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T H E

Loyal Martyr

VINDICATED.

AFTER Mr. *Ashton's* Paper had been shewn by the Sheriff to those that sit at the Helm, and that it was known there were more Copies of it given abroad, so that it was impossible to sham or disguise it, it raised in them (as I am informed) very solicitous Apprehensions what Effects it was likely to work in the Minds of all the true Sons of the Church of *England*, to see a genuine Member of that Communion, with his last Breath, admonish his *Perjuring* Brethren of the enormous Crimes of *Perjury* and *Rebellion*, in which they they had of late so deeply plunged themselves; denounce Prophetically to them the Judgments attending their *Apostacy*, if not timely repented of; profess so stoutly his Allegiance to his much injured and unjustly Dispossessed Prince; seal our Church's Doctrine of *Non-resistance* with his dearest Blood, and dye so resignedly, cheerfully, nay joyfully, in Testimony of that Christian Principle; could not but be apprehended to our Statists to be the most powerful Motives imaginable, to *reclaim* those who had been *misled* by false Information, or seduced by Interest into a Repentance of their Errors; and to *establish* the rest in the Loyal Principles to which they had hitherto *adhered*. Besides, the honest unaffected Reason, which appears in the Account he gives of his Tenets, and Conscientious Proceedings, and the Christian Moderation and sincere Piety, which he observed throughout his whole Paper, Praying heartily for his very Enemies, though unjustly thirsting after his Blood, (the proper Temper

of a dying Martyr,) could not but *recommend* the Contents of it to the *esteem* of every *indifferent* Reader, and even be able to *shock* all such as were not *resolutely* *byass'd*.

Nor can I blame them for being so highly concerned, that such a Legacy was left to the *Loyal Party*. Those politick Men were well aware of the successful Methods by which Christianity was *Propagated* at first, and that *The Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church*; and therefore they judg'd it very Expedient, that some speedy and effectual Means should be taken to stop the prejudicial Effects, which it would otherwise produce: It was then thought the best way to seem to *slight* and *undervalue* the Paper, by Printing it *themselves*, and at the same time to endeavour to baffle and confute it by an Answer going along with it, penned with as much plausibleness as the Cause could bear: But Truth is not easily trampled down. His *Christian Constancy* has made too great an Impression in the Hearts of his Admirers, to permit his *Meritorious Sufferings* to lie under the Scandal of a *Treasonable Guilt*; and has given Courage to some of the meanest of them to vindicate his *Cause*, and *Credit*, against the *wicked Slanders* and *weak Reasons* of this mercenary Writer; though he foresees that if they be discovered, they can expect no other Reward but the same fatal End. The *Holland Lyon* has begun to taste *English Blood*, and finds it so sweet that it draws on an Appetite of shedding still more.

To fall then to our Reply——

His First Sham (for the whole Piece is a continu'd fardle of such Stuff) is, That the Paper is none of Mr. *Ashton's*. This, if made good, would (they hoped) take off the Authority and Influence of it, as not being the *proper Act* of the *Martyr*, but of some *other* of that Party; it required therefore his best skill to make this Credible. Let us examine his Arguments: His First Proof is, Because *it seems compos'd with too much Art and Care to be the Work of one, who professes he thought it better to employ his last minutes in Devotion*, (p. 8.) What a ridiculous Cavil is this! His *last minutes* were at the place of Execution, which the Martyr professeth he thought it better to employ in *Devotion and holy Communion with his God*, than in making *Speeches*; which if they were *Loyal*, and deliver'd his Thoughts *fully*, were likely to be interrupted, and so *not attended with the designed Success*; and therefore he chose rather to deliver what he had to say in *Writing*. Now comes this Gentleman, and pretends (if his Words have any Tenour or Sense in them) that he must have compos'd this Paper of his *at his last minutes*, that is, *at the Gallows*; which, he says, he could not do with so much *Art and Care*, those minutes being taken up *otherwise*, viz. in *Devotion*; and therefore (forsooth) the Paper is none of his: As if he had not time enough between his Sentence and the Execution of it to compose a Paper, both larger, and more full of *Art and Care* (had he minded such Advantages) than this was: Or, as if good Men, whose *Piety* inclines them to spend their last minutes in *holy Thoughts*, could not in the time *anteceding* use both their best *Art and Care* to pen a true Account of their Principles, and the Cause for which they Suffered; but indeed there is *little Art or Care* in the *Matter*, or *Sense* of the Paper, but a plain and candid Discovery of his Thoughts and Affec-
tions

tions both towards God, and the World; and as for the *manner* of Writing it (*if it were indeed such as this Man exhibits it*) there was neither any the *least Art* or *Care* shewn in it, but perfect *Negligence*, or rather great *Ignorance* and *Folly* throughout the whole, as will be seen shortly.

His Second Reason to prove the Paper was not the Martyr's, is, Because Mr. *Ashton*, says he, was *illiterate* and *unskilled in the Law*, and yet uses such Bug-words, as *Impending*, *Prevaricating*, *Premisses*, and *Consequence*; and gives such a *peremptory Judgment* about the *Laws of the Realm*, in a *Case* acknowledged by all *ingenuous Men* of his own Party to have a great deal of difficulty in it; this Man will say any thing, though never so openly false: Not one Man of his Party ever thought there was the least difficulty in this, That it was *Treason* by our *Laws* to resist a *legal Prince*, or acknowledge any other for *King* while he lives. No not this Writer himself, as appears by his not thinking it his best play to alledge the *Laws of the Realm*, but flying off and recurring to the *Law of Nations*: And as for the *Law* as it relates to his own *Case*, he was far from *Peremptory*, as is manifest from his saying—*I am told I am the First Man that ever was condemned for High-Treason upon bare Presumption or Suspicion*: Do not these Words [*I am told*] sound as *modestly* as is possible, and shew all shew of his passing such a *peremptory Judgment* about the *Laws of the Realm*, as he puts upon him p. 8? What will not this Caviller say? But 'tis pleasant to observe what *Pranks* he uses all along. 'Tis plain Mr. *Ashton* meant no more but that he was *illiterate* (that is, unlearned) and *unskilful in the Law*, as appears by his desiring the *Judges* to observe for *him* what might be for his Advantage. And sure a Man who has not *made the Law his Study*, (for the Word reaches no farther,) may have Learning enough to use these Four ordinary Words, none of them being artificial *Law Terms*; but such honest English as every Gentleman, that converses with Persons above the lowest Rank, is capable of understanding and using. But this candid Gentleman seeing his Cause could not be maintained but by *Tricks*, (for this whole turn of Government was nothing but a *Trick of Policy*,) disjoins by his Discourse [*illiterate*] from [*unskill'd in the Law*] and refers the Four cramp Words to the former, and his passing a *peremptory Judgment* about our *Laws* to the latter; and when he has done, he tells us very sadly, *one may justly wonder at it*; and indeed it is very wonderful: For to play *so many* juggling *Tricks* in *so little* room, wrestling almost every Word 'till he has made it *crook'd*; and then gracing every *Flam* he gives us with such a *demiure Hypocrisie*, is altogether *Monstrous*.

He tells us, p. 9. That the *Loyal Martyr* design'd two Things. To assert his *Principles*, and to *testifie his Innocency*; and he sets himself to prove that he did *neither*. As for the former, he grants that by the *Faith of the Church of England* Mr. *Ashton* meant the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience*; and then confutes him most learnedly, by telling us, That he suffered not for *Passive Obedience* but for want of it, and that had he regulated his *Life* by this *Principle* he had preserved it. Did ever any Man's Reason turn tail so awkwardly? The constant *Doctrine* of the *Church of England* was *Passive Obedience* to a *lawful King*; and he

is the lawful King according to the Constitution of our Government, who has Title to it by *immediate Succession*. Now comes this acute Gentleman, and pretends, without Shame or Wit, that the Doctrine of the Church of England is not Passive Obedience to the *legal King*, whom all the World did ever acknowledge for *such*, in their *clear, un-bias'd, and unanimus Thoughts*, but to *another*, who has *dispossess'd* this legal King of his Kingdom, and whose Title is quite *annull'd* by our *English Laws*, nor own'd by any but some of those who got their *Advantages* in doing so, or who dare not do otherwise. And then after he had prevaricated thus egregiously, he tells us very gravely, That *certainly there must be some great mistakes about the Doctrines and Principles of our Church*: Whereas if there be *any* 'tis manifestly on *his* side; but to say the plain Truth, there is *no mistake* at all, even on *his* side, but an open Prevarication, and a *wilful* shuffling and shifting the *whole Subject* of the Church of England's Tenet, making our Passive Obedience regard not only a *wrong* but an *opposite Object*, which is to make the Principles of our Church face about with the Times, and point (as a Weather-cock does to the Wind) to a *Dispossessor* of the true Prince; so he gets but Power enough to make himself a strong Party, and keep under, or *Murder*, by his new Laws, and new Judges, those who dare be Loyal.

He pretends that *The Doctrines and Principles of our Church are to be found in the Articles and Constitutions of it*. If he means that *only some* of them are found there, it reaches not home to his purpose. But if he means that *All* the Doctrines of Faith which our Church holds are found there, he shews himself to be very weak. Sure he cannot forget that *God's written Word*, and it *only*, is our *intire and adequate Rule of Faith*; and that the best Interpreter of it for us to follow, is the most unanimous Exposition of it, avow'd by the *Doctrines* of our Church-men, and the agreeable and constant *Practice* of our Church. If then he would prove that our Church does *not* hold Passive Obedience, and Indispensable Allegiance to our lawful King upon our *Rule of Faith*, that is, does not hold it *part of her Faith*; he should have produced *such*, and so many genuine, grave, and eminent Members of our Church, as are *beyond Exception*, who have *unanimously* declared themselves to understand the Scripture in an *opposite* Sense, and upon that ground held the contrary. I except always from that Number Dr. *Sherlock*, who is so flexible a Complier with *every* side, that, I fear, he is of *no* side, and ready to be of *any*, as God-Mammon shall inspire him by proposing a good fat Deanry, or some such irresistible Temptation. As for the *Practice* of our Church giving us light to know her *Faith*, it cannot be possibly manifested better than by her Carriage towards King *Charles II.* in the Protector's days, who had *Abdicated twice*, (if the leaving *England* to avoid danger to his Person might be called *Abdicating*,) and there was another actual supreme Governor who had got all the Power into his Hands, and so was *Providentially Settled in Dr. Sherlock's Sense*; yet none of the genuine Sons of our Church flincht from their Allegiance to their King in those happy days, when honest Principles, as yet unantiquated, made our Church shine gloriously even in the midst of Persecution, but all adher'd to their legal King,

King, though all of them suffered in their Estates, and many lost their Lives rather than forego their Duty.

But as our Author told us formerly, that Mr. *Ashton* died for want of that Passive Obedience which the Church of *England* holds, so he tells us here, that he might have *believed himself obliged by his Religion to look upon his rightful lawful Prince, (whatever his Principles were, or his Practices might be,) as God's Vicegerent, and accountable to God only from whom he received his Power: All this (says he) he might have done, and have been alive still,* because, as he contends, King *William* was his rightful lawful Prince. So that it seems let King *William* be of what Principles he will, even though he were as zealous a *Papist* as King *James*; or let his Practices be what they will, even to the Subverting all our Liberties, Properties, nay the most Fundamental Laws of the Land, still we are to *believe our selves obliged by our Religion to look upon him as on God's Vicegerent accountable to God only,* and consequently to obey him as *such*. Which ridiculous Partiality overthrows a good part of his Book, and makes all the Deserters, and first Adherers to the Prince of *Orange*, and the whole *Parliament* that set him up for their King, and the *Consent of the Nation*, he talks of, to be *Irreligious and Wicked*. For since King *James* was confessedly at that time their *rightful lawful King*, nor can he be pretended to have *worse* Principles and Practices than those mentioned, which comes within the compass of his, [*whatever his Principles are, or his Practices might be,*] and this Man confesses that notwithstanding *all this they were obliged by their Religion to submit to him as God's Vicegerent*; it follows unavoidably, that we are to *believe they violated the Principles of Religion, in the highest Degree, who deserted him, opposed him, turned him out, and set up a Stranger in his stead*. Yet this Action of theirs, confessed by himself to be *Irreligious*, is the true Foundation of our new Government.

Hitherto he has *begged* the whole Question, and *supposed* the present Governours to be *rightful and lawful King and Queen*; and now *after* he has done this, he sets himself to *prove* it: Certainly this Man's Logick is very extraordinary. If it might be *supposed*, it needed not to be *proved*; and if it could be well *proved*, it needed not have been *supposed*. Yet this Gentleman, to make this sure Work, will needs do *both*, though the Method he takes to do this be very *preposterous*, his special Gift of Reasoning, by a neat Figure called *Hysteron Proteron*, sets the Cart before the Horse; and first *supposes* it, and then goes about to *prove* it: *The Question*, says he, (p. 9.) *is not whether rightful lawful Kings are to be obeyed, but who in our Circumstances is our rightful lawful Sovereign?* And so he addresses himself to *settle King William's Title*, and put it *beyond all dispute*, which being so rare a Sight, and so great a Novelty and Curiosity, it may deservedly challenge our best Attention; especially it being withal our *real Interest*: For I cannot think that any Man of the least degree of Wit, would undergo *outward* Disquiets, Dangers, and Inconveniences, in not submitting heartily to this present Government, if his Conscience would let him be *quiet within*: Let us see then what we in Reason and Conscience think of this *new Title* to what was most evidently, by *God's and Man's Law too, another Man's Right*.

That

That Party that stickled to make the Prince of Orange King, do hold that the *People* have the *Power to make and unmake* the supreme Magistrate; and so they fix his Title upon *the Creation of the People*, and make account the same *People* by virtue of the same *Power* can *limit* his Authority, and annihilate it again, as one of them profess openly in the House of Commons: Nay, this was the only Reason and Interest they had, or could have to make him King; for the Commonalty, of whom they pretend to be the best Patrons, were not at all burthened with Taxes under King James; and withall themselves enjoy'd *Liberty of Conscience*; and, lastly, had more than should have fallen to their share in *Places and Offices*; And what could they wish more, except the pulling down *Monarchy* ten Pegs lower, and dwindling it into a *Duke of Venice*? Which could not be while the *legal King* governed; but might, they hop'd, be *easily* brought about when themselves had the *making*, and consequently the *modelling* of their new Magistrate: For 'tis but reasonable that they who give and *bestow* a Thing, should give *as much* and *as little* of it as they please. But this Plot was carried too openly, which obliged the House of Lords, fearing their Ruine by a Commonwealth, rather to vote any new *King* at a venture, than become Slaves to the *People*: Nor would a *precarious* Authority satisfy a *Genius*, that naturally aimed at being *Absolute*. So when they had given all the Money that they thought could well be raised, without an *extreme Wrong* to the common Good of the People, they were *packt away*; and home they went gnashing their Teeth, that they should be so Silly as to bring themselves into a *Noose* they could not *untie*; and which in time might come to *bring* their *Liberty, Property*, and (if they should dare to mutter too rudely) their *Persons* too. Thus that *First Title* fell, which served well enough while the *Young Government* was yet in its *Swaddling clothes*, but when it became *bigger* it *out-grow* it, as Children do their *Cloaths*.

After this our Church of *England Men*, who all this while stood *Trembling* lest this new King, being in his Inclination a perfect *Presbyterian*, and the Creature of their Adversaries, should come to *over-power* them, and *trample* on them, finding that Things did not cotton well between the ungrateful Sovereign, and these his disgusted Subjects, but that they grew weary of one another, judged it was now their time to strike in: Wherefore they offered him their most humble Service; which being accepted, they laught in their Sleeves at the poor baffled *Presbyterians*, telling them after an upbraiding and scornful Manner, *You would needs give us a King whether we would or no, and now we will keep him up whether you will or no*. So all this was done, not out of Love to him, (for he has the ill luck to have few *Personal Lovers*,) but for fear of the *opposite Party*, and to *secure* themselves against their emulous Competitors, or *revenge* themselves upon them. If then *Title* (as it ought) be that which *gives* and *upholds* Authority; his *best Title* after he had now got rid of the hanck the *Presbyterians* had upon him, next to that of the *Confederacy* owning him for his Money and Assistance, (which now begins to knock off) was in reality, *The Feud between our Church and Dissenters*: Which Two made up a *Second* and a *Third Title* to prop up by turns this feeble Authority. Money then they voted him, and (to

(to engraate themselves by out-bidding the others) full thrice as much as the Dissenters had done; so that the Nation was half begger'd by his Transporting it beyond Sea, to *hire* Foreign Soldiers and *bribe* the Confederates; and yet though they thus pleased him by lavishing away the *Money* and *Riches* of the Nation, all the Title he could obtain of them unanimously, was to be only King *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*. Which encouraged Dr. *Sherlock*, who stood watching his Advantage, to face about and build this *New* and *Fourth* Title upon the *Events of Providence*, or (to use an Expression less blasphemous and more proper for a *Reeling* Authority) on the *Wheel of Fortune*. But the poor Man was so baffled for this new Notion of his, particularly by the Author of the *Trimming Court Divine*, and more largely and unanswerably by those two learned and acute Treatises, Entituled, [*The Duty of Allegiance settled upon its true Grounds, according to Scripture, Reason, and the Opinion of the Church*, and by Dr. *Sherlock's Case of Allegiance considered with some Remarks upon his Vindication*;] that 'tis his best play to sit down with *silence*, and be content to lull his Conscience with his Deanry, without *awaking* or *disquieting* it by thinking *how* to answer them, lest it start up in his Face, and disturb his peaceful and comfortable Enjoyments of his new Acquisitions; for I dare challenge him, particularly in the behalf of the two latter of those three Treatises, that he is so shamefully confuted that he has not one starting-hole left for his Credit to escape by. And yet I must tell him, That unless he answers them *fully*, he *Cheats* the Government, and is bound in Conscience to make *Restitution* of his Deanry; For why should he be so bountifully paid for *weaving* a Piece, which, when it comes to be well lookt into, is so full of *Bracks*, *Stains*, and *Holes*; that 'tis useles and good for nothing?

Thus the *Fourth* Title of a King *de Facto*, by the *Wheel of Fortune*, was *laid flat*, and the *Unsteady* Authority of our new Governours was bandied most miserably from Post to Pillar, and could find no Foundation to fix upon, nor any *Basis* that would *fix* it. None had hitherto been so Hardy to offer to maintain *by Reason*, that they were *rightfull* and *lawfull* King and Queen: Yet I am credibly informed that a certain Gloomy-look't Divine, relying, I suppose, on some mystick Exposition of the *Revelation*, had preached a Sermon which would insinuate that King *William* had a Right to *England* by *Conquest*; which was formerly ready to be published, but upon the taking of *Mons* some stop was put to it at that time. If this be as true as it is told me, with much assurance, we English-men have reason to bless God for that Success of the French King, as the most beneficial *Event of Providence* that has befall'n us this long time; for had that Project been heartily encouraged, our Countrey-men had been all *Slaves*, and every Farthing in the Nation at the *Conquerour's* Devotion; it being indeed, in *that Case*, *his own*; so that when Parliaments would *give no more*, he might, by setting up his Title, when he pleased, *take all*; and this was the *Fifth Title* which has been set on foot.

At length comes this Gentleman, and seeing all the other Titles to be but impertinent *Shifts*, and not at all likely to take, he will needs strain a Note above *Ela*, and settle it on a *higher* Foundation; *viz.* on the *Law of Nations*, which allows *Independent Governments* to *right themselves*

selves by Force, or by making War on him that injures them: But, because he saw no War was made, no Army fought, nor a Stroke struck; so that none who was not mad with Revelation could dream of a Conquest giving him Right over England; he very politickly twists with it-- and with the Success of this Just War, (p. 11.) the Consent of the People too. This, I must confess, is a more extraordinary and more refined Notion than any of the other, 'tis made of Contradictions, and is of a Composition altogether Monstrous. We use to instance in Chimeras by a Hirco-cervus (a Goat-Stag) or some such whimsical Conceit, that imports two or more different Natures clapt together. But this new fangled Notion of Right, he has invented, consists not of merely different, but opposite Natures; War and Force signifie Involuntariness in those they are exercised upon, and Consent signifies Voluntariness. Again, the Effect of War and Force is to subdue Resisters, and Consent of the whole Nation signifies no Resisters at all. So that to come in by Force of War, and at the same time by Consent, is to be beaten voluntarily, to be forced willingly, to resist yieldingly, to submit withall our Hearts, yet against our Will, or whatever Nonsense of this kind this incoherent and self-divided Notion of Right affords us. But, to say the Truth, there was neither a fair War, subduing the resisting Nation against their Consent, nor a clear, free, and deliberate Consent of the whole Nation; but (as will shortly appear) a mere Trick, manag'd by an Ambitious Invader, and his Confederates, seconded by a Party of Malecontents and Rebellious Deserters, and carried on by a complicated Series of unproved Pretences, and Forgeries, to bubble and fool the Common People, and bring us into the Slavery and Beggary we now groan under.

We will put this young new-hatcht Kingly-Title its best Cloaths on, and then see how finely the Royal Robes become it, and how prettily the Baby will look.

There is besides the Laws of the Land (says he, p. 11.) a Law of Nations, by which Sovereign Independent Governments, when injured, may Right themselves by a Just War. Here were great and violent presumptions of an injury to the Right of Succession, and too great Evidence of a formed Design to subvert the Establish'd Religion and Civil Liberties of the Nation, and this War had Success; therefore the Sovereignty was duely transferred, and so there can be no dispute left to whom our Allegiance is due. This is the full substance of the Discourse he had put together, as he told us (p. 10.) to clear this whole Matter. Let us now take it gently to pieces, and lay each part of it down easily, lest it fall afunder of it self, and shatter into Incoherent Atoms before we come to handle it closely.

'Tis deny'd then, that there were in our Case two Nations, or several Independent Governments. 'Tis deny'd there were great and violent presumptions of the Injury mentioned. 'Tis deny'd there was too great Evidence of the form'd Design he pretends. 'Tis deny'd the Prince of Orange acquired his Authority by making War, or that he righted himself by Force, or came by the Consent of the People; and therefore since he has no Right either by fair Means, or foul Means, 'tis deny'd he has any Right at all; what he has, how he came by it, or how he still keeps it, shall be declared hereafter.

First then, That there is a Law of Nations distinct from that of particular Kingdoms every Man knew before; so that he needed not have been so large in a Point so universally acknowledged; but 'tis becoming his small Politicks to *amplifie mightily*, and carry all before him Victoriously in Things which *no Man* living denies: But to be *short and slight*, or rather perfectly *silent* in those particulars, on which the Decision and the Truth of the whole business depends; we *grant* him then that *Independent Governments* may, when *injured*, have a Right to *demand*, and if it be *deny'd* them, *take Satisfaction by force of Arms*, for 'tis no more than every Man knows, and yields to; but 'tis deny'd that this comes home to his Purpose, or does his Cause the least service. For——

Secondly, 'Tis deny'd that there were here *Two Independent Governments*, and so his Discourse falls to the ground. The States of *Holland* indeed make a *Government*, but those good Men, who never told lye in their Lives, disclaim'd the Action by their Ambassador; and, like wise Men, lest it should not succeed, would not be seen in it, but made use of *Foot of Whelp* to do their own Jobs, 'till the Six hundred thousand Pound came to be pay'd them, and then indeed they so far *own'd* it heartily, and *took our Money* very readily: Besides they were *Allies* to King *James*, which makes it contrary to the *Law of Nations*, to which he recurs. And, lastly, if they made this *War*, and had *Success* in it, (I am sure the Prince of *Orange* was not such an *Independent Governour* as to make it *without them*) it would follow, by this Discourse that *They*, and not *He*, are our *Lords and Masters*; a Title which the *Hollanders* do not *quit*, but still *assert* on due occasions, That *their State-holder manages* England for their behoof, as appears by their carriage in the *Mogul's* Countrey, where they seiz'd some of our Merchants Effects, by pretending that *England was now under Holland*, and that they had sent one of their own Officers to govern it *in their stead*. As for the Prince of *Orange*, taken in his own single Capacity, he was far from being a *Separate Nation*, or *Independent Government*, which this Gentleman's Discourse proceeds upon, or indeed *Supreme Governour of any Nation at all*, not of the *Principality of Orange*; for this was by *Dr. Shrock's Events of Providence*, and by *Conquest* taken from him long ago: Nor was the Prince of *Orange* a *Sovereign Independent Prince* in *Holland*, for he was there *under* the Government of the States: Nor was it ever heard there was a Prince of *Breda*: So that this Gentleman's Discourse falters in that which should have been the very *subject* of it. He should have said that any *great Man* who had received *Wrong*, might in true Reason right himself by the best means that he or his Friends could make against *any Man*, who was not his *Sovereign* or *fellow Subject*, and this by the *Law of Reason*, or *Nature*, not by the *Law of Nations*; For what had the *Law of Nations* to do in the business, when there was no *Nation Injured*, or that demanded Satisfaction? For surely he will not say that King *James* had done *Wrong* to the *Principality of Orange*, or that the Person of King *William* alone, or of his *Queen* either, is a *Nation*: Yet one of the two he must say, to make his Discourse hang together.

B

Thirdly,

Thirdly, 'Tis deny'd *there were great and violent Presumptions of an injury to the Right of Succession*: This, if made good, might do his Cause some service; let us see then what strong Proofs he brings to evince it. Two sorts of Arguments he alledges to prove it. The first is the Prince of Orange's Declaration; certainly this Man is infatuated. Our English Proverb [*Ask my Master if I be a Thief*] contains as good a Plea as this; yet the poor Man triumphs mightily, and thinks his Work is done when he has *barely repeated it*. But what says the Declaration? Why, it says, That *all the good Subjects of these Kingdoms do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen, and that many doubted of the Queen's Bigness, and of the Birth of the Child; and yet there was not any one Thing done to satisfy their Doubts*: So says the Declaration indeed; and if a Man may be believ'd in his own Cause, (against our own knowledge,) when he might hope to get Three Kingdoms by saying so, all is as true as Gospel, and as clear as Demonstration; otherwise our Reason will, I hope, give us leave to suspect at least *Misinformation* in the Case, if not *Self-partiality*. And I do not like either the Sincerity, or the Care of him that penned it, in saying, first that [*All good Subjects vehemently suspected, &c.*] and then dwindling afterwards into [*Many doubted, &c.*] A sober Man would not have quoted the Declaration, unless to defend it; but this Gentleman builds on it as on his Principle.

But how will he justify the Declaration when it says, that *not any one thing was done to satisfy Doubters, or himself for hinting so impudently*, (p. 14.) That the *principal Persons concerned had not the least Satisfaction given them*? Was not the Testimony of near Fifty sworn Witnesses of Credit, enough to satisfy reasonable Men in a matter of Fact? No, says he, (p. 13.) *No private Depositions of such as are dependents, or otherwise liable to suspicion, can in reason be taken for satisfactory Evidence*. Does this Man consider how many Protestants, how many Persons of unblemish'd Honour he taints with *suspicion of Perjury, and Treason* against the Nation, by hinting they are *forsworn* in attesting the Bigness of the Queen, and the Birth of the Prince of Wales? Unhappy Mr. Ash-ton, who had such Judges, and such Jury-men, as thought fit to condemn him without *any one Witness, or any one Proof*, but merely upon *Suspicion or Presumption*; yet such multitudes of legal Witnesses are held insufficient to satisfy those of the same Party of the Truth of a matter of Fact far more evident. Certainly this pretended Serupulosity of theirs, which is so loose at some time, and so *strait-lac'd* at another, is more lodged in their *Will* than in their *Reason*: But oh how he busles, and runs about the World to pretend a flaw in this most ample Attestation! The *Old Roman Laws* are halled in by Head and Shoulders, (p. 13.) though he knows well they are generally no where observed, especially those he mentions; they being indeed such extravagant Niceties, that it would look like perfect Madness, now a days, to offer to bring them into play. Then comes in our *Old Common Law*, (p. 14.) *Allowing a Writ of Inspection, and the Old Law Books giving directions to prevent and discover Subornation*: Now if there were any Thing done contrary to our Laws, that makes for his purpose, Why does

does he not produce it, and urge it ? Especially why did not the Convention, when they were so vehemently press'd to it by the Loyal Party, go about to *Discover* this pretended *Subornation* ? Why did not they, or any other, since this Government came in, make use of his Writs of *Inspection*, and his *Chapter in the Old Law Books* ? Did none of them know *Old Laws, Writs, and Chapters*, but this learned Setler of the Royal Succession ? This I can assure him, that durst the Convention have attempted it, they should have found, *even at that time*, very many other Witnesses of Credit, able both to satisfy the nicest Scrupulosity, confute the Calumny, and confound the Authors and Abettors of it. But they were afraid such an important Truth should be made *too evident* to the whole World, because it would at once have spoiled the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, and have shamed their own *Rebellious* Resolution of deposing King *James*, and setting up another in his stead : A Pretence which was so necessary to be *started* and *upheld*, must not be *Discovered*, by the Framers and Abettors of it to be a manifest *Imposture*, as they knew well it would have been, had they gone about to examine it. I omit to give a fuller Answer to his *Citations* out of the *Old Roman Laws*, and *our Old Common Laws*, because they have been considered very particularly, in a Discourse purposely made upon those very subjects, Entituled, *De Ventre Inspicendo*, or *Remarks on Mr. Ashton's Answerer*; which shews clearly from those *Laws* themselves, in the places he cites, and from those Oracles of the Law, *Bracton* and my Lord *Coke*, that neither the one, nor the other are at all to his purpose.

His other Proofs of *this injury* justifying the War, are a company of [*Its*,] as (pag. 13) *If there was no reasonable Care taken to prevent and remove these Suspicions*; and (pag. 14.) *If no such Care was taken, &c. If the principal Persons concerned had not the least Satisfaction given them. If the whole Thing was managed with Secrecy, and suspicious Circumstances, &c.* But he no where affirms, that all these particular [*Its*,] or any one of them was *positively* true; and consequently he attempts not to make good, nor offers the *least* Proof, that the War upon this Score was *Just*; nor that the *Law of Nations*, he so much talks of, gives the Invader any Right or Title to the Crown; nor, lastly, that *there were great*, and (as he oddly phrases it) *violent Presumptions* of this *Injury to the Right of Succession*: Whence follows, that he has not even *said one* single Word in justification of this *New Government*, or of the *Swearing Party*; and so he is infinitely short of *clearing the whole Matter*, as he, in big Words, pretended at the beginning of this Discourse. Certainly our Governours were either very unwise in chusing no better a Writer to *defend their Cause*, or else (which is the very Truth) their Cause it self can bear no better a *Defence*.

Since then this stout Champion of our new Government is so mightily in love with [*Its*,] it were not amiss to answer him with more *Its* than he brings, which moreover (a thing he no where does, for fear of a Confute,) we dare *vouch* to be *true*. We affirm then, That if this Invasion was intended above three quarters of a Year before it was

executed, or more, the French King sending King *James* word of it half a Year before: If it was long before concerted between the Prince of *Orange* and the Confederates, to dethrone King *James*; without any Respect to the Prince of *Wales*, (as yet but a young *Embryo*, if so much,) or to the maintaining our Religion or Liberties, or to any of those other specious Pretences taken up afterwards, but (on the Confederates parts at least) merely for fear he might be brought to side with *France*, or stand *Neutral*, and to make the silly *English* lose their Lives, and beggar themselves to maintain the Quarrel of Foreigners: If the main thing that encouraged the Confederates to that Undertaking was the Known Hatred of the English Men in general to King *James's* Religion, that King's Zeal to make those of his Persuasion as free as the rest of their Fellow Subjects, (which they hop'd would highly disgust very many,) and their Assurance that they had a Faction, Lying, and Discontented Party here, who would make way for his Ejectment, by giving about and countenancing such Stories and Libels as would encline great part of the Nation to a Revolt: If, among the rest, this Flaw of a supposititious Prince of *Wales*, nor dream'd on by any till then, was coined in the Politick Mint at the *Hague*, sent over into *England* to be made current here by their Party, and then the Dissatisfaction which themselves had raised here was taken up for a Pretence, and inserted in the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, to give the idle Story a greater Authority, and to gloss over such an unnatural and so unjust an Invasion: If ample Satisfaction was given by the Oaths of Multitudes of Credible and Honourable Witnesses, when the Dissatisfaction came to some height; it being highly unwise for a King to humor every idle Report, or honor it with such a solemn Examination: If the Queen's Delivery was far from being carried secretly and suspiciously, (as one of his *Is's* shamefully hints,) but in open Day-light, before a Multitude of People of All sorts indifferently, no Person of Honor being denied Entrance, who had the Curiosity to be present: If the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, who were Two of the Persons chiefly concern'd, being absent far off in *Holland*, and not denied coming over, if they would, might have sent some whom they could trust to be present, or at least had press'd their Sister who was here, and whose joint Concern it was to be exactly curious in a Business so highly importing them all; and yet none of them, though so hugely obliged by their Interest to doe this, did ever make any kind of Means or Application, in order to their so just Satisfaction, which it had been a Madness not to have done, had they indeed had any real Doubt. Nay more, If (to carry on the politick Sham) the Princess of *Denmark*, who was the Third Person so nearly concerned, after having avoided with all the Industry imaginable to be present at the Queen's rising and going to Bed, (lest she should be forced to see what she was loth to know, and resolv'd not to witness, viz. the Queen's Pregnancy,) would needs, contrary to the Will of her Father, who express'd some Trouble that she should then be absent, because she being satisfied in the Thing herself, might be the better able to satisfy her Relations, run out of the way to the *Bath*, and to be purposely absent just at the time the Queen reckoned to be delivered, though she had most pressing reasons of Interest to be here at that time, nor could, without most manifest Injustice,

Rice, be denied all the Liberty allowable to one of the same Sex; both to satisfy her self and others; though at the same time it was given out, that she was sent away by her Father, lest she should discover the pretended Cheat: If none of the Three nearly concerned, nor any other, made the least Scruple, nor pretended the least Dissatisfaction in the World, when the Queen was delivered of *other* Children formerly, though not half the number was present, until a *Male Child* was born, which to their Regret, put them by the Hopes and Expectation of succeeding in their turns the *Next*: If instead of offering any Proof at all, or any one Witness of the contrary, to invalidate or counterbalance in the least degree this consonant Testimony of so many Persons of untainted Honour and Sincerity; this Farce, to gull and mad the silly credulous People, was carried on and abetted with nothing but Multitudes of *Lyes*, printed and baw'd about to serve a present Turn; as, that the Woman whose Child it was, was come out of *Holland*, and would appear to justify it; that it was brought to *St James's*, sometimes in a Coach, some times in a Warming-pan, that the Midwife had confessed the Cheat, &c. All which are evinced to be Falshoods by this, that they were *never prov'd*, or *attempted* to be prov'd, though it was so *highly necessary*: If the factious Members in the Convention, that voted up this new King, were prest by the loyal Party to call this matter into Examination, yet could never be brought to doe it, though it were in it self of the highest Concern imaginable to our Nation, and withall most absolutely necessary to justify this otherwise barbarous Invasion of the Prince of *Orange*, and their own Treasonable Abdication of King *James*: Lastly, If this heavy Charge against the King and Queen, of trumping up a Sham Prince of *Wales*, was industriously spread throughout the Three Kingdoms, not out of any real Zeal of preserving the True Succession, but onely as a fit occasion to throw off *That* and the Monarchy too, as *hereditary by Lineal Descent*, by changing it into an *Elective*, as frankly acknowledged by one of the greatest *Abdicating* Peers of the Realm, who owned to a Person of known Integrity, that he believed the Prince of *Wales* to be as truly born of the Queen's Body, as his own Son of his Wife's; and that therefore they were resolved to *pluck* up both *Root and Branch*; which in other words is to *change* the Government: If, I say, all these Particulars be true, as we dare *affirm* them to be, and are ready to prove by unquestionable Testimonies; and as most of them are most *notorious*, then we may safely conclude, that the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* was no *just Occasion of a War*, nor consequently can he derive hence a *Right to the Government* by the *Law of Nations* justifying his Invasion, as this Gentleman pretends.

I pity his Weakness in comparing (*p. 15.*) this *open Carriage* of things in the Birth of that Prince, before *Multitudes* of People of *all sorts indifferently* to a Juggle between *Three*, (the pretended Father and Mother and a Midwife,) to suborn a false Child: He thinks it too of great Weight, That the Jury upon *hearing the whole Evidence, gave Judgment that that Child was supposititious*: What Straws wil Men catch at when their Cause is sinking? But why does he not tell us, *what Evidence* the Jury he speaks of proceeded upon? Because it would shame his alleadg-

allegding it. 'Tis this, as I have been informed: The *Herefordshire* Woman was held *Incapable* of Children, which made the next Heir to the Estate suspect *no* Child was born: A crafty Lawyer, who undertook to discover it, first made Enquiry what *poor* Women the Midwife had delivered about *that* time, and found that one of them had her Child *missing*; having discovered this, he frights the Woman, by telling her there was a great Rumour that she had *murdered* her Child, and that she should be hanged if she did not *produce* it alive or dead. Hereupon she made known the whole Intrigue of the Midwife, and the pretended Parents, and the Juggle came to be *confest*. Is this in any Regard like our Case? None were sworn there but the *two* Persons immediately concerned, who hoped to enjoy the Estate, and a Countrey Midwife, who was to have a share in it for her Project, at least we may be sure a good lusty Bribe. So that here was in reality but *One* Witness, the pretended Parents being barred from witnessing in their own Cause: *Count* now the *Number* of our Witnesses, and weigh their *Worth*, and how that they were not Persons *cull'd out*, but came *accidentally* as they hap't to hear of the Queen's Condition, and it will appear impossible they should be capable of a Confederacy or Subornation. Again: The Queen was never held to be barren; She had formerly divers *Daughters*, and a *Son*; and it was *likely*, and no more but what by the course of Nature is *generally expected*, that She should at another time have a second *Male-Child*: Nor did any Mother of the Child appear to own it, as the Lying Party a good while pretended she would; all those kind of *Romances* serv'd like Buttresses or Scaffolds to *raise* this new King to his *Height*, and *build up* our New Government; and therefore when things were better *settled*, and could stand without them, they were taken down again, and laid aside as useless. In a word, let him bring an Evidence in any degree like that which his *Herefordshire* Jury had, and we shall acknowledge the Wrong done to the Nation, and to the Royal Family, and grant the *War* (had there been any) *just*: Till then let not such Personages lie under such intolerable Slanders; let not *Christianity* and *Duty* be so wickedly *violated*, nor the People of *England* *deluded* and *scandalized* with such *Talk* without *Proof*, and such *heavy Charges* laid without the least colourable Shadow of *Evidence*, to justify that they are so much as in any degree *Probable*, much less (as he mouths it) *great* and *violent Presumptions*, and least of all (what they ought to have been) *absolutely certain Truths*.

Thus much of his *great and violent Presumptions*, &c. Next follows (for though he be a very slender Prover, yet he is still a very big Pretender) his *Too great Evidence of a form'd Design to subvert the Establish'd Religion, and Civil Liberties of the Nation*. I suppose he calls it *Too great Evidence*, because 'tis so *great* that it *dazzles* the Sight, as the Sun does at Noon-day; so that no Man can see it, or *hold* it, else why is it *too great*? Now when a Man has *too much* of a thing, 'tis very *unkind*, and even *ill-natur'd* and hard-hearted, not to spare a *Little* of it to his Friends to whom he *owes* it, and who both *want* it, and *expect* it from him. But we mistake his *Genius*, he is a *Prating* not a *Proving* Writer:

Writer: Nor does he evidence the Calumny otherwise, than by referring us again to his *Alcoran*, the *Prince of Orange's Declaration*: Whatever he finds there, he makes account is a *First Principle*, and so being of *too great Evidence*, it can need no Proof.

An impartial Narrative of matters of F. Ct known to most in *England*, will give us a true Light to judge of this Point. King *James* his Religion and the hatred which the generality of the Nation had against it, made all those who were of a different Persuasion look with a *jealous Eye* upon his Actions, and apt to make the *worst* Constructions of every thing he did, in favour of Papists: Not is it to be thought that he wanted many Enemies of the Old *Excluding Faction*, who stood watching all Opportunities to breed him Vexation, and disaffect his Subjects by malicious Insinuations. Those of our Church who were heartily Loyal, did grieve exceedingly to see him give his Enemies *too fair* occasions to work him Mischiefs: They judg'd that the setting up the High Commission Court over Ecclesiasticks, were there nothing in it but the Novelty of it, should not have been attempted in such Circumstances, *if at all*. The making one of the *Jesuits* (Men more odious to our Nation than *Turkish Musives*) a Privy-Counsellor, could, they fear'd, have no other likely Effect, but to exasperate all *England* to the highest degree. They conceived that the *Dispensing* with the *Test*, and putting Roman-Catholicks promiscuously into Offices Civil and Military, might have been let alone 'till the *Test* it self were Abrogated, which would certainly have been more easily obtained, had not this forward Anticipation put our Church of *England* out of humour, and made them more warily stand upon their Guard, and resolve unanimously to part with nothing that could any way be likely to advantage them: But that which most *Startled* our Church, was the Design of giving Liberty of Conscience to all Dissenters; they had sadly experienced in the long Parliament's Time, and in *Oliver's* Days, how those Men had trampled the Church of *England* under Foot, and they feared that this setting them by Law, on an *even level* with themselves, might in time give those restless Men opportunity to play the same Pranks over again. In a Word, they apprehended they were to fence with their Enemies on both hands, and therefore they combined *Veluti Testudine facta* ——— to link themselves unanimously against the *universal Dispensing* Power, and in Maintenance of the *Test*.

On the other side, King *James* was very earnest to have a *general Liberty of Conscience* settled by Law. It had ever been his Tenet, that Persecution purely for Conscience sake was *Unchristian*: Besides, he judg'd it would *enrich* the Nation, as it had done *Holland*, by inviting Strangers hither, and encouraging Trade; the conveniency of our Ports, above those of our Neighbours, being an efficacious Motive to draw the Traffick from *them* to *us*. He judg'd too that this universal Toleration, if wisely settled and managed, might be a means to compose the Bedlam Animosities here about Religion, which had so often distracted the Nation, and, within our Memory, turned the Government topsie-turvy. Nor was it one of his *least* Motives (though not the *only* one, as some apprehended) to gain those of his own Religion a Toleration among the rest of the Dissenters; a thing (to speak impartially.)

partially) to which both his Honour and his Conscience could not but exceedingly encline him. These Conveniencies meeting in one, took such full hold of his Judgment, that he was exceedingly fond of a Project, which did seem to him so hugely Advantageous to the Nation. Hereupon he try'd all *Sweet means* imaginable to bring it about, but found all his *Careless* ineffectual to induce our Church Party to permit it to be enacted in Parliament, which was his main design: Wherefore he saw there was no other Expedient, but to turn out such Officers as opposed his Intentions, and (*for the present*) to put in *Dissenters* to whom he knew it would be grateful, and by that means to compels such a Parliament, as was likely to establish this Liberty of Conscience by Law. He hop'd it would not much displease our Church, since he declared he would continue to them the Prerogative above others, to be still the *State-Religion* established by Law; to enjoy all the *Bishopricks* and *Benefices*; and by that means to have vast Privileges and Advantages over any others whatsoever: But they were jealous that this was not sufficient to secure them for the future. And hence, as it happens, when both Parties are stiff in their contrary Preensions, mutual *Diskindnesses* pass towards one another, which ill-meaning Men laid hold on, and made use of to disaffect the Nation; and so facilitated the way to welcome the *Invasion*.

Now all this while, What had King James done to make his Son in Law, and his own Nephew, nay his own Daughter, turn their Father out of his Kingdoms? There was nothing taken from our Church but the *Power of Persecution*, our *Principles* he meddled not with, nor intruded Men of *Heterodox* Tenets into our Bishopricks and Livings; whereas now we have *Socinians* and *Latitudinarians* foisted into our Chief Cathedrals, and our Parish Churches; so that we may expect shortly, without God's special and undeserved Mercy, our Church will be made an *Amsterdam* of all Religions: Their *Swearing* Allegiance at a venture atones for all their *Heretical* Tenets, let them be as *damnable* as they will, or can be. Had our Governour (for to call him *Head* of such a different-natured Church, were to call it a *Monster*) taken away our *external Grandure*, or our *Revenues*, it had been *less pernicious* to our Church, than what it now suffers. For not *outward Splendor*, or *Riches*, but *True Principles of Faith* are that which make a Church. The *Catholic* Church under the Ten Heathen Persecutions, was still a most *perfect* and *pure Church*, by keeping her *Principles* untainted, and *admitting* none into her Communion that were polluted with *false Tenets*; though it wanted then all these outward Ornaments and Accessories: So that both the very *Essence* and *Being* of our Church goes on now *corrupting* every Day; and her *Revenues* too, in great part, are given away to *Aliens*: Whereas King James never injured us, in the least, either in the one of those respects, or the other, (nor have we any more than a *suspicion* that he ever meant it) though he shew'd some *Repentments* against the personal Opposition, or rather uncompliance of some of our great ones, which was a trifle in Comparison: Whereas the Prince of Orange's *declaring* he came over to *maintain the Protestant Religion*, was a *meer Pretence*, being so far from *maintaining*, or *upholding* our *Principles of Faith*, or *assisting* our Church; that, as ap-
pears

years by the Event, he has taken Care to *corrupt* the *One*, and is making haste to *destroy* the *Other*; the *War* therefore (if any) cannot be said to be *just* upon *that* Account.

As for what King *James* is pretended to have done in prejudice of our *Civil Liberties*, which required the Prince of *Orange's* over-charitable vindicating them: He was told by his Judges that it was his *due Prerogative*; and suppose he had something extended *that*, why should this oblige a *Son* and *Daughter* to invade a *Father*? Had he *beggar'd* the Nation by *Heavy Taxes*, it had been worse for them when *their* turn came to enjoy it. But to magnifie the *Royal Prerogative* had been a *high Benefit* to them, especially in a Nation which was in great part of *Common-wealth* Principles, and ought to have been esteemed *meritorious*. Again: The greatest Encroachment upon our *Civil Liberties* that was objected, was the *Dispensing universally* with the *Laws* against the *Dissenters*, whence it was inferred, he might by the same Reason dispense with any *other* Law, or suspend the Execution of it, and then adieu to our *Civil Liberties*. But it ought to be remembered, that when he did this, he *declared* his Judgment at the same time, what *inestimable Common Goods* it would bring to the Nation, (which cannot be pretended the *Dispensing* with any other Law whatsoever,) and he judged himself to be by his Office, as indeed he was, *Ovee seer of the Common Good*. It may be remembered, that it enrich'd not *himself*, but rather *impoverish'd* him; for he lost the *Fines* and *Forfeitures* raised upon *Conventicles*: So that 'tis manifest he aimed onely at the *Common Good* of the *People*, and not at his *own private Interest*; and therefore if he had erred, it ought to have been very pardonable, and not have been made such a heinous Fault, as deserv'd an *Invasion*, and the *Loss* of his *Crown*.

Again: If King *James* over-reach'd, it was in order to get *Universal Liberty of Conscience* settled by Law, which suiting so exactly with the *Dutch Methods* could not, to a *Dutch Prince*, be a *just Ground* for such an *Unnatural Quarrel*; especially since it was intended to take the *Grievous Yoke* of *Queen Elizabeth's* *Laws* from off the *Necks* of those of the *Presbyterian* Persuasion; which being the Religion that Prince had espoused, and been bred up in, it ought rather to have *obliged* him, than have *exasperat'd* him so highly as to draw his *Sword* at his *Father*. This Pretence then of *maintaining our Civil Liberties*, and of *Justifying* the *War* upon that score, is so open a *Sham* past upon us poor *English Gulls*, that it gives it self the *Lye*, even from the *Principles* of our *New Governours* themselves.

Fourthly, It is denied there was *any War at all*, either intended, or proclaimed, or acted. Princes that conceive themselves aggrieved, use to be so generous, as first to *complain* and *demand Satisfaction*; and if this be denied, then to *denounce War*, and *prosecute* it. This is the *Law of Nations*, and the common Custom of the *World*: But here was no *Complaint*, no *Demand* of Satisfaction, nor any *War* proclaim'd, but *denied* to the very time of their *Landing*; nor was any *Battle* intended. That *Warlike* and *Noble Prince* (witness his false-hearted *Declaration*) came over to *weedle*, not to *fight*. Some *Thousands* of *Souldiers* he did indeed bring over with him, and they might *encamp*, and perhaps *muster*; but for coming forwards within the *Lists*, till the

King's Army had voluntarily dispersed it self, or offer to join *Battel* with them, you must pardon them. Alas! They were so far from the least *Thought* of taking upon them that Boldness, that 'tis well known how upon the Delay of our *Renegadoes* coming over to them, they had called a Council, not of *War*, or of *Fight*, but of *Flight*; for it was there in a *Panick Fear* resolved to be gone most valiantly the next day, had not one of them unexpectedly arrived, who brought the reviving Tidings of more chief Officers to follow; whose shamefull *Deserting*, as it gave them the Courage to stay, so it amused the King, that he durst not venture to trust the rest, not knowing the Number of his *firm Friends*, since those who had the greatest *Obligations* in the world to be so, had so dishonourably run to his *Enemy*, and turned *Traitors*. *War* implies some kind of *Bravery* in its Notion, but in this case there was nothing but a *sneaking Treachery*, and a mere *Trick* to fright some with the apprehension of an universal *Defection* of the King's Army, and to *debauch* the rest with *Shams* and *Lyes*. This was the *War*, this the *Success* of *War*, which (p. 11.) this idle Talker so much b. aggs of, and on which he builds the Prince of *Orange's Right to the Government*. A strange *War* without doubt, where never a *Stroke* was *struck*; and as strange a *Success* of *Wars*, which depended not on the *Battled Courage* of the *Dutch*, but on the *Treachery* of the *English*. Till now all Mankind verily judged, that *Success* in *War* imported *Victory* or *Conquest*; and Can it be called a *Victory* where none fought? Besides, a *Victor* signifies a *Conquerour*; and then *England* should be his by *Conquest*, notwithstanding the *Consent* of the *People* afterwards, unless the *People* compounded it with the *Conquerours* before hand, as the *Kentish Men* did with *William I.* otherwise all is his.

Lastly, 'Tis denied there was an unanimous *Consent* of the *People*. He distinguishes (p. 23.) between a *Right to the Government*, and the *Manner of assuming it*. The *Right*, he says, was founded on the *just Causes* of the *War*, and the *Success* in it: But the *Assuming* it was not by any way of *Force* or *Violence*, but by a *free Consent* of the *People*. It seems then the *Government* originally was *rightfully* his, even while he was in *Holland*, if he could but catch it; and so, if he were but so wise as to *know* his own *Right*, and his own *Interest*, of which none can doubt, he came over with a *Design* and full *Intention* to get it. Yet himself in his *Declaration* disclaimed any such *Intention*, and continued to doe so all along, till the very time of *choosing* him, even after King *James* was gone, and his *Army* dispersed; and consequently after the *Success* of the *War* (such as it was) was acquired: So that this acute Gentleman gives us a *New* and *Sixth* Title to the *Crown*, which was never known to that Prince himself, nor ever owned by him, nor hinted in any of his *Proclamations*; nor (which is strange) acknowledged or intimated by the *Convention*, when they voted him King, and were at an utter Loss on what *Ground* to settle his Title, while the true King was yet living; nor, lastly, thought on, dream'd on, or heard on by any Man in the World, till himself writ; and one would think, that had not his bad Cause suspended his Use of *Common Sense*, he could not but see that the very Word [*Acceptance of the Government,*] which he here uses, (pag. 23.) is clearly relative to their *Giving* him the same Govern-

Government, and (unless we will wrong the Use and signification of Words) giving it as a *Kindness* too, since no man can be said to accept that as a *Gift* which was *his own before*. But give it they did, and accordingly he *kist his hand*, and *thank'd* them for the Favour. And I wonder to what end, if this Discourse of his be true, was all that mad Clutter about the *Abdication-Vote*, to make room for a new King, and give him a Title: For if *K. William* had Right *even then* to the Government, upon the score of a *successfull War*, King *James* had no Right at all, but was absolutely *outed*, whether he had *abdicated* or *not abdicated*. But it seems they were all *Fools* to this Gentleman, whose quick sight could descry a Title which was hid from the dim Eyes of the *whole Consenting Nation*.

But was there indeed a *free Consent of the People*? Let us see. A Consent is said then to be *free*, when there is neither *Force* over-awing Men, nor *Fraud* either *circumventing* them with false Motives, or *frightening* them with false Fears. Now the Common People were *bubbled* at that time with a *Thousand Lies* about the Prince of *Wales*, *Smithfield Fires*, a *League* made with *France* to enslave us all; nay, that we were all sold to the French King, and in Danger to have all our *Throats* cut by him: They *consented* then upon such *Suppositions*, not *absolutely*; and so these *Suppositions* being found to be false, their *true Reason* *consented not*, but they were surprized, terrified, and amazed into a false grounded *Passion*, which made them in a hurry do what they *knew not what*; whereas the most sedate *Deliberation*, and most true *Representation* of things is requisite to such a *Free Consent*, as submits all the *Subjects Lives* and *Fortunes* to the maintaining this *New Governour* in the *Throne*, as they must do, whoever own their *Alliance due* to him.

At least he will say the *Convention* represented the Nation, and *consented*, and that's enough. I deny all Three. It was neither a *Legal Representative*, and so let it Vote what it will it *binds no Man*, nor consequently is it enough for his Purpose: Nor did the People who chose the Commons intend to empower them to *alter* the most fundamental Law of the Land, and make a *New King* as they pleased. Besides, if they would needs do it, they ought to have first repealed the *Laws* for the *Royal Succession*, and all those other *Laws* too which make it *Treason* to obey or acknowledge any other but the immediate *Successour* for their King; otherwise those *Laws*, yet standing, whatever was done against them was beyond all *Excuse illegal* and *treasonable* in the highest Degree. Nor, lastly, did the *Convention* *unanimously* and *freely consent*. The *Common-wealthish Party* could not *Uin* to bring in a *New King*, while the *Old one* was *Alive*, and had not *resigned*. Being thus at a loss, when they had *computed* the Number of their *Faction*, who they knew would vote *any thing*, they put the King's *Abdication* to vote: It was carried, though it was such a Piece of bold *Impudence* as was, at *another time*, (and will be for *all future Ages*) enough to make all the *Convention* held *Mad-men*. The King was commanded out of his *Palace* to a *Prison*, and all *Treaty* with him refused, and so, being made justly apprehensive by his *Father's Fate*, he had retired for his *Safety*; but well foreseeing

the ambitious Drift of the Prince of Orange, He, both by his Letter from Rochester, and divers others afterwards, particularly in that to the Lords, both *claimed* the Government, *challenged their Allegiance*, desired them to prepare things for his safe Return, and signified he would be within Convenient distance, to receive and answer their Proposals: He told them the Right was *His*, and bid them remember, that *none* but *Himself* was or could be their Sovereign.

Besides: It was fresh in every Man's Memory, how his Royal Brother King Charles had retired also for his Safety, *continued* many Years out of England; yet no Man living ever thought, nor were his *very Enemies* so senseless, and shameless as to object, that he had *Abdicated* his Crown: Yet notwithstanding all this, and in despite of common Sense, *Claiming* was called *Abdicating*, and the *Challenging* their Allegiance was voted *Renouncing* it: They might better have voted, that the *Huntington Colt*, driven down to the Bridge at Cambridge, was a *Sturgeon*; that an *Apple* is an *Oyster*; or that *Chalk* is *Cheese*; for these are onely *different* Things, not *directly* Opposites, as are the other. No Wonder then it cost the Factious Party such Sweat and Toil to get such a damnable Contradiction enacted: Such a Solliciting, Cajolling, Frighting! Such Hurry and Clamour, [*Make him King, make him King,*] enough to put sober Mankind out of its Senses! Besides; a Dutch Army *over-awing* them, and the *Fear* of being accused afterwards to the New King as disaffected to him, which considering his Honour, impatient of Opposition in a pretence he was violently bent upon, might either prove their *Ruine*, or at least make them live very *uneasy* under him.

Take one short but very significant Instance, how things were carried in those Mad Days, as it was related by a Noble Peer (who was himself very forward for the Abdication) to his Friends upon occasion. There being no Judges yet appointed, there was a Debate in the Convention, what Gentlemen of the long Robe should be made choice of to assist in the House: Some named Sir Francis Pemberton, Sir Robert Sawyer, and Mr. Finch; but the Lords Mordant, Delamere, and some others, took Fire suddenly, and brake out into big and boisterous Language, telling the House flatly and plainly, [*We will have none of those who have been Instruments in the late Reign:*] Upon which a sudden Damp seized all the Lords, as if they had been attackt in Flank and Rear with Canons and Mortars, or the Thunder from Mount Sinai: *For we look on them*, said that Lord, *as on so many Princes of Orange, or such as might not be contradicted for fear of his Displeasure; and in the same Manner most Votes were forced, till we had the Grace to be pliab'e to what the Military Lords and their Complices proposed.* Is not this a strange kind of *free Consent*, when the Heads of the Faction did *All* at their Pleasure, and the rest, who made up the Generality, durst do *Nothing* at all, but what was agreeable to the Arbitrary Will of the Prince of Orange, and his insolent Adherents?

And yet though their own Party was so great, and had all those Advantages to back them, they were able to carry it but by a very few Votes, as appears by the Catalogues of each. And which gives a greater Blemish in the House of Lords, than it had Advantage in the House
of

of Commons, Six Dukes, and Thirty Lords *protested* solemnly against it, and their Protestations stand yet upon *Record*: And the Generality of the others admitted it, because they judged it would be a Ruine to themselves, and withall worse for King James, if the Government should settle into a Common-wealth, than if they should keep up Monarchy, by setting up a King *de Facto* at present, which is all they intended at first, as divers of them have declared privately to those Friends they durst trust; though now they are carried down by the Current of the Times into many Treasonable Actions, contrary to their first Intentions: So dangerous is it to *recede* from Principles, in Compliance with any *present Circumstances* whatever.

Seeing then all this whole Turn of our State depends upon the *Abdication Vote*, as on it's Bottom and sole Foundation, and no King was chosen, but in *Supposition* of King James's Relinquishing, and voluntary divesting himself of his Crown, it follows, that the *True Ground* of King William's Right to the Government, is a piece of *mere Nonsense*, which we English Men call a *Bull*: And therefore since none of the many minded Writers, who have gone about to settle his Authority, have light on this *Seventh* and *truest* Title of his, I thought it fit to let them know it, that all his Friends may adore this *mysterious* Monster, this *Bull*; and in their Devotions cry aloud, *These are the Gods that brought our Israel out of the Land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage; i. e. from under the Government of King James.* And for not thinking this *Bull* to be rational, and falling down and adoring it, our *Loyal Martyr* suffered.

But to put an upshot to this whole Business: Let any Man who has but Eyes, and common Sense, peruse these following Letters of King James's to the *Lords of the Council*, and the House of Lords and Commons, and he must, whether he will or no, plainly see how prodigiously senseless this pretence is of that King's Abdication, on which, (and which onely) the Convocation grounded their *Dephroning* him, and *Setting up the Prince of Orange* in his stead.

*His Majesties Letter to the Lords; and
others of his Privy-Council.*

J A M E S R.

My Lords,

WHEN We saw that it was no longer Safe for Us to remain within Our Kingdom of *England*, and that thereupon We had taken Our Resolutions to withdraw for some time, We left to be Communicated to You and to all Our Subjects, the Reasons of Our withdrawing: And were likewise resolved, at the same time, to leave such Orders behind Us to You of Our Privy-Council, as might best suit with the present State of Affairs: But that being altogether Unsafe for Us at that time, We now think fit to let you know, that though it has been our constant Care since Our first Accession to the Crown, to govern Our People with that Justice and Moderation, as to give, if possible, no occasion of Complaint; yet more particularly upon the late Invasion, seeing how the Design was laid, and fearing that Our People, who could not be destroy'd but by themselves, might by little imaginary Grievances be cheated into a certain Ruine. To prevent so great Mischief, and to take away, not only all just Causes, but even pretences of Discontent, We freely and of Our own accord redressed all those Things that were set forth as the Causes of that Invasion: And that We might be informed by the Counsel and Advice of Our Subjects themselves, which way We might give them a further and a full Satisfaction, We resolved to meet them in a Free Parliament; and in order to it, We first laid the Foundation of such a Free Parliament, in restoring the City of *London*, and the rest of the Corporations to their ancient Charters and Priviledges; and afterwards actually appointed the Writs to be issued out, for the Parliament's Meeting on the Fifteenth of *January*: But the Prince of *Orange* seeing all the Ends of his Declaration Answered, the People beginning to be undeceiv'd, and returning apace to their ancient Duty and Allegiance; and well foreseeing that if the Parliament should meet at the time appointed, such a Settlement, in all probability, would be made both in Church and State, as would totally defeat his Ambitious and Unjust Designs, resolved by all means possible to prevent the Meeting of the Parliament. And to do this the most effectual way, he thought fit to lay a restraint on Our Royal Person, for as it were absurd to call that a Free Parliament, where there is any force on either of the Houses, so much less can that Parliament be said to act freely where the Sovereign, by whose Authority they meet and sit, and from whose Royal Assent all their Acts receive their Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement. The hurrying of Us under a Guard from Our City of *London*, whose returning Loyalty We could no longer

Trust,

Trust, and the other Indignities We suffered in the Person of the Earl of *Faversham*, when sent to him by Us; and in that Barbarous Confinement of Our own Person We shall not here repeat, because they are, We doubt not, by this time very well known, and may, We hope, if enough considered and reflected upon, together with his other Violations and Breaches of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, which by this Invasion he pretended to restore, be sufficient to open the Eyes of all Our Subjects, and let them plainly see what every one of them may expect; and what Treatment they shall find from him, if at any time it may serve his Purpose, from whose Hands a Sovereign Prince, an Uncle, and a Father, could meet with no better Entertainment. However, the Sense of these Indignities, and the Just Apprehension of further Attempts against Our Person, by them who already endeavoured to murder Our Reputation by infamous Calumnies, (as if We had been capable of supposing a Prince of *Wales*,) which was incomparably more Injurious than the Destroying of Our Person it Self; together with a serious Reflection on a Saying of Our Royal Father, of blessed Memory, when he was in the like Circumstances, *That there is little distance between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes*, (which afterwards proved too true in his Case,) could not but persuade Us to make use of that which the Law of Nature gives to the meanest of Our Subjects, of freeing Our Selves by all means possible from that unjust Confinement and Restraint. And this We did not more for the Security of Our own Person, than that thereby We might be in a better Capacity of transacting and providing for every Thing, that may contribute to the Peace and Settlement of Our Kingdoms: For, as on the one hand, *No Change of Fortune shall make Us forget Our Selves, so far as to condescend to any Thing unbecoming that High and Royal Station, in which God Almighty by Right of Succession has placed Us*: So on the other hand; neither the Provocation or Ingratitude of Our own Subjects, nor any other Consideration whatsoever, shall ever prevail with Us to make the least step contrary to the true Interest of the English Nation; *Which we ever did, and ever must look upon as Our own*. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, That You of Our Privy-Council, take the most effectual Care to make these Our gracious Intentions known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about our Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to the Lord Mayor and Commons of Our City of *London*, and to all Our Subjects in general. And to assure them, That *We desire nothing more than to return and hold a Free Parliament*, wherein We may have the best Opportunity of undeceiving Our People, and shewing the Sincerity of those Protections, We have often made of the preserving the Liberties and Properties of Our Subjects, and the *Protestant Religion*, more especially the *Church of England* as by Law established, with such Indulgence for those that dissent from her, as We have always thought Our Selves in Justice and Care of the general Welfare of Our People, bound to procure for them. And in the meantime You of Our Privy-Council, (who can Judge better by being upon the Place,) are to send Us Your Advice, what is fit to be done by Us towards Our Returning, and Accomplishing these good Ends. And We do require You in Our Name, and by Our Authority, to endeavour

your so to suppress all Tumults and Disorders, that the Nation in general, and every one of Our Subjects in particular, may not receive the least Prejudice from the present Distractions that is possible. So not doubting of Your Dutiful Obedience to these Our Royal Commands, We bid You heartily Farewell.

Given at *St. Germain's en Laye* the 14th. of *January*, 1688. And of Our Reign the Fourth Year.

By His Majesties Command,

M E L F O R T.

Directed thus—

To the Lords, and others
of our Privy-Council of Our
Kingdom of England.

*His Majesties Letter to the House of Lords
and Commons, Writ from St. Germain's
the Third of February, 1688.*

J A M E S R.

My Lords,

WE think Our Selves obliged in Conscience to do all We can to open Our Peoples Eyes, that they may see the true Interest of the Nation in this Important Conjunction; and therefore We think fit to let you know, that finding We could no longer stay with Safety, nor act with Freedom in what concerned Our People, We left the Reasons of Our Withdrawing under Our own Hand, in the following Terms.

THE World cannot wonder at My Withdrawing My Self now this Second time; I might have expected somewhat better Usage after what I writ to the Prince of Orange, by my Lord *Feversham*, and the Instructions I gave him; but instead of an Answer, such as I might have hop'd for, what was I to expect after the Usage I received, by his making the said Earl a Prisoner against the Practice and Law of Nations; The sending his own Guards at Eleven at Night to take Possession of the Posts at White-hall, without Advertising Me in the least manner of it; The sending to Me at One a Clock after Midnight, when I was in Bed, a kind of an Order by Three Lords to be gone out of My own Pallace before Twelve the next Morning. After all this, How could I hope to be Safe, so long as I was in the Power of one, who had not only done this to Me, and Invaded My Kingdoms, without any just occasion given him for it, but that did by his First Declaration lay the greatest Aspersions

Asperſion on Me, that Malice could invent, in that Clause of it which concerns My Son? I appeal to all that know Me, *nay, even to himself,* that in their Conſciences, *neither he nor they,* can believe Me, in the leaſt, capable of ſo *Unnatural a Villany,* nor of ſo little common Senſe to be impoſed upon, *in a Thing of ſuch a nature as that:* What had I then to expect from one, who by all Arts hath taken ſuch pains to make Me appear *as black as Hell to My own People,* as well as to all the World *beſides?* What Effect that had at Home all Mankind have ſeen, by ſo general a *Deſection* in My Army, as well as in the Nation, amongſt all ſorts of People.

I was born Free, and deſire to continue ſo; and though I have *ventured My Life very frankly,* on ſeveral occaſions, for the *Good and Honor of My Countrey,* and am as free to do it again, (*and which I hope I ſhall yet do, as Old as I am, to redeem it from the Slavery it is like to fall under,*) yet I think it not convenient to expoſe My Self to be Secured, as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and for that Reaſon *do withdraw,* but ſo as to be within Call, whenſoever the Nations Eyes ſhall be opened, ſo as to ſee how they have been *Abuſed and Impoſed upon* by the ſpecious Pretence of Religion and Property. I hope it will pleaſe God to touch their Hearts, out of his infinite Mercy, and to make them ſenſible of the ill Condition they are in, and bring them to ſuch a Temper, *That a legal Parliament may be called;* and that amongſt other Things, which may be neceſſary to be done, they will agree to Liberty of Conſcience for all *Proteſtant Diſſenters;* and that thoſe of My own Perſuaſion may be ſo far *conſidered,* and have ſuch a ſhare of it, as they may live Peaceably and Quietly, as *Engliſh-men and Chriſtians ought to do,* and not to be obliged to tranſplant themſelves, which would be very grievous, eſpecially to ſuch as love their *own Countrey:* And I appeal to all Men, *who are Conſidering Men,* and have had Experience, Whether any thing can make this Nation ſo Great and Flouriſhing, as Liberty of Conſcience? Some of Our Neighbours dread it.

I could add much more to confirm all I have ſaid, but now is not the proper time.

Rochefter, Decemb.
22d. 1688.

But finding *this Letter* not to be taken to be Ours by ſome, and that the Prince of *Orange,* and his Adherents did *Maliciously* Suppreſs the ſame, We Writ to ſeveral of Our *Privy-Council,* and directed Copies thereof to divers of You the *Peers of the Realm,* believing that none durſt take upon them to intercept, or open any of Your Letters: But of all theſe We have no Account.

But We wonder not, that all Arts are uſed to hinder You from knowing Our *Sentiments,* ſince the Prince of *Orange* rather choſe againſt all Law to imprifon the Earl of *Feverſham,* and by Force to drive *Us away* from Our own Palace, than receive Our Invitation of coming to Us, *or-bearing* what We had to propoſe to him, well knowing that what *We had to offer,* would content all Honelt and Reaſonable Men, and was what he durſt not truſt You with *the Knowledge of.*

D

Thoſe

Those False and Wicked Reflections on Us, relating to the *French-League*, and to Our Son the *Prince of Wales*, We require You to examine into, and thereby satisfy Your Selves, and all other Our Subject, where the *Imposture* lies; We hope God will not permit You to deprive Your Selves of a lawful Prince, whose Education shall be such, as may give a Prospect of Happiness to all Our Kingdoms hereafter.

We are Resolved nothing shall be omitted on Our part (whenever We can with Safety return) that can contribute towards the redress of all former Errors, or present Disorders, or add to the Securing the *Protestant Religion*, or the Property of every individual Subject, intending to refer the whole to a Parliament, *Legally Called, Freely Elected, and held without Constraint*, wherein We shall not only have a particular Regard to the Support and Security of the *Church of England*, as by *Law Established*; but also give such an Indulgence to *Dissenters*, as Our People shall have no Reason to be jealous of, not expecting for the future any other Favour to those of Our own Persuasion, than the exercise of their Religion in their own private Families.

And because many of Our well-meaning Subjects, whose unnecessary Fears for the *Protestant Religion*, and the unhappy Mistakes of the *Prince of Orange's* Ambitious Designs (which they did not sufficiently see into time enough) have been *Fatally led*, beyond what they first intended, (*viz.* the Preservation of their Religion, &c.) to the Breach of all Laws, and even to the total Dissolution of the *Ancient Government* it self; and knowing themselves thereby to be *Obnoxious*, may despair of Our Mercy: We do therefore declare, on the Word of a King, That Our *Free Pardon* shall not only be extended to them, but to all Our Subjects, to the worst, even those that Betrayed Us, (some few Excepted.) Resolving in that Parliament, by an Act of Oblivion, to cover all Faults, heal all Divisions, and restore Peace and Happiness to all Our Subjects, which can never be effectually done by any other Methods or Power.

Having thus firmly Resolved on Our part, whatsoever Crimes are omitted, whose Posterity shall come to suffer for these Crimes, We shall look upon Our Selves as Justified in the sight both of God and Man and therefore leave it with You, expecting You will seriously and speedily consider hereof; and so we bid You heartily Farewell.

Given at *St. Germain's en Laye* the Third of *February*, 1688.
And of Our Reign the Fourth Year.

The Letter to the Commons was Verbatim the same.

To the Officers and Souldiers of the Army.

J A M E S R.

THE Regard We have for you as *Gentlemen*, and *Souldiers*, obliges Us to endeavour to restore you to that Reputation for *Courage, Loyalty, &c.* which has till now been inseparable from *English-men*, which

which by your late fatal Defection from Us your lawful Prince (*whose particular Care you ever were*) is now become Contemptible, even to those you joyned with against Us, nor can any thing restore you to *your former Character*, but a *sudden and hearty return* to that Duty, which you have so unduly quitted, which We doubt not of, *being verily persuaded*, that even those that first left *Our Service*, had no just Prejudice against *Our Person*, but were Betray'd and Decoy'd by Persons employ'd by, or in Confederacy with the Prince of Orange, who by *most wicked and malicious Lyes*, had represented Us as black as Hell to *Our Subjects*, who, We hope, do now see into their evil Designs, which they could never have thus far accomplished, but by *deluding you* into a belief of the *Imposture* of *Our Son the Prince of Wales*, the *French-League*, the *Death of Our Brother the late King*, &c. of all which they well know *Us Innocent*, and dare not therefore bring on the Stage to be *Examined and Searched into*, according to their former Promises.

And can you then without Indignation, *Serve these* who have thus Villanously *Betrayed, Deluded, and made a Property of you?* And now having obtained their Ends by *your Assistance*, Neglect, Despise, and Evilly *Intreat you*: For to the eternal Shame of all *English men*, none but *Foreigners are now trusted* in the most Honourable Posts in and about *White-hall and London*, whilst you are sent abroad as *Mercenaries*, and made subservient to them; cast back your Thoughts on the Villanies of their Actions, *who sat in Our Councils and Betray'd Us*, adding Treachery to the blackest of *Ingratitude*; enquire into the *Morals* of those General Officers that *Deserted Us, and Misted You*, and indeed into the Principles of most of these, in their present New Government, and you will soon be convinced, *That 'twas not Religion* (though that was made the specious Pretence) that influenced their *Actings*, but *Interest and Ambition*; We charge not these Crimes, but on some particular Persons, well knowing that the greatest part *both of Officers and Souldiers* in *Our Army*, were not faulty in *their Allegiance*: And therefore We shall only look forward, and resolve to reward all according to their Demerits, and prefer those first *who continue untainted*, and shall be *quickest in returning to their Duty*; which We doubt not, but that e'er long, by *God's Blessing*, We shall by *appearing in Our own Kingdoms*, give them an opportunity to do, and consequently to retrieve their own Honours, as becomes true hearted *English-men*, and *Lovers of their King and Countrey*.

Given at *St. Germain's en Laye* the 14th. of *February*, 1688. And in the Fifth Year of *Our Reign*.

But to return to our Discourse—— Such a *free Consent*, as suffices in this Case of transferring a *Kingdom* and the *All-giance* of all their fellow Subjects, ought to have been *General* of the *whole Nation*, *unanimous*, *hearty*, and most *deliberate*, not done in a *sudden heat*, not *check'd nor overaw'd*, not *protested against*; especially it ought to have been grounded, at least, upon good tolerable Sense; all which were here wanting. This in case their *free Consent* could do the Work: But let their Consent be the best qualified in the World, it can never be sufficient for this purpose; for no Consent of those who have no *Right to*

Thing, though it were never so free, is able to give away another Man's Title, who is known to have had a true and undoubted Right to it. Well, May a Conspiracy of my Servants, Tenants, and of my Children joyned with them, have the Power to drive or fright me out of my House? But not all these together, though never so many, can give away that Right, which the Laws of the Land, and in our Case God's Law too, have made my Property.

Thus much for his new Coined Notion of Right by the Law of Nations, own'd by none but this singular Writer, who seeing all other Titles of this upstart Government baffled, was forc'd, for a shift, to recurr to this Whimsie. But since he was pleas'd to decline the Law of the Land, and run to a Superior Law; (viz.) that of Nations, we shall take leave to mind him (for He and his Party seem to have quite forgot it, or rather indeed to out-brave, and laugh at it) of the Supreme Law of all, the Law of God, which commands us to Honour our Father and Mother, and not to covet, much less to rob or cheat another; and least of all so near, and so Revered a Relation, of what is rightfully his. Let us consider then what Good and Conscientious Christians would have done in the Case of the Prince, and Princes of Orange: For, First, If their Party, with their Consent or Connivance, invented those Stories, which he makes the just Occasion of the War, on purpose to turn out their Father, it was in many regards the most hideous, and the most villanous Injustice that can be imagin'd. Secondly, If those Falshoods were suggested to them by others, they knew the Genius of the English Subjects was apt to raise and believe the most Senseless Falshoods of him out of hatred to his Religion; and so they ought to have considered, that there was no kind of Evidence of this Story, nor so much as one Witness, that the Prince of Wales was a Counterfeit, nor (as appears by their not producing it in their Justification when it was so necessary) any one tolerable Reason, able to persuade a prudent Man, the Thing was true: Whereas, on the other side there were, as was said, near Fifty Sworn Witnessess of clear Honour and Reputation testifying the contrary, any Two or Three of whom were sufficient to carry the greatest Estate, or take away the Life of any Man in England. They knew too, that if the pretended Injury done to them were not really true, they must incur the dreadful Indignation of a just God, for breaking divers of his Commandments, in that one Action, by Discouraging, Injuring, and Slandering their Innocent and near Related Neighbour; And who would hazard their Soul upon such odds? Thirdly, If they did indeed doubt of it before the Birth, they ought (as was said) to have sent some trusty Persons, or have signified their desire, that some here, whom they could confide in, should be present. If they only doubted of it after the Prince was Born, they might have demanded that the same Persons might have Counter-interrogated, and Examined the Witnessess; now they were bound in Conscience to use all such honest and wary Means before they proceeded thus to the highest Extremities. Fourthly, If greatest Proof against no Proof could not satisfy them, Why did they not, to clear their Honour that they had not acted Unjustly, Undutifully, or Unchristianly since the time they came hither, bring the Matter into a new Examination? Since nothing could

would *more* contribute to *settle* them in the Throne, had it been prov'd an Imposture, nor have more *obliged* all *England* to them, nor have more *taken off* the Scandal of the World, and have satisfied *every Man* of the *Justice* of their Proceedings. Lastly, If it had been done for the good of *Europe*, and to bring the *French King* lower, (though this could not justify this Invasion,) yet Why was not at least the wisest Course taken for this? Had the Prince of *Orange* pursued only the Ends express'd in his Declaration, and obliged King *James*, as he might easily have done, to *redress Abuses here*, and make a lasting League with the Confederates abroad; it had, in all likelihood, by this time reduced the *French King* to a low Condition: For then King *James* had been able to unite all the Force of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and bend them unanimously against the Common Enemy: Whereas now our Men (and Money too) are employ'd in Fighting against one another in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; nor only so, but *England* it self, whose *free Consent* he so much brags of, is so Distracted, that we know not how soon we may fall into the same Misfortunes; *some* out of Conscience, not daring to hazard their *Souls* in Swearing Allegiance to one, whose Title the most zealous Adherers to him cannot agree on, nor themselves are *satisfied* with; and far more of them being *disgusted* to see our Countrey *beggared* to maintain the Quarrel of *Foreigners*, and *enrich* our *greatest Enemies the Dutch*; so that this Pretence of pulling down the Height of *France*, though I doubt not, but it was the Intention of the Confederates, was far from being the main Design of the Prince of *Orange*. He could then have no other Motive of Invading *England*, Driving out his *Father*, and Uurping his *Throne*, but mere *Ambition*, seconded by Dutch Policy; making use of our *Rebelliousness*, *filly Credulity*, and our addictedness to *Lying*, that they might *cheat* us of our *Money*, make us defend *their Quarrel*, and *impoverish* us to that degree, that we should not *dare* to relent it, when they get our *Trade*, and *strip* us of our *Plantations*, (as they have done often,) and then (to crown the *Dutch Jest*) laugh at us for a Company of *dull-headed block-headed Fools* when they have done.

But I must not forget the Instances he brings to prove this Invasion to be *agreeable* to the Church of *England's* Doctrine, and vouch'd by the Law of *Nations*; and those are these Three.

First he Instances in Queen *Elizabeth* giving Assistance to the *Dutch* against the King of *Spain*, (p. 16.) Now this hath been so well answered already, in the *Defence of the Bishop of Chichester's Dying Declaration*, that I do not see any Reason to concern my self with it; and, methinks, this *Answerer* should have first answered what had been alleged there, before he ventured on this Instance; but some Men have a peculiar Confidence to bring in Things over and over, though they have been answered sufficiently, and yet never take notice of the Answers. However, it is sufficient here to observe, that this is nothing at all to his purpose; he tells us but four lines before, That what *he is to make out*, is that the then P. of O. by his Relation to the Crown, had a just Right to concern himself in the Vindication of our Religion and Liberties, and that this is not repugnant to the Doctrines of the Church of England, p. 15. And, I pray,

I pray, good Sir, Had Queen *Elizabeth* any Relation to the Government of the *Low Countries*? And if not, how does this Instance prove that which he is to *make out*, that the Prince of *Orange*, by virtue of his Relation to the Crown, had a just Right to concern himself; and his Instance proves that any Prince, whether they have any *such Relation* or not, have a just Right to concern themselves. And what, I pray, is all this to a Title by Conquest? Let it be admitted, but not granted, and which I suppose will not be easily proved, that no Foreign Prince hath a just Right to make War upon another Prince, for Invading the Liberty, and Religion of his own Subjects; hath he therefore a just Right to make a Conquest of these People, whose Liberties he pretends to defend, and to set himself King over them? Or had Queen *Elizabeth*, upon pretence of securing the *Dutch* Liberties, a just Right to make her self Queen over them? In my Opinion it is a pretty odd way of rescuing People's Liberties, to make a Conquest of them; and if this be the Case, Princes and their Flatterers may talk of Piety and a Care of the People, but all the World will see that the Design is not *Religion* nor *Liberty* to the People, but a *Crown* to themselves; and it cannot chuse but be very *Pious* and *Religious* to gain a Crown.

His next Instance is in King *James's* time, When the *Prince Elector* was chosen King of *Bohemia*. And how does this prove his Point? Why, he sent to King *James* for Advice, and he had no mind he should engage in it. And therefore the Prince of *Orange* hath a just Right to concern himself, and to make himself King according to the Principles of the Church of *England*. I perceive it is not for every body to make Consequences, for who but our Authour could ever have found out how such wonderful Things followed from King *James's* denying his Son to engage in it. Well, But the *Arch-bishop* wrote a Letter to the Secretary, and said, that he was satisfied in his Conscience that the *Bohemians* had a just Cause, and that the King's Daughter professed she would not leave her self one Jewel, rather than not maintain so Religious and Righteous a Cause. And that may be too; but without Reflection on that Princess, that is no Evidence of the Righteousness of a Cause; for some Kings Daughters will not leave themselves a Jewel, rather than not to take away, and keep a Kingdom from their Own Father, and which is neither a Religious, nor a Righteous Cause.

His Third Instance is in the time of King *Charles* the First, When the King of *Denmark* had taken Arms to settle the Peace, and Liberty of the *Germans*, and was Defeated; and King *Charles* thought himself concerned to assist him; and *Arch-bishop* *Laud* drew up a Declaration setting forth the Danger, and requiring the People's Prayers and Assistance to prevent the growth of *Spain*, &c. Now it does not appear whether the King of *Denmark's* pretence of taking Arms was just, or unjust, (for our Authour has a peculiar faculty of talking of Things at random, and never stating them, and bringing them down to the matter in Dispute.) But let that be as it will, it makes no difference in the present Dispute; for let the Cause of his taking Arms be originally what it will, I hope King *Charles* might assist him to prevent his being over-run, thereby securing the Peace and Safety of his own Kingdoms. And this

was

was plainly the Case: The King of *Denmark* had made War upon the Empire, and was defeated; and if he had been left without Assistance, the Emperour might have wholly subdued him, which would not only have ruined *Denmark*, but have endangered all the Northern Princes, and especially *England*, as the *Declaration* it self speaks, *there will be an open way for Spain left, to do what they pleased.* And what is this to our Author's purpose? Is there no difference between Assisting one Prince actually at War with another, to prevent his utter Overthrow and Destruction, and in such a case for wise and poliick Ends to stop the exorbitant and dangerous Growth of a potent Neighbour; and for the same Prince to take away another Prince's Crown, because he is uneasy and ungratefull to his Subjects? Yet after such fallacious Inferences, our Author with his wonted Modesty adds, *Let those who now with as much Ignorance as Confidence upbraid Men with Renouncing the Doctrines and Principles of the Church of England, read and consider these Passages, and if any thing will make them more wise and humble, this will.*

He contends all along to prove from those Instances, which are of several Independent Governours, and so relate to the *Law of Nations*, that this Proceeding of the Prince of *Orange* is not repugnant to the *Doctrines and Principles of the Church of England*, p. 15. and more particularly afterwards from the *Homilies*, p. 21, 22. which say, *we are bound to obey a Heathen Tyrant*, and to pray for him; from the Jews who were commended to pray for the King of *Babylon*, and for obeying *Augustus*; lastly, from our Saviour's acknowledging the *Roman President's Power and Authority*, as given him from God. Nay, he argues *à fortiori*, p. 21. from the *Homilies*, thus: *If they (and consequently the Church of England) declare we are bound by God's Word to obey a Heathen Tyrant, much more ought we, by the Doctrines and Principles of our Church, to pay Allegiance to good and religious Princes, &c.* This is the full force of his Argument why we ought to pay Allegiance to the present Governours. But first, We cannot think them good and religious, whilst we see they have wilfully broken, and obstinately continue to break God's holy Commandments, the Observing of which is the best Test of Goodness and Religion. Next he leaves the main Point, which *Dr. Sberleck* mentions out of his *Convocations* that are better Declarers of the Church of *England's* Doctrine than the *Homilies*,) That the Authority of all those Conquerours was to be thoroughly settled; so that there was no moral Possibility the former Governour (in case he had been alive) could ever by himself, or his Friends, be restored; and therefore we seldom or never hear that any of such ejected, or subdued Sovereigns did ever struggle for their Kingdoms, or went about to recover them. How this suits with our present Case, where the former supreme Governour is living, did ever, and does still claim it, pursues the Recovery of it, has a most potent Monarch abroad for his Friend, who espouses his Quarrel, has engaged his Honour he will either restore him to his Crown, or lose his own, is easie to be discerned. But moreover, which is no less material in this Business, King *James* has great Parties in each of the three Nations, who do not acknowledge the present Governours, and look upon them as unjust Usurpers of their Father's Right. Besides, (which alters the Case extremely,) here was no Conquest, or subduing *England* by Force; nay,

no

no *War* at all exercised upon it: His bad Cause forces this mercenary Writer to shuffle to and fro, and pretend now *one* Thing, now *another*; but *all* of them, when they come to be *scann'd* and *applied*, equally to no purpose. *Conquest* he dares not call it in *down right Terms*, for fear of disgusting all *England*, by making us all *Slaves*; yet those Instances of *Rightfull Power* which he brings, and would have us think to be *parallel* to this New Government, and *proper* to abet it, were all true *Successes* in *War*, and by consequence perfect *Conquests*. 'Tis easie to discern by these *Hints* what he would be at, and not hard to conjecture what Title, though they have agreed of none hitherto, they intend at length to pitch upon finally, unless the Patriots of the Subjects *Liberty* do in time restrain such audacious Attempts.

Thus far in Answer to his settling King *William's* Title, which being shown to be incoherent and ill grounded, in every Regard, it follows, that Mr. *Ashton* suffered for a *Righteous Cause*, and for his *due Allegiance* to his *true Sovereign*, which entitles him to the Honour of a *glorious Martyr*, and this in case he had endeavoured to make way for his Master's Restoration. It remains to vindicate his Paper from those other *petty Exceptions* this Gentleman makes against it.

He denies p. 24. that King *James's* Usage, after the Prince of *Orange's* Arrival, was very hard, severe, and unjust. Let the World judge. A Council was held at *Windsor*, upon Notice of the King's being in hold at *Feversham*, where it was debated, whether or no he should be sent to the Tower: And 'tis well known who they were that voted in the Affirmative: But the Prince having laid his Design, feared that if the King staid here, some Accommodation would be made; so he sent Monsieur *Zuylisten* to tell him, he would have him to stay at *Rocheſter*, which being a Port Town, and towards the Sea, might afford him opportunity to escape out of *England*. The Message met him; so he returned to *White-hall*. The next Night the Prince of *Orange* sent three Lords to him at Midnight, to tell him he would have him remove by Ten the next Morning to *Ham*, a place very unlikely to be approved of, there being (as the King objected) neither Furniture nor Provisions for him; and therefore as he expected he moved, for his Return to *Rocheſter*, which after his sitting an hour in his Barge, waiting his Pleasure, was granted: And thither he was pack'd away in great State with *Dutch Myrmidons*, now (to the eternal Shame of *English* Subjects) their King's Gaolers, under whom he suffered Hardship enough; but he was not allowed out of his own Exchequer one Farthing to bear his Charges. The King had before this sent him a Message by the Earl of *Feverſham*, offering to settle all things in Parliament to His and the Kingdom's Satisfaction: Now had the Prince of *Orange* meant *sincerely* in what he *pretended*, and come one'y for the Good of the Nation, what could he have wished more? But what would have *obliged* and *sweetened* another, did highly *exasperate* him; for he relish'd this Condescendence of his *so ill*, being indeed unsuitable to the ambitious Aim he propos'd to himself, that, first, *contrary to the Law of Nations*, he made his Ambassadour Prisoner, and then sent his Worshipfull Command at Midnight to his Father, to be gone out of his own Palace to a Prison; for they told him a Guard was appointed for him

him at *Ham-boufe*, whither the Prince of *Orange* ordered him to go the next Morning; enough to let the King see what he was to expect. He tells the Prince of *Orange* could have prevented his going away; true: But then he feared the Nation would only reduce *King James*, not depose him, much less chuse another, their own King being present; it was therefore thought more Politick to fright him away, and then pretend *Abdication*, and the Necessity of a new Government, which he knew well (as he and his *Faction* would handle it) could light on none but himself: So that it was out of kindness to himself, not to *King James*, or the Nation, that he let him escape. Yet he Magnifies this Indulgence of the Prince of *Orange* exceedingly; but I would ask him, in what this Civility differs from that of *Robbers*, who first strip the poor Travellers of all they have, and then turn them a Grazing without a Penny in their Purse, or as this pretty Gentleman phrases it, (p. 24.) *Allow them great Freedom to go where they please*. I would ask him too what one Thing was done by the Prince, which look'd either *Generous*, *Civil*, or in the least degree *Respectful* towards a King and a Father, and not rather most *Barbarous* and *Rude*? Or what one Action of his gives us Reason to think, he intended to accommodate Things with the true King, and not rather to set up for himself?

The *Martyr*, out of Love to his Native Countrey, resented, that *All the new Methods of settling the Nation, have hitherto made it more miserable, poor, and exposed to Foreign Enemies*. What says he to this! Can Impudence it self deny this to be true? Is not the Interest of *England* torn piece-meal, and every Nation has a Limb of us? Is not the Charge of securing *Scotland*, reducing of *Ireland*, the hiring Souldiers from *Denmark*, and other Places, the Bribing of *Holland*, the *Suiss-Cantons*, *Savoy*, and other poor Confederates, the keeping and paying two great Armies in *Flanders* and *Ireland*, and the setting out a vast Fleet at Sea, gone all out of our Pockets? Has not the driving out *King James*, and the Protecting our new Governor (and his only) put us upon such an expensive War, that we are upon our last Legs; it being absolutely impossible to squeeze Five Millions more out of our drain'd Purse to keep the War on foot another Year, which is the least Summ that can now be expected: For if *Five Millions* this Year have done nothing at all, 'tis to be fear'd that *Seven Millions* will scarce enable us to do much the next. A certain Person employ'd in the Treasury, who has the opportunity to know exactly the Incomes and Issues of the Exchequer, assured a worthy Friend of mine, that this *Michaelmas* there will have been paid out of it, since this Revolution, *Fifteen Millions*; and that there is still an Arrear behind, to the Army, to the Navy, and for Stores, of *Five Millions* more: And this besides many Thousands (perhaps a Hundred of Thousands) owing for the Wages of transport Ships; and that for want of ready Money the Creditors are paid with *Tallies*, so that those who have them can raise no Money, without abating Four or Five Shillings in the Pound, until the next Parliament gives Money to pay off all these Back-reckonings. The insuperable Difficulty of doing which, and withall of raising *Seven Millions* more to carry on the War the next Campaign, (not to mention the repaying the Money we have borrowed,) will make the great

Work of Conquering *France* go but slowly on: Every wise Man, even of our State-Party, clearly seeing, and with regret complaining, that in all appearance the War is as far from an End, as it was at the Beginning.

Now where is all this Money to be had, or whence to be raised? Are not our Ships taken in great Multitudes, our Traffick decay'd abroad, our Trade at home, the Tenants unable to pay their Landlords; so that sometimes instead of bringing in their Rents, they are forc'd to send to them for Money to pay their Taxes, or else they must throw up their Farms? Are not they already forced, in many Places for want of Money, to exchange one Commodity for another in the Markets? Is not half our Cash gone out of the Nation, so that in *Holland* alone our *Guineas* and *Mill'd Money* have been as frequent as their own Coin? Is not Clipp'd Money, which is not worth Transporting, now, in a manner, the only currant Coin left in the Nation? And to prevent the possibility our good Money should ever return again, it is melted down in *Holland* into the drossie Alloy of their *Schellings* and *Scuyvers*. But the Transporting our *Coin'd Money* is not all: They have invented more Expedients than One or Two open ones to impoverish *England*; the *Decus & Tutamen*, inscribed on the Edges of our new Coin, was judg'd an effectual Preservative from Clipping and Fyling. But now the Clippers (who by the Law are to suffer as *Felons*) are become the best Friends to the Trafficking part of the Nation; and if they be not conniv'd at, and the *Melters* down of our *Mill'd* and *Un-circumcised Money* into *Bullion*, transported in vast quantities every Year into *Holland*, (as appears by the Entries in the *Custom-house*,) be not severely punish'd, we must in a short time be contented with onely *Copper* and *Tin Farthings*, or else be forc'd to debase our Money to the Dutch Standard. If Captain *Guy*, and several other Masters of Yatches, and other Vessels both Dutch and English, were strictly Examin'd, they could tell them what prodigious Number of Chests of Money *in Specie*, or in *Bullion* have been transported these Three last Years into *Holland* and *Flanders*. We have indeed some Returns from thence, for they bring us prohibited Goods; so that both in Exporting and Importing our English Laws are still Dispens'd with, without any permission from the Parliament, and no Man (though our Ruin depends upon it) dares complain. There is yet another odd Commodity imported, which would much encrease the Revenue, if it did but pay Custom; and that is Shoals of Caterpillars, that come over to devour the Fruits of our Labours, the *Dutch*, I mean, and other Foreigners with their Wives and Children, of which scarce a Ship or Hoy comes hither that brings not from Ten to Sixty, &c. These and the *French Hugonots* are transported hither to make up several new Colonies, and compose a *Secret Militia*, to be ready at a dead lift to enslave our Countrey, if our Eyes being at length opened to see our impending Ruine, we grow Headstrong, and refuse to wear the Yoke which is preparing for us.

Again, Have we felt nothing from the Insolencies of the *Dutch*, *Danes*, and other *Foreigners* wherever they come? Lastly, What are all those Losses put together, in Comparison to the loss of so many English-men's Lives, who have perish'd either by War, or through want

want of Necessaries, or else by strange Diseases in *Ireland* and at Sea. A Thousand or Two are swept away at a clap in this late prodigious Storm: The loss of the *Coronation*, and the other Ships that perish'd, and the damage done to all the rest that suffered in their Rigging, and otherwise in that Hurricane, is not worth the mention by those who are so inur'd to continual losses of suadry kinds as we are; though I'm told by a knowing Person, that the Repairing of that one Misfortune will require some Hundreds of Thousands of Pounds to be added to the former large Audit of the Nation's Accounts. And will this Man persuade us that all this, and many other such, are *no Miseries*? He runs from the Matter to talk of the *French King*; but the true point, to which he ought to have spoken, is, Whether we were *burden'd* with any such *Taxes*, or felt these Miseries of *War* and *Poverty* under King *James*? Had we any concern with *France*, either by *abetting* or *opposing* it in *his* Days? Had the Prince of *Orange*, or our selves used the King Dutifully, as we ought, we might have secur'd our selves whilst that Prince was here against either *Popery* or *Slavery* (which we pretended to dread) being *forc'd* upon us, we might have enjoy'd *Peace*, *Plenty*, *Trade*, and *Riches*, and have reapt *incomparable Benefits*, and *vast Advantages* by the Distractions of *all others* round about us. This we might have done; and if we saw Cause to fear that *France* meant to disturb us, when we meddled not with it, (which that King is too *Politick* to do,) we might, by joyning with other *Disinterested Princes*, have kept the Balance of *Europe* even at our pleasure, and have stipulated with *Holland* and the rest of the Confederates to bear the Charges of the War, whilst we stept into *their* Assistance; whereas now we are forc'd to hire them at a dear Rates to assist us, to keep a Man in the Throne who has *no Right* to it: All this we might *then* have done, had we been *wise*; but a *Rebellious Spirit*, which had *possess'd* and *infatuat*ed us, hurried us inconsiderately into a *War*, for no other Reason but to *maintain* obstinately that *Sin*, which we ought to have *repented* of. And *that* War unless God's undeserv'd Mercy do prevail over his Justice, will by a *just Judgment* of the same God prove our *utter Ruine*.

He seems *amaz'd*, p. 25. (for he seems Twenty times to wonder when he wants something to say,) that Mr. *Aston* should say, *That the Religion we pretend to be so fond of Preserving, is now much more than ever likely to be destroy'd*. Nor do I wonder at his *Amazement*; for he makes account Religion consists only in having *Benefices* conferred on Ecclesiasticks, and *secured* to them let the Incumbents be of what *Principles* they will: This I told him of formerly, and here he makes my Words good; for (p. 25, 26, 27, &c.) he reckons up Three Things as putting our Religion out of Danger; (*viz.*) *The same Laws, the same Protection, the same Encouragement*: But *Principles* which are the Main, and *Essential* to a Church, are the least part of his Thought. Let but a Church have *True Principles* preserved Sincere by her *Bishops* and *Pastors*, and she will be a Church and a *Glorious One* too in the Eyes of God, and all good Men, in despite of all the Opposition that *wicked Men*, or *Hell* it self, can do, though she had neither *Laws, Protection, nor the least Encouragement* to befriend her; nay, though the *Laws*, and

and the State were bent against her. As for our *new Principles* then, let him but open his Eyes, and he may see *Rebellion* made now a chief point of *Religion*. He may see Oaths of Allegiance made to Persons, whose Title to the Government (as appears by what has been amply prov'd above) not one Man in *England* certainly knows, and not one *knowing* and *disinterested* Man is satisfied in, forc'd upon Men's Consciences to make the Kingdom, as far as lies in their Power, a *Nation of Knaves*, and all those who make a good Conscience of their ways a *Company of Beggars*. He may see the Commandments *laugh'd at*; and those who dare boldly stand up for them branded and persecuted for *Traitors*, and put to death as the *worst* of Malefactors. Besides the foremention'd Miseries, there is still *One* that is no less Galling to Persons of Honour and Probity, who for themselves, and the *Reputation* of the Nation, would preserve the Characters of Just and Upright, Loyal and Pious, Conscientious and *keepers* of their *Faith* to God and *Man*; these now lie under the heavy Sentence of *Violaters* of all the *Cardinal Vertues*, with which Character when Foreign Nations once brand a People, it sticks upon them to all succeeding Ages. In former days we were reputed Valiant, Hospitable, *inviolable Observers* of our *Compacts, Faith, and Honesty*.

But we can't forget what an *Odium* the *Murder* of *King Charles I.* brought upon the whole *Island* of *Britain*; yet there was then some just Apology to be made for that Barbarity: That *Tremendous Fact* was not committed 'till after Six Yeas Civil War, wherein the Victorious Rebels had conquer'd, disarm'd, and utterly impoverish'd the Loyal Party, yet there still remain'd a numerous Part of the Three Kingdoms, who made many generous Attempts to restore *King Charles II.* and the whole Nation wearied with their endless Miseries, and the Succession of Usurpers, at last happily effected it.

Now what shall we say for our selves, who have *Abdicated* our King without shedding *One Ounce of Blood*, or adventuring a bloody Nose in his *Defence*? All Nations from the *Orcades* to the extreamest *Indies*, must judge us to be a People who have no regard to the most Sacred Oaths, the most ungrateful of all Mankind, a Nation *fitted for Slavery* degenerating from our *Loyal Ancestors*, the *Offspring* or *By-blows* of *Profligate Rebels*.

Yea, we are still so much worse than those of the last Age, in that now so numerous a Party of the very Clergy, who *should*, and *do know* the Oigation of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which every single Man of them took to their *lawful King*, have by *unpardonable Perjury* renounc'd their King, and sworn Allegiance to One whom they know in their Consciences, and have often declar'd upon Occasion hath no *legal Right*; no, not so much as *Cromwell the Wicked*: These are the Men who have brought an *indolible Scandal* and *Hatred* upon our Religion. *Miratur Orbis se tam cito factum esse Arrianum*, was the pathetic Exclamation of a holy Authour of Old: What would he have said, if he had liv'd in our Age, to see a National Clergy *Apostatise* from the Establish'd Doctrine of their own Church, in the point of Allegiance and Non-resistance? By the Conduct of these Men, one would be almost tempted to look upon all Religion as a mere *Cheat*, and

and to believe that they themselves own'd no God. Whether they do or not, I shall not give my self the trouble to enquire; but I am sure some of them do as good as own no Hell, by Teaching Men, that notwithstanding those terrible Threatnings God in his holy Word has denounc'd against the Incurable and Impenitent, of everlasting Fire, everlasting Punishment, &c, he has not oblig'd himself to the literal Performance of them, since he that threatens keeps the Right of punishing in his own hand, and is not oblig'd to execute what he hath threatned, any farther than the Reasons and Ends of Government do require, &c. Dr. Tillotson's Sermon before the Queen, March 7. 1690. pag. 13. And that these Threatnings, &c. do not restrain God from doing what he pleases, though they cut off from the Sinner all reasonable Hopes of the Relaxation or Mitigation of them. p. 16.

Of what comfortable Importance this Doctrine may be to some, and how necessary under our present Circumstances, let any one judge: 'Tis impossible Men should have perpetrated such abominable Villanies as have been lately transacted, to the Amazement of all that have the least Sense of Piety or Honour left, unless their Minds had been first debauched with these or the like Principles. He that will audaciously violate the sacred Commands of God, acknowledged such by the Church of England, his own Subscriptions, Oaths, and Preaching, must necessarily fanlie some secret Reserves of Mercy in the Breast of the Almighty for the Authors and Abettors of such horrid Crimes, upon some Occasions, which will not suffer his Justice to pass upon them in another World, or some extraordinary Relaxations or Mitigations of future Torments. The first seems to be despaired of, because there is small Hopes of Repentance left, the Scriptures for that very Reason, perhaps, amongst many others, comparing Rebellion to the Sin of Witchcraft; the latter therefore is pitch'd upon as most congruous to carnal-minded Men, who to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season, and not willing to go to Heaven through Tribulations and Afflictions, do rather chuse to undergo a future Punishment, especially if it consists onely as to its Perpetuity in a bare Exclusion from Eternal Happiness. Serm. p. 15.

Now, I say, such a Series of Villany as has been hitherto, and shall be farther expos'd, being altogether inconsistent with the Principles of Christianity, which this accursed Generation of Monsters had not long since most zealously professed, they found it as necessary to Abdicate their Saviour and his Precepts, as well as their King and his Rights, as far as they durst. The first thing they did was to ridicule and blasphemously expose the Doctrine of the Cross, and if they could have drawn over the Majority of the Convocation to their Party, the next thing they design'd was to have expunged out of the Liturgie the Athanasian Creed, which was in effect to have denied the Divinity of our Saviour, lest they should have been charged with Rebellion against God, as well as their King, if all Power be derived from the second Person of the Trinity as Mediator, and all lawful Kings, whether Christians, Heathens, or Mahometans, be his Vicegerents, and he hath the Disposal of their Crowns, and the Command of their Power, and doth actually employ, and makes use of it in the Prosecution of the righteous Ends of his Govern-

vernment, as Doctor Scot has learnedly proved in his *Christian Life*; Part. 3.

As it appeared necessary to reform the Doctrines of Christianity, to make them square the better with their late Practice; so likewise to procure an Alteration amongst our Ecclesiastical Governours too, it being as much for the Interest of this upstart Government the Metropolitan should be an Usurper, as the supreme Governour in the Civil State; Like Bishop like King, being as true a Maxim now, as No Bishop no King heretofore. If the Metropolitan See had been really void, this present nominal Archbishop was unqualified for it, being esteem'd an Heretick, and by the 84th Canon of the Apostles, as being an actual Rebel, who ought to be deposed, or degraded from his Priesthood, and though in the present juncture he cannot be convicted and sentenced; yet his Crimes being so notorious, all that understand them ought not in Conscience to own him as a Christian Bishop, or hold Communion with him, according to the 33d Canon of the Laodicean Council, that we ought not to pray, or communicate with Schismaticks, or Hereticks.

Of what grand Concern these particulars are let every good Christian seriously consider, and lay to heart. Now it is that Poison is poured out into our Church; therefore it's high time for us to avoid the Contagion, according to that excellent Advice of St. Cyprian, Keep at a Distance from the Infection of such Men by fleeing from them; and shun their Conversation as you would the Cancer or Plague, according to the Premonition of our Lord, Mat. 15. 14. They be blind Leaders of the blind, and if the blind lead the blind, &c.— Let them perish by themselves who are willing to perish, let them alone remain without the Church, who have forsaken the Church. Epist. 40. ad Plebem, &c. How can these Men pretend to be Guides to others, who keep to no certain Path themselves? What certainty can there be in their Doctrines, when they vary them with their Interest, and ever calculate them to serve a turn? Therefore none ought to communicate with them, who value the Salvation of their Souls, and are not willing to partake of their Guilt and Punishment.

The Doctrines and Duties of our holy Religion have the Spirit of Truth and Holiness for their Author, and like him are always the same, without any shadow of Change: But from what Spirit must these bold Attempts upon Common Christianity proceed? Holloxius in his Defence of Origen, lib. 3. cap. 6. cites several Passages out of his Writings, wherein he assigns a different evil Spirit to every Vice or Sin, which he calls inimicas, & adversarias Virtutes, and delivers this Notion among the rest: There seems to me, says he, to be an infinite number of contrary Powers, or Spirits; because in almost every Man there are certain Spirits, which incite and provoke him to the Commission of divers Sins: E. g. There is a Spirit of Fornication, and a Spirit of Anger, a Spirit of Avarice, and a Spirit of Pride; and if it happens that any Man be acted by all these, or more Sins, he is to be look'd upon as possess'd by so many or more Enemies, or evil Spirits. Surely then, according to this Opinion of Origen, Legion must have taken Possession in some of the Grandees of this new schismatical Church of England. How obvious is it for any but those who are infatuated, and spiritually blind, to discern the Spirit of

of *Rebellion*, *Ambition*, and *Emulation*; the Spirit of *Heresie*, *Schiſm*, and *Persecution*; the Spirit of *Blasphemy*, *Lying*, *Slandering*, and *Apoſtacy*, reigning and triumphing among them.

This word *Apoſtacy* I am very ſenſible will ſound very harſh in their Ears; but let any ſober and unprejudiced Perſon ſeriously conſult the ſeveral Acceptations of the Word among ſacred and prophane Authors, and he will ſoon be convinced, that it will be no eaſie Taſk for theſe Gentlemen to purge themſelves from the imputation of it. *Grotius*, in his Appendix to his Commentaries *de Antichriſto*, tell us, that by *Apoſtacy* is underſtood all kinds of Hoſtility or Contumacy againſt a Superior, who has the Right of Commanding, and proves it from ſeveral Texts of Scripture. Sometimes it ſignifies a Deſection, or a Revolt; ſee *Suidas* and *Stephanus*. In its common acceptation, amongſt Chriſtian Writers, a Departure from the Faith, by going over to *Heresie*, &c. *Maimonides*, as he is cited by *Hottinger*, in his *Theſaur. Philolog. l. 1. c. 1. ſ. 3.* amongſt the ſeveral Diſtinctions of Apoſtates among the Jews, reckons *thoſe who taught or ſolicited others to ſin*. I ſhall not make a particular Application of theſe ſignifications of the word *Apoſtacy* to the ſorementioned Perſons; I only refer the Reader to their Sermons and other Diſcourſes, their very Prayers and Practices, it being ſo eaſie to be obſerved by the meaneſt Capacity; but ſhall only add this following Remark, as an Illustration of what has been juſt now charged upon them. If the Abrenunciation, and the ſolemn Stipulation to keep God's holy Will and Commandments, &c. before *Baptiſm* were the real Teſts of the Faith and Sincerity of the Candidate, by which he was obliged to *deny himſelf*, and to *take up his Croſs*; i. e. to forſake *Father and Mother, Wife and Children, Lands and Poſſeſſions, and to lay down even his very Life*; when ever they ſhould come in competition with his Duty; and we cannot ordinarily be called to the Performance of this our *Vow and Covenant*, but under unrighteous and persecuting Princes, then it follows clearly, that by our entering into Chriſtianity we have tied up our hands (by our own ſolemn Act) from making any forcible Reſiſtance againſt our ſupreme Governours, upon any pretence whatſoever, and that the *Doctrine of the Croſs, or Paſſive Obedience*, is a fundamental Doctrine, or Principle of the Chriſtian Religion; and laſtly, that whoſoever *teach or practice* otherwiſe, are *Renegades* and *Apoſtates* from Chriſtianity it ſelf. This was very near the Aſſertion of *Dr. Burnet* himſelf, in his Sermon on *Rom 13. v. 5. p. 36.* 'Blessed be God, our Church hates and condemns this Doctrine, (viz. of depoſing and reſiſting of Kings,) from what hand ſoever it come, and hath eſtabliſhed the Rights and Authority of Princes on ſure and unalterable Foundations, enjoining an entire Obedience to all the lawful Commands of Authority, and an abſolute Submission to that ſupreme Power which God hath put in our Sovereigns Hands. This Doctrine we juſtly glory in, and if any that had their Education in our Church, have turned *Renegades* from thi, they proved no leſs Enemies to the Church her ſelf, than to the Civil Authority; ſo that their Apoſtacy leaves no blame on our Church.

If this be the Caſe (as we have all the Reason in the World to think ſo) it's plain and evident to any ordinary Underſtanding, That theſe Men

Men are not true Church of *England* Divines, as they would have all the World believe; neither is the Church in Possession any more to be esteemed the True, Legal, Ancient Church of *England*, than the *Donatists* of Old were to be accounted the only *Catholick Church*. Their Priesthood is now become *Schismatical*, having erected *Altar* against *Altar*; their Liturgy *Blasphemous* and *Diabolical*, wherein they address themselves to God as the Author and Fountain of all unjust Power, the Patron of Injustice, and the grand Protector, and Encourager of the Notorious Violators of his most sacred Laws. What is this, but with the most impudent and horrid Blasphemy that ever was heard of, to beseech the Almighty to divest himself of his most glorious Attributes, and to enter into a League with Hell it self, for the support and maintenance of all their detestable Impieties.

What have they now to say? Confusion and Shame must cover them, who are the *Scandal* and *Reproach* of the Pure and Undeiled Religion they should profess. Thousands of these could not say (though in reality the well known pretence of most) that they swore for Bread; God forgive them they durst not trust Providence, wanted the Courage to give a good Example, or to teach their Flocks the danger of Perjury: They sinned against God, and his *Anointed*, and their own Souls, and *knew they did so*.

In the preceeding Age we can scarce name a Dignifi'd Clergy-man, or any Person Eminent for Piety and Learning, in either of the Universities, in City or Country, who were not outed their Benefices for refusing to take the Covenant or Engagement; but now the great Body of the Clergy have been observed to renounce their Allegiance, and worship the *Idol* of the *Hogans*: Indeed out of this Number we must except the *Most Reverend* the *Metropolitan*, and Seven of his *Right Reverend* Brethren, and the other Clergy and Loyal Fellows in the Universities, who have not defiled themselves with the Abominations of their *Apostate* Brethren, whose Virtue and Piety is the only Thing left to atone for these loud and crying Sins of our Clergy; and, who incessantly like *Abraham* intercede with Almighty God to avert his Judgments from this sinful Nation, and which the *Perjury* and *Apostacy*, and the general Defection gives but too sad an occasion to fear hangs over our Heads.

In short, whatever hopes we may conceive of ever seeing the true Church of *England* flourish in its true Lustre and Purity, we must owe it (next to the infinite Mercy of God) to those never enough applauded *Heroes* of our Church, the true Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and those ejected Bishops, &c. who have stood in the *Gap* of Schism, and *born up* Loyally against the *all over-bearing* Torrent of the prevaricating Party, who have preferred the Peace and Comfort of a *good Conscience*, before all worldly Honour and Interest, and fear'd the offending their good God more than their own certain Ruine from *ill natured Men*. How will these glorious Lights of our Church, and true Servants of the living God shine after their Tryal is over past, when the Adorers of Mammon (those *interloping* Arch bishops, Bishops, and those other mean spirited Worldlings, who preferred their *Profit* before their *Honesty*) shrink, look *dism* and *pale* with Guilt; and at length their *Candlesticks*

sticks being removed from them, come to be utterly extinguish'd and go out like an *ill scenting Snuff*.

Some Instances he brings (p. 26.) to shew we are not *singular* in Perjury and Rebellion. He tells us that the Law of the *Land* and of *Nations*, require us to swear Allegiance to him who is in Possession: Which lame Pretence is answered fully over and over, in the forenamed Books against Dr. *Sherlock*; only this Gentleman's Assertion is more raw than his, for he proceeds upon *quiet Possession* (as do also our Lawyers, whom he speaks of, and would have quoted if he durst.) But this Man makes account that *bare Possession*, however qualified, gives Title to our Allegiance, nay *oblige*s us to swear it too, which we cannot do unless we can safely swear, that this Discourse of his is Convictive; which, *I le be sworn*, is most pernicious Nonsense, and would, if followed, pervert all the settled Order of Mankind, and all Right in the World. To assert that mere *Possession* of a Thing gives a Man Right to it, is enough to encourage all Men to be *Rebels, Usurpers, Robbers, Thieves, and Cheats*. It cries aloud to them all, *Catch that catch may, my Masters; all that you get is your own, by the Law of the Land, and of Nations, if once you get but Possession*. It makes the saying of the Thieves [*This is mine, I stole it*] very strong Reason and good Sense. He'll lay these Cases are not parallel to his: But why are they not, if a true Prince has as good *Right* to his Crown, as a Subject has to his Money or his Goods? For if he has, then a Possession *transfers* the Right of a *Crown*; so it must transfer the Right of a *Purse, a Cloak, &c.* And with so much the more Reason as the Right of the Crown (on which the common Good of the Nation depends.) ought to be more *fixt* and *unalienable*, than the Right of private Men to their Goods, which are of an *inferior* Concern. Now if the Law of the Land require us to swear Allegiance as due to any present Possessor, the same Law declares that Allegiance, and consequently the Crown is his *Right*; otherwise the Law would oblige me to swear false. And if the *Law of the Land* declares the Prince of Orange has *Right*; To what end did this Gentleman all this while run about to the *Law of Nations* to patch him up a Title? It must be a pitiful Cause that makes a Man, who otherwise has wit enough, still interfere thus with himself.

But he says, That if an *Oath of Allegiance should not follow Possession, there would be infinite Snares to the Consciences of all such who are requir'd to obey, but are not bound to enquire into the Right of War*. Note, by the way, one of those shuffling Tricks, of which his Book is full. He begins with *Oaths*, but proceeds as if only *Obedience* were required: As if a Man could not live quietly under a Government, without *Swearing* and calling God to witness that the Governor has *Right* to the Kingdom, (and consequently to our Allegiance,) whether we know he has or no. But let us apply our selves to his Discourse. All the play of these Men, is to persuade the World that this business of Allegiance due to *King James* only, is a kind of *dubious Case*; and then if they can but get their Judgment to *hover*, they hope that Interest or Fear *may turn the Ballance*, and make them swear to *King William*: Whereas we maintain that 'tis a *most plain Case*, which none but *byass'd Men* can *doubt* of. Is it not evident to all, that *King James* was Three Years

ago the undoubted Supreme Governor, and that all the World held that none but he had *Right* to the Crown, and consequently that Allegiance would then be *lawfully* sworn to *none but him*? Is it not evident that he is *living*, and has not *given up* his Right; and so, by the common course of the World, 'tis evidently *his still*? Is it not evident even to themselves that the new Right of the Prince of *Orange* is obscure, that Men are in several Minds about the *Ground* and *Reason* of it; some alledging *one* Thing, others *another*, which shews that *England* it self is *not satisfied* with the *Truth* of his Title, but is led on by *Fear* or *Interest*? Is it not evident that very many conscientious and good Men, amongst whom are the Primate, and some Bishops, and many reverend and worthy Pastors of our Church do refuse to take the New Oath; whose Authority far *outweighs* all the others, in regard they have no Motive but *pure Conscience*, since they are *ruin'd* for *refusing*; whereas the *Complying* Party find *Interest*, and the *Favour* of great Men, by their mercenary Submission? Is it not manifestly evident to every sincere Christian's Conscience, even of the most ordinary Capacity, that Oaths are *most Sacred* Things; and that those Oaths which were due, or have been *sworn* upon *certain* Grounds to an *undoubted* and *indisputable* Authority, ought not to be *unsworn* again, by swearing Allegiance upon *uncertain* Grounds to a *dubious* (at least) and *disputable* Authority? So that here is no *moot Case* in the Business, as he would pretend, but *plain Sense*, which every sincere and conscientious Christian is capable of comprehending: There is no danger then of *infinite Snares*, (as he madly calls them,) not of *any* at all, but those of *weak Fears*, or *base Interest*, which have already *ensnared* many Consciences, and are spread every where, as the *Devil's Nets* to *entangle* and *ensnare* the unwary, unstable, and worldly minded Men.

He asks, p. 26. If it be Perjury and Rebellion in the now *French King's Conquests*, for the *Inhabitants* to take Oaths of Fidelity to the *French King*? Now this is a very pleasant Gentleman; and for all his objecting, p. 19. *The admiring the French Conduct to this sort of Men* [Mr. Ashton's Friends.] He hath said more for the *French King* than any *Jacobite* in *England* will say, and the rankest *French Man* in the World can say no more; and that is, that he hath a Right to all the Places he has over-run with his Arms, in *Flanders*, *Savoy*, yea, and the Principality of *Orange* too. But then, Where is that independant Sovereignty which our Author talks of, as necessary and essential to make a Title by Conquest? For he is possess'd of the Principality of *Orange*; and therefore according to our Author, the King of *France* is Prince of *Orange*, and no body else. And not to meddle with what Right Conquest conveys, (as being foreign to the present Question;) here is this vast difference in the two Cases: The King of *France* actually Conquered these Places and People; the Prince of *Orange* did not Conquer *England*, and none but a Mad-man will say he did: And therefore if the Author would have made the Case parallel, he should thus have put his Question, Whether it would not have been Perjury for the *Inhabitants* of those Places, to have put the Government into the *French King's* Hands, to transfer their Allegiance, and to take an Oath of Fidelity to him, when it was in their Power to resist; nay, when

when he could not do it otherwise but by themselves, and by their own Contrivance, and Assistance: In that Case, which is plainly ours, I stick not to affirm that it is Perjury and Rebellion with a witness; and no Man who hath not his Ear bored, and is become a Slave to Interest, can have the Face to deny it: And yet for all that he goes on. *If it be not Perjury and Rebellion in those Conquer'd Provinces, How comes it to be so here?* By which we say again, he is ready to maintain, (for he does here manifestly suggest it already,) That *England* is the Prince of *Orange's* by Conquest, and all our Lives and Estates are at his Disposal. And there wants nothing but one of his infinite Snares, a good rich Deanry, or Bishoprick, to make him perfectly bold and openly maintain that Opinion. *Parliaments* had best look to such Libels in time, lest the pretended Conqueror come to abdicate them too as Useless, or Obstacles to the pretence of Conquest, and make all our Country-men become Slaves to his Ambition.

But what meant he by his instancing, p. 26, 27. in the *Portuguese's* swearing Allegiance to the Duke of *Braganza*, though the King of *Spain* had enjoyed the Crown for Three Generations? The Case was this. There were Three Pretenders to that Crown, and most of the Universities in *Europe* were employ'd to determine which of them had Right; when *Philip* the Second, while the Thing was yet under debate, seeing them encline most to the Duke of *Braganza*, sends the Duke *d'Alva* with an Army, and very unfairly Surprizes and Oppresses the Headless Nation, and decided the Controversie by the Sword: This was no Conquest, but a manifest Usurpation, for no Battle was fought, nor Resistance made; Was this parallel to the Case of us in *England*? Was our Nation Headless at the time of the Prince of *Orange's* Invasion? Was it under dispute whether King *James*, or he had Right to the Crown? Or had King *James* usurp'd it, as King *Philip* had done? Was he not in quiet Possession of *England*, which King *Philip* never was? The *Portuguese* still grumbling and resenting, that they were enslav'd to a Foreigner, when a King of their own Nation had a Title to it. Again, their swearing Allegiance to King *Philip*, was too, in many regards, more justifiable than ours; they were kept under by a Foreign Force, whereas we do it voluntarily: Besides, the Spanish King had been one of the Pretenders, and the Question was not decided: Had the Prince of *Orange*, or his Princes, any kind of pretence to *England* while their Father liv'd? Lastly, They rose against a Foreign King to introduce one of their own Nation, whereas we rose against our own to introduce a Foreigner. How shallow then is it to huddle together many Instances, and not bring one of them home to his purpose? How ridiculous to argue all along from Matters of Fact to Matter of Right? Which is just as wise, as to pretend, that whatever has been done, must be well done; and is the same, as if he would set himself to prove, that we were not the first, nor the only Rebels, Traytors, or Perjured Persons, that have been in the World; but that there have been others, both of our own and other Nations before us, which we never denied!

He has not done with his Plot, to prove the Paper none of Mr. *Asson's*; but (take which you will) tells you p. 28. That either 'tis not his, or else that he contradicted himself. In what I beseech him? Why,

Mr. *Ashton*, at his Tryal said *He could not but own he had a fair Tryall for his Life*, and yet in his Paper he complains of the *severe Charge of the Judges*, and *hard Measure*: And where lies the Contradiction? Every Man knows that the Tryall is over before the Charge is given, or the Verdict brought in by the Jury: So that nothing hinders but the Tryall may be fair, and seemingly kind, though the Charge which came after did aggravate, and made the worse Misconstruction (as indeed it did) of every thing, and so was very *hard and severe*. But does Mr. *Ash-ton* mention no *hard Measures* besides? Does he not object his *case Imprisonment*, the *hasty and violent Proceedings against him*, and the *Industry used in the Return of fitting Persons to pass upon him*, the *denying of him a Copy of the Panel*, with an *Esc.* at the end of them? Were not these *hard Measures*, and some of them villanously unjust, and indeed plainly shewed, that since they saw him so heartily honest, that he would not be warped, the Resolution was taken beforehand by the Party to have his Life, *per Fas aut Nefas*? Does he deny these were *hard Measures*, or that Mr. *Ashton* said true, when he told us he had receiv'd such *hard Measures*? He confesses *both*, by his Silence in such main *Businesses*. Is it not a rare piece of Justice, to cull out a select Company of Court Pick-thanks, who they were sure would hang him; and yet deny a Copy of the Panel, that he might except against some chief *Boute-feus*, (and particularly that malicious Jury Man he so complains of,) who would never leave pressing and soliciting the rest, till they brought them (let the Cause be never so ugly) into the same Guilt of *Murder* with themselves? Yet a Man who loses his Life by such Tricks, is (according to this Caviller) *confident, uncharitable*, or whatever other Character his time-serving Spite thinks fit to put upon him, if he do but barely speak of what they *did* to take away his Life.

Now after all this Outcry and heavy Charges, to lay Load upon the Martyr's Credit, what was it he said: *Though I have, I think, just reason to complain of the severe Charge given by the Judges, and the hard measure, &c. Yet as I hope for Pardon at the Hands of my God, I do most heartily pray for and forgive them, &c.* Could any thing be said *more sweetly*, or *more modestly*? He onely spoke it in *Transcursu*, and as a Transition to the declaring his Charitable Forgiving of his Enemies: He onely said [*he thought*] he had received ill Usage, and why might not he *think* so, when his Lawyers told him the Law did not reach him, there being onely *Presumption*, which was *incompetent* in that Case? Yet this uncharitable Caviller charges him with *Confidence*, and want of *Common Charity*, and employs all his little Tricks of Rhetoric to have it thought he dyed an ill Man, and (which is the worse Sin of the two) to *murder* as far as he could, his *Soul*, and his Credit as a good Christian, after the Judges and Jury had *murdered* his *Body*.

But how does he clear the Jury? He cites my Lord *Coke*, p. 29. that the *Intent is to be discovered by Circumstances, &c.* But does he or any Man say, that those Circumstances must not be *evidently connected* with the *Intention*; that is, such as *could not* have light or *could not* have been put, had there not been such an *Intention*? Otherwise the Evidence rises not above *Presumption*, which that Lawyer declares to be *insufficient*; and therefore he requires *Good and Manifest Proof*; and the

the Proof of a Man's *Intention* cannot be said to be *manifest*, unless the Overt-act was manifestly connected with it. Was it so here? *Ashton* clear'd the occasion of his going over to *France* to have been upon a quite different Account. But the Papers, says he, were *found about him*. What then? Might not another who was in the Company, and who onely was conscious of their Contents; give them to him to keep? Nay, would not that Person who was concerned judge it *best* in Reason, rather to give them to a Person which was *not at all* concerned in them, than to another of his own Gang? Certainly he would. Nothing more frequent in *Oliver's Days*, than for loyal Gentlemen going in Coach, to give such Papers which were Treasonable in those days to the Coachman, or some Gentlewomen in Company; and must such Persons who carried them be concluded guilty of Treason? This Circumstance then of having the Papers found upon him, which were evidently *another Man's* Concern, as being writ in *his* hand, was so far from being *manifestly connected* with *his* being concerned in them, or *knowing their Contents*; that, of the two it rather signifies the *contrary*. Besides, this Circumstance is not rightly represented. Had they been found upon him when *first search'd*, it might have born a sleight Suspicion, that he was the Bearer of them; but when he was first forc'd out of the hiding Place, he was search'd, and nothing found about him; but going down afterwards to the Hold of the Ship, and finding those Papers left, (which he might suspect my Lord *Preston* would not have had found,) he put them in his Bosome, with design to throw them over-board, which being observed, they were found there. Well; but he had a mind to have these Papers thrown over-board: What then? Would not any Friend do the same, if his Friend and Fellow-Traveler, who by leaving his Letters behind him where he lay, had by so doing signified, that he would not have them seen, though at the same time he *knew* nothing of the *Contents*. Did not Captain *Billop* at the Tryal declare upon Oath, that Mr. *Elliot* was much more concerned than he was, and yet no Presumptive Evidence was grounded thereupon against him, of knowing their Contents? Again, Are there no *Secrets*, and *important* Ones too, but *Treason*? What Man who is versed in the World would have made such a *rash Conclusion* of his knowing the Contents of the Letters from a Carriage, as was lately shew'd *has sometimes*, and *may often* be used in other Occasions, where he that *destroys* or *conceals* any Papers of another's, is yet utterly ignorant of what's in them, or what is his Friend's Design? My self in the Protector's Days lodged near the *Pall-Mall*, when a Civil Gentleman came to take a Room in the same House; it seems he came over to *England* about King *Charles* his Business, though he kept it to himself, and never in the least had acquainted me with it; upon a fright he came running from the Yard into the House, and fearing a Search, retired into a safe hiding Place, giving me some Papers (which it seems he would not have found *with him*) to secure them if I could, or else to *burn* them. I did not much fear, knowing the Constable; so I lock'd them in a small Trunk of Mine, and put them under the Beds-head. They search'd but found nothing. Here is a Case parallel exactly, or rather far more obnoxious than was that of Mr. *Ashton's*,
and

and more significant, that I was privy to the Design of them. Now I would ask this inconsiderate Jury, whether, had those Papers (which I understood afterwards to be *Commissions*) been found in *my* Trunk, they would have brought me in *guilty*? Doubtless such a Jury as *this* would have done it; and yet I can safely be deposted, That I was then utterly ignorant, both of the *Business* of that Gentleman, and of the *Contents* of the Papers. I desire those *Gentlemen of the Jury* to lay their Hands on their Hearts, and tell us seriously, whether they durst have ventured their own Lives, (could it have been brought to the Tryall,) that Mr. *Ashton* intended to go into *France* with such a *Design*? I doubt their Hearts would quail at such a *dubious* Wager: And could they think fit to take away another Man's Life, and hazard to damn their own Souls too, on an Evidence that they durst not stake their own Lives upon. Let them reflect how often even *very great Likelihoods* deceive us every day; nay, sometimes so great, that we should have judged it almost *impossible* it should have *missed*; and yet no wise or good Man would venture his *Life* or his *Salvation* upon those *highest Likelihoods*, or think fit to *swear* the Truth of them; and dare *Jurors* then hazard to *for swear* themselves, and to commit Murder in to the Bargain, by bringing in an illegal Verdict, which takes away a Man's Life upon *Likelihoods* or *Presumptions*? The Law, he confesses requires *manifest Proof*; What says this Patron of Injustice to the Law? Yet *this Proof* (says he, page 29.) *must still be such as the thing will bear*. Let us examine the sense of these Words. Either he means by the Word [*Thing*,] a *Fact* of such a Nature as Mr. *Ashton's* is pretended to be, and that such a *Fact*, *abstractedly speaking*, cannot bear a *more manifest Proof* than this had: Or he means that this individual pretended *Fact*, as standing under the *Circumstances* it *really had*, can bear no better Proof than it did, or be made *more manifest*: He cannot without extreme Folly mean the *former* of these: For it is evident and confessed here, p. 30. by himself, That had the Papers been produced *writ in his own hand*, it would have been a *plain Proof* of his knowing what was in those Papers, (which by the way, is a plain Confession, that (that Proof wanting) there was no *plain* or *manifest Proof* at all,) He must mean then, that *this Fact*, *no better circumstanc'd*, can bear no better Proof: Which is in less candid Terms to say; *We were resolved to hang him, and could have been glad of a plain or manifest Proof, but the Evidence we could get from all the Circumstances, not bearing or affording us such a Proof, we were forced to condemn him upon this unmanifest Proof, or else* (which would have vexed us) *we must have acquitted him*. This is what he would say, had he the Gift of Ingenuity. Well then, since there was (as he confesses) no *plain* or *manifest Proof*, what Proof will he afford us instead of it? Why, he tells us, *there was sufficient Proof* of his *Privity* to the *Contents* of those Papers. Sufficient! What does he mean by that indeterminate and insignificant Expression? No Proof is *sufficient* by the Law but what is *manifest*: But he as good as confesses here, that the Proof was not *manifest*. He can onely mean then by that lukewarm word [*sufficient*,] that the Proof was *sufficient* to take away his Life, if such Judges and such a Jury had the managing of it, who were resolved to sacrifice their *Consciences* and *Honesty* to the Fear or Favour

Favour of Men, and blindly submit them; without Scruple, to the Pleasure of the State.

Next he tells us, *there can be no direct and plain Proofs of a secret Intention*. How many Tricks are coucht in these few words? What does the word [*direct*] here? Did any Man ever pretend he could see a Soul *directly*, or receive Impressions from it in a *streight Line*, as Light and visible Objects come to the bodily Eye? Again: What does the word [*secret*] here? Had it not been enough to say, *None can have a plain Proof of an Intention*? But to confound the weak Reader, and colour over the Paradox, he must add [*secret*] to it. Indeed while an Intention is *secret*, 'tis undoubtedly *secret*; but why can there be no plain Proof of an Intention, making it become *not secret*? Certainly the denying this would destroy all humane Negotiation, in all its mainest Concerns, and make all our chief Actions *floating* and *uncertain*: It makes all the Execution of the Law *comfortless* to the Judges and Jury, and wickedly *injurious* to the Persons accused; for by this Man's Discourse the former can never tell whether or not they condemn an *Innocent*, and the latter sees his Life and Honor exposed to *Hap-hazard*. 'Tis the *Intention*, and that *onely*, which the Law regards, nor is any Action reputed by it to be Felony, Murther, Treason, &c. unless it be done *Animo Felonico*, &c. with a *Felonious Intention*, &c. and this Intention, according to him, can never be made *plain*; so no Man living *knows*, or *can know*, who dies *deservedly*, who *innocently*. Let him reflect, that all that the *Witnesses* can do is to attest the *Overt-act*, or the *Words spoken* imprinted on their Senses; but 'tis the Duty of the Judges and Jury, when once they are satisfied of the *Witnesses Integrity*, to see that those Actions are necessarily connected with such an Intention as with its Cause, and proceeded from it; and if they be not satisfied, but that possibly it might spring from *another Cause*, they must be judged not to value how pretious a Man's Life is, nor to regard much whether they legally condemn an innocent or no, if they bring him in guilty; and so they incur the Guilt themselves of *careless Murtherers*: Nor do the Judges deserve a better Character, if they fail in the Duty of instructing them, that the Law requires *manifest Proof*, and that they ought not to proceed upon even *high Likelihoods* or *Presumptions*, which we do experience do often deceive us: But especially if they aggravate and enhance those Likelihoods to make the Jury proceed upon them as *Certainties*: All which was but too visible in the Charge to this easily byast Jury. Did this Gentleman, who denies that *Intentions* can admit of *plain Proof*, never hear of those Sayings, *That out of the abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh*, or that *the Tree is known by its Fruit*; *i. e.* a Man's *Interiour* by his *Outward Actions*? Can we not know very manifestly, that if a Man way-lay his Enemy, and out of an Ambush assaults and runs him through, he had an Intention to do him a Mischief? Does not himself confes, that had the Papers been in Mr. *Ashton's* own hand, it had been a *plain* or *manifest Proof* of his *knowing their Contents*; which *Knowledge* is of its own Nature altogether as *secret* as is an *Intention*: Lastly, Does he not tell us out of my Lord *Coke*, that no Proof is sufficient but a *manifest one*; and yet he sets himself to prove, that *there can be no plain or mani-*

manifest *Proof of an Intention*, which makes the Law require *Impossibilities*? What Stuff is this to be vented by a Man chosen out to support the State, vindicate the Judges, and confute the solid Paper bequeath'd us by our dying Martyr!

After this he pretends, that, *in his Judgment*, one of the Papers was writ in the *very same Hand in which this Speech was written*; that is, it was writ by Mr. Ashton. But he must pardon us if we dare not believe his Judgement, which (as has been abundantly shewn) has scarcely *judg'd right* in one single Line of his whole Book: But how frivolous is this Pretence of his! Had the Judges, or the Managers of the Tryal found the least Ground for such a Suspition, it had been the easiest thing in the World to have compared that Paper with Hundreds of Accompts, Acquittances, and Letters, which were all seized in his House by Order from the State: Nor could they have wanted Witnesses to have sworn, that they believed such a Paper was writ by him, as well as they did in the Tryal of my Lord *Preston*, which is a very great Presumption that they found no such Paper under his Hand, or so near resembling it as might induce any to swear it. They found indeed another Paper of his, which more vext them and hastened his Death, than had they found any such other as this Gentleman pretends: Concerning which take the Martyr's own Words out of *part of that Paper left by him in a Friend's hands*; which are as followeth.

' [Being suddenly to give up my Accounts to the Searcher of all
' Hearts, I think it a Duty incumbent upon me to impart some Things
' farther, which neither the Interest nor Iniquity of these Times will, I
' conclude, willingly bear the publication of, and therefore not fit to
' be inserted in the Sheriffs Paper.

' Some time after the Prince of *Orange's* Arrival here, when it was
' expected, that, pursuant to his own Declaration, and the King's Letter
' to the Convention, an exact Search and Enquiry would have been
' made into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, there was a Scheme
' drawn up of that whole Matter, and of the Proofs that were then
' (and are still) ready to be produced, to prove his Royal Highness's
' Legitimacy; but no publick Examination being ever had, and the
' Violence of the Times, as well as Interest of the present Government,
' not permitting any private Person to move in it, those Papers have
' ever since lain by: But it being now thought advisable by some, to
' have them printed and published, and (as at first they were designed)
' addressed, at their next Meeting, to the Lords and Commons, en-
' treating them to enquire into that weighty Affair, and to call forth,
' examine, and protect (for who else dares to appear) the many Wit-
' nesses to the several Particulars therein offered to be legally pro-
' ved, &c.

' I was ordered to carry those Papers to the King, my Master, for
' his view, that his Leave and Approbation might go along with the
' Desires of his good Subjects here; and they being taken with me,
' with some other Papers of Accounts, &c. in a small Trunck, amongst
' my Linnen, and other private Things of my own, and not in the
' Packet, (my Lord *Preston* being altogether a stranger to the whole
' pro-

* proceeding,) by this means fell into the hands of our present Go-
 * vernours; who, though they wisely waved the producing them as
 * Evidence at my Tryal, yet have I just Reason to believe my greatest
 * Crimes were contained in them; and I do therefore conclude and
 * hope, that I only am designed to be sacrificed, who only knew of
 * them: Nor am I surpris'd at it, since nothing, I think, can be more
 * prejudicial to some Persons present Interest, than the exposing of those
 * Papers to the Publick, which will set that pretended Mystery of
 * Darkness in so clear a Light, that all Mankind must be convinced of
 * his Highness's being Born of the Queen, and of their Wickedness, who
 * have maliciously and designedly asserted that innocent Prince to be an
 * Impostor. The Love and Compassion that I have for my native
 * Countrey, as well as Charity, obliges me humbly to implore Almighty
 * God to be merciful to it, and not to charge this great Sin to the pub-
 * lick Account, and that we may not farther provoke his Justice by
 * our wilfully continuing in Error and Mistake, I beseech him to put
 * it into the Hearts of the Lords, &c. at their next Meeting, to ex-
 * amine into that whole Matter, and (if before that time this be pub-
 * lished) to enquire after, call for, and, if possible, retrieve those Pa-
 * pers that were taken with me; whereby the Obstinate will most cer-
 * tainly be convinced, the Ignorant informed, the Doubtful confirmed,
 * the Eyes of all opened, and a sacred most important Truth made ap-
 * parent to the whole World.]

And may we not now with good Reason challenge those of the other
 Party to give an Answer to those Papers, which were the true occa-
 sion of his Suffering; and in behalf of Justice, Truth, and the good
 of the Nation, to demand that the said Papers, which are now stifled,
 may be produced, and (if possible) confuted: For since never greater
 sedulity was used by any other to set that Business in a manifest
 Light; the Answering them must consequently be the surest Means
 to keep the Nation from being imposed upon in so weighty a Matter.
 And if this be not done, Will not all sincere Persons conclude hence
 that the Proofs of the Prince of *Wales's* Legitimacy, contained in those
 Papers of Mr. *Ashton*, are even in the Opinion of our Statists them-
 selves, absolutely *unanswerable*, and all *England* be convinced that the
 Pretence of his being Supposititious, was set up for no other End
 but to bring, by that detestable Forgery, the King and Queen into *Odium*
 and *Disgrace*, and to make way for the Prince of *Orange* to seize on his
 Crown; and reflect, that from this one villanous Cheat, all the Cala-
 mities that have befallen our deluded Nation, have had their true Source
 and Origin. I know the Observator upon Mr. *Ashton's* Papers denies
 there were any such; but could it be done with our Security, we do
 undertake to prove Circumstantially, that they were in his Trunck
 when taken by the Government's Order; and farther that we will clear
 that whole Matter, far more fully than has been done hitherto, by
 many other Witnesses of unquestionable Credit, and by most convinc-
 ing Proofs; and to satisfy all Interrogatories that can be offered by
 the most inquisitive Scrupler. But to return to our Juries; What mat-
 ters it what was brought to light about those Papers *afterwards*? The

Question is; what Evidence the Jury *then* had, *when* they brought in their lawless Verdict: If they had *at that time* no *such* Evidence as the Law requires; *i. e.* if they had *then* no *manifest* Proof, he died Innocent *in the Eye of the Law*; and nothing can acquit his Condemners from being, according to *the same Law*, and God's Law too, *unconscientious Murderers*. And 'tis of *this* kind of Innocence only the Martyr speaks, when he declares himself *Innocent*; about which Passage this Gentleman, who can neither understand *another Man*, nor many times *himself* very well, is very Gay and Pleasant: Though, 'tis true, the Martyr by owning his Duty to his lawful Sovereign, does withall, by consequence profess, that, though he had been legally Convicted of an *intention* to restore him, and of *acting* too, in order to that good End, he had notwithstanding been Innocent also *before God*.

The Result of all the whole foregoing Discourse is this, That our blessed Martyr is clearly *vindicated* from any *Treasonable Guilt*, and proved to have died *doubly Innocent*; in the sight of *Heaven*, in dying for his *Allegiance*, which provok'd this unreasonable Malice against him; and *in the Eye of the Law*, by being adjudg'd to die without *manifest Proof*, or legal Evidence. May his Noble Christian Fortitude, and his Pious Example, so influence his *Prevaricating Brethren*, that they may repent them of their *Perjury* and *Rebellion*, imitate his *Constant Loyalty*, and be partakers of that Eternal Crown of Glory which he now enjoys, for undauntedly owning, and even to Death persevering in his Duty of Allegiance to his *only Lawful*, and *only Rightful* Sovereign.

An Humble Petition to the Present Government.

SINCE Nature does generally encline every Man to avoid his own Ruine, and to do that which is apparently best for his own worldly Interest and Conveniency; it cannot in common Reason and Prudence be imagined, but that the generality of those, who do adhere to King *JAMES* his Title, would be glad to live at Ease, and out of Danger, by submitting freely to the present Government, did not some Consideration that is of a Superior Nature, and concerns their well-being in another World, over-awe them and deter them from owning it. Wherefore as we who write this, *do* in our Names, so we justly presume we *may* in the Names of those others, protest in the presence of Almighty God, who sees their Hearts, that our refusing to take the Oath, and pay a voluntary Allegiance to the present Governours, does not spring from any inclination to Faction, nor from Obstinacy, nor yet from any Disaffection to their Persons; but purely from this, That we cannot be satisfied, either by our own Reason, or any Thing that has been hitherto writ upon that Subject, that they have *any* Title to the Crown, either by the Law of *God* or *Man*; but, on the contrary, that both *Divine* and *Humane Laws* are *against* their wresting it, by a *Trick*, out of the Hands of their Father, who was the *undoubted rightful* Owner of it; and that their still *Possessing* and *Detaining* it from him, is no less *against* the *same Laws*, and consequently a *doubly unjust Usurpation*: And therefore our Conscience tells

us, That we shall incur the just Indignation of Almighty God; and, withal, become Obnoxious, by our English Laws, to the Punishments due to *Traitors*, should we yield to such illegal Compliances. Wherefore we humbly Petition, That for satisfaction to our Consciences, our Governours would please to give Order, that some grave and learned Man may compile a Treatise, shewing *their true* Title to the Crown, and manifesting how King *James's* legal Title, by Succession, comes to be *annull'd*: And let him evince these Two main Points from any solid Principles, of what nature soever, acknowledg'd for such by the indifferent part of the World; and so that it may appear by their giving Authority to that Treatise, by such their Order, that *that is the true Ground* of their Claim, and the Title they will *stand by*. Those who have writ in Justification of their Government, are in so many Minds about the *Ground* of their pretended *Right*, that instead of *clearing* it they have, by their Disagreement, satisfied all understanding Men, that 'tis *very obscure*, even to their *own Party*; whereas yet it ought to *be of it self*, or else *be made most Evident*, e'er it can in any Reason be held able to overthrow a Tenure so *incontestibly Evident* and *Legal*, as was that of King *James*, it being built on a long continued Hereditary Succession, abetted by the most Fundamental Laws of the Land, and approved by the universal acknowledgement of the whole World. We humbly request then to be inform'd which of those many Grounds, advanc'd by their Writers, themselves will think fit to make choice of, and esteem *thus Evident*, which we have not hitherto any Light to guess at. Their Carriage by carressing and advancing Dr. *Sherlock*, seems to hint that they most approve of his new Notion; but that Flash of his has been so perfectly and so manifoldly baffled, and laid flat beyond all possibility of setting it up again, or supporting it, that (next to the *Abdication* Title) no Tenet in the World was ever so notoriously convicted of Folly and Inconsistency. We are told that Mr. *Johnson* is about publishing something upon that Subject, with a disclaimer of any other Title but that he is setting up: But as we are well assured that the Principles that Gentleman will proceed upon, (however he may pretend to wrest our Laws to his Fancy,) are purely *Commonwealthish*, and no less confident that our Governours will never think it Honourable for them to own such a *precarious* Authority; so we cannot think it safe in Conscience for us to acquiesce in such a Title, which they themselves will not think fit to acknowledge and *abide by*.

This Request is for another Regard the more Reasonable, because the granting it is clearly the best for the Interest even of our Governours themselves: For nothing can be more Prevalent to unite all *England* in a hearty Subjection to their Government, than the making out Evidently, and *Inconfutably* (in Case they judge it fecible) upon what Ground we may justly hold the former Prince's rightful Title is *Extinguished*, and their own rightfully *Introduced* and *Established*. Nor can any Thing more acquit them from the heavy Imputation of Cruelty and Murder, (which *Odium* they will otherwise lie under,) than will shewing their Right to be thus Evident: I say *Evident*; for plain Reason very sensibly informs every honest Christian, that a Title which was *never doubted* or *controverted*, nor had the least flaw in it, by any one p. e. tender

tender in the whole World, ought not to be held abolish'd by a Title which is *controverted* and *dubious*; and also that Oaths of Allegiance ought not to be *sworn* to those whose *Right* to our Allegiance is *doubtful* and *uncertain*. Wherefore let them but take away this *doubtfulness*, by making their Title *Clear* and *Evident*; and then the *same Reason* which makes us yet retain our Allegiance to King *James*, will oblige us in Conscience to become *Faithful* and *Obedient* Subjects to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*; and will shew, moreover, that we enjoy under them a State of *Liberty* and *Reason*, and are not purely under the *slavish* Condition of *Force* and *Fear*.

The granting then this Humble Petition of ours being every way so *Reasonable* and *Advantagious* to their own Honour and Interest; so *satisfactory* to those who have Scruples, which hinder their *Complying*; so agreeable to the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, which promises not to persecute for Conscience sake; so conducive to the Peace and Union of the Kingdom in general; and, lastly, so necessary to clear the Honour of all their own Party, now lying under the Scandal of *Complying* they know not why, and of *Sacrificing* their *Consciences* to *servile Fear* or *base Interest*: If this be refused by the State, and yet Oaths be still press'd upon the *Jacobites*, and they be still Persecuted, Imprisoned, and put to Death, for performing their conscientious Duties to him; whom they cannot but judge as yet to be their rightful Prince, then they do call Heaven and Earth to witness that they suffer for *Conscience* sake; and that the pretended Governours are resolv'd to ruine them, for no other Reason but that they will not, to second and uphold their unaccountable Authority, break God's holy Commands, and our own Laws; which all good *Christians* and true *English-men* are bound to observe.

On the other side, their not yielding to this Humble Request cannot but redound highly to their Dishonour; for all thinking Men will easily make this Inference from their refusal, that either they do not judge they have any Title at all, which will *bear the Test*, or which they will *stand to*; or else, that they are most cruel and most unchristian Persecutors: While, on the one hand, they refuse, when humbly Supplicated, to take Order to give satisfaction to Men's Consciences, in a Case which the many Controversies about it, and the former *long settled* and *legal* Title shews to be (at least) *Dubious*; and on the other side, they go on to punish and put Men to Death, who are *desirous* to be satisfied, merely for acting *according to their Consciences*; which those Men themselves are not able to satisfy, that they ought to submit voluntarily to the Present Government; and those who should be *most able* are *most concern'd*, nay absolutely, in many regards, *bound* to do it; refuse them that Christian Charity.

In a word, Let the Present Governours either *satisfie* our *Consciences*, or leave off to *persecute* us for being *Conscientious*; or, else (which is only left) let them speak out, and tell the World in plain Terms, what this refusal of theirs will sufficiently intimate, that they will do *neither*; but that they are resolv'd we shall be punish'd as *Traitors*, if we will not be *Knaves*; and that they will only allow us this sad Choice, to be either *Hang'd* or *Damn'd*.

F I N I S.

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