of *Hawkins* and the Lieutenants Roguery, and ſo they ſent the poor *Soul* out of the World in the ſtrength of *Hawkins* his Abſolution with a Lye in his mouth, thus ended that miſerable Creature.

And now the Conſpirators miſſing of their aim of two Sheriffs for their turn, they reſolve upon *Oxford* as the Scene where they intended their Subornation, and having *Fitz-harris's* Papers ſo procured by *Hawkins*, they now get an order of Council, as pretended for their publication, which was deſigned by the Conſpirators as a ground work for their further Subornation, and therefore now the Committy that ſat at *White-Hall* they call in all their *Iriſh* Cattle to ſettle the matter of the Evidence, every man of them having his Leſſon given him, what Province he ſhould Act in, Juſtice *Warcop* being the guide to the Inferiors, and ſuch as had been moſt converſant at the Lord *Shaftsburies*, was to ſwear Treaſon againſt him, and ſuch as had any ways got relief from Mr. *Rouſe*, who gathered the charity of ſeveral people to releive theſe *Iriſh* men from ſtarving, they ſhould give Evidence againſt him, as if the money he pretended to have to relieve them, was the money raiſed to carry on a Rebellion againſt the King; this the Committee thought would be colour enough with *Hawkins's* pretended Papers to do well at *Oxford* tho not here, then the Province aſſigned for *Fitz-harris's* Wife and Maid, was to charge ſome of the chief of the City as well as the Lord *Shaftsbury* and *Howard*, with treating with her at *Oxford* and at *London*, about reviling the King for not giving her Husband a pardon, and for not ſuffering the Parliament to ſit, and a great deal more of ſuch like ſtuff, and particularly to charge *Steven College* and *Rouſe* with deſigning to levy War againſt the King, *Rouſe* being the Treaſurer, and *College* the Captain influenced by *Shaftsbury* and his Friends, and to back this they had *Turberoil* and his Gang, *Dudgdale* who ſaw *College* at *Oxford* and heard him ſay treaſonable words there, and his having a pair of Piſtols and a Sword was a ſufficient Teſtimony of a warlike poſture, in this Committee of Subornation was the *L. H.* and *Jenkins*, *L. Hx.* Mr. *S.* and the *L. C.* and one more, who did more in this

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and all other villanies then all the reſt, (but mum for that) ſo this Committee having ſettled the matter, and a Gentleman in the World well approving all that was done, the next ſtep was, the Committee ſetled a Sallery upon all the Evidence, *Barry Smith* was to have all his Arrears, and *Dugdale* the ſame, and the Sallery to go on, *Turbervile* was to have the ſame allowance with *Dugdale*, *Fitz-Gerald* was to have all neceſſary money he wanted for the bringing the Evidence in, and preſent ſupplies to ſuch as could be got to take part in this Villany, for he and *Warcop* were the chief tools that the Committee made uſe of to bring in the *Iriſh* men; then the *Macknamarres* one of them had about 40*s. per* Week, and the other but 20*s. Heyns* and *Denis* about the ſame, But *Fitz-haris*'s Wife had allowed her 15*l per* Month, and the Maid 20*s. per* Week, ſome of the Inferior Witneſſes had but 12*s. per* Week, as *Euſtas*, *Cummings* who had no more; the next ſtep was to know how to come at *Shaftsbury* beſt, therefore it was concluded no way ſo ſafe as to take *College*, who was an active man in helping the *Iriſh* men to be introduced to his Lordſhip, to diſcover the *Iriſh* Plot, and therefore to begin with him and *Rouſe* was thought to be the beſt way, ſo *Rouſe* he is ſent for, and his Papers ſeized, and committed to the Tower, after a long Examinatiou about his payment of money to the *Iriſh* men which was then imputed for the levying of War, *Rouſe* confeſſed he had given thoſe Creatures ſome money out of Charity to keep them from ſtarving, but he knew nothing elſe; the next is *College*, he is taken and his Papers ſeized, and he is preſſed by the Conſpirators to accuſe *Shaftsbury*, &c. of a Plot or deſign to ſeize the King at *Oxford*, *College* he knows nothing of the matter, and away he goes to the Tower: next is the Lord *Shaftsbury*, he is ſeized, and his Houſe ſearched, and all his Papers carried away without marking, or account taken of them, as he deſired, he is brought to the Council, and told of *High Treaſon* ſwore againſt him, he tells them, they themſelves knew other things, and this device would be detected, for they themſelves did not believe what they now asked him about, well he is gone to, and all cloſe Priſoners to the Tower, and now the Conſpirators had gained a mighty point, and all imaginable care is taken, both by the *Gazette*, and all other *Pamphlets* to publiſh *Shaftsbury*'s and the reſt being in the *Tower* for *High Treaſon* as poſſible can be, and great Joy conceived by all the *Papiſts* and *Tories*, both in City and Country, and a Currier immediately ſent to *Scotland* to give an account of *Shaftsburys* being clapped up, which the Conſpirators made uſe of as well to awe the *Scots* againſt the next Parliament there, as for other deſigns to let the French King ſee our Greatneſs, and the Duke found it very beneficial that *Summer* to the better carrying on his

deſigns

deſigns there in that Parliament, for now both in *England* and *Scotland* every honeſt man that had but oppoſed Popery and the curſed Deſigns on foot, for the rooting up liberty and property, was in danger of being murthered by Subornation here, or by Book blowing in *Scotland*.

But the Seſſions for *London* and *Middleſex* being began, *Whitaker* is imployed to endeavour to fetch out the Priſoners upon the Act, and therefore is very buſy getting the Seſſions moved, that he might be either Tryed or bailed this Seſſions, to prevent which, it is given out the Tower is not withing the compaſs of the Courts of *London* or *Middleſex*, but hangs in the air, and no body nor no Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* can reach it; and to juſtifie this as well as to get a Grand Jury fit for the work, to find Indictments upon theſe perjured villains Evidence; Mr. Attorney comes down himſelf every day to the Bench, and ſwaggers at the Sheriffs like an Emperor, and piſhes at endeavouring to make the Tower to be within the compaſſes of *London* and *Middleſex*, and the Attorney tells the Court they had Indictments, when they had a good Jury, and tells *Whitaker* then there would be work enough for him too, and Council moving at *Hickſes Hall* to have the Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminier* read, in order to pray the Priſoners may be tryed or bailed, was poſitively refuſed, wiſe Sir *William Smith*, the Chairman, pretending there was another Commiſſion under the Seal, which ſuperſeded that, and therefore muſt not be read.

Then the *Conſpirators* agreed that an Indictment ſhould be preferred againſt *College*, and all the reſt this Seſſions, if they could get the Jury to credit the Evidence, which they doubted not now, having ſo well ordered and fitted all things, that they thought it was almoſt impoſſible to miſcarry, and the reaſon why they would puſh it on ſo ſoon was that in caſe they ſhould not get it found here againſt *College*, that they might not ſlip the Aſſizes at *Oxford*, but to take all rubs out of the way, the Conſpirators reſolve to clap up *Whitaker*, as ſafe as the reſt, that he might not be aſſiſting the *Priſoners* any longer, nor diſcover their Intreagues the Attorney General being very deſirous that troubleſom Fellow might be taken out of the way: for *Barry Smith* told the Conſpirators, that this *Whitaker* would be a continual thorn in their ſides: ſo the day before the Indictment was come againſt *College* by the *Attorneys* deſire a Warrant is alſo granted for High Treaſons to ſeize *Whitaker*: and the next morning by five of the Clock he is ſeized by two Meſſengers with the Warrant only of Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, he ſeeing *Jenkins* his name only to the Warrant bid the Meſſengers call a Conſtable, if they had any thing to ſay to him, which they did and ſearched his houſe for Papers, which being done, *Whitaker* bids the Conſtable take charge of him, and carry

him to a City Magiſtrate and the Meſſengers too, which being done, and the Lord Maior being the Magiſtrate next him: he makes his Complaint to the Maior, that he being a Citizen and Inhabitant of *London* had been aſſaulted and ſeized by two men, calling themſelves Meſſengers, under colour of a Warrant from one *L. Jenkins*, whom they ſay, quoth he, is a *Secretary of State*, but if ſo, he was ſure he was no Alderman of *London*, nor *Magiſtrate* there, and that there was no Ward in *London* as did own ſuch an Alderman as *Lionel Jenkins*, and therefore tho the pretence made by theſe Fellows with *L. Jenkinſes* Warrant, mentioned *High Treaſon*, yet they had no power here, being directly againſt the Charter of *London*, and the Law of the Land, which provides that neither the King nor his *Miniſters* ſhall execute any *Warrant* or *judicial Power* in *London*, but only the Magiſtrates, or to that purpoſe, this he aſſerted was the Law, and he ought not to be ſeized, held, moleſted, or carryed out of the City againſt his will without judicial Proceſs of Law, and therefore did he ſurrender himſelf into his Lordſhips hands, and demanded the protection of the City, and not to be forced againſt his *Will*, but if he had done any thing, that did appear to be a crime againſt the Law before him, or any other of the City Magiſtrates, that was not bailable, he might be ſent to the Common Goal of *Newgate* according to the Law of the Land and not forced out of the City contrary to Law, the Maior and Sheriffs being by, his Lordſhip ordered *Whitaker* to be put into the hands of his own Officers, and him and the Meſſengers to be brought to him and the *Recorder* to the *Old Baily*, where they being come, he told the Recorder his mind before the Lord Maior, as before, and demanded of them as Magiſtrates of the City to be protected, and not ſent out of the City contrary to Law, the *Recorder* confeſſed it was Law, that he ſaid, that Warrants could not paſs here, but from the City Magiſtrates, nor could Warrants be executed here but by the City Officers, and ordered him to be kept in the City Officers hands till the Chief Juſtice was conſulted, who was to come to the Bench that day, he being come, and the matter debated among them, and the Chief Juſtice declining his opinion, the Maior and *Recorder* for all this out of fear delivered *Whitaker* up at laſt, and ſo to *Whitehall* he is carried, where after ſome time, the Committee in *Jenkinſes* Chamber is ſet, and in a very formal manner, to Examin *Whitaker*, ſo in he comes, but inſtead of making long work, he was ſoon examined, for he told them, he would anſwer none of their queſtions, he knew for what end they had ſecured him, to take him out of the way, that he might not ſerve his Clients, the Lords in the Tower, and bid them write down their queſtions, and if he liked them, he would anſwer them altogether, and told them, that he knew by

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the Law He ought to be ſent to the Common Gaol of the County, and there demanded to be ſent, and not to the *Tower*, his Quality not being great enough for ſuch a place, nor would his Purſe hold out, but away he is ſent to the *Tower*, and kept a cloſe Priſoner, notwithſtanding all the means uſed by Petitions to the contrary, for the whole time of five months.

So this troubleſom Fellow being ſafe too, then in comes the Indictment againſt *Colledge* to the Grand Jury, but to ſhew the difference betwixt Truth and Falſhood, and between true Teſtimony and Subornation; a new Invention is found out by Mr. Attorney, and Allowed in Court, though againſt the Expreſs Oath of a Jury-man and the Law, that the Witneſſes to prove the Indictment to the Grand-Jury muſt be all examined in Court, which was contrived by the Conſpirators, to prevent the Grand Jury's diſcovering the *Perjury* in asking of croſs-queſtions, and examining them apart for now it was given for Law that the Grand-Jury ought not only to Reveal the Kings Secrets and their own contrary to the Oath they take, but alſo that no croſs queſtions ought to be asked the Witneſſes, but what the Judges approved of; the Jury ſeeing themſelves thus beſet in this new way, ſuſpected ſomthing, (as well they might) more than ordinary; ſo after all the *Iriſh-Cattel* and the reſt of the Suborned Crew were Examined in Court, the Jury deſired they might be examined again by themſelves ſingly, which with much ado was Granted, where being Examined, ſome of them ingeniouſly confeſſed, they were Hired to this Villany, and others ſo intrapped themſelves and contradicted their former Stories in the Court, that the Jury brought in the Bill *Ignoramus*, which ſtruck a great damp upon the Conſpirators, for News being brought to *Whitehall*, they looked extreamly concerned, that they ſhould have no better Succeſs in their firſt Attempt: But to retrieve that and their Credit, as well as the Credit of their Evidence, who now were well Accoutred, and appeared litle Princes in their Habits, they reſolve to Try *Oxford* with the like Indictment againſt *Colledge*, and it was debated among the Conſpirators, whether at the ſame time they ſhould not venture an Indictment againſt *Shaftsbury* and *Howard* and the reſt; but ſome wiſer than the reſt, cryed by no means againſt any but *Colledge* at the firſt, for if they could carry him, they doubted not but he to Save his own life, (if he were condemned) would eaſily be brought to turn Evidence himſelf againſt *Shaftsbury*; and beſides, though it was true the High Sheriff of *Oxford* was their own, by the *L. Ns.* means, whom they knew would return a Jury that would do

it, yet the Papers they intended to make uſe of againſt the Earl being ſuppoſed to be taken in his Houſe in *Aldersgate-ſtreet* could not look ſo well at *Oxford*, unleſs they had Seized ſome there; beſides moſt of the *Iriſh Cattel* were not at *Oxford*, or at leaſt if any of them were, they were never in the Earls company, ſo they agreed at laſt it ſhould be only *Colledge*, and none elſe, where the Indictment being brought to that Grand Jury, they made no Bones of it but Found it readily, pricked out for the purpoſe, which made a great rejoycing among the Conſpirators, and an Expreſs ſent to *Windſor* by young *Warcop* to give an Account; whereupon a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to Judg *North* and *Jones* and others is Seal'd, in this Interim of time *Fitz-harris*'s wife being pricked in conſcience as pretended, leaves the Court, and diſcovers all the Intreagues with Her Oath to a Magiſtrate in *London*, and coming to give her Teſtimony, the *Sword-bearer* who is a Spy upon the *Mayor*, and the City, and gives continual Information to the Conſpirators at *Whitehall*, gives immediately Information of Mrs. *Fitz-harris*'s appearing in *London* before a Magiſtrate, whereupon ſhe is diligently ſearched after, but not taken, and the Hundred pounds Mr. *Seymour* was to procure her for her extraordinary Service againſt ſhe went down to *Oxford* with the reſt, is loſt; this going away of *Fitz-harris*'s wife from the Crew of Swearers, put the Conſpirators a little out of their Geer, as to the Indicting of *Shaftsbury* at *Oxford*: However on they go, to Try *Colledge*, and carry him out of the *Tower* by ſtealth on *Sunday* night at ten of the clock, and convey him by the Troops to *Oxford* privately, where he being come and the Judges, he is Arraigned; but as He is going to the Court to be Tryed, is ſearched by the Meſſengers and all His Papers taken from him, wherein were his Notes to help him in his Tryal te make his Defence, and there being miſdomeanour in his Indictment, as well as High Treaſon, His Papers gave him ſome directions to Plead ſpecially, or ſome ſuch thing, but loſing them, and the Court refuſing them to be returned, though divers times urged and inſiſted on, he was at laſt when they denyed him every thing, forced to Plead not Guilty, and a right Jury being Returned for tbe purpoſe, though He made an extraordinary Defence for himſelf, inſomuch that the Conſpirators themſelves diſpared of the Succeſs, yet the Jury brought him in guilty, who patiently ſubmitted; but the taking away of his Papers was the main cauſe he was Caſt; ſo a Poſt is immediately ſent to the Court, to give an Account of the joyful News; and now the Conſpirators by the Help and hard labour of this Juſtice *W.* who was their chief

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Inſtrument of fitting, framing, and compiling this whole Subornation were very much elevated, and the Town and Countrey Rang of the *Proteſtant Plot*, the Scriblers night and day at work, and the *Gazette* trumpeting forth the Horrid Conſpiracy, (though indeed) nothing farther then words of High Treaſon were Preſented to be proved by theſe Evidences againſt this ſingle man, and all the Conſpiracy appeared upon the whole Tryal, was only he with his Horſe and himſelf and his pair of Piſtols and his Sword were at *Oxford*; after the *Sentence* a Meſſage is ſent him, that if he would confeſs (as the Conſpirators called it) that was, Accuſe the Lord *Shaftsbury*, &c. he ſhould be pardoned and flouriſh; but ſuch Meſſages he deſpiſed, and gave them ſuch Anſwers, that they ſoon were a weary of tempting him, and to the Gallows he muſt go, which he did, and died like a ſtout and good Chriſtian, even to the Admiration of Friends and Foes.

The Conſpirators having thus far ſucceeded, they diſpatch the News into *Scotland*, where it is received very Graciouſly, and ſtrict Orders are given to go on, and once it was reſolved to have a new Commiſſion to *Oxford* to proceed, but their Hearts failed them, which was much occaſioned by the want of Mrs. *Fitz-harris*, and *Colledges*'s Death had rather done them Hurt than Good.

At this time the Affairs in *Scotland* go on to the Conſpirators full content, though with much Labour and Pains; which, to give them their due, they never ſpare in bringing their wicked devices to perfection; and now the Conſpirators thought it good Policy and their beſt way, to make ſure of ſomething, that if *England* ſhould be too hard for them, yet they reſolved to make ſure of *Scotland*, and to Repeal thoſe Laws in Force, which did Debar a *Popiſh Prince* from Inheriting that Crown; therefore they get a *Parliament* Called there and the Duke of *York* is High Commiſſioner, who after the Point was well Labour'd, both to chuſe the Commons, and to Cajole ſome of the Lords, and intice *Hamilton* and others to believe their *Littany*, and truſt them for the future; the Duke of *York* He enters the *Parliament* as Commiſſioner without regarding the Law, or the due Quallifications neceſſary in taking the Oaths: Being furniſhed with Letters to the Councel there to Admit him of the Councel and all other things without taking the Oaths, and being got in the Houſe, carries all before him, gets the Succeſſion to the Crown there Secured by an Act, gets a Teſt paſſed, by which all were to Swear, not to endeavour to Alter the Government, either in Church or State, and all ſuch as refuſed to Looſe their Employments; in a word made ry thing paſs he had a mind to.

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Hamilton and the reſt that pretended much Honour for the *Proteſtant Religion*, being wheedled and admitted into the Council, they all are as cool as can be, and the Parliament riſing after they had conſi n d every thing that was deſired, the Duke rides triumphant, and the *Diſſenters* there ſqueezed to death, all imaginary ſeverities b ing uſed towards them, and great Endeavours for a ſtanding Army under the notion to ſecure the Peace againſt thoſe *Diſſenters* and *Field Meeters*, but tho that point had been much laboured, yet came not up ſo fully to the Dukes content as he would have it, and now *Lau herdale* altho ſo lately a Favourite is forced to keep in *England*, not daring to appear in *Scotland*, for his Creatures there were not able to weather the point, the ſtream running ſo ſtrong, and the greateſt Endeavours are uſed by the Duke to get him within his reach, for he had been heard to ſay, that all the Duke had done in *Scotland* was nothing in regard the Oaths were omitted, and that the Parliament there was but a Convention, and what they had done was void, ſhortly after there was an Eye upon *Argile*, who began to ſnort at the Teſt, and to make ſuch interpretations upon the working of it, that cut the Throat of the thing it ſelf, and although the Interpretation he gave could be no other then the Genuine Sence of the thing, and plain to be underſtood, that it could mean no other then what he intended to take it in, yet it was ſo much diſliked, that he is to be made a Sacrifice under the notion of being guilty of high Treaſon, only for explaining the Teſt; he is accordingly ſeized and libelled againſt, and found guilty of the fact, and ſo was in a fair way to have gone to Pot for his Ingenuity, had he not made his eſcape very dexterouſly.

And now *Michaelmas* Term, 1681. is near at hand, and it was high time to diſpatch *Shaftsbury*, and the reſt of the Priſoners in the Tower before the Term came, and therefore great diligence is uſed by the Conſpirators to frame the matters into a fit poſture againſt them; and the whole Committee for Subornation being met, they with Mr. Attorney, *&c.* fell upon the point, how and when *Shaftsbury* ſhould be tryed, it was urged amongſt them, that before they concluded of any thing, the whole Depoſitions they had taken ſhould be digeſted into a method, that they might judge of the fitneſs and ſtrength of the ſame, which was ordered to be done by *Saunders*, &c. and that being done a Copy was to be ſent to *Scotland* by *Hide* for the Dukes approbation, which being done alſo, and he returned, was agreed to have *Shaftsbury* and *Howard* tryed by the Court of *Verge*, if they could get the *Judges* to join with them in it: for now on all hands they concluded by that way they could take of their heads, tho at the common

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Law they were doubtful: and as for the Lord *Howard* they were reſolved, ſince they had loſt Mrs. *Fitzharris* to try him for ſomething done in *Holland* about eight years ago: In order to which they ſend over to Pillory *Car* that was in *Holland* to come over, and to provide or give Teſtimony himſelf againſt him, which they did, but all they could do they could not make things hang together, ſo as to make a colourable Evidence, for *Car* and one more they had brought over did not much reliſh the Imployment what ever was the matter: and the *Iriſhmen* with *Turbervile* and *Dugdale* began to ſmell mighty loathſom, therefore according to the Conſpirators agreement, having all things digeſted, touching the matter and form of the Evidence, the Judges are ſummoned to meet in order to be conſulted in this great point, and the Lord *H---x* and the reſt of the Conſpirators with Mr. *Attorney* put the queſtion, whether by Law, the King might not try *Shafisbury* by the Court of *Verge*: *Pemberton* gave a very ſhort Anſwer, *that no ſuch thing could be done*, and the other Judges hearing him ſo poſitive, and brisk in it, by their ſilence, gave conſent, or at leaſt none oppoſed what he had aſſerted: which broke up the Aſſembly for that time, much to the diſcontent of the *Grand Conſpirators*, who made no doubt, but this Project would have taken.

This opinion of the Judges not anſwering expectation, the Conſpirators were at a great ſtand for the preſent on this conſideration, that to clap men up, and to make all this noiſe of a Plot, and to let them come out without any proſecution would be to make themſelves more Fools than Knaves, which they were reſolved not to be accounted; therefore being their hands were in at this Royal Trade of Subornation, they were reſolved to go on, and ſince their *Iriſh* Witneſſes, and the reſt of theſe Common Hackneys grew ſo ſmoaky, that it was almoſt impoſſible any Jury ſhould believe them, they ſend their two Steeds out again, which were *Warcup* and the *Attorney* to try if they could not raiſe more Evidence that were never heard of before: *Warcup* their old drudg, and *Graham* with one *Burton*, the *Attorneys* man, they were ſent out upon the Patrole, and at laſt raking the Goals, they found out an Inſtrument fit for their Turn, one *Booth* a notorious Villain, for all manner of *Roguery*, and one that had been in moſt of the Goals of *England*, and condemned to be hanged for ſome rare Exploits heretofore, but a Fellow of very good parts, a good Scholar, being a Clergyman, and in Holy Orders, therefore as good a Churchman as ever piſt, and he having the item given him of what nature their buſineſs was, and wanting money being a Priſoner, he as readily embraced them as they did him, ſo they lay their heads together how to get ſuch a one for their Affidavit

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man, whoſe vertues were not ſo well known as theirs, whereupon *Booth* undertakes to find out one that ſhould joyn with him, and ſwore againſt *Shaftsbury*, for he tells them he knew of one whoſe name was Captain *Wilkinſon*, a man of ſound Reputation, that was now poor and impriſoned, and through his great neceſſity might be prevailed with to do any thing, as he believed, and who was an intimate acquaintance of *Shaftsburies*, occaſioned by the Collony of *Carolina*, where both he and *Wilkinſon* was to have gone lately, had they not been hindred by debt: and this *Booth* would undertake now for a round ſum of money, that *Wilkinſon* ſhould be brought into this deſign; *Graham* who was *Booths* acquaintance, he with *Warcop* and *Burton* gave him Commiſſion, and he as diligently follows it as they deſired, and by degrees finds out Captain *Wilkinſon* and breaks the thing to him at a diſtance, telling him what ſervice he might do himſelf and the King, if he would but ſwear againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury* whome he knew, but *Wilkinſon* at firſt not minding him nor ſmelling the deſign, made a direct anſwer he never knew any thing againſt him, and made ſlight of the matter, but at laſt being importuned day by day, he underſtood the deſign, and humoured the thing very well, and ſo got large promiſes from *Booth*, to be made good by *H— x.* and the reſt of the Conſpirators at *Whitehall*, and *Graham* and the reſt of the ſetters being adverſed by *Booth* of his proſperous ſucceſs upon this Captain, who being a man of unſpotted Reputation, they go with great joy to their Committee, but firſt to the Attorney, and carried *Both* with them, and had him ſwore to a depoſition before Sir *L. J.* againſt the Lord *Shaftsbury*, about having a Troop of fifty men, and he and *Wilkinſon* were of that Troop, and the like, and told the Conſpirators, *Wilkinſon* was a man of that Reputation that no one could ſpot him, and he would own the ſame he had ſworn, only he was low in condition and wanted money, thereupon *Booth* is hugged, and he promiſed to bring *Graham* and *Burton* into *Wilkinſons* company, who had Commiſſion to proffer him any thing, and the word was from the Committee they would ſpare for no coſt, and he ſhould be well rewarded; *Booth* he goes on, *Wilkinſon* who drills them on, at laſt tells them plainly he knew nothing, they then threaten if he would not ſwear as they would have him, by fair means, they would force him, and have before the King and Council, and *Booth* threatned he would ſwear high Treaſon againſt him, ſince he was ſo baſe as to deſpiſe ſuch offers, and not do ſo good a work; *Wilkinſon* obſerves all this and acquaints his friend, and writes it down every day; but nothing prevailing on *Wilkinſon*, he is all of a ſuddain ſent for to *Whitehall* by a Warrant, and there is challenged by his veracity of knowing

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of a dangerous Plot againſt the Government, and he was Captain of fifty Horſe, he laught at it, and falls a telling all *Booths* roguery, and his temptations, and tells the King he hath had better Service from him heretofore, then to believe he knew of any Plot againſt him, and not to reveal it without any conſideration, which put a great damp upon the Conſpirators, however not to diſcourage *Booth* and ſuch good and forward Subjects in iniquity, it was thought good to ſay nothing, and rather to frown upon *Wilkinſon*, which his Veracity did, and told him of another ſort of Exaltation he ſhould have: but *Wilkinſon* went back, and ſhortly after publiſhed the whole intreague of *Booths* and *Grahams* roguery, which quite ſpoiled all the Sham-Plot, and ſtrock ſuch a damp on the Conſpirators that they were ready to bluſh.

This great miſcarriage put the Conſpirators upon conſulting how to keep the Priſoners in longer, that they might have time to retrieve what was loſt by this unlucky hit, therefore they reſolve by one device or other, to keep them in till after *Michaelmas* Term; but having conſulted the Judges privately, they gave it as their opinion, it could not be done on any Terms having laid there ſo long.

In this interim of time the Lieutenant of the Tower did viſit *Rouſe*, and he and *Jenkins* thought to have made ſome earnings of him, to have gotten him to accuſe *Shaftsbury*, and therefore grew very kind to him in compariſon of before ſuppoſing him but a weak man, and one that was in great ſtreights: and one reaſon why they thought they could work upon him was, becauſe he did ſo frankly confeſs he gave ſomthing in charity to thoſe Iriſh men; but at laſt all proving ineffectual as to him too, they then reſolved to try him, and if they could but get a Bill found againſt him, they looked upon him as ſo eaſie a man that he would be directed by them, but their Iriſh Evidence being ſo hateful to all ſorts of men, they wanted ſome unknown men to appear againſt him too, otherwiſe they doubted of their ſucceſs; ſo after having clapt up *Wilmore*, who was the Foreman of *College*'s Grand-Jury in *London*, as a terror to other Grand-Jury-men, and to hinder his Evidence for *College*, they by the help of *Barry Smith* and *Warcop* find out a couple of Clerks of the Exciſe, and they pretended Treaſonable Words ſpoke by *Rouſe* when he was drunk, about a year ago, which they had not revealed till lately by the means of *Barry Smith*, as they confeſſed in Court, and having got theſe two, they reſolve at the Seſſions before the Term to Indict Mr. *Rouſe*, and if that were found, then to preſs on ſome others, accordingly *Rouſe* is brought all of a ſuddain to *Newgate*, and the Indictment brought againſt him, where again the Evidence is examined in Court, and theſe two freſh men appear with Mr. Attorney

Labouring the point, but they both contradicting each other, and keeping it ſo long, and all the other appearing ſuch apparent nonſenſe (as well as untruths) the Bill was caſt out again and *Rouſe* diſcharged; this diſheartned the Conſpirators very much, yet the victory they got by the Choice of Sr. *John Moor* to be Lord Mayor, did quite out-weigh the Sorrow for this miſcarriage; for ſo Pleaſant was that News, though the Conſpirators got the point by the Fanaticks folly that there was rejoycing among them, not only here in *England*, but beyond Seas, even *Rome* it ſelf, gloried in this Enterprize, for though we knew not then the effect of an Honeſt and Stout Lord Mayor in the Conſequences, yet they could both See and foreſee for the Year enſuing, and that very time reckoned the day their own, both for Sheriffs and Lord Mayors for the time hereafter.

Michaelmas Term being come, every one ſpends His judgment what will Become of the Priſoners, whether they would be Bail'd or not, the Conſpirators they agreed now, that ſince they could not have their Bloud this year, they ſhould another time, and to put the beſt Face on things, they were reſolved to Indict the Lord *Shaftsbury*, though they deſpaired of Succeſs, and for this Reſolution the Conſpirators Had two ends in it, the firſt was, to take off the *Odium* off themſelves for Impriſoning theſe Perſons for Treaſon, without ſome probable Cauſe of Teſtimony, which Cauſe they were reſolved to ſhew, and they thought it would take well enough, with thoſe that did not underſtand theſe Intreagues, and that knew nothing of the ſecret Subornation and Perjury, to make this plauſible Evidence. The next was, that to throw a great deal of dirt, be ſure ſome would ſtick, Having ſuch a Crew of forſworn Creatures to *Black a man*, beſides their Paper of Aſſociation, moſt probably made by themſelves, and layed where it was found, would get a Belief in ſome men, at leaſt of the reality of their Charge, eſpecially being Proclaimed by them and their Accomplices as real things; and that by this management againſt *Shaftsbury*, no *Odium* could be caſt on them, but rather upon the Jury, that would not believe ſuch a multitude of Evidence upon theſe conſiderations they get the Indictment ready, and *Saunders* Mr. Attorney. and young *North*, they prepare the Evidence in order, and to Suit with the Aſſociation: Three or four days before the *Term* ends, a Commiſſion on purpoſe is Iſſued out for a Jury to Inquire, which is done, and all the Art uſed in the World to perſwade the Jury to believe the Evidence; but thoſe Hackneys told ſuch improbable Stories, that the greateſt Enemy the Lord *Shaftsbu-*

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ry had in the World, (if He had been of the Jury) could not have Believed it; However nothing was wanting to get the Bill found; the Jury they are ſnub'd, and told for Law, they muſt Examine the Witneſſes in Court, and no where elſe, that they were not to Judge of the Credibility of the Teſtimony of the Evidences given before them, nor ask no queſtions but ſuch as the Court allowed of; and to Colour over the Buſineſs, they get Sir *Lionel Jenkins* and Mr. *Guin*, and others from *Whitehall*, to prove the Paper of Aſſociation was found in His Lordſhips Houſe, which they did exceeding lamely, and Sir *Lionel* Himſelf had ſuch a ſlippery memory, that He had forgot there ever was ſuch a thing as a Bill of Aſſociation voted in the Houſe though He was one that Speeched againſt it; but all would not do, the Jury the beſt men for Eſtates and Quality in *London* caſt out the Bill as the other had done, with a great deal of Applauſe from all men but the Conſpirators and their Abettors; This being done, the Priſoners the laſt day of the *Term* came to be Bailed by *Habeas Corpus*, which was done; yet notwithſtanding the ill Succeſs the Conſpirators had in this, they Agreed to blacken the Priſoners as well as the Jury, by their Scriblers, as well as their tongues, and to make all *England* Ring, as if injuſtice had been done the King: The Juſtices of *Dorſetſhire* and *Somerſet* firſt begins to Abhor Aſſociations; and the Conſpirators contrived that the whole Nation ſhould follow that Example: This Invention was principally ſet on foot by *Hx.* to make a noiſe and buſſel in the Nation, and to keep up the Spirits of the Tories, as they now Name themſelves.

Thus the Lord *Shaftsbury* once more eſcaped, a fair warning for Him and all men elſe, to Harbour *Iriſh men*, and put Truſt and Confidence in any thing they ſay or Swear, and ſure His Lordſhip hath cauſe enough to Repent His zeal for the diſcovering of an *Iriſh* Plot, when the Footſteps of it muſt be ſeen through ſuch deſperate Villains as theſe, who will Swear againſt any man for money; and as His Lordſhip hath paid very dear for liſtening to ſuch Plot-Diſcoverers: So have the Conſpirators and the *Papiſts* got off very cheap; their Engliſh Plot with this *Iriſh* Bubble, (which indeed may be ſuſpected to be nothing elſe but a Bubble) and a deſign of His Lordſhips Enemies, as well as the Enemies of the Nation, to impoſe upon His Lordſhips underſtanding and the Nation, a belief of what theſe men never were likely to prove, that ſo what really is Proved might receive no hurt.

The next ſtep the Conſpirators take, beſides their zealouſly endeavouring to expoſe his Lordſhip and the Jury by their Abhorren-

cies, and the vindicating of themſelves by vindicating and ſtanding by their Tools they had Set on Work, for the carrying on this Subornation, which they did with all diligence, was to enrage the people to ſome quarrel or commotion, ſtudying all ways how to exaſperate and provoke the people to a diſturbance; and therefore two things they reſolve eagerly to proſecute, the one is of getting the *Charters* of *England* Surrendred by perſwaſion or corruption of the Principal Magiſtrates or forcing them by Informations or *Quo Warrantoes*, in which they had two Deſigns, the one was, to have them accept of new ones with Terms incerted, that the King ſhould approve of every Mayor and chief Magiſtrate, that thereby ſuch Corporations may at any time be Governed by Direction, and with ſuch Magiſtrates as the Court ſhould appoint: The other end was, to awe the people by ſuch Magiſtrates, that when they were minded to Have a *Parliament*, the people might be ſo Awed and Governed in their Elections, that they might not dare to give their Voice, or chuſe any but ſuch as the Court and the Conſpirators ſhould direct; Beſides, another end they propounded, the Tormenting the Fanaticks: The other way the Conſpirators deſigned to provoke the people and bring ruine to the Nation, was by Proſecuting the Diſſenters upon the Pœnal Laws, not only ſuch made againſt them, but to Ruin and Undo them, upon the Acts made againſt *Popiſh Recuſants*, and thereby fly in the Face of the *Parliaments*, and turning the edg of the Statutes made againſt *Papiſts*, againſt the *Diſſenters*; this they reſolve ſhould be done in way of Revenge as well as out of other ends; becauſe they could not have their will by theſe means as they conceived, to have ſuch *Parliaments* as they liked, and ſuch mens Heads as ſtood in their way; and ſo now all the Judges Juſtices and Biſhops-Courts, have their *Item* given to Fall on *Pell mell* and give no Quarter; and another main reaſon they had to do this, becauſe they had this vain Hope, that either the *Fanaticks* would by their peace with a Sum of money, or elſe would promiſe to Surrender their reaſon in the Choice of the next *Parliament men*; and therefore it was ſaid by a Great man, the Nation was not yet fit for a *Parliament*; that is, they had not ſmarted enough; and to affright the Nation as well as *London* and *Meddx.* they get an Information of *quo warranto* brought by Mr. Attorney, who is a very willing man, though He wants ability to be Served upon the City of *London* as if now they would ſtrike all down at a blow; and that which chiefly put 'um upon this was, they were miſinformed by ſome of their Creatures in the City; who had made a Bargain with the Court and promiſed

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them, that if a *Quo Warranto* was brought, they would infallibly deliver it up and lay it at the Kings feet.

And therefore accordingly it was ſent to the City, and theſe Factious men that had thus Conſpired againſt themſelves, as well as their innocent Neighbouts birth right, they put forth all their ſtrength, might, and main, to get in ſuch a Common Council this *Chriſtmas* 1681. as would out Vote the City of their right as well as reaſons, and therefore the factious Cittizens labour hard in every ward, ſome weeks before the Election, and Sir *Leyonel Jenkins* is with them in *Pauls Churchyard* almoſt every day, animateing them to it, and they ſet up Clubs at the *Dog* on *Luddgate hill* and diverſe other places, and buſſle as if their lives were at ſtake, but their ſtickling ſo much of a ſuddain, and ſo bare faced, and ſome of theſe factious Cittizens were ſo fooliſh, being animated and Incouraged by the Conſpirators in this piece of treachery, that they would boaſt themſelves, ſometimes the Charter would be gone, this made the ſober Citizens look about them, though not half ſo diligently as the Factious did; but the day of choice being come, it proved to be a much better choice then could well be expected, yet the Conſpirators did believe they had the majority on their ſide, which proved a miſtake, for the firſt time they came together, the City heartily eſpouſed the buſineſs, and defend their Charter, and chooſe out ſuch a Committee as made the Conſpirators and the treacherous Citizens hang down their heads extreamly; however they go on in hopes that the City cannot defend their Charter, although there are ſo many Acts of Parliament to ſupport it.

And now the Conſpirators new Lord Mayor is ſworn, and great joy among them, he is continually viſited by the Court, and he promiſes to be theirs intirely, however they never leave him night nor day knowing him to be an Ignorant and wavering man, and therefore *Jenkins* or ſome other is always with him, and the Factious Citizens are his only Companions, eſpecially *Evidence*, *Maſters*, *Mern*, *Edwards*, *Smith*, and ſuch like tools and the great deſign of this *Winter*, is to promote the Abhorrence, and to ſcoff and mock at the Plot and Murther of *Godfrey*, as well by Printing as any other way, and the Popiſh Plot is both dead and buryed, except ſome times to redicule it.

In this time the *Spaniard* and our neighbours abroad highly complain of the French Incroaching upon them, and demand time after time our aſſiſtance, but the Affairs at home will not permit any ſometimes we are ſwaggered at, then we give good words, and the French King he is writ too to be more mild, at laſt he gets *Strasburgh*, but we can ſay nothing ſtill but fine words, and with ſome foul ſhifts we put them of with our

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not being at leiſure, but if preſſed extraordinary cloſe, we ſend Meſſengers and promiſe ſatisfaction ſhall be given, and offer our Mediation, but the Emperour and Princes abroad, like not our Mediation, and while the Conſpirators in *England* are thus buſie in pulling the Nation in pieces, notwithſtanding all their quick ſight and diligence, *Spain* all of a ſuddain alters their Councils and ſends over the Marquis *de Grana* Governour of *Flanders*, without either conſulting the Court or the French, he comes over, and in his way viſits us, but meeting not the King at *White-hall*, goes no farther after him but over for *Flanders*, when he comes there he conceals his power for a day, but then ſhews it, and ſeizes thoſe he knew to be Traitors, and ſuch as had ſo much Correſpondence with ſome in *England* as well as *France*, and finds in his ſeizing ſome Engliſh Letters of the Dukes, written to the Governour, whereupon the old Governour flies, the new one ſo privately coming and turning all things upſide down, and going about to reform all things in *Flanders*, vexed the *French*, as well as our Conſpirators fearing as no doubt but they had cauſe, that he came to put things in a poſture of defence, and to offend *France* if not us in time, our Conſpirators are a little troubled at preſent, and a Meſſenger is ſent into *Spain* to have him called home again, complaining of his want of manners to Crowned heads, and to offer to be Arbitrators between *Spain* and *France*, but our Meſſengers had but a cold Anſwer, and ſo returns *re infecta*.

The Duke now is coming for *England* being unwilling to be longer there, for all the fair ſhew of the Scots, he is adviſed by his Friends by all means to be here, for fear of his Intereſt looſing ground, and having ſetled *Scotland* to his content, comes by Sea, but before his coming, *Portſmouth* is ſend for *France* to renew the former *Dover* treaty, and carries her ſon to viſit the French King, where ſhe is nobly received, and ſetled a firm Correſpondence between the French King and ſomebody elſe, perſuant to the *Dover* treaty, and her Son is highly honoured as a Prince of the Blood, which the Duke hears of, and Imagins ſhe is undermineing him for her Son about the Succeſſion, he ſeems more unwilling to go to *Scotland* than before, and preſſes earneſtly to ſtay here, but is told he muſt go for a ſmall time and return, which he does, and is like to be caſt away, however loſt ſome Treaſure; and now the main buſineſs the Conſpirators drive at, to Introduce Popery and Arbitrary Government, is the getting Sheriffs of *London*, and proſecuting the Diſſenters, the Conſpirators telling the King it would augment his Revenue 300000*l. per annum*, and therefore might and main the Diſſenters are Indicted and Proſecuted throughout *England*, and the *Juſtices* of the *Peace* that had but any Sparks of Honeſty or Modeſty, and did but ſo much as Heſſitate at any thing they were put upon are

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left out of the Commiſſion and ſuch as *Tho Fauſter* put in their room and at *Briſtol* & at other parts they tear & rend the people in pieces and while they are tearing the People on that Hand, they are ſtriving to debauch the Youth on the other Hand, by Rioting and Feaſting them with Bucks in defiance of their Maſters, a thing Invented on purpoſe, to Animate and ſtir up the Apprentices againſt their Maſters, ſo to make a Diſturbance in the City, when they are Commanded; and beſides their device of Imploying looſe and idle people to go about the Town under the Name of *Tories*, to Abuſe and affront all ſober people; and the encouraging of all Sorts of Libels and Prints againſt the *Parliament* and the Plot, *Thomſon* and *Lſtrange* having their Inſtructions every day from *Whitehall* what to write, and are promiſed *Noli Proſſequi* if ever they are troubled, whil'ſt in the mean time every one that did but either ſpeak or write againſt the *Mode* of the Times, and againſt the Deſigns of the Conſpirators are moſt zealouſly proſecuted; and every one that is but Active either to Detect the Conſpirators in their Subornations, or that dare venture to oppoſe them in any thing, or to take part with the oppreſſed, are proſecuted by Mr. *Attorney* as eagerly, as if the very crown were at ſtake; witneſs *Wilmore*, *Beſt*, *Smith* and *Whitaker*, where becauſe *Smith* did Aſſiſt *Colledge*, He muſt be found guilty of Sedition, and *Whitaker* becauſe He dared to be ſo Sawcy as to queſtion the power of Secretarys of State to Commit Him contrary to Law, and proſecute the Secretary for aſſuming to Himſelf a Power to Commit as a Secretary, he is to be Charged with Seditious words, ſuppoſed to be ſpoken at *Bath* about three years ago; any thing to take him and the reſt away, and to terrifie and affright others: *Wilmore* he is Proſecuted by Information as a Spirit, for ſending away a Begger-Boy by His conſent as well as the Mayors of *Gravesend*, to a place where He ſhould not want any thing; a thing that all the Merchants in *England* that deal to foreign Plantations do daily, and not one word of notice taken of it, and this Proſecution muſt be carried on with as much Heat, as if the whole Kingdome was in danger of loſing: But now the City *Plea* comes in, which wiſe Sir *Robert Sawyer* and the reſt imployed to get the City Charter do not at all Reliſh; and though they have all along Boaſted of the certainty of Having the *City-Charter*, yet they themſelves now doubt of it; therefore the Getting the Mayor to Aſſiſt them is of more neceſſity than before; and to Ride the Fore-horſe the Conſpirators prevail with this Tool to ſtand upon His Prerogative, of drinking to one to be Sheriff, and that ſhould ſufficiently quallifie the man to be Sheriff without

out the Choice of the *Hall*; and by that means they ſhould eaſily get another, for they knew if one could be got to Hold Sheriff upon ſuch an Election, no Honeſt and Able man would venture to be joyned with ſuch a man, and by that means if they ſhould be out-Voted at the *Hall*, yet they ſhould certainly have their Deſign of both the Sheriffs: The Mayor with the Factious Aldermen and Citizens, ſuch as *Smith*, *Edwards*, &c. *Dodſon*, *Wiſeman*, *Cradock*, and the like, by the Conduct of *Jenkins* and *Jeofries* undertake the Buſineſs, and privately at *Whitehall*, the Mayor promiſes faithfully to ſtand to it, and abide by that Reſolution, upon the condition of great matters of Favour and Friendſhip, which He ſhould always have from the Court beyond expreſſion, and withal, had the Word of a —— to ſtand by him to the utmoſt, and that whatever Dammage he ſhould ſuſtain in Adhering to them, and performing this piece of Loyalty, (as the Conſpirators Nick-Name it to him) ſhould be paid to the utmoſt, beſides Honour and Preferment: Upon theſe Aſſurances He reſolved to be Guided ſolely by them, and therefore His Lordſhip as well as his Factious Brethren the Aldermen and ſome others of the Factious Citizens, prepare for the Work, and promiſe that they will adhere and ſtand by this brave Reſolution, to Force upon the City a Sheriff if not two: But this being Agreed, it was alſo Debated who the man ſhould be that would be ſo ventrous a Fool to Hold on ſuch Terms as His Lordſhip was to Force it, divers were named, and ſome offer'd their Service, particularly *Dodſon* &c. yet the Conſpirators though they liked his zeal, yet they thought him ſuch a little inſipid thing, that they did not ſo well approve it, therefore moſt were for *Box*, who had ſome wit, though as little Honeſty as the reſt, and would be more acceptable to the Citizens; but the cunninger Sort of the Conſpirators cry by no means Him, for that they hoped to Chuſe Him by the Pole, becauſe of his fair Reputation. Then Sir *Benjamin Newland* was Named, and would have readily accepted the Service, but the Conſpirators further conſulting with Judg *North*, told them His Brother ſhould do the Work which was liked and agreed to by all that no man was like him, who would be wholly at their Diſpoſe and Government by the Influence of the Brother who would not be wanting to Adviſe and Conduct him, as ſhould be moſt for the Conſpirators Advantage: *Dudley North* being thus unanimouſly Choſen by the Conſpirators, he is informed thereof, and He promiſes all Faith and Obedience to do that and every thing elſe to Help on the Cauſe, who is thereupon introduced and carried to *Windſor* in a Coach and ſix, and there Hugged, Kiſſed, and Embraced

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as the only welcome Gueſt that ever came to that Court; and ſo Proud is the man of this Inſtallment, that at his return to *London*, is not able to contain himſelf, but boaſts what he will do, when he comes into that Office, and all this before the Drinking day came: And among his Companions it paſſed for Currant, he was already duely Elected, wanting nothing but the Ceremony of Drinking to.

Things going thus ſmoothly on, all things ſmiling on the Conſpirators ſide, they now throw off all Shame, and fear of future accounts with Parliaments, being themſelves fully reſolved never more to fear or be troubled with them, untill they had fitted and framed the Nation into ſuch a poſture, as to chooſe ſuch Members as would, not only forgive their Villanies, but go Sharers with them in the Spoil of the Kingdom; for now the Conſpirators did boldly affirm to ſuch Tools as they made uſe of in any of their Exploits, that they ſhould not fear, there ſhould never be another Parliament in *England*, until they had one to their liking; and accordingly new Juſtices, Militia-men, and Officers, having that Point cleared to them by many reiterated Aſſurances, they ſtick at nothing they are bid do, or is put upon them; therefore all over the Nation, inſtead of Arguments according to the merits of the Cauſe, the Officers give Judgment, not according to the Juſtice, but the Loyalty of the man, which Loyalty was only known by the Healths to *York*, and Confuſions to Parliaments, *&c.* with Huzzas; and having now full Aſſurance of theſe things, and of *North* for Sheriff, they began to furbiſh up again their broken Evidence; and not only keep touch with them in their weekly Penſions, (of which there had been lately ſome neglect) but rally up their Forces again together, and ſeek ſome new Additions, which the Conſpirators deſigned to be ready againſt *Michaelmas-Term* next, when they did intend to uſe them in the old Station of Perjury, againſt *Shaftsbury* and all others that ſtood in their way; for now it muſt be, *aut Cæſares aut nulli*, and thô they gave out they did not intend to Hang more than about nine or ten Lords and Gentlemen, yet that was but a Copy of their Countenance, for they did agree their Plot ſhould take hold of all that ſtood in their way, and never to leave off, till they had forced their Adverſaries to ſubmit to their Tyrannical Yoke, and be as glad of an Act of Indemnity as they themſelves, if not be glad to hold their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates at the Conſpirators Will and Pleaſure. But thô it was reſolved by them to be a Clapping up of Perſons before *Michaelmas*, yet upon ſecond thoughts

it was deferred untill they ſaw the full reſult of this laſt Project of making Sheriffs of *London*; ſo the day being come that the Lord Maior drinks to a Perſon, as a man fit to be in Nomination to be Sheriff for the Year enſuing, he Drinks to *Dudly North* according to appointment, which is ſoon noiſed about Town, and as ſoon ſent to *Windſor*, where there is great rejoicing; and the Printer of the *Gazette* order'd to put it into the next *Gazette*, that *Dudly North* Eſquire, is by the Lord Mayor Elected and Choſen Sheriff of *London*: *North* he is ſo Ambitious of the Place, that he goes to the Court of Aldermen, and Signs a Bond to hold Sheriff, before the day of Election came.

In this interim of time, *Fitz-harris*'s Wife is again got to the Conſpirators, where they receive her by the means of Captain *Rich* in *Southwark*, who pretends to take an Examination of her, about her being Suborned; and *Rich* he is to be the underling Examinator, and ſo he transferrs to *Jenkins*, for by this time *Jenkins* grows as Stale as the *Iriſh* Evidence. *Fitz-harris*'s Wife ſhe is ſtill to Accuſe *Shaftsbury*; and ſhe being got in again, undertakes to bring in *Everard* and others; the Conſpirators having got her, reſolve once more to clap up *Shaftsbury*, but again are off that till *Michaelmas*. This Summer the King being not well at *Windſor*, the Conſpirators had got a Warrant ready for the ſeizing of the Duke of *Monmouth* and divers others, that they might ſpoil their work, but that was dropped again, in regard of his Majeſties ſpeedy Recovery. Now *Midſummer* is come, and Sir *L. Jenkins* and ſeveral of the Conſpirators they are alwayes at the Maiors Houſe, animating the Maior to ſtick to his Promiſe, he reſolves he will; the day being come for the Precepts to be given out, the Conſpirators adviſe his Lordſhip to alter the Precept out of the old form of Chooſing of Sheriffs, to chooſe one Sheriff, he having Choſe one before: this his Lordſhip did, which Allarum'd the whole City; the day being come, the Freemen appear numerous, and Confirmation being told them of the Maiors Sheriff, they refuſe it, and Choſe *Papillon* and *Dubois* againſt *Box* and *North*, with very much the greater numbers; this the Conſpirators having notice of, ſome of them being planted near the Hall, they ſend to their Accomplices to demand a Poll, for delay of time, more than out of any hopes they had to carry it; the Poll being granted and almoſt done, and double the number againſt *North* and *Box*, the Conſpirators having got his Lordſhip among them, and hearing how it went at the Poll, orders him to

go

go in a tumultious way to the Hall again, and diſſolve the Hall, and ſtop the Poll, that it might not be declared; and order'd a great number of Sword-men and Rake-ſhames from *Weſtminſter* to guard his Lordſhip, and to mutiny, affront and abuſe the Citizens as they went, thereby to make a Diſturbance if poſſible, and to have an opportunity to bring in the Guards or the Red-coats upon the City, or at leaſt to make a Riot: but all thoſe Projects ſucceeded not; only his Lordſhip pretended to have Power to Diſſolve the Poll, and ſo offer'd at it, which was taken no notice of; the Citizens they Poll on for a little while, and then the Sheriffs adjourn as uſual, till another time to declare the Poll; his Lordſhip that night, and the next day being Sunday, is kept by the Conſpitators alwayes in their Company, for fear he ſhould waver, or hearken to other honeſter Councels; and at laſt, after a long Conſultation, they reſolve to have him to *White-hall*, and ſome Affidavit-men to give Information againſt the Sheriffs of *London* for not ſhutting up the Poll; and withall to Swear a Riot againſt them: for now they ſee it was impoſſible to have their Deſigns any way fairly, and therefore by force they were reſolved to carry it, whatever danger or hazard they run; for the Conſpirators did not only know, but ſay it, that on this hung their hopes, and without this they were all undone; accordingly they carry his Lordſhip to *White-hall* before the Council, and there get ſome of the Conſpirators to Swear a Riot againſt the Sheriffs, but ſuch a Riot *England* never heard of before; however it gave ſome pretence to ſend the Sheriffs to the *Tower*, where they remained, until by *Habeas Corpus* they are Bailed, and an Information brought againſt them to colour the Buſineſs, but they ſtood their ground: And one end the Conſpirators propounded in their Committing the Sheriffs, was, that they hoped the Citizens would have looked upon this as ſo lewd a thing, (as undoubtedly it was) that they would have Reſcued the Sheriffs, and ſo made a Mutiny in the City, this was their hopes, and what they aimed at: This not doing, the Conſpirators force his Lordſhip to hinder the Declaring the Poll the next time, which he did as much as he could, but the Sheriffs did declare it to be for *Papillon* and *Dubois*, by near double the number: Then the Conſpirators contrived a new Stratagem, which was to turn the old Sheriffs out, but that was diſcovered, and that came to nothing; then they contrived another device, which was, that all ſhould go to a new Poll over again, which for Peace ſake was conſented unto with a *Salvo*, to the right

of the former : to Countenance this, an Order of Council was produced, thô expreſs againſt the Law ; by this Poll the difference was greater than before : Then Sir *L. Jenkins* preſſed his Lordſhip to ſet his Officers to take a Poll by the Sheriffs as his right, and only to Poll for three men, and ſtand upon his Election of *North*, which the Maior did, after he had Conſented to Poll for four the ſame day ; and half done, his Lordſhip then doth Poll for three, and had 1200 for *Box*, but the Sheriffs Poll was above 2400 againſt him and *North*, for *Papillon* and *Dubois*, and yet the Conſpirators prevail with this Tool to go and declare for *Box*, thô there were double the number againſt him ; then the Sheriffs caſt up their Poll, and declare the Election again to fall on *Papillon* and *Dubois* ; *Jenkins* and the reſt having got this done, and divers Letters paſſed from him to the Maior, *Jenkins* by a wile wheedles the Letters from the Maior back again, thus have they led this poor dull Tool to dance after their Pipes, and yet now at the laſt dare not ſo much as truſt him with a ſcrip of Paper, by which the World may ſee how it was managed, and what the honeſty and Juſtice of their Cauſe is, not only to miſlead this poor Wretch, and all others they can into the ſame Condition as themſelves, but they dare not ſuffer ſo much as the leaſt Paper under their hands of their work, to be ſeen againſt them, and yet would make the World believe they act above board ; upon the Principles of Loyalty and Juſtice.

This Summer the *French* King having both bubbled the Emperor with the noiſe of a Treaty, and at the ſame time by his Inſtruments brought in the *Turk* upon *Hungary* to joyn the Malecontents there ; he rides triumphant, and to incite us to follow his Steps in Government bare-faced, as well as his Religion, fearing we ſhould look back, and that our Conſpirators ſhould be thinking to ſave their own Bacon, he cauſes a little Book to be Printed of *The Hiſtory of the Tranſactions of this Age*, and in that Book cauſes to be inſerted the Treaty made with us at *Dover*, when Madam came over here under the notion of a Viſit ; which Treaty if it might be publiſhed in the Engliſh tongue, as well as the French, it would certainly open the eyes of the Blind, if not give Feet to the Lame ; and the notes and directions which the French Author had for the Publiſhing that Book, with that bleſſed *Dover* Treaty in it, were had from Monſieur *Colbert*, the French Kings chief Secretary of State, and done on purpoſe, that ſome body being truly ſet out in their colours, and diſcovered to the People, he might grow deſperate, and go on bare-

faced

faced, to accompliſh the work; that he perceiving ſo much was diſcovered, might beget in him a deſpair of any hope ever to be truſted or forgiven by the People hereafter: but this Book coming out, was taken notice of, and complained of at the French Court, both by *Preſton* and *Fever*, as a piece of unkindneſs, to Betray ſecret Confederacies; and the French King to humour ſome Body, Committed the Author to the *Baſtile*, who was ſoon let out again, having been only put there for a Complement; for the Author that writ it, had his teſtimonials under *Colbert*'s hand.

But to return and cloſe theſe Sheets, which have already outſtripped what was before deſigned, *Michaelmas*-day drawing near, and all things ſmiling on the Conſpirators ſide, the Conſpirators are reſolved on the point, and they openly now ſet up this reſolution, to have both the Sheriffs as well as one: and by this laſt invention of theirs to get the Sheriffs of *London*, they are reſolved to deſtroy all Right, Law and Religion, with the name and pretence of Law and Juſtice, and with the Name and cry of Juſtice to tear to pieces, not only the Rights and Priviledges of *London*, but the whole three Kingdoms, which they account no hard task, in caſe they can force Sheriffs on the City: And therefore *H——x* the chief leader cryes out, You muſt ſtick at nothing, it muſt be done, the Sheriffs we muſt have whatever it coſt, and ſince we cannot force the People to deſtroy themſelves by a Rebellion, we muſt and will deſtroy them for their Innocency, to ſave our ſelves. Therefore *Box* having wiſely forſeen the event, and having refuſed to hold Sheriff, notwithſtanding the earneſt Solicitation of the Conſpirators both great and ſmall, and the large Counter-Security offer'd him, the Conſpirators caſt about for another Tool inſtead of him, and who ſhould he be but poor *Rich*, *Jenkins* his Tool for taking Depoſitions, who as readily embraces it, as the Conſpirators deſired, his pinching neceſſities being great, as well as his ſtrong Inclinations for the Romiſh Cauſe: ſo among the Conſpirators he is Choſen Sheriff, and for ſhew-ſake there muſt be a Common-Hall called to Confirm him, or rather that the Hall may know, who it is the Lord Mayor and Conſpirators think fit to ride them the year enſuing; the day being come about, ten dayes before *Michaelmas*-day, the Common-Hall appear, but inſtead of putting them up by the Sheriffs as before, and the Common Cryer proclaiming the Names of ſuch as be in Nomination, all that is laid aſide, and the Common Serjeant having his Inſtructions over night, whiſpers the Name of

Rich

Rich to ſome of his Friends about him, and ſo runs away to the Maior, and tells him that *Rich* was Choſen, thô not 10 men heard his Name, nor 100 hands for him, and at leaſt 2000 againſt him, which appeared on the Poll the ſame day; and becauſe the Sheriffs offer'd to Poll in their uſual way, a new Riot is Sworn againſt them at *White-Hall*, and ſo *Rich* he is the Conſpirators Sheriff, without any other Election.

And now the Conſpirators having ſettled matters againſt *Michaelmas*-day, reſolve to ſecure ſeveral Perſons againſt the time, that they may have them ready againſt their Juries are ready; but that Deſign was again deferr'd till *Michaelmas* was over, on this conſideration, that it might ſtartle their own Friends, to ſee that come to paſs which the Whiggs had told in deriſion; ſo it is deferr'd till the Sheriffs be in the Saddle; only the Duke of *Monmouth* is ſeiz-ed by *Jenkins*'s Warrant, under the notion of being guilty of a Riot in the Countrey; but the truth was, the Conſpirators deſigned to have him in their Cuſtody, for fear he might be a means to ſpoil their Deſigns, having ſo great a Reſpect and Intereſt in *England*; and hoping that the now Seizing him thus rudely, as well as cauſe-leſly in the Countrey, in the face of ſo many Noble and worthy perſons, he or them about him might be brought to reſiſtance, having ſuch an affront offer'd him: but they not having this laſt deſire ac-compliſhed, he ſubmitting himſelf to the Meſſenger, they are for-ced to Bail him, and he forced to give Security for his good Beha-viour, thô the Conſpirators labour'd hard with the King in Council to have him Committed to the *Tower*, which the King would by no means hearken to.

The next ſtep the Conſpirators took before *Michaelmas*-day, was the endeavouring to remove every man and thing out of the way, that offers to give the leaſt check or hinderance to their Affairs; and having gotten out the Earl of *Angliſey*, were reſolved to lay by the Preſident too, he having ſometime oppoſed their Councils, and therefore that being reſolved upon, a Meſſage is ſent to the old Man, to Complement him in the Name of the King out of his place, by reaſon of his Age, *&c.* But the Preſident hearing the Meſſage, did not according to his wonted humour of haſty Anſwering, but gave the Meſſenger an Anſwer to this purpoſe, That he would give his Majeſty an Anſwer himſelf; which when he came to Court to thank his Majeſty for the Meſſage ſent him, it proved that the Meſſenger that brought that Meſſage to the Preſident, went by

H——x's, and the reſt of the Conſpirators order, unknown to the King, and ſo the Earl of *Radnor* is ſtill reſolved not to yield up his Place till it be the Kings Pleaſure as well as the Conſpirators. And now the day for Swearing the Sheriffs being come, being the day before *Michaelmas*, 1682. great numbers of the honeſt Citizens appear to claim their juſt Rights, and to introduce Mr. *Papillon* and *Dubois* to be Sworn their Sheriffs for the year enſuing, being duely Elected; but the Night before, the Maior and the Conſpirators fill *Guild-Hall* with Souldiers, to watch all day and night, and they by force of Arms keep out the Citizens who were minded to tender *Papillon* and *Dubois* to be Sworn; ſo now what they cannot get with tricks, they are reſolved by force of Arms, and to ſet up the Sword above the Gown, ſuch a piece of Inſolency as was never done before in the City; and to ſecure that *North* and *Rich* might only be Sworn, the Maior orders the Pike-men and Muſqueteers ready Cockt and Loaden to keep the *Huſtings*, and ſuffer none to come there, but as the Maior directs: ſo they Swear *Rich* and *North* in the face of the City, by force of Arms, and againſt the conſent of the whole City, and thô *Papillon* and *Dubois* tender'd themſelves, yet the Maior with his Souldiers refuſes them, and commands all Perſons to be gone, which was done.

Theſe be the wayes the Conſpirators have taken to deſtroy our Religion and Liberty, and notwithſtanding the many letts and hinderances they have met with, and do ſtill meet with, yet are they now more eagerly Proſecuting their Game than ever, and the Popiſh Plot now thrives better, and is carried on more ſecurely and more eaſily by a form of Law and Juſtice pretended againſt Popery, than ever it was done by the Jeſuits before it was diſcover'd: for now the Conſpirators make all Laws which were made againſt Popiſh Recuſants ſubſervient to their Protection, and the Proteſtants deſtruction; meaſuring every Engliſh-mans Religion, Liberties, his Rights and Properties by their own ſavage Rules and wild inclinations, and by tricks and devices in the Law, together with the name of Law and Juſtice, are reſolved to Baniſh all Law and Juſtice from our Land; a diſmal conſideration, yet nothing more certain.

However, let us not diſtruſt a good God, who hitherto by his wonderful hand of Providence hath kept and preſerv'd this Nation, even when it was as now upon the brink of Deſtruction; and let us not neglect our Duty of heartily and induſtriouſly oppoſing theſe

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Conſpirators. Never let it be ſaid juſtly any more, That our Enemies are more active to deſtroy this Nation, than we are to preſerve it; God and Nature hath given us Rights and Liberties, Properties and Priviledges, and Inſtituted and ordained Magiſtrates to preſerve us in our Rights, and not to deſtroy us and our Rights; and it is none but the Devil and his wicked Inſtruments that go about to deprive and wreſt them from us; and ſince it is natural to the dumb Beaſts to defend their own Rights, certainly both God and Nature obliges us alſo to defend ours; eſpecially when ſupported by ſuch good Laws as we have, the conſtant and induſtrious adhering to which, will, as they hitherto have, when ſtrongly aſſerted and maintained, not only ſecure our Inheritances and Liberties, but break the Necks of, and deſtroy all the Enemies and Conſpirators without reſpect of Perſons, that ever attempted to remove our ancient Land-mark: The continuance of which Bleſſings to us and our Poſterity, God grant we may be worthy of. *Amen.*

So Ends the Second Part.

FINIS.