BISHOP BURNET'S

HISTORY

OF

HIS OWN TIME.

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HIS OWN TIME:

WITH THE

SUPPRESSED PASSAGES OF THE FIRST VOLUME,

AND NOTES

BY THE

EARLS OF DARTMOUTH AND HARDWICKE,

AND

SPEAKER ONSLOW,

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

To which are added

THE CURSORY REMARKS OF SWIFT,

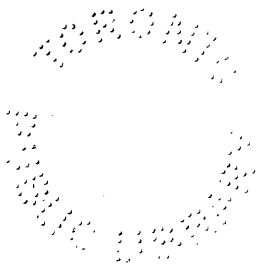
AND OTHER OBSERVATIONS.

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MDCCCXXIII.



THE 617

HISTORY

OF

MY OWN TIMES.

BOOK IV.

Of the reign of King James II.

I AM now to prosecute this work, and to give the relation of an inglorious and unprosperous reign, that was begun with great advantages: but these were so poorly managed, and so ill improved, that bad designs were ill laid, and worse conducted; and all came, in conclusion, under one of the strangest catastrophes that is in any history. A great king, with strong armies and mighty fleets, a vast treasure and powerful allies, fell all at once: and his whole strength, like a spider's web, was so irrecoverably broken with a touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for want both of judgment and heart he threw up in a day. Such an unexpected revolution deserves to be well opened: I will do it as fully as I can. But, having been beyond sea almost all this reign, many small particulars,

1685.

A reign happily begun, but inglorious all over.

618

1685. he had his father's cipher among his papers, and that he would try to decipher the letter: but I believe he never did it. I told him I was confident, that as the letter was writ when his escape was under consideration, so it contained an order to go to the queen, and to be obedient to her in all things, except in matters of religion. The king appointed sir John Berkeley, afterwards lord Berkeley, to be his governor. It was a strange choice, if it was not that, in such a want of men who stuck to the king
619 as was then, there were few capable in any sort of such a trust. Berkeley was bold and insolent, and seemed to lean to popery: he was certainly very arbitrary, both in his temper and notions. The queen took such a particular care of this prince, that he was soon observed to have more of her favour than either of his two brothers: and she was so set on making proselytes, hoping that *to save a soul would cover a multitude of sins*, that it is not to be doubted but she used more than ordinary arts to draw him over to her religion. Yet, as he himself told me, he stood out against her practices.

He learned war under Turenne.

During his stay in France he made some campaigns under Mr. de Turenne, who took him so particularly under his care, that he instructed him in all that he undertook, and shewed him the reasons of every thing he did so minutely, that he had great advantages by being formed under the greatest general of the age. Turenne was so much taken with his application, and the heat that he shewed, that he recommended him out of measure. He said often of him, There was the greatest prince, and like to be the best general of his time. This raised his character so much, that the king was not a little

eclipsed by him. Yet he quickly ran into amours and vice. And that by degrees wore out any courage that had appeared in his youth. And in the end of his life he came to lose the reputation of a brave man and a good captain so entirely, that either he was never that which flatterers gave out concerning him, or his age and affairs wrought a very unusual change on him. 1685.

He seemed to follow his mother's maxims all the while he was beyond sea. He was the head of a party that was formed in the king's small court against lord Clarendon. And it was believed that his applications to lord Clarendon's daughter were made at first on design to dishonour his family, though she had the address to turn it another way.

He was admiral of England.

After his brother's restoration, he applied himself much to the marine, in which he arrived at great skill, and brought the fleet so entirely into his dependance, that even after he laid down the command he was still the master of our whole sea force. He had now for these last three years directed all our counsels with so absolute an authority, that the king seemed to have left the government wholly in his hands: only the unlooked-for bringing in the duke of Monmouth put him under no small apprehensions, that at some time or other the king might slip out of his hands: now that fear was over.

He was proclaimed king.

The king was dead: and so all the court went immediately and paid their duty to him. Orders were presently given for proclaiming him king. It was a heavy solemnity: few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present king. A dead silence, but without any dis- 620

1685. order or tumult, followed it through the streets [b]. When the privy counsellors came back from the proclamation, and waited on the new king, he made a short speech to them; which it seems was well considered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his parliament, and upon several other occasions.

His first speech

He began with an expostulation for the ill character that had been entertained of him. He told them, in very positive words, that he would never depart from any branch of his prerogative: but with that he promised, that he would maintain the liberty and property of the subject. He expressed his good opinion of the church of England, as a friend to monarchy. Therefore, he said, he would defend and maintain the church, and would preserve the government in church and state, as it was established by law.

well received.

This speech was soon printed, and gave great content to those who believed that he would stick to the promises made in it. And those few who did not believe it, yet durst not seem to doubt of it. The pulpits of England were full of it, and of

[b] This is so far from the truth, that the death of no prince was ever so universally lamented; especially by the common people, who had enjoyed more ease and plenty during his reign, than ever they had done before, or expected after. D. (The truth of this latter account of the sorrow occasioned by the death of Charles, is confirmed by Colley Cibber, the poet laureat, who was no friend of the house of Stuart, in the beginning of the history of his own life. See also sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 107. And with respect to the new king, Dr. Welwood, whom no one can suspect of partiality towards him, for he is known to have answered one of the king's declarations after his dethronement, says in his Memoirs, p. 154. "All the former animosi-" ties seemed to be forgotten " amidst the loud acclamations " of his people on his accession " to the throne.")

thanksgivings for it. It was magnified as a security far greater than any that laws could give. The common phrase was, We have now the *word of a king, and a word never yet broken.* 1685.

Upon this a new set of addresses went round England, in which the highest commendations that flattery could invent were given to the late king; and assurances of loyalty and fidelity were renewed to the king, in terms that shewed there were no jealousies nor fears left. The university of Oxford in their address promised to obey the king *without limitations or restrictions.* The king's promise passed for a thing so sacred, that they were looked on as ill bred that put in their address, *our religion established by law;* which looked like a tie on the king to maintain it: whereas the style of the more courtly was to put all our security upon the king's promise. The clergy of London added a word to this in their address, *our religion established by law, dearer to us than our lives.* This had such an insinuation in it, as made it very unacceptable. Some followed their pattern. But this was marked to be remembered against those that used so menacing a form. Addresses made to him. 621

All employments were ended of course with the life of the former king. But the king continued all in their places: only the posts in the household were given to those who had served the king, while he was duke of York. The marquis of Halifax had reason to look on himself as in ill terms with the king: so in a private audience he made the best excuses he could for his conduct of late. The king diverted the discourse; and said, he would forget every thing that was past, except his behaviour

1685. in the business of the exclusion. The king also added, that he would expect no other service of him than what was consistent with law. He prepared him for the exaltation of the earl of Rochester. He said, he had served him well, and had suffered on his account, and therefore he would now shew favour to him: and the next day he declared him lord treasurer. His brother the earl of Clarendon was made lord privy seal: and the marquis of Halifax was made lord president of the council. The earl of Sunderland was looked on as a man lost at court: and so was lord Godolphin. But the former of these insinuated himself so into the queen's confidence, that he was, beyond all people's expectation, not only maintained in his posts, but grew into great degrees of favour.

The earl of Rochester made lord treasurer.

The earl of Sunderland in favour.

The queen was made to consider the earl of Rochester as a person that would be in the interest of the king's daughters, and united to the church party. So she saw it was necessary to have one in a high post, who should depend wholly on her, and be entirely hers. And the earl of Sunderland was the only person capable of that. The earl of Rochester did upon his advancement become so violent and boisterous, that the whole court joined to support the earl of Sunderland, as the proper balance to the other. Lord Godolphin was put in a great post in the queen's household [c].

[c] He was made lord chamberlain to the queen, and more esteemed and trusted by her than any man in England. After the revolution, he kept a constant correspondence with her to his dying day: (which was managed by the countess of Lichfield:) notwithstanding Mr. Cæsar of Hartfordshire was sent to the tower for saying so in the house of commons, in the reign of queen Ann. D.

But before the earl of Rochester had the white staff, the court engaged the lord Godolphin, and the other lords of the treasury, to send orders to the commissioners of the customs to continue to levy the customs, though the act that granted them to the late king was only for his life, and so was now determined with it. It is known how much this matter was contested in king Charles the first's time, and what had passed upon it. The legal method[d] was to have made entries, and to have taken bonds for those duties, to be paid when the parliament should meet, and renew the grant. Yet the king declared, that he would levy the customs, and not stay for the new grant. But, though this did not agree well with the king's promise of maintaining liberty and property, yet it was said in excuse for it, that, if the customs should not be levied in this interval, great importations would be made, and the markets would be so stocked, that this would very much spoil the king's customs[e]. But in answer to this it was said again, entries were to be made, and bonds taken, to be sued when the act granting them should pass. Endeavours were used with some of the merchants to refuse to pay those duties, and to dispute the matter in Westminster hall: but none would venture on so bold a thing. He who should begin any such opposition would probably be ruined

1685. Customs and excise levied against law.

622

[d] *The least illegal and the only justifiable*, he should have said. O. (It was the proposal of lord keeper North, whilst the other which was adopted was suggested by Jefferies. See North's Life of the Lord Keeper, p. 255.)

[e] (Macpherson adds to this plea, "that the merchants, who "had their warehouses full of "goods, for which custom had "been paid, would be under-"sold in all the markets by "those who now should pay "no duties." Vol. i. Hist. of Great Britain, p. 428.)

1685. by it: so none would run that hazard. The earl of Rochester got this to be done before he came into the treasury: so he pretended, that he only held on in the course that was begun by others.

The additional excise had been given to the late king only for life. But there was a clause in the act that empowered the treasury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limiting clause, in case it should be so long due. And it was thought a great stretch of the clause, to make a fraudulent farm, by which it should continue to be levied three years after it was determined, according to the letter and intendment of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the king's life, though it was well known that no such farm had been made; for it was made after his death, but a false date was put to it. This matter seemed doubtful. It was laid before the judges. And they all, except two, were of opinion that it was good in law. So two proclamations were ordered, the one for levying the customs, and the other for the excise.

These came out in the first week of the reign, and gave a melancholy prospect. Such beginnings did not promise well, and raised just fears in the minds of those who considered the consequences of such proceedings. They saw, that by violence and fraud duties were now to be levied without law. But all people were under the power of fear or flattery to such a degree, that none durst complain, and few would venture to talk of those matters.

The king's coldness to those who had been for the exclusion.

Persons of all ranks went in such crowds to pay their duty to the king, that it was not easy to admit them all. Most of the whigs that were admitted were received coldly at best. Some were

623

sharply reproached for their past behaviour. Others were denied access. The king began likewise to say, that he would not be served as his brother had been: he would have all about him serve him without reserve, and go thorough in his business. Many were amazed to see such steps made at first. The second Sunday after he came to the throne, he, to the surprise of the whole court, went openly to mass, and sent Caryl to Rome with letters to the pope, but without a character. 1685.

He seemed to be on equal terms with the French king.

In one thing only the king seemed to comply with the genius of the nation, though it proved in the end to be only a shew. He seemed resolved not to be governed by French counsels, but to act in an equality with that haughty monarch in all things. And, as he entertained all the other foreign ministers with assurances that he would maintain the balance of Europe with a more steady hand than had been done formerly; so, when he sent over the lord Churchil to the court of France with the notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to observe exactly the ceremony and state with which he was received, that he might treat him, who should be sent over with the compliment in return to that, in the same manner. And this he observed very punctually, when the marshal de Lorge came over. This was set about by the courtiers as a sign of another spirit, that might be looked for in a reign so begun. And this made some impression on the court of France, and put them to a stand. But, not long after this, the French king said to the duke of Villeroy, (who told it to young Rouvigny, now earl of Galway, from whom I had it,) that the king of England, after all the high things given out in

1685. his name, was willing to take his money, as well as his brother had done [f].

The king did also give out, that he would live in a particular confidence with the prince of Orange, and the States of Holland. And, because Chudleigh, the envoy there, had openly broken with the prince, (for he not only waited no more on him, but acted openly against him; and once in the Vorhaut had affronted him, while he was driving the princess upon the snow in a trainau, according to the German manner, and pretending they were masked, and that he did not know them, had ordered his coachman to keep his way, as they were coming towards the place where he drove [g];) the king recalled him, and sent Shelton in his room, who was the haughtiest, but withal the weakest man, that he could have found out. He talked out all secrets, and
624 made himself the scorn of all Holland. The courtiers now said every where, that we had a martial

[f] (From the now ascertained fact of James's receiving money from France, the truth of the anecdote here related cannot, as Mr. Fox observes, be doubted. See Fox's Hist. of the Reign of James II. p. 106.)

[g] A pretty parenthesis. S. (See before, p. 594; but D'Orleans, in his History of the Revolutions in England, which was written, according to lord Bolingbroke in his Dissertation on Parties, p. 28. on materials furnished him by James II. gives the following account of the difference between the prince of Orange and Chudleigh: "The "prince of Orange still did the "duke of Monmouth much ho- "nour, and ordered his troops "to salute him at reviews when "he happened to be present. "The king (Charles) had for- "bid it to those he had in the "service of the States, by Mr. "Chudley, then minister at the "Hague, which the prince took "so ill, that he was in a pas- "sion with Chudley, who had "given those orders to the "officers, without acquainting "him, and threatened him, "lifting up his hand. The "minister complained to his "master, who was so highly "offended at it, that he for- "bad him seeing the prince." p. 276. Compare p. 576 of Burnet's History.)

prince who loved glory, who would bring France into as humble a dependance on us, as we had been formerly on that court. 1685.

The king did, some days after his coming to the crown, promise the queen and his priests, that he would see Mrs. Sidley no more, by whom he had some children. And he spoke openly against lewdness, and expressed a detestation of drunkenness. He sat many hours a day about business with the council, the treasury, and the admiralty. It was upon this said, that now we should have a reign of action and business, and not of sloth and luxury, as the last was. Mrs. Sidley had lodgings in Whitehall: orders were sent to her to leave them. This was done to mortify her; for [as she was naturally bold and insolent] she pretended that she should now govern as absolutely as the duchess of Portsmouth had done: yet the king still continued a secret commerce with her. And thus he began his reign with some fair appearances. A long and great frost had so shut up the Dutch ports, that for some weeks they had no letters from England: at last the news of the king's sickness and death, and of the beginnings of the new reign, came to them all at once. The king's course of life.

The first difficulty the prince of Orange was in, was with relation to the duke of Monmouth. He knew the king would immediately, after the first compliments were over, ask him to dismiss him, if not to deliver him up. And as it was no way decent for him to break with the king upon such a point, so he knew the states would never bear it. He thought it better to dismiss him immediately, as of himself. The duke of Monmouth seemed sur- The prince of Orange sent away the duke of Monmouth.

1685. prised at this. Yet at parting he made great protestations both to the prince and princess of an inviolable fidelity to their interests. So he retired to Brussels, where he knew he could be suffered to stay no longer than till a return should come from Spain, upon the notice of king Charles's death, and the declarations that the king was making of maintaining the balance of Europe. The duke was upon that thinking to go to Vienna, or to some court in Germany. But those about him studied to inflame him both against the king and the prince of Orange. They told him, the prince by casting him off had cancelled all former obligations, and set him free from them: he was now to look to himself: and instead of wandering about as a vagabond, he was to set himself to deliver his country, and to raise his party and his friends, who were now like to be used very ill for their adhering to him and to his interest.

Some in England began to move for him.

They sent one over to England to try men's pulses, and to see if it was yet a proper time to make an attempt. Wildman, Charlton, and some others, went about trying if men were in a disposition to encourage an invasion. They talked of this in so remote a way of speculation, that though one could not but see what lay at bottom, yet they did not run into treasonable discourse. I was in general sounded by them: yet nothing was proposed that ran me into any danger from concealing it. I did not think fears and dangers, nor some illegal acts in the administration, could justify an insurrection, as lawful in itself: and I was confident an insurrection undertaken on such grounds would be so ill seconded, and so weakly supported, that it would not

only come to nothing, but it would precipitate our ruin. Therefore I did all I could to divert all persons with whom I had any credit from engaging in such designs. These were for some time carried on in the dark. The king, after he had put his affairs in a method, resolved to hasten his coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence: and for some weeks he was so entirely possessed with the preparations for that solemnity, that all business was laid aside, and nothing but ceremony was thought on. 1685.

Strange practices in elections of parliament men.

At the same time a parliament was summoned: and all arts were used to manage elections so, that the king should have a parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all the parts of England of the injustice and violence used in elections, beyond what had ever been practised in former times. And this was so universal over the whole nation, that no corner of it was neglected. In the new charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restrained to the corporation men, all those being left out who were not acceptable at court. In some boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended on: so the neighbouring gentlemen were made the corporation-men: and, in some of these, persons of other counties, not so much as known in the borough, were named. This was practised in the most avowed manner in Cornwall by the earl of Bath; who to secure himself the groom of the stole's place, which he held all king Charles's time, put the officers of the guards names in almost all the charters of that county; 626
which sending up forty-four members, they were

1685. for most part so chosen, that the king was sure of their votes on all occasions.

These methods were so successful over England, that when the elections were all returned, the king said, there were not above forty members, but such as he himself wished for. They were neither men of parts nor estates[h]: so there was no hope left, either of working on their understandings, or of making them see their interest, in not giving the king all at once. Most of them were furious and violent, and seemed resolved to recommend themselves to the king by putting every thing in his power, and by ruining all those who had been for the exclusion. Some few had designed to give the king the revenue only from three years to three years[i]. The earl of Rochester told me, that was what he looked for, though the post he was in made it not so proper for him to move in it. But there was no prospect of any strength in opposing any thing that the king should ask of them.

[h] That was not so, for although very bad practices were used in the elections, yet the returns shew, they were in general men of fashion and fortune in the countries they were chosen for, but most of them indeed very high tories. O. (Bevill Higgons says, that in regard to their estates and circumstances, he must refer the reader to the printed list, supposing him to know the gentlemen of fortune and quality in the respective counties of England; and adds, that they were both good subjects and good patriots; the last shown by their being afterwards dissolved in anger, p. 301. of his Remarks. Examine what the bishop himself relates afterwards at p. 667. concerning the conduct of these gentlemen, and the candid character given of them by the continuator of Rapin's History of England. See also Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1056. and his Hist. of the Revolution, p. 630.)

[i] Might not these persons have suggested the giving of king William the principal revenues but from year to year? which subsisted for some time, much to the dissatisfaction of the king. See vol. ii. pp. 12, 13, 14. O.

This gave all thinking men a melancholy prospect. England now seemed lost, unless some happy accident should save it. All people saw the way for packing a parliament now laid open[i]. A new set of charters and corporation-men, if those now named should not continue to be still as compliant as they were at present, was a certain remedy, to which recourse might be easily had. The boroughs of England saw their privileges now wrested out of their hands, and that their elections, which had made them so considerable before, were hereafter to be made as the court should direct: so that from henceforth little regard would be had to them; and the usual practices in courting, or rather in corrupting them, would be no longer pursued. Thus all people were alarmed: but few durst speak out, or complain openly. Only the duke of Monmouth's agents made great use of this to inflame their party. It was said, here was a parliament to meet, that was not the choice and representative of the nation, and therefore was no parliament. So they upon this possessed all people with dreadful apprehensions that a blow was now given to the constitution, which could not be remedied but by an insurrection. It was resolved to bring up petitions against some elections, that were so indecently managed, that it seemed scarce possible to excuse them: but these were to be judged by a majority of men, who knew their own elections to be so faulty, that to secure themselves they would justify the rest: and fair 627
dealing was not to be expected from those, who were so deeply engaged in the like injustice.

1685. Evil prospect from a bad parliament.

All that was offered on the other hand to lay

[i] Just our case at the queen's death. S.

1685. those fears, which so ill an appearance did raise, was, that it was probable the king would go into measures against France. All the offers of submission possible were made him by Spain, the empire, and the States [k].

The prince of Orange submits in every thing to the king.

The king had begun with the prince of Orange upon a hard point. He was not satisfied with his dismissing the duke of Monmouth, but wrote to him to break all those officers who had waited on him while he was in Holland. In this they had only followed the prince's example: so it was hard to punish them for that which he himself had encouraged. They had indeed shewed their affections to him so evidently, that the king wrote to the prince, that he could not trust to him, nor depend on his friendship, as long as such men served under him. This was of a hard digestion. Yet, since the breaking them could be easily made up by employing them afterwards, and by continuing their appointments to them, the prince complied in this likewise. And the king was so well pleased with it, that when bi-

[k] This was a crisis that might have made this country as great in Europe, or greater, than it had been in any age, and put the king at the head of all foreign transactions, to have engaged in them more or less, as it suited either his interest or his honour: and had he but have kept his religion to his own practice of it, and governed by parliaments, he would have been the happiest and greatest king at the same time, both at home and abroad, that this nation had almost ever seen. There never happened before such a concurrence of incidents to produce all this: but the family was not made to govern this country. A false policy run through their four reigns, and they either did not know, or did not know how to make use of, the true genius and greatness of their people. The British nation, in its freedom, may be the first power of Europe; and a king who shews them he means their interest only, be the best obeyed. When they see him their king, they will be his subjects. O.

shop Turner complained of some things relating to the prince and princess, and proposed rougher methods, the king told him, it was absolutely necessary that the prince and he should continue in good correspondence. Of this Turner gave an account to the other bishops, and told them very solemnly, that the church would be in no hazard during the present reign; but that they must take care to secure themselves against the prince of Orange, otherwise they would be in great danger. 1685.

The submission of the prince and the States to the king made some fancy that this would overcome him. All people concluded, that it would soon appear, whether bigotry or a desire of glory was the prevailing passion; since if he did not strike in with an alliance that was then projected against France, it might be concluded that he was resolved to deliver himself up to his priests, and to sacrifice all to their ends. The season of the year made it to be hoped, that the first session of parliament would be so short, that much could not be done in it, but that when the revenue should be granted, other matters might be put off to a winter session. So that, if the parliament should not deliver up the nation in a heat all at once, but should leave half their work to another session, they might come under some management, and either see the 628
interest of the nation in general, or their own in particular; and so manage their favours to the court in such a manner as to make themselves necessary, and not to give away too much at once, but be sparing in their bounty; which they had learned so well in king Charles's time, that it was to be hoped they would soon fall into it, if they made not too much

1685. haste at their first setting out. So it was resolved not to put them on too hastily in their first session to judge of any election, but to keep that matter entire for some time, till they should break into parties.

The king was crowned.

The coronation was set for St. George's day. Turner was ordered to preach the sermon: and both king and queen resolved to have all done in the protestant form, and to assist in all the prayers: only the king would not receive the sacrament, which is always a part of the ceremony. In this certainly his priests dispensed with him, and he had such senses given him of the oath, that he either took it as a sin with a resolution not to keep it, or he had a reserved meaning in his own mind. The crown was not well fitted for the king's head: it came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face. The canopy carried over him did also break. Some other smaller things happened that were looked on as ill omens: and his son by Mrs. Sidley died that day[1]. The queen with the peeresses made a more graceful figure. The best thing in Turner's sermon was, that he set forth that part of Constantius Chlorus's history very handsomely, in which he tried who would be true to their religion,

[1] At the coronation of the present king, (George the second,) and the queen, the dean of Westminster, (bishop Bradford,) who was then old and very feeble, in bringing the crown from the communion table, tottered with it in coming down the steps, and had much ado to save it from falling; upon which I saw the queen, who discerned it, change countenance and turn pale. I was then in an upper gallery of the church, just over the place where this part of the ceremonial was performed. The author should not have taken notice of these superstitious observations upon accidents that may happen alike to all. O.

and reckoned that those would be faithfullest to himself who were truest to their God. 1685.

I must now say somewhat concerning my self. At this time I went out of England. Upon king Charles's death, I had desired leave to come and pay my duty to the king by the marquis of Halifax. The king would not see me. So, since I was at that time in no sort of employment, not so much as allowed to preach any where, I resolved to go abroad. I saw we were like to fall into great confusion; and were either to be rescued, in a way that I could not approve of, by the duke of Monmouth's means, or to be delivered up by a meeting that had the face and name of a parliament. I thought the best thing for me was to go out of the way. The king approved of this, and consented to my going: but still refused to see me. So I was to go beyond sea, as to a voluntary exile. This gave me great credit with all the malecontents: and made the best use of it I could. I spoke very earnestly to the lord de la Meer, to Mrs. Hambden [m], and such others as I could meet with, who I feared might be drawn in by the agents of the duke of Monmouth. The king had not yet done that which would justify extreme counsels. A raw rebellion would be soon crushed, and give a colour for keeping up a standing army, or for bringing over a force from France. I perceived, many thought the constitution was so broken into by the elections of the house of commons, that they were disposed to put all to hazard. Yet most people thought the crisis was not so near, as it proved to be. I went out of England. 1629

[m] (Mr. Hambden.)

1685. The deliberations in Holland, among the English and Scotch that fled thither, came to ripen faster than was expected. Lord Argile had been quiet ever since the disappointment in the year eighty-three. He had lived for most part in Frizeland, but came oft to Amsterdam, and met with the rest of his countrymen that lay concealed there: the chief of whom were the lord Melvill, sir Patrick Hume, and sir John Cochran. [The first of these, (Melvill,) was a fearful and mean-spirited man, a zealous presbyterian, but more zealous in preserving his person and estate. Hume was a hot and eager man, full of passion and resentment, and instead of minding the business then in hand, he was always forming schemes about the modelling of matters, when they should prevail; in which he was so earnest, that he fell into perpetual disputes and quarrels about it: Cochran was more tractable.] With these lord Argile communicated all the advices that were sent him. He went on still with his first project. He said, he wanted only a sum of money to buy arms, and reckoned, that as soon as he was furnished with these, he might venture on Scotland. He resolved to go to his own country, where he hoped he could bring five thousand men together. And he reckoned that the western and southern counties were under such apprehensions, that without laying of matters, or having correspondence among them, they would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country. There was a rich widow in Amsterdam, who was full of zeal: so she, hearing at what his designs stuck, sent to him, and furnished him with ten thousand pounds. With this money

Argile designed to invade Scotland.

he bought a stock of arms and ammunition, which was very dexterously managed by one that traded to Venice, as intended for the service of that republic. All was performed with great secrecy, and put on board[n]. They had sharp debates among them about the course they were to hold. He was for sailing round Scotland to his own country. Hume was for the shorter passage: the other was a long navigation, and subject to great accidents. Argile said, the fastnesses of his own country made that to be the safer place to gather men together. He presumed so far on his own power, and on his management hitherto, that he took much upon him: so that the rest were often on the point of breaking with him. 1685. 630

The duke of Monmouth came secretly to them, and made up all their quarrels. He would willingly have gone with them himself: but Argile did not offer him the command: on the contrary he pressed him to make an impression on England at the same time. This was not possible: for the duke of Monmouth had yet made no preparations. So he was hurried into a fatal undertaking, before things were in any sort ready for it. He had been indeed much pressed to the same thing by Wade, Ferguson, and some others about him, but chiefly by the lord Grey, and the lady Wentworth, who followed him to Brussells desperately in love with him. And both he and she came to fancy, that he being married to his duchess while he was indeed of

The duke of Monmouth forced on an ill-timed invasion.

[n] It is said, in lord Grey's papers before mentioned, that the famous Mr. Lock, then in Holland, advanced a thousand pounds on this occasion. See that paper for the whole of this enterprise, by Monmouth and Argyle. O.

1685. the age of consent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: so they lived together: and she had heated both herself and him with such enthusiastical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God. With this small council he took his measures. Fletcher [o], a Scotch gentleman of great parts, and many virtues, but a most violent republican, and extravagantly passionate, did not like Argile's scheme: so he resolved to run fortunes with the duke of Monmouth. He told me, that all the English among them were still pressing the duke of Monmouth to venture. They said, all the west of England would come about him, as soon as he appeared, as they had done five or six years ago. They reckoned there would be no fighting, but that the guards, and others who adhered to the king, would melt to nothing before him. They fancied, the city of London would be in such a disposition to revolt, that if he should land in the west the king would be in great perplexity. He could not have two armies: and his fear of tumults near his person would oblige him to keep such a force about him, that he would not be able to send any against him. So they reckoned he would have time to form an army, and in a little while be in a condition to seek out the king, and fight him on equal terms.

This appeared a mad and desperate undertaking

[o] He of Salton, so well known afterwards in Scotland and England. O. He was very brave, and a man of great integrity, but had strange chimerical notions of government, which were so unsettled, that he would be very angry next day for any body's being of an opinion that he was of himself the night before, but very constant in his dislikes of bishop Burnet, whom he always spoke of with the utmost contempt. D.

to the duke of Monmouth himself. He knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to deal with troops long trained. He had neither money nor officers, and no encouragement from the men of estates and interest in the country. It seemed too early yet to venture. It was the throwing away all his hopes in one day. Fletcher, how vehemently soever he was set on the design in general, yet saw nothing in this scheme that gave any hopes: so he argued much against it. And he said to me, that the duke of Monmouth was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason: but he could not refuse 63 to hazard his person, when others were so forward. Lord Grey said, that Henry the seventh landed with a smaller number, and succeeded. Fletcher answered, he was sure of several of the nobility, who were little princes in those days [p]. Ferguson, 1685.

[p] Fletcher told me he had good grounds to suspect that the prince of Orange underhand encouraged the expedition, with design to ruin the duke of Monmouth. D. (Sir John Dalrymple, who has published this note of lord Dartmouth's, in the second volume of his Memoirs, p. 137, observes, that the authority is high, because that Fletcher was in a situation to know, and was incapable of lying. D'Orleans, in his Revolutions of England, p. 276, relates, that certain proofs of the intelligence kept up between Bentinck, the prince's ambassador, and Monmouth, were found by Skelton, who succeeded Chudleigh as minister at the Hague, in the duke of Monmouth's house. And in Macpherson's Extracts from the Life of King James, p. 147, it is stated, that Bentinck, the prince of Orange's ambassador, though he found that Monmouth had said nothing of his master, was never quiet till Monmouth's head was off. That many people in those times considered the prince, who was in their estimation Monmouth's rival for the crown of England, to be eager for the immediate possession of it, even during the reigns of both his uncles, is certain; but that the opinion was well founded, depends principally on the authority of D'Avaux's Negotiations, year 1679, &c. What his intentions were, when he finally determined on his expedition to this country, cannot reasonably be doubted, and

1685. in his enthusiastical way, said, it was a good cause, and that God would not leave them unless they left him. And though the duke of Monmouth's course of life gave him no great reason to hope that God would appear signally for him, yet even he came to talk enthusiastically on the subject. But Argile's going, and the promise he had made of coming to England with all possible haste, had so fixed him, that, all further deliberations being laid aside, he pawned a parcel of jewels, and bought up arms; and they were put aboard a ship freighted for Spain.

These designs were carried on with great secrecy.

King James was so intent upon the pomp of his coronation, that for some weeks more important matters were not thought on. Both Argile and Monmouth's people were so true to them, that nothing was discovered by any of them. Yet some days after Argile had sailed, the king knew of it: for the night before I left London, the earl of Arran came to me, and told me, the king had an advertisement of it that very day. I saw it was fit for me to make haste: otherwise I might have been seized on, if it had been only to put the affront on me, of being suspected of holding correspondence with traitors.

Argile landed in Scotland.

Argile had a very prosperous voyage. He sent out a boat at Orkney to get intelligence, and to take prisoners. This had no other effect, but that it gave intelligence where he was: and the wind chopping, he was obliged to sail away, and leave his men to mercy. The winds were very favourable, and turned as his occasions required: so that in a very few days

is perhaps actually implied in one of the clauses of his famous declaration, where he promises to *send* home his foreign troops.)

he arrived in Argileshire. The misunderstandings between him and Hume grew very high; for he carried all things with an air of authority, that was not easy to those who were setting up for liberty. At his landing he found, that the early notice the council had of his designs had spoiled his whole scheme; for they had brought in all the gentlemen of his country to Edenburgh, which saved them, though it helped on his ruin. Yet he got above five and twenty hundred men to come to him. If with these he had immediately gone over to the western counties of Air and Renfrew, he might have given the government much trouble. But he lingered too long, hoping still to have brought more of his Highlanders together. He reckoned these were sure to him, and would obey him blindfold: whereas, if he had gone out of his own country with a small force, those who might have come in to his assistance might also have disputed his authority: and he could not bear contradiction. Much time was by this means lost: and all the country was summoned to come out against him. At last he crossed an arm of the sea, and landed in the isle of Bute; where he spent twelve days more, till he had eat up that island, pretending still that he hoped to be joined by more of his Highlanders. 1685. 632

He had left his arms in a castle, with such a guard as he could spare: but they were routed by a party of the king's forces. And with this he lost both heart and hope. And then, apprehending that all was gone, he put himself in a disguise, and had almost escaped: but he was taken. A body of gentlemen that had followed him stood better to it, and forced their way through: so that the greater part But was defeated and taken.

1685. of them escaped. Some of these were taken: the chief of them were Sir John Cochran, Ailoffe, and Rumbold. These two last were Englishmen: but I knew not upon what motive it was, that they chose rather to run fortunes with Argile, than with the duke of Monmouth. Thus was this rebellion brought to a speedy end, with the effusion of very little blood. Nor was there much shed in the way of justice; for it was considered, that the Highlanders were under such ties by their tenures, that it was somewhat excusable in them to follow their lord. Most of the gentlemen were brought in by order of council to Edenburgh, which preserved them. One of those that were with Argile, by a great presence of mind, got to Carlile, where he called for post horses, and said, he was sent by the general to carry the good news by word of mouth to the king. And so he got to London: and there he found a way to get beyond sea.

Argile's execution.

Argile was brought in to Edenburgh. He expressed even a cheerful calm under all his misfortunes. He justified all he had done: for he said, he was unjustly attainted: that had dissolved his allegiance: so it was justice to himself and his family, to endeavour to recover what was so wrongfully taken from him. He also thought, that no allegiance was due to the king, till he had taken the oath
633 which the law prescribed to be taken by our kings at their coronation, or the receipt of their princely dignity. He desired that Mr. Charteris might be ordered to attend upon him; which was granted. When he came to him, he told him he was satisfied in conscience with the lawfulness of what he had done, and therefore desired he would not disturb him

with any discourse on that subject. The other, after he had told him his sense of the matter, complied easily with this. So all that remained was to prepare him to die, in which he expressed an unshaken firmness. The duke of Queensbury examined him in private. He said, he had not laid his business with any in Scotland. He had only found credit with a person that lent him money; upon which he had trusted, perhaps too much, to the dispositions of the people, sharpened by their administration. When the day of his execution came, Mr. Charteris happened to come to him as he was ending dinner: he said to him pleasantly, *Serò venientibus ossa.* He prayed often with him, and by himself, and went to the scaffold with great serenity. He had complained of the duke of Monmouth much, for delaying his coming so long after him, and for assuming the name of king; both which, he said, were contrary to their agreement at parting. Thus he died, pitied by all. His death, being pursuant to the sentence passed three years before, of which mention was made, was looked on as no better than murder. But his conduct in this matter was made up of so many errors, that it appeared he was not made for designs of this kind. 1685.

Ailoffe had a mind to prevent the course of justice, and having got a penknife into his hands gave himself several stabs. And thinking he was certainly a dead man, he cried out, and said, now he defied his enemies. Yet he had not pierced his guts: so his wounds were not mortal. And, it being believed that he could make great discoveries, he was brought up to London.

Rumbold was he that dwelt in Rye-house, where

Rumbold at his death denied the Rye-plot.

1685. it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and the present king. He denied the truth of that conspiracy. He owned, he thought the prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the prince; and that, when a king departed from the legal measures of government, the people had a right to assert their liberties, and to restrain him. He did not deny, but that he had heard many propositions at West's chambers about killing the two brothers, and upon that he had said, it could have
634 been easily executed near his house; upon which some discourse had followed, how it might have been managed. But, he said, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or so much as resolved on. He said, he was not for a commonwealth, but for kingly government according to the laws of England: but he did not think that the king had his authority by any divine right, which he expressed in rough but significant words. He said, he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and some few booted and spurred to ride the rest.

Cochran had a rich father, the earl of Dundonald: and he offered the priests 5,000*l.* to save his son. They wanted a stock of money for managing their designs: so they interposed so effectually, that the bargain was made. But, to cover it, Cochran petitioned the council that he might be sent to the king; for he had some secrets of great importance, which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the king himself. He was upon that brought up to London: and, after he had been for some time in private with the king, the matters he had discovered

were said to be of such importance, that in consideration of that the king pardoned him. It was said, he had discovered all their negociations with the elector of Brandenburg and the prince of Orange. But this was a pretence only given out to conceal the bargain; for the prince told me, he had never once seen him. The secret of this came to be known soon after. 1685.

When Ailoffe was brought up to London, the king examined him, but could draw nothing from him, but one severe repartee. He being sullen, and refusing to discover any thing, the king said to him; Mr. Ailoffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you; therefore say that which may deserve it. It was said that he answered, that though it was in his power, yet it was not in his nature to pardon. He was nephew to the old earl of Clarendon by marriage; for Ailoffe's aunt was his first wife, but she had no children. It was thought, that the nearness of his relation to the king's children might have moved him to pardon him, which would have been the most effectual confutation of his bold repartee: but he suffered with the rest[q].

Immediately after Argile's execution, a parliament was held in Scotland. Upon king Charles's death, the marquis of Queensbury, soon after made a duke, and the earl of Perth, came to court. The duke A parliament in Scotland.

[q] As the bishop has stated the case, he had no relation to the king's children; but Ailoffe's having stabbed himself at first, and the insolence of what the bishop calls a bold repartee, inclines me to believe, he was resolved not to accept of a pardon; for certainly no man in his senses would have said such a thing to a king he expected to live under. D. (He did not expect to live under him; and he appears to have uttered, if the story is true, what he was firmly assured of, either from his own knowledge of the king's disposition, or by what he had heard of it from others.)

1685. of Queensbury told the king, that if he had any
635 thoughts of changing the established religion, he could not make any one step with him in that matter. The king seemed to receive this very kindly from him; and assured him, he had no such intention, but that he would have a parliament called, to which he should go his commissioner, and give all possible assurances in the matter of religion, and get the revenue to be settled, and such other laws to be passed as might be necessary for the common safety. The duke of Queensbury pressed the earl of Perth to speak in the same strain to the king. But, though he pretended to be still a protestant, yet he could not prevail on him to speak in so positive a style. I had not then left London: so the duke sent me word of this, and seemed so fully satisfied with it, that he thought all would be safe. So he prepared instructions by which both the revenue and the king's authority were to be carried very high. He has often since that time told me, that the king made those promises to him in so frank and hearty a manner, that he concluded it was impossible for him to be acting a part. Therefore he always believed, that the priests gave him leave to promise every thing, and that he did it very sincerely; but that afterwards they pretended, they had a power to dissolve the obligation of all oaths and promises; since nothing could be more open and free than his way of expressing himself was, though afterwards he had no sort of regard to any of the promises he then made. The test had been the king's own act while he was in Scotland. So he thought, the putting that on all persons would be the most acceptable method, as well as the most effectual, for securing the protestant

religion. Therefore he proposed an instruction obliging all people to take the test, not only to qualify them for public employments, but that all those to whom the council should tender it should be bound to take it under the pain of treason: and this was granted. He also projected many other severe laws, that left an arbitrary power in the privy council. And, as he was naturally violent and imperious in his own temper, so he saw the king's inclinations to those methods, and hoped to have recommended himself effectually, by being instrumental in setting up an absolute and despotic form of government. But he found afterwards how he had deceived himself, in thinking that any thing, but the delivering up his religion, could be acceptable long. And he saw, after he had prepared a cruel scheme of government, other men were trusted with the management of it: and it had almost proved fatal to himself. 1685. 636

The parliament of Scotland sat not long. No opposition was made. The duke of Queensbury gave very full assurances in the point of religion, that the king would never alter it, but would maintain it, as it was established by law. And in confirmation of them he proposed that act enjoining the test, which was passed, and was looked on as a full security; though it was very probable, that all the use that the council would make of this discretional power lodged with them, would be only to tender the test to those that might scruple it on other accounts, but that it would be offered to none of the church of Rome. In return for this, the parliament gave the king for life all the revenue that had been given to his brother: and with that some additional taxes were given. Granted all that the king desired.

1685. Other severe laws were also passed. By one of these an inquisition was upon the matter set up. All persons were required, under the pain of treason, to answer to all such questions as should be put to them by the privy council. This put all men under great apprehensions, since upon this act an inquisition might have been grafted, as soon as the king pleased. Another act was only in one particular case: but it was a crying one, and so deserves to be remembered.

Severe laws were passed.

When Carstairs was put to the torture, and came to capitulate in order to the making a discovery, he got a promise from the council, that no use should be made of his deposition against any person whatsoever. He in his deposition said somewhat that brought sir Hugh Campbell and his son under the guilt of treason, who had been taken up in London two years before, and were kept in prison all this while. The earl of Melfort got the promise of his estate, which was about 1000*l.* a year, as soon as he should be convicted of high treason. So an act was brought in, which was to last only six weeks; and enacted, that if within that time any of the privy council would depose that any man was proved to be guilty of high treason, he should upon such a proof be attainted. Upon which, as soon as the act was passed, four of the privy council stood up, and affirmed that the Campbells were proved by Carstairs's deposition to be guilty. Upon this both father and son were brought to the bar, to see what they had to say, why the sentence should not be executed. The old gentleman, then near eighty, seeing the ruin of his family was determined, and that he was condemned
637 in so unusual a manner, took courage, and said, the oppression they had been under had driven them

to despair, and made them think how they might secure their lives and fortunes: upon this he went to London, and had some meetings with Baillie, and others: that one was sent to Scotland to hinder all risings: that an oath of secrecy was indeed offered, but was never taken upon all this. So it was pretended, he had confessed the crime, and by a shew of mercy they were pardoned: but the earl of Melfort possessed himself of their estate. The old gentleman died soon after. And very probably his death was hastened by his long and rigorous imprisonment, and this unexampled conclusion of it; which was so universally condemned, that when the news of it was writ to foreign parts, it was not easy to make people believe it possible. 1685.

But now the sitting of the parliament of England came on. And, as a preparation to it, Oates was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of the witnesses from St. Omar's, who had been brought over before to discredit his testimony. Now juries were so prepared, as to believe more easily than formerly. So he was condemned to have his priestly habit taken from him, to be a prisoner for life, to be set on the pillory in all the public places of the city, and ever after that to be set on the pillory four times a year, and to be whipt by the common hangman from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and the next from Newgate to Tyburn; which was executed with so much rigour, that his back seemed to be all over flead. This was thought too little if he was guilty, and too much if innocent, and was illegal in all the parts of it: for as the secular court could not order the ecclesiastical habit to be taken from him, so to condemn a man to a perpetual imprisonment was not

Oates convicted of perjury,

and cruelly whipt.

1685. in the power of the court: and the extreme rigour of such whipping was without a precedent. Yet he, who was an original in all things, bore this with a constancy that amazed all those who saw it. So that this treatment did rather raise his reputation than sink it.

Dangerfield killed.

And, that I may join things of the same sort together, though they were transacted at some distance of time, Dangerfield, another of the witnesses in the popish plot, was also found guilty of perjury, and had the same punishment [r]. But it had a more terrible conclusion; for a brutal student of the law, who had no private quarrel with him, but was only transported with the heat of that time, struck him
638 over the head with his cane, as he got his last lash. This hit him so fatally, that he died of it immediately. The person was apprehended. And the king left him to the law. And, though great intercession was made for him, the king would not interpose. So he was hanged for it [s].

[r] It was for his narrative. See, for a better account of this matter, Echard's History, page 1055. O.

[s] (Higgons relates the following circumstances of extenuation in this assault. That Dangerfield was returning from the place of punishment in a coach, which stopping near Gray's Inn, Francis, a student of that house, approached, and used insulting language to him; on which Dangerfield spit in his face; that Francis, having a small bamboo cane in his hand, thrust it at the other in the coach, and the ferrel unfortunately went into his eye. And that Dangerfield lived so long afterwards, as to cause a very great debate among the surgeons, who attended the coroner's inquest, whether he died of the wound in his eye, or of the effects of his punishment, Remarks, p. 302. A similar account is given in the Life of King James II. published from the Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 47. Echard, in his Hist. of the Revolution, says, with some probability, that Francis was executed to satisfy the murmurs of the people.)

At last the parliament met. The king in his speech repeated that which he had said to the council upon his first accession to the throne. He told them, some might think, the keeping him low would be the surest way to have frequent parliaments: but they should find the contrary, that the using him well would be the best argument to persuade him to meet them often. This was put in to prevent a motion, which was a little talked of abroad, but none would venture on it within doors, that it was safest to grant the revenue only for a term of years [t]. 1685. A parliament in England.

The revenue was granted for life, and every thing else that was asked, with such a profusion, that the house was more forward to give, than the king was to ask: to which the king thought fit to put a stop by a message, intimating that he desired no more money that session [u]. And yet this forwardness to give in such a reign was set on by Musgrave and others, who pretended afterwards, when money was asked for just and necessary ends, to be frugal patriots, and to be careful managers of the public treasure [x]. Grants the revenue for life.

As for religion, some began to propose a new and firmer security to it. But all the courtiers run out into eloquent harangues on that subject: and pressed a vote, that they took the king's word in that matter, and would trust to it; and that this should be signified in an address to him. This would bind the And trusts to the king's promise.

[t] See antea, p. 626. O.

[u] (To the charge of Mr. Rose against the bishop, of a misstatement of a fact in asserting, that the king sent a message to this effect, a full reply has been made by sergeant Heyward, in the Appendix to his Vindication of Mr. Fox's Historical Work, p. 111—141.)

[x] A party remark. S.

1685. king in point of honour, and gain his heart so entirely, that it would be a tie above all laws whatsoever. And the tide run so strong that way, that the house went into it without opposition.

The lord Preston, who had been for some years envoy in France, was brought over, and set up to be a manager in the house of commons. He told them, the reputation of the nation was beginning to rise very high all Europe over, under a prince whose name spread terror every where: and if this was confirmed by the entire confidence of his parliament, even in the tenderest matters, it would give such a turn to the affairs of Europe, that England would again hold the balance, and their king would be the arbiter of Europe. This was seconded by all the
639 court flatterers. So in their address to the king, thanking him for his speech, they told him, they trusted to him so entirely, that they relied on his word, and thought themselves and their religion safe, since he had promised it to them.

When this was settled, the petitions concerning the elections were presented. Upon those Seimour spoke very high, and with much weight[y]. He said, the complaints of the irregularities in elections were so great, that many doubted whether this was a true representative of the nation, or not. He said, little equity was expected upon petitions, where so many were too guilty to judge justly and impartially. He said, it concerned them to look to these: for if the nation saw no justice was to be expected

[y] (Mr. Fox in his Historical Work observes, that Seymour's speech was not a regular motion for inquiring into the elections, but a suggestion to that effect made in his speech upon the question of a grant to the crown: p. 147—150.)

from them, other methods would be found, in which they might come to suffer that justice which they would not do. He was a haughty man, and would not communicate his design in making this motion to any: so all were surprised with it, but none seconded it. This had no effect, not so much as to draw on a debate. 1685.

The courtiers were projecting many laws to ruin all who opposed their designs. The most important of these was an act declaring treasons during that reign, by which words were to be made treason. And the clause was so drawn, that any thing said to disparage the king's person or government was made treason; within which every thing said to the dishonour of the king's religion would have been comprehended, as judges and juries were then modelled. This was chiefly opposed by sergeant Maynard, who in a very grave speech laid open the inconvenience of making words treason: they were often ill heard and ill understood, and were apt to be misrecited by a very small variation: men in passion or in drink might say things they never intended: therefore he hoped they would keep to the law of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third, by which an overt act was made the necessary proof of ill intentions. And when others insisted, that *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth spake*, he brought the instance of our Saviour's words, *Destroy this temple;* and shewed how near *the temple* was to *this temple*, pronouncing it in Syriac, so that the difference was almost imperceptible[z]. There was nothing more innocent than these words, as our The parliament was violent.

[z] (John ii. 19.)

1685. Saviour meant and spoke them: but nothing was more criminal than the setting on a multitude to destroy the temple. This made some impression at that time [a]. But if the duke of Monmouth's landing had not brought the session to an early conclusion, that, and every thing else which the officious courtiers were projecting, would have certainly passed [b].

The lords were more cautious.

The most important business that was before the house of lords was the reversing the attainder of the lord Stafford. It was said for it, that the witnesses were now convicted of perjury, and therefore the restoring the blood that was tainted by their evidence was a just reparation. The proceedings in the matter of the popish plot were chiefly founded on Oates's discovery, which was now judged to be a thread of perjury. This stuck with the lords, and would not go down [c]. Yet they did justice both to

[a] (The title of the intended act was, "A bill for the preservation of the person and government of his gracious majesty king James the second." See Rose's Observations on Fox, p. 157, and Heyward's Vindication, p. 218—234; where, p. 231, lord Lonsdale's Memoir of the reign of James II. is cited, in which sergeant Maynard's argument is expressly noticed; and the accuracy of bishop Burnet is thus maintained against Mr. Rose's doubts.)

[b] (Lord Lonsdale, in his unpublished Memoir just mentioned, reports, p. 9, that there were two provisos agreed on in a committee; the one was, that no preaching or teaching against the errors of Rome in defence of the protestant religion should be construed to be within that act. The second was, that all informations within that statute should be made within forty-eight hours. With these two provisos, it is added, the force of it was so mutilated, that it was not thought worth having, and so it died.)

[c] ("The bill passed easily "through that house, and was "read twice in the commons; "but it being sent down but "in June, and the rebellions "in England and Scotland "happening at the same time, "and the parliament being "prorogued on these accounts "the second of July, the bill "never came to a third read-

the popish lords then in the tower, and to the earl of Danby, who moved the house of lords, that they might either be brought to their trial, or be set at liberty [d]. This was sent by the lords to the house of commons, who returned answer, that they did not think fit to insist on the impeachments. So upon that they were discharged of them, and set at liberty. Yet, though both houses agreed in this of prosecuting the popish plot no further, the lords had no mind to reverse and condemn past proceedings. 1685.

The duke of Monmouth landed at Lime.

But while all these things were in agitation, the duke of Monmouth's landing brought the session to a conclusion. As soon as lord Argile sailed for Scotland, he set about his design with as much haste as was possible. Arms were bought, and a ship was freighted for Bilbao in Spain. The duke of Monmouth pawned all his jewels: but these could not raise much: and no money was sent him out of England. So he was hurried into an ill designed invasion. The whole company consisted but of eighty-two persons. They were all faithful to one another. But some spies, whom Shelton the new envoy set on work, sent him the notice of a suspected ship sailing out of Amsterdam with arms. Shelton neither understood the laws of Holland, nor advised with those who did: otherwise he would have carried with him an order from the admiralty of Holland, that sat at the Hague, to be made use

" ing." *Salmon's Examination of this Hist.* p. 1001. The bill certainly passed the lords; but compare Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 79, Fox's Hist. of the Reign of James II. p. 161, and Hume's Hist. of England, James II. p. 382; the last of whom says, that after one reading it was dropped by the commons.)

[d] But see the Journals of both houses with regard to both these matters, and see antea p. 591. O.

1685. of as the occasion should require. When he came to Amsterdam, and applied himself to the magistrates there, desiring them to stop and search the ship that he named, they found the ship was already sailed out of their port, and their jurisdiction went no further. So he was forced to send to the admiralty at the Hague. But those on board, hearing what he was come for, made all possible haste. And, 641 the wind favouring them, they got out of the Texel, before the order desired could be brought from the Hague.

After a prosperous course, the duke landed at Lime in Dorsetshire: and he with his small company came ashore with some order, but with too much day light, which discovered how few they were.

An act of attainder passed against him.

The alarm was brought hot to London: where, upon the general report and belief of the thing, an act of attainder passed both houses in one day; some small opposition being made by the earl of Anglesey, because the evidence did not seem clear enough for so severe a sentence, which was grounded on the notoriety of the thing [e]. The sum of 5000*l.*

[e] (Mr. Rose, in the Appendix to his Observations on Fox's Historical Work, p. liv, denies, in opposition to bishop Burnet, that the act passed on a general report, or that it was grounded on the notoriety of the thing, because the king on the 12th of June communicated to the two houses a letter from Alford, the mayor of Lyme, giving a particular account of the duke's landing there, and taking possession of the town. To this attack on the bishop, sergeant Heyward, amongst other considerations of importance, replies, that the letter of the mayor, which as a foundation for the act of attainder was in fact never read, "might "be sufficient to authorize an "address, but not a bill of at-"tainder, a sort of prerogative "trial, in which the legislature "by an extraordinary interfer-"ence removes the considera-"tion of an offence from the

was set on his head. And with that the session of parliament ended; which was no small happiness to the nation, such a body of men being dismissed with doing so little hurt. The duke of Monmouth's manifesto was long, and ill penned; full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly Ferguson's style, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the king with the burning of London, the popish plot, Godfrey's murder, and the earl of Essex's death: and to crown all, it was pretended, that the late king was poisoned by his orders: it was set forth, that the king's religion made him incapable of the crown; that three subsequent houses of commons had voted his exclusion: the taking away the old charters, and all the hard things done in the last reign, were laid to his charge: the elections of the present parliament were also set forth very odiously, with great indecency of style: the nation was also appealed to, when met in a free parliament, to judge of the duke's own pretensions [f]: and all sort of liberty, both in temporals and spirituals, was promised to persons of all persuasions. 1685.

A rabble came and joined him.

Upon the duke of Monmouth's landing, many of the country people came in to join him, but very few of the gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to use all his arms. The duke of Albemarle, as lord lieutenant of Devonshire, was sent down to raise the militia, and with them to make head against him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently: many deserted, and all were cold in

" common tribunals, and takes " it upon itself." *Vindication of Mr. Fox's Historical Work, Appendix*, no. 5. p. 111.)

[f] He asserted that his mother was the lawful wife of his father. O.

1685. the service. The duke of Monmouth had the whole country open to him for almost a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behaviour was so gentle and obliging, that he was master of all their hearts, as much as was possible. But he quickly found, what it was to be at the head of undisciplined men, that knew nothing of war, and that were not to be used with rigour. Soon after their landing, lord Grey was sent out with a small party. He saw a few of the militia, and he ran for it: but his men stood, and the militia ran from them. Lord Grey brought a false alarm, that was soon found to be so: for the men whom their leader had abandoned came back in good order. The duke of Monmouth was struck with this, when he found that the person on whom he depended most, and for whom he designed the command of the horse, had already made himself infamous by his cowardice. He intended to join Fletcher with him in that command. But an unhappy accident made it not convenient to keep him longer about him. He sent him out on another party: and he, not being yet furnished with a horse, took the horse of one who had brought in a great body of men from Taunton. He was not in the way: so Fletcher, not seeing him to ask his leave, thought that all things were to be in common among them, that could advance the service. After Fletcher had rid about as he was ordered, as he returned, the owner of the horse he rode on, who was a rough and ill bred man, reproached him in very injurious terms, for taking out his horse without his leave. Fletcher bore this longer than could have been expected from one of

642

Lord Grey's cowardice.

his impetuous temper. But the other persisted in giving him foul language, and offered a switch or a cane: upon which he discharged his pistol at him, and fatally shot him dead. He went and gave the duke of Monmouth an account of this, who saw it was impossible to keep him longer about him, without disgusting and losing the country people, who were coming in a body to demand justice. So he advised him to go aboard the ship, and to sail on to Spain, whither she was bound. By this means he was preserved for that time. 1685.

Ferguson ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man, that affected to pass for an enthusiast, though all his performances that way were forced and dry. The duke of Monmouth's great error was, that he did not in the first heat venture on some hardy action, and then march either to Exeter or Bristol; where, as he would have found much wealth, so he would have gained some reputation by it. But he lingered in exercising his men, and stayed too long in the neighbourhood of Lime.

By this means the king had time both to bring troops out of Scotland, after Argile was taken, and to send to Holland for the English and Scotch regiments that were in the service of the States; which 643
the prince sent over very readily, and offered his own person, and a greater force, if it was necessary. The king received this with great expressions of acknowledgment and kindness. It was very visible, that he was much distracted in his thoughts, and that what appearance of courage soever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehensions and fears. He durst not accept of the offer of assistance that the French made him: for by that he

1685. would have lost the hearts of the English nation. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the prince of Orange, or to let him into his counsels or affairs. Prince George committed a great error in not asking the command of the army: for the command, how much soever he might have been bound to the counsels of others, would have given him some lustre; whereas his staying at home in such time of danger brought him under much neglect [g].

The earl of Feversham commanded the king's army.

The king could not choose worse than he did, when he gave the command to the earl of Feversham, who was a Frenchman by birth, and nephew to Mr. de Turenne. Both his brothers changing religion, though he continued still a protestant, made that his religion was not much trusted to. He was an honest, brave, and good natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived. And he conducted matters so ill, that every step he made was like to prove fatal to the king's service. He had no

[g] Prince George of Denmark was the most indolent of all mankind, had given great proofs of bravery in his own country, where he was much beloved. King Charles the second told my father he had tried him, drunk and sober, but "God's fish," there was nothing in him. His behaviour at the revolution shewed he could be made a tool of upon occasion; but king William treated him with the utmost contempt. When queen Ann came to the crown, she shewed him little respect, but expected every body else should give him more than was his due: but it was soon found out that his interposing was a prejudice in obtaining favours at court. All foreign princes had him in very low esteem; and Mr. Hill told me, the duke of Savoy asked him if prince George ever lay with the queen, for he had no notion how a prince that was married to the queen, could be so much neglected as not to be king, unless he had some natural infirmities. After thirty years living in England, he died of eating and drinking, without any man's thinking himself obliged to him: but I have been told, that he would sometimes do ill offices, though he never did a good one. D.

parties abroad. He got no intelligence: and was almost surprised, and like to be defeated, when he seemed to be under no apprehension, but was a-bed without any care or order. So that, if the duke of Monmouth had got but a very small number of good soldiers about him, the king's affairs would have fallen into great disorder. 1685.

The duke of Monmouth had almost surprised lord Feversham, and all about him, while they were a-bed. He got in between two bodies, into which the army lay divided. He now saw his error in lingering so long. He began to want bread, and to be so straitened, that there was a necessity of pushing for a speedy decision. He was so misled in his march, that he lost an hour's time: and when he came near the army, there was an inconsiderable ditch, in the passing which he lost so much more time, that the officers had leisure to rise and be dressed, now they had the alarm. And they put themselves in order. Yet the duke of Monmouth's foot stood longer and fought better than could have been expected; especially, when the small body of horse they had, ran upon the first charge, the blame 644
of which was cast on the lord Grey. The foot being thus forsaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at last. About a thousand of them were killed on the spot: and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. Their numbers, when fullest, were between five and six thousand. The duke of Monmouth left the field too soon for a man of courage, who had such high pretensions: for a few days before he had suffered himself to be called king, which did him no service, even among those that followed him. He rode towards Dorsetshire: and when his horse could carry

The duke of Monmouth defeated.

1685. him no further, he changed clothes with a shepherd, and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a German, whom he had brought over with him. At last, when he could go no further, he lay down in a field where there was hay and straw, with which they covered themselves, so that they hoped to lie there unseen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take prisoners. The shepherd was found by the lord Lumley in the duke of Monmouth's clothes. So this put them on his track, and having some dogs with them they followed the scent, and came to the place where the German was first discovered. And he immediately pointed to the place where the duke of Monmouth lay. So he was taken in a very indecent dress and posture.

And taken.

His body was quite sunk with fatigue: and his mind was now so low, that he begged his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink, and paper; and wrote to the earl of Feversham, and both to the queen, and the queen dowager, to intercede with the king for his life. The king's temper, as well as his interest, made it so impossible to hope for that, that it shewed a great meanness in him to ask it in such terms as he used in his letters. He was carried up to Whitehall; where the king examined him in person, which was thought very indecent, since he was resolved not to pardon him [h]. He

[h] The duke of Monmouth pressed extremely that the king would see him, from whence the king concluded he had something to say to him, that he would tell to nobody else: but when he found it ended in nothing but lower submission than he either expected or desired, he told him plainly he had put it out of his power to pardon him, by having pro-

made new and unbecoming submissions, and insinu- 1685.
ated a readiness to change his religion: for he said, the king knew what his first education was in religion[i]. There were no discoveries to be got from him; for the attempt was too rash to be well concerted, or to be so deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on Monday, and orders were given for his execution on Wednesday[k].

Turner and Ken, the bishops of Ely and of Bath 645
and Wells, were ordered to wait on him. But he Soon after executed.
called for Dr. Tennison. The bishops studied to convince him of the sin of rebellion. He answered, he was sorry for the blood that was shed in it: but he did not seem to repent of the design. Yet he confessed that his father had often told him, that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his mother. This he set under his hand, probably for his children's sake, who were then prisoners in the Tower, that so they might not be ill used on his account. He shewed a great neglect of his duchess. And her resentments for his course of life with the lady Wentworth wrought so much on her, that [she seemed not to have any of that tenderness left, that became her sex and his present circumstances; for] though he desired to speak privately with her, she would have witnesses to hear all that passed, to jus-

claimed himself king. Thus, as the bishop observes in another place, may the most innocent actions of a man's life be sometimes turned to his disadvantage. D.

[i] (This particular, concerning which Mr. Fox, in his Historical Work, p. 277, professes his doubts, is now confirmed by the account of this interview in the Life of James the second, published by Dr. Clarke, from the Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 37.)

[k] (Mr. Fox observes, p. 278, that the bill of attainder which had lately passed, superseded the necessity of a legal trial.)

1685. tify herself, and to preserve her family. They parted very coldly[1]. He only recommended to her the breeding their children in the protestant religion. The Bishops continued still to press on him a deep sense of the sin of rebellion; at which he grew so uneasy, that he desired them to speak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the sin of living with the lady Wentworth as he had done. In that he justified himself: he had married his duchess too young to give a true consent: he said, that lady was a pious worthy woman, and that he had never lived so well in all respects, as since his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulness of that course of life had no effect. They did certainly very well in discharging their consciences, and speaking so plainly to him. But they did very ill to talk so much of this matter, and to make it so public as they did; for divines ought not to repeat what they say to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents say to them. By this means the duke of Monmouth had little satisfaction in them, and they had as little in him.

[1] (Mr. Rose, in the Appendix to his Observations on Fox's Historical Work, has printed from a MS. belonging to the Buccleugh family an account of the behaviour of the duke of Monmouth from the time he was taken to his execution, in which a different representation is made of the conduct of both parties. "He (the duke) gave "her the kindest character that "could be, and begged her pardon of his many failings and "offences to her, and prayed "her to continue her kindness "and care to his poor children. "At this expression, she fell "down on her knees with her "eyes full of tears, and begged "him to pardon her, if ever she "had done any thing to offend "and displease him, and embracing his knees fell into a "sound out of which they had "much ado to raise her up, in "a good while after." p. lxxii.)

He was much better pleased with Dr. Tennison, who did very plainly speak to him, with relation to his public actings, and to his course of life: but he did it in a softer and less peremptory manner. And having said all that he thought proper, he left those points, in which he saw he could not convince him, to his own conscience, and turned to other things fit to be laid before a dying man. The duke begged one day more of life with such repeated earnestness, that as the king was much blamed for denying so small a favour, so it gave occasion to others to believe, that he had some hope from astrologers, that, if he outlived that day, he might have a better fate[m]. As long as he fancied there was any hope, he was too much unsettled in his mind to be capable of any thing[n]. 1685. 646

He died with great calmness.

But when he saw all was to no purpose, and that he must die, he complained a little that his death was hurried on so fast. But all on the sudden he

[m] My uncle, col. William Legge, who went in the coach with him to London, as a guard, with orders to stab him, if there were any disorders upon the road, shewed me several charms that were tied about him when he was taken, and his tablebook, which was full of astrological figures that nobody could understand. But he told my uncle that they had been given him some years before in Scotland, and said he now found they were but foolish conceits. D. (The bishop's account is confirmed also by king James, in his Life lately published, p. 40.)

[n] When my father carried him to the tower, he pressed him in a most indecent manner to intercede once more with the king for his life, upon any terms; and told him he knew lord Dartmouth loved king Charles; therefore for his sake, and God's sake, to try if there were yet no room for mercy. My father said, the king had told him the truth, which was, that he had made it impracticable to save his life, by having declared himself king. "That's my misfortune," said he, "and those that "put me upon it will fare better "themselves:" and then told him, that lord Grey had threatened to leave him upon their first landing, if he did not do it. D.

1685. came into a composure of mind that surprised those that saw it. There was no affectation in it. His whole behaviour was easy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulness. He prayed God to forgive all his sins, unknown as well as known. He seemed confident of the mercies of God, and that he was going to be happy with him. And he went to the place of execution on Tower-hill with an air of undisturbed courage, that was grave and composed. He said little there, only that he was sorry for the blood that was shed: but he had ever meant well to the nation. When he saw the ax, he touched it, and said, it was not sharp enough. He gave the hangman but half the reward he intended; and said, if he cut off his head cleverly, and not so butcherly as he did the lord Russel's, his man would give him the rest. The executioner was in great disorder, trembling all over: so he gave him two or three strokes without being able to finish the matter, and then flung the ax out of his hand. But the sheriff forced him to take it up: and at three or four more strokes he severed his head from his body: and both were presently buried in the chapel of the tower. Thus lived and died this unfortunate young man. He had several good qualities in him, and some that were as bad. He was soft and gentle even to excess, and too easy to those who had credit with him. He was both sincere and good-natured, and understood war well. But he was too much given to pleasure and to favourites[o].

[o] (An anecdote favourable to Monmouth's character is given by lord Grey in his Confession, p. 61. "My lord Macclesfield, "(Gerard,) the duke said to me, "had made a barbarous propo- "sal, which was, the murther- "ing your majesty, (then duke

The lord Grey, it was thought, would go next. 1685.
But he had a great estate that by his death was to go over to his brother. So the court resolved to preserve him, till he should be brought to compound for his life. The earl of Rochester had 16,000*l.* of him[p]. Others had smaller shares. He was likewise obliged to tell all he knew[q], and to be a witness in order to the conviction of others, but with this assurance, that nobody should die upon his evidence. So the lord

Lord Grey pardoned.

" of York,) for that, my lord " said, would frighten the king " into a compliance. The duke " of Monmouth expressed him- " self with the greatest abhor- " rence of such an action that " can be imagined, and said, he " would not consent to the " murthering the meanest crea- " ture, (though the worst enemy " he had in the world,) for all " the advantages under heaven; " and should never have any " esteem for my lord Maccles- " field while he lived." On the other hand it must be observed, that Sir John Dalrymple, in his Memoirs, vol. i. page 60, mentions the following circumstance. " Brigadier Hook, the author of " the Memoirs, who was after- " wards pardoned by king " James, followed him into " France, and became his se- " cretary there, owned to James, " when he was seized during " Monmouth's rebellion, that " Danvers and he had engaged " to Monmouth to assassinate " him, if they could not bring " about the insurrection (in " London) they meditated." It is probable that Hook did not give this information, till after the duke's execution, otherwise the king would have been still more justified in ordering it to take place.)

[p] It was a bond for 40,000*l.* which he had no benefit from, chiefly by the interventions of parliamentary privilege, till after the act for the restraining of the privilege of parliament, 12 and 13 of William III. chap. 3. which act was obtained by the earl of Rochester's friends, and after it passed, the lord Grey, then earl of Tankerfield, compounded with the earl of Rochester for 16,000*l.* Many good public laws have arisen from private cases. Sir John Levison Gower carried the bill through the house of commons. He was brother to the wife of the earl of Rochester's eldest son. O.

[q] In a narrative that has been lately published, by which he discovers also the whole of the plot of 1683, and makes lord Russel to have been very deep in it, except as to the king's person, or change of the government. This is the same with what I have mentioned before, under the appellation of lord Grey's paper. O.

1685. Brandon, son to the earl of Macclesfield, was convicted by his and some other evidence. Mr. Hambden was also brought on his trial. And he was told, that he must expect no favour, unless he would plead
647 guilty. And he, knowing that legal evidence would be brought against him, submitted to this; and begged his life with a meanness, of which he himself was so ashamed afterwards, that it gave his spirits a depression and disorder that he could never quite master[q]. And that had a terrible conclusion; for about ten years after, he cut his own throat.

The king was lifted up with his successes.

The king was now as successful as his own heart could wish. He had held a session of parliament in both kingdoms, that had settled his revenue: and now two ill prepared and ill managed rebellions had so broken all the party that was against him, that he seemed secure in his throne, and above the power of all his enemies. And certainly a reign that was now so beyond expectation successful in its first six months seemed so well settled, that no ordinary mismanagement could have spoiled such beginnings. If the king had ordered a speedy execution of such persons as were fit to be made public examples, and had upon that granted a general indemnity, and if he had but covered his intentions till he had got through another session of parliament, it is not easy to imagine with what advantage he might then have opened and pursued his designs.

But it had an ill effect on his affairs.

But his own temper, and the fury of some of his ministers, and the maxims of his priests, who were become enthusiastical upon this success, and fancied that nothing could now stand before him: all these

[q] See antea, p. 539. O.

concurred to make him lose advantages that were never to be recovered: for the shews of mercy, that were afterwards put on, were looked on as an after-game, to retrieve that which was now lost. The army was kept for some time in the western counties, where both officers and soldiers lived as in an enemy's country, and treated all that were believed to be ill affected to the king with great rudeness and violence. 1685.

Great cruelties committed by his soldiers.

Kirk, who had commanded long in Tangier, was become so savage by the neighbourhood of the Moors there, that some days after the battle, he ordered several of the prisoners to be hanged up at Taunton, without so much as the form of law, he and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health another prisoner was hanged up. And they were so brutal, that observing the shaking of the legs of those whom they hanged, it was said among them, they were dancing; and upon that music was called for. This was both so illegal and so inhuman, that it might have been expected that some notice would have been taken of it. But Kirk was only chid for it[r]. And it was said, that he had a particular order for some military executions: so that he could only be chid for the manner of it. [Some particulars relating to that matter are too indecent to be mentioned by me.] 648

And much greater by Jefferies.

But, as if this had been nothing, Jefferies was sent the western circuit to try the prisoners. His be-

[r] The bishop might have added, that no man was better received, or more caressed by king William; but he does him the justice to take notice of the engagement he was under to the king of Morocco, in another place, (p. 684,) which it is possible procured him so much favour. D.

1685. haviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized nation. He was perpetually either drunk or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a judge. He required the prisoners to plead guilty. And in that case he gave them some hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: otherwise, he told them, he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmost severity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law. But he shewed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to say their prayers. He hanged, in several places, about six hundred persons [t]. The greatest part of these were of the meanest sort, and of no distinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards some of the nobility and gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of some prisoners, would have amazed one, if done by a bashaw in Turkey. England had never known any thing like it. The instances are too many to be reckoned up.

With which the king was well pleased.

But that which brought all his excesses to be imputed to the king himself, and to the orders given by him, was, that the king had a particular account of

[t] "(Jefferies condemned in "all these places above five "hundred persons, whereof two "hundred and thirty were executed, and had their quarters "set up in the principal places "and roads of those countries, "to the terror of passengers, "and the great annoyance of "those parts." Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1068. Hume says, besides those butchered by the military commanders, that two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hands of justice. Vol. vi. p. 386. In an account printed in 1716, of the proceedings against the rebels in the west, before Jefferies and other judges, there is a list of the names of persons ordered for transportation, amounting to more than eight hundred and fifty.)

all his proceedings writ to him every day[u]. And he took pleasure to relate them in the drawing room to foreign ministers, and at his table, calling it Jefferies's campaign: speaking of all he had done in a style that neither became the majesty nor the mercifulness of a great prince. Dykfield was at that time in England, one of the ambassadors whom the States had sent over to congratulate the king's coming to the crown. He told me, that the king talked so often of these things in his hearing, that he wondered to see him break out into those indecencies. And upon Jefferies's coming back, he was created a baron and peer of England: a dignity which, though anciently some judges were raised to it, yet in these latter ages, as there was no example of it, so it was thought inconsistent with the character of a judge[v]. 1685.

The executions of two women.

Two executions were of such an extraordinary nature, that they deserve a more particular recital. The king apprehended that many of the prisoners had got into London, and were concealed there. So he said, those who concealed them were the worst sort of traitors, who endeavoured to preserve such 649 persons to a better time. He had likewise a great mind to find out any among the rich merchants, who might afford great compositions to save their lives: for though there was much blood shed, there was little booty got to reward those who had served. Upon this the king declared, he would sooner pardon the rebels than those who harboured them.

There was in London one Gaunt, a woman that was an anabaptist, who spent a great part of her life

[u] See postea, p, 651. O.

[v] He was created a baron and peer before. See Journal of the Lords, 19th of May, 1685. O.

1685. in acts of charity, visiting the gaols, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever they were. One of the rebels found her out, and she harboured him in her house; and was looking for an occasion of sending him out of the kingdom. He went about in the night, and came to hear what the king had said. So he, by an unheard of baseness, went and delivered himself, and accused her that harboured him. She was seized on and tried. There was no witness to prove that she knew that the person she harboured was a rebel, but he himself: her maid witnessed only, that he was entertained at her house. But though the crime was her harbouring a traitor, and was proved only by this infamous witness, yet the judge charged the jury to bring her in guilty, pretending that the maid was a second witness, though she knew nothing of that which was the criminal part. She was condemned, and burnt, as the law directs in the case of women convict of treason. She died with a constancy, even to a cheerfulness, that struck all that saw it. She said, charity was a part of her religion, as well as faith: this at worst was the feeding an enemy: so she hoped, she had her reward with him, for whose sake she did this service, how unworthy soever the person was, that made so ill a return for it: she rejoiced, that God had honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this reign: and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love. Pen, the quaker, told me, he saw her die. She laid the straw about her for burning her speedily; and behaved herself in such a manner, that all the spectators melted in tears.

The other execution was of a woman of greater

quality: the lady Lisle. Her husband had been a regicide, and was one of Cromwell's lords, and was called the lord Lisle[w]. He went at the time of the restoration beyond sea, and lived at Lausanne. But three desperate Irishmen, hoping by such a service to make their fortunes, went thither, and killed him as he was going to church; and being well mounted, and ill pursued, got into France. His lady was known to be much affected with the king's death, and not easily reconciled to her husband for the share he had in it. She was a woman of great piety and charity. The night after the action, Hicks, a violent preacher among the dissenters, and Nelthorp, came to her house. She knew Hicks, and treated him civilly, not asking from whence they came. But Hicks told what brought them thither; for they had been with the duke of Monmouth. Upon which she went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief servant to send an information concerning them to the next justice of peace, and in the mean while to suffer them to make their escape. But, before this could be done, a party came about the house, and took both them and her for harbouring them[x]. Jefferies resolved to make a sacrifice of her; and obtained of the king a promise that he 1685. 650

[w] He had been a commissioner of the great seal in those times. O.

[x] ("Nelthorp's name was in a "proclamation, and Mrs. Lisle "acknowledges in the trial, "that she knew at the time he "came to her house that he was "named in it. As to having "informed a justice of peace of "the rebels being at her house, "she never makes this a part of "her defence." *Salmon's Examination of Burnet's Hist.* p. 1005. This lady, whose condemnation the most infamous of judges procured by terrifying the witnesses, and bullying a jury composed of the first gentry of the county, was of very ancient extraction; as was also her husband Lisle, whose family, very lately extinct, took its name from the Isle of Wight.)

1685. would not pardon her. Which the king owned to the earl of Feversham, when he, upon the offer of a 1000*l.* if he could obtain her pardon, went and begged it. So she was brought to her trial. No legal proof was brought, that she knew that they were rebels: the names of the persons found in her house were in no proclamation: so there was no notice given to beware of them. Jefferies affirmed to the jury upon his honour, that the persons had confessed that they had been with the duke of Monmouth. This was the turning a witness against her, after which he ought not to have judged in the matter. And, though it was insisted on, as a point of law, that till the persons found in her house were convicted, she could not be found guilty, yet Jefferies charged the jury in a most violent manner to bring her in guilty. All the audience was strangely affected with so unusual a behaviour in a judge. Only the person most concerned, the lady herself, who was then past seventy, was so little moved at it, that she fell asleep. The jury brought her in not guilty. But the judge in great fury sent them out again. Yet they brought her in a second time not guilty. Then he seemed as in a transport of rage. He upon that threatened them with an attaint of jury. And they, overcome with fear, brought her in the third time guilty. The king would shew no other favour, but that he changed the sentence from burning to beheading. She died with great constancy of mind; and expressed a joy, that she thus suffered for an act of charity and piety.

The behaviour of those who suffered.

Most of those that had suffered expressed at their death such a calm firmness, and such a zeal for their religion, which they believed was then in danger,

that it made great impressions on the spectators. 1685.
Some base men among them tried to save themselves 651
by accusing others. Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff of London when Cornish was sheriff, offered to swear against Cornish; and also said, that Rumsey had not discovered all he knew[y]. So Rumsey, to save himself, joined with Goodenough, to swear Cornish guilty of that for which the lord Russel had suffered. And this was driven on so fast, that Cornish was seized on, tried, and executed within the week. If he had got a little time, the falsehood of the evidence would have been proved from Rumsey's former deposition, which appeared so clearly soon after his death, that his estate was restored to his family, and the witnesses were lodged in remote prisons for their lives. Cornish at his death asserted his innocence with great vehemence; and with some acrimony complained of the methods taken to destroy him. And so they gave it out, that he died in a fit of fury. But Pen, who saw the execution, said to me, there appeared nothing but a just indignation that innocence might very naturally give. Pen might be well relied on in such matters, he being so entirely in the king's interests. He said to me, the king was much to be pitied, who was hurried into all this effusion of blood by Jefferies's impetuous and cruel temper[z]. But, if his own in-

[y] Goodenough went to Ireland, practised law, and died there. S.

[z] See antea, p. 648. When Jefferies was dying in the tower, he was attended upon that occasion by Dr. Scot, one of the most reputable divines of that time: and as the doctor was exhorting him to a remembrance and repentance of his sins, he mentioned to him what the world had said of his behaviour in these prosecutions: upon which Jefferies thanked him for putting him in mind of that, and with some emotion said to Scot, "Whatever I did then, I

1685. free, and our princes were like to give them only to those of their own religion. But, since we had a prince professing another religion, it seemed the only security that was left to the nation, and that the tests stood as a barrier to defend us from popery. It was also said, that those tests had really quieted the minds of the greater part of the nation, and had united them against the exclusion; since they reckoned their religion was safe by reason of them. The military men went in zealously into those notions; for they saw, that, as soon as the king should get rid of the tests, they must either change their religion, or lose their employments. The clergy, who for most part had hitherto run in with fury to all the king's interests, began now to open their eyes. Thus all on a sudden the temper of the nation was much altered. The marquis of Halifax did move in council, that an order should be given to examine, whether all the officers in commission had taken the test, or not. But none seconded him: so the motion fell. And now all endeavours were used, to fix the repeal of the tests in the session that was coming on.

Some change their religion.

Some few converts were made at this time. The chief of these were the earl of Perth, and his brother the earl of Melfort. Some differences fell in between the duke of Queensborough and the earl of Perth. The latter thought the former was haughty and violent, and that he used him in too impe-
653 rious a manner. So they broke. At that time the king published the two papers found in his brother's strong box. So the earl of Perth was either overcome with the reasons in them, or he thought it

would look well at court, if he put his conversion upon these. He came up to complain of the duke of Queensborough. And his brother going to meet him at Ware, he discovered his design to him, who seemed at first much troubled at it: but he plied him so, that he prevailed on him to join with him in his pretended conversion, which he did with great shews of devotion and zeal. But when his objections to the duke of Queensborough's administration were heard, they were so slight, that the king was ashamed of them; and all the court justified the duke of Queensborough. A repartee of the marquis of Halifax was much talked of on this occasion. The earl of Perth was taking pains to convince him, that he had just grounds of complaint, and seemed little concerned in the ill effect this might have on himself. The marquis answered him, he needed fear nothing, *his faith would make him whole:* and it proved so. 1685.

Before he declared his change, the king seemed so well satisfied with the duke of Queensborough, that he was resolved to bring the earl of Perth to a submission, otherwise to dismiss him. But such converts were to be encouraged. So the king, having declared himself too openly to recall that so soon, ordered them both to go back to Scotland; and said, he would signify his pleasure to them when they should be there. It followed them down very quickly. The duke of Queensborough was turned out of the treasury, and it was put in commission: and he, not to be too much irritated at once, was put first in the commission. And now it became soon very visible, that he had the secret no more; but that it was lodged between the two bro- The duke of Queensborough disgraced.

1685. thers, the earls of Perth and Melfort. Soon after that, the duke of Queensborough was not only turned out of all his employments, but a design was laid to ruin him. All persons were encouraged to bring accusations against him, either with relation to the administration of the government, or of the treasury. And, if any colourable matter could have been found against him, it was resolved to have made him a sacrifice. This sudden hatred, after so entire a confidence, was imputed to the suggestions the earl of Perth had made of his zeal against popery, and of his having engaged all his friends to stick firm in opposition to it. It was said, there
654 was no need of making such promises, as he had engaged the king to make to the parliament of Scotland: nobody desired or expected them: he only drove that matter on his own account: so it was fit to let all about the king see what was to be looked for, if they pressed any thing too severely with relation to religion.

The king declared against the tests.

But to leave Scotland, and return to England: the king, after he had declared that he would be served by none but those who would vote for the repeal of the tests, called for the marquis of Halifax, and asked him, how he would vote in that matter. He very frankly answered, he would never consent to it: he thought, the keeping up those laws was necessary, even for the king's service, since the nation trusted so much to them, that the public quiet was chiefly preserved by that means. Upon this the king told him, that though he would never forget past services, yet since he could not be prevailed on in that particular, he was resolved to have all of a piece. So he was turned out. And the earl of

Sunderland was made lord president, and continued still secretary of state. More were not questioned at that time, nor turned out: for it was hoped, that, since all men saw what was to be expected if they should not comply with the king's intentions, this would have its full effect upon those who had no mind to part with their places. 1685.

Proceedings in Ireland.

The king resolved also to model Ireland, so as to make that kingdom a nursery for his army in England, and to be sure at least of an army there, while his designs were to go on more slowly in the isle of Britain. The Irish[a] bore an inveterate hatred to the duke of Ormond: so he was recalled. But, to dismiss him with some shew of respect, he was still continued lord steward of the household. The earl of Clarendon was declared lord lieutenant. But the army was put under the command of Talbot, who was made earl of Tirconnell. And he began very soon to model it anew. The archbishop of Armagh had continued lord chancellor of Ireland, and was in all points so compliant to the court, that even his religion came to be suspected on that account[b]. Yet, it seemed, he was not thought thoroughpaced. So sir Charles Porter, who was a zealous promoter of every thing that the king proposed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a person fit to be made a tool of, was declared lord chancellor of Ireland[c]. To these the king said, he was resolved to maintain the settlement of Ireland. 655 They had authority to promise this, and to act pursuant to it. But, as both the earl of Clarendon and Porter were poor, it was hoped, that they would

[a] Irish papists, I suppose he means. O.

[b] False. S.

[c] False and scandalous. S.

1685. understand the king's intentions, and see through those promises, that were made only to lay men asleep; and that therefore they would not insist too much on them, nor pursue them too far.

The persecution in France.

But now, before I come to relate the short session of parliament that was abruptly broken off, I must mention one great transaction that went before it, and had no small influence on all men's minds. And since I saw that dismal tragedy, which was at this time acted in France, I must now change the scene, and give some account of my self. When I resolved to go beyond sea, there was no choice to be made. So many exiles and outlawed persons were scattered up and down the towns of Holland, and other provinces, that I saw the danger of going where I was sure many of them would come about me, and try to have involved me in guilt by coming into my company, that so they might engage me into their designs. So I resolved to go to France: and, if I found it not convenient to stay there, I intended to go on to Geneva or Switzerland. I asked the French ambassador, if I might be safe there. He after some days, I suppose after he had writ to the court upon it, assured me, I should be safe there; and that, if the king should ask after me, timely notice should be given me, that I might go out of the way. So I went to Paris. And, there being many there whom I had reason to look on as spies, I took a little house, and lived by my self as privately as I could. I continued there till the beginning of August, that I went to Italy. I found the earl of Mountague [d] at Paris, with whom I conversed much,

[d] Lord Mountague. O.

and got from him most of the secrets of the court, and of the negotiations he was engaged in. The king of France had been for many years weakening the whole protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the edict of Nantes. And, as far as I could judge, the affairs of England gave the last stroke to that matter. 1685.

This year, of which I am now writing, must ever be remembered, as the most fatal to the protestant religion. In February, a king of England declared himself a papist. In June, Charles the elector palatine dying without issue, the electoral dignity went to the house of Newburgh, a most bigoted popish family. In October, the king of France recalled and vacated the edict of Nantes. And in December, the duke of Savoy being brought to it, not only by the persuasions, but even by the threatenings of the court of France, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the Vaudois. So it must be confessed, that this was a very critical year. And I have ever reckoned this the fifth great crisis of the protestant religion. A fatal year to the protestant religion. 656

For some years the priests were every where making conversions in France. The hopes of pensions and preferment wrought on many. The plausible colours that the bishop of Meaux, then bishop of Condom, put on all the errors of the church of Rome, furnished others with excuses for changing. Many thought, they must change at last, or be quite undone: for the king seemed to be engaged to go through with the matter, both in compliance with the shadow of conscience that he seemed to have, which was to follow implicitly the conduct of his confessor, and of the archbishop of

1685. Paris, he himself being ignorant in those matters beyond what can be well imagined; and because his glory seemed also concerned to go through with every thing that he had once begun.

Rouvigny's behaviour.

Old Rouvigny, who was the deputy general of the churches, told me, that he was long deceived in his opinion of the king. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He saw his gross ignorance in those matters. His bigotry could not rise from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himself with the hopes, that the design would go on so slowly, that some unlooked for accident might defeat it. But after the peace of Nimeguen he saw such steps made with so much precipitation, that he told the king he must beg a full audience of him upon that subject. He gave him one that lasted some hours. He came well prepared. He told him, what the state of France was during the wars in his father's reign; how happy France had been now for fifty years, occasioned chiefly by the quiet it was in with relation to those matters. He gave him an account of their numbers, their industry and wealth, their constant readiness to advance the revenue, and that all the quiet he had with the court of Rome was chiefly owing to them: if they were rooted out, the court of Rome would govern as absolutely in France, as it did in Spain. He desired leave to undeceive him, if he was made believe they would all change, as soon as he engaged his authority in the matter: many would go out of the kingdom, and carry their wealth and industry into other coun-
657 tries. And by a scheme of particulars he reckoned how far that would go. In fine, he said, it would come to the shedding of much blood: many would

suffer, and others would be precipitated into desperate courses. So that the most glorious of all reigns would be in conclusion disfigured and defaced, and become a scene of blood and horror. He told me, as he went through these matters the king seemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impression: for the king never asked any particulars, or any explanation, but let him go on. And, when he had ended, the king said, he took his freedom well, since it flowed from his zeal to his service. He believed all that he had told him, of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs: only he thought, it would not go to the shedding of blood. But he said, he considered himself as so indispensably bound to endeavour the conversion of all his subjects, and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing it should require that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit to that. After this, Rouvigny gave all his friends hints of what they were to look for. Some were for flying out into a new civil war. But, their chief confidence being in the assistance they expected from England, he, who knew what our princes were, and had reason to believe that king Charles was at least a cold protestant, if not a secret papist, and knew that the States would not embroil their affairs in assisting them, their maxims rather leading them to connive at any thing that would bring great numbers and much wealth into their country than to oppose it, was against all motions of that kind. He reckoned, those risings would be soon crushed, and so would precipitate their ruin with some colour of justice. He was much censured for this by some hot men among them, as having betrayed them to 1685.

1685. the court. But he was very unjustly blamed, as appeared both by his own conduct, and by his son's; who was received at first into the survivance of being deputy general for the churches, and afterwards, at his father's desire, had that melancholy post given him, in which he daily saw new injustices done, and was only suffered, for form's sake, to inform against them, but with no hope of success.

He came over to England.

The father did, upon king Charles's death, write a letter of congratulation to the king, who wrote him such an obliging answer, that upon it he wrote to his niece the lady Russel, that, having such assurances given him by the king of a high sense of
658 his former services, he resolved to come over, and beg the restoring her son's honour. The marquis of Halifax did presently apprehend, that this was a blind, and that the king of France was sending him over to penetrate into the king's designs; since from all hands intimations were brought of the promises that he made to the ministers of the other princes of Europe. So I was ordered to use all endeavours to divert him from coming over: his niece had indeed begged that journey of him, when she hoped it might have saved her husband's life, but she would not venture to desire the journey on any other consideration, considering his great age, and that her son was then but five years old. I pressed this so much on him, that, finding him fixed in his resolution, I could not hinder my self from suspecting, that such a high act of friendship, in a man some years past fourscore, had somewhat under it: and it was said, that, when he took leave of the king of France, he had an audience of two hours of him. But this was a false suggestion: and I was assured

afterwards that he came over only in friendship to his niece, and that he had no directions nor messages from the court of France. 1685.

He came over, and had several audiences of the king, who used him with great kindness, but did not grant him that which he said he came for: only he gave him a general promise of doing it in a proper time.

But whether the court of France was satisfied by the conversation that Rouvigny had with the king, that they needed apprehend nothing from England; or whether the king's being now so settled on the throne, made them conclude that the time was come of repealing the edicts, is not certain: Mr. de Louvoy, seeing the king so set on the matter, proposed to him a method, which he believed would shorten the work, and do it effectually: which was, to let loose some bodies of dragoons to live upon the protestants on discretion[e]. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in Bearn. And the people were so struck with it, that, seeing they were to be eat up first, and, if that prevailed not, to be cast in prison, when all was taken from them, till they should change, and being required only to promise to reunite themselves to the church, they, overcome with fear, and having no time for consulting together, did universally comply. This did so animate

Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the protestants.

[e] It has been said that Louvoy took the thought of this from some person who, in opposing other methods which were mentioned, said, (to shew the cruelty of them,) "that the "king might as well let loose "his dragoons upon the protestants;" to which Louvoy immediately replied, "Why "should not that be done? it "is the best thing for the pur- "pose that has been spoken "of;" and so went to the king with it, who approved of it. O.

1685. the court, that upon it the same methods were taken in most places of Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphine, where the greatest numbers of the protest-
659 ants were. A dismal consternation and feebleness ran through most of them, so that great numbers yielded. Upon which the king, now resolved to go through with what had been long projected, published the edict repealing the edict of Nantes, in which (though that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he set forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways should be taken for the conversion of heretics. He also promised in it, that, though all the public exercises of that religion were now suppressed, yet those of that persuasion who lived quietly should not be disturbed on that account, while at the same time not only the dragoons, but all the clergy, and the bigots of France, broke out into all the instances of rage and fury against such as did not change upon their being required in the king's name to be of his religion; for that was the style every where.

Many of them yielded through fear.

Men and women of all ages, who would not yield, were not only stript of all they had, but kept long from sleep, driven about from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into nunneries, in many of which they were almost starved, whipped, and barbarously treated. Some few of the bishops, and of the secular clergy, to make the matter easier, drew formularies, importing that they were resolved to reunite themselves to the catholic church, and that they renounced the errors of Luther and Calvin. People in such extremities are easy to put a stretched sense on any

Great cruelty every where.

words that may give them present relief. So it was said, what harm was it to promise to be united to the catholic church: and the renouncing those men's errors did not renounce their good and sound doctrine. But it was very visible, with what intent those subscriptions or promises were asked of them: so their compliance in that matter was a plain equivocation. But, how weak and faulty soever they might be in this, it must be acknowledged, here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects it exceeded them all, both in the several inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greatest part of France while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpelier, and from thence to Lions, and so to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I passed, I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible; but chiefly at Valence, where 660
one Dherapine seemed to exceed even the furies of inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized, (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of France,) were, if men, condemned to the galleys, and, if women, to monasteries. To complete this cruelty, orders were given, that such of the new converts as did not at their death receive the sacrament, should be denied burial, and that their bodies

1685.

1685. should be left where other dead carcases were cast out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity: and it gave all people so much horror, that, finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but struck all that saw it even with more horror than those sufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occasion did spread it self with a sort of contagion: for the intendants and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the clergy, the regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their king shewed on this occasion, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their king in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me.

I went into Italy.

I stayed at Paris till the beginning of August. Barrillon sent to me to look to my self; for the king had let some words fall importing his suspicion of me, as concerned in the duke of Monmouth's business. Whether this was done on design, to see if such an insinuation could fright me away, and so bring me under some appearance of guilt, I cannot tell: for in that time every thing was deceitfully managed. But I, who knew that I was not so much as guilty of concealment, resolved not to stir from Paris till the rebellion was over, and that the prisoners were examined and tried. When that was done, Stouppe, a brigadier general, told me, that Mr. de Louvoy had said to him, that the king was

resolved to put an end to the business of the Hugue- 1685.
nots that season: and, since he was resolved not to change, he advised him to make a tour into Italy, that he might not seem to do any thing that opposed the king's service. Stouppe told me this in confidence. So we resolved to make that journey 661
together. Some thought it was too bold an adventure in me, after what I had written and acted in the matters of religion, to go to Rome. But others, who judged better, thought I ran no hazard in going thither: for, besides the high civility with which all strangers are treated there, they were at that time in such hopes of gaining England, that it was not reasonable to think, that they would raise the apprehensions of the nation, by using any that belonged to it ill: and the destroying me would not do them the service that could in any sort balance the prejudice that might arise from the noise it would make. And indeed I met with so high a civility at Rome, that it fully justified this opinion.

And was well received at Rome.

Pope Innocent the eleventh, Odescalchi, knew who I was the day after I came to Rome. And he ordered the captain of the Swiss guards to tell Stouppe, that he had heard of me, and would give me a private audience abed, to save me from the ceremony of the pantoufle[f]. But I knew the noise that this would

[f] Burnet, in the year 1677, published a book in vindication of the ordinations of the church of England, in which is this passage, page 62. "Yet as we "acknowledge the church of "Rome holds still the funda- "mentals of the Christian re- "ligion; so we confess she "retains the essentials of ordi- "nation." Which, no doubt, was understood to be a fair advance towards a reconciliation with the church of Rome, fundamentals and essentials being granted. D. (All sound divines of the church of England confess as much. But they at the same time remember what and how much the church of Rome has added to scriptural fundamentals.)

1685. make: so I resolved to avoid it, and excused it upon my speaking Italian so ill as I did. But cardinal Howard and the cardinal d'Estrees treated me with great freedom. The latter talked much with me concerning the orders in our church, to know whether they had been brought down to us by men truly ordained, or not: for, he said, they apprehended things would be much more easily brought about, if our orders could be esteemed valid, though given in heresy and schism. I told him, I was glad they were possessed with any opinion that made the reconciliation more difficult; but, as for the matter of fact, nothing was more certain, than that the ordinations in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign were canonical and regular. He seemed to be persuaded of the truth of this, but lamented that it was impossible to bring the Romans to think so.

Cardinal Howard's freedom with me.

Cardinal Howard shewed me all his letters from England, by which I saw, that those who wrote to him reckoned that their designs were so well laid, that they could not miscarry. They thought, they should certainly carry every thing in the next session of parliament. There was a high strain of insolence in their letters; and they reckoned, they were so sure of the king, that they seemed to have no doubt left of their succeeding in the reduction of England. The Romans and Italians were much troubled at all this: for they were under such apprehensions of the growth of the French power, and had conceived such hopes of the king of England's
662 putting a stop to it, that they were sorry to see the king engage himself so in the design of changing the religion of his subjects, which they thought would create him so much trouble at home, that he

would neither have leisure nor strength to look after the common concerns of Europe. The cardinal told me, that all the advices writ over from thence to England were for slow, calm, and moderate courses. He said, he wished he was at liberty to shew me the copies of them: but he saw violent courses were more acceptable, and would probably be followed. And he added, that these were the production of England, far different from the counsels of Rome. 1685.

He also told me, that they had not instruments enough to work with: for, though they were sending over all that were capable of the mission, yet he expected no great matters from them. Few of them spoke true English. They came over young, and retained all the English that they brought over with them, which was only the language of boys: but, their education being among strangers, they had formed themselves so upon that model, that really they preached as Frenchmen or Italians in English words; of which he was every day warning them, for he knew this could have no good effect in England. He also spoke with great sense of the proceedings in France, which he apprehended would have very ill consequences in England. I shall only add one other particular, which will shew the soft temper of that good natured man.

He used me in such a manner, that it was much observed by many others. So two French gentlemen desired a note from me to introduce them to him. Their design was to be furnished with reliques; for he was then the cardinal that looked after that matter. One evening I came in to him as he was very busy in giving them some reliques. So I was called in to see them: and I whispered to him in English,

1685. that it was somewhat odd, that a priest of the church of England should be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. He was so pleased with this, that he repeated it to the others in French; and told the Frenchmen, that they should tell their countrymen, how bold the heretics and how mild the cardinals were at Rome [g].

I stayed in Rome till prince Borghese came to me, and told me it was time for me to go. I had got great acquaintance there. And, though I did not provoke any to discourse of points of controversy, yet I defended my self against all those who attacked me, with the same freedom that I had done
663 in other places. This began to be taken notice of. So upon the first intimation I came away, and returned by Marseilles. And then I went through those southern provinces of France, that were at that time a scene of barbarity and cruelty.

Cruelties in Orange.

I intended to have gone to Orange: but Tessè with a body of dragoons was then quartered over that small principality, and was treating the protestants there in the same manner that the French subjects were treated in other parts. So I went not in, but passed near it, and had this account of that matter from some that were the most considerable men of the principality. Many of the neighbouring places fled thither from the persecution: upon which a letter was writ to the government there, in the name of the king of France, requiring them to put all his subjects out of their territory. This was hard. Yet they were too naked and exposed to dispute any thing with those who could command every

[g] Did our author understand this in a soft sense towards himself? O.

thing. So they ordered all the French to withdraw: 1685.
upon which Tessè, who commanded in those parts, wrote to them, that the king would be well satisfied with the obedience they had given his orders. They upon this were quiet, and thought there was no danger. But the next morning Tessè marched his dragoons into the town, and let them loose upon them, as he had done upon the subjects of France. And they plied as feebly as most of the French had done. This was done while that principality was in the possession of the prince of Orange, pursuant to an article of the treaty of Nimeguen, of which the king of England was the guarantee. Whether the French had the king's consent to this, or if they presumed upon it, was not known. It is certain, he ordered two memorials to be given in at that court, complaining of it in very high terms. But nothing followed on it. And, some months after, the king of France did unite Orange to the rest of Provence, and suppressed all the rights it had, as a distinct principality. The king writ upon it to the princess of Orange, that he could do no more in that matter, unless he should declare war upon it; which he could not think fit for a thing of such small importance.

Another session of parliament.

But now the session of parliament drew on. And there was a great expectation of the issue of it. For some weeks before it met, there was such a number of refugees coming over every day, who set about a most dismal recital of the persecution in France, and that in so many instances that were crying and odious, that, though all endeavours were used to lessen the clamour this had raised, yet the king did 664

1685. not stick openly to condemn it, as both unchristian and unpolitic. He took pains to clear the Jesuits of it, and laid the blame of it chiefly on the king, on madame de Maintenon, and the archbishop of Paris. He spoke often of it with such vehemence, that there seemed to be an affectation in it. He did more. He was very kind to the refugees. He was liberal to many of them. He ordered a brief for a charitable collection over the nation for them all: upon which great sums were sent in. They were deposited in good hands, and well distributed. The king also ordered them to be denised without paying fees, and gave them great immunities. So that in all there came over, first and last, between forty and fifty thousand of that nation. Here was such a real argument of the cruel and persecuting spirit of popery, wheresoever it prevailed, that few could resist this conviction. So that all men confessed, that the French persecution came very seasonably to awaken the nation, and open men's eyes in so critical a conjuncture: for upon this session of parliament all did depend.

The king's speech against the test.

When it was opened, the king told them how happy his forces had been in reducing a dangerous rebellion, in which it had appeared, how weak and insignificant the militia was: and therefore he saw the necessity of keeping up an army for all their security. He had put some in commission, of whose loyalty he was well assured: and they had served him so well, that he would not put that affront on them, and on himself, to turn them out. He told them, all the world saw, and they had felt the happiness of a good understanding between him and his

parliament: so he hoped, nothing should be done on their part to interrupt that; as he, on his own part, would observe all that he had promised. 1685.

Thus he fell upon the two most unacceptable points that he could have found out; which were, a standing army, and a violation of the act of the test. There were some debates in the house of lords about thanking the king for his speech. It was pressed by the courtiers, as a piece of respect that was always paid. To this some answered, that was done when there were gracious assurances given. Only the earl of Devonshire said, he was for giving thanks, because the king had spoken out so plainly, and warned them of what they might look for. It was carried in the house to make an address of thanks for the speech. The lord Guilford, North, was now dead. He was a crafty and designing man. He had no mind to part with the great seal: and yet he saw, he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleasure of the court. An appeal against a decree of his had been brought before the lords in the former session[h]: and it was not only reversed with many severe reflections on him that made it, but the earl of Nottingham, who hated him because he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, had got together so many instances of his ill administration of justice, that he exposed him severely for it. And, it was believed, that gave the crisis to the uneasiness and distraction of mind he was labouring under. He languished for some 665

[h] There were not two sessions; the second meeting was upon an adjournment. O.

1685. time; and died despised and ill thought of by the whole nation [i].

Jefferies made lord chancellor.

Nothing but his successor made him be remembered with regret: for Jefferies had the seals. He had been made a peer while he was chief justice, which had not been done for some ages: but he affected to be an original in every thing. A day or

[i] (According to his brother's account, in his Life of the Lord Keeper, he delayed resigning his office from regard to the king's service, notwithstanding the affronts he received from his court enemies, Sunderland and Jefferies; but at length, the melancholy he had contracted, want of health, and the uneasiness he felt at the then state of affairs, obliged him to give it up. In an audience with the king, he honestly advised his majesty to avoid giving occasion to the public discontent, and to place no reliance on an army, or confidence in the dissenters; reminding him, that although the duke of Monmouth was gone, yet there was still a prince of Orange remaining. His brother, the historian of the family, whose love of truth was the theme of the neighbourhood in which, after he had been the queen's attorney general, he resided, goes on to observe, that although the lord keeper actually made use of these very suggestions to the king, it was only to satisfy his own conscience; "for he knew the king's "humour, and that nothing that "he could say to him would "take place or sink with him. "So strong were his prejudices, "and so feeble his genius, that "he took none to have any right "understanding, that were not "in his measures, and that the "counsel given him to the "contrary was for policy of "party more than for friendship "to him." p. 273. Mr. North acknowledges, that the lord keeper was much vilified both during his life and after his death; yet says, that his justice was so exact, and course of life so unexceptionable, that the author of one of the vilest written libels in those times was reduced, for want of something worse, to the calling him *sly-boots*. He relates also, that some particular acts were alleged after his death, impeaching his conduct as lord keeper; to all which charges the author replies at full. See North's Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, p. 271—284. Sir John Dalrymple, in his preface to the second volume of his Memoirs, remarks, that the lord Guilford is one of the very few virtuous characters, which are to be found in the history of the reign of Charles the second.)

two after the session was opened, the lords went upon the consideration of the king's speech: and, when some began to make remarks upon it, they were told, that by giving thanks for the speech, they had precluded themselves from finding fault with any part of it. This was rejected with indignation, and put an end to that compliment of giving thanks for a speech when there was no special reason for it. The lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Mordaunt, were the chief arguers among the temporal lords. The bishop of London spoke often likewise: and twice or thrice he said, he spoke not only his own sense, but the sense of that whole bench. They said, the test was now the best fence they had for their religion: if they gave up so great a point, all the rest would soon follow: and if the king might by his authority supersede such a law, fortified with so many clauses, and above all with that of an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more: the government would become arbitrary and absolute. Jefferies began to argue in his rough manner: but he was soon taken down; it appearing, that how furiously soever he raved on the bench, where he played the tyrant, yet where others might speak with him on equal terms, he was a very contemptible man: and he received as great a mortification, as such a brutal man as he was capable of. 1685.

The house of commons address the king for observing the law.

But as the scene lay in the house of commons, so the debates there were more important. A project was offered for making the militia more useful, in order to the disbanding the army. But, to oppose that, the court shewed, how great a danger we had lately escaped, and how much of an ill leaven yet remained in the nation, so that it was necessary a force should 666

1685. be kept up. The court moved for a subsidy, the king having been at much extraordinary charge in reducing the late rebellion. Many, that were resolved to assert the business of the test with great firmness, thought, the voting of money first was the decentest way of managing the opposition to the court: whereas others opposed this, having often observed, that the voting of money was the giving up the whole session to the court. The court wrought on many weak men with this topic, that the only way to gain the king, and to dispose him to agree to them in the business of the test, was to begin with the supply. This had so great an effect, that it was carried only by one vote to consider the king's speech [j], before they should proceed to the supply. It was understood, that when they received satisfaction in other things, they were resolved to give 500,000*l.*

They went next to consider the act about the test, and the violations of it, with the king's speech upon that head. The reasoning was clear and full on the one hand. The court offered nothing on the other hand in the way of argument, but the danger

j That part of it which related to the dispensing power. See the Journal of the House of Commons, upon the division, when it was carried by one only against the court. The earl of Middleton of Scotland, then a secretary of state for England, and a member of the house of commons here, seeing many go out upon the division against the court, who were in the service of the government, went down to the bar, and as they were told in, reproached them to their faces for the voting as they did; and a captain Kendal being one of them, the earl said to him there, "Sir, have "not you a troop of horse in "his majesty's service?" "Yes, "my lord," says the other; "but my brother died last "night, and has left me 700*l.* "a year." This I had from my uncle, the first lord Onslow, who was then of the house of commons, and present. This incident upon one vote, very likely, saved the nation. O.

of offending the king, and of raising a misunderstanding between him and them. So the whole house went in unanimously into a vote for an address to the king, that he would maintain the laws, in particular that concerning the test. But with that they offered to pass a bill for indemnifying those who had broken that law; and were ready to have considered them in the supply that they intended to give. 1685.

The king was much offended with it.

The king expressed his resentments of this with much vehemence, when the address was brought to him. He said, some men intended to disturb the good correspondence that was between him and them, which would be a great prejudice to the nation: he had declared his mind so positively in that matter, that he hoped they would not have meddled with it: yet, he said, he would still observe all the promises that he had made. This made some reflect on the violations of the edict of Nantes by many of the late edicts that were set out in France before the last that repealed it, in which the king of France had always declared, that he would maintain that edict, even when the breaches made upon it were 667
the most visible and notorious. The house, upon this rough answer, was in a high fermentation. Yet, when one Cook[k] said, that they were Englishmen, and were not to be threatened, because this seemed to be a want of respect, they sent him to the tower; and obliged him to ask pardon for those indecent words. But they resolved to insist on their address, and then to proceed upon the petitions concerning elections. And now those, that durst not open their mouth before, spoke with much force upon this

[k] (Mr. Coke of Derbyshire, of the Coke family.)

1685. head. They said, it was a point upon which the nation expected justice, and they had a right to claim it. And it was probable, they would have condemned a great many elections: for an intimation was set round, that all those who had stuck to the interest of the nation, in the main points then before them, should be chosen over again, though it should be found that their election was void, and that a new writ should go out. By this means those petitions were now encouraged, and were like to have a fair hearing, and a just decision: and it was believed, that the abject courtiers would have been voted out [1].

The parliament was prorogued.

The king saw, that both houses were now so fixed, that he could carry nothing in either of them, unless he would depart from his speech, and let the act of the test take place. So he prorogued the parliament, and kept it by repeated prorogations still on foot for about a year and a half, but without holding a session. All those, who had either spoken or voted for the test, were soon after this disgraced, and turned out of their places, though many of these had served the king hitherto with great obsequiousness and much zeal. He called for many of them, and spoke to them very earnestly upon that subject in his closet: upon which the term of closeting was much tossed about. Many of these gave him very flat and hardy denials: others, though more silent, yet were no less steady. So that, when, after a long

[1] (Lord Lonsdale, who himself moved, that the house would name a committee, to consider of a mode of applying to the king for a remedy against this iniquity, observes, in his unpublished Memoir, p. 7, that if the debate had ever been resumed, probably some thing considerable would have been done in the affair, the house seeming so well inclined and so zealous in it. Ralph errs in this point. See p. 909 of his Hist.)

practice, both of threatening and ill usage on the one hand, and of promises and corruption on the other, the king saw he could not bring them into a compliance with him, he at last dissolved the parliament: by which he threw off a body of men that were in all other respects sure to him, and that would have accepted a very moderate satisfaction from him at any time. And indeed in all England it would not have been easy to have found five hundred men, so weak, so poor, and so devoted to the court, as these were [m]. So happily was the nation taken out of their hands, by the precipitated violence of a bigoted court. 1685. 668

Soon after the prorogation, the lord de la Meer was brought to his trial. Some witnesses swore high treason against him only upon report, that he had designed to make a rebellion in Cheshire, and to join with the duke of Monmouth. But, since those swore only upon hearsay, that was no evidence in law. One witness swore home against him, and against two other gentlemen, who, as he said, were in company with him; and that treasonable messages were then given to him by them all to carry to some others. That which gave the greatest credit to the evidence was, that this lord had gone from London secretly to Cheshire at the time of the duke of Monmouth's landing, and that after he had stayed a day or two in that country, he had come up as secretly to London. This looked

The lord de la Meer tried, and acquitted.

[m] But see the first note in page 626. O. (Consider also the preceding account given by the bishop himself; but he is perhaps well founded in his opinion, that this parliament would have accepted satisfaction for the past, and securities in future, from their sovereign; yet this would not have suited the views of either English or foreign politicians.)

1685. suspicious, and made it to be believed, that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that single witness was overthrown by many unquestionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two gentlemen, who he said met with that lord in Cheshire, were all that while still in London. The witness, to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot, by the common fate of false swearers, who bring in such circumstances to support their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but, being ill laid, give a handle to those concerned to find out their falsehood. And that was the case of this witness: for, though little doubt was made of the truth of that which he swore against this lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added such a mixture of falsehood to it, as being fully proved destroyed the evidence. As for the secret journey to and again between London and Cheshire, that lord said, he had been long a prisoner in the tower upon bare suspicion: he had no mind to be lodged again there: so he resolved in that time of jealousy to go out of the way: and hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was sick in Cheshire, he went thither: and hearing from his lady that his eldest son was very ill at London, he made haste back again. This was well proved by his physicians and domestics, though it was a thing of very ill appearance, that he made such journeys so quick and so secretly at such a time. The solicitor general, Finch, pursuant to the doctrine he had maintained in former trials, and perhaps to atone for the zeal he had shewed in the house of commons for maintaining the act of the test, made a violent declamation, to prove that one witness with presump-

tions was sufficient to convict one of high treason [n]. The peers did unanimously acquit the lord. So that trial ended to the great joy of the whole town; which was now turned to be as much against the court, as it had been of late years for it. Finch had been continued in his employment only to lay the load of this judgment upon him: and he acted his part in it with his usual vehemence [o]. He was presently after turned out. And Powis succeeded him, who was a compliant young aspiring lawyer, though in himself he was no ill natured man [p]. Now the posts in the law began to be again taken care of: for it was resolved to act a piece of pageantry in Westminster-hall, with which the next year began. 1685. 669

Sir Edward Hales, a gentleman of a noble family in Kent, declared himself a papist, though he had long disguised it; and had once to my self so solemnly denied it, that I was led from thence to see, there was no credit to be given to that sort of men, where their church or religion was concerned. He had an employment: and not taking the test, his coachman was set up to inform against him, and to claim the 500*l.* that the law gave to the informer. When this was to be brought to trial, the judges were secretly asked their opinions: and such as were not clear to judge as the court did direct were turned out: and upon two or three canvassings the half of them were dismissed, and others of more 1686. A trial upon the act for the test. Many judges turned out.

[n] Jefferies was high steward upon this trial, and behaved himself with a decency and a dignity, that he had never shewn before. O.

[o] But see the trial. O.

[p] Sir Thomas Powis, a good dull lawyer. S.

1686. pliable and obedient understandings were put in their places. Some of these were weak and ignorant to a scandal. The suit went on in a [mock and] feeble prosecution: and in Trinity term judgment was given.

Herbert, chief justice, gives judgment for the king's dispensing power.

There was a new chief justice found out, very different indeed from Jefferies, sir Edward Herbert. He was a well bred and a virtuous man, generous, and good natured. He was but an indifferent lawyer; and had gone to Ireland to find practice and preferment there. He unhappily got into a set of very high notions with relation to the king's prerogative. His gravity and virtues gave him great advantages, chiefly his succeeding such a monster as had gone before him. So he, being found to be a fit tool, was, without any application of his own, raised up all at once to this high post [q]. After the coachman's cause had been argued with a most indecent coldness, by those who were made use of on design to expose and betray it, it was said, in favour of the prerogative, that the government of England was
670 entirely in the king: that the crown was an imperial crown, the importance of which was, that it was absolute: all penal laws were powers lodged in the crown to enable the king to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to limit or bind up the king's power: the king could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties: and why

[q] After the revolution he made his escape into France, where he was created earl of Portland, and lord chancellor, by king James. His brother Arthur, created earl of Torrington by king William, had a grant of his estate, which he afterwards left to the earl of Lincoln; and his library, which was esteemed a very valuable collection, especially for law books, to lord Harcourt. D.

could not he as well dispense with them? Acts of parliament had been oft superseded: the judges had some times given directions in their charges at circuits to inquire after some acts of parliament no more; of which one late instance happened during the former reign: an act passed concerning the size of carts and waggons, with many penalties upon the transgressors: and yet, when it appeared that the model prescribed in the act was not practicable, the judges gave direction not to execute the act. 1686.

These were the arguments brought to support the king's dispensing power. In opposition to this it was said, though not at the bar, yet in the common discourse of the town, that if penalties did arise only by virtue of the king's proclamation, it was reasonable that the power of dispensing should be only in the king: but since the prerogative was both constituted and limited by law, and since penalties were imposed to force the observation of laws that were necessary for the public safety, it was an overturning the whole government, and the changing it from a legal into a despotic form, to say that laws, made and declared not to be capable of being dispensed with, where one of the penalties was an incapacity, which by a maxim of law cannot be taken away even by a pardon, should at the pleasure of the prince be dispensed with: a fine was also set by the act on offenders, but not given to the king, but to the informer, which thereby became his. So that the king could no more pardon that, than he could discharge the debts of the subjects, and take away property[r]: laws of small consequence, when a visible error not observed in making them was afterwards

[r] Wrong reasoning. S.

1686. found out, like that of the size of carts, might well be superseded: for the intention of the legislature being the good of the subject, that is always to be presumed for the repeal of an impracticable law. But it was not reasonable to infer from thence, that a law made for the security of the government, with the most effectual clauses that could be contrived, on design to force the execution of it, even in bar to the power of the prerogative, should be made so pre-
671 carious a thing, especially when it was so lately asserted with so much vigour by the representatives of the nation. It was said, that, though this was now only applied to one statute, yet the same force of reason would hold to annul all our laws: and the penalty being that which is the life of the law, the dispensing with penalties might soon be carried so far as to dissolve the whole government: and the security that the subjects had were only from the laws, or rather from the penalties, since laws without these were feeble things, which tied men only according to their own discretion.

Thus was this matter tossed about in the arguments with which all people's mouths were now filled. But judges, who are beforehand determined how to give their opinions, will not be much moved even by the strongest arguments. The ludicrous ones used on this occasion at the bar were rather a farce, fitter for a mock trial in a play, than such as became men of learning in so important a matter. Great expectations were raised, to hear with what arguments the judges would maintain the judgment that they should give. But they made nothing of it; and without any arguing gave judgment for the defendant, as if it had been in a cause of course.

Now the matter was as much settled, as a decision in the king's bench could settle it. Yet so little regard had the chief justice's nearest friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother, admiral Herbert, being pressed by the king to promise that he would vote the repeal of the test, answered the king very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour nor conscience[s]. The king said, he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience[t]. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people, who talked more of conscience, were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice. But, though he was poor, and had much to lose, having places to the value of 4000*l.* a year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise: for as he had a great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the king's service from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past services

1686. Admiral Herbert's firmness.

[s] (Sir Edward Herbert, in 1688, immediately after the revolution, published a vindication of the judgment of the court in sir Edward Hale's case, and of the king's dispensing power; the exercise of which, as is well known, was declared to be illegal, at least for the future, in the first year of king William. Compare what is said below, p. 780, 822, 823. But opposition to the repeal of the test act was not inconsistent with sir Edward Herbert's opinion in favour of the king's legal right to dispense with *penal* statutes.)

[t] (The king's reply is differently represented in the Life of King James II. lately published; "His (admiral Herbert's) answer was, he could not do it "in honour or conscience; at "which the king being more "moved than ordinary, could "not forbear telling him, that "as for his honour he had little "but what he owed to his "bounty, and for his conscience, the putting away his "wife to keep with more liberty other women, gave a "true idea of its niceness." Vol. ii. p. 204.)

1686. would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing. The door was now opened. So all regard to the test was laid aside. And all men that intended to recommend themselves took
672 employments, and accepted of this dispensing power. This was done even by some of those who continued still protestants, though the far greater number of them continued to qualify themselves according to law.

Father Petre, a Jesuit, in high favour.

Many of the papists, that were men of quiet or of fearful tempers, did not like these methods. They thought the priests went too fast, and the king was too eager in pursuing every thing that was suggested by them. One Petre, descended from a noble family [u], a man of no learning, nor any way famed for his virtue, but who made all up in boldness and zeal, was the Jesuit of them all that seemed animated with the most courage. He had, during the popish plot, been introduced to the king, and had suggested things that shewed him a resolute and undertaking man. Upon that the king looked on him as the fittest man to be set at the head of his counsels. So he was now considered as the person who of all others had the greatest credit. He applied himself most to the earl of Sunderland, and was for some time chiefly directed by him [x].

[u] (That of the lord Petre.)

[x] (It is a well known fact, that the queen opposed with the greatest earnestness the introduction of Petre into the privy council. She observed, that Sunderland got it over her belly, using an Italian phrase, for getting the ascendancy over another. See Impartial Reflections upon Dr. Burnet's Posthumous Hist. 8vo. 1724. p. 103. See also D'Orleans's Revolutions in England, p. 304. Of Petre's intrigues with lord Sunderland, and the queen's opposition to them, an account is given by the king himself in his Life, lately published, vol. ii. p. 131.)

The maxim that the king set up, and about which he entertained all that were about him, was, the great happiness of an universal toleration. On this the king used to enlarge in a great variety of topics. He said, nothing was more reasonable, more Christian, and more politic: and he reflected much on the church of England for the severities with which dissenters had been treated. This, how true or just soever it might be, yet was strange doctrine in the mouth of a professed papist, and of a prince on whose account, and by whose direction, the church party had been, indeed but too obsequiously, pushed on to that rigour. But, since the church party could not be brought to comply with the design of the court, applications were now made to the dissenters: and all on a sudden the churchmen were disgraced, and the dissenters were in high favour. Chief justice Herbert went the western circuit after Jefferies's bloody one. And now all was grace and favour to them. Their former sufferings were much reflected on, and pitied. Every thing was offered that could alleviate their sufferings. Their teachers were now encouraged to set up their conventicles again, which had been discontinued, or held very secretly, for four or five years. Intimations were every where given, that the king would not have them or their meetings to be disturbed. Some of them began to grow insolent upon this shew of favour[y]. But wiser men among them saw through all this, 673 and perceived the design of the papists was now, to set on the dissenters against the church, as much as they had formerly set the church against them: and

1686. The king declared for a toleration.

[y] The whole body of them grew insolent, and complying to the king. S.

1686. therefore, though they returned to their conventicles, yet they had a just jealousy of the ill designs that lay hid under all this sudden and unexpected shew of grace and kindness: and they took care not to provoke the church party.

The clergy managed the points of controversy with great zeal and success.

Many of the clergy acted now a part that made good amends for past errors. They began to preach generally against popery, which the dissenters did not. They set themselves to study the points of controversy. And upon that there followed a great variety of small books, that were easily purchased, and soon read. They examined all the points of popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language. The truth is, they were very unequally yoked: for, if they are justly to be reckoned among the best writers that have yet appeared on the protestant side, those they wrote against were certainly among the weakest that had ever appeared on the popish side. Their books were poorly but insolently writ; and had no other learning in them, but what was taken out of some French writers, which they put into very bad English: so that a victory over them need have been but a mean performance.

This had a mighty effect on the whole nation: even those who could not search things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The papists, who knew what service the bishop of Meaux's book had done in France, resolved to pursue the same method here in several treatises, which they entitled, *Papists represented and misrepresented;* to which such

clear answers were writ, that what effect soever that artifice might have, where it was supported by the authority of a great king, and the terror of ill usage, and a dragoonade in conclusion, yet it succeeded so ill in England, that it gave occasion to inquire into the true opinions of that church, not as some artful writers had disguised them, but as they were laid down in the books that are of authority among them, such as the decisions of councils received among them, and their established offices, and as they are held at Rome, and in all those countries where popery prevails without any intermixture with heretics, or apprehension of them, as in Spain and Portugal. This was done in so authentical a manner, that popery it self was never so well understood by the nation, as it came to be upon this occasion. 1686. 674

The persons who both managed and directed this controversial war, were chiefly Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, and Patrick. Next them were Sherlock, Williams, Claget, Gee, Aldrich, Atterbury, Whitby, Hooper, and above all these Wake, who having been long in France, chaplain to the lord Preston, brought over with him many curious discoveries, that were both useful and surprising[z]. Besides the chief writers of those books of controversy, there were many sermons preached and printed on those heads, that did very much edify the whole nation. And this matter was managed with that con- The persons who were chiefly engaged in this.

[z] (Besides some modern treatises, the bishop alludes to St. Chrysostom's Epistle to Cæsarius, which had been suppressed by the Romanists, and was first published by Wake. In the enumeration of the writers engaged in what is called the Popish Controversy, Burnet forgets his old antagonist, the learned Henry Wharton.)

1686. cert, that for the most part once a week some new book or sermon came out, which both instructed and animated those who read them. There were but very few proselytes gained to popery: and these were so inconsiderable, that they were rather a reproach than an honour to them. Walker, the head of University college, and five or six more at Oxford, declared themselves to be of that religion; but with this branch [brand] of infamy, that they had continued for several years complying with the doctrine and worship of the church of England after they were reconciled to the church of Rome. The popish priests were enraged at this opposition made by the clergy, when they saw their religion so exposed, and themselves so much despised. They said, it was ill manners and want of duty to treat the king's religion with so much contempt.

Dr. Sharp in trouble.

It was resolved to proceed severely against some of the preachers, and to try if by that means they might intimidate the rest. Dr. Sharp was the rector of St. Giles's, and was both a very pious man, and one of the most popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his sermons with much life and zeal[a]. He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper sent him, as

[a] He was a great reader of Shakespear. Doctor Mangey, who had married his daughter, told me that he used to recommend to young divines the reading of the scriptures and Shakespear. And doctor Lisle, bishop of Norwich, who had been chaplain at Lambeth to archbishop Wake, told me that it was often related there, that Sharp should say, that the bible and Shakespear made him archbishop of York. His wonderful knowledge of human nature, the dignity and nobleness of his sentiments, and the amazing force and brightness of his expression, do indeed make Shakespear to be a great pattern for the gravest and most solemn compositions. O.

he believed, by a priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy touched by him in some of his sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he should send an answer, preached a sermon in answer to it: and, after he had confuted it, he concluded, shewing how unreasonable it was for protestants to change their religion on such grounds. This was carried to court, and represented there as a reflection on the king for changing on those grounds. 1686.

The information, as to the words pretended to be spoken by Sharp, was false, as he himself assured me. But, without inquiring into that, the earl of Sunderland sent an order to the bishop of London, in the king's name, requiring him to suspend Sharp immediately, and then to examine the matter. The bishop answered, that he had no power to proceed in such a summary way: but, if an accusation were brought into his court in a regular way, he would proceed to such a censure as could be warranted by the ecclesiastical law: yet, he said, he would do that which was in his power, and should be upon the matter a suspension; for he desired Sharp to abstain from officiating, till the matter should be better understood. But to lay such a censure on a clergyman, as a suspension, without proof, in a judiciary proceeding, was contrary both to law and justice. Sharp went to court, to shew the notes of his sermon, which he was ready to swear were those from which he had read it, by which the falsehood of the information would appear. But, since he was not suspended, he was not admitted. Yet he was let alone. And it was resolved to proceed against the bishop of London for contempt. 675

The bishop of London required to suspend him.

Which he could not obey.

1686. Jefferies was much sunk at court, and Herbert was the most in favour. But now Jefferies, to recommend himself, offered a bold and illegal advice, for setting up an ecclesiastical commission, without calling it the high commission, pretending it was only a standing court of delegates. The act that put down the high commission in the year 1640. had provided by a clause, as full as could be conceived, that no court should be ever set up for those matters, besides the ordinary ecclesiastical courts. Yet, in contempt of that, a court was erected, with full power to proceed in a summary and arbitrary way in all ecclesiastical matters, without limitations to any rule of law in their proceedings. This stretch of the supremacy, so contrary to law, was assumed by a king, whose religion made him condemn all that supremacy that the law had vested in the crown.

An ecclesiastical commission set up.

The persons with whom this power was lodged were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Duresme and Rochester, and the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, and lord chief justice, the lord chancellor being made president in the court, *sine quo non;* for they would trust this to no other management. The bishop of London was marked out to be the first sacrifice. Sancroft lay silent at Lambeth. He seemed zealous against popery in private discourse: but he was of such a timorous temper, and
676 so set on the enriching his nephew, that he shewed no sort of courage[b]. He would not go to this court,

[b] False as hell. S. This reflection might well have been spared, upon a man that gave sufficient proof at the revolution, that he could quit the highest preferment, rather than comply with any thing contrary to his conscience: especially from the most interested, confident, busy man, that ever his nation produced. D. (See the aspersions cast by Burnet on the good

when it was first opened, and declare against it, and give his reasons why he could not sit and act in it, judging it to be against law: but he contented himself with not going to it[c]. The other two bishops were more compliant. Duresme was lifted up with it, and said, now his name would be recorded in history: and, when some of his friends represented to him the danger of acting in a court so illegally constituted, he said, he could not live if he should lose the king's gracious smiles: so low and so fawning was he. Dolben, archbishop of York, died this year. So, as Sprat had succeeded him in Rochester, he had some hopes let fall of succeeding likewise in York. But the court had laid it down for a maxim to keep all the great sees, that should become vacant, still empty, till they might fill them to their own mind: so he was mistaken in his expectations, if he ever had them. 1686.

The bishop of London was the first person that was summoned to appear before this new court. He was attended on by many persons of great quality, which gave a new offence: and the lord chancellor treated him in that brutal way, that was now become as it were natural to him. The bishop said, here was a new court, of which he knew nothing: so he desired a copy of the commission that authorized them. And, after he had drawn out the matters by delays for some time, hoping that the king might accept of some general and respectful submission, and so let the matter fall, at last he came to make his defence, The bishop of London brought before it.

archbishop's character ably refuted in Dr. D'Oyley's Life of the latter; vol. i. p. 222—229.)

[c] (The archbishop sent a regular and formal petition to the king to be excused attendance on this commission, on account of his age and infirmities.)

1686. all secret methods to divert the storm proving ineffectual. The first part of it was an exception to the authority of the court, as being not only founded on no law, but contrary to the express words of the act of parliament that put down the high commission. Yet this point was rather insinuated, than urged with the force that might have been used: for it was said, that, if the bishop should insist too much on that, it would draw a much heavier measure of indignation on him; therefore it was rather opened, and modestly represented to the court, than strongly argued. But it may be easily believed, that those who sat by virtue of this illegal commission would maintain their own authority. The other part of the bishop of London's plea was, that he had obeyed the king's orders, as far as he legally could do; for he had obliged Dr. Sharp to act as a man that was suspended; but that
677 he could not lay an ecclesiastical censure on any of his clergy without a process, and articles, and some proof brought. This was justified by the constant practice of the ecclesiastical courts, and by the judgment of all lawyers. But arguments, how strong soever, are feeble things, when a sentence is resolved on before the cause is heard. So it was proposed that he should be suspended during the king's pleasure. The lord chancellor and the poor spirited bishop of Duresme were for this: but the earl, and bishop of Rochester, and the lord chief justice Herbert, were for acquitting him. There was not so much as a colour of law to support the sentence: so none could be given.

And was suspended by it.

But the king was resolved to carry this point, and spoke roundly about it to the earl of Rochester. He saw he must either concur in the sentence, or

part with the white staff. So he yielded. And the bishop was suspended *ab officio*. They did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the lawyers had settled that point, that benefices were of the nature of freeholds. So, if the sentence had gone to the temporalties, the bishop would have had the matter tried over again in the king's bench, where he was like to find good justice, Herbert not being satisfied with the legality and justice of the sentence. While this matter was in dependance, the princess of Orange thought it became her to interpose a little in the bishop's favour. He had confirmed and married her. So she wrote to the king, earnestly begging him to be gentle to the bishop, who she could not think would offend willingly. She also wrote to the bishop, expressing the great share she took in the trouble he was fallen into. The prince wrote to him to the same purpose. The king wrote an answer to the princess, reflecting severely on the bishop, not without some sharpness on her for meddling in such matters. Yet the court seemed uneasy, when they saw they had gained so poor a victory: for now the bishop was more considered than ever. His clergy, for all the suspension, were really more governed by the secret intimations of his pleasure, than they had been by his authority before. So they resolved to come off as well as they could. Dr. Sharp was admitted to offer a general petition, importing how sorry he was to find himself under the king's displeasure: upon which he was dismissed with a gentle reprimand, and suffered to return to the exercise of his function. According to the form of the ecclesiastical courts, a person under such a suspension must make

1686.

1686. a submission within six months: otherwise he may
678 be proceeded against as obstinate. So, six months after the sentence, the bishop sent a petition to the king, desiring to be restored to the exercise of his episcopal function. But he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it stopped all further proceedings: only the suspension lay still on him. I have laid all this matter together, though the progress of it ran into the year eighty-seven.

Affairs in Scotland.

Affairs in Scotland went on much at the same rate as they did in England. Some few proselytes were gained. But as they were very few, so they could do little service to the side to which they joined themselves. The earl of Perth prevailed with his lady, as she was dying, to change her religion. And in a very few weeks after her death he married very indecently a sister of the duke of Gordon's; [with whom he had lived in a very scandalous manner for many years.] They were first cousins: and yet without staying for a dispensation from Rome, they ventured on a marriage, upon the assurances that they said their confessor gave them, that it would be easily obtained. But pope Innocent was a stiff man, and did not grant those things easily: so that cardinal Howard could not at first obtain it. The pope said, these were strange converts, that would venture on such a thing without first obtaining a dispensation. The cardinal pretended, that new converts did not so soon understand the laws of the church: but he laid before the pope the ill consequences of offending converts of such importance. So he prevailed at last, not without great difficulty. The earl of Perth set up a pri-

vate chapel in the court for mass, which was not kept so private, but that many frequented it. 1686.

A tumult at Edenburgh.

The town of Edenburgh was much alarmed at this. And the rabble broke in with such fury, that they defaced every thing in the chapel. And if the earl of Perth had not been conveyed away in disguise, he had very probably fallen a sacrifice to popular rage. The guards upon the alarm came, and dispersed the rabble. Some were taken: and one that was a ringleader in the tumult was executed for it. When he was at the place of execution, he told one of the ministers of the town, that was with him assisting him with his prayers, that he was offered his life, if he would accuse the duke of Queensborough, as the person that had set on the tumult, but he would not save his life by so false a calumny. Mr. Macom, the minister, was an honest but weak man. So, when the criminal charged him to make this discovery, he did not call any of those 679
who were present to bear witness of it: but in the simplicity of his heart he went from the execution to the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and told him what had passed. The archbishop acquainted the duke of Queensborough with it. And he writ to court, and complained of it. The king ordered the matter to be examined. So the poor minister, having no witness to attest what the criminal had said to him, was declared the forger of that calumny. And upon that he was turned out. But how severely soever those in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the public is apt to judge true. And, in this case, as the minister's weakness and misfortune was pitied, so the earl of Perth's malice and treachery was as much detested.

1686. In summer this year, the earl of Murray, another new convert, was sent the king's commissioner to hold a parliament in Scotland, and to try if it would be more compliant than the English parliament had been. The king did by his letter recommend to them in very earnest words the taking off all penal laws and tests relating to religion. And all possible methods were used to prevail on a majority. But two accidents happened before the opening the parliament, which made great impression on the minds of many.

A parliament held there.

Whitford, son to one of their bishops before the wars, had turned a papist. He was the person that killed Dorislaus in Holland. And, that he might get out of Cromwell's reach, he had gone into the duke of Savoy's service; and was there when the last massacre was committed on the Vaudois. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a small pension given him after the restoration. He died a few days before the parliament met; and called for some ministers, and to them declared his forsaking of popery, and his abhorrence of it for its cruelty. He said, he had been guilty of some execrable murders in Piedmont, both of women and children, which had pursued him with an intolerable horror of mind ever after that. He had gone to priests of all sorts, the strictest as well as the easiest: and they had justified him in what he had done, and had given him absolution. But his conscience pursued him so, that he died as in despair, crying out against that bloody religion.

The other was more solemn. Sir Robert Sibbald, a doctor of physic, and the most learned anti-
680 quary in Scotland, who had lived in a course of phi-

losophical virtue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the earl of Perth to turn papist, in hopes to find that certainty among them, which he could not arrive at upon his own principles. But he had no sooner done this, than he began to be ashamed that he had made such a step upon so little inquiry. So he went to London, and retired for some months from all company, and went into a deep course of study, by which he came to see into the errors of popery with so full a conviction, that he came down to Scotland some weeks before the parliament, and could not be at quiet till he had published his recantation openly in a church. The bishop of Edenburgh was so much a courtier, that, apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at court, he sent him to do it in a church in the country. But the recantation of so learned a man, upon so much study, had a great effect upon many. 1686.

Rosse and Paterson, the two governing bishops, resolved to let the king see how compliant they would be. And they procured an address to be signed by several of their bench, offering to concur with the king in all that he desired with relation to those of his own religion, (for the courtly style now was not to name popery any other way than by calling it the king's religion,) provided the laws might still continue in force and be executed against the presbyterians. With this Paterson was sent up. He communicated the matter to the earl of Middleton, who advised him never to shew that paper: it would be made use of against them, and render them odious: and the king and all his priests were so sensible that it was an indecent thing for them

1686. to pretend to any special favour, that they were resolved to move for nothing but a general toleration. And so he persuaded him to go back without presenting it. This was told me by one who had it from the earl himself.

Which refused to comply with the king's desires.

When the session of parliament was opened, duke Hamilton was silent in the debate. He promised he would not oppose the motion: but he would not be active to promote it. The duke of Queensborough was also silent: but the king was made believe that he managed the opposition under hand. Rosse and Paterson did so entirely forget what became their characters, that they used their utmost endeavours to persuade the parliament to comply with the king's desire. The archbishop of Glasgow
681 opposed it, but fearfully. The bishop of Dunkeld, Bruce, did it openly and resolutely: and so did the bishop of Galloway. The rest were silent, but were resolved to vote for the continuance of the laws. Such was the meanness of most of the nobility, and of the other members, that few did hope that a resistance to the court could be maintained. Yet the parliament would consent to nothing, further than to a suspension of those laws during the king's life. The king despised this. So the session was put off, and the parliament was quickly dissolved. And, soon after that, both the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Dunkeld were turned out by an express command from the king. And Paterson was made archbishop of Glasgow. And one Hamilton, noted for profaneness and impiety, that sometimes broke out into blasphemy, was made bishop of Dunkeld. No reason was assigned for turning out those bishops, but the king's pleasure.

The nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and insensible in the matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal against popery. Few proselytes were made after this. The episcopal clergy were in many places so sunk into sloth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal. Some of them about Edenburgh, and in divers other places, began to mind those matters, and recovered some degrees of credit by the opposition they made to popery. But the presbyterians, though they were now freed from the great severities they had long smarted under, yet expressed on all occasions their unconquerable aversion to popery [d]. So the court was soon convinced, that they were not to be depended on. 1686. A zeal appeared there against popery.

But, what opposition soever the king met with in the isle of Britain, things went on more to his mind in Ireland. The earl of Clarendon, upon his first coming over, gave public and positive assurances, that the king would maintain their act of settlement. This he did very often, and very solemnly; and proceeded accordingly. In the mean while the earl of Tirconnell went on more roundly. He not only put Irish papists in such posts in the army as became void, but upon the slightest pretences he broke the English protestant officers, to make room for the others: and in conclusion, without so much Affairs in Ireland.

[d] Partial dog. S. ("It was "repeatedly observed at the "time, that while the church-"men, who were the only suf-"ferers by this indulgence, "were in their station vigilant "and zealous against the threat-"ening increase of popery, the "presbyterians, though they "knew this was the design at "the bottom, were generally "silent upon that delicate "point, not choosing to give "offence to those on whose ac-"count they had met with so "much favour." *Skinner's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 510.)

1686. as pretending a colour for it, he turned them all out. And now an army, paid by virtue of the act of settlement to secure it, was wrested out of legal hands, 682 and put in the hands of those who were engaged both in religion and interest to destroy the settlement, and those concerned in it; which was too gross a violation of law to be in any sort palliated. So the English protestants of Ireland looked on themselves as at mercy, since the army was now made up of their enemies. And all that the lord lieutenant or the lord chancellor could say did not quiet their fears: good words could not give security against such deeds as they saw every day. Upon this the earl of Clarendon and the earl of Tirconnell fell into perpetual jarrings, and were making such complaints one of another, that the king resolved to put an end to those disorders by recalling both the earl of Clarendon and Porter. He made the earl of Tirconnell lord lieutenant[e], and Fitton lord chancellor, who were both not only professed but zealous papists. Fitton knew no other law but the king's pleasure.

This struck all people there with great terror, when a man of Tirconnell's temper, so entirely trusted and depended on by the Irish, capable of the boldest undertakings, and of the cruelest execution, had now the government put so entirely in his hands. The papists of England either dissembled very artificially, or they were much troubled at this, which gave so great an alarm every where. It was visible, that father Petre and the Jesuits were resolved to engage the king so far, that matters

[e] Lord deputy. S.

should be put past all retreating and compounding; 1686.
that so the king might think no more of governing by parliament, but by a military force; and, if that should not stick firm to him, by assistance from France, and by an Irish army.

The king made his mistress countess of Dorchester.

An accident happened at this time, that gave the queen great offence, and put the priests much out of countenance. The king continued to go still to Mrs. Sidley. And she gained so much on him, that at last she prevailed to be made countess of Dorchester. As soon as the queen heard of this, she gave order to bring all the priests, that were admitted to a particular confidence, into her closet. And, when she had them about her, she sent to desire the king to come and speak to her. When he came, he was surprised to see such a company about her, but much more when they fell all on their knees before him. And the queen broke out into a bitter mourning for this new honour, which they expected would be followed with the setting her up openly as mistress. The queen was then in an ill habit of body; and had an illness that, as was thought, would end in a consumption. And it was believed that her 683
sickness was of such a nature, that it gave a very melancholy presage, that, if she should live, she could have no children. The priests said to the king, that a blemish in his life blasted their designs: and the more it appeared, and the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all their endeavours would prove. The king was much moved with this, and was out of countenance for what he had done. But, to quiet them all, he promised them, that he would see the lady no more; and pretended, that

1686. he gave her this title in order to the breaking with her the more decently. And, when the queen did not seem to believe this, he promised that he would send her to Ireland, which was done accordingly. But, after a stay there for some months, she came over again: and that ill commerce was still continued. The priests were no doubt the more apprehensive of this, because she was bold and lively, and was always treating them and their proceedings with great contempt [f].

The court was now much set on making of converts; which failed in most instances, and produced repartees, that, whether true or false, were much repeated, and were heard with great satisfaction.

Attempts made on many to change their religion.

The earl of Mulgrave was lord chamberlain. He was apt to comply in every thing that he thought might be acceptable; for he went with the king to mass, and kneeled at it. And, being looked on as indifferent to all religions, the priests made an attack on him. He heard them gravely arguing for transubstantiation. He told them, he was willing to receive instruction: he had taken much pains to bring himself to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it: but it must not be an or-

[f] Her wit was rather surprising than pleasing, for there was no restraint in what she said of or to any body. She told king William's queen, who she observed looked coldly upon her, that if it was upon her father's account, she hoped she would remember that as she had broke one commandment with him, her majesty had made no scruple of breaking another; therefore thought they were even upon this score. But most of her remarkable sayings were what nobody else would in modesty or discretion have said: the best excuse that could be made for her was, that her mother, lady Catharine Sidley, had been locked up in a mad-house many years before she died. D.

dinary force of argument, that could make him believe, that man was quits with God, and made God again. 1686.

The earl of Middleton had married into a popish family, and was a man of great parts and a generous temper, but of loose principles in religion. So a priest was sent to instruct him. He began with transubstantiation, of which he said he would convince him immediately: and began thus, You believe the Trinity. Middleton stopt him, and said, Who told you so? at which he seemed amazed. So the earl said, he expected he should convince him of his belief, but not question him of his own. With this the priest was so disordered, that he could proceed no further. One day the king gave the duke of Norfolk the sword of state to carry before him to 684
the chapel: and he stood at the door. Upon which the king said to him, My lord, your father would have gone further: to which the duke answered, Your majesty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone so far. Kirk was also spoken to, to change his religion; and replied briskly, that he was already pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

But the person that was the most considered, was the earl of Rochester. He told me, that upon the duke of Monmouth's defeat, the king did so immediately turn to other measures, that, though before that the king talked to him of all his affairs with great freedom, and commonly every morning of the business that was to be done that day, yet the very day after his execution the king changed his method, and never talked more to him of any business, Particularly on the earl of Rochester.

1686. but what concerned the treasury: so that he saw he had now no more the root he formerly had. He was looked on as so much united to the clergy, that the papists were all set against him. He had, in a want of money, procured a considerable loan, by which he was kept in his post longer than was intended. At last, as he related the matter to me, the king spoke to him, and desired he would suffer himself to be instructed in religion. He answered, he was fully satisfied about his religion. But upon the king's pressing it, that he would hear his priests, he said, he desired then to have some of the English clergy present, to which the king consented: only he excepted to Tillotson and Stillingfleet. Lord Rochester said, he would take those who should happen to be in waiting; for the forms of the chapel were still kept up. And Doctor Patrick and Jane were the men. Upon this a day was set for the conference.

But his enemies had another story. He had notice given him, that he would shortly lose the white staff: upon which his lady, who was then sick, wrote to the queen, and begged she would honour her so far as to come, and let her have some discourse with her. The queen came, and stayed above two hours with her. She complained of the ill offices that were done them. The queen said, all the protestants were now turning against them, so that they knew not how they could trust any of them. Upon which that lady said, her lord was not so wedded to any opinion, as not to be ready to be better instructed. And it was said, that this gave the
685 rise to the king's proposing a conference: for it has been observed to be a common method of making

proselytes, with the more pomp, to propose a conference: but this was generally done, after they were well assured, that, let the conference go which way it might, the person's decision for whom it was appointed should be on their side. The earl denied he knew any thing of all this to me: and his lady died not long after [g]. It was further said by his enemies, that the day before the conference he had an advertisement from a sure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his post, and that the king had engaged himself to put the treasury in commission, and to bring some of the popish lords into it. Patrick told me, that at the conference there was no occasion for them to say much. 1686.

The priests began the attack. And when they had done, the earl said, if they had nothing stronger to urge, he would not trouble those learned gentlemen to say any thing: for he was sure he could answer all that he had heard. And so answered it all with much heat and spirit, not without some scorn, saying, were these grounds to persuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great vehemence [h]. The king, seeing in what temper he was, broke off the confer-

[g] (In the Life of king James II. lately published, the attempt to convert lord Rochester is said to have been first suggested by lord Sunderland, who wished to get rid of him; the method he took to execute this design of removing lord Rochester, "was to persuade "the king, that he had great "dispositions to change his re-"ligion; and when once that "was done, he might be more "freely consulted with." Vol. i. p. 100.)

[h] (According to the above-cited work, "Before any point "was thoroughly handled, or so "much almost as entered upon, "he rose up abruptly, and said "he was more confirmed in "opinion than before; upon "which the assembly broke "up.")

1686. ence, charging all that were present to say nothing of it.

He was turned out.

Soon after that he lost his white staff[i]; but had a pension of 4000*l.* a year for his own life and his son's, besides his grant upon the lord Grey, and another valued at 20,000*l.* So here were great regards had to him: no place having ever been sold, even by a person in favour, to such advantage. The sum that he had procured to be lent the king being 400,000*l.* and it being all ordered to go towards the repair of the fleet, this began to be much talked of. The stores were very ill furnished: and the vessels themselves were in decay. But now orders were given, with great despatch to put the whole fleet in condition to go to sea, though the king was then in full peace with all his neighbours. Such preparations seemed to be made upon some great design.

Designs talked of against Holland.

The priests said every where, but chiefly at Rome, that the design was against the States; and that both France and England would make war on them all of the sudden; for it was generally known that the Dutch fleet was in no good condition. The interests of France and of the priests made this to be

[i] He had disobliged the princess Ann, which did him no service then, but turned much to his prejudice ever after. Her allowance was very small for keeping of a court, and they received nothing from Denmark, which occasioned her contracting a debt of ten thousand pounds, which was very uneasy to her. She desired lord Rochester to represent her case to the king, who excused himself by telling her she knew the king's temper in relation to money matters, and such a proposal might do him hurt, and her no good. Upon which she spoke to lord Godolphin, who undertook it very readily, and succeeded to her content, which proved of great advantage to him all the rest of his life. D.

the more easily believed. The embroiling the king with the prince of Orange was that which the French desired above all other things, hoping that such a war, being successful, might put the king on excluding the prince from the succession to the crown in the right of his wife, which was the thing that both the French and the priests desired most: for they saw that, unless the queen had a son, all their designs must stand still at present, and turn abortive in conclusion, as long as the nation had such a successor in view. 1686. 686

This carries me now to open the state of affairs in Holland, and at the prince of Orange's court. I must first say somewhat of myself: for this summer, after I had rambled above a year, I came into Holland. I stayed three or four months in Geneva and Switzerland, after I came out of Italy. I stayed also some time among the Lutherans at Strasbourg and Franckfort, and among the Calvinists at Heidleberg, besides the further opportunities I had to know their way in Holland. I made it my business to observe all their methods, and to know all the eminent men among them. I saw the churches of France in their best state, while they were every day looking when this dreadful storm should break out, which has scattered them up and down the world. I was all the winter at Geneva, where we had constantly fresh stories brought us of the miseries of those who were suffering in France. Refugees were coming over every day, poor and naked, and half starved before they got thither. And that small state was under great apprehensions of being swallowed up, having no strength of their own, and being justly afraid that those at Bern would grow weary of de- I stayed some time in Geneva.

1686. fending them, if they should be vigorously attacked. The rest of Switzerland was not in such imminent danger. But, as they were full of refugees, and all sermons and discourses were much upon the persecution in France, so Basile was exposed in such manner, that the French could possess themselves of it when they pleased, without the least resistance. Those of Strasbourg, as they have already lost their liberty, so they were every day looking for some fatal edict, like that which the French had fallen under. The churches of the Palatinate, as they are now the frontier of the empire, exposed to be destroyed by every new war, so they are fallen into the hands of a bigoted family. All the other churches on the Rhine see how near they are to ruin. And as the United Provinces were a few years before this very near being swallowed up, so they were now well assured that two great kings designed to ruin them.

The state and temper I observed among the reformed.

687 Under so cloudy a prospect it should be expected that a spirit of true devotion and of a real reformation should appear more, both among the clergy and laity; that they should all apprehend that God was highly offended with them, and was therefore punishing some, and threatening others, in a most unusual manner. It might have been expected, that those unhappy contests between Lutherans and Calvinists, Arminians and Anti-Arminians, with some minuter disputes that have inflamed Geneva and Switzerland, should have been at least suspended while they had a common enemy to deal with, against whom their whole force united was scarce able to stand. But these things were carried on rather with more eagerness and sharpness than ever.

It is true, there has appeared much of a primitive charity towards the French refugees: they have been in all places well received, kindly treated, and bountifully supplied. Yet even among them there did not appear a spirit of piety and devotion suitable to their condition: though persons who have willingly suffered the loss of all things, and have forsaken their country, their houses, estates, and their friends, and some of them their nearest relations, rather than sin against their consciences, must be believed to have a deeper principle in them, than can well be observed by others. 1686.

I was indeed amazed at the labours and learning of the ministers among the reformed. They understood the scriptures well in the original tongues: they had all the points of controversy very ready, and did thoroughly understand the whole body of divinity. In many places they preached every day, and were almost constantly employed in visiting their flock. But they performed their devotions but slightly, and read their prayers, which were too long, with great precipitation and little zeal. Their sermons were too long and too dry. And they were so strict, even to jealousy, in the smallest points in which they put orthodoxy, that one who could not go into all their notions, but was resolved not to quarrel with them, could not converse much with them with any freedom. [I spread many notions among them, some of the younger sort inclining then to a greater latitude in point of opinion, and a greater strictness in their lives and labours, which I have found since not to be without good effects.] I have, upon all the observation that I have made, often considered the inward state of the reforma-

1686. tion, and the decay of the vitals of Christianity in it, as that which gives more melancholy impressions, than all the outward dangers that surround it.

In England things were much changed, with relation to the court, in the compass of a year. The terror all people were under from an ill chosen and
688 an ill constituted parliament was now almost over: and the clergy were come to their wits, and were beginning to recover their reputation. The nation was like to prove much firmer than could have been expected, especially in so short a time. Yet after all, though many were like to prove themselves better protestants than was looked for, they were not become much better Christians: and few were turning to a stricter course of life: nor were the clergy more diligent in their labours among their people, in which respect it must be confessed that the English clergy are the most remiss of any[k]. The curates in popery, besides their saying mass every day, their exactness to their breviary, their attending on confessions and the multiplicity of offices to which they are obliged, do so labour in instructing the youth and visiting the sick, that, in all the places in which I could observe them, it seemed to be the constant employment of their lives: and in the foreign churches, though the labours of the ministers may seem mean, yet they are perpetually in them. All these things lay so much on my thoughts, that I was resolved to retire into some private place, and to spend the rest of my life in a course of stricter piety and devotion, and in writing such books, as the state of matters with relation to religion should

[k] Civil that. S.

call for, whether in points of speculation or practice. 1686.
All my friends advised my coming near England, that I might be easier sent to, and informed of all our affairs, and might accordingly employ my thoughts and time. So I came down the Rhine this summer, and was resolved to have settled in Groning or Frizeland.

I was invited by the prince of Orange to come to the Hague.

When I came to Utrecht I found letters writ to me by some of the prince of Orange's court, desiring me to come first to the Hague, and wait on the prince and princess, before I should settle any where. Upon my coming to the Hague, I was admitted to wait on them. I found they had received such characters of me from England, that they resolved to treat me with great confidence: for at my first being with them, they entered into much free discourse with me concerning the affairs of England. The prince, though naturally cold and reserved, yet laid aside a great deal of that with me. He seemed highly dissatisfied with the king's conduct. He apprehended that he would give such jealousies of himself, and come under such jealousies from his people, that these would throw him into a French management, and engage him into such desperate designs as would force violent remedies. There was a gravity in his whole deportment that struck me. He seemed very regardless of himself, and not apt 689
to suspect designs upon his person. But I had learned somewhat of the design of a brutal Savoyard, who was capable of the blackest things, and who for a foul murder had fled into the territory of Geneva, where he lay hid in a very worthy family, to whom he had done some services before. He had formed a scheme of seizing on the prince, who

1686. used to go in his chariot often on the sands near Scheveling with but one person with him, and a page or two on the chariot. So he offered to go in a small vessel of twenty guns, that should lie at some distance at sea, and to land in a boat with seven persons besides himself, and to seize on the prince, and bring him aboard, and so to France. This he wrote to Mr. de Louvoy, who upon that wrote to him to come to Paris, and ordered money for his journey. He, being a talking man, spoke of this, and shewed Mr. de Louvoy's letter, and the copy of his own: and he went presently to Paris. This was brought me by Mr. Fatio, the celebrated mathematician, in whose father's house that person had lodged. When I told the prince this, and had Mr. Fatio at the Hague to attest it, he was not much moved at it. The princess was more apprehensive. And by her direction I acquainted Mr. Fagell, and some others of the States, with it, who were convinced that the thing was practicable. And so the States desired the prince to suffer himself to be constantly attended on by a guard when he went abroad; with which he was not without some difficulty brought to comply. I fancied his belief of predestination made him more adventurous than was necessary. But he said as to that, he firmly believed a providence: for if he should let that go, all his religion would be much shaken: and he did not see, how providence could be certain, if all things did not arise out of the absolute will of God. I found those who had the charge of his education had taken more care to possess him with the Calvinistical notions of absolute decrees, than to guard him against the ill effects of those opinions in practice:

for in Holland the main thing the ministers infuse into their people, is an abhorrence of the Arminian doctrine, which spreads so much there, that their jealousies of it make them look after that, more than after the most important matters. 1686.

The prince had been much neglected in his education: for all his life long he hated constraint. He spoke little. He put on some appearance of application: but he hated business of all sorts. Yet he hated talking, and all house games, more. This put him on a perpetual course of hunting, to which he seemed to give himself up, beyond any man I ever knew: but I looked on that always, as a flying from company and business. The depression of France was the governing passion of his whole life. He had no vice, but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret[1]. He had a way that was affable and obliging to the Dutch. But he could not bring himself to comply enough with the temper of the English, his coldness and slowness being very contrary to the genius of the nation. A character of the prince and princess of Orange. 690

The princess possessed all that conversed with her with admiration. Her person was majestic, and created respect. She had great knowledge, with a true understanding, and a noble expression. There was a sweetness in her deportment that charmed, and an exactness in piety and of virtue that made her a pattern to all that saw her. The king gave her no appointments to support the dignity of a king's daughter. Nor did he send her any presents

[1] Bishop Burnet told me, if I lived to read his History, I should be surprised to find he had taken notice of king William's vices; but some things, he said, were too notorious for a faithful historian to pass over in silence. D.

1686. or jewels, which was thought a very indecent, and certainly was a very ill advised thing. For the settling an allowance for her and the prince would have given such a jealousy of them, that the English would have apprehended a secret correspondence and confidence between them: and the not doing it shewed the contrary very evidently. But, though the prince did not increase her court and state upon this additional dignity, she managed her privy purse so well, that she became eminent in her charities: and the good grace with which she bestowed favours did always increase their value. She had read much, both in history and divinity. And when a course of humours in her eyes forced her from that, she set her self to work with such a constant diligence, that she made the ladies about her ashamed to be idle. She knew little of our affairs, till I was admitted to wait on her. And I began to lay before her the state of our court, and the intrigues in it, ever since the restoration: which she received with great satisfaction, and shewed true judgment, and a good mind, in all the reflections that she made. I will only mention one in this place: she asked me what had sharpened the king so much against Mr. Jurieu, the copiousest and the most zealous writer of the age, who wrote with great vivacity as well as learning. I told her, he mixed all his books with a most virulent acrimony of style, and among other things he had writ with great indecency of Mary queen of Scots, which cast reflections on them that were descended from her; and was not very decent in one that desired to be considered as zealous for the prince and herself. She said, Jurieu was to support the cause that he defended, and to expose those that

persecuted it, in the best way he could. And, if what he said of Mary queen of Scots was true, he was not to be blamed, who made that use of it: and, she added, that if princes would do ill things, they must expect that the world will take revenges on their memory, since they cannot reach their persons: that was but a small suffering, far short of what others suffered at their hands. So far I have given the character of those persons, as it appeared to me upon my first admittance to them. I shall have occasion to say much more of them in the sequel of this work. 1686. 691

I found the prince was resolved to make use of me. He told me, it would not be convenient for me to live any where but at the Hague: for none of the outlawed persons came thither. So I would keep my self by staying there out of the danger that I might legally incur by conversing with them, which would be unavoidable if I lived any where else. He also recommended me both to Fagell, Dykvelt, and Halewyn's confidence, with whom he chiefly consulted. I had a mind to see a little into the prince's notions, before I should engage my self deeper into his service. I was afraid lest his struggle with the Louvestein party, as they were called, might have given him a jealousy of liberty and of a free government. He assured me, it was quite the contrary: nothing but such a constitution could resist a powerful aggressor long, or have the credit that was necessary to raise such sums, as a great war might require. He condemned all the late proceedings in England with relation to the charters, and expressed his sense of a legal and limited authority very fully. I told him I was such a friend

I was much trusted by them.

1686. to liberty, that I could not be satisfied with the point of religion alone, unless it was accompanied with the securities of law. I asked his sense of the church of England. He said, he liked our worship well, and our government in the church, as much better than parity: but he blamed our condemning the foreign churches, as he had observed some of our divines did. I told him, whatever some hotter men might say, all were not of that mind. When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he said, that was all he would ever desire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home[m]. He also promised to me, that he should never be prevailed with to set up the Calvinistical notions of the decrees of God, to which I did imagine some might drive him. He wished some of our ceremonies, such as the surplice, and the cross in baptism, with our bowing to the altar, might be laid aside. I thought it necessary to enter with him into all these particulars, that so I might be furnished from his own mouth to give a full account of his sense to some in England, who would expect it of me, and were disposed to believe what I should assure them of. This discourse was of some hours' continuance: and it passed in the princess's presence. Great notice came to be taken of the free access and long conferences I had with them both. I told him, it was necessary for his service to put the fleet of Holland in a good condition.

The prince's sense of our affairs.

692 And this he proposed soon after to the States, who gave the hundredth penny for a fund to perfect that. I moved to them both the writing to the bishop of London, and to the king concerning him. And,

[m] It seems the prince even then thought of being king. S.

though the princess feared it might irritate the king too much, in conclusion I persuaded them to it. 1686.

The king, hearing of this admission I had, began in two or three letters to reflect on me, as a dangerous man, whom they ought to avoid and beware of. To this no answer was made. Upon the setting up the ecclesiastical commission, some from England pressed them to write over against it, and to begin a breach upon that. I told them, I thought that was no way advisable: they could not be supposed to understand our laws so well, as to oppose those things on their own knowledge: so that, I thought, this could not be expected by them, till some resolute person would dispute the authority of the court, and bring it to an argument, and so to a solemn decision. I likewise said, that I did not think every error in government would warrant a breach: if the foundations were struck at, that would vary the case: but illegal acts in particular instances could not justify such a conclusion. The prince seemed surprised at this: for the king made me pass for a rebel in my heart. And he now saw how far I was from it. I continued on this ground to the last.

The princess's resolution with respect to the prince.

That which fixed me in their confidence was, the liberty I took, in a private conversation with the princess, to ask her, what she intended the prince should be, if she came to the crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not understand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrued to her would likewise accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her it was not so: and I explained king Henry the seventh's title to her, and what had

1686. passed when queen Mary married Philip of Spain [m]. I told her, a titular kingship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially if it was to depend on another's life: and such a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the prince had in Holland. She desired me to propose a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if she could bring her mind to it, was, to be contented to be his wife, and to engage herself to him, that she would give him the real authority as soon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally vested in him during life: this would lay the greatest obligation on him possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled [n]: this would also give him another sense of all our affairs: I asked pardon for the presumption of moving her in such a tender point: but I solemnly protested, that no person living had moved
693 me in it, or so much as knew of it, or should ever know of it, but as she should order it. I hoped she would consider well of it: for, if she once declared her mind, I hoped she would never go back, or retract it. I desired her therefore to take time to think of it. She presently answered me, she would

[m] Henry the seventh's case was to the point, who undoubtedly after his queen's death reigned in the wrong of her son; nor could his Lancastrian title avail him; his mother, from whom he claimed, outliving him. But the instance Burnet quoted of Philip of Spain made directly against what he proposed, who, though proclaimed king of England, was excluded from the administration, even during his queen's life, and never pretended to exclude her sister, or his own issue, if he had had any by her. D. (Philip's case supported the bishop's position.)

[n] By Mrs. Villiers, now lady Orkney; but he proved a damned husband for all that. S.

take no time to consider of any thing by which she could express her regard and affection to the prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I should hear what she would say upon it. He was that day a hunting: and next day I acquainted him with all that had passed, and carried him to her; where she in a very frank manner told him, that she did not know that the laws of England were so contrary to the laws of God, as I had informed her [o]: she did not think that the husband was ever to be obedient to the wife: she promised him, he should always bear rule: and she asked only, that he would obey the command of, *Husbands love your wives*, as she should do that, *Wives be obedient to your husbands in all things*. From this lively introduction we engaged into a long discourse of the affairs of England. Both seemed well pleased with me, and with all that I had suggested. But such was the prince's cold way, that he said not one word to me upon it, that looked like acknowledgment. Yet he spoke of it to some about him in another strain. He said, he had been nine years married, and had never the confidence to press this matter on the queen, which I had now brought about easily in a day. Ever after that, he seemed to trust me entirely [p]. 1686.

Complaints came daily over from England of all

[o] Foolish. S.

[p] I therefore take it for granted, that the prince ordered him to propose it to the princess, before he would engage in the attempt upon England: and she must understand it so, for certainly such a little Scotch priest durst not have proposed altering the right of succession to the three kingdoms of his own head, though he had had double the confidence he was known to have. D.

1686. the high things that the priests were every where throwing out. Pen the quaker came over to Holland. He was a talking vain man, who had been long in the king's favour, he being the vice-admiral's son. He had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it: though he was singular in that opinion: for he had a tedious luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience [q]. He undertook to persuade the prince to come into the king's measures, and had two or three long audiences of him upon the subject: and he and I spent some hours together on it. The prince readily consented to a toleration of popery, as well as of the dissenters, provided it were proposed and passed in parliament: and he promised his assistance, if there was need of it, to get it to pass. But for the tests, he would enter into no treaty about them. He said, it was a plain betraying the security of the protestant religion, to give them up. Nothing was left unsaid, that might move him to agree to this in the way of interest: the king would enter
694 into an entire confidence with him, and would put his best friends in the chief trusts. Pen undertook for this so positively, that he seemed to believe it himself, or he was a great proficient in the art of dissimulation. Many suspected that he was a concealed papist [r]. It is certain he was much with

Pen sent over to treat with the prince.

[q] He spoke very agreeably, and with much spirit. S.

[r] The king once in discourse with a person I had it from, said, "I suppose you take William Pen for a quaker, but I "can assure you he is no more "than I am." He was much employed by lord Godolphin when he was treasurer, in carrying messages to people he did not think proper to converse with himself. D.

father Petre, and was particularly trusted by the earl of Sunderland. So, though he did not pretend any commission for what he promised, yet we looked on him as a man employed. To all this the prince answered, that no man was more for toleration in principle than he was: he thought the conscience was only subject to God: and as far as a general toleration, even of papists, would content the king, he would concur in it heartily: but he looked on the tests as such a real security, and indeed the only one, when the king was of another religion, that he would join in no counsels with those that intended to repeal those laws that enacted them. Pen said, the king would have all or nothing: but that, if this was once done, the king would secure the toleration by a solemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of Nantes, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furnished an answer that admitted of no reply. So Pen's negotiation with the prince had no effect. 1686.

He pressed me to go over to England, since I was in principle for toleration: and he assured me the king would prefer me highly. I told him, since the tests must go with this toleration, I could never be for it. Among other discourses he told me one thing, that was not accomplished in the way in which he had a mind I should believe it would be, but had a more surprising accomplishment. He told me a long series of predictions, which, as he said, he had from a man that pretended a commerce with angels, who had foretold many things that were past very punctually. But he added, that in the year 1688 there would such a change happen in the face of affairs as would amaze all the world. And after

1686. the revolution, which happened that year, I asked him before much company, if that was the event that was predicted. He was uneasy at the question; but did not deny what he had told me, which, he said, he understood of the full settlement of the nation upon a toleration, by which he believed all men's minds would be perfectly quieted and united.

Some bishops died in England.

Now I go from this to prosecute the recital of English affairs. Two eminent bishops died this year, Pearson, bishop of Chester, and Fell, bishop of Oxford. The first of these was in all respects the greatest divine of the age: a man of great learning, strong reason, and of a clear judgment. He was a judicious and grave preacher, more instructive than
695 affective; and a man of a spotless life, and of an excellent temper. His book on the creed is among the best that our church has produced. He was not active in his diocese, but too remiss and easy in his episcopal function; and was a much better divine than a bishop. He was a speaking instance of what a great man could fall to: for his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a child some years before he died[s].

Fell, bishop of Oxford, was a man of great strictness in the course of his life, and of much devotion. His learning appears in that noble edition of St. Cyprian that he published. He had made great beginnings in learning before the restoration: but his continued application to his employments after that, stopped the progress that otherwise he might have made. He was made soon after dean of Christ

[s] (An interesting letter of the learned Mr. Dodwell has been published lately, in which his interview with this great man, after a failure of the powers of his mind, is described.)

Church, and afterwards bishop of Oxford. He set himself to promote learning in the university, but most particularly in his own college, which he governed with great care: and was indeed in all respects a most exemplary man, a little too much heated in the matter of our disputes with the dissenters. But as he was among the first of our clergy that apprehended the design of bringing in popery, so he was one of the most zealous against it [t]. He had much zeal for reforming abuses; and managed it perhaps with too much heat, and in too peremptory a way [u]. But we have so little of that 1686.

[t] (Bishop Fell, although he had been a sufferer in the cause of the monarchy, was zealous also for the real liberties of Englishmen. "There is a sort of "men," he observes in a sermon preached before the lords, in 1680, "who would com- "mend a more forcible expe- "dient for removing the public "differences, the security of "a standing army. I will not "argue how well this method "may agree with the com- "plexions of a more southern "climate; it is enough our "rougher constitutions will ne- "ver suit with such a medi- "cine." p. 11. Neither do his foreign politics appear to have agreed with those which were too prevalent at court. "Shall "I warn you," says he, in the same discourse, "of your po- "tent neighbour, who, as your "arms employed against his "enemies have raised him to "his present greatness; so "now attends and watches, till "your arms employed against "yourselves, shall raise him "higher yet, and make a ready "way unto his further con- "quests?" p. 20.)

[u] Anthony Wood, in his Athenæ Oxon. according to his usual phraseology, calls him a valde-vult man. Wood did not love him. But Fell was a very extraordinary person, and the greatest governor that has ever been since his time, in either of the universities. Both of them at this time want much of the spirit and dignity in it that he had. They are sinking because of that, with the addition at Oxford of a foolish disloyalty, that breeds too many of their youth to be party men of the worst kind. But time, not violence, must cure that. From all this a very great evil has happened; our young men of rank are driven abroad for their education, and they bring nothing from thence, that I have ever seen, which qualifies them for serving their country at home. It gives them (I speak

1686. among us, that no wonder if such men are censured by those who love not such patterns, nor such severe task-masters [x].

Ward, of Salisbury, fell also under a loss of memory and understanding: so that he, who was both in mathematics and philosophy, and in the strength of judgment and understanding, one of the first men of his time, though he came too late into our profession to become very eminent in it, was now a great instance of the despicable weakness to which man can fall. The court intended once to have named a coadjutor for him. But there being no precedent for that since the reformation, they resolved to stay till he should die.

Cartwright and Parker promoted.

The other two bishopricks were less considerable: so they resolved to fill them with the two worst men that could be found out. Cartwright was promoted to Chester. He was a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning. He was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous: and, by the great liberties he allowed himself, he fell under much scandal of the worst sort[y]. He had set himself long to raise the king's authority above law; which, he said, was only a method of government to which kings might submit as they pleased; but their authority was from God, absolute and superior

in general only) a turn, too much to courts and armies, to the luxuries of the town, and to the neglect of their interests in the country, and consequently to the freedom of it, the principles of which they know and value less, than the little police, for some private accommodations, and that only for people of fashion, which they meet with in the foreign countries they usually go to. O.

[x] He was much blamed for parting too easily with the earl of Clancarty, which afterwards proved the utter ruin of that very rich and noble family. D. (See before, p. 601.)

[y] Sodomy. S.

to law, which they might exert, as oft as they found it necessary for the ends of government. So he was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the design of popery, than if he should turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that step, even in the most desperate state of his affairs [z]. 1686. 696

The see of Oxford was given to Dr. Parker, who was a violent independent at the time of the restoration, with a high profession of piety in their way [a]. But he soon changed, and struck into the highest form of the church of England; and wrote many books with a strain of contempt and fury against all the dissenters, that provoked them out of measure; of which an account was given in the history of the former reign. He had exalted the king's authority in matters of religion in so indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of saying the king was under God and Christ, as a crude and profane expression; saying, that though the king was indeed under God, yet he was not under Christ, but above him. Yet, not being preferred as he expected, he writ after that many books on design to raise the

[z] He went to Ireland with king James, and there died neglected and poor. S. (He died there in the communion of the protestant church.)

[a] (Parker was not quite twenty years of age at the time of the restoration. When the bishop says after this, that the articles against Parker and Cartwright were some of them too scandalous to be repeated, he very unfairly confounds the charges against two individuals together. But it is observable, that the clergy who were most obnoxious for their compliance with the king's measures, were almost all, not of the old royalist, but at one period of their lives of the opposite party. Such were Parker, Cartwright, Crewe, Sprat, Hall, and Barlow. These temporizing prelates, true to their own interest, were for active, as well as passive, obedience to the powers *that be*.)

1686. authority of the church to an independance on the civil power. There was an entertaining liveliness in all his books: but it was neither grave nor correct. He was a covetous and ambitious man; and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest, and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercises of devotion; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him. These two men were pitched on, as the fittest instruments that could be found among all the clergy, to betray and ruin the church. Some of the bishops brought to archbishop Sancroft articles against them, which they desired he would offer to the king in council, and pray that the mandate for consecrating them might be delayed, till time were given to examine particulars. And bishop Lloyd told me, that Sancroft promised to him not to consecrate them, till he had examined the truth of the articles; of which some were too scandalous to be repeated. Yet, when Sancroft saw what danger he might incur, if he were sued in a *premunire*, he consented to consecrate them. [An accident happened in the action that struck him much. When he was going to give the chalice in the sacrament, he stumbled on one of the steps of the altar, and dashed out all the consecrated wine that was in it, which was much taken notice of, and gave himself the more trouble, since he was frightened to such a consecration by so mean a fear.]

The deanery of Christ's Church, the most important post in the university, was given to Massey, one of the new converts, though he had neither the gravity, the learning, nor the age that was suitable

to such a dignity. But all was supplied by his early conversion: and it was set up for a maxim, to encourage all converts. He at first went to prayers in the chapel. But soon after, he declared himself more openly [b]. Not long after this, the president of Magdalen college died. That is esteemed the richest foundation in England, perhaps in Europe: for though their certain rents are but about 4 or 5000*l.* yet it is thought that the improved value of the estate belonging to it is about 40,000*l.* [c] So it was no wonder that the priests studied to get this endowment into their hands. 1686. 697

They had endeavoured to break in upon the university of Cambridge in a matter of less importance, but without success: and now they resolved to attack Oxford, by a strange fatality in their counsels. In all nations the privileges of colleges and universities are esteemed such sacred things, that few will venture to dispute these, much less to disturb them, when their title is good, and their possession is of a long continuance [d]: for in these, not only the present body espouses the matter, but all who have been of it, even those that have only followed their study in it, think themselves bound in honour and gratitude to assist and support them. The priests

[b] (He had a private chapel of his own, in which the Roman catholic mode of worship was set up. Thus a dignitary of the church of England was permitted to desert her communion by a dispensation and pardon still on record, nay, as it is alleged by Wood, he had left it, previously to being settled in the deanery; and yet the king persisted in asserting, that he had never taken any preferment from the national church.)

[c] (The bishop's informers valued too high.)

[d] Yet in king George's reign, Oxford was bridled and insulted with troops, for no manner of cause but their steadiness to the church. S.

1686. began where they ought to have ended, when all other things were brought about to their mind. The Jesuits fancied, that, if they could get footing in the university, they would gain such a reputation by their methods of teaching youth, that they would carry them away from the university tutors, who were certainly too remiss. Some of the more moderate among them proposed, that the king should endow a new college in both universities, which needed not have cost above two thousand pound a year, and in these set his priests to work [e]. But either the king stuck at the charge which this would put him to, or his priests thought it too mean, and below his dignity not to lay his hand upon those great bodies: so rougher methods were resolved on [f]. It was reck-

[e] Bruce, earl of Ailsbury, in his letter mentioned above to Mr. Leigh of Adlestrop, writes thus of the attack on Magdalen college: "I had that college much at "heart at the time of that most "unhappy combustion. I was on "my knees to beg of that good "and misled king not to touch "the freehold: and if he would "have a college, rather to build "one, altho it was not ac- "cording to the constitution. "And altho I had not a shil- "ling ready money, I would "have contributed a thousand "pounds." Extract from the above-named letter, published in the 27th vol. of the European Magazine, p. 22.)

[f] (The methods made use of to get Magdalen college into their hands are mentioned in the following pages; but there was once an intention to proceed against this society by a *quo warranto*. In a letter to doctor Bayley, one of the fellows of the college, which was printed at the time, and supposed to have been written by the celebrated William Penn, the society is advised to petition that the order for the *quo warranto* against it may be recalled before it is too late. And that this was no vain threat, appears from the private instructions sent to the commissioners, during their first stay at Oxford; a copy of which is extant in a MS. account of the visitation of the college by baron Jenner, one of the king's commissioners. Besides demanding a further submission from the fellows, they are enjoined "strictly to en- "quire into the management "of the college affairs, and see "whether matter may not be "found sufficient for a *quo* "*warranto*.")

oned, that by frightening them they might be driven to compound the matter, and deliver up one or two colleges to them: and then, as the king said sometimes in the circle, they who taught best would be most followed. 1686.

They began with Cambridge upon a softer point, which yet would have made way for all the rest. The king sent his letter, or *mandamus*, to order F. Francis, an ignorant Benedictine monk, to be received a master of arts; once to open the way for letting them into the degrees of the university. The truth is, the king's letters were scarce ever refused in conferring degrees: and when ambassadors or foreign princes came to those places, they usually gave such degrees to those who belonged to them as were desired. The Morocco ambassador's secretary, that was a Mahometan, had that degree given him; but a great distinction was made between honorary degrees given to strangers, who intended not to live among them, and those given to such as intended to settle among them: for every master of arts having a vote in the convocation, they reckoned that, if they gave this degree, they must give all that should be pretended to on the like authority: and they knew all the king's priests would be let in upon them, which might occasion in present great distraction and contentions among them; and in time they might grow to be a majority in the convocation, which is their parliament. They refused the *mandamus* with great unanimity, and with a firmness that the court had not expected from them. New and repeated orders, full of severe threatenings in case of disobedience, were sent to them: and this piece of raillery was every where set up, that a

The king's letter refused in Cambridge.

698

1686. papist was reckoned worse than a Mahometan, and that the king's letters were less considered than the ambassador from Morocco had been. Some feeble or false men of the university tried to compound the matter, by granting this degree to F. Francis, but enacting at the same time, that it should not be a precedent for the future for any other of the like nature. This was not given way to: for it was said, that in all such cases the obedience that was once paid would be a much stronger argument for continuing to do it, as oft as it should be desired, than any such proviso could be against it.

The vice-chancellor turned out by the ecclesiastical commissioners.

Upon this the vice-chancellor was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission to answer this contempt. He was a very honest, but a very weak man [g]. He made a poor defence. And it was no small reflection on that great body, that their chief magistrate was so little able to assert their privileges, or to justify their proceedings. He was treated with great contempt by Jefferies. But he having acted only as the chief person of that body, all that was thought fit to be done against him was, to turn him out of his office. That was but an annual office, and of no profit: so this was a slight censure, chiefly when it was all that followed on such heavy threatenings [h]. The university chose another vice-chancellor, who was a man of much spirit: and in his speech, which in course he made upon his being

[g] Dr. Rachel, master of Magdalen college. After the revolution, he starved himself to death, upon archbishop Sancroft having rebuked him for setting an ill example in the university, by drunkenness and other loose behaviour: and after four days abstinence would have eaten, but could not. D.

[h] He was also suspended *ab officio et beneficio* of his mastership of the college (Magdalen) he was head of, and this suspension to be during the king's pleasure. O.

chosen, he promised, that, during his magistracy, neither religion nor the rights of the body should suffer by his means. The court did not think fit to insist more upon this matter; which was too plain a confession, either of their weakness in beginning such an ill-grounded attempt, or of their feebleness in letting it fall, doing so little after they had talked so much about it. And now all people began to see that they had taken wrong measures of the king, when they thought that it would be easy to engage him into bold things, before he could see into the ill consequences that might attend them, but that being once engaged he would resolve to go through with them at all adventures. When I knew him, he seemed to have set up that for a maxim, that a king when he made a step was never to go back, nor to encourage faction and disobedience by yielding to it. 1686. 699

After this unsuccessful attempt upon Cambridge, another was made upon Oxford, that lasted longer, and had greater effects; which I shall set all down together, though the conclusion of this affair ran far into the year after this that I now write of. The presidentship of Magdalen was given by the election of the fellows. So the king sent a *mandamus*, requiring them to choose one Farmer, an ignorant and vicious person, who had not one qualification that could recommend him to so high a post besides that of changing his religion. *Mandamus* letters had no legal authority in them: but all the great preferments of the church being in the king's disposal, those who did pretend to favour were not apt to refuse his recommendation, lest that should be afterwards remembered to their prejudice. But now,

An attempt to impose a popish president on Magdalen college.

1686. since it was visible in what channel favour was like to run, less regard was had to such a letter. The fellows of that house did upon this choose Dr. Hough, one of their body, who, as he was in all respects a statutable man, so he was a worthy and a firm man, not apt to be threatened out of his right [i]. They carried their election, according to their statutes, to the bishop of Winchester, their visitor: and he confirmed it. So that matter was legally settled. This was highly resented at court. It was said, that, in case of a *mandamus* for an undeserving man, they ought to have represented the matter to the king, and stayed till they had his pleasure: it was one of the chief services that the universities expected from their chancellors, which made them always choose men of great credit at court, that by their interest such letters might be either prevented or recalled [k].

[i] He was at this time also domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormond. O.

[k] (The following is a true statement of the conduct of the college in relation to the mandate. Before they proceeded to the election of a president on the decease of doctor Clerke, having been credibly informed, that the king had granted letters mandatory in favour of Farmer, the vice-president and fellows, in a petition dated April 9, 1687, represented to his majesty, that he was incapable by the college statutes of the place; and therefore prayed either to be left to a free election, or that a person might be recommended more serviceable to the king and to the college. On the 11th of the same month the mandate arrived recommending Farmer; when it was agreed by the fellows to defer the consideration of the affair till the 13th, which was the day they had appointed for the election, conformably to the direction of the statutes. On the 13th they determined, that the election should be postponed till the next day, on account of their having a petition then lying before his majesty. On the 14th, not having received an answer to their petition, they again resolved not to proceed to elect till the following day, that day being the last to which they could, consistently with the statutes, defer the election. On the 15th doctor Thomas Smith and captain Bagshaw, two of the fellows, acquainted the col-

The duke of Ormond was now their chancellor: but he had little credit in the court; and was declining in his age, which made him retire into the country. It was much observed[1], that this university, that had asserted the king's prerogative in the highest strains of the most abject flattery possible, both in their addresses, and in a wild decree they had made but three years before this, in which they had laid together a set of such highflown maxims 1686.

lege, that they had been informed by the earl of Sunderland, president of the privy council, to whom on the 10th instant the college petition had been delivered, together with a letter of the same import addressed to his lordship by the bishop of Winchester, visitor of the college, that his majesty, having sent his letter to the college, expected to be obeyed. Doctor Aldworth, the vice-president, as well as doctor Fairfax, nephew of the parliament's general the lord Fairfax, and doctors Smith and Pudsey, declared for a second address to the king, but all the others were for proceeding immediately to election. Accordingly, only two of their number, Charnock and Thompson, declaring *viva voce* for Farmer, Mr., afterwards doctor, Hough, and doctor Maynard, having been returned by the major part of the whole body of the fellows to the thirteen senior fellows, Hough was finally elected by a great majority of the thirteen. His election was according to the customary, although not essential, form, confirmed by the visitor on the 18th. Upon lord Sunderland's requiring from the college an account of these proceedings, a statement of the case was drawn up, and either on the 18th or 19th of the same month of April transmitted to the duke of Ormond, chancellor of the university, together with a letter requesting his grace's interposition with the king. They are inserted in a contemporary Relation of the Proceedings against St. Mary Magdalen College in Oxon, pp. 4 and 5, commonly attributed to doctor Aldworth, the then vice-president of the college; the head of whose family, the present lord Braybroke, has in his possession some of the doctor's papers respecting this affair. It is proper to observe, that there is great reason to believe, that the king was unacquainted with the answer given by lord Sunderland to the petition, and perhaps at first with the petition itself. Compare the Biographia Britan. artic. *Dr. J. Smith*, with the Life of K. James II. vol. ii. p. 119.)

[1] And their virtue and steadiness ought equally to be observed. S.

1686. as must establish an uncontrollable tyranny, should be the first body of the nation that should feel the effects of it most sensibly. The cause was brought before the ecclesiastical commission. The fellows were first asked, why they had not chosen Farmer in obedience to the king's letter? And to that they answered by offering a list of many just exceptions against him. The subject was fruitful, and the scandals he had given were very public. The court was ashamed of him, and insisted no more on him: but they said, that the house ought to have shewed more respect to the king's letter, than to have proceeded to an election in contempt of it.

They disobey, and are censured for it.

The ecclesiastical commission took upon them to declare Hough's election null, and to put the house under suspension. And, that the design of the court in this matter might be carried on without the load of recommending a papist, Parker, bishop of Oxford, was now recommended: and the fellows were commanded to proceed to a new election in his favour. They excused themselves, since they were bound by their oaths to maintain their statutes: and by these, an election being once made and confirmed, they could not proceed to a new choice, till the former was annulled in some court of law: church benefices and college preferments were freeholds, and could only be judged in a court of record: and, since the king was now talking so much of liberty of conscience, it was said, that the forcing men to act against their oaths seemed not to agree with those professions. In opposition to this it was said, that the statutes of colleges had been always considered as things that depended entirely on the king's good pleasure; so that no oaths to observe

them could bind them, when it was in opposition to the king's command. 1686.

This did not satisfy the fellows: and, though the king, as he went through Oxford in his progress in the year 1687, sent for them, and ordered them to go presently and choose Parker for their president, in a strain of language ill suited to the majesty of a crowned head, (for he treated them with foul language pronounced in a very angry tone;) yet it had no effect on them. They insisted still on their oaths, though with a humility and submission, that they hoped would have mollified him [m]. They continued thus firm. A subaltern commission was sent from the ecclesiastical commission to finish the matter. Bishop Cartwright was the head of this commission, as sir Charles Hedges was the king's advocate to manage the matter [n]. Cartwright acted in so rough a manner, that it shewed he was resolved to sacrifice all things to the king's pleasure. It was an afflicting thing, which seemed to have a peculiar character of indignity in it, that this first act of violence committed against the legal possessions of the church, was executed by one bishop, and done in favour of another. 1687.

The new president was turned out. And, because And were all turned out.

[m] (They soon after this sent an humble address to the king at Bath, offering to obey him in any thing which did not interfere with and violate their consciences.)

[n] Who was afterwards secretary of state to king William and queen Ann. He was turned out a little before king William died, and lord Nottingham refused to be secretary to the queen, unless he were restored; upon a pretence that he suffered for a vote he had given in the house of commons; but the truth was to hinder Vernon from being so, whom his lordship did not like for a colleague. D.

1687. he would not deliver the keys of his house, the doors were broken open: and Parker was put in possession. The fellows were required to make their sub-
701 mission, to ask pardon for what was past, and to accept of the bishop for their president. They still pleaded their oath: and were all turned out, except two that submitted °. So that it was expected to

° (On the 25th of October 1687, bishop Parker, not indeed a Roman catholic, but disqualified by the college statutes for the place, having been put in possession of it, the fellows were required by the commissioners, who were Cartwright bishop of Chester, the chief justice Wright, and baron Jenner, to submit to him as president. Doctor Fairfax, who, with the vice-president, doctor Aldworth, had been suspended from his fellowship by the ecclesiastical commission, for not obeying the king's mandate in favour of Farmer, denied the authority of the court, refused the required submission, and appealed to the king in his courts of justice. He had also demurred to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical commission, when before it in London; which accounts for his suspension in a case where others were equally concerned. His firm and spirited opposition to that higher court is upon record. The other fellows now agreed to sign a declaration, that, as his majesty had by his royal authority caused the bishop of Oxford to be installed president, they submitted, as far as was lawful, and agreeable to the statutes of the college; consenting to leave out of their declaration this additional clause, "and no way prejudicial to the "right and title of doctor "Hough," on the assurance of the commissioners, that the omission would in no way invalidate or prejudice doctor Hough's title. Dr. T. Smith said, he submitted without reserve. Dr. Fairfax was immediately afterwards removed from his fellowship; and two Roman catholics admitted to this and another vacancy. But a letter having been received by the commissioners from the earl of Sunderland, the fellows were on the 28th of the month informed by the bishop of Chester, that his majesty expected that they should acknowledge the legality of the proceedings of the court, and ask the king's pardon for their great disobedience. In a paper which they presented to the commissioners, they declined doing either; and on being required to submit to the bishop of Oxford as president, only two of all the fellows then present in college answered affirmatively, Dr. Smith and Mr. Charnock, whilst the others, according to baron Jenner's account of these proceedings, either referred the commissioners to their former paper of submission, or refused to

see that house soon stocked with papists. The nation, as well as the university, looked on all this proceeding with a just indignation. It was thought an open piece of robbery and burglary, when men, authorized by no legal commission, came and forcibly turned men out of their possession and freehold [p]. 1687.

make any direct declaration; but the court insisting on having a positive answer to the question they had proposed, twelve of the number positively rejected the required submission. On the 16th of the next month, November, the commissioners having returned to Oxford with written directions for their conduct, all the fellows who were resident in college, twenty-eight in number, were called upon by them, Smith and Charnock excepted, to sign a form of submission and petition to the king, imploring his pardon, acknowledging the justice of the late proceedings, and declaring their entire submission to the bishop of Oxford as their president. All who were thus called upon refused compliance, and were all of them, with the exception of Mr. Thompson, who had only offended the ruling powers by signing the petition against Farmer, expelled the college by the commissioners. It appears from the MS. account just mentioned of this visitation, drawn up by baron Jenner, one of the commissioners, that upon their return they were introduced by lord Sunderland to the king at Whitehall, who, on a narrative of their proceedings having been read to him, approved of their conduct, and said, "that all the "bishops of England should "not excuse a refuser." On the 10th of December the king's commissioners for ecclesiastical causes declared the expelled fellows, together with doctor Hough, twenty-six persons in all, incapable of receiving any ecclesiastical dignity, benefice, or promotion; and further ordered, that such of them as were not yet in holy orders, should be incapable of them.)

[p] (The prince of Orange in his declaration of the reasons inducing him to come to this country, notices, amongst other particulars, the deprivation of the president and fellows of Magdalen college, stating that the turning them out of their freeholds was contrary to law, and to an express provision in the Magna Charta. Burnet says below, p. 799, that the king himself, both at Feversham and after his return to Whitehall, justified all he had done before, but spoke a little doubtfully of the business of Magdalen college. And sir Edward Herbert, the chief justice, who in sir Edward Hale's case determined for the king's dispensing power, writes thus very decidedly in favour of the college rights: "In cases wherein the rights "of the subjects have been

1687. This agreed ill with the professions that the king was still making, that he would maintain the church of England as by law established: for this struck at the whole estate, and all the temporalties of the church. It did so inflame the church party and the clergy, that they sent over very pressing messages upon it to the prince of Orange, desiring that he would interpose, and espouse the concerns of the church; and that he would break upon it, if the king would not redress it. This I did not see in their letters [q]. Those were of such importance, since the writing them might have been carried to high treason, that the prince did not think fit to shew them. But he often said, he was pressed by many of those, who were afterwards his bitterest enemies, to engage in their quarrel. When that was commu-

" brought in question, how " strictly I have kept to that " substantial difference taken " by the house of commons (in " 1628), that though the king " in laws of government, in pe- " nal laws of a publick nature, " has a power to dispense in " particular cases, yet he can- " not dispense with laws which " vest any the least right or " property in any of his sub- " jects, will appear by the opi- " nion I gave in the case of " Magdalen colledge, (for the " truth of which I appeal to all " that know any thing of the " transactions in that case,) " wherein, when the king's right " against the colledge was en- " deavoured to be asserted by a " dispensation granted by him- " self, I utterly denied that dis- " pensation to be of any force " at all, because there was a " particular right and interest " vested in the members of that " college, as there is in the " members of many other cor- " porations, of choosing their " own head." *A short Account of the Authorities in Law, &c. in Sir Edw. Hale's Case, by Sir Edw. Herbert*, p. 29. But admitting the power of dispensing with the laws, to have been vested in the crown to the fullest extent, yet the king used this prerogative not so much for the ease or benefit of individuals, as for the subversion of those very laws, and of what was established by them.)

[q] (Perhaps it would have been difficult for the prince to have shewn letters of invitation from any of the clergy, with the exception of Compton bishop of London, and Trelawney of Bristol.)

nicated to me, I was still of opinion [r], that, though this was indeed an act of despotical and arbitrary power, yet I did not think it struck at the whole: so that it was not, in my opinion, a lawful case of resistance: and I could not concur in a quarrel occasioned by such a single act, though the precedent set by it might go to every thing. 1687.

Now the king broke with the church of England. And, as he was apt to go warmly upon every provocation, he gave himself such liberties in discourse upon that subject, that it was plain, all the services they had done him, both in opposing the exclusion, and upon his first accession to the crown, were forgot. Agents were now found out, to go among the dissenters, to persuade them to accept of the favour the king intended them, and to concur with him in his designs.

The dissenters were divided into four main bodies. The presbyterians, the independents, the anabaptists, and the quakers. The two former had not the visible distinction of different rites: and their depressed condition made, that the dispute about the constitution and subordination of churches, which had broken them when power was in their hands, was now out of doors: and they were looked on as one body, and were above three parts in four of all the dissenters. The main difference between these was, that the presbyterians seemed reconcileable to the church; for they loved episcopal ordination [s] and a liturgy, and upon some amendments [t] seemed dis- The dissenters were much courted by the king.

[r] He was a better tory than I, if he spoke as he thought. S.

[s] A damnable lie. S.

[t] *Alterations* (it seems to me) might have been as proper a word, for a bishop of the church of England to have used upon that occasion, though not

1687. posed to come into the church; and they liked the
702 civil government and limited monarchy. But as the independents were for a commonwealth in the state, so they put all the power of the church in the people, and thought that their choice was an ordination: nor did they approve of set forms of worship. Both were enemies to this high prerogative that the king was assuming, and were very averse to popery [u]. They generally were of a mind, as to the accepting the king's favour; but were not inclined to take in the papists into a full toleration; much less could they be prevailed on to concur in taking off the tests. The anabaptists were generally men of virtue and of an universal charity: and as they were far from being in any treating terms with the church of England, so nothing but an universal toleration could make them capable of favour or employments. The quakers had set up such a visible distinction in the matter of the hat, and saying *thou* and *thee*, that they had all as it were a badge fixed on them: so they were easily known. Among these Pen had the greatest credit, as he had a free access at Court. To all these it was proposed, that the king designed the settling the minds of the different parties in the nation, and the enriching it by enacting a perpetual law, that should be passed with such solemnities as had accompanied the Magna Charta; so that not only penal law should be for ever repealed, but that public employments should be opened to men of all persuasions, without any tests or oaths limiting them

so agreeable to his brethren of Scotland. But the bishop's love to presbytery, and hatred to the church of England, peeps out almost in every page of his book. D.

[u] Style. S.

to one sort or party of men. There were many meetings among the leading men of the several sects. 1687.

Debates and resolutions among them.

It was visible to all men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindness or good opinion that the king had of them. They had left the church of England, because of some forms in it, that they thought looked too like the church of Rome. They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it should be strong enough to set on a general persecution: and therefore, as they could not engage themselves to support such an arbitrary prerogative as was now made use of, so neither should they go into any engagements for popery. Yet they resolved to let the points of controversy alone, and leave those to the management of the clergy, who had a legal bottom to support them. They did believe, that this indignation against the church party, and this kindness to them, were things too unnatural to last long. So the more considerable among them [x] resolved not to stand at too great a distance from the court, nor to provoke the king so far, as to give him cause to think they were irreconcileable to him, lest they 703
should provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the church party. On the other hand, they resolved not to provoke the church party, or by any ill behaviour of theirs drive them into a reconciliation with the court. It is true, Pen shewed both a scorn of the clergy, and virulent spite against them, in which he had not many followers.

[x] They all complied most shamefully and publicly, as is well known. S.

1687. The king was so fond of his army, that he ordered them to encamp on Hounslow-heath, and to be exercised all the summer long. This was done with great magnificence, and at a vast expense: but that which abated the king's joy in seeing so brave an army about him was, that it appeared visibly, and on many occasions, that his soldiers had as great an aversion to his religion, as his other subjects had expressed. The king had a chapel in his camp, where mass was said: but so few went to it, and those few were treated by the rest with so much scorn, that it was not easy to bear it. It was very plain, that such an army was not to be trusted in any quarrel in which religion was concerned.

The army encamped at Hounslow-heath.

The few papists that were in the army were an unequal match to the rest. The heats about religion were like to breed quarrels: and it was once very near a mutiny. It was thought, that these encampments had a good effect on the army. They encouraged one another, and vowed they would stick together, and never forsake their religion. It was no small comfort to them, to see they had so few papists among them; which might have been better disguised at a distance, than when they were all in view. A resolution was formed upon this at court to make recruits in Ireland, and to fill them up with Irish papists; which succeeded as ill as all their other designs did, as shall be told in its proper place.

An ambassador sent to Rome.

The king had for above a year managed his correspondence with Rome secretly. But now the priests resolved to drive the matter past reconciling. The correspondence with that court, while there was none at Rome with a public character, could not be de-

cently managed, but by cardinal Howard's means. 1687.
He was no friend to the Jesuits; nor did he like their over driving matters. So they moved to the king to send an ambassador to Rome. This was high treason by law. Jefferies was very uneasy in it. But the king's power of pardoning had been much argued in the earl of Danby's case, and was believed to be one of the unquestionable rights of the crown. So he knew a safe way in committing crimes; which was, to take out pardons as soon as he had done illegal things.

The king's choice of Palmer, earl of Castlemain[y], was liable to great exception. For, as he was believed to be a Jesuit, so he was certainly as hot and 704
eager in all high notions as any of them could be. The Romans[z] were amazed, when they heard that he was to be the person. His misfortunes were so eminent and public, that they, who take their measures much from astrology, and from the characters they think are fixed on men, thought it strange to see such a negotiation put in the hands of so unlucky a man. It was managed with great splendor, and at a vast charge[a].

He was unhappy in every step of it. He disputed with a nice sort of affectation every punctilio of the ceremonial. And, when the day set for his audience came, there happened to be such an extraordinary

He managed every thing unhappily.

[y] Duchess of Cleveland's husband. S.

[z] Voltaire does not believe the moderns of Rome deserve this appellation. O.

[a] See among my prints, for a representation of the pageantries of it. O. (Perhaps a folio volume, adorned with many plates, which gives an account of this embassy, is intended; it was published first in Italian, by Michael Wright, chief steward of his excellency's house at Rome.)

1687. thunder, and such deluges of rain, as disgraced the shew, and heightened the opinion of the ominousness of this embassy. After this was over, he had yet many disputes with relation to the ceremony of visits. The points he pressed were, first the making P. Renaldi of Este, the queen's uncle, a cardinal; in which he prevailed: and it was the only point in which he succeeded [b]. He tried, if it was possible, to get father Petre to be made a cardinal. But the Pope was known to be intractable in that point, having fixed it as a maxim not to raise any of that order to the purple. Count Mansfield told me, as he came from Spain, that our court had pressed the court of Spain to join their interest with ours at Rome for his promotion. They gave it out, that he was a German by birth, and undertook that he should serve the Austrian interest. They also promised the court of Madrid great assistance in other matters of the last importance, if they would procure this: adding, that this would prove the most effectual means for the conversion of England. Upon which the count told me, he was asked concerning father Petre. He, who had gone often to Spain through England, happened to know that Jesuit; and told them, he was no German, but an English-

[b] Which was granted with great reluctancy, it having been a standing maxim of the court of Rome, ever since Clement the VIIIth took Ferrara from Cæsar d'Este, never to contribute to the aggrandizing of that family; and I was told at Rome, the Pope offered to make four cardinals at the king's nomination, if he would desist from those two. And they began to suspect the influence the queen had over the king might engage him in the interests of her family, more than was consistent with their own, which was the reason they shewed so little concern for king James's misfortunes at the revolution. D.

man. They tried their strength at Rome for his promotion, but with no success. 1687.

The ambassador at Rome pressed cardinal Cibo much to put an end to the differences between the Pope and the king of France, in the matter of the franchises, that it might appear that the Pope had a due regard to a king that had extirpated heresy, and to another king who was endeavouring to bring other kingdoms into the sheepfold. What must the world say, if two such kings, like whom no ages had produced any, should be neglected and ill used at Rome for some punctilios? He added, that, if these matters were settled, and if the Pope would enter into concert with them, they would set about the destroying heresy every where, and would begin with the Dutch; upon whom, he said, they would fall without any declaration of war, treating them as 705
a company of rebels and pirates, who had not a right, as free states and princes have, to a formal denunciation of war. Cibo, who was then cardinal patron, was amazed at this, and gave notice of it to the imperial cardinals. They sent it to the emperor, and he signified it to the prince of Orange. It is certain, that one prince's treating with another to invade a third gives a right to that third prince to defend himself, and to prevent those designs. And, since what an ambassador says is understood as said by the prince whose character he bears, this gave the States a right to make use of all advantages that might offer themselves [c]. But they had yet better grounds to justify their proceedings, as will appear in the sequel.

[c] Sophistry. S.

1687. When the ambassador saw that his remonstrances to the cardinal patron were ineffectual, he demanded an audience of the pope. And there he lamented, that so little regard was had to two such great kings. He reflected on the pope, as shewing more zeal about temporal concerns than the spiritual; which, he said, gave scandal to all Christendom. He concluded, that, since he saw intercessions made in his master's name were so little considered, he would make haste home: to which the pope made no other answer, but, *lei è padrone*, he might do as he pleased. But he sent one after the ambassador, as he withdrew from the audience, to let him know how much he was offended with his discourses, that he received no such treatment from any person, and that the ambassador was to expect no other private audience. Cardinal Howard did what he could to soften matters. But the ambassador was so entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, that he had little regard to any thing that the cardinal suggested. And so he left Rome after a very expenseful, but insignificant embassy.

Pope Innocent's character.

The pope sent in return a nuncio, Dada, now a cardinal. He was highly civil in all his deportment. But it did not appear that he was a man of great depth, nor had he power to do much [d]. The pope was a jealous and fearful man, who had no know-

[d] ("However the world has "been imposed on to believe, "that the pope's nuncio at the "English court, who is since "made a cardinal, was an in- "strument to push on things "to extremities, yet certain it "is, he had too much good "sense to approve of all the "measures that were taken; "and therefore desired often to "be recalled, lest he should be "thought to have a hand in "them." *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 184.)

ledge of any sort, but in the matters of the revenue 1687.
and of money: for he was descended from a family that was become rich by dealing in banks. And, in that respect, it was a happiness to the papacy that he was advanced: for it was so involved in vast debts by a succession of many wasteful pontificates, that his frugal management came in good time to set those matters in better order. It was known that he did not so much as understand Latin. I was told at Rome, that when he was made cardinal, he had a master to teach him to pronounce that little Latin that he had occasion for at high masses. 706
He understood nothing of divinity. I remembered what a Jesuit at Venice had said to me, whom I met sometimes at the French ambassador's there, when we were talking of the pope's infallibility: he said, that being in Rome during Altieri's pontificate, who lived some years in a perfect dotage, he confessed it required a very strong faith to believe him infallible: but he added pleasantly, the harder it was to believe it, the act of faith was the more meritorious. The submitting to pope Innocent's infallibility was a very implicit act of faith, when all appearances were so strongly against it. The pope hated the Jesuits, and expressed a great esteem for the Jansenists; not that he understood the ground of the difference, but because they were enemies to the Jesuits, and were ill looked on by the court of France. He understood the business of the regale a little better, it relating to the temporalties of the church. And therefore he took all those under his protection who refused to submit to it. Things seemed to go far towards a breach between the two courts: especially after the articles, which were set

1687. out by the assembly of the clergy of France in the year 1682, in favour of the councils of Constance and Basile, in opposition to the papal pretensions. The king of France, who was not accustomed to be treated in such a manner, sent many threatening messages to Rome, which alarmed the cardinals so much, that they tried to mollify the pope. But it was reported at Rome, that he made a noble answer to them, when they asked him what he could do, if so great a king should send an army to fall upon him? He said, he could suffer martyrdom [e].

Disputes about the franchises.

He was so little terrified with all those threatenings, that he had set on foot a dispute about the franchises. In Rome, all those of a nation put themselves under the protection of their ambassador, and are upon occasions of ceremony his cortege. These were usually lodged in his neighbourhood, pretending that they belonged to him. So that they exempted themselves from the orders and justice of Rome, as a part of the ambassador's family. And that extent of houses or streets in which they lodged was called the franchises; for in it they pretended

[e] The king of France gave a great sum of money to the French minims at Rome, to make a noble ascent and a new front to their convent; and his own statue on horseback was to have been placed on the top of the ascent; which the pope being informed of, sent them word they might embellish their convent as much as they pleased in all other respects, but he was sovereign in Rome, and should not suffer any other prince's statue to be erected in his town. They pleaded in answer, that Henry the IVth's statue was there already before St. John Lateran's church, (which had been put there in memory of his conversion,) and that Lewis the XIVth had merited much more from the see of Rome than ever he had done. The pope made no reply, but ordered Henry the IVth's statue to be immediately taken down, and put in a corner of the church porch, (where it stood when I was at Rome,) upon which the whole design was dropped. D.

they were not subject to the government of Rome. 1687.
This had made these houses to be well filled, not only with those of that nation, but with such Romans as desired to be covered with that protection. Rome was now much sunk from what it had been: so that these franchises were become so great a part of the city, that the privileges of those that lived in them were giving every day new disturbances to the course of justice, and were the common sanctuaries of criminals. So the pope resolved to reduce the privileges of ambassadors to their own families, within their own palaces. He first dealt with the 707
emperor's and the king of Spain's ambassadors: and brought them to quit their pretensions to the franchises, but with this provision, that, if the French did not the same, they would return to them. So now the pope was upon forcing the French to submit to the same methods. The pope said, his nuntio or legate at Paris had no privilege but for his family, and for those that lived in his palace. The French rejected this with great scorn. They said, the pope was not to pretend to an equality with so great a king. He was the common father of Christendom: so those who came thither, as to the centre of unity, were not to be put on the level with the ambassadors that passed between sovereign princes. Upon this the king of France pretended that he would maintain all the privileges and franchises that his ambassadors were possessed of. This was now growing up to be the matter of a new quarrel and of fresh disputes between those courts.

The English ambassador being so entirely in the French interests, and in the confidence of the Jesuits, he was much less considered at Rome than he

1687. thought he ought to have been [f]. The truth is, the Romans, as they have very little sense of religion, so they considered the reduction of England as a thing impracticable. They saw no prospect of any profits like to arise in any of their offices by bulls or compositions: and this was the notion that they had of the conversion of nations, chiefly as it brought wealth and advantages to them.

Queen Christina's character of some popes.

I will conclude all that I shall say in this place of the affairs of Rome with a lively saying of queen Christina to my self at Rome. She said, it was certain that the church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God: for none of the four popes that she had known since she came to Rome had common sense. She added, they were the first and the last of men. She had given her self entirely for some years to the study of astrology: and upon that she told me, the king would live yet many years, but added that he would have no son.

I come, from the relation of this embassade to Rome, to give an account of other negotiations. The king found Skelton managed his affairs in Holland with so little sense, and gave such an universal distaste, that he resolved to change him. But he had been so servilely addicted to all his interests,

[f] One great reason for their dislike to lord Castlemain was the disrespect he shewed to cardinal Howard, who was much beloved in Rome upon the account of his strict life, great affability, and high birth, which were as well known as lord Castlemain's incivility to him, of which, Don Gulielmo, who was one of the cardinal's chaplains, told me several particulars that were extremely offensive: but he said it was thought the Jesuits put him upon it, the cardinal having had some disputes with them, though he had built part of the English college, which he lived in: but they knew he could not carry it away with him, and that he had nothing more to give them. D.

that he would not discourage him. And, because all his concerns with the court of France were managed with Barillon, the French ambassador at London, he was sent to Paris. 1687.

The king found out one White, an Irishman, who had been long a spy of the Spaniards. And when they did not pay his appointments well, he accepted of the title of marquis d'Albeville from them in part of payment. And then he turned to the French, who paid their tools more punctually. But, though he had learned the little arts of corrupting under secretaries, and had found out some secrets by that way, which made him pass for a good spy; yet, when he came to negotiate matters in a higher form, he proved a most contemptible and ridiculous man, who had not the common appearances either of decency or of truth[g]. D'Albeville sent envoy to Holland. 1708

He had orders, before he entered upon business with the prince or princess, to ask of them, not only to forbid me the court, but to promise to see me no more. The king had writ two violent letters against me to the princess. She trusted me so far, that she shewed them to me; and was pleased to answer them according to the hints that I suggested. But now it was put so home, that this was to be complied with, or a breach was immediately to follow upon it. So this was done. And they were both so true to their promise, that I saw neither the one nor the other till a few days before the prince set sail for England. The prince sent Dykvelt and Hale- I was upon the king's pressing instances forbid to see the prince and princess of Orange.

[g] (This person is said to have betrayed his master to the prince of Orange, and the prince himself to the king of France. See Macpherson's History of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 510.)

1687. wyn constantly to me, with all the advertisements that came from England. So I had the whole secret of English affairs still brought me.

Dykvelt sent to England.

That which was first resolved on was, to send Dykvelt to England with directions how to talk with all sorts of people: to the king, to those of the church, and to the dissenters. I was ordered to draw his instructions, which he followed very closely. He was ordered to expostulate decently, but firmly, with the king upon the methods he was pursuing, both at home and abroad; and to see if it was possible to bring him to a better understanding with the prince. He was also to assure all the church party, that the prince would ever be firm to the church of England, and to all our national interests. The clergy, by the methods in which they corresponded with him, which I suppose was chiefly by the bishop of London's means, had desired him to use all his credit with the dissenters, to keep them from going into the measures of the court; and sent over very positive assurances, that, in case they stood firm now to the common interest, they would in a better time come into a comprehension of such as could be brought into a conjunction with the church, and to a toleration of the rest. They had also desired him to send over some of the preachers, whom the violence of the former years had driven to Holland; and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false brethren, whom the court might gain to deceive the rest: which the prince had done. And to many of them he gave such presents, as en-
709 abled them to pay their debts, and to undertake the journey. Dykvelt had orders to press them all to stand off; and not to be drawn in by any promises

the court might make them, to assist them in the elections of parliament. He was also instructed to assure them of a full toleration; and likewise of a comprehension, if possible, whensoever the crown should devolve on the princess. He was to try all sorts of people, and to remove the ill impressions that had been given them of the prince: for the church party was made believe he was a presbyterian, and the dissenters were possessed with a conceit of his being arbitrary and imperious. Some had even the impudence to give out that he was a papist. But the ill terms in which the king and he lived put an end to those reports at that time. Yet they were afterwards taken up, and managed with much malice to create a jealousy of him [h]. Dykvelt was not gone off, when D'Albeville came to the Hague. He did all he could to divert the journey: for he knew well Dykvelt's way of penetrating into secrets, he himself having been often employed by him, and well paid for several discoveries made by his means. 1687.

The negotiations between the king and the prince.

D'Albeville assured the prince and the States, that the king was firmly resolved to maintain his alliance with them: that his naval preparations were only to enable him to preserve the peace of Europe: for he seemed much concerned to find that the States had

[h] I was told at Vienna by a man of great quality, (the earl of Carlingford, who went by the name of count Toaf in Germany, and was in great favour with the emperor Leopold,) that the emperor Leopold (who was extremely bigoted) could not be brought to approve of the prince of Orange's expedition, till he had been assured that the prince was at least no enemy to the Romish religion, and would be better able to protect the catholics in England than king James; who had so provoked the nation, that they ran great risk of being destroyed totally: and I was afterwards told at Rome that the same assurances had been given to the pope, by an agent the prince kept there for his German affairs. D. (See below, p. 773.)

1687. such apprehensions of these, that they were putting themselves in a condition not to be surprised by them. In his secret negotiations with the prince and princess, he began with very positive assurances, that the king intended never to wrong them in their right of succession: that all that the king was now engaged in was only to assert the rights of the crown, of which they would reap the advantage in their turn: the test was a restraint on the king's liberty, and therefore he was resolved to have it repealed: and he was also resolved to lay aside all penal laws in matters of religion: they saw too well the advantages that Holland had by the liberty of conscience that was settled among them, to oppose him in this particular: the king could not abandon men, because they were of his own religion, who had served him well, and had suffered only on his account, and on the account of their conscience. He told them how much the king condemned the proceedings in France; and that he spoke of that king as a poor bigot, who was governed by the archbishop of Paris, and Madame de Maintenon, whereas he knew Pere de la Chaise had opposed the persecution as long as he could. But the king hated those maxims: and therefore he received the re-
710 fugees very kindly, and had given orders for a collection of charity over the kingdom for their relief.

This was the substance both of what D'Albeville said to the prince and princess, and of what the king himself said to Dykvelt upon those subjects. At that time the king thought he had made a majority of the house of commons sure: and so he seemed resolved to have a session of parliament in April. And of this D'Albeville gave the prince positive as-

surances. But the king had reckoned wrong: for many of those who had been with him in his closet were either silent, or had answered him in such respectful words, that he took these for promises. But, when they were more strictly examined, the king saw his error: and so the sitting of the parliament was put off. 1687.

To all these propositions the prince and the princess, and Dykvelt in their name, answered, that they were fixed in a principle against persecution in matters of conscience: but they could not think it reasonable to let papists in to sit in parliament, or to serve in public trusts: the restless spirit of some of that religion, and of their clergy in particular, shewed they could not be at quiet till they were masters[i]: and the power they had over the king's spirit, in making him forget what he had promised upon his coming to the crown, gave but too just a ground of jealousy: it appeared, that they could not bear any restraints, nor remember past services longer than those who did them could comply in every thing with that which was desired of them: they thought, the prerogative as limited by law was great enough: and they desired no such exorbitant power as should break through all laws: they feared, that such an attack upon the constitution might rather drive the nation into a commonwealth: they thought the surest as well as the best way was to govern according to law: the church of England had given the king signal proofs of their affection and fidelity; and had complied with him in every thing, till he came to touch them in so tender a point as the

[i] All sects were of that spirit. S.

1687. legal security they had for their religion: their sticking to that was very natural: and the king's taking that ill from them was liable to great censure: the king, if he pleased to improve the advantages he had in his hand, might be both easy and great at home, and the arbiter of all affairs abroad: but he was prevailed on by the importunities of some restless priests to embroil all his affairs to serve their ends: they could never consent to abolish those laws, which were the best, and now the only fence of that religion which they themselves believed true. This was the substance of their answers to all the pressing messages that were often repeated
711 by D'Albeville. And upon this occasion the princess spoke so often and with such firmness to him, that he said, she was more intractable on those matters than the prince himself. Dykvelt told me, he argued often with the king on all these topics: but he found him obstinately fixed in his resolution. He said, he was the head of the family, and the prince ought to comply with him; but that he had always set himself against him. Dykvelt answered, that the prince could not carry his compliance so far, as to give up his religion to his pleasure; but that in all other things he had shewed a very ready submission to his will: the peace of Nimeguen, of which the king was guarantee, was openly violated in the article relating to the principality of Orange: yet, since the king did not think fit to espouse his interests in that matter, he had been silent, and had made no protestations upon it: so the king saw, that he was ready to be silent under so great an injury, and to sacrifice his own concerns, rather than disturb the king's affairs. To this the king made no

answer. The earl of Sunderland, and the rest of the ministry, pressed Dykvelt mightily, to endeavour to bring the prince to concur with the king. And they engaged to him, that, if that were once settled, the king would go into close measures with him against France. But he put an end to all those propositions. He said, the prince could never be brought to hearken to them. 1687.

A letter writ by the Jesuits of Liege, that discovers the king's designs.

At this time a great discovery was made of the intentions of the court by the Jesuits of Liege, who, in a letter that they wrote to their brethren in Friburg in Switzerland, gave them a long account of the affairs of England. They told them, that the king was received into a communication of the merits of their order: that he expressed great joy at his becoming a son of the society; and professed, he was as much concerned in all their interests as in his own: he wished they could furnish him with many priests to assist him in the conversion of the nation, which he was resolved to bring about, or to die a martyr in endeavouring it; and that he would rather suffer death for carrying on that, than live ever so long and happy without attempting it. He said, he must make haste in this work: otherwise, if he should die before he had compassed it, he would leave them worse than he found them. They added, among many particulars, that, when one of them kneeled down to kiss his hand, he took him up, and said, since he was a priest, he ought rather to kneel to him, and to kiss his hand. And, when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an heretic, he said, God would provide an heir.

The Jesuits at Friburg shewed this about. And one of the ministers, on whom they were taking 712

1687. some pains, and of whom they had some hopes, had got a sight of it. And he obtained leave to take a copy of it, pretending that he would make good use of it. He sent a copy of it to Heidegger, the famous professor of divinity at Zurich: and from him I had it. Other copies of it were likewise sent, both from Geneva and Switzerland. One of those was sent to Dykvelt; who upon that told the king, that his priests had other designs, and were full of those hopes, that gave jealousies which could not be easily removed: and he named the Liege letter, and gave the king a copy of it. He promised to him he would read it; and he would soon see, whether it was an imposture made to make them more odious, or not. But he never spoke of it to him afterwards. This, Dykvelt thought, was a confessing that the letter was no forgery[k]. Thus Dykvelt's negotiation at London, and D'Albeville's at the Hague, ended without any effect on either side.

Dykvelt's conduct in England.

But, if his treating with the king was without success, his management of his instructions was more prosperous. He desired, that those who wished well to their religion and their country would meet together, and concert such advices and advertisements, as might be fit for the prince to know, that he might govern himself by them. The marquis of Halifax, and the earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire,

[k] (This letter, said to be translated from the Latin, is to be seen in Echard's Hist. of England, who indeed supposes it to be genuine; but it appears, from several passages in it, to have been forged, for the purpose of making the king and his measures odious. Since this was written, it has been found, that the letter is inserted also in the first volume of Cogan's Collection of Tracts, p. 249, where its authenticity is stated to be doubtful.)

Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Mordaunt, and Lumley, Herbert and Russel among the admirals, and the bishop of London, were the persons chiefly trusted. And upon the advices that were sent over by them the prince governed all his motions. They met often at the earl of Shrewsbury's. And there they concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they advised the prince to engage. 1687.

In this state things lay for some months. But the king resolved to go on in his design of breaking through the laws. He sent a proclamation of indulgence to Scotland in February. It set forth in the preamble, that the king had an absolute power vested in him, so that all his subjects were bound to obey him without reserve: by virtue of this power, the king repealed all the severe laws that were passed in his grandfather's name during his infancy: he with that took off all disabilities that were by any law laid on his Roman catholic subjects, and made them capable of all employments and benefices: he also slackened all the laws made against the moderate presbyterians: and promised he would never force his subjects by any invincible necessity to change their religion: and he repealed all laws imposing tests on those who held any employments: instead of which he set up a new one, by which they should renounce the principles of rebellion, and should oblige themselves to maintain the king in this his absolute power against all mortals. A proclamation of indulgence sent to Scotland. 713

This was published in Scotland, to make way for that which followed it some months after in England. It was strangely drawn, and liable to much just censure. The king by this raised his power to a pitch, not only of suspending, but of repealing Which was much censured.

1687. laws, and of enacting new ones by his own authority. His claiming an absolute power, to which all men were bound to obey without reserve, was an invasion of all that was either legal or sacred. The only precedent that could be found for such an extraordinary pretension, was in the declaration that Philip the second of Spain sent by the duke of Alva into the Netherlands, in which he founded all the authority that he committed to that bloody man on the absolute power that rested in him. Yet in this the king went further than Philip, who did not pretend that the subjects were bound to obey without reserve. Every prince that believes the truth of religion must confess, that there are reserves in the obedience of their subjects, in case their commands should be contrary to the laws of God. The requiring all persons that should be capable of employments to swear to maintain this, was to make them feel their slavery too sensibly. The king's promising to use *no invincible necessity* to force his subjects to change their religion, shewed that he allowed himself a very large reserve in this grace that he promised his subjects; though he allowed them none in their obedience. The laws that had passed during king James's minority had been often ratified by himself after he was of age. And they had received many subsequent confirmations in the succeeding reigns; and one in the king's own reign. And the test that was now taken away was passed by the present king, when he represented his brother. Some took also notice of the word *moderate presbyterian*, as very ambiguous.

The court finding that so many objections lay against this proclamation, (as indeed it seemed pen-

ned on purpose to raise new jealousies,) let it fall; 1687.
and sent down another some months after that, more cautiously worded; only absolute power was so dear to them, that it was still asserted in the new one. By it, full liberty was granted to all presbyterians to set up conventicles in their own way. They did all accept of it without pretending any scruples. And they magnified this, as an extraordinary stroke of providence, that a prince, from whom they expected an increase of the severities under which the laws had brought them, should thus of a sudden allow them such an unconfined 714
liberty. But they were not so blind, as not to see what was aimed at by it. They made addresses upon it full of acknowledgments, and of protestations of loyalty. Yet, when some were sent among them, pressing them to dispose all their party to concur with the king in taking away the tests and penal laws, they answered them only in cold and general words.

A declaration for toleration in England.

In April the king set out a declaration of toleration and liberty of conscience for England. But it was drawn up in much more modest terms than the Scotish proclamations had been. In the preamble, the king expressed his aversion to persecution on the account of religion, and the necessity that he found of allowing his subjects liberty of conscience, in which he did not doubt of the concurrence of his parliament: he renewed his promise of maintaining the church of England, as it was by law established: but with this he suspended all penal and sanguinary laws in matters of religion: and, since the service of all his subjects was due to him by the laws of nature, he declared them all equally capable of em-

1687. ployments, and suppressed all oaths or tests that limited this: in conclusion, he promised he would maintain all his subjects in all their properties, and particularly in the possession of the abbey lands.

This gave great offence to all true patriots, as well as to the whole church party. The king did now assume a power of repealing laws by his own authority: for though he pretended only to suspend them, yet no limitation was set to this suspension: so it amounted to a repeal, the laws being suspended for all time to come. The preamble, that pretended so much love and charity, and that condemned persecution, sounded strangely in the mouth of a popish prince. The king's saying that he did not doubt of the parliament's concurring with him in this matter seemed ridiculous: for it was visible by all the prorogations, that the king was but too well assured, that the parliament would not concur with him in it. And the promise to maintain the subjects in their possessions of the abbey lands, looked as if the design of setting up popery was thought very near being effected, since otherwise there was no need of mentioning any such thing.

Addresses made upon it.

Upon this a new set of addresses went round the dissenters. And they, who had so long reproached the church of England, as too courtly in their submissions and flatteries, seemed now to vie with them in those abject strains. Some of them, being penned by persons whom the court had gained, contained severe reflections on the clergy, and on their proceedings. They magnified the king's mercy and favour, and made great protestations of fidelity and
715 gratitude. Many promised to endeavour, that such persons should be chosen to serve in parliament, as

should concur with the king in the enacting what he now granted so graciously. Few concurred in those addresses: and the persons that brought them up were mean and inconsiderable. Yet the court was lifted up with this. The king and his priests were delighted with these addresses out of measure: and they seemed to think that they had gained the nation, and had now conquered those who were hitherto their most irreconcileable enemies. The king made the cruelty of the church of England the common subject of discourse. He reproached them for setting on so often a violent persecution of the dissenters. He said, he had intended to have set on this toleration sooner; but that he was restrained by some of them, who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew favour to those of his religion, provided they might be still suffered to vex the dissenters. He named the persons that had made those propositions to him. In which he suffered much in his honour: for as the persons denied the whole thing, so the freedom of discourse in any such treaty ought not to have been made use of to defame them. 1687.

The king's indignation against the church party.

But, to carry this further, and to give a public and an odious proof of the rigour of the ecclesiastical courts, the king ordered an inquiry to be made into all the vexatious suits into which dissenters had been brought in these courts, and into all the compositions that they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from further trouble; which, as was said, would have brought a scandalous discovery of all the ill practices of those courts. For the use that many that belonged to them had made of the laws with relation to the dissenters, was, to

1687. draw presents from such of them as could make them; threatening them with a process in case they failed to do that, and upon their doing it leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleased. It was hoped at court, that this fury against the church would have animated the dissenters to turn upon the clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the dissenters answered their expectations. Angry speeches and virulent books were published. Yet these were disowned by the wiser men among them: and the clergy, by a general agreement, made no answer to them. So that the matter was let fall, to the great grief of the popish party. Some of the bishops, that were gained by the court, carried their compliance to a shameful pitch: for they set on addresses of thanks to the king for the promise he had made in the late declaration of maintaining the church of England;
716 though it was visible that the intent of it was to destroy the church. Some few were drawn into this. But the bishop of Oxford had so ill success in his diocese, that he got but one single clergyman to concur with him in it. Some foolish men retained still their old peevishness. But the far greater part of the clergy began to open their eyes, and see how they had been engaged by ill meaning men, who were now laying off the mask, into all the fury that had been driven on for many years by a popish party. And it was often said, that, if ever God should deliver them out of the present distress, they would keep up their domestic quarrels no more, which were so visibly and so artfully managed by our enemies to make us devour one another, and so

in the end to be consumed one of another. And when some of those who had been always moderate told these, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as soon as the danger was over, they promised the contrary very solemnly. It shall be told afterwards, how well they remembered this[1]. Now the bedchamber and drawingroom were as full of stories to the prejudice of the clergy, as they were formerly to the prejudice of the dissenters. It was said, they had been loyal as long as the court was in their interests, and was venturing all on their account; but as soon as this changed, they changed likewise. 1687.

The king, seeing no hope of prevailing on his parliament, dissolved it; but gave it out, that he would have a new one before winter. And, the queen being advised to go to the Bath for her health, the king resolved on a great progress through some of the western counties. The parliament was dissolved.

Before he set out, he resolved to give the pope's nuncio a solemn reception at Windsor. He apprehended some disorder might have happened, if it had been done at London. He thought it below both his own dignity and the pope's, not to give the nuncio a public audience. This was a hard point for those who were to act a part in this ceremony; for, all commerce with the see of Rome being declared high treason by law, this was believed to fall within the statute. It was so apprehended by queen Mary. Cardinal Pool was obliged to stay in Flanders till all those laws were repealed. But the king would not stay for that. The duke of Somerset, The reception of the pope's nuncio.

[1] False and spiteful. S.

1687. being the lord of the bedchamber then in waiting, had advised with his lawyers: and they told him, he could not safely do the part that was expected of him in the audience. So he told the king, that he could not serve him upon that occasion; for he was assured it was against the law. The king asked him, if he did not know that he was above the law.
717 The other answered, that, whatever the king might be, he himself was not above the law. The king expressed a high displeasure, and turned him out of all employments [m]. The ceremony passed very heavily: and the compliment was pronounced with so

[m] Upon his refusal, the nuncio was introduced by the duke of Grafton, which was afterwards pleaded by the duke D'Aumount, as a precedent for an ambassador's being introduced by a duke; but I told him odious cases must never be put; and there was no other instance; upon which he dropt his pretensions. D. (The following account of this affair is given by lord Lonsdale, in his unpublished Memoir of this Reign, and is to be depended on, because his lordship received it from the duke of Somerset himself. "That the nuntio "might have all the honour "done him that was possible; "it was resolved that a duke "should introduce him. The "matter was therefore proposed "to the duke of Somersett. He "humbly desired of the king to "be excused; the king asked "him his reason; the duke "told him he conceived it to "be against law; to which the "king said, he would pardon "him. The duke replied, he "was no very good lawyer, but "he thought he had heard it "said, that a pardon granted a "person offending under the "assurance of obtaining it was "void. This offended the king "extreamlie; he said publicklie, "he wondered at his insolence; "and told the duke he would "make him fear him as well as "the laws. To which the duke "answered, that, as he was his "soveraign, he should ever have "all the dutie and reverence "for his person that was due "from a subject to his prince, "but whilst he was no traitor "or criminal, he was so secure "in his justice, that he could "not fear him, as offenders do. "Notwithstanding the extreme "offence this matter gave his "majestie, yet out of his good-"ness he was pleased to tell "the duke that he would ex-"cuse him. And yet within "two days after he was told "positively the king would be "obeyed. He urged the king's "promise to excuse him, but "in vain.")

low a voice, that no person could hear it; which was believed done by concert. 1687.

When this was over, the king set out for his progress, and went from Salisbury all round as far as to Chester. In the places through which the king passed, he saw a visible coldness both in the nobility and gentry, which was not easily borne by a man of his temper. In many places they pretended occasions to go out of their countries. Some stayed at home. And those who waited on the king seemed to do it rather out of duty and respect, than with any cordial affection. The king on his part was very obliging to all that came near him, and most particularly to the dissenters, and to those who had passed long under the notion of commonwealth's men. He looked very graciously on all that had been of the duke of Monmouth's party. He addressed his discourse generally to all sorts of people. He ran out on the point of liberty of conscience: he said, this was the true secret of the greatness and wealth of Holland. He was well pleased to hear all the ill-natured stories that were brought him of the violences committed of late, either by the justices of peace or by the clergy. He every where recommended to them the choosing such parliament men, as would concur with him in settling this liberty as firmly as the Magna Charta had been: and to this he never forgot to add the taking away the tests. But he received such cold and general answers, that he saw he could not depend on them. The king had designed to go through many more places: but the small success he had in those which he visited made him shorten his progress. He went and visited the queen at the Bath, where he stayed only a few

The king made a progress through many parts of England.

1687. days, two or three at most: and she continued on in her course of bathing. Many books were now writ for liberty of conscience: and, since all people saw what security the tests gave, these spoke of an equivalent to be offered, that should give a further security, beyond what could be pretended from the tests. It was never explained what was meant by this: so it was thought an artificial method to lay men asleep with a high sounding word. Some talked of new laws to secure civil liberty, which had been so much shaken by the practices of these last years, ever since the Oxford parliament. Upon this a very extravagant thing was given out, that the king was resolved to set up a sort of a commonwealth: and the papists began to talk every where very high for public liberty, trying by that to recommend themselves to the nation.

A change of the magistracy in London, and over England.

718 When the king came back from his progress, he resolved to change the magistracy in most of the cities of England. He began with London. He not only changed the court of aldermen, but the government of many of the companies of the city: for great powers had been reserved in the new charters that had been given, for the king to put in and to put out at pleasure: but it was said at the granting them, that these clauses were put in only to keep them in a due dependance on the court, but that they should not be made use of, unless great provocation was given. Now all this was executed with great severity and contempt. Those who had stood up for the king during the debates about the exclusion, were now turned out with disgrace; and those who had appeared most violently against him were put in the magistracy, who took liberties now in their turn to

insult their neighbours. All this turned upon the king, who was so given up to the humours of his priests, that he sacrificed both his honour and gratitude as they dictated. The new men, who were brought in, saw this too visibly to be much wrought on by it. 1687.

The king threw off his old party in too outrageous a manner ever to return to them again. But he was much surprised to find that the new mayor and aldermen took the test, and ordered the observation of gunpowder-treason day to be continued. When the sheriffs came according to custom to invite the king to the lord mayor's feast, he commanded them to go and invite the nuncio; which they did. And he went upon the invitation, to the surprise of all who saw it. But the mayor and aldermen disowned the invitation; and made an entry of it in their books, that the nuncio came without their knowledge. This the king took very ill. And upon it he said, he saw the dissenters were an ill-natured sort of people, that could not be gained. The king signified to the lord mayor, that he might use what form of worship he liked best in Guildhall chapel. The design in this was to engage the dissenters to make the first change from the established worship: and, if a presbyterian mayor should do this in one year, a popish mayor might do it in another. But the mayor put the decision of this upon persons against whom the court could have no exception. He sent to those to whom the governing of the diocese of London was committed during the suspension, and asked their opinion in it; which they could not but give in behalf of the established worship: and they added, that the

1687. changing it was against law. So this project miscarried: and the mayor, though he went sometimes
719 to the meetings of the dissenters, yet he came often to church, and behaved himself more decently than was expected of him.

This change in the city not succeeding as the court had expected, did not discourage them from appointing a committee to examine the magistracy in the other cities, and to put in or out as they saw cause for it. Some were putting the nation in hope that the old charters were to be restored. But the king was so far from that, that he was making every day a very arbitrary use of the power of changing the magistracy that was reserved in the new charters. These regulators, who were for most part dissenters gained by the court, went on very boldly; and turned men out upon every story that was made of them, and put such men in their room as they confided in. And in these they took their measures often so hastily, that men were put in in one week, and turned out in another.

Questions put about elections of parliament.

After this, the king sent orders to the lords lieutenants of the counties, to examine the gentlemen and freeholders upon three questions. The first was, whether, in case they should be chosen to serve in parliament, they would consent to repeal the penal laws, and those for the tests. The second was, whether they would give their vote for choosing such men as would engage to do that. And the third was, whether they would maintain the king's declaration. In most of the counties the lords lieutenants put those questions in so careless a manner, that it was plain they did not desire they should be an-

swered in the affirmative. Some went further, and declared themselves against them[n]. And a few of the more resolute refused to put them. They said, this was the prelimiting and the packing of a parliament, which in its nature was to be free, and under no previous engagement. Many counties answered very boldly in the negative; and others refused to give any answer, which was understood to be equivalent to a negative. The mayor and most of the new aldermen of London refused to answer. Upon this many were turned out of all commissions. 1687.

This, as all the other artifices of the priests, had an effect quite contrary to what they promised themselves from it: for those who had resolved to oppose the court were more encouraged than ever, by the discovery now made of the sense of the whole nation in those matters. Yet such care was taken in naming the sheriffs and mayors that were appointed for the next year, that it was believed that the king was resolved to hold a parliament within that time, and to have such a house of commons returned, whether regularly chosen or not, as should serve his ends.

It was concluded, that the king would make use 720
both of his power and of his troops, either to force elections, or to put the parliament under a force

[n] The earl of Northampton, who was then lord lieutenant of Warwickshire, told the gentlemen, he had received the king's commands to lay some proposals before them; which he thought it was his duty to obey: but at the same time thought himself obliged to acquaint them, that he did not design to comply with any one of them himself, but would make a faithful report to his majesty of those that would, (as sir Charles Holte, who was present, told me,) upon which, lord Northampton was turned out, and lord Sunderland put in his place. D.

1687. when it should meet: for it was so positively said, that the king would carry his point, and there was so little appearance of his being able to do it in a fair and regular way, that it was generally believed some very desperate resolution was now taken up. His ministers were now so deeply engaged in illegal things, that they were very uneasy, and were endeavouring either to carry on his designs with success, so as to get all settled in a body that should carry the face and appearance of a parliament, or at least to bring him to let all fall, and to come into terms of agreement with his people; in which case, they reckoned, one article would be an indemnity for all that had been done.

The king was every day saying, that he was king, and he would be obeyed, and would make those who opposed him feel that he was their king: and he had both priests and flatterers about him, that were still pushing him forward. All men grew melancholy with this sad prospect. The hope of the true protestants was in the king's two daughters; chiefly on the eldest, who was out of his reach, and was known to be well instructed, and very zealous in matters of religion. The princess Anne was still very stedfast and regular in her devotions, and was very exemplary in the course of her life. But, as care had been taken to put very ordinary divines about her for her chaplains, so she had never pursued any study in those points with much application [o]. And,

[o] Both the sisters were extremely possessed with king Charles the First's notions, for promoting the authority and wealth of churchmen; which may reasonably be imputed to their conversing so much with the clergy, who never fail to instil that doctrine, wherever they find it will gain admittance: and the meanest of them are always very able upon

all her court being put about her by the king and queen, she was beset with spies. It was therefore much apprehended, that she would be strongly assaulted, when all other designs should so far succeed as to make that seasonable. In the mean while she was let alone by the king, who was indeed a very kind and indulgent father to her. Now he resolved to make his first attack on the princess of Orange. D'Albeville went over to England in the summer, and did not come back before the twenty-fourth of December, Christmas eve. And then he gave the princess a letter from the king, bearing date the fourth of November. He was to carry this letter: and his despatches being put off longer than was intended, that made this letter come so late to her. 1687.

The king wrote to the princess of Orange about religion.

The king took the rise of his letter from a question she had put to D'Albeville, desiring to know what were the grounds upon which the king himself had changed his religion. The king told her, he was bred up in the doctrine of the church of England by Dr. Stewart, whom the king his father had put about him; in which he was so zealous, that when he perceived the queen his mother had a de- 721
sign upon the duke of Glocester, though he preserved still the respect that he owed her, yet he took care to prevent it. All the while that he was beyond sea, no catholic, but one nun, had ever spoken one word to persuade him to change his religion: and he continued for the most part of that time firm to

that subject, however insufficient they are upon any other. D. (The sentiments of this lord respecting the possessions of the church of England, remaining after the spoliation of the bishoprics and taking away the third part of the tithes, may be seen at page 370 of vol. ii. folio edit. where an account is given of queen Anne's pious restitution of the first-fruits.)

1687. the doctrine of the church of England. He did not then mind those matters much: and, as all young people are apt to do, he thought it a point of honour not to change his religion. The first thing that raised scruples in him was, the great devotion that he had observed among catholics: he saw they had great helps for it: they had their churches better adorned, and did greater acts of charity, than he had ever seen among protestants. He also observed, that many of them changed their course of life, and became good Christians, even though they continued to live still in the world. This made him first begin to examine both religions. He could see nothing in the three reigns in which religion was changed in England, to incline him to believe that they who did it were sent of God. He read the history of that time, as it was writ in the Chronicle. He read both Dr. Heylin, and Hooker's preface to his Ecclesiastical Policy, which confirmed him in the same opinion. He saw clearly, that Christ had left an infallibility in his church, against which *the gates of hell cannot prevail:* and it appeared that this was lodged with St. Peter, from our Saviour's words to him, St. Matt. xvi. 18. Upon this the certainty of the scriptures, and even of Christianity it self, was founded. The apostles acknowledged this to be in St. Peter, Acts xv. when they said, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us* [p]. It was the authority of the church that declared the scriptures to be canonical: and certainly they who declared them could

[p] (How this text confines infallibility to St. Peter, it is difficult to see; as the apostolic decree was made in common by St. Peter and the rest. Besides, St. James appears to have been at least as much the author of the decision as St. Peter.)

only interpret them: and wherever this infallibility 1687.
was, there must be a clear succession. The point of the infallibility being once settled, all other controversies must needs fall. Now the Roman church was the only church that either has infallibility, or that pretended to it. And they who threw off this authority did open a door to atheism and infidelity, and took people off from true devotion, and set even Christianity it self loose to all that would question it, and to Socinians and Latitudinarians, who doubted of every thing. He had discoursed of these things with some divines of the church of England; but had received no satisfaction from them. The Christian religion gained its credit by the miracles which the apostles wrought, and by the holy lives and sufferings of the martyrs, whose blood was the seed of the church. Whereas Luther and Calvin, and those who had set up the church of England, had their 722
heads fuller of temporal matters than of spiritual, and had let the world loose to great disorders. Submission was necessary to the peace of the church: and when every man will expound the scriptures, this makes way to all sects, who pretend to build upon it. It was also plain, that the church of England did not pretend to infallibility; yet she acted as if she did: for ever since the reformation she had persecuted those who differed from her, dissenters as well as papists, more than was generally known. And he could not see why dissenters might not separate from the church of England, as well as she had done from the church of Rome. Nor could the church of England separate her self from the catholic church, any more than a county of England could separate it self from the rest of the kingdom.

1687. This, he said, was all that his leisure allowed him to write. But he thought that these things, together with the king his brother's papers, and the duchess's papers, might serve, if not to justify the catholic religion to an unbiassed judgment, yet at least to create a favourable opinion of it.

I read this letter in the original: for the prince sent it to me, together with the princess's answer, but with a charge not to take a copy of either, but to read them over as often as I pleased; which I did till I had fixed both pretty well in my memory. And, as soon as I had sent them back, I sat down immediately to write out all that I remembered, which the princess owned to me afterwards, when she read the abstracts I made, were punctual almost to a tittle. It was easy for me to believe that this letter was all the king's enditing; for I had heard it almost in the very same words from his own mouth. The letter was writ very decently, and concluded very modestly. The princess received this letter, as was told me, on the twenty-fourth of December at night. Next day being Christmas day, she received the sacrament, and was during the greatest part of the day in public devotions: yet she found time to draw first an answer, and then to write it out fair: and she sent it by the post on the twenty-sixth of December. Her draught, which the prince sent me, was very little blotted or altered. It was long, about two sheets of paper: for as an answer runs generally out into more length than the paper that is to be answered, so the strains of respect, with which her letter was full, drew it out to a greater length.

Which she answered.

She began with answering another letter that she had received by the post; in which the king had

made an excuse for failing to write the former post day. She was very sensible of the happiness of hearing so constantly from him: for no difference in religion could hinder her from desiring both his blessing and his prayers, though she was ever so far from him. As for the paper that M. Albeville delivered her, he told her, that his majesty would not be offended, if she wrote her thoughts freely to him upon it. 1687. 723

She hoped, he would not look on that as want of respect in her. She was far from sticking to the religion in which she was bred out of a point of honour; for she had taken much pains to be settled in it upon better grounds. Those of the church of England who had instructed her, had freely laid before her that which was good in the Romish religion, that so, seeing the good and the bad of both, she might judge impartially; according to the Apostle's rule of *proving all things, and holding fast that which was good.* Though she had come young out of England, yet she had not left behind her either the desire of being well informed, or the means for it. She had furnished her self with books, and had those about her who might clear any doubts to her. She saw clearly in the Scriptures, that she must work her own salvation with fear and trembling, and that she must not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to herself. It ought to be no prejudice against the reformation, if many of those who professed it led ill lives. If any of them lived ill, none of the principles of their religion allowed them in it. Many of them led good lives, and more might do it by the grace of God. But

1687. there were many devotions in the church of Rome, on which the reformed could set no value.

She acknowledged, that, if there was an infallibility in the church, all other controversies must fall to the ground. But she could never yet be informed where that infallibility was lodged: whether in the Pope alone, or in a general council, or in both. And she desired to know in whom the infallibility rested, when there were two or three popes at a time, acting one against another, with the assistance of councils, which they called general: and at least the succession was then much disordered. As for the authority that is pretended to have been given to St. Peter over the rest, that place which was chiefly alleged for it was otherwise interpreted by those of the church of England, as importing only the confirmation of him in the office of an apostle, when in answer to that question, *Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?* he had by a triple confession washed off his triple denial. The words that the king had cited were spoken to the other apostles as well as to him. It was agreed by all, that the apostles were infallible, who were guided by God's Holy Spirit. But that
724 gift, as well as many others, had ceased long ago. Yet in that St. Peter had no authority over the other apostles: otherwise St. Paul understood our Saviour's words ill, who *withstood him to his face, because he was to be blamed.* And if St. Peter himself could not maintain that authority, she could not see how it could be given to his successors, whose bad lives agreed ill with his doctrine.

Nor did she see, why the ill use that some made of the Scriptures ought to deprive others of them.

It is true, all sects made use of them, and find some- 1687.
what in them that they draw in to support their opinions: yet for all this our Saviour said to the Jews, *Search the Scriptures;* and St. Paul ordered his Epistles to be read to all the saints in the churches; and he says in one place, *I write as to wise men, judge what I say.* And if they might judge an apostle, much more any other teacher. Under the law of Moses, the Old Testament was to be read, not only in the hearing of the scribes and the doctors of the law, but likewise in the hearing of the women and children. And since God had made us reasonable creatures, it seemed necessary to employ our reason chiefly in the matters of the greatest concern. Though faith was above our reason, yet it proposed nothing to us that was contradictory to it. Every one ought to satisfy himself in these things: as our Saviour convinced Thomas, by making him to thrust his own hand into the print of the nails, not leaving him to the testimony of the other apostles, who were already convinced. She was confident, that, if the king would hear many of his own subjects, they would fully satisfy him as to all those prejudices that he had at the reformation; in which nothing was acted tumultuously, but all was done according to law. The design of it was only to separate from the Roman church, in so far as it had separated from the primitive church: in which they had brought things to as great a degree of perfection as those corrupt ages were capable of. She did not see how the church of England could be blamed for the persecution of the dissenters: for the laws made against them were made by the state, and not by the church: and they were made for crimes against the state.

1687. Their enemies had taken great care to foment the division, in which they had been but too successful. But, if he would reflect on the grounds upon which the church of England had separated from the church of Rome, he would find them to be of a very different nature from those for which the dissenters had left it.

Thus, she concluded, she gave him the trouble of a long account of the grounds upon which she was persuaded of the truth of her religion: in which she was so fully satisfied, that she trusted by the grace of
725 God that she should spend the rest of her days in it: and she was so well assured of the truth of our Saviour's words, that she was confident the gates of hell should not prevail against it, but that he would be with it to the end of the world. All ended thus, that the religion which she professed taught her her duty to him, so that she should ever be his most obedient daughter and servant.

To this the next return of the post brought an answer from the king, which I saw not. But the account that was sent me of it was: the king took notice of the great progress he saw the princess had made in her inquiries after those matters: the king's business did not allow him the time that was necessary to enter into the detail of her letter: he desired, she would read those books that he had mentioned to her in his former letters, and some others that he intended to send her: and, if she desired to be more fully satisfied, he proposed to her to discourse about them with F. Morgan, an English Jesuit, then at the Hague.

Reflections on these letters.

I have set down very minutely every particular that was in those letters, and very near in the same

words. It must be confessed, that persons of this quality seldom enter into such a discussion. The king's letter contained a studied account of the change of his religion, which he had repeated often: and it was perhaps prepared for him by some others. There were some things in it, which, if he had made a little more reflection on them, it may be supposed he would not have mentioned. The course of his own life was not so strict, as to make it likely that the good lives of some papists had made such impressions upon him. The easy absolutions that are granted in that church are a much juster prejudice in this respect against it, than the good lives of a few can be supposed to be an argument for it. The adorning their churches was a reflection that did no great honour to him that made it. The severities used by the church of England against the dissenters were urged with a very ill grace by one of the church of Rome, that has delighted herself so often by being, as it were, bathed with the blood of those they call heretics: and, if it had not been for the respect that a daughter paid her father, here greater advantages might have been taken. I had a high opinion of the princess's good understanding, and of her knowledge in those matters, before I saw this letter: but this surprised me. It gave me an astonishing joy, to see so young a person all of the sudden, without consulting any one person, to be able to write so solid and learned a letter, in which she mixed with the respect that she paid a father so great a firmness, that by it she cut off all further treaty. And her repulsing the attack, that the king made upon her, with so much resolution and force, 1687. 726

1687. did let the popish party see, that she understood her religion as well as she loved it.

A prosecution set on against me.

But now I must say somewhat of my self: after I had stayed a year in Holland, I heard from many hands, that the king seemed to forget his own greatness when he spoke of me, which he took occasion to do very often. I had published some account of the short tour I had made in several letters; in which my chief design was to expose both popery and tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read: and it raised the king's displeasure very high.

My continuing at the Hague made him conclude, that I was managing designs against him. And some papers in single sheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of England, which [were thought so well writ that they] seemed to have a considerable effect on those who read them. These were printed in Holland: and many copies of them were sent into all the parts of England. All which inflamed the king the more against me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed most of them were. But that which gave the crisis to the king's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a considerable fortune[q] at the Hague. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treason for corresponding with lord Argile, and for conversing with some that were outlawed for high treason.

The king ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his advocate in Scotland to prosecute me for some probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noise, not doubting but this would

[q] A phrase of the rabble. S.

break the intended marriage. A ship coming from Scotland the day in which this prosecution was ordered, that had a quick passage, brought me the first news of it, long before it was sent to D'Albeville. So I petitioned the States, who were then sitting, to be naturalized in order to my intended marriage. And this passed in course, without the least difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this prosecution, now begun in Scotland, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of Holland. Yet I writ a full justification of my self, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in some letters that I sent to the earl of Middleton. But in one of these I said, that, being now naturalized in Holland, my allegiance was, during my stay in these parts, transferred from his majesty to the States[r]. I also said in another letter, that, if upon my non-appearance a sentence should pass against me, I might be perhaps forced to justify myself, and to give an account of the share that I had in affairs these twenty years past: in which I might be led to mention some things, that I was afraid would displease 727 the king: and therefore I should be sorry, if I were driven to it. 1687.

Now the court thought they had somewhat against me: for they knew they had nothing before. So the first citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on these two accounts. It was pretended to be high treason, to say my allegiance was now transferred: and it was set forth, as a high indignity to the king, to threaten him with writing a history of the transactions passed these last twenty

[r] Civilians deny that, but I agree with him. S.

1687. years. The first of these struck at a great point, which was a part of the law of nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the prince or state that naturalized him. And, since no man can serve two masters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there must be a transfer of allegiance, at least during the stay in the country where one is so naturalized.

This matter was kept up against me for some time, the court delaying proceeding to any sentence for several months. At last a sentence of outlawry was given: and upon that Albeville said, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find such instruments as should seize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous. And he spoke of it to so many persons, that I believe his design was rather to frighten me, than that he could think to effect them. Many overtures were made to some of my friends in London, not only to let this prosecution fall, but to promote me, if I would make my self capable of it. I entertained none of these. I had many stories brought me of the discourses among some of the brutal Irish, then in the Dutch service. But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I resolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do what service I could to the public and to my country: and resigned my self up entirely to that Providence that had watched over me to that time with an indulgent care, and had made all the designs of my enemies against me turn to my great advantage.

1688. I come now to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary and un-

heard of revolution[s]. The year in this century made all people reflect on the same year in the former century, in which the power of Spain received so great a check, that the decline of that monarchy began then; and England was saved from an invasion, that, if it had succeeded as happily as it was well laid, must have ended in the absolute conquest and utter ruin of the nation. Our books are so full of all that related to that armada, boasted to be invincible, that I need add no more of so known and so remarkable a piece of our history. A new eighty-eight raised new expectations, in which the surprising events did far exceed all that could have been looked for. 1688. 728

I begin the year with Albeville's negotiation after his coming to the Hague. He had before his going over given in a threatening memorial upon the business of Bantam, that looked like a prelude of a declaration of war; for he demanded a present answer, since the king could no longer bear the injustice done him in that matter, which was set forth in very high words. He sent this memorial to be printed at Amsterdam, before he had communicated it to the States. The chief effect that this had was, that the actions of the company did sink for some days. But they rose soon again: and by this it was said, that Albeville himself made the greatest gain. The East India fleet was then expected home every day. So the merchants, who remembered well the business of the Smirna fleet in the year seventy-two, did apprehend that the king had sent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memo- Albeville's memorial to the States.

[s] The Devil's in that, sure all Europe heard of it. S.

1688. rial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it should happen: but nothing of that sort followed upon it. The States did answer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expressed: by their last treaty with England it was provided, that in case any disputes should arise between the merchants of either side, commissioners should be named of both sides to hear and judge the matter: the king had not yet named any of his side: so that the delay lay at his door: they were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in so high a strain, since they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. Albeville after this gave in another memorial, in which he desired them to send over commissioners for ending that dispute. But, though this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was so ill apprehended, that the Dutch had reason to believe that the king's ministers did not know the treaty, or were not at leisure to read it: for, according to the treaty, and the present posture of that business, the king was obliged to send over commissioners to the Hague to judge of that affair. When this memorial was answered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall.

Albeville's next negotiation related to my self. I had printed a paper in justification of my self, together with my letters to the earl of Middleton. And he in a memorial complained of two passages in that paper. One was, that I said it was yet too early to persecute men for religion, and therefore crimes against the state were pretended by my enemies: this, he said, did insinuate, that the king did in time intend

to persecute for religion. The other was, that I had put in it an intimation, that I was in danger by some of the Irish papists. This, he said, was a reflection on the king, who hated all such practices. And to this he added, that by the laws of England all the king's subjects were bound to seize on any person that was condemned in his courts, in what manner soever they could: and therefore he desired, that both I and the printer of that paper might be punished. But now upon his return to the Hague, I being outlawed by that time, he demanded, that, in pursuance of an article of the treaty that related to rebels or fugitives, I might be banished the Provinces. And to this he craved once and again a speedy answer. 1688. 729

I was called before the deputies of the States of Holland, that I might answer the two memorials that lay before them relating to my self. I observed the difference between them. The one desired, that the States would punish me, which did acknowledge me to be their subject. The other, in contradiction to that, laid claim to me as the king's rebel. As to the particulars complained of, I had made no reflection on the king; but to the contrary. I said, my enemies found it was not yet time to persecute for religion. This insinuated, that the king could not be brought to it. And no person could be offended with this, but he who thought it was now not too early to persecute. As to that of the danger in which I apprehended my self to be in, I had now more reason than before to complain of it, since the envoy had so publicly affirmed, that every one of the king's subjects might seize on any one that was condemned, in what manner soever

1688. they could, which was either dead or alive. I was now the subject of the States of Holland, naturalized in order to a marriage among them, as they all knew: and therefore I claimed their protection. So, if I was charged with any thing that was not according to law, I submitted my self to their justice. I should decline no trial, nor the utmost severity, if I had offended in any thing. As for the two memorials that claimed me as a fugitive and a rebel, I could not be looked on as a fugitive from Scotland. It was now fourteen years since I had left that kingdom, and three since I came out of England with the king's leave. I had lived a year in the Hague openly: and nothing was laid to my charge. As for the sentence that was pretended to be passed upon me, I could say nothing to it, till I saw a copy of it.

The States' answer to what related to me.

The States were fully satisfied with my answers; and ordered a memorial to be drawn according to them. They also ordered their ambassador to represent to the king, that he himself knew how sacred a thing naturalization was. The faith and honour of every state was concerned in it. I had been naturalized upon marrying one of their subjects, which was the justest of all reasons. If the king had any thing to lay to my charge, justice should be done in their courts. The king took the matter very ill; and said, it was an affront to him, and a just cause of war[t]. Yet, after much passion, he said, he did not intend to make war upon it; for he was not then in condition to do it. But he knew there were designs against him, to make war on him, against which he should take care to secure

[t] Vain fop. S.

himself: and he should be on his guard. The ambassador asked him, of whom he meant that. But he did not think fit to explain himself further. He ordered a third memorial to be put in against me, in which the article of the treaty was set forth: but no notice was taken of the answers made to that by the States: but it was insisted on, that, since the States were bound not to give sanctuary to fugitives and rebels, they ought not to examine the grounds on which such judgments were given, but were bound to execute the treaty. Upon this it was observed, that the words in treaties ought to be explained according to their common acceptation, or the sense given them in the civil law, and not according to any particular forms of courts, where for non-appearance a writ of outlawry or rebellion might lie: the sense of the word *rebel* in common use was, a man that had borne arms, or had plotted against his prince: and a *fugitive* was a man that fled from justice. The heat with which the king seemed inflamed against me, carried him to say and do many things that were very little to his honour, [and too much of unjust and impotent passion.] 1688.

I had advertisements sent me of a further progress in his designs against me. He had it suggested to him, that, since a sentence was passed against me for non-appearance, and the States refused to deliver me up, he might order private persons to execute the sentence as they could: and it was writ over very positively, that 5000*l.* would be given to any one that should murder me. A gentleman of an unblemished reputation writ me word, that he himself by accident saw an order drawn in the secretaries' office, but not yet signed, for 3000*l.* to a blank Other designs against me.

1688. person that was to seize or destroy me. And he also affirmed, that prince George had heard of the same thing, and had desired the person to whom he trusted it to convoy the notice of it to me: and my author was employed by that person to send the notice to me [u]. The king asked Jefferies, what he might do against me in a private way, now that he could not get me into his hands. Jefferies answered, he did not see how the king could
731 do any more than he had done. He told this to Mr. Kirk to send it to me: for he concluded, the king was resolved to proceed to extremities, and only wanted the opinion of a man of the law to justify a more violent method. I had so many different advertisements sent me of this, that I concluded a whisper of such a design might have been set about, on design to frighten me into some mean submission, or into silence at least. But it had no other effect on me, but that I thought it fit to stay more within doors, and to use a little more than ordinary caution. I thank God, I was very little concerned at it. I resigned up my life very freely to God. I knew my own innocence, and the root of all the malice that was against me. And I never possessed my own soul in a more perfect calm, and in a clearer cheerfulness of spirit, than I did during all those threatenings, and the apprehensions that others were in concerning me [x].

Pensioner Fagell's letter.

Soon after this, a letter writ by Fagel the pen-

[u] (The person intended is lord Ossory, afterwards duke of Ormond, as appears in the letter from the bishop's correspondent, captain Baxter, whose father was at that time steward of the Ormond estate. The letter, dated from the Hague, March 14, 1688, is inserted in the Bishop's Life written by his son, p. 695.)

[x] A modest account of his own magnanimity. S.

sioner of Holland was printed: which leads me to look back a little into a transaction that passed the former year. There was one Steward, a lawyer of Scotland, a man of great parts, and of as great ambition. He had given over the practice of the law, because all that were admitted to the bar in Scotland were required to renounce the covenant, which he would not do. This recommended him to the confidence of that whole party. They had made great use of him, and trusted him entirely. Pen had engaged him, who had been long considered by the king as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot these twenty years past, more particularly of Argile's, to come over: and he undertook, that he should not only be received into favour, but into confidence. He came, before he crossed the seas, to the prince, and promised an inviolable fidelity to him, and to the common interests of religion and liberty. He had been oft with the pensioner, and had a great measure of his confidence. Upon his coming to court, he was caressed to a degree that amazed all who knew him. He either believed, that the king was sincere in the professions he made, and that his designs went no further than to settle a full liberty of conscience: or he thought, that it became a man who had been so long in disgrace, not to shew any jealousies at first, when the king was so gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his designs in Scotland, and to represent his intentions so at the Hague, as might incline the prince to a better opinion of them. 1688.

He opened all this in several letters to the pensioner. And in these he pressed him vehemently,

1688. in the king's name, and by his direction, to persuade
732 the prince to concur with the king in procuring the laws to be repealed. He laid before him the inconsiderable number of the papists: so that there was no reason to apprehend much from them. He also enlarged on the severities that the penal laws had brought on the dissenters. The king was resolved not to consent to the repealing them, unless the tests were taken away with them: so that the refusing to consent to this might at another time bring them under another severe prosecution. Steward, after he had writ many letters to this purpose without receiving any answers, tried if he could serve the king in Scotland with more success, than it seemed he was like to have at the Hague. But he found there, that his old friends were now much alienated from him, looking on him as a person entirely gained by the court.

The pensioner laid all his letters before the prince. They were also brought to me. The prince upon this thought, that a full answer made by Fagell, in such a manner as that it might be published as a declaration of his intentions, might be of service to him in many respects; chiefly in popish courts, that were on civil accounts inclined to an alliance against France, but were now possessed with an opinion of the prince, and of his party in England, as designing nothing but the ruin and extirpation of all the papists in those kingdoms. So the pensioner wrote a long answer to Steward, which was put in English by me.

He began it with great assurances of the prince and princess's duty to the king. They were both of them much against all persecution on the account

of religion. They freely consented to the covering papists from the severities of the laws made against them on the account of their religion, and also that they might have the free exercise of it in private. They also consented to grant a full liberty to dissenters. But they could not consent to the repeal of those laws that tended only to the securing the protestant religion; such as those concerning the tests, which imported no punishment, but only an incapacity of being in public employments, which could not be complained of as great severities. This was a caution observed in all nations, and was now necessary, both for securing the public peace and the established religion. If the numbers of the papists were so small as to make them inconsiderable, then it was not reasonable to make such a change for the sake of a few. And if those few, that pretended to public employments, would do all their own party so great a prejudice, as not to suffer the king to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unless they could get into the offices of trust, then their ambition was only to be blamed, if the offers now made were not accepted. The matter was very strongly argued through the whole letter: and the prince and princess's zeal for the protestant religion was set out in terms that could not be very acceptable to the king. The letter was carried by Steward to the king, and was brought by him into the cabinet council. But nothing followed then upon it. The king ordered Steward to write back, that he would either have all or nothing. All the lay-papists of England, who were not engaged in the intrigues of the priests, pressed earnestly that

1688.

733

1688. the king would accept of the repeal of the penal laws; which was offered, and would have made them both easy and safe for the future. The emperor was fully satisfied with what was offered; and promised to use his interest at Rome, to get the pope to write to the king to accept of this, as a step to the other: but I could not learn whether he did it, or not. If he did, it had no effect. The king was in all points governed by the Jesuits and the French ambassador.

Father Petre made a privy counsellor.

Father Petre, as he had been long in the confidence, was now brought to the council board, and made a privy counsellor[y]: and it was given out, that the king was resolved to get a cardinal's cap for him, and to make him archbishop of York. The pope was still firm to his resolution against it. But it was hoped, that the king would conquer it, if not in the present, yet at furthest in the next pontificate. The king resolved at the same time not to disgust the secular priests: so bishop Leyburn, whom cardinal Howard had sent over with the episcopal character, was made much use of in appearance, though he had no great share in the counsels. There was a faction formed between the seculars and the Jesuits, which was sometimes near breaking out into an open rupture. But the king was so partial to the Jesuits, that the others found they were not on equal terms with them. There were three other bishops consecrated for England. And these four were ordered to make a progress and circuit

[y] And to gratify the dissenters, Christopher Vane, son to the famous sir Henry Vane, (afterwards created lord Barnard by king William,) was sworn at the same time. D.

over England, confirming, and doing other episcopal offices, in all the parts of England. Great numbers gathered about them, wheresoever they went. 1688.

The confidence of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits thought all was sure, and that their scheme was so well laid that it could not miscarry. And they had so possessed that contemptible tool of theirs, Albeville, with this, that he seemed upon his return to the Hague to be so sanguine, that he did not stick to speak out what a wiser man would have suppressed, though he had believed it. One day, when the prince was speaking of the promises the king had made, and the oath that he had sworn to maintain the laws and the established church, he, instead of pretending that the king still kept his word, said, Upon some occasions princes must forget 734 their promises. And, when the prince said that the king ought to have more regard to the church of England, which was the main body of the nation, Albeville answered, that the body which he called the church of England would not have a being two years to an end. Thus he spoke out the designs of the court both too early and too openly. But at the same time he behaved himself in all other respects so poorly, that he became the jest of the Hague. The foreign ministers, Mr. D'Avaux the French ambassador not excepted, did not know how to excuse or bear with his weakness, which appeared on all occasions and in all companies.

The pensioner's letter was printed.

What he wrote to England upon his first audiences was not known. But it was soon after spread up and down the kingdom, very artificially and with much industry, that the prince and princess had now consented to the repeal of the tests, as well as of the penal laws. This was writ over by many

1688. hands to the Hague. The prince, to prevent the ill effects that might follow on such reports, gave orders to print the pensioner's letter to Steward; which was sent to all the parts of England, and was received with an universal joy. The dissenters saw themselves now safe in his intentions towards them. The church party was confirmed in their zeal for maintaining the tests. And the lay-papists seemed likewise to be so well pleased with it, that they complained of those ambitious priests, and hungry courtiers, who were resolved, rather than lay down their aspirings and other projects, to leave them still exposed to the severities of the laws, though a freedom from these was now offered to them. But it was not easy to judge whether this was sincerely meant by them, or if it was only a popular art, to recommend themselves under such a moderate appearance. The court saw the hurt that this letter did them. At first they hoped to have stifled it by calling it an imposture. But when they were driven from that [z], the king began to speak severely and indecently of the prince, not only to all about him, but even to foreign ministers: and resolved to put such marks of his indignation upon him, as should let all the world see how deep it was.

The king asked the regiments of his subjects in the States' service.

There were six regiments of the king's subjects, three English and three Scotish, in the service of the States. Some of them were old regiments, that had continued in their service during the two wars in the late king's reign. Others were raised since the peace in seventy-three. But these came not

[z] (By the pensionary's letter of complaint to Albeville, which was taken care to be published in England. See Ralph's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 979.)

into their service under any capitulation, that had reserved an authority to the king to call for them at his pleasure. When Argile and Monmouth made their invasion, the king desired that the States would lend them to him. Some of the towns of Holland were so jealous of the king, and wished Monmouth's success so much, that the prince found some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the States to send them over. There was no distinction made among them between papists and protestants, according to a maxim of the States with relation to their armies: so there were several papists in those regiments. And the king had shewed such particular kindness to these, while they were in England, that at their return they formed a faction which was breeding great distractions among them. This was very uneasy to the prince, who began to see that he might have occasion to make use of those bodies, if things should be carried to a rupture between the king and him: and yet he did not know how he could trust them, while such officers were in command. He did not see neither how he could get rid of them well. But the king helped him out of that difficulty: he wrote to the States, that he had occasion for the six regiments of his subjects that were in their service, and desired that they should be sent over to him. 1688. 735

This demand was made all of the sudden, without any previous application to any of the States, to dispose them to grant it, or to many of the officers to persuade them to ask their *congè* to go over. The States pretended the regiments were theirs: they had paid levy money for them, and had them under no capitulation: so they excused themselves, that they could not part with them. But they gave Which was refused, but the officers had leave to go.

1688. orders, that all the officers that should ask their *congè* should have it. Thirty or forty came and asked, and had their *congè*. So now the prince was delivered from some troublesome men by this management of the king's. Upon that, these bodies were so modeled, that the prince knew that he might depend entirely on them: and he was no more disturbed by those insolent officers, who had for some years behaved themselves rather as enemies, than as persons in the States' pay.

The discourse of a parliament was often taken up, and as often let fall: and it was not easy to judge in what such fluctuating counsels would end. Father Petre had gained such an ascendant, that he was considered as the first minister of state [a]. The nuntio had moved the king to interpose, and mediate a reconciliation between the court of Rome and France. But he answered, that since the pope would not gratify him in the promotion of father Petre, he would leave him to free himself of the trouble into which he had involved himself the best way he could. And
736 our court reckoned, that as soon as the pope felt himself pressed, he would fly to the king for protection, and grant him every thing that he asked of him in order to obtain it. That Jesuit gave daily new proofs of a weak and ill governed passion, and

[a] (The minister, who appears in every act and transaction at this time, and was addressed on all occasions by the king's subjects, was the earl of Sunderland, he only and Petre being of the secret council; nor did the king break with him till all was in confusion, and he found himself ruined by the other's treachery. See also note below at p. 755, and at vol. ii. p. 207. But compare the earl's vindication of himself in a letter inserted both in the History of the Desertion, p. 27, and in the third vol. of Cogan's Tracts, which letter is noticed in a note below, p. 755.)

discovered all the ill qualities of one, that seemed raised up to be the common incendiary, and to drive the king and his party to the precipice. 1688.

A new declaration for toleration.

Towards the end of April the king thought fit to renew the declaration that he had set out the former year for liberty of conscience; with an addition, declaring that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any public employments, but such as would concur with him in maintaining it. He also promised, that he would hold a parliament in the November following. This promise of a parliament so long beforehand was somewhat extraordinary. Both father Petre and Pen engaged the king to it, but with a different prospect. Pen, and all the tools who were employed by him, had still some hopes of carrying a parliament to agree with the king, if too much time was not lost: whereas the delaying a parliament raised jealousies, as if none were intended, but that it was only talked of to amuse the nation, till other designs were ripe.

On the other hand, father Petre and his cabal saw that the king was kept off from many things that they proposed, with the expectation of the concurrence of a parliament: and the fear of giving new disgusts, which might obstruct that, had begot a caution that was very uneasy to them. They thought that much time was already lost, and that they made but a small progress. They began to apprehend, that the regulators, who were still feeding them with hopes, and were asking more time and more money, did intend only to amuse them, and to wear out the business into more length, and to keep themselves the longer in credit and in pay; but that they did not in their hearts wish well to the main

1688. design, and therefore acted but an insincere part with the king. Therefore they resolved to put that matter to the last trial, reckoning that, if the king saw it was in vain to hope for any thing in a parliamentary way, he might be more easily carried to extreme and violent methods.

Which the clergy were ordered to read.

The king was not satisfied with the publishing his declaration: but he resolved to oblige the clergy to read it in all their churches in the time of divine service. And now it appeared what bad effects were like to follow on that officious motion that Sancroft had made, for obliging the clergy to read the declaration that king Charles set out in the year 1681, after the dissolution of the Oxford parliament[b]. An order passed in council, requiring the bishops to send copies of the declaration to all their clergy, and to order them to read it on two several Sundays in time of divine service.

737

This put the clergy under great difficulties. And they were at first much divided about it. Even many of the best and worthiest of them were under some distraction of thought. They had many meetings, and argued the point long among themselves in and about London. On the one hand it was said, that if they refused to read it, the king would pro-

[b] ("It is certain that such "an order was made, and the "clergy complied with it; but "that it was made at the ex- "press instance of archbishop "Sancroft, seems to rest on no "other authority than that of "Burnet." *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, vol. i. p. 252. Macpherson, in his Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 351, mentions the circumstance, referring at the same time to the Continuation of Baker's Chron. and to the third vol. of the Complete Hist. of England. Probably the bishop had good grounds for his repeated assertion; and although the archbishop's intention was loyal and praiseworthy, yet perhaps the less the church has to do with politics, except in cases where fundamental points are concerned, the better.)

ceed against them for disobedience. It did not seem reasonable to run so great a hazard upon such a point, that was not strong enough to bear the consequences that might follow on a breach. Their reading it did not import their approving it: but was only a publication of an act of their king's. So it was proposed, to save the whole by making some declaration, that their reading it was a mere act of obedience, and did not import any assent and approbation of theirs. Others thought, that the publishing this in such manner was only imposed on them to make them odious and contemptible to the whole nation, for reading that which was intended for their ruin. If they carried their compliance so far, that might provoke the nobility and gentry to carry theirs much further. If they once yielded the point, that they were bound to read every declaration, with this salvo, that it did not import their approving it, they would be then bound to read every thing that should be sent to them: the king might make declarations in favour of all the points of popery, and require them to read them: and they could not see where they must make their stops, if they did it not now. So it seemed necessary to fix on this, as a rule, that they ought to publish nothing in time of divine service, but that which they approved of. The point at present was not, whether a toleration was a lawful or an expedient thing. The declaration was founded on the claim of a dispensing power, which the king did now assume, that tended to the total subversion of the government, and the making it arbitrary; whereas by the constitution it was a legal administration. It also allowed such an infinite liberty, with the suspension of all penal laws, and 1688.

1688. that without any limitation, that paganism it self might be now publicly professed. It was visible, that the design in imposing the reading of it on them, was only to make them ridiculous, and to make them contribute to their own ruin. As for the danger that they might incur, they saw their ruin was resolved on: and nothing they could do was like to prevent it, unless they would basely sacrifice their religion to their worldly interests. It would be per-
738 haps a year sooner or later by any other management: it was therefore fit, that they should prepare themselves for suffering; and not endeavour to prevent it by doing that which would draw on them the hatred of their friends and the scorn of their enemies.

To which they would not give obedience.

These reasons prevailed: and they resolved not to read the declaration. They saw of what importance it was, that they should be unanimous in this. Nothing could be of more fatal consequence than their being divided in their practice. For, if any considerable body of the clergy, such as could carry the name of the church of England, could have been prevailed on to give obedience, and only some number, how valuable soever the men might be, should refuse to obey; then the court might still pretend that they would maintain the church of England, and single out all those who had not given obedience, and fall on them, and so break the church within it self upon this point, and then destroy the one half by the means of the rest. The most eminent resolved not to obey: and those who might be prevailed on to comply would by that means fall under such contempt, that they could not have the credit or strength to support the established religion.

The court depended upon this, that the greater part would obey: and so they would be furnished with a point of state, to give a colour for turning out the disobedient, who were like to be the men that stood most in their way, and crossed their designs most, both with their learning and credit. 1688.

Those few bishops that were engaged in the design of betraying the church, were persuaded that this would be the event of the matter: and they possessed the king with the hope of it so positively, that he seemed to depend upon it. The correspondence over England was managed with that secrecy, that these resolutions were so communicated to the clergy in the country, that they were generally engaged to agree in their conduct, before the court came to apprehend that they would be so unanimous, as it proved in conclusion that they were.

The archbishop and six bishops petition the king.

The archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft, resolved upon this occasion to act suitably to his post and character. He wrote round his province, and desired that such of the bishops as were able would come up, and consult together in a matter of this great concern: and he asked the opinion of those whom their age and infirmities disabled from taking the journey. He found, that eighteen of the bishops, and the main body of the clergy, concurred in the resolution against reading the declaration. So he, with six of the bishops that came up to London, resolved in a petition to the king to lay before him the reasons that determined them not to obey the order of council that had been sent them: this flowed 739 from no want of respect to his majesty's authority, nor from any unwillingness to let favour be shewed to dissenters; in relation to whom they were willing

1688. to come to such a temper, as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered and settled in parliament and convocation: but this declaration being founded on such a dispensing power, as had been often declared illegal in parliament, both in the year 1662, and in the year 1672, and in the beginning of his own reign; and was a matter of so great consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state; they could not in prudence, honour, and conscience, make themselves so far parties to it, as the publication of it once and again in God's house, and in the time of divine service, must amount to.

The archbishop was then in an ill state of health [c]. So he sent over the six bishops with the petition to the king, signed by himself and the rest. The king was much surprised with this, being flattered and deceived by his spies. Cartwright, bishop of Chester, was possessed with a story that was too easily believed by him, and was by him carried to the king, who was very apt to believe every thing that suited with his own designs. The story was, that the bishops intended by a petition to the king to let him understand that orders of this kind used to be addressed to their chancellors, but not to themselves; and to pray him to continue that method: and that by this means they hoped to get out of this difficulty. This was very acceptable to the court, and procured the bishops a quick admittance. And they had proceeded so carefully, that nothing concerted among them had broken out; for they had been very secret and cautious. The king, when he heard their

[c] (He had been forbidden the court almost two years before; according to the Sancroft MSS. cited just below. See also Dr. D'Oyly's Life of the Archbishop, vol. i. p. 265.)

petition, and saw his mistake, spoke roughly to them. He said, he was their king, and he would be obeyed: and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him [d]. The six bishops were St. Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chichester, and Bristol [e]. The answer they made the king was in these words: *The will of God be done.* And they came from the court in a sort of triumph. Now matters were brought to a crisis. The king was engaged on his part, as the bishops were on theirs. So all people looked on with great expectations, reckoning that upon the issue of this business a great decision would be made, both of the designs of the court, and of the temper of the nation. 1688.

The king consulted for some days with all that were now employed by him, what he should do upon this emergent; and talked with people of all persuasions. Lob, an eminent man among the dissenters, who was entirely gained to the court, advised the king to send the bishops to the tower. Father Petre seemed now as one transported with joy: for he thought the king was engaged to break with the church of England. And it was reported, that he broke out into that indecent expression upon it, that they should be made to eat their own dung. The king was long in doubt. Some of the popish nobility pressed him earnestly to let the matter fall [f]. 740

[d] (His strongest expressions were, "This is a standard of "rebellion," and, "I will be "obeyed in publishing my de- "claration." *Appendix from Archbishop Sancroft's MSS. to Lord Clarendon's State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 291.)

[e] (The bishop of Bristol was Trelawney, of an ancient family in Cornwall. The burden of a song composed at that time is still remembered:

"And shall Trelawney die! And shall Trelawney die!
"Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why.")

[f] (Lord Arundel of Wardour,

1688. For now it appeared, that the body of the clergy were resolved not to read the declaration. Those who did obey were few and inconsiderable. Only seven obeyed in the city of London, and not above two hundred all England over: and of these some read it the first Sunday, but changed their minds before the second: others declared in their sermons, that though they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration: and one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that, though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he stopt till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls: in many places, as soon as the minister began to read it, all the people rose and went out[g].

The king did what he could to encourage those that did obey his order. Parker, bishop of Oxford, died about this time. He wrote a book against the tests full of petulant scurrility, of which I shall only give one instance. He had reflected much on the whole popish plot, and on Oates's evidence: and upon that he called the test, the sacrament of the Oatesian villany[h]. He treated the parliament that

who was then privy seal, told my father, he could not imagine what their hot-headed fools would drive things to, but he knew most of them were ignorant enough to take Magna Charta for an invention of Harry the VIIIth. D. (Lord Arundel was one of the Roman catholic lords who assisted the queen's endeavours to prevent father Petre from being brought into the privy council. See Higgons's Short View of English Hist. p. 329.)

[g] I was then at Westminster school, and heard it read in the abbey. As soon as bishop Sprat, who was dean, gave order for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the church, that nobody could hear him: but before he had finished, there was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the queristers, and Westminster scholars. The bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and every body looked under a strange consternation. D.

[h] The bishop of Oxford, in his

enacted the tests with a scorn that no popish writer had yet ventured on: and he said much to excuse transubstantiation, and to free the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry. This raised such a disgust of him, even in those that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help seeing that, he sunk upon it. I was desired to answer his book with the severity that he deserved: and I did it with an acrimony of style, that nothing but such a time and such a man could in any sort excuse. It was said, the king sent him my papers, hearing that no body else durst put them in his hands, hoping that it would raise his indignation, and engage him to answer them. [But it was thought that helped to put an end to the life of the worst tempered man I ever knew, for he died within a week after.] And one Hall, a conformist in London, who was looked on as half a presbyterian, yet, because he read the declaration, was made bishop of Oxford. One of the popish bishops was upon the king's mandamus chosen by the illegal fellows of Magdalen college their president [i]. The sense of the 1688.

Reasons for abrogating the Test &c. p. 5. had really called it "the first-born of Oates's "plot," and added, "it was "brought forth on purpose to "give credit and reputation to "the perjury.")

[i] (It was Bonaventure Giffard, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had been consecrated a bishop, as bishop of Madaura in Africa, and was one of the four papal vicars in England. He became president in March 1688, twelve persons of the Romish religion having been previously made fellows, and their form of worship set up in the college chapel. The candlesticks used at it were not long since preserved in the bursary. In the August following, doctor Thomas Smith, mentioned above, a man of great celebrity in the literary world, was deprived by them of his fellowship, for non-residence in college. When restored he was again deprived in 1692, for adhering to the late king.)

1688. nation, as well as of the clergy, had appeared so signally on this occasion, that it was visible, that the king had not only the seven petitioning bishops to deal with, but the body of the whole nation, both clergy and laity.

741

The king ordered the bishops to be prosecuted for it.

The violent advices of father Petre and the Jesuit party were so fatally suited to the king's own temper and passion, that they prevailed over the wiser counsels of almost all that were advised with. But the king, before he would bring the matter to the council, secretly engaged all the privy counsellors to concur with him: and, after a fortnight's consultation, the bishops were cited to appear before the council. The petition was offered to them; and they were asked, if they owned it to be their petition. They answered, it seemed they were to be proceeded against upon that account: so they hoped the king would not press them to a confession, and then make use of it against them: after they had offered this, they owned the petition. They were next charged with the publication of it; for it was then printed. But they absolutely denied that was done by their means. The archbishop had written the petition all in his own hand, without employing any person to copy it out: and though there was one draught written of the petition, as it was agreed on, from which he had written out the original which they had all signed, yet he had kept that still in his own possession, and had never shewn it to any person: so it was not published by them: that must have been done by some of those to whom the king had shewed it [k].

[k] (Bevill Higgons, in his Short View, p. 33§, says, "All agreed, "that it must have been in the "press, if not before, by the

They were in the next place required to enter into bonds to appear in the court of the king's bench, and answer to an information of misdemeanor. They excepted to this; and said, that by their peerage they were not bound to do it. Upon their insisting on this, they were sent to the tower, by a warrant signed by the whole board, except father Petre, who was passed over by the king's order. This set all the whole city into the highest fermentation that was ever known in memory of man. The bishops were sent by water to the tower: and all along as they passed, the banks of the river were full of people, who kneeled down and asked their blessing, and with loud shouts expressed their good wishes for them, and their concern in their preservation. The soldiers, and other officers in the tower, did the same. An universal consternation appeared in all people's looks. But the king was not moved with all this. And, though two days after, upon the queen's pretended delivery, the king had a fair occasion to have granted a general pardon to celebrate the joy of that birth, (and it was given out by those papists that had always affected to pass for moderate men, that they had all pressed this vehemently,) the king was inflexible: he said, his authority would become contemptible, if he suffered such an affront to pass unpunished. 1688. They were sent to the tower. 742

A week after their commitment, they were

" time it was delivered to the " king, which was about five in " the afternoon, and it came out " that very night at twelve, and " was so bawled and roared " through the streets by the " hawkers, that people rose " out of their beds to buy it." See also Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 114, where this dispersion of copies is attributed to the infidelity of those about the king's person.)

1688. brought upon a habeas corpus to the king's bench bar, where their counsel offered to make it appear to be an illegal commitment: but the court allowed it good in law. They were required to enter into bonds for small sums, to answer to the information that day fortnight. [St. Peter's and St. Paul's day was chosen to be the day of the trial. And the fixing on that day, though it was perhaps done without design, was said to be ominous. Some said the trial was whether St. Peter's successors should prevail or not, whereas others turned it, and said the trial was whether St. Paul's doctrine should continue among us or not.]

But soon after discharged.

The bishops were discharged of their imprisonment: and people of all sorts ran to visit them as confessors, one company going in as another went out. The appearance in Westminster-hall was very solemn: about thirty of the nobility accompanying them. All the streets were full of shoutings the rest of the day, and with bonfires at night.

They were tried.

When the day fixed for their trial came, there was a vast concourse. Westminster-hall, and all the places about, were full of people, who were strangely affected with the matter. Even the army, that was then encamped on Hounslow-heath, shewed such a disposition to mutiny, that it gave the king no small uneasiness. The trial came on, which was chiefly managed against the bishops by Sir William Williams[1]. He had been speaker in two successive parliaments, and was a zealous promoter of the exclusion: and he had continued many years a bold

[1] He was grandfather of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, a man in our time of great note among the most disaffected to the present government, and much known upon that account. O.

pleader in all causes against the court: but he was a corrupt and vicious man, who had no principles, but followed his own interests. Sawyer, the attorney general, who had for many years served the ends of the court in a most abject and obsequious manner, would not support the dispensing power: so he was turned out, Powis being advanced to be attorney general: and Williams was made solicitor general. Powis acted his part in this trial as fairly as his post could admit of. But Williams took very indecent liberties. And he had great advantages over Sawyer and Finch, who were among the bishop's counsel, by reflecting on the precedents and proceedings during their being the king's counsel. The king's counsel could not have full proof, that the bishops' hands were truly theirs, and were forced to have recourse to the confession they had made at the council board; which was thought very dishonourable, since they had made that confession in confidence, trusting to the king's honour, though it did not appear that any promise was made that no advantage should be taken of that confession. No proof was brought of their publishing it, which was the main point [m]. The presenting it to the king, and afterwards their owning it to be their petition, when it was put to them at the council board, was all that the king's counsel could offer for proof of this; which was an apparent strain, in which even those judges that were the surest to the court did not seem to be satisfied. It was much urged against them, that this petition was a libel, tending to the defaming the king's government. 1688. 743

[m] See my lord Sunderland's evidence, as to this, in the printed trial. State Trials, vol. iii. p. 790 and 791. O.

1688. But to this it was answered, that they having received an order, to which they found they could not give obedience, thought it was incumbent on them, as bishops, and as subjects, to lay before the king their reasons for it: all subjects had a right to petition the king: they as peers were of his great council, and so had yet a better claim to that: and that more particularly in matters of religion; for the act of uniformity in queen Elizabeth's time had required them under a curse to look carefully after those matters: the dispensing power had been often brought into debate in parliament, and was always voted to be against law: and the late king had yielded the point by recalling his declaration: so they thought they had a right to represent these things to the king. And occasion was often taken to reflect on the dispensing power. To this the king's counsel replied, that the votes of one or both houses were not laws, till they were enacted by king and parliament: and the late king's passing once from a point of his prerogative did not give it up, but only waved it for that time: they urged much the sacredness of the king's authority; that a paper might be true in fact, and yet be a libel; that in parliament the two houses had a right to petition, but it was sedition to do it in a point of government out of parliament.

The trial did last long, above ten hours. The crowds continued in expectation all the while, and expressed so great a concern for the bishops, that the witnesses who were brought against them were not only treated with much scorn, and loud laughter upon every occasion, but seemed to be in such danger, that they escaped narrowly, going away by a back passage. Two of the judges, Powel and Hal-

loway, delivered their opinion, that there was no seditious matter in the petition, and that it was no libel. Wright was now brought into this court, and made chief justice; and Herbert was made chief justice of the common pleas: Herbert was with the court in the main of the king's dispensing power, but was against them in most particulars: so he could not serve their ends in this court. Wright was the properer tool. He in his charge called the petition a libel: but he did not think the publication was proved. 1688.

The jury was fairly returned. When they were shut up, they were soon agreed upon their verdict, to acquit the bishops. But it was thought to be both the more solemn and the safer way, to continue shut up till the morning[n]. The king still flattered himself with the hope that the bishops would be brought in guilty. He went that morning to the camp: for the ill humour the army was in the day before, made him think it necessary to go and keep them in awe and order by his own presence. And acquitted; 744

The court sat again next day. And then the jury came in with their verdict. Upon which there were such shoutings, so long continued, and as it were To the great joy of the town and nation.

[n] (Dr. D'Oyly, in his Life of Archbishop Sancroft, observes, that "great difference of opinion appears to have prevailed "among them from the length "of time which elapsed before "they came to an agreement; "persons who were appointed "to watch them, reported, that "about midnight, and also "about three o'clock in the "morning, they were overheard to be engaged in loud "and eager debate." Vol. i. p. 307. Macpherson, in his Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 501, relates, on the authority of a MS. that the obstinacy of Arnold a brewer, who dissented from the verdict, occasioned the delay. Ralph had before mentioned this circumstance, with the addition, that he was brewer to the king, and afraid of losing his place. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 993.)

1688. echoed into the city, that all people were struck with it. Every man seemed transported with joy. Bonfires were made all about the streets. And the news going over the nation, produced the like rejoicings and bonfires all England over. The king's presence kept the army in some order. But he was no sooner gone out of the camp, than he was followed with an universal shouting, as if it had been a victory obtained. And so fatally was the king pushed on to his ruin, that he seemed not to be by all this enough convinced of the folly of those violent counsels. He intended still to pursue them. It was therefore resolved on, to bring this matter of the contempt of the order of council, in not reading the declaration, before the ecclesiastical commissioners. They did not think fit to cite the archbishop and bishops before them: for they did not doubt they would plead to their jurisdiction, and refuse to acknowledge their authority; which they hoped their chancellors, and the inferior clergy, would not venture on.

The clergy was next designed against.

Citations were sent out requiring the chancellors and archdeacons to send in the lists of all the clergy, both of such as had obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed the order of council. Some of these were now so much animated with the sense that the nation had expressed of the bishops' imprisonment and trial, that they declared they would not obey this order: and others excused themselves in softer terms. When the day came to which they were cited, the bishop of Rochester, though he himself had obeyed the order, and had hitherto gone along, sitting with the other commissioners, but had always voted on the milder side, yet now, when he saw

matters were running so fast to the ruin of the church, he not only would sit no longer with them, but wrote a letter to them; in which he said, it was impossible for him to go on with them any longer; for though he himself had obeyed the order of council, which he protested he did because he thought he was bound in conscience to do it, yet he did not doubt but that those who had not obeyed it had gone upon the same principle of following their conscience, and he would much rather choose to suffer with them, than to concur in making them suffer. This stopped proceedings for that day, and put the court to a stand. So they adjourned themselves till December: and they never sat any more. 1688. 745

This was the progress of that transaction, which was considered all Europe over as the trial whether the king or the church were like to prevail. The decision was as favourable as was possible. The king did assume to himself a power to make laws void, and to qualify men for employments, whom the law had put under such incapacities, that all they did was null and void. The sheriffs and mayors of towns were no legal officers: judges, (one of them being a professed papist, Alibon,) who took not the test, were no judges: so that the government, and the legal administration of it, was broken. A parliament returned by such men was no legal parliament. All this was done by virtue of the dispensing power, which changed the whole frame of our government, and subjected all the laws to the king's pleasure: for, upon the same pretence of that power, other declarations might have come out, voiding any other laws that the court found stood in their way; since we had scarce any law that was fortified with

The effect this had every where.

1688. such clauses to force the execution of it, as those that were laid aside had in them [o]. And when the king pretended, that this was such a sacred point of government, that a petition, offered in the modestest terms, and in the humblest manner possible, calling it in question, was made so great a crime, and carried so far against men of such eminence; this, I confess, satisfied me, that here was a total destruction of our constitution, avowedly began, and violently prosecuted. Here was not jealousies nor fears: the thing was open and avowed. This was not a single act of illegal violence, but a declared design against the whole of our constitution. It was not only the judgment of a court of law: the king had now by two public acts of state, renewed in two successive years, openly published his design [p]. This appeared such a total subversion, that, according to the principles that some of the highest assertors of submission and obedience, Barklay and Grotius, had laid down, it was now lawful for the nation to look to itself, and see to its own preservation. And, as soon as any man was convinced that this was lawful, there remained nothing but to look to the prince of Orange, who was the only person that either could save them, or had a right to it: since by all the laws in the world, even private as well as public, he that

[o] Kings, of all men, are the most interested that the law should be supported; for take away *that*, and one man has as good right as another. Force equally entitles every body that can get it: therefore a solemn declaration, that a king will not govern according to law, seems to me a formal renouncing of any right he has by it; and when he has cut the bough he sat upon, has little reason to be surprised if he falls to the ground. D.

[p] (The first and second declaration of liberty of conscience are here intended. See p. 736.)

has in him the reversion of any estate, has a right to hinder the possessor, if he goes about to destroy that which is to come to him after the possessor's death. 1688.

Upon all this disorder that England was falling into, admiral Russel came to the Hague. He had a good pretence for coming over to Holland, for he had a sister then living in it. He was desired by many of great power and interest in England to speak very freely to the prince, and to know positively of him what might be expected from him. All people were now in a gaze: those who had little or no religion had no mind to turn papists, if they could see any probable way of resisting the fury with which the court was now driving: but men of fortune, if they saw no visible prospect, would be governed by their present interest: they were at present united: but, if a breaking should once happen, and some men of figure should be prevailed on to change, that might go far; especially in a corrupt and dissolute army, that was as it were let loose to commit crimes and violences every where, in which they were rather encouraged than punished; for it seemed to be set up as a maxim, that the army by rendering it self odious to the nation would become thereby entirely devoted to the court[q]: but after all, though soldiers were bad Englishmen, and worse Christians, yet the court found them too good protestants to trust much to them. So Russel put the prince to explain himself what he intended to do. 746 Russel pressed the prince.

The prince answered, that, if he was invited by some men of the best interest, and the most valued The prince's answer.

[q] Special doctrine. S.

1688. in the nation, who should both in their own name, and in the name of others who trusted them, invite him to come and rescue the nation and the religion, he believed he could be ready by the end of September to come over. The main confidence we had was in the electoral prince of Brandenburg; for the old elector was then dying. And I told Russel at parting, that, unless he died, there would be great difficulties, not easily mastered, in the design of the prince's expedition to England[r].

The elector of Brandenburgh's death.

He was then ill of a dropsy, which, coming after a gout of a long continuance, seemed to threaten a speedy end of his life. I had the honour to see him at Cleve; and was admitted to two long audiences, in which he was pleased to speak to me with great freedom. He was a prince of great courage. He both understood military matters well, and loved them much. He had a very perfect view of the state Europe had been in for fifty years, in which he had borne a great share in all affairs, having directed his own counsels himself. He had a wonderful memory, even in the smallest matters; for every thing passed under his eye. He had a quick apprehension and a choleric temper. The heat of his spirits was apt to kindle too quick, till his interest cooled him:

[r] (Ralph, in his Hist. of England, makes the following acute remark on this passage: "The "elector died on the last day "of April, O. S.; whence it fol- "lows, that Russel had received "his audience, and taken his "leave, before that event took "place; and consequently, that "measures were forming in "England against the king, "and embraced in Holland, be- "fore the second declaration "of indulgence was published, "or the order of council, which "was founded thereon; or the "prosecution of the bishops "was thought of, which his "lordship holds of such weight "for the justification of those "measures." vol. i. p. 998.)

and that fetched him back, which brought him under the censure of changing sides too soon and too often. He was a very zealous man in all the concerns of religion. His own life was regular, and free of all blemishes. He tried all that was possible to bring the Lutherans and Calvinists to some terms of reconciliation. He complained much of the rigidity of the Lutherans, more particularly of those in Prussia: nor was he well pleased with the stiffness of the Calvinists: and he inveighed against the synod of Dort, as that which had set all on fire, and made matters almost past reconciling. He thought, all positive decisions in those matters ought to be laid aside by both parties, without which nothing could bring them to a better temper. 1688. 747

He had a very splendid court: and to maintain that, and his great armies, his subjects were pressed hard by many uneasy taxes. He seemed not to have a just sense of the miseries of his people. His ministers had great power over him in all lesser matters, while he directed the greater: and he suffered them to enrich themselves excessively.

In the end of his life the electoress had gained great credit, and governed his counsels too much. He had set it up for a maxim, that the electoral families in Germany had weakened themselves so much, that they would not be able to maintain the liberty of the empire against the Austrian family, which was now rising by their victories in Hungary: the houses of Saxe, and the Palatine, and of Brunswick, and Hesse, had done this so much, by the dismembering some of their dominions to their younger children, that they were mouldering to nothing: he therefore resolved to keep all his dominions entire in

1688. one hand: this would make his family the balance to the house of Austria, on whom the rest of the empire must depend: and he suffered his electoress to provide for her children, and to enrich herself by all the ways she could think on, since he would not give them any share of his dominions. This she did not fail to do. And the elector, having just cause of complaint for being abandoned by the allies in the peace of Nimeguen, and so forced to restore what he had got from the Swedes, the French upon that gave him a great pension, and made the electoress such presents, that he was prevailed on to enter into their interests: and in this he made some ill steps in the decline of his life. But nothing could soften him with relation to that court, after they broke the edict of Nantes, and began the persecution of the protestants. He took great care of all the refugees. He set men on the frontier of France to receive and defray them; and gave them all the marks of Christian compassion, and of a bounty becoming so great
748 a prince. But his age and infirmities, he being crippled with the gout, and the ill understanding that was between the prince electoral and electoress, had so disjointed his court, that little was to be expected from him.

Death came upon him quicker than was looked for. He received the intimations of it with the firmness that became both a Christian and a hero. He gave his last advices to his son, and to his ministers, with a greatness and a tenderness that both surprised and melted them all: and above all other things he recommended to them the concerns of the protestant religion, then in such an universal danger. His son had not his genius. He had not a

strength of body nor a force of mind capable of great matters[s]. But he was filled with zeal for the reformed religion: and he was at that time so entirely possessed with a confidence in the prince of Orange, and with a high esteem of him, as he was his cousin german, that we had a much better prospect of all our affairs by his succeeding his father. And this was increased by the great credit that Dankelman, who had been his governor, continued to have with him: for he had true notions of the affairs of Europe, and was a zealous protestant, and was like to prove a very good minister, though he was too absolute in his favour, and was too much set on raising his own family. All at the Hague were looking with great concern on the affairs of Europe; these being, in many respects, and in many different places, brought to a very critical state. 1688.

The queen gave out that she was with child.

I must now look back to England, where the queen's delivery was the subject of all men's discourse. And since so much depends on this, I will give as full and as distinct an account of all that related to that matter, as I could gather up either at that time or afterwards[t]. The queen had been for six or seven years in such an ill state of health, that every winter brought her very near death. Those about her seemed well assured that she, who had buried all her children soon after they were born, and had now for several years ceased bearing, would have no more children. Her own priests appre-

[s] After the revolution, he bore a secret grudge to king William, till by his means he was declared king of Prussia, and then he talked of nothing but the equality of kings, (as Monsr. Bruys told me;) upon which the French envoy told him that all ships were ships, but there was great difference in their strength and rate. D.

[t] All coffee-house chat. S.

1688. hended it, and seemed to wish for her death. She had great and frequent [loosenesses, with some other] distempers, that returned often, which put all people out of their hopes or fears of her having any children. Her spirits were now much on the fret. She was eager in the prosecution of all the king's designs. It was believed, that she had a main hand in driving him to them all. And he, perhaps to make her gentler to him in his vagrant amours, was more easy to her in every thing else. The lady Dorchester was come back from Ireland: and the king
749 went oft to her. But it was visible, she was not like to gain that credit in affairs, to which she had aspired: and therefore this was less considered.

She had another mortification, when Fitz-James, the king's son, was made duke of Berwick. He was a soft and harmless young man, and was much beloved by the king: but the queen's dislike kept him from making any great figure. He made two campaigns in Hungary, that were little to his honour: for, as his governor diverted the allowance that was given for keeping a table, and sent him always to eat at other tables, so, though in the siege of Buda there were many occasions given him to have distinguished himself, yet he had appeared in none of them. There was more care taken of his person than became his age and condition. Yet his governor's brother was a Jesuit, and in the secret: so every thing was ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

In September, the former year, the queen went to the Bath, where, as was already told, the king came and saw her, and stayed a few days with her. She after that pursued a full course of bathing: and,

having resolved to return in the end of September, an accident took her to which the sex is subject: and that made her stay there a week longer. She came to Windsor on the sixth of October. It was said, that, at the very time of her coming to the king, her mother, the duchess of Modena, made a vow to the lady Loretto, that her daughter might by her means have a son[t]. And it went current, that the queen believed herself to be with child in that very instant in which her mother made her vow: of which, some travellers have assured me, there was a solemn record made at Loretto. A conception said to be thus begun looked suspicious. It was now fixed to the sixth of October: so the nine months were to run to the sixth of July. She was in the progress of her big belly let blood several times: and the most astringent things that could be proposed were used [to bind up nature. Yet it was said she had several returns of that which happens to women when they are not with child.] 1688.

It was soon observed, that all things about her person were managed with a mysterious secrecy, into which none were admitted but a few papists. She was not dressed nor undressed with the usual ceremony. Prince George told me, that the princess went as far in desiring to be satisfied by feeling the motion, after she said she was quick, as she could go without breaking with her: and she had sometimes stayed by her even indecently long in mornings, to

[t] "(Surely if his- lordship "had recollected, that the duch- "ess died July the 19th, O. S. "as she certainly did, he had "never adopted this idle tale of "her highness's vowing vows "on the 6th of October." *Ralph's Hist. of England,* vol. i. p. 980.)

1688. see her rise, and to give her her shift: but she never did either [u]. She never offered any satisfaction in that matter by letter to the princess of Orange, nor to any of the ladies of quality, in whose word the world would have acquiesced. The thing upon this began to be suspected: and some libels were writ, treating the whole as an imposture. The use the
750 queen made of this was, to say, that since she saw some were suspecting her as capable of so black a contrivance, she scorned to satisfy those who could entertain such thoughts of her. How just soever this might be with relation to the libellers, yet certainly, if she was truly with child, she owed it to the king and herself, to the king's daughters, but most of all to the infant she carried in her belly, to give such reasonable satisfaction, as might put an end to jealousy. This was in her power to do every day: and her not doing it gave just grounds of suspicion.

Things went thus on till Monday in Easter week. On that day the king went to Rochester, to see some of the naval preparations; but was soon sent for by the queen, who apprehended she was in danger of miscarrying. Dr. Scarborough was come to Knightsbridge to see bishop Ward, my predecessor, who had been his ancient friend, and was then his patient; but the queen's coach was sent to call him in all

[u] "(Is it not strange, said "she, (Princess Anne,) that the "queen should never, as often "as I am with her, mornings "and evenings, speak to me to "feel her belly? I asked, if the "queen had at other times of "her being with child bid her "do it? She answered, No, "that is true. Why then, ma-"dam, said I, should you won-"der she did not bid you do it "at this time? Because, said "she, of the reports. Possi-"bly, said I, she did not mind "the reports." *Henry Earl of Clarendon's Diary*, p. 79. See below, notes at p. 751 and 786.)

haste, since she was near miscarrying. Dr. Windebank, who knew nothing of this matter, stayed long that morning upon an appointment for Dr. Wallgrave, another of the queen's physicians, who the next time he saw him excused himself, for the queen, he said, was then under the most apparent signs of miscarrying. Of this the doctor made oath: and it is yet extant. 1688.

On the same day the countess of Clarendon, being to go out of town for a few days, came to see the queen before she went, knowing nothing of what had happened to her. And she, being a lady of the bed-chamber to queen Dowager, did, according to the rule of the court, go into the queen's bed-chamber without asking admittance. She saw the queen a bed, bemoaning herself in a most doleful manner, saying often, *Undone, Undone:* and one that belonged to her carried somewhat out of the bed, which she believed was linen taken from the queen. She was upon this in some confusion: and the countess of Powis coming in, went to her, and said with some sharpness, What do you here? And carried her to the door. Before she had got out of the court, one of the bed-chamber women followed her, and charged her not to speak of any thing she had seen that day. This matter, whatever was in it, was hushed up: and the queen held on her course.

The princess had miscarried in the spring. So, as soon as she had recovered her strength, the king pressed her to go to the Bath, since that had so good an effect on the queen. Some of her physicians, and all her other friends, were against her going. Lower, one of her physicians, told me, he was against it: he thought she was not strong enough for the Bath, though the king pressed it with an unusual vehe-

1688. mence. Millington, another physician, told the earl
751 of Shrewsbury, from whom I had it, that he was pressed to go to the princess, and advise her to go to the Bath. The person that spoke to him told him, the king was much set on it, and that he expected it of him, that he would persuade her to it. Millington answered, he would not advise a patient according to directions, but according to his own reason: so he would not go. Scarborough and Witherly took it upon them to advise it: so she went thither in the end of May[x].

The queen's reckoning changed.

As soon as she was gone, those about the queen did all of the sudden change her reckoning, and began it from the king's being with her at Bath. This came on so quick, that though the queen had set the fourteenth of June for her going to Windsor, where she intended to lie in, and all the preparations for the birth and for the child were ordered to be made ready by the end of June, yet now a resolution was taken for the queen's lying in at St. James's[y]; and directions were given to have all things quickly ready. The Bath water either did not agree with the princess, or the advices of her friends were so pressing, who thought her absence from the court at that time of such consequence, that

[x] "(It was falsely asserted, "that the princess Anne was "never permitted to see the "queen's belly, whereas she "did it frequently in the be- "ginning, and if she absented "herself towards the end, it "was industriously done, as "well as her going to the Bath, "which it had been impos- "sible for the king to have "forced upon her, had she "suspected any thing of what "was afterwards pretended, and "been desirous to see the "truth." *Life of King James the Second*, vol. ii. p. 200. It had been before observed, that the princess contrived to go to Bath, that she might be absent when she knew the queen was to be brought to bed. p. 159 and 197.)

[y] Windsor would have been more suspicious. S.

in compliance with them she gave it out it did not, and that therefore she would return in a few days. 1688.

The day after the court had this notice, the queen said she would go to St. James's and look for the good hour. She was often told, that it was impossible upon so short a warning to have things ready. But she was so positive, that she said she would lie there that night, though she should lie upon the boards. And at night, though the shorter and quicker way was to go from Whitehall to St. James's through the park, and she always went that way, yet now, by a sort of affectation, she would be carried thither by Charing-cross, through the Pall-Mall [z]. And it was given out by all her train, that she was going to be delivered. Some said, it would be next morning: and the priests said very confidently, that it would be a boy.

The next morning, about nine o'clock, she sent word to the king, that she was in labour. The queen dowager was next sent to. But no ladies were sent for: so that no women were in the room, but two dressers and one under dresser, and the midwife. The earl of Arran sent notice to the countess of Sunderland: so she came. The lady Bellasis came also in time. The protestant ladies that belonged to the court were all gone to church before the news was let go abroad: for it happened on Trinity Sunday, it being that year on the tenth of June [a]. The king brought over with him from

The queen said to be in labour.

[z] "(I am assured by one of "her servants, who did go with "her, that she did go through "the park, and he dares make "an affidavit thereof, that the "earl of Godolphin went by "her side in a sedan." *Impartial Reflections on Burnet's Posthumous Hist.* p. 105, printed in 1724.)

[a] (Six protestant ladies of high rank were present at the birth, as their Depositions shew.)

1688. Whitehall a great many peers and privy counsellors.
752 And of these eighteen were let into the bed-chamber: but they stood at the furthest end of the room. The ladies stood within the alcove. The curtains of the bed were drawn close, and none came within them but the midwife and an under dresser[a]. The queen lay all the while a bed: and, in order to the warming one side of it, a warming pan was brought[b]. But it was not opened, that it might be seen that there was fire and nothing else in it: so here was matter for suspicion, with which all people were filled.

A little before ten, the queen cried out as in a

[a] (The feet curtains of the "bed were drawn, and the two "sides were open. When she "was in great pain the king "called in haste for my lord "chancellor, who came up to "the bed side to shew he was "there, upon which the rest "of the privy counsellers did "the same thing. Then the "queen desired the king to hide "her face with his head and pe-"riwig, which he did; for she "said she could not be brought "to bed, and have so many "men look on her; for all the "council stood close at the "bed's feet, and lord chancellor "upon the step." *Princess of Denmark's Answers to her sister the princess of Orange's Questions. Appendix to Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 308.)

[b] This, the ladies say, is foolish. S. ("The warming pan is no "feasible project, unless you "break the back of the child "to put it in; moreover, as "this is supposed to be a tender infant, just reeking and "wet from its mother's womb, "in that tender state, it would "either have cried out in the "passage, or have been stiff "and dead, and in the variety "of motions of tossing it up "and down, it would have "been a perfect jelly." *Impartial Reflections &c.* p. 106. ". . . . Then it is said, that the "weather being hot there was "no need of a warming pan, "as if linen were not to be "aired at all times, especially "on such occasions. And Mrs. "Dawson, who was a protest-"ant, deposed, amongst other "things, that she saw fire in the "warming pan, when it was "brought into the room." *King James's Life*, vol. ii. p. 200. As soon as the child was born, the midwife, who swore she delivered the queen, cut the navel string in the presence of several persons, as appears by their Depositions.)

strong pain, and immediately after the midwife said aloud, she was happily brought to bed. When the lords all cried out of what, the midwife answered, The queen must not be surprised: only she gave a sign to the countess of Sunderland, who upon that touched her forehead, by which, it being the sign before agreed on, the king said he knew it was a boy. No cries were heard from the child[c]: nor was it shewed to those in the room. It was pretended, more air was necessary. The under dresser went out with the child, or somewhat else, in her arms to a dressing room, to which there was a door near the queen's bed: but there was another entry to it from other apartments[d]. 1688.

The king continued with the lords in the bed-chamber for some minutes, which was either a sign of much phlegm upon such an occasion; for it was not known whether the child was alive or dead: or it looked like the giving time for some management. After a little while they went all into the dressing room: and then the news was published. In the mean while, no body was called to lay their hands on the queen's belly, in order to a full satisfaction. When the princess came to town three days after, she had as little satisfaction given her. Chamber- Great grounds of jealousy appeared.

[c] (The lady Bellasis, a protestant, deposed, that after seeing the infant taken out of the bed, with the navel string hanging to it, she opened the receiver, and not hearing the infant cry, and seeing it a little black, was afraid it was in a convulsion fit. Deposition viii.)

[d] "(There was no door into "the room but one by which "a child could have been conveyed, and that door was "closed up by a great press "which had stood at the back "for many years before, and "several months after, and was "seen standing at the time of "the birth by many witnesses, "beyond all exception." *Extract from a MS. of sir George Mackenzie's, in a collection of papers belonging to the reverend Mr. Fortescue — Knottesford*, p. 42.

1688. lain, the man midwife, who was always ordered to attend her labour before, and who brought the plaisters for putting back the milk, wondered that he had not been sent to[e]. He went, according to cus-

[e] "(I perceive the Heer "Meuschen was misled, con- "founding my discourse with "him on this matter, together "with the conversation he "might have had with others, "occasioned by pamphlets then "here current, pretending an "account how far I had been "therein engaged; to which "several falsehoods were added. "One of those papers was "writ by Mr. Burnet, son to "the bishop of Salisbury. The "matter of fact follows. On "Sunday morning, the day of "the month and year occurs "not at present to my me- "mory, the queen sent early a "footman to fetch me to St. "James's, but late the night "before being gone to Chat- "ham to visit a patient, he "missed me; a post was imme- "diately dispatched, and I hast- "ened and found a child new- "born, loose and undrest, on "lady Powis her lap, and as I "was informed brought forth an "hour before I came." *Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne's Letter to the princess Sophia, mother of George the First, in the Appendix to Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 311. The writer of this letter, after mentioning that the duchess of Monmouth, at that time disobliged by the court, pleaded to him in excuse a little while before for making him wait at her house, that she had been with her majesty, saw her shifted, and her belly very big, goes on to say, "Another cir- "cumstance in this case is, "that my being a noted whig, "and signally oppressed by "king James, they would never "have hazarded such a secret as "a supposititious child, which, "had I been at home to have im- "mediately followed the sum- "mons, I must have come time "enough to have discovered, "though the queen had usually "very quick labours." .... "A "third material circumstance "may be admitted, that during "my attendance on the child, "by his majesty's directions, I "had frequent discourse with "the necessary woman, who, "being in mighty dread of po- "pery, and confiding in my re- "puted whiggism, would often "complain of the busy prag- "maticalness of the Jesuits, "who placed and displaced "when they pleased, and for "her part she expected a speedy "remove, for the Jesuits would "endure none but their own "party; such was our common "entertainment; but about a "fortnight after the child was "born, a rumour being spread "through the city, that the "child was supposititious, she "cried, Alas! will they not let "the poor infant alone? I am "certain no such thing as the "bringing a strange child in a "warming pan could be prac- "tised without my seeing it, at-

tom, with the plaisters: but he was told they had no occasion for him. He fancied, that some other person was put in his place: but he could not find that any had it. All that concerned the milk or the queen's purgations was managed still in the dark. This made all people inclined more and more to believe, there was a base imposture now put on the nation. That still increased. That night one Hemings, a very worthy man, an apothecary by his trade, who lived in St. Martin's-lane, the very next door to a family of an eminent papist: (Brown, brother to the viscount Montacute, lived there:) the wall between his parlour and theirs being so thin, that he could easily hear any thing that was said with a louder voice, he (Hemings) was reading in his parlour late at night, when he heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and say with a doleful voice, The prince of Wales is dead: upon which a great many that lived in the house came down stairs very quick. Upon this confusion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain they were in a great consternation [f]. He went with the news next morning to the bishops in the tower. The countess of Clarendon came thither soon after, and told them, she had been at the young prince's door, but was denied access: she was amazed at it; and asked, if they knew her: they said, they did; but that the queen had ordered, that no person whatsoever should be

1688.

753

"tending constantly in and "about all the avenues of the "chamber.")

[f] A most foolish story, hardly worthy of a coffee-house. S. "(June 11th, Monday. In the "morning there was a strong "rumour that the young prince "was dead: he had been ill in "the night, and the king was "called up; but upon giving "him remedies, God be thank-"ed, he grew better." *Lord Clarendon's Diary*, p. 48.)

1688. suffered to come in to him. This gave credit to Heming's story, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept shut up close, till another child was found [g]. One, that saw the child two days after, said to me, that he looked strong, and not like a child so newly born. Windebank met Walgrave the day after this birth, and remembered him of what he had told him eight weeks before. He acknowledged what he had said, but added, that God wrought miracles; to which no reply could or durst be made by the other: it needed none. So healthy a child being so little like any of those the queen had borne, it was given out, that he had fits, and could not live. But those who saw him every day observed no such thing. On the contrary, the child was in a very prosperous state. None of those fits ever happened when the princess was at court; for she could not be denied admittance, though all others were. So this was believed to be given out to make the matter more credible. It is true, some weeks after that, the court being gone to Windsor, and the child sent to Richmond, he fell into such fits, that four physicians were sent for. They all looked on him as a dying child. The king and queen were sent for. The physicians went to a dinner prepared for them; and were often wondering that they were not called for. They took it for granted, that the child was dead. But, when

The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room.

[g] (The princess of Denmark, in the above cited answer to her sister's queries, says, "As "for seeing the child drest or "undrest, they avoid it as "much as they can. By all I "have seen and heard, some- "times they refuse almost every "body to see it; that is, when "they say it is not well; and "methinks there is always a "mystery in it; for one does not "know whether it be really "sick, and they fear one should "know it, or whether it is well, "and they would have one "think it is sick, as the other "children used to be." p. 309.)

they went in after dinner to look on him, they saw a sound healthy child, that seemed to have had no sort of illness on him. It was said, that the child was strangely revived of a sudden. Some of the physicians told Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, that it was not possible for them to think it was the same child. They looked on one another, but durst not speak what they thought[h]. 1688.

Thus I have related such particulars as I could gather of this birth: to which some more shall be added, when I give an account of the proof that the king brought afterwards to put this matter out of doubt; but by which it became indeed more doubtful than ever. I took most of these from the informations that were sent over to the prince and

[h] So here are three children. S. (First, the queen is surmised not to have been with child. Secondly, to have miscarried. Thirdly, a child in a warming-pan is supposed to have been conveyed into the bedchamber. Fourthly, perhaps no child to have been carried into the next room. Fifthly, the child seen by all in the room to have died. Sixthly, a substituted child to have died. Thus, as Swift observes, we have three children; the new born infant seen by all, the substituted child, and the prince of Wales. It is lamentable, that such a man as Burnet should have disgraced himself by the recital of these stupid and inconsistent falsehoods. See further below, at pp. 785, 786. But either the bishop or his son had already, before the publication of this work, communicated to the world the above particulars, together with those remarks which he makes below upon the Depositions proving the birth of the young prince. This was done in a pamphlet, now rarely to be found, entitled, in irony, *Some new Proofs, by which it appears that the* Pretender is truly *James the Third.* It was published towards the end of queen Anne's reign, and in it the author professes to have been materially assisted by bishop Lloyd, who is cited particularly for the accounts given by Hemings of the death of the prince, and for that by lady Clarendon of being refused admittance to him. But these idle stories are either refuted or accounted for in the testimony which lady Wentworth gave to the celebrated Dr. Hickes, mentioned below at p. 817.)

1688. princess of Orange, as I had many from the vouchers
754 themselves. I do not mix with these the various reports that were, both then and afterwards, spread of this matter, of which bishop Lloyd has a great collection, most of them well attested [i]. What truth soever may be in these, this is certain, that the method in which this matter was conducted from first to last was very unaccountable. If an imposture had been intended, it could not have been otherwise managed. The pretended excuse that the queen made, that she owed no satisfaction to those who could suspect her capable of such base forgery, was the only excuse that she could have made, if it had been really what it was commonly said to be. She seemed to be soon recovered, and was so little altered by her labour, either in her looks or voice, that this helped not a little to increase jealousies. The rejoicings over England upon this birth were very cold and forced. Bonfires were made in some places, and a set of congratulatory addresses went round the nation. None durst oppose them. But all was formal, and only to make a shew.

The prince and princess of Orange sent to congratulate.

The prince and princess of Orange received the news of this birth very decently. The first letters gave not those grounds of suspicion that were sent to them afterwards. So they sent over Zuylestein to congratulate: and the princess ordered the prince

[i] "(There is a piece printed "in the History of the Stu- "arts, said to be of the bishop's "dictating, to a gentleman who "took minutes, and gave it in "as it stands. It goes by the "name of Bishop Lloyd's Ac- "count of the imposture of the "Prince of Wales. In which it "is asserted, that the child sent "to Richmond died there in "August the fourth or fifth, "and was buried at Chiswick." *Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops*, p. 156.)

of Wales to be prayed for in her chapel. Upon this occasion, it may not be improper to set down what the princess said to my self on this subject two years before. I had asked her, in the freedom of much discourse, if she knew the temper of her own mind, and how she could bear the queen's having a son. She said, she was sure it would give her no concern at all on her own account: God knew best what was fit for her: and, if it was not to serve the great ends of Providence, she was sure that, as to her self, she would rather wish to live and die in the condition she was then in. The advertisements formerly mentioned came over from so many hands, that it was impossible not to be shaken by them. It was also taken ill in England, that the princess should have begun so early to pray for the pretended prince: upon which the naming him discontinued. But this was so highly resented by the court of England, that the prince, fearing it might precipitate a rupture, ordered him to be again named in the prayers [k]. 1688.

The prince designs an expedition to England.

The prince set himself with great application to prepare for the intended expedition: for Zuylestein brought him such positive advices, and such an assurance of the invitation he had desired, that he was fully fixed in his purpose. It was advised from England, that the prince could never hope for a more favourable conjuncture, nor for better grounds

[k] "(Some few hours after the "Dutch fleet had sailed from "Helver, a fisher boat arrived "at Scheveling, and brought "word to the Hague, that the "fleet was out at sea with a "fair wind; upon which the "princess gave immediate or- "der to leave out the prayer "for the prince of Wales in "her chapel at evening ser- "vice." *Higgons's View of English Hist.* p. 344. 2d edit.)

1688. to break on, than he had at that time. The whole
755 nation was in a high fermentation. The proceedings against the bishops, and those that were still kept on foot against the clergy, made all people think the ruin of the church was resolved on, and that on the first occasion it would be executed, and that the religion would be altered. The pretended birth made them reckon that popery and slavery would be entailed on the nation. And if this heat went off, people would lose heart. It was also visible, that the army continued well affected. They spoke openly against popery: they drank the most reproachful healths against them that could be invented, and treated the few papists that were among them with scorn and aversion. The king saw this so visibly, that he broke up the camp, and sent them to their quarters: and it was believed, that he would bring them no more together, till they were modeled more to his mind. The seamen shewed the same inclinations. The Dutch had set out a fleet of twenty-four men of war, on pretence to secure their trade: so the king resolved to set out as strong a fleet. Strickland, who was a papist, had the command. He brought some priests aboard with him, who said mass, or at least performed such offices of their religion as are allowed on ships of war: and the chaplain, that was to serve the protestants in Strickland's ship, was sent away upon a slight pretence. This put the whole fleet into such a disorder, that it was like to end in a mutiny. Strickland punished some for this: and the king came down to accommodate the matter. He spoke very softly to the seamen: yet this made no great impression: for they hated popery in general, and

Strickland in particular. When some gained persons among the seamen tried their affections to the Dutch, it appeared they had no inclinations to make war on them. They said aloud, they were their friends and their brethren; but they would very willingly go against the French. The king saw all this, and was resolved to take other more moderate measures. 1688.

These advices were suggested by the earl of Sunderland, who saw the king was running violently to his own ruin[1]. So, as soon as the queen admitted Sunderland advised more moderate proceedings.

1 The old earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of company at the earl of Sunderland's, who declared publicly that they were now sure of their game; for it would be an easy matter to have a house of commons to their minds, and there was nothing else could resist them. Lord Bradford asked him, if they were as sure of the house of lords, for he believed they would meet with more opposition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to lord Churchill, who sat next him, and in a very loud shrill voice, cried, "O Silly, "why your troop of guards "shall be called to the house "of lords." D. (This note of lord Dartmouth's has been already published by sir John Dalrymple, in the Appendix to his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 288. Respecting the letter the earl of Sunderland published afterwards, in vindication of himself, it is observed, in the Life of King James II. lately published, "that in it he most "falsely pretends to have constantly opposed all those "counsels which were now so "cried out against: whereas "in reality he did not only ap-"prove them, but generally run "before the rest. He would "ofttimes indeed try the ford "by his secret agents, as sir "Nicholas Butler, Mr. Lob, "and even father Petre him-"self, that he might seem only "not to oppose those dangerous "methods which had their true "origin from him alone." vol. ii. p. 284. The earl of Ailesbury, in his letter to Mr. Leigh, of Adlestrop, says of this seducing minister, as he calls him, that he "put the king upon "all false steps, and owned "after the revolution to a friend "of mine, that he did all that "in him lay to promote the "entrance of the prince of "Orange." See before, at p. 697. He himself, in a letter still existing, boasts to king William of having "contributed what lay "in him towards the advancing "of his glorious undertaking." See Dalrymple's Append. P. iii. p. 1.)

1688. men to audiences, he had some very long ones of her. He represented to her, that the state of her affairs was quite changed by her having a son. There was no need of driving things fast, now they had a succession sure: time would bring all about, if matters were but softly managed. He told her, it would become her to set up for the author of gentle counsels, that she might by another administration lay the flame that was now kindled. By this she would gain the hearts of the nation, both to
756 her self and to her son: she might be declared regent, in case the king should die before her son came to be of age. He found these advices began to be hearkened to. But, that he might have the more credit in pressing them, he, who had but too slight notions of religion, resolved to declare himself a papist. And then, he being in the same interest with her, and most violently hated for this ill step he had made, he gained such an ascendant over her spirit, that things were like to be put in another management.

And he turned papist.

He made the step to popery all of the sudden, without any previous instruction or conference: so that the change he made looked too like a man who, having no religion, took up one, rather for to serve a turn, than that he was truly changed from one religion to another. He has been since accused, as if he had done all this to gain the more credit, that so he might the more effectually ruin the king[m]. There was a suspicion of another nature,

[m] After the revolution, he and his friends for him pleaded, that he turned papist for the good of the protestant religion, and he told Mr. John Danvers, (from whom I had it,) that he wondered any body would be so silly as to dispute with kings;

that stuck with some in England, who thought that Mr. Sidney, who had the secret of all the correspondence that was between the prince and his party in England, being in particular friendship with the earl of Sunderland, the earl had got into that secret[n]: and they fancied he would get into the prince's confidence by Sidney's means. So I was writ to, and desired to put it home to the prince, whether he was in any confidence or correspondence with the earl of Sunderland, or not? For, till they were satisfied in that matter, they would not go on; since they believed he would betray all, when things were ripe for it, and that many were engaged in the design. The prince upon that did say very positively, that he was in no sort of correspondence with him. His counsels lay then another way. And, if time had been given him to follow the scheme then laid down by him, things might have turned fatally: and the nation might have been so laid asleep with new promises, and a different conduct, that in a slow method they might have gained that, which they were so near losing by the violent proceedings in which they had gone so far[o]. The judges had orders in their cir- 1688.

for if they would not take good advice, there was no way of dealing with them, but by running into their measures till they had ruined themselves. D.

[n] He was brother to the earl's mother, Mr. Waller's Sacharissa. She was, after the death of the earl's father, married to a private gentleman of Kent, near Penshurst, Mr. Smythe, from which marriage is descended a grandson, sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, a baron of the exchequer, and late one of the lords commissioners of the great seal. O.

[o] See what the want of probity will bring the greatest man to. This able politician had the dexterity to draw this dilemma upon his character. If he was true to his country, he betrayed his master. If he was true to his master, he was false to his country. He served king

1688. cuits to proceed very gently, and to give new promises in the king's name. But they were treated every where with such contempt, that the common decencies were scarce paid them, when they were on the bench. And they now saw that the presentments of grand juries, and the verdicts of other juries, were no more under their direction. Things slept in England, as is usual, during the long vacation. But the court had little quiet, having every day fresh alarms from abroad, as well as great mortifications at home.

757 The prince of Orange treats with some princes of the empire.

I must now change the scene, and give a large account of the affairs abroad, they having such a connection with all that followed in England. Upon the elector of Brandenburgh's death, the prince sent Mr. Bentink with the compliment to the new elector: and he was ordered to lay before him the state of affairs, and to communicate the prince's design to him, and to ask him, how much he might depend upon him for his assistance. The answer was full and frank. He offered all that was asked, and more. The prince resolved to carry over to England an army of nine thousand foot and four thousand horse and dragoons. He intended to choose these out of the whole Dutch army. But for the

William afterwards, and was deemed the best minister he ever had. But king William should not have made such a man his minister. However good his counsels might be, his character did the king more hurt; and in some things his fears, on account of his former actings, made him advise the king very ill. See the next vol. page 163, 171. He was certainly a very ill man. I have heard one particular of him, which is pretty extraordinary in this country, when men generally raise themselves by ability of speech, in public assemblies, "that he never used to speak "in parliament." See the next vol. pp. 4, 128, 207. O.

security of the States, under such a diminution of their force, it was necessary to have a strength from some other princes. This was soon concerted between the prince and the new elector, with the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Lunenburg and Zell, who had a particular affection to the prince, and was a cordial friend to him on all occasions [p]. 1688.

His brother, the duke of Hanover, was at that time in some engagements with the court of France. But, since he had married the princess Sophia of the Palatine house, I ventured to send a message to her by one of their court, who was then at the Hague. He was a French refugee, named Mr. Boucour. It was to acquaint her with our design with relation to England, and to let her know, that, if we succeeded, certainly a perpetual exclusion of all papists from the succession to the crown would be enacted: and, since she was the next protestant heir after the two princesses, and the prince of Orange, of whom at that time there was no issue alive, I was very confident, that, if the duke of Hanover could be disengaged from the interests of France, so that he came into our interests, the succession to the crown would be lodged in her person, and in her posterity: though on the other hand, if he continued, as he stood then, engaged with France, I could not answer for this. The gentleman carried the message and delivered it. The duchess entertained it with much warmth: and brought him to the duke to repeat it to him. But

[p] (Ralph asserts, that these conferences took place after the elector of Cologne's death, of which mention is made below. Hist. of England, p. 1009.)

1688. at that time this made no great impression on him. He looked on it as a remote and a doubtful project. Yet when he saw our success in England, he had other thoughts of it. Some days after this Frenchman was gone, I told the prince what I had done. He approved of it heartily: but was particularly glad that I had done it as of my self, without communicating it to him, or any way engaging him in it: for he said, if it should happen to be known that the proposition was made by him, it might do us
758 hurt in England, as if he had already reckoned himself so far master, as to be forming projects concerning the succession to the crown [q].

The affairs of Colen.

But while this was in a secret management, the elector of Colen's death came in very luckily to give a good colour to intrigues and preparations. The old elector was brother to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. He had been long bishop, both of Colen and Liege: he was also elected bishop of Munster: but the pope would never grant his bulls for that see: but he had the temporalties, and that was all he thought on. He had thus a revenue of near four millions of guilders, and four great bishoprics; for he

[q] In this case, as in that modest proposal he made to the princess, (see above, p. 692,) I believe he was employed by the prince, as one there was no consequence in disavowing, if he had no success; and by his own account, the prince was resolved to do so. But that this little pamphlet writer should of his own head propose settling the succession, either to the princess of Orange, or the princess Sophia, is what I cannot credit, though he is not ashamed to own it; his vanity being very apt to get the better of his modesty, and sometimes of his truth, of which there are many instances in this history that I did not expect. D. (William's connections with and his designs in favour of the princes of the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh, may be seen in D'Avaux's Negotiations, years 1680, &c.)

was likewise bishop of Hildesheim. He could arm and pay twenty thousand men, besides that his dominions lay quite round the Netherlands. Munster lay between them and the northern parts of Germany; and from thence their best recruits came. Colen commanded twenty leagues of the Rhine; by which, as an entrance was opened into Holland, which they had felt severely in the year 1672, so the Spanish Netherlands were entirely cut off from all assistance that might be sent them out of Germany: and Liege was a country full both of people and wealth, by which an entrance is open into Brabant: and if Maestricht was taken, the Maese was open down to Holland. So it was of great importance to the States to take care who should succeed him. The old man was a weak prince, much set on chemical processes, in hopes of the philosopher's stone. He had taken one of the princes of Furstenberg into his particular confidence, and was entirely governed by him. He made him one of the canons of Colen: and he came to be dean at last. He made him not only his chief minister, but left the nomination of the canons that were preferred by him wholly to his choice. The bishop and the dean and chapter name those by turns. So what by those the elector named on his motion, what by those he got to be chosen, he reckoned he was sure of succeeding the elector: and nothing but ill management could have prevented it. He had no hopes of succeeding at Munster. But he had taken much pains to secure Liege. 1688.

I need not enlarge further on this story, than to remember that he got the elector to deliver his country up to the French in the year 1672, and

1688. that the treaty opened at Colen was broken up on his being seized by the emperor's order. After he was set at liberty, he was, upon the recommendation of the court of France, made a cardinal, though with much difficulty. In the former winter, the emperor had been prevailed on by the Palatine family to consent to the election of a coadjutor in Colen. But this was an artifice of the cardinal's,
759 who deceived that family into the hopes of carrying the election for one of their branches. And they obtained the emperor's consent to it, without which it could not be done. But so ill grounded were the Palatine's hopes, that of twenty-five voices the cardinal had nineteen, and they had only six voices.

The contest at Rome about the franchises had now occasioned such a rupture there, that France and Rome seemed to be in a state of war. The count Lavardin was sent ambassador to Rome. But the pope refused to receive him, unless he would renounce the pretension to the franchises. So he entered Rome in a hostile manner, with some troops of horse, though not in form of troops: but the force was too great for the pope. He kept guards about his house, and in the franchises, and affronted the pope's authority on all occasions. The pope bore all silently; but would never admit him to an audience, nor receive any message nor intercession from the court of France; and kept off every thing, in which they concerned themselves: and therefore he would not confirm the election of a coadjutor to Colen. So, that not being done when the elector died, the canons were to proceed to a new election, the former being void, because not confirmed: for if it had been confirmed, there would have been no vacancy.

The cabal against the cardinal grew so strong, 1688.
that he began to apprehend he might lose it, if he had not leave from the pope to resign the bishopric of Strasburg, which the French had forced him to accept, only to lessen the pension that they paid him by giving him that bishopric. By the rules of the empire, a man that is already a bishop, cannot be chosen to another see, but by a postulation: and to that it is necessary to have a concurrence of two-thirds of the chapter. But it was at the pope's choice, whether he would accept of the resignation of Strasburg, or not: and therefore he refused it. The king of France sent a gentleman to the pope with a letter writ in his own hand, desiring him to accept of that resignation, and promising him upon it all reasonable satisfaction: but the pope would not admit the bearer, nor receive the letter. He said, while the French ambassador lived at Rome like an enemy that had invaded it, he would receive nothing from that court.

In the bishoprics of Munster and Hildesheim, the deans were promoted, of whom both the states and the princes of the empire were well assured. But a new management was set up at Cölen. The elector of Bavaria had been disgusted at some things in the emperor's court. He complained, that the honour of the success in Hungary was given so entirely to the duke of Lorrain, that he had not the share which 760
belonged to him. The French instruments that were then about him took occasion to alienate him more from the emperor, by representing to him, that, in the management now at Colen, the emperor shewed more regard to the Palatine family than to himself, after all the service he had done him. The emperor,

1688. apprehending the ill consequences of a breach with him, sent and offered him the supreme command of his armies in Hungary for that year, the duke of Lorrain being taken ill of a fever, just as they were upon opening the campaign. He likewise offered him all the voices that the palatine had made at Colen, in favour of his brother prince Clement. Upon this they were again reconciled: and the elector of Bavaria commanded the emperor's army in Hungary so successfully, that he took Belgrade by storm after a short siege. Prince Clement was then but seventeen, and was not of the chapter of Colen. So he was not eligible, according to their rules, till he obtained a bull from the pope dispensing with these things. That was easily got. With it the emperor sent one to manage the election in his name, with express instructions to offer the chapter the whole revenue and government of the temporalties for five years, in case they would choose prince Clement, who wanted all that time to be of age. If he could make nine voices sure for him, he was to stick firm to his interest. But, if he could not gain so many, he was to consent to any person that should be set up in opposition to the cardinal. He was ordered to charge him severely before the chapter, as one that had been for many years an enemy and traitor to the empire. This was done with all possible aggravations, and in very injurious words.

The chapter saw, that this election was like to be attended with a war in their country, and other dismal consequences: for the cardinal was chosen by the chapter, vicar, or guardian of the temporalties: and he had put garrisons in all their fortified places, that were paid with French money: and they knew,

he would put them all in the king of France's hands, 1688.
if he was not elected. They had promised not to vote in favour of the Bavarian prince. So they offered to the emperor's agent to consent to any third person: but ten voices were made sure to prince Clement: so he was fixed to his interests. At the election, the cardinal had fourteen voices, and prince Clement had ten. By this means the cardinal's postulation was defective, since he had not two-thirds. And upon that, prince Clement's election was first judged good by the emperor, as to the temporalties; but was transmitted by him to Rome, where a congregation of cardinals examined it: and it was judged in favour of prince Clement. The cardinal 761
succeeded worse at Liege, where the dean was without any difficulty chosen bishop: and nothing but the cardinal's purple saved him from the violences of the people of Liege. He met with all sorts of injurious usage, being hated there, both on the account of his depending so much on the protection of France, and for the effects they had felt of his violent and cruel ministry under the old elector. I will add one circumstance in honour of some of the canons of Liege. They not only would accept of no presents from those whom the states appointed to assist in managing that election, before it was made; but they refused them after the election was over. This I saw in the letter that the States' deputy wrote to the Hague.

I have given a more particular account of this matter; because I was acquainted with all the steps that were made in it. And it had such an immediate relation to the peace and safety of Holland, that, if they had miscarried in it, the expedition de-

1688. signed for England would not have been so safe, nor could it have been proposed easily in the States. By this it appeared, what an influence the papacy, low as it is, may still have in the matters of the greatest consequence. The foolish pride of the French court, which had affronted the pope, in a point in which, since they allowed him to be the prince of Rome, he certainly could lay down such rules as he thought fit, did now defeat a design that they had been long driving at, and which could not have miscarried by any other means, than those that they had found out. Such great events may and do often rise from inconsiderable beginnings. These things furnished the prince with a good blind for covering all his preparations; since here a war in their neighbourhood was unavoidable, and it was necessary to strengthen both their alliances and their troops. For it was visible to all the world, that, if the French could have fixed themselves in the territory of Colen, the way was opened to enter Holland, or to seize on Flanders, when the king pleased; and he would have the four electors on the Rhine at mercy. It was necessary to dislodge them, and this could not be done without a war with France. The prince got the States to settle a fund for nine thousand seamen, to be constantly in their service. And orders were given to put the naval preparations in such a case, that they might be ready to put to sea upon orders. Thus things went on in July and August, with so much secrecy and so little suspicion, that neither the court of England nor the court of France seemed to be alarmed at them[r].

[r] (Ralph remarks, that the bishop himself acknowledges, at p. 768, that Albeville came over fully persuaded, that the Dutch

In July, admiral Herbert came over to Holland, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour: for he was upon every occasion so sullen and peevish, that it was plain he set a high value on himself, and expected the same of all others. He had got his accounts passed, in which he complained, that the king had used him not only hardly but unjustly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury. Yet he had a good understanding: and he had gained so great a reputation by his steady behaviour in England, that the prince understood that it was expected he should use him as he himself should desire; in which it was not very easy to him to constrain himself so far as that required. The managing him was in a great measure put on me: and it was no easy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes some men instruments in great things, to which they themselves have no sort of affection or disposition: for his private quarrel with the lord Dartmouth, who he thought had more of the king's confidence than he himself had, was believed the root of all the sullenness he fell under towards the king, and of all the firmness that grew out of that. 1688. 762 Herbert came over to Holland.

I now return to England, to give an account of a secret management there. The lord Mordaunt[s] was the first of all the English nobility that came over openly to see the prince of Orange. He asked the The advices from England.

designed the expedition against England. And further observes, that the whole tenor of James's measures shews, that he suspected the intentions of Holland, for when the Dutch fitted out a fleet, he did the same; and that lord Sunderland in his letter of apology intimates, that the French made an offer in the summer of strengthening the king's hands with a squadron of theirs, which was refused. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 1006.)

[s] Now earl of Peterborough. S.

1688. king's leave to do it. He was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse: he was brave and generous: but had not true judgment, [and less virtue:] his thoughts were crude and indigested: and his secrets were soon known. [He was both vain, passionate, and inconstant.] He was with the prince in the year 1686: and then he pressed him to undertake the business of England: and he represented the matter as so easy, that this appeared too romantical to the prince to build upon it. He only promised in general, that he should have an eye on the affairs of England; and should endeavour to put the affairs of Holland in so good a posture, as to be ready to act when it should be necessary: and he assured him, that, if the king should go about either to change the established religion, or to wrong the princess in her right, or to raise forged plots to destroy his friends, that he would try what he could possibly do. Next year a man of a far different temper came over to him:

The lord Mordaunt's character.

The earl of Shrewsbury's character.

The earl of Shrewsbury. He had been bred a papist, but had forsaken that religion upon a very critical and anxious inquiry into matters of controversy[t]. Some thought that, though he had forsaken popery, he was too sceptical, and too little fixed in the points of religion. He seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour[u]. 763 He had no ordinary measure of learning, a correct

[t] He turned protestant in the time of the popish plot, as did the earl of Arundel, (by the advice, as was said, of his father, the duke of Norfolk, who told him he was too old to change his religion, but thought it convenient his son should,) lord Lumley, since earl of Scarborough, lord Brudenel, eldest son to the earl of Cardigan, and several others of lower distinction. D.

[u] Quite contrary. S.

judgment, with a sweetness of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time just notions of government; and so great a command of himself, that, during all the time that he continued in the ministry, I never heard any one complaint of him, but for his silent and reserved answers, with which his friends were not always well pleased. His modest deportment gave him such an interest in the prince, that he never seemed so fond of any of his ministers as he was of him. He had only in general laid the state of affairs before the prince, without pressing him too much. 1688.

Russel's character.

But Russel coming over in May, brought the matter nearer a point. He was a cousin-german to the lord Russel. He had been bred at sea, and was bed-chamber-man to the king, when he was duke of York: but, upon the lord Russel's death, he retired from the court. He was a man of much honour and great courage. He had good principles, and was firm to them. [He was too lazy, too haughty, and too much given to pleasure.] The prince spoke more positively to him than he had ever done before. He said, he must satisfy both his honour and conscience, before he could enter upon so great a design, which, if it miscarried, must bring ruin both on England and Holland: he protested, that no private ambition nor resentment of his own could ever prevail so far with him, as to make him break with so near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the consequences must be of the last importance both to the interests of Europe and of the protestant religion: therefore he expected formal and direct invitations. Russel laid before him the danger of trusting such a secret to great numbers. The

1688. prince said, if a considerable number of men, that might be supposed to understand the sense of the nation best, should do it, he would acquiesce in it.

Russel told me, that, upon his return to England, he communicated the matter, first to the earl of Shrewsbury, and then to the lord Lumly, who was a late convert from popery, and had stood out very firmly all this reign[x]. He was a man who laid his interest much to heart: and he resolved to embark deep in this design.

But the man in whose hands the conduct of the whole design was chiefly deposited, by the prince's own order, was Mr. Sidney, brother to the earl of Leicester and to Algernoon Sidney. He was a graceful man, and had lived long in the court, where he had some adventures that became very public. He was a man of a sweet and caressing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleasure[y]. He had been sent envoy to Holland in the year 1679, where he entered into such particular confidences with the prince, that he had the highest measure of his trust and favour that any Englishman ever had. This was well known over England: so that all who desired to recommend themselves to the prince did it through his hands. He was so apprehensive of the dangers this might cast him in, that he travelled almost a year round Italy. But now matters ripened faster: so all centered in him. But, because he was lazy, and the business required an active man, who could both run about, and write over long and full accounts of all matters, I recom-

Sidney's character.

764

[x] He was a knave and a coward. S.

[y] An idle, drunken, ignorant rake, without sense, truth, or honour. S.

mended a kinsman of my own, Johnstoune[z], whom I had formed, and knew to be both faithful and diligent, and very fit for the employment he was now trusted with. [He was indeed hot and eager, too soon possessed with jealousy, and too vehement in all he proposed, but he proved very fit.] 1688.

Many engaged in the design.

Sidney tried the marquis of Hallifax, if he would advise the prince's coming over. But, as this matter was opened to him at a great distance, he did not encourage a further freedom. He looked on the thing as impracticable: it depended on so many accidents, that he thought it was a rash and desperate project, that ventured all upon such a dangerous issue, as might turn on seas and winds. It was next opened to the earl of Danby: and he not only went in heartily to it himself, but drew in the bishop of London to join in it. By their advice it was proposed to the earl of Nottingham, who had great credit with the whole church party: for he was a man possessed with their notions[a], and was grave and virtuous in the course of his life. He had some knowledge of the law, and of the records of parliament, and was a copious speaker, but too florid and tedious. He [certainly admired himself, and] was much admired by many, [chiefly by those who knew him least.] He had stood at a great distance from the court all this reign: for, though his name was still among the privy counsellors, yet he never went to the board. He upon the first proposition entertained it, and agreed to it. But at their next meeting he said, he had considered better of that matter:

[z] An arrant Scotch rogue. S. He was a son of Wariston, mentioned before, (p. 203,) and was afterwards secretary of state for Scotland. O.

[a] That is, church notions. S.

1688. his conscience was so restrained in those points, that he could not go further with them in it: he said, he had talked with some divines, and named Tillotson and Stillingfleet, in general of the thing; and they were not satisfied with it: (though they protested to me afterwards, that they remembered no such thing:) he confessed, he should not have suffered them to go so far with him in such a secret, till he had examined it better: they had now, according to Italian notions, a right to murder him[b]: but, though his principles restrained him, so that he could not go on with them, his affections would make him to wish well to them, and be so far a criminal as concealment could make him one[c]. The earl of Devonshire was spoke to: and he went into it with great resolution. It was next proposed to three of the chief officers of
765 the army, Trelawny, Kirk, and the lord Churchill. These went all into it. And Trelawny engaged his brother, the bishop of Bristol, into it.

Lord Churchill's character.

But, having now named the lord Churchill, who is like to be mentioned oft by me in the sequel of this work, I will say a little more of him. He was

[b] It has been said, that the Spanish minister here, who was in the secret, did advise the putting him to death. O.

[c] The duke of Shrewsbury told me, that upon this declaration of lord Nottingham, one of the lords (whom he named) said he thought things were brought to a short point, either lord Nottingham or they must die, and proposed shooting of him upon Kensington road, which he would undertake to do in such a manner, that it should appear to have been done by highwaymen. Lord Danby said, he thought there was more danger in meddling with him than letting of him alone, for he believed, he durst as little discover as join with them: for he must needs think, that any prejudice he did them would certainly be revenged. Upon which they agreed to have nothing more to do with him, unless their design miscarried; in which case lord Danby thought, they had reason to prevent his claiming any merit to the other side, by any means whatever. D.

a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the court with no literature: but he had a solid and clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a court beyond any man in it. He caressed all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to set up on: this put him on all the methods of acquiring one[d]. And that went so far into him, that he did not shake it off when he was in a much higher elevation: nor was his expence suited enough to his posts. But, when allowances are made for that, it must be acknowledged, that he is one of the greatest men the age has produced[e]. He was in high fa- 1688.

[d] A composition of perfidiousness and avarice. S. Prince Eugene gave a concise character of him upon receiving a letter from him that he could not well read, therefore gave it to another person to try if he could read it to him, who said one difficulty was, that he never put a tittle upon an i; to which the prince answered, that saved ink. D. (There are numerous proofs of the perfidy of this most ungrateful person, and his rapacity is the subject of many a satire; but it is somewhere told, that when his enemies were attacking his character, particularly noticing his avarice, and appealed to lord Bolingbroke, who had formerly been connected with him, for the truth of their remarks, his lordship answered, that the duke of Marlborough was so great a man, that he could remember none of his faults. A fine sentiment of a rival statesman; but which ought not to abridge the freedom of history, or to protect the vices of a great bad man.)

[e] He might with truth have added, that he was undoubtedly the most fortunate man that ever lived, having always received the reward before the merit, and the appearance of having deserved it came afterwards, in which he expected, and constantly had a second gratification; till he had procured all the honours and wealth his own country could give him, and then obtained leave to be made a prince of the empire, with full liberty to pillage our allies, which he did so effectually, that at his death, no prince in Europe had the command of so much treasure. But he had the misfortune to lose his understanding, some time before he died, which in one sense made good Madam

1688. vour with the king. But his lady was much more in princess Anne's favour. She had an ascendant over her in every thing. She was a woman of little knowledge, but of a clear apprehension and a true judgment, a warm and hearty friend, violent and sudden in her resolutions, and impetuous in her way of speaking. She was thought proud and insolent on her favour, though she used none of the common arts of a court to maintain it: for she did not beset the princess, nor flatter her[f]. She stayed much at home, and looked very carefully after the education of her children. Having thus opened both their characters, I will now give an account of this lord's engagements in this matter; for which he has been so severely censured, as guilty both of ingratitude and treachery to a very kind and liberal master. He never discovered any of the king's secrets; nor did he ever push him on to any violent proceedings[g].

De Croise's prophecy, that he should be the greatest man in England, and then lose his head. D.

[f] This she took care to prove in the scandalous memoirs she published, a little before her own death, and had often threatened to do so in the queen's lifetime, but was prevented, as sir Robert Walpole told me, by his telling her she would be tore in pieces in the streets if she did. But she shewed the queen's letters to every body, till Arthur Manwaring, a great favourite of hers, told her she exposed herself more than the queen, for they only confirmed what the world thought before, that her Majesty had always been too fond of her. But it seems they were of too sublime a nature to be totally suppressed; though to her own and mistress's disgrace. D.

[g] (Lieutenant colonel Beaumont having been directed by the duke of Berwick to admit some Irish soldiers for recruits, refused to do it, and offered to lay down his commission rather than comply. Accordingly he and those officers who joined with him were tried at a council of war, and cashiered: "when my lord Churchill moved "to have them suffer death for "their disobedience; foresee-"ing that such a piece of seve-"rity would reflect upon the

So that he was in no contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the contrary, whensoever he spoke to the king of his affairs, which he did but seldom, because he could not fall in with the king's notions, he always suggested moderate counsels. The earl of Galway told me, that when he came over with the first compliment upon the king's coming to the crown, he said then to him, that, if the king was ever prevailed on to alter our religion, he would serve him no longer, but withdraw from him. So early was this resolution fixed in him. When he saw how the king was set, he could not be contented to see all ruined by him. He was also very doubtful as to the pretended birth. So he resolved, when the prince should come over, to go in to him[h]; but to betray no post, nor do any thing more than the withdrawing himself, with such officers as he could trust with such a secret[i]. He also undertook, that prince 1688. 766

" king, and inflame the peo- " ple." *Life of King James II.* vol. ii. p. 169. See below, p. 767.)

[h] What could he do more to a mortal enemy? S.

[i] (Of the intention attributed to him to seize on the king's person in order to convey him to the prince of Orange's quarters, see an account by the king himself in his Life lately published, vol. ii. p. 222: who says, " that some days after, he had " so far intimation of his de- " sign, that it was proposed to " secure him." See also D'Orleans's Revolutions, p. 311, 312. and sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 167. Compare Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 280—284. The further charge against lord Churchill of his intending to assassinate the king in case of a failure of the attempt to seize him, depends on the alleged conversation and deathbed confession of lord Hewit, one of the supposed confederates. Lord Churchill's late biographer, after finding fault with Macpherson, is contented with making the following observation: " Such tales may find a mo- " mentary credit, when the " passions of men are heated; " but at present, to mention is " to refute them." See Coxe's Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 31. As for lord Marlborough's conduct afterwards, when he was imprisoned by William for corresponding

1688. George and the princess Anne would leave the court, and come to the prince, as soon as was possible [k].

With these invitations and letters the earl of Shrewsbury and Russel came over in September: and soon after them came Sidney with Johnstoun. And they brought over a full scheme of advices, together with the heads of a declaration, all which were chiefly penned by lord Danby. He, and the earl of Devonshire, and the lord Lumly, undertook for the north: and they all dispersed themselves into their several countries, and among their friends. The thing was in the hands of many thousands, who yet were so true to one another, that none of them made any discovery, no, not by their rashness: though they were so confident, that they did not use so discreet a conduct as was necessary. Matters went on in Holland with great secrecy till September. Then it was known, that many arms were be-

with, and giving intelligence to his old master, it only puts him on a level with his versatile and unprincipled contemporaries.)

[k] That Mr. Russel did carry such assurances is most undoubtedly true: but how this is to be reconciled to the account given by the duchess of Marlborough, of the prince's leaving the cockpit, her friends, if she has any, would do well to explain. At present it is made up of so many inconsistencies, that it is impossible any body should give credit to so ill a concerted romance. D. (Compare Ralph on this subject at p. 1048 of his History; who mentions a little before, that the earl of Balcarras, in his Memoirs, p. 27, speaking of the earl of Argyle, and his desire to be of the Orange party, tells us, "that he could not be admitted, till his request had been made known to prince George; that the condition upon which he was to be admitted was, the taking an oath upon the sacrament, to go in to the prince of Orange whenever he landed; and that he took the said oath accordingly, in the presence of the (young) duke of Ormond, and a gentleman who belonged to the prince of Denmark.")

spoke. And, though those were bargained for in the name of the king of Sweden, and of some of the princes of Germany, yet there was ground enough for suspicion. All those that were trusted proved both faithful and discreet. And here an eminent difference appeared between the hearty concurrence of those who went into a design upon principles of religion and honour, and the forced compliance of mercenary soldiers, or corrupt ministers, which is neither cordial nor secret. France took the alarm first, and gave it to the court of England. 1688.

The court of France gave the alarm.

D'Avaux, the French ambassador, could no more give the court of France those advertisements that he was wont to send of all that passed in Holland. He had great allowances for entertaining agents and spies every where. But Louvoy, who hated him, suggested that there was no more need of these: so they were stopped: and the ambassador was not sorry that the court felt their error so sensibly. The king published the advertisements he had from France a little too rashly: for all people were much animated, when they heard it from such a hand. The king soon saw his error: and, to correct it, he said on many occasions, that whatever the designs of the Dutch might be, he was sure they were not against him. It was given out sometimes, that they were against France, and then that they were against Denmark. Yet the king shewed he was not without his fears: for he ordered fourteen more ships to be put to sea with many fireships. He recalled Strickland, and gave the command to the lord Dartmouth; who was indeed one of the worthiest men of his court: he loved him, and had been long in his ser-

1688. vice, and in his confidence: but he was much against all the conduct of his affairs: yet he resolved to
767 stick to him at all hazards. The seamen came in slowly: and a heavy backwardness appeared in every thing.

Recruits from Ireland refused.

A new and unlooked for accident gave the king a very sensible trouble. It was resolved, as was told before, to model the army, and to begin with recruits from Ireland. Upon which the English army would have become insensibly an Irish one. The king made the first trial on the duke of Berwick's regiment, which being already under an illegal colonel, it might be supposed they were ready to submit to every thing. Five Irishmen were ordered to be put into every company of that regiment, which then lay at Portsmouth. But Beaumont, the lieutenant colonel, and five of the captains, refused to receive them. They said, they had raised their men upon the duke of Monmouth's invasion, by which their zeal for the king's service did evidently appear. If the king would order any recruits, they doubted not, but that they should be able to make them. But they found, it would give such an universal discontent, if they should receive the Irish among them, that it would put them out of a capacity of serving the king any more. But as the order was positive, so the duke of Berwick was sent down to see it obeyed. Upon which they desired leave to lay down their commissions. The king was provoked by this to such a degree that he could not govern his passion. The officers were put in arrest, and brought before a council of war, where they were broken with reproach, and declared incapable

to serve the king any more[1]. But upon this occasion the whole officers of the army declared so great an unwillingness to mix with those of another nation and religion, that, as no more attempts were made of this kind, so it was believed that this fixed the king in a point that was then under debate. 1688.

The king of France, when he gave the king the advertisements of the preparations in Holland, offered him such a force as he should call for. Twelve or fifteen thousand were named, or as many more as he should desire. It was proposed, that they should land at Portsmouth, and that they should have that place to keep the communication with France open, and in their hands. All the priests were for this: so were most of the popish lords. The earl of Sunderland was the only man in credit that opposed it. He said, the offer of an army of forty thousand men might be a real strength: but then it would depend on the orders that came from France: they might perhaps master England: but they would become the king's masters at the same time: so that he must govern under such orders as they should give: and thus he would quickly become only a viceroy to the king of France: any army less than that would lose the king the affections of his people, and drive his own army to desertion, if not to mutiny. Offers made by the French. 1768

The king did not think matters were yet so near a crisis: so he did neither entertain the proposition, nor let it fall quite to the ground. There was a treaty set on foot, and the king was to have an hun- Not entertained at that time.

[1] (This was a most barefaced and dangerous attempt, which, had it succeeded, must have ended in the slavery of the country; and at length in a bloody contest between the oppressors and the oppressed.)

1688. dred merchant ships ready for the transportation of such forces as he should desire, which it was promised should be ready when called for. It is certain, that the French ambassador then at London, who knew the court better than he did the nation, did believe, that the king would have been able to have made a greater division of the nation, than it proved afterwards he was able to do. He believed it would have gone to a civil war; and that then the king would have been forced to have taken assistance from France on any terms: and so he encouraged the king of France to go on with his designs that winter, and he believed he might come in good time next year to the king's assistance. These advices proved fatal to the king, and to Barillon himself: for when he was sent over to France, he was so ill looked on, that it was believed it had an ill effect on his health; for he died soon after[m].

Albeville came over fully persuaded that the Dutch designed the expedition against England, but played the minister so, that he took pains to infuse into all people that they designed no such thing; which made him to be generally laughed at. He was soon sent back: and in a memorial he gave into the States, he asked what was the design of those great and surprising preparations at such a season. The States, according to their slow forms,

[m] (Barillon, according to Echard, in his Hist. of the Revolution, before the meeting of the convention, appeared extraordinarily active and busy in promoting divisions among the peers; upon which the prince of Orange sent an express order to that minister to leave the kingdom in twenty-four hours. He demanded a longer time, but being refused, unwillingly left London. p. 218. This ambassador of France was sent away under a Dutch guard as far as Dover.)

let this lie long before them, without giving it an answer. 1688.

The French own an alliance with the king.

But the court of France made a greater step. The French ambassador in a memorial told the States, that his master understood their design was against England, and in that case he signified to them, that there was such a strait alliance between him and the king of England, that he would look on every thing done against England as an invasion of his own crown. This put the king and his ministers much out of countenance: for, upon some surmises of an alliance with France, they had very positively denied there was any such thing. Albeville did continue to deny it at the Hague, even after the memorial was put in. The king did likewise deny it to the Dutch ambassador at London. And the blame of the putting it into the memorial was cast on Shelton, the king's envoy at Paris, who was disowned in it, and upon his coming over was put in the tower for it. This was a short disgrace; for he was soon after made lieutenant of the tower. His rash folly might have procured the order from 769
the court of France to own this alliance: he thought it would terrify the States: and so he pressed this officiously, which they easily granted. That related only to the owning it in so public a manner. But this did clearly prove, that such an alliance was made[n]: otherwise no instances, how pressing soever, would have prevailed with the court of France to have owned it in so solemn a manner: for what ambassadors say in their master's name, when they are not immediately disowned, passes for authentic.

[n] And who can blame him, if in such a necessity he made that alliance? S.

1688. So that it was a vain cavil that some made afterwards, when they asked, how was this alliance proved? The memorial was a full proof of it: and the shew of a disgrace on Shelton did not at all weaken that proof[o].

But I was more confirmed of this matter by what sir William Trumball, then the English ambassador at Constantinople, told me at his return to England. He was the eminentest of all our civilians, and was by much the best pleader in those courts, and was a learned, a diligent, and a virtuous man. He was sent envoy to Paris upon the lord Preston's being recalled. He was there when the edict that repealed the edict of Nantes was passed, and saw the violence of the persecution, and acted a great and worthy part in harbouring many, in covering their effects, and in conveying over their jewels and plate to England; which disgusted the court of France, and was not very acceptable to the court of England, though it was not then thought fit to disown or recall him for it. He had orders to put in me-

[o] (Ralph observes, that what was policy in the prince of Orange and the States, passed on their dependents as conviction. The bishop, he adds, did not consider, that the words *amity* and *alliance*, which are the very words of the memorial, are indefinite, and seem rather to relate to a general, than any particular engagement; neither did he recollect, that even lord Sunderland, in his apology, makes use of these expressions: "I can-" not omit saying something of " France, there having been so " much talk of a league be-" tween the two kings. I do " protest, I never knew of any." Nor that he himself had just before said, that the king did neither entertain the proposition made by Bonrepos, nor let it fall quite to the ground. Concerning the memorial presented by Albeville, in which offers were made to take measures with the Dutch for maintaining the peace of Nimeguen, the bishop is silent. Ralph's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 1008, 1011. But Bonrepos' proposal might be waived for a time, and yet the pretended league exist.)

morials, complaining of the invasion of the principality of Orange; which he did in so high a strain, that the last of them was like a denunciation of war. From thence he was sent to Turkey. And, about this time, he was surprised one morning by a visit that the French ambassador made him, without those ceremonies that pass between ambassadors. He told him, there was no ceremony to be between them any more; for their masters were now one. And he shewed him Monsieur de Croissy's letter, which was written in cipher. The deciphering he read to him, importing that now an alliance was concluded between the two kings. So this matter was as evidently proved, as a thing of such a nature could possibly be. 1688.

The conduct of France at that time with relation to the States was very unaccountable; and proved as favourable to the prince of Orange's designs, as if he had directed it. All the manufacture of Holland, both linen and woollen, was prohibited in France. The importation of herrings was also prohibited, except they were cured with French salt. This was contrary to the treaty of commerce. The manufacture began to suffer much. And this was sensible to those who were concerned in the herring trade. So the States prohibited the importing of French wine or brandy, till the trade should be set free again of both sides. There was nothing that the prince had more reason to apprehend, than that the French should have given the States some satisfaction in the point of trade, and offered some assurances with relation to the territory of Colen. Many of the towns of Holland might have been wrought on by some temper in these things; great bodies be- The strange conduct of France. 770

1688. ing easily deceived, and not easily drawn into wars, which interrupt that trade which they subsist by. But the height the court of France was then in, made them despise all the world. They seemed rather to wish for a war, than to fear it. This disposed the States to an unanimous concurrence in the great resolutions that were now agreed on, of raising ten thousand men more, and of accepting thirteen thousand Germans, for whom the prince had, as was formerly mentioned, agreed with some of the princes of the empire. Amsterdam was at first cold in the matter: but they consented with the rest. Reports were given out, that the French would settle a regulation of commerce, and that they would abandon the cardinal, and leave the affairs of Colen to be settled by the laws of the empire. Expedients were also spoke of for accommodating the matter, by prince Clement's being admitted coadjutor, and by his having some of the strong places put in his hands. This was only given out to amuse.

A manifesto of war against the empire.

But while these things were discoursed of at the Hague, the world was surprised with a manifesto, set out, in the king of France's name, against the emperor. In it, the emperor's ill designs against France were set forth. It also complained of the elector palatine's injustice to the duchess of Orleans, in not giving her the succession that fell to her by her brother's death, which consisted in some lands, cannon, furniture, and other moveable goods. It also charged him with the disturbances in Colen, he having intended first to gain that to one of his own sons, and then engaging the Bavarian prince into it; whose elder brother having no children, he

hoped, by bringing him into an ecclesiastical state, 1688.
to make the succession of Bavaria fall into his own family. It charged the emperor likewise with a design to force the electors to choose his son king of the Romans; and that the elector palatine was pressing him to make peace with the Turks, in order to the turning his arms against France. By their means a great alliance was projected among many protestant princes to disturb cardinal Furstemberg in the possession of Colen, to which he was postulated by the majority of the chapter. And this might turn to the prejudice of the catholic reli- 771
gion in that territory. Upon all these considerations, the king of France, seeing that his enemies could not enter into France by any other way but by that of Philipsburg, resolved to possess himself of it, and then to demolish it. He resolved also to take Kaisarslauter from the palatine, and to keep it, till the duchess of Orleans had justice done her in her pretensions. And he also resolved to support the cardinal in his possession of Colen. But, to balance this, he offered to the house of Bavaria, that prince Clement should be chosen coadjutor. He offered also to rase Fribourg, and to restore Kaisarslauter, as soon as the elector palatine should pay the duchess of Orleans the just value of her pretensions. He demanded, that the truce between him and the empire should be turned into a peace. He proposed, that the king of England and the republic of Venice should be the mediators of this peace. And he concluded all, declaring that he would not bind himself to stand to the conditions now offered by him, unless they were accepted of before January.

I have given a full abstract of this manifesto: for

1688. upon it did the great war begin, which lasted till the peace of Ryswick. And, upon the grounds laid down in this manifesto, it will evidently appear, whether the war was a just one, or not. This declaration was much censured, both for the matter and for the style. It had not the air of greatness, which became crowned heads. The duchess of Orleans's pretensions to old furniture was a strange rise to a war; especially when it was not alleged, that these had been demanded in the forms of law, and that justice had been denied, which was a course necessarily to be observed in things of that nature. The judging of the secret intentions of the elector palatine, with relation to the house of Bavaria, was absurd. And the complaints of designs to bring the emperor to a peace with the Turks, that so he might make war on France, and of the emperor's design to force an election of a king of the Romans, was the entering into the secrets of those thoughts which were only known to God. Such conjectures, so remote and uncertain, and that could not be proved, were a strange ground of war. If this was once admitted, all treaties of peace were vain things, and were no more to be reckoned or relied on. The reason given of the intention to take Philipsbourg, because it was the properest place by which France could be invaded, was a throwing off all regards to the common decencies observed by princes. All fortified places on frontiers are intended both for resistance and for magazines; and are of both sides conveniencies for entering into the neighbouring territory, as there is occasion for it. So here was a pre-
772 tence set up, of beginning a war, that puts an end to all the securities of peace.

Reflections made upon it.

The business of Colen was judged by the pope, according to the laws of the empire: and his sentence was final: nor could the postulation of the majority of the chapter be valid, unless two-thirds joined in it. The cardinal was commended in the manifesto, for his care in preserving the peace of Europe. This was ridiculous to all, who knew that he had been for many years the great incendiary, who had betrayed the empire, chiefly in the year 1672. The charge that the emperor's agent had laid on him before the chapter was also complained of, as an infraction of the amnesty stipulated by the peace of Nimeguen. He was not indeed to be called to an account, in order to be punished for any thing done before that peace. But that did not bind up the emperor from endeavouring to exclude him from so great a dignity, which was like to prove fatal to the empire. These were some of the censures that passed on this manifesto; which was indeed looked on, by all who had considered the rights of peace and the laws of war, as one of the most avowed and solemn declarations, that ever was made, of the perfidiousness of that court. And it was thought to be some degrees beyond that in the year 1672, in which that king's glory was pretended as the chief motive of that war. For, in that, particulars were not reckoned up: so it might be supposed, he had met with affronts, which he did not think consistent with his greatness to be mentioned. But here all that could be thought on, even the hangings of Heidelberg, were enumerated: and all together amounted to this, that the king of France thought himself tied by no peace; but that, when he suspected his neighbours were intending to make war upon him, he 1688.

1688. might upon such a suspicion begin a war on his part [q].

Another against the pope.

This manifesto against the emperor was followed by another against the pope, writ in the form of a letter to cardinal D'Estrées, to be given by him to the pope. In it, he reckoned all the partiality that the pope had shewed during his whole pontificate, both against France and in favour of the house of Austria. He mentioned the business of the regale; his refusing the bulls to the bishops nominated by him; the dispute about the franchises, of which his ambassadors had been long in possession; the denying audience, not only to his ambassador, but to a gentleman whom he had sent to Rome without a character, and with a letter writ in his own hand: in conclusion, he complained of the pope's breaking the canons of the church, in granting bulls in favour of prince Clement, and in denying justice to cardinal Furstemberg: for all these reasons the king was re-
773 solved to separate the character of the most holy father from that of a temporal prince: and therefore he intended to seize on Avignon, as likewise on Castro, until the pope should satisfy the pretensions of the duke of Parma. He complained of the pope's not concurring with him in the concerns of the church, for the extirpation of heresy: in which the pope's behaviour gave great scandal both to the old catholics and to the new converts. It also gave the prince of Orange the boldness to go and invade the king of England, under the pretence of supporting the protestant religion, but indeed to destroy the catholic religion, and to overturn the government [r].

[q] The common maxim of princes. S.

[r] (It appears from cardinal D'Estrées's two letters, pub-

Upon which his emissaries and the writers in Holland gave out, that the birth of the prince of Wales was an imposture. 1688.

This was the first public mention that was made of the imposture of that birth: for the author of a book writ to that purpose was punished for it in Holland. It was strange to see the disputes about the franchises made a pretence for a war: for certainly all sovereign princes can make such regulations as they think fit in those matters. If they cut ambassadors short in any privilege, their ambassadors are to expect the same treatment from other princes: and as long as the sacredness of an ambassador's person and of his family was still preserved, which was all that was a part of the law of nations, princes may certainly limit the extent of their other privileges, and may refuse any ambassadors who will not submit to their regulation. The number of an ambassador's retinue is not a thing that can be well defined: but if an ambassador comes with an army about him, instead of a retinue, he may be denied admittance. And if he forces it, as Lavardin had done, it was certainly an act of hostility: and, instead of having a right to the character of an ambassador, he might well be considered and treated as an enemy. Censures that passed upon it.

The pope had observed the canons in rejecting cardinal Furstemburg's defective postulation. And, whatever might be brought from ancient canons, the practice of that church for many ages allowed of the

lished by Dalrymple in the Appendix to his Memoirs, p. 240—253, that the pope highly approved of the league against France; and that the intended alteration of the English government was known at Rome near a year before it took place.)

1688. dispensations that the pope granted to prince Clement. It was looked on by all people as a strange reverse of things, to see the king of France, after all his cruelty to the protestants, now go to make war on the pope; and on the other hand to see the whole protestant body concurring to support the authority of the pope's bulls in the business of Colen; and to defend the two houses of Austria and Bavaria, by whom they were laid so low but threescore years before this. The French, by the war that they had now begun, had sent their troops towards Germany and the upper Rhine; and so had
774 rendered their sending an army over to England impracticable: nor could they send such a force into the bishopric of Colen as could any ways alarm the States. So that the invasion of Germany made the designs that the prince of Orange was engaged in both practicable and safe.

Marshal Schomberg sent to Cleve.

Marshal Schomberg came at this time into the country of Cleve. He was a German by birth: so when the persecution was begun in France, he desired leave to return into his own country. That was denied him. All the favour he could obtain was leave to go to Portugal. And so cruel is the spirit of popery, that, though he had preserved that kingdom from falling under the yoke of Castille, yet now that he came thither for refuge, the inquisition represented that matter of giving harbour to a heretic so odiously to the king, that he was forced to send him away. He came from thence, first to England; and then he passed through Holland, where he entered into a particular confidence with the prince of Orange. And being invited by the old elector of Brandenburgh, he went to Berlin: where

he was made governor of Prussia, and set at the head of all the elector's armies. The son treated him now with the same regard that the father had for him: and sent him to Cleve, to command the troops that were sent from the empire to the defence of Colen. The cardinal offered a neutrality to the town of Colen. But they chose rather to accept a garrison that Schomberg sent them: by which not only that town was secured, but a stop was put to any progress the French could make, till they could get that great town into their hands. By these means the States were safe on all hands for this winter: and this gave the prince of Orange great quiet in prosecuting his designs upon England. He had often said, that he would never give occasion to any of his enemies to say, that he had carried away the best force of the States, and had left them exposed to any impressions that might be made on them in his absence. He had now reason to conclude, that he had no other risk to run in his intended expedition, but that of the seas and the weather. The seas were then very boisterous: and the season of the year was so far spent, that he saw he was to have a campaign in winter. But all other things were now well secured by this [s][too early, therefore very weak] conduct of the French. 1688.

There was a fleet now set to sea of about fifty sail. Most of them were third or fourth rates, commanded by Dutch officers. But Herbert, as representing the prince's person, was to command in chief, as lieutenant-general-admiral. This was not very easy to the States, nor indeed to the prince himself; The Dutch fleet at sea.

[s] (The editors substituted *unexpected*.)

1688. acquiesce in its decision. This the prince signed and sealed on the tenth of October. With this the prince ordered letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the soldiers, seamen, and others, to come and join with him, in order to the securing their religion, laws, and liberties. Another short paper was drawn by me concerning the measures of obedience, justifying the design, and answering the objections that might be made to it. Of all these many thousand copies were printed, to be dispersed at our landing.

I was desired to go with the prince.

The prince desired me to go along with him as his chaplain, to which I very readily agreed: for, being fully satisfied in my conscience that the undertaking was lawful and just, and having had a considerable hand in advising the whole progress of it, I thought it would have been an unbecoming fear in me to have taken care of my own person, when the prince was venturing his, and the whole was now to be put to hazard. It is true, I being a Scotish man by birth, had reason to expect, that, if I had fallen into the enemies hands, I should have been sent to Scotland, and put to the torture there. And, having this in prospect, I took care to know no particulars of any one of those who corresponded with the prince. So that knowing nothing against any, even torture it self could not have drawn from me that by which any person could be hurt. There was another declaration prepared for Scotland. But I had no other share in that, but that I corrected it in several places, chiefly in that which related to the church: for the Scots at the Hague, who were all presbyterians, had drawn it so, that, by many passages in it, the prince by an implication declared in favour of presbytery. He did not see what the con-

sequences of those were, till I explained them. So he ordered them to be altered. And by the declaration that matter was still entire [u]. 1688.

As Sidney brought over letters from the persons formerly mentioned, both inviting the prince to come over to save and rescue the nation from ruin, and assuring him that they wrote that which was the universal sense of all the wise and good men in the nation: so they also sent over with him a scheme of advices. They advised his having a great fleet, but a small army: they thought, it should not exceed six or seven thousand men. They apprehended, that an ill use might be made of it, if he brought over too great an army of foreigners, to infuse in people a jealousy that he designed a conquest: they advised his landing in the north, either in Burlington bay, or a little below Hull: Yorkshire abounded in horse: and the gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal, for the design: the country was plentiful, and the roads were good till within fifty miles of London. The earl of Danby was earnest for this, hoping to have had a share in the whole management by the interest he believed he had in that country. It was confessed, that the western counties were well affected: but it was said, that the miscarriage of Monmouth's invasion, and the executions which followed it, had so dispirited them, that it could not be expected they would be forward to join the prince: above all things they pressed Advices from England. 777

[u] The more shame for king William, who changed it. S. (King William, who was bred a Calvinist, could scarcely be expected to support episcopacy in Scotland, where the bishops would not support king William. See also what is mentioned by the author in vol. ii. folio edit. p. [357.])

1688. despatch, and all possible haste: the king had then but eighteen ships riding in the Downs: but a much greater fleet was almost ready to come out: they only wanted seamen, who came in very slowly.

When these things were laid before the prince, he said, he could by no means resolve to come over with so small a force: he could not believe what they suggested, concerning the king's army's being disposed to come over to him: nor did he reckon, so much as they did, on the people of the country's coming in to him: he said, he could trust to neither of these: he could not undertake so great a design, the miscarriage of which would be the ruin both of England and Holland, without such a force, as he had reason to believe would be superior to the king's own, though his whole army should stick to him. Some proposed, that the prince would divide his force, and land himself with the greatest part in the north, and send a detachment to the west under marshal Schomberg. They pressed the prince very earnestly to bring him over with him, both because of the great reputation he was in, and because they thought it was a security to the prince's person, and to the whole design, to have another general with him, to whom all would submit in case of any dismal accident: for it seemed too much to have all depend on a single life: and they thought that would be the safer, if their enemies saw another person capable of the command, in case they should have a design upon the prince's person. With this the prince complied easily, and obtained the elector's consent to carry him over with him. But he rejected the motion of dividing his fleet and army. He said, such a divided force might be fatal: for if

the king should send his chief strength against the detachment, and have the advantage, it might lose the whole business; since a misfortune in any one part might be the ruin of the whole. 1688.

When these advices were proposed to Herbert and the other seamen, they opposed the landing in the north vehemently. They said, no seamen had been consulted in that: the north coast was not fit for a fleet to ride in, in an east wind, which it was to be expected in winter might blow so fresh that it would not be possible to preserve the fleet: and if the fleet was left there, the channel was open for such forces as might be sent from France: the channel was the safer sea for the fleet to ride in, as well as to cut off the assistance from France. Yet the advices for this were so positive, and so often repeated from England, that the prince was resolved to have split the matter, and to have landed in the north, and then to have sent the fleet to lie in the channel. 778

The prince continued still to cover his design, and to look towards Colen. He ordered a review of his army, and an encampment for two months at Nimeguen. A train of artillery was also ordered. By these orders the officers saw a necessity of furnishing themselves for so long a time. The main point remained, how money should be found for so chargeable an expedition. The French ambassador had his eye upon this; and reckoned that, whensoever any thing relating to it should be moved, it would be then easy to raise an opposition, or at least to create a delay. But Fagel's great foresight did prevent this. In the July before, it was represented to the States, that now by reason of the Artifices to cover the design.

1688. neighbourhood of Colen, and the war that was like to arise there, it was necessary to repair their places, both on the Rhine and the Issel, which were in a very bad condition. This was agreed to: and the charge was estimated at four millions of guilders. So the States created a fund for the interest of that money, and ordered it to be taken up by a loan. It was all brought in in four days. About the end of September a message was delivered to the States from the elector of Brandenburgh, by which he undertook to send an army into his country of Cleve, and to secure the States from all danger on that side for this winter.

Upon this, it was proposed to lend the prince the four millions. And this passed easily in the States, without any opposition, to the amazement of all that saw it: for it had never been known, that so great and so dangerous an expedition in such a season had been so easily agreed to, without so much as one disagreeing vote, either at the Hague, or in any of the towns of Holland. All people went so cordially into it, that it was not necessary to employ much time in satisfying them, both of the lawfulness and of the necessity of the undertaking. Fagel had sent for all the eminent ministers of the chief towns
779 of Holland: and, as he had a vehemence as well as a tenderness in speaking, he convinced them evidently, that both their religion and their country were in such imminent danger, that nothing but this expedition could save them: they saw the persecution in France: and in that they might see what was to be expected from that religion: they saw the violence with which the king of England was driving matters in his country, which, if not stopped,

would soon prevail. He sent them thus full of zeal, to dispose the people to a hearty approbation and concurrence in this design. The ministers in Holland are so watched over by the States, that they have no more authority when they meet in a body, in a synod, or in a classis, than the States think fit to allow them. But I was never in any place, where I thought the clergy had generally so much credit with the people, as they have there: and they employed it all upon this occasion very diligently, and to good purpose. Those who had no regard to religion, yet saw a war begun in the empire by the French. And the publication of the alliance between France and England by the French ambassador, made them conclude that England would join with France. They reckoned they could not stand before such an united force, and that therefore it was necessary to take England out of the hands of a prince who was such a firm ally to France. All the English that lived in Holland, especially the merchants that were settled in Amsterdam, where the opposition was like to be strongest, had such positive advices of the disposition that the nation and even the army were in, that, as this undertaking was considered as the only probable means of their preservation, it seemed so well concerted, that little doubt was made of success, except what arose from the season; which was not only far spent, but the winds were both so contrary and so stormy for many weeks, that a forcible stop seemed put to it by the hand of Heaven. 1688.

Herbert went to sea with the Dutch fleet: and was ordered to stand over to the Downs, and to look on the English fleet, to try if any would come The Dutch put to sea.

1688. over, of which some hopes were given; or to engage them, while they were then not above eighteen or twenty ships strong. But the contrary winds made this not only impracticable, but gave great reason to fear that a great part of the fleet would be either lost or disabled. These continued for above a fortnight, and gave us at the Hague a melancholy prospect. Herbert also found, that the fleet was neither so strong nor so well manned as he had expected.

780 All the English that were scattered about the Provinces, or in Germany, came to the Hague. Among these there was one Wildman, who, from being an agitator in Cromwell's army, had been a constant meddler on all occasions in every thing that looked like sedition, and seemed inclined to oppose every thing that was uppermost. He brought his usual ill humour along with him, having a peculiar talent in possessing others by a sort of contagion with jealousy and discontent. To these the prince ordered his declaration to be shewed. Wildman took great exceptions to it, with which he possessed many to such a degree, that they began to say, they would not engage upon those grounds. Wildman had drawn one, in which he had laid down a scheme of the government of England, and then had set forth many particulars in which it had been violated, carrying these a great way into king Charles's reign; all which he supported by many authorities from law books. He objected to the prince's insisting so much on the dispensing power, and on what had been done to the bishops. He said, there was certainly a dispensing power in the crown, practised for some ages: very few patents passed in which there was not a *non obstante* to one or more acts of

Some factious motions at the Hague.

parliament: this power had been too far stretched of late: but the stretching of a power that was in the crown could not be a just ground of war: the king had a right to bring any man to a trial: the bishops had a fair trial, and were acquitted, and discharged upon it: in all which there was nothing done contrary to law. All this seemed mysterious, when a known republican was become an advocate for prerogative. His design in this was deep and spiteful. He saw that, as the declaration was drawn, the church party would come in, and be well received by the prince: so he, who designed to separate the prince and them at the greatest distance from one another, studied to make the prince declare against those grievances, in which many of them were concerned, and which some among them had promoted. The earl of Macclesfield, with the lord Mordaunt, and many others, joined with him in this[x]. But the earl of Shrewsbury, together with Sidney, Russel, and some others, were as positive in their opinion, that the prince ought not to look so far back as into king Charles's reign: this would disgust many of the nobility and gentry, and almost all the clergy: so they thought the declaration was to be so conceived, as to draw in the body of the whole nation: they were all alarmed with the dispensing power: and it would seem very strange to see an invasion, in which this was not set out as the main ground of it: every man could distinguish be- 1688.

[x] (Ralph remarks on this passage, that he had been assured, that in the margin of bishop Burnet's History, now remaining in the Peterborough family, there are several direct contradictions, in the broadest terms, to several passages of it in the late earl's own hand. Hist. of England, p. 1023.)

1688. tween the dispensing with a special act in a parti-
781 cular case, and a total dispensing with laws to secure the nation and the religion: the ill designs of the court, as well as the affections of the nation, had appeared so evidently in the bishops' trial, that if no notice was taken of it, it would be made use of to possess all people with an opinion of the prince's ill will to them. Russel said, that any reflections made on king Charles's reign would not only carry over all the high church party, but all the army, entirely to the king. Wildman's declaration was much objected to. The prince could not enter into a discussion of the law and government of England: that was to be left to the parliament: the prince could only set forth the present and public grievances, as they were transmitted to him by those upon whose invitation he was going over. This was not without some difficulty overcome, by altering some few expressions in the first draught, and leaving out some circumstances. So the declaration was printed over again, with some amendments.

The army was shipped.

In the beginning of October the troops marched from Nimeguen were put on board in the Zuyder sea, where they lay above ten days before they could get out of the Texel. Never was so great a design executed in so short a time. A transport fleet of five hundred vessels was hired in three days' time. All things, as soon as they were ordered, were got to be so quickly ready, that we were amazed at the despatch. It is true, some things were wanting, and some things had been forgot. But when the greatness of the equipage was considered, together with the secrecy with which it was to be conducted till the whole design was to be avowed, it seemed

much more strange that so little was wanting, or that so few things had been forgot. Benthink, Dykvelt, Herbert, and Van Hulst, were for two months constantly at the Hague giving all necessary orders, with so little noise that nothing broke out all that while. Even in lesser matters favourable circumstances concurred to cover the design. Benthink used to be constantly with the prince, being the person that was most entirely trusted and constantly employed by him: so that his absence from him, being so extraordinary a thing, might have given some umbrage. But all the summer his lady was so very ill, that she was looked on every day as one that could not live three days to an end: so that this was a very just excuse for his attendance at the Hague. 1688.

The princess's sense of things.

I waited on the princess a few days before we left the Hague. She seemed to have a great load on her spirits, but to have no scruple as to the lawfulness of the design. After much other discourse, I said, that if we got safe to England, I made no great doubt of our success in all other things. I only begged her pardon to tell her, that if there should happen to be at any time any disjointing between the prince and her, that would ruin all. She answered me, that I needed fear no such thing: if any person should attempt that, she would treat them so, as to discourage all others from venturing on it for the future. She was very solemn and serious, and prayed God earnestly to bless and direct us. 782

The prince took leave of the States.

On the sixteenth of October, O. S. the wind that had stood so long in the west, came into the east. So orders were sent to all to haste to Helvoet-Sluys. That morning the prince went into the assembly of

1688. the states general, to take leave of them. He said to them, he was extreme sensible of the kindness they had all shewed him upon many occasions: he took God to witness, he had served them faithfully, ever since they had trusted him with the government, and that he had never any end before his eyes but the good of the country: he had pursued it always: and if at any time he erred in his judgment, yet his heart was ever set on procuring their safety and prosperity. He took God to witness, he went to England with no other intentions, but those he had set out in his declaration[y]: he did not know how God might dispose of him: to his providence he committed himself: whatsoever might become of him, he committed to them the care of their country, and recommended the princess to them in a most particular manner: he assured them, she loved their country perfectly, and equally with her own: he hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would still protect her, and use her as she well deserved: and so he took leave. It was a sad, but a kind parting. Some of every province offered at an answer to what the prince had said: but they all melted into tears and passion: so that their speeches were much broken, very short, and extreme tender. Only the prince himself continued firm in his usual

[y] Then he was perjured; for he designed to get the crown, which he denied in the declaration. S. (Not expressly, if implicitly; nay, see a note at p. 631. Indeed according to the instructions sent by the states of the United Provinces to their ministers at the several courts of Europe, "the prince of Orange had protested to them, "that he had not the least in- "tention to invade or subdue "England, or remove the king "from his throne," &c. See Ralph's Hist. p. 1024. In his letter also to the emperor, inserted by Dalrymple in his Appendix, ii. p. 254, the prince disavows any design on the crown.)

gravity and phlegm. When he came to Helvoet-Sluys, the transport fleet had consumed so much of their provisions, that three days of the good wind were lost, before all were supplied anew. 1688.

At last, on the nineteenth of October, the prince went aboard, and the whole fleet sailed out that night. But the next day the wind turned into the north, and settled in the north-west. At night a great storm rose. We wrought against it all that night, and the next day. But it was in vain to struggle any longer. And so vast a fleet run no small hazard, being obliged to keep together, and yet not to come too near one another. On the twenty-first in the afternoon the signal was given to go in again: and on the twenty-second the far greater part got safe into port. Many ships were at first wanting, and were believed to be lost. But after a few days all came in. There was not one ship lost; nor so much as any one man, except one that was blown from the shrouds into the sea. Some ships were so shattered, that as soon as they came in, and all was taken out of them, they immediately sunk down. Only five hundred horses died for want of air. Men are upon such occasions apt to flatter themselves upon the points of Providence. In France and England, as it was believed that our loss was much greater than it proved to be, so they triumphed not a little, as if God had fought against us, and defeated the whole design. We on our part, who found our selves delivered out of so great a storm and so vast a danger, looked on it as a mark of God's great care of us, who, though he had not changed the course of the winds and seas in our

We sailed out of the Maes.

783

But were forced back.

1688. favour, yet had preserved us while we were in such apparent danger, beyond what could have been imagined[z]. The States were not at all discouraged with this hard beginning, but gave the necessary orders for supplying us with every thing that we needed. The princess behaved herself at the Hague suitably to what was expected from her. She ordered prayers four times a day, and assisted at them with great devotion. She spoke to nobody of affairs, but was calm and silent. The States ordered some of their body to give her an account of all their proceedings. She indeed answered little: but in that little she gave them cause often to admire her judgment.

Consultations in England.

In England the court saw now, that it was in vain to dissemble or disguise their fears any more. Great consultations were held there. The earl of Melfort, and all the papists, proposed the seizing on all suspected persons, and the sending them to Portsmouth. The earl of Sunderland opposed this vehemently. He said, it would not be possible to seize on many at the same time: and the seizing on a few would alarm all the rest: it would drive them in to the prince, and furnish them with a pretence for it: he proposed rather, that the king would do such popular things, as might give some content, and lay that fermentation with which the nation was then, as it were, distracted. This was at that time complied with: but all the popish party continued upon this to charge lord Sunderland, as one that was in the king's counsels only to betray them; that had before diverted the offer of

[z] Then still it must be a miracle. S.

assistance from France, and now the securing those who were the most likely to join and assist the prince[a]. By their importunities the king was at last so prevailed on, that he turned him out of all his places: and lord Preston was made secretary of state. The fleet was now put out, and was so strong, that, if they had met the Dutch fleet, probably they would have been too hard for them, especially considering the great transport fleet that they were to cover. All the forces that were in Scotland were ordered into England: and that kingdom was left in the hands of their militia. Several regiments came likewise from Ireland. So that the king's army was then about thirty thousand strong. But, in order to lay the heat that was raised in the nation, the king sent for the bishops; and set out the injustice of this unnatural invasion that the prince was designing: he assured them of his affections to the church of England; and protested, he had never intended to carry things further than to an equal liberty of conscience: he desired they would 1688. 784

[a] The duke of Shandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the king of France wrote to king James, to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the design was upon England, and that he would immediately besiege Maestricht, which would hinder the States from parting with any of their force for such an expedition; but the secret must be kept inviolably from any of his ministers. Soon after, the States ordered six thousand men to be sent to Maestricht; upon which the king of France desired to know if king James had revealed it to any body, for he himself had to none but Louvoy, and if he had betrayed him, should treat him accordingly. King James's answer was, that he never told it to any body but lord Sunderland, who, he was very sure, was too much in his interest to have discovered it: upon which the king of France said, he saw plainly, that king James was a man cut out for destruction, and there was no possibility of helping him. D.

1688. declare their abhorrence of this invasion, and that they would offer him their advice, what was fit for him to do. They declined the point of abhorrence, and advised the present summoning a parliament; and that in the mean while the ecclesiastical commission might be broken, the proceedings against the bishop of London [b] and Magdalen college might be reversed, and that the law might be again put in its channel. This they delivered with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole nation. There was an order sent them from the king afterwards, requiring them to compose an office for the present occasion. The prayers were so well drawn, that even those who wished for the prince might have joined in them. The church party did now shew their approbation of the prince's expedition in such terms, that many were surprised at it, both then and since that time. They spoke openly in favour of it. They expressed their grief to see the wind so cross. They wished for an east wind, which on that occasion was called the protestant wind. They spoke with great scorn of all that the court was then doing to regain the hearts of the nation. And indeed the proceedings of the court that way were so cold and so forced, that few were like to be deceived by them, but those who had a mind to be deceived. The writs for a parliament were often ordered to be made ready for the seal, and were as often stopped. Some were sealed, and given out: but they were quickly called in again.

[b] (The king had assured the bishops, at his first interview with them, of his intention to take off the bishop of London's suspension, before they offered their ten articles of advice, in none of which his case is mentioned. But the author confounds the two interviews.)

The old charters were ordered to be restored again. 1688.
Jefferies himself carried back the charter of the city of London, and put on the appearances of joy and heartiness when he gave it to them. All men saw through that affectation: for he had raised himself chiefly upon the advising or promoting that matter of the surrender, and the forfeiture of the charters. An order was also sent to the bishop of Winchester, to put the president of Magdalen college again in possession. Yet, that order not being executed when the news was brought that the prince and his fleet were blown back, it was countermanded; which plainly shewed what it was that drove the court 785
into so much compliance, and how long it was like to last [c].

[c] The bishop of Winchester assured me otherwise. S. (Even Hume, in his History, in the reign of James II. p. 425, speaks of the common belief, that, "as "intelligence arrived of a great "disaster having befallen the "Dutch fleet, the king re-"called for some time the con-"cessions which he had order-"ed to be made to Magdalen "college." But the extracts from the papers of Dr. Thomas Smith, which have been since published in the Biographia Britannica, vol. vi. p. 3731, and a letter written by Dr. Finch, warden of All Souls college, attested by Carte, in Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 273, and now preserved in Worcester college library, prove, that the bishop of Winchester, who had arrived in Oxford for the purpose of restoring the college, was recalled on *the 20th of October*, by an order from lord Sunderland to attend the privy council on the 22d, when the depositions concerning the birth of the prince of Wales were taken, and ordered to be enrolled. Now the prince of Orange's fleet was driven back by a storm, which took place not before *the 21st*, as appears both from bishop Burnet's account of it and from various other documents. The king is said to have been much displeased at finding that his directions to reinstate the society had not been executed, and to have sent the bishop again to Oxford for the purpose. The college was restored by him on the 25th, exactly a year after the president had been ejected. Consult also Macpherson's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 518. But Ralph, in his brief notice of this affair,

1688. The matter of the greatest concern, and that could not be dropped, but was to be supported, was the birth of the prince of Wales. And therefore the court thought it necessary, now in an after game, to offer some satisfaction in that point [d]. So a great meeting was called, not only of all the privy counsellors and judges, but of all the nobility then in town. To these the king complained of the great injury that was done both him and the queen by the prince of Orange, who accused them of so black an imposture: he said, he believed there were few princes then alive, who had been born in the presence of more witnesses than were at his son's birth: he had therefore called them together, that they might hear the proof of that matter. It was first proved, that the queen was delivered abed, while many were in the room; and that they saw the child soon after he was taken from the queen by the midwife. But in this the midwife was the single witness; for none of the ladies had felt the child in the queen's belly. The countess of Sunderland did indeed depose, that the queen called to her to give her her hand, that she might feel how the child lay, to which she added, *which I did;* but did not say whether she felt the child or not: and she told the duchess of Hamilton, from whom I had it, that when she put her hand into the bed, the queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breasts. So that really she felt nothing. And this deposition, brought to make a show, was an evidence against the mat-

Proofs brought for the birth of the prince of Wales.

at p. 1023, has mistaken the contrary winds and tempestuous weather, which the bishop mentions to have driven back the Dutch fleet from the Downs, for the storm in question.)

[d] And this was the proper time. S.

ter rather than for it; and was a violent presumption of an imposture, and of an artifice to cover it. Many ladies deposed, that they had often seen the marks of milk on the queen's linen, near her breasts. Two or three deposed, that they saw it running out at the nipple. All these deposed, that they saw milk before the pretended delivery. But none of them deposed concerning milk after the delivery, though nature sends it then in greater abundance: and the queen had it always in such a plenty, that some weeks passed after her delivery, before she was quite freed from it. The ladies did not name the time in which they saw the milk, except one, who named the month of May. But, if the particulars mentioned before, that happened on Easter Monday, are reflected on, and if it appears probable by these that the queen miscarried at that time; then all that the ladies mentioned of milk in her breasts, particularly she that fixed it to the month of May, might have followed upon that miscarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs. Pierce, the laundress, deposed that she took linen from the queen's body once, which carried the marks of a delivery. But she spoke only to one time. That was a main circumstance. And if it had been true, it must have been often done, and was capable of a more copious proof, since there is occasion for such things to be often looked on, and well considered. The lady Wentworth was the single witness that deposed, that she had felt the child move in the queen's belly. She was a bedchamber woman, as well as a single witness: and she fixed it on no time. If it was very early, she might have been mistaken: or if it was before Easter Monday,

1688.

786

1688. it might be true, and yet have no relation to this birth [e]. This was the substance of this evidence, which was ordered to be enrolled and printed. But, when it was published, it had a quite contrary effect to what the court expected from it. The presumption of law before this was all in favour of the birth, since the parents owned the child: so that the proof lay on the other side, and ought to be offered by those who called it in question. But, now that this proof was brought, which was so apparently defective, it did not lessen but increase the jealousy with which the nation was possessed: for all people concluded, that, if the thing had been true, it must have been easy to have brought a much more copious proof than was now published to the world [f].

[e] (See before, p. 750. The lady Wentworth told dean Hickes, it was about a month before her majesty was delivered. And Mrs. Dawson, a protestant as well as lady Wentworth, who heard all her ladyship said, affirmed it was within the month. Her ladyship further said, that when, by the queen's permission, she felt her, she felt the child stir very strongly, "as "strongly," said she, "as ever "I felt any of my own." She mentioned also a time after this, when she remarked the motion of the child. Lady Wentworth's Testimony, of which an account is given below at p. 817. The prince was born on Trinity Sunday, the 10th of June, consequently the circumstance mentioned by lady Wentworth took place long after Easter.)

[f] (It appears, from the Depositions, that twelve ladies of high rank, six of whom were protestants, besides a great many protestant noblemen, physicians, and female attendants, attested in a very full and most satisfactory manner the delivery of the queen: some of them swore, that they saw the navel string of the infant cut just after its separation from the mother. To this authentic document lies an appeal from the false representations here given. It is proper to bring forward what is added by dean Hickes to the testimony of lady Isabella Wentworth, before adduced. "We then happened "to mention her printed Depo- "sition, which gave me occa- "sion to say, that though it "was satisfactory, yet for the "sake of the prejudiced I wish "it had contained more parti- "culars. Upon which she said,

It was much observed, that princess Anne was not present. She indeed excused herself. She thought she was breeding: and all motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true reason; for it was thought, that the going from one apartment of the court to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a colour that shewed she did not believe the thing, and that therefore she would not by her being present seem to give any credit to it [g]. 1688.

This was the state of affairs in England, while we lay at Helvoet-Sluys, where we continued till the first of November. Here Wildman created a

" that when she was sent to, to " appear before the council, she " knew not why she was summoned to appear there, almost till the moment she was " ready to go; nor had she " known it till she had come " thither, but that notice was " sent her when she was ready " to go, that she must come " in a gown: which made her " stay to change her clothes. " While she was doing that, " her son, then page to the " queen, came and told her " why she was called to appear " before the council. This her " ladyship told me, to let me " know how little time she had " to recollect and prepare herself; also agreeing to what " Mrs. Bridget H—— then said, " that the deposers had such " short and imperfect notice of " what they were to do, that " they might advise with nobody, for fear it should be said " they were tampered with, before they came to be examined " about the prince's birth.")

[g] I have reason to believe this to be true of the princess Anne. S. (See an account of the conduct of the princess respecting this affair, in Henry earl of Clarendon's Diary, pp. 77, 79, 81, 103. She was acting an interested part, under the influence of a violent bad woman, the wife of lord Churchill. " I told lady Wentworth," (says Dr. Hickes, in his account of this lady's testimony, given in the year 1703, and mentioned thrice before,) " how the " bishop of Worcester (Lloyd) " gave out, that he had heard " the queen that now is, I mean " queen Ann, express her dis- " satisfaction of the truth of the " prince of Wales's birth, and " give such reasons for it, as " would convince any one he " was an impostor, except such " as were obstinate. 'I am confi- " dent,' replied my lady, 'the " bishop wrongs her majesty, " who I am persuaded cannot " disbelieve the prince's birth.'" See notes at p. 749 and 751.)

1688. new disturbance. He plainly had a shew of courage, but was, at least then, a coward. He possessed some of the English with an opinion, that the design was now irrecoverably lost. This was entertained by many, who were willing to hearken to any proposition that set danger at a distance from themselves. They were still magnifying the English fleet, and undervaluing the Dutch. They went so far in this, that they proposed to the prince, that Herbert should be ordered to go over to the coast of England, and either fight the English fleet, or force them in: and in that case the transport fleet might venture over; which otherwise they thought could not be safely done. This some urged with such earnestness, that nothing but the prince's
787 authority, and Schomberg's credit, could have withstood it. The prince told them, the season was now so far spent, that the losing of more time was the losing the whole design: fleets might lie long in view of one another, before it could be possible for them to come to an engagement, though both sides equally desired it; but much longer, if any one of them avoided it: it was not possible to keep the army, especially the horse, long at sea: and it was no easy matter to take them all out, and to ship them again: after the wind had stood so long in the west, there was reason to hope it would turn to the east: and when that should come, no time was to be lost: for it would sometimes blow so fresh in a few days as to freeze up the river; so that it would not be possible to get out all the winter long. With these things he rather silenced than quieted them. All this while the men of war were still riding at sea, it being a continued storm for some

weeks. The prince sent out several advice boats with orders to them to come in. But they could not come up to them. On the twenty-seventh of October there was for six hours together a most dreadful storm: so that there were few among us, that did not conclude, that the best part of the fleet, and by consequence that the whole design, was lost. Many, that have passed for heroes, yet shewed then the agonies of fear in their looks and whole deportment. The prince still retained his usual calmness, and the same tranquillity of spirit, that I had observed in him in his happiest days. On the twenty-eighth it calmed a little, and our fleet came all in, to our great joy. The rudder of one third rate was broken: and that was all the hurt that the storm had done. At last the much longed for east wind came. And so hard a thing it was to set so vast a body in motion, that two days of this wind were lost before all could be quite ready. 1688.

We sailed out more happily a second time.

On the first of November, O. S. we sailed out with the evening tide; but made little way that night, that so our fleet might come out, and move in order. We tried next day till noon, if it was possible to sail northward; but the wind was so strong and full in the east, that we could not move that way. About noon the signal was given to steer westward. This wind not only diverted us from that unhappy course, but it kept the English fleet in the river: so that it was not possible for them to come out, though they were come down as far as to the Gunfleet. By this means we had the sea open to us, with a fair wind and a safe navigation. On the third we passed between Dover and Calais, and before night came in sight of the Isle of Wight.

1688. The next day, being the day in which the prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land that day, it would look auspicious to the army,
788 and animate the soldiers. But we all, who considered, that the day following, being gunpowder treason day, our landing that day might have a good effect on the minds of the English nation, were better pleased to see that we could land no sooner. Torbay was thought the best place for our great fleet to lie in: and it was resolved to land the army, where it could be best done near it; reckoning, that being at such a distance from London, we could provide ourselves with horses, and put every thing in order before the king could march his army towards us, and that we should lie some time at Exeter for the refreshing our men. I was in the ship, with the prince's other domestics, that went in the van of the whole fleet. At noon on the fourth Russel came on board us with the best of all the English pilots that they had brought over. He gave him the steering of the ship; and ordered him to be sure to sail so, that next morning we should be short of Dartmouth: for it was intended that some of the ships should land there, and that the rest should sail into Torbay. The pilot thought, he could not be mistaken in measuring our course: and believed that he certainly kept within orders, till the morning shewed us we were past Torbay and Dartmouth. The wind, though it had abated much of its first violence, yet was still full in the east: so now it seemed necessary for us to sail on to Plymouth, which must have engaged us in a long and tedious campaign in winter, through a very ill country. Nor were we sure to be received at Ply-

mouth. The earl of Bath, who was governor, had sent by Russel a promise to the prince to come and join him: yet it was not likely, that he would be so forward as to receive us at our first coming. The delays he made afterwards, pretending that he was managing the garrison, whereas he was indeed staying till he saw how the matter was like to be decided, shewed us how fatal it had proved, if we had been forced to sail on to Plymouth. But while Russel was in no small disorder, after he saw the pilot's error, (upon which he bade me go to my prayers, for all was lost,) and as he was ordering the boat to be cleared to go aboard the prince, on a sudden, to all our wonder, it calmed a little. And then the wind turned into the south: and a soft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole fleet in four hours' time into Torbay. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As soon as the prince and marshal Schomberg got to shore, they were furnished with such horses as the village of Broxholme could afford; and rode up to view the grounds, which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the foot in that season. It was not a cold night: otherwise the soldiers, who had been kept warm aboard, might have suffered much by it. As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me, if I would not now believe predestination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared so signally on this occasion [h]. He was cheerfuller than

1688.

We landed at Torbay.

789

[h] (Cunningham, according to the translation of the Latin MS. of his History of England, says, that "Dr. Burnet, who understood but little of military affairs, asked the prince of Orange, which way he intended to march, and when? and desired to be employed by him in whatever service he

1688. ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity. The prince sent for all the fishermen of the place; and asked them, which was the properest place for landing his horse, which all apprehended would be a tedious business, and might hold some days. But next morning he was shewed a place, a quarter of a mile below the village, where the ships could be brought very near the land, against a good shore, and the horses would not be put to swim above twenty yards. This proved to be so happy for our landing, though we came to it by mere accident, that, if we had ordered the whole island round to be sounded, we could not have found a properer place for it. There was a dead calm all that morning: and in three hours' time all our horse were landed, with as much baggage as was necessary till we got to Exeter. The artillery and heavy baggage were left aboard, and ordered to Topsham, the seaport to Exeter. All that belonged to us was so soon and so happily landed, that by the next day at noon we were in full march, and marched four miles that night. We had from thence twenty miles to Exeter: and we resolved to make haste thither. But, as we were now happily landed, and marching, we saw new and unthought of characters of a favourable providence of God watching over us. We had no sooner got thus disengaged from our fleet, than a new and great storm blew from the west; from which our fleet, being covered by the land, could receive no prejudice: but the king's fleet had got out as the wind calmed, and in pursuit of us was come as far as the Isle of Wight, when this

" should think fit. The prince " only asked, what he now " thought of predestination? " and advised, if he had a mind " to be busy, to consult the ca- " nons." Vol. i. p. 88.)

contrary wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to pursue us: but they were so shattered by some days of this storm, that they were forced to go into Portsmouth, and were no more fit for service that year. This was a greater happiness than we were then aware of: for the lord Dartmouth assured me some time after, that, whatever stories we had heard and believed, either of officers or seamen, he was confident they would all have fought very heartily. But now, by the immediate hand of Heaven, we were masters of the sea without a blow. I never found a disposition to superstition in my temper: I was rather inclined to be philosophical upon all occasions. Yet I must confess, that this strange ordering of the winds and seasons, just to change as our affairs required it, could not but make deep impressions on me, as well as on all that observed it. Those famous verses of Claudian seemed to be more applicable to the prince, than to him they were made on: 1688.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!

Heaven's favourite, for whom the skies do fight,
And all the winds conspire to guide thee right!

The prince made haste to Exeter, where he stayed ten days, both for refreshing his troops, and for giving the country time to shew their affections. Both the clergy and magistrates of Exeter were very fearful, and very backward. The bishop and the dean ran away[i]. And the clergy stood off, though they were sent for, and very gently spoke to by the

[i] For which Lamplew (Lamplugh) the bishop, was made archbishop of York by king James, and afterwards crowned king William, upon Sandcroft's refusal: that is to say, assisted at the coronation, the bishop of London performing the ceremonies, as suffragan of Canterbury. D.

1688. prince. The truth was, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance had been carried so far, and preached so much, that clergymen either could not all on the sudden get out of that entanglement, into which they had by long thinking and speaking all one way involved themselves, or they were ashamed to make so quick a turn. Yet care was taken to protect them and their houses every where: so that no sort of violence nor rudeness was offered to any of them. The prince gave me full authority to do this: and I took so particular a care of it, that we heard of no complaints. The army was kept under such an exact discipline, that every thing was paid for where it was demanded; though the soldiers were contented with such moderate entertainment, that the people generally asked but little for what they did eat. We stayed a week at Exeter, before any of the gentlemen of the country about came in to the prince [k]. Every day some persons of condition came from other parts. The first were the lord Colchester, the eldest son of the earl of Rivers, and the lord Wharton [l], Mr. Russel, the lord Russel's brother, and the earl of Abington.

The king's army began to come over to the prince.

The king came down to Salisbury, and sent his troops twenty miles further. Of these, three regi-

[k] The duke of Shrewsbury told me the prince was much surprised at this backwardness in joining with him, and began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; in which case he resolved to publish the names of all those that had invited him over: which, he said, would be but a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. Lord Shrewsbury told him he believed the great difficulty amongst them was who should run the hazard of being the first; but if the ice were once broken, they would be as much afraid of being the last: which proved very true. D. (This note has been previously published by Dalrymple in his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 342.)

[l] Famous for his cowardice in the rebellion of 1642. S. (It was Mr. Wharton his son, as speaker Onslow has noted.)

ments of horse and dragoons were drawn on by their officers, the lord Cornbury [m] and colonel Langston, on design to come over to the prince. Advice was sent to the prince of this. But because these officers were not sure of their subalterns, the prince ordered a body of his men to advance, and assist them in case any resistance was made. They were within twenty miles of Exeter, and within two miles of the body that the prince had sent to join them, when a whisper ran about among them that they were betrayed. Lord Cornbury had not the presence of mind that so critical a thing required. So they fell in confusion, and many rode back. Yet one regiment came over in a body, and with them about a hundred of the other two. This gave us great courage; and shewed us, that we had not been deceived in what was told us of the inclinations of the king's army. Yet, on the other hand, those who studied to support the king's spirit by flatteries, told 1688. 791

[m] (On the defection of his son lord Cornbury, (who, as D'Orleans reports, in his *Revolutions of England*, p. 302, had been bred at Geneva,) the earl of Clarendon in his *Diary*, p. 89, thus exclaims: "O "God, that my son should be "a rebel! the Lord in his "mercy look upon me, and en- "able me to support my self "under this most grievous ca- "lamity. I made haste home, "and as soon as I could recol- "lect myself a little, I wrote "to my lord Middleton to ob- "tain leave for me to throw "myself at the king's feet. My "lord quickly sent me a most "obliging answer, that I might "wait on the king when I "would, Nov. 16. Friday. In "the afternoon I waited on the "king at W. Chiffinch's: I said "what I was able upon so me- "lancholy a subject, and my "son's desertion. God knows "I was in confusion enough. "The king was very gracious "to me, and said, he pitied me "with all his heart, and that he "would still be kind to my fa- "mily." One cannot but feel for fallen greatness; but we should at the same time recollect with what ingratitude, harshness, and injustice, the king would have continued to treat the conscientious opposers of his measures, if the prince's expedition had not been undertaken, or had been unsuccessful.)

1688. him, that in this he saw that he might trust his army, since these who intended to carry over those regiments, were forced to manage it with so much artifice, and durst not discover their design either to officers or soldiers; and that, as soon as they perceived it, the greater part of them had turned back. The king wanted support: for his spirits sunk extremely [n]. His blood was in such fermentation, that he was bleeding much at the nose, which returned oft upon him every day. He sent many spies over to us. They all took his money, and came and joined themselves to the prince, none of them returning to him. So that he had no intelligence brought him of what the prince was doing, but what common reports brought him, which magnified our numbers, and made him think we were coming near him, while we were still at Exeter. He heard that the city of London was very unquiet. News were brought him, that the earls of Devonshire and Danby, and the lord Lumley, were drawing great bodies together, and that both York and Newcastle had declared for the prince. The lord Delamere had raised a regiment in Cheshire. And the body of the nation did every where discover their inclinations for the prince so evidently, that the king saw he had nothing to trust to but his army. And the ill disposition among them was so apparent, that he reckoned he could not depend on them. So that he lost both heart and head at once. But that which gave him the last and most confounding stroke was, that the lord Churchill and the duke of Grafton left him, and came and joined the prince at Axminster, twenty

[n] That ruined him, for I have been well assured, that had he shown any courage and spirit upon the occasion, his army would have fought the prince of Orange. O.

miles on that side of Exeter. After this he could not know on whom he could depend. The duke of Grafton was one of king Charles's sons by the duchess of Cleveland. He had been some time at sea, and was a gallant but rough man. He had more spirit than any one of the king's sons. He made an answer to the king about this time, that was much talked of. The king took notice of somewhat in his behaviour that looked factious: and he said, he was sure he could not pretend to act upon principles of conscience; for he had been so ill bred, that, as he knew little of religion, so he regarded it less. But he answered the king, that, though he had little conscience, yet he was of a party that had conscience [o]. Soon after that, prince George, the duke of Ormond [p], and the lord Drumlanerick, the duke of Queensbury's eldest son, left him, and came over to the prince, and joined him, when he was come as far as the earl of Bristol's house at Sherburn. When the news came to London, the princess was so struck with the apprehensions of the king's displeasure, and of the ill effects that it might have, that she said to the lady Churchill, that she could not bear the thoughts of it, and would leap out at window rather than venture on it. The bishop of London was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk street. So the lady Churchill, who knew where he was, went to him, and concerted with him the method of the princess's withdrawing from the 1688. 792

[o] (This young nobleman's attachments, for he had not at that time been refused the command of the fleet, did not prevent him from presenting the papal nuncio at court, when the duke of Somerset had refused doing it, as against law. See above p. 717, and lord Lonsdale's Memoir of this Reign, p. 24. Compare the Life of King James II. vol. ii. p. 208.)

[p] Yet how has he been since used? S.

1688. court. The princess went sooner to bed than ordinary. And about midnight she went down a back stairs from her closet, attended only by the lady Churchill [q], in such haste that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the bishop of London, who carried them to the earl of Dorset's, whose lady furnished them with every thing. And so they went northward, as far as Northampton; where that earl attended on them with all respect, and quickly brought a body of horse to serve for a guard to the princess. And in a little while a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the bishop of London; of which he too easily accepted [r].

These things put the king in an unexpressible confusion. He saw himself now forsaken, not only by those whom he had trusted and favoured most, but even by his own children. And the army was in such distraction, that there was not any one body

[q] And Mrs. Berkeley, afterwards lady Fitzharding. The back stairs were made a little before for that purpose. The princess pretended she was out of order, upon some expostulations that had passed between her and the queen, in a visit she received from her that night: therefore said she would not be disturbed till she rang her bell. Next morning, when her servants had waited two hours longer than her usual time of rising, they were afraid something was the matter with her; and finding the bed open, and her highness gone, they ran screaming to my father's lodgings, which were the next to hers, and told my mother the princess was murdered by the priests; from thence they went to the queen, and old mistress Buss asked her in a very rude manner, what she had done with their mistress. The queen answered her very gravely, she supposed their mistress was where she liked to be, but did assure them she knew nothing of her, but did not doubt they would hear of her again very soon. Which gave them little satisfaction, upon which there was a rumour all over Whitehall, that the queen had made away with the princess. D. (See before, note at p. 766.)

[r] And why should he not? S.

that seemed entirely united and firm to him. A foolish ballad was made at that time, treating the papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, said to be Irish words, *lero lero lilibulero*[s], that made an impression on the army, that cannot be well imagined by those who saw it not. The whole army, and at last all people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually. And perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect. 1688.

While the prince stayed at Exeter, the rabble of the people came in to him in great numbers. So that he could have raised many regiments of foot, if there had been any occasion for them. But what he understood of the temper the king's army was in, made him judge it was not necessary to arm greater numbers. After he had stayed eight days at Exeter, Seimour came in with several other gentlemen of quality and estate. As soon as he had been with the prince, he sent to seek for me. When I came to him, he asked me, why we had not an association signed by all that came to us, since, till we had that done, we were as a rope of sand: men might leave us when they pleased, and we had them under no tie: whereas, if they signed an association, they would reckon themselves bound to stick to us. I answered, it was because we had not a man of his authority and credit to offer and support such an advice. I went from him to the prince, who approved of the motion; as did also the earl of Shrews- An association among those who came to the prince. 793

[s] They are not Irish words, but better than Scotch. S. There was a particular expression in it which the king remembered he had made use of to the earl of Dorset, from whence it was concluded that he was the author. D.

1688. bury, and all that were with us. So I was ordered to draw it. It was, in few words, an engagement to stick together in pursuing the ends of the prince's declaration; and that, if any attempt should be made on his person, it should be revenged on all by whom or from whom any such attempt should be made. This was agreed to by all about the prince. So it was engrossed in parchment, and signed by all those that came in to him. The prince put Devonshire and Exeter under Seimour's government, who was recorder of Exeter. And he advanced with his army, leaving a small garrison there with his heavy artillery under colonel Gibson, whom he made deputy governor as to the military part.

The heads in Oxford sent to him.

At Crookhorn, Dr. Finch, son to the earl of Winchelsea, then made warden of All Souls college in Oxford, was sent to the prince from some of the heads of colleges; assuring him, that they would declare for him, and inviting him to come thither, telling him, that their plate should be at his service, if he needed it. This was a sudden turn from those principles that they had carried so high a few years before. The prince had designed to have secured Bristol and Glocester, and so to have gone to Oxford, the whole west being then in his hands, if there had been any appearance of a stand to be made against him by the king and his army; for, the king being so much superior to him in horse, it was not advisable to march through the great plains of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire. But the king's precipitated return to London put an end to this precaution. The earl of Bath had prevailed with the garrison of Plymouth: and they declared for the prince. So now all behind him was safe. When he came to

Sherburn, all Dorsetshire came in a body, and joined him. He resolved to make all the haste he could to London, where things were in a high fermentation. 1688.

A bold man ventured to draw and publish another declaration in the prince's name. It was penned with great spirit: and it had as great an effect. It set forth the desperate designs of the papists, and the extreme danger the nation was in by their means, and required all persons immediately to fall on such papists as were in any employments, and to turn them out, and to secure all strong places, and to do every thing else that was in their power to execute the laws, and to bring all things again into their proper channels. This set all men at work: for no doubt was made, that it was truly the prince's declaration. But he knew nothing of it. And it was never known who was the author of so bold a thing[t]. No person ever claimed the merit of it: for, though it had an amazing effect, yet, it seems, he that contrived it apprehended, that the prince would not be well pleased with the author of such an imposture in his name. The king was under such Great disorders in London. 794

[t] But always supposed to have been one much known by the name of Julian Johnson. D. (This was Samuel Johnson, the political writer, and author, among other books, of one entitled Julian the Apostate; but another person was concerned in this forgery, for, according to his own story, the real framer of the declaration was Hugh Speke, whose brother had been condemned by Jefferies in Monmouth's rebellion. See Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 171, who says also at p. 177, that the same Speke reports in his pamphlet, that he invented the infamous lie, that the Irish part of the disbanded army had begun a massacre of the protestants. But Echard, in his History of the Revolution, doubts the truth of Speke's accounts, pp. 183 and 198. If they are true, it was incumbent on the prince, to whom Speke says, he shewed the pretended declaration, to have taken care that the nation should be acquainted with the imposture.)

1688. a consternation, that he neither knew what to resolve on, nor whom to trust. This pretended declaration put the city in such a flame, that it was carried to the lord mayor, and he was required to execute it. The prentices got together, and were falling upon all mass houses, and committing many irregular things. Yet their fury was so well governed, and so little resisted, that no other mischief was done: no blood was shed.

A treaty begun with the prince.

The king now sent for all the lords in town, that were known to be firm protestants. And, upon speaking to some of them in private, they advised him to call a general meeting of all the privy counsellors, and peers, to ask their advice, what was fit to be done. All agreed in one opinion, that it was fit to send commissioners to the prince to treat with him. This went much against the king's own inclinations: yet the dejection he was in, and the desperate state of his affairs, forced him to consent to it. So the marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Nottingham, and the lord Godolphin, were ordered to go to the prince, and to ask him what it was that he demanded. The earl of Clarendon reflected the most on the king's former conduct of any in that assembly, not without some indecent and insolent words, which were generally condemned [u]. He expected, as was said, to be one of the commissioners: and, upon his not being named, he came and met the prince near Salisbury. Yet he suggested so many peevish

[u] He said he had often told him what would be the consequence of his actions, and if he had minded him more, his affairs had never been in the condition they were now brought to; but flattery was always more agreeable to princes than good advice. In confirmation of which he quoted a scrap of Latin, with very pedantic solemnity. D.

and peculiar things, when he came, that some suspected all this was but collusion, and that he was sent to raise a faction among those that were about the prince. The lords sent to the prince to know where they should wait on him: and he named Hungerford. When they came thither, and had delivered their message, the prince called all the peers and others of chief note about him, and advised with them what answer should be made. A day was taken to consider of an answer[x]. The marquis of Hallifax sent for me. But the prince said, though he would suspect nothing from our meeting, others might. So I did not speak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occasion to ask me, so as no body observed it, if we had a mind to have the king in our hands. I said, by no means; for we would not hurt his person. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I said, nothing was so much to be wished for. This I told the prince. And he approved of both my answers. The prince ordered the earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, and Clarendon, to treat with the lords the king had sent[y]. And they delivered the prince's answer to them on Sunday the eighth of December. 1688. 795

He desired a parliament might be presently called, that no men should continue in any employment,

[x] (Of the various arts used by the prince, during his route to London, to evade receiving the king's proposals, which he did not answer before the ninth of December, see Ralph's History of England, vol. i. p. 1055. The king's commissioners had received their passes from the prince, who was then between Bath and Salisbury, at Reading on the third of the month.)

[y] (The earl of Clarendon in his Diary says, the persons ordered to treat with the other lords were, marshal Schomberg, the earl of Oxford, and himself, p. 109.)

1688. who were not qualified by law, and had not taken the tests; that the tower of London might be put in the keeping of the city; that the fleet, and all the strong places of the kingdom, might be put in the hands of protestants; that a proportion of the revenue might be set off for the pay of the prince's army; and that during the sitting of the parliament, the armies of both sides might not come within twenty miles of London; but, that the prince might come on to London, and have the same number of his guards about him, that the king kept about his person. The Lords seemed to be very well satisfied with this answer. They sent it up by an express, and went back next day to London.

The king left the kingdom.

But now strange counsels were suggested to the king and queen. The priests, and all the violent papists, saw a treaty was now opened. They knew, that they must be the sacrifice. The whole design of popery must be given up, without any hope of being able in an age to think of bringing it on again. Severe laws would be made against them. And all those who intended to stick to the king, and to preserve him, would go into those laws with a particular zeal: so that they, and their hopes, must be now given up, and sacrificed for ever. They infused all this into the Queen. They said, she would certainly be impeached: and witnesses would be set up against her and her son: the king's mother had been impeached in the long parliament: and she was to look for nothing but violence. So the queen took up a sudden resolution of going to France with the child. The midwife, together with all who were assisting at the birth, were also carried over, or so

disposed of, that it could never be learned what became of them afterwards [z]. The queen prevailed with the king, not only to consent to this, but to promise to go quickly after her [a]. He was only to stay a day or two after her, in hope that the shadow of authority that was still left in him might keep things so quiet, that she might have an undisturbed passage. So she went to Portsmouth [b]. And from 1688.

[z] That is strange and incredible. S.

[a] (A different account is given in the Life of King James II. where it is said, that the "queen had a great reluctance "to this journey, not so much "for the hazard and inconveni-"encies of it, as to leaving the "king in so doubtful a situa-"tion—; and therefore when "it was first proposed, her ma-"jesty absolutely refused it in "reference to herself, telling "the king she was very willing "that the prince her son should "be sent to France, or where "it was thought most proper "for his security." It is added, "that the reluctance which the "queen had to part from the "king, made some persons who "wished him well, and thought "his leaving the kingdom too "precipitate, suspect her ma-"jesty to have been the occa-"sion of it, which was the far-"thest thing in the world from "her thoughts; she neither ad-"vised it, nor urged him to it; "on the contrary, it was her "own staying, not his going, her "majesty contended for." Vol. ii. p. 244. However, that the queen, on her finally consenting to go away herself, obtained an assurance, that it was the king's intention to follow her, appears to be true.)

[b] The prince of Wales had been sent to Portsmouth and brought back again: but the queen went from Whitehall privately, with the prince, &c. in a barge down the Thames, where a ship lay to receive her. In a letter dated December, 10th (to lord Dartmouth) the king says, "Things having so "very bad a prospect, I could "no longer defer securing the "queen and my son; which I "hope I have done, and that "by to-morrow they will be "out of the reach of my ene-"mies. I am at ease now I "have sent them away. I have "not heard this day from my "commissioners, with the prince "of Orange, who I believe will "hardly be prevailed with to "stop his march, so that I am "in no good condition; nay, in "as bad a one as is possible." D. ("The queen crossed the "Thames from Whitehall to "Lambeth, where she took "coach, and went to Graves-"end; here she embarked in a "vessel prepared for this pur-"pose, sailed down the river, "and landed at Calais." *Be-*

1688. thence, in a man of war, she went over to France, the king resolving to follow her in disguise. Care was also taken to send all the priests away. The king stayed long enough to get the prince's answer. And when he had read it, he said, he did not expect so good terms. He ordered the lord
796 chancellor to come to him next morning. But he had called secretly for the great seal. And the next morning, being the tenth of December, about three in the morning he went away in disguise with Sir Edward Hales, whose servant he seemed to be. They passed the river, and flung the great seal into it; which was some months after found by a fisherman near Fox-Hall. The king went down to a miserable fisher boat, that Hales had provided for carrying them over to France.

He is much censured.

Thus a great king, who had a good army and a strong fleet, did choose rather to abandon all, than either to expose himself to any danger with that part of the army that was still firm to him, or to stay and see the issue of a parliament. Some put this mean and unaccountable resolution on a want of courage. Others thought it was the effect of an ill conscience, and of some black thing under which he could not now support himself. And they who censured it the most moderately, said, that it shewed, that his priests had more regard to themselves than to him; and that he considered their interest more than his own; and that he chose rather to wander abroad with them, and to try what he could do by a French force to subdue his people, than to stay at

vill Higgons's Remarks, p. 306, The particulars of her flight are mentioned in D'Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 315, 316.).

home, and be shut up within the bounds of law, and be brought under an incapacity of doing more mischief; which they saw was necessary to quiet those fears and jealousies, for which his bad government had given so much occasion. It seemed very unaccountable, since he was resolved to go, that he did not choose rather to go in one of his yachts or frigates, than to expose himself in so dangerous and ignominious a manner. It was not possible to put a good construction on any part of the dishonourable scene which he then acted [c]. 1688.

With this his reign ended: for this was a plain deserting his people, and the exposing the nation to the pillage of an army, which he had ordered the earl of Feversham to disband [d]. And the doing this without paying them, was the letting so many armed men loose upon the nation; who might have done much mischief, if the execution of those orders that he left behind him had not been stopped [e]. I shall

[c] Lord Godolphin wrote to him to advise his withdrawing for the present, which, he said, would leave the kingdom in such confusion, that his subjects would be glad in a year's time to beg for his return upon their knees. D. (Perhaps this was really lord Godolphin's view of things, and perhaps he also feared for the king's life; or it may be, that his counsel, after all, was insidious. Thus the marquis of Halifax is known to have sent a letter to the king, informing him of ill designs against his person, and asserting that a resolution had been taken by the prince's advisers at Windsor to imprison him. See sir John Reresby's Memoirs, pp. 178. 180. and D'Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 314. Compare also what is mentioned below, p. 800. At the same time this very marquis is said to have afterwards made a merit of frightening the king away. See also what Burnet has just before told of him at p. 794.)

[d] Abominable assertion, and false consequence. S. (This consequence from the king's first attempt to leave the kingdom was then drawn by the prince of Orange's friends in general. See lord Clarendon's Diary, p. 115. 117.)

[e] "(Somebody told the "prince (of Orange) how lord "Feversham had disbanded the

1688. continue the recital of all that passed in this *interregnum*, till the throne, which he now left empty, was filled.

But is brought back.

He was not got far, when some fishermen of Feversham, who were watching for such priests, and other delinquents, as they fancied were making their escape, came up to him. And they, knowing sir Edward Hales, took both the king and him, and brought them to Feversham. The king told them who he was [f]. And that flying about brought a 797 vast crowd together, to look on that astonishing instance of the uncertainty of all worldly greatness; when he who had ruled three kingdoms, and might have been the arbiter of all Europe, was now in such mean hands, and so low an equipage. The people of the town were extremely disordered with this unlooked for accident: and, though for a while they kept him as a prisoner, yet they quickly changed that into as much respect as they could possibly pay

" king's army; and that the " soldiers were all running up " and down, not knowing what " course to take: at which the " prince seemed very angry at " lord Feversham, and said, I " am not to be thus dealt with." *Lord Clarendon's Diary*, p. 114. Lord Feversham had acted by the king's order.)

[f] And desired they would send to Eastwell, for the earl of Winchelsea, which sir Basil Dixwell put a stop to, by telling him, sure they were good enough to take care of him. Which occasioned the king's saying, he found there was more civility amongst the common people than some gentlemen, when he returned to Whitehall. D. " (The earl of Winchel- " sea, whom he had made " lord lieutenant of the county " of Kent, and constable of " Dover castle, not only waited " on him immediately, with all " the respect he could have " shewn him, when he sat firm- " est on his throne, but wisely " and honestly made use of the " opportunity to convince him, " that he ought not to abandon " his dominions, but that he " ought rather to return to " London, to collect his friends " about him, and to open a ne- " gotiation with the prince of " Orange." *Ralph's History of England*, vol. i. p. 1068.)

him. Here was an accident that seemed of no great consequence. Yet all the strugglings which that party have made ever since that time to this day, which from him were called afterwards the Jacobites, did rise out of this: for, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left: all would have agreed, that here was a desertion, and that therefore the nation was free, and at liberty to secure itself. But what followed upon this gave them a colour to say, that he was forced away, and driven out[g]. Till now, he scarce had a party, but among the papists. But from this incident a party grew up, that has been long very active for his interests. As soon as it was known at London that the king was gone, the prentices and the rabble, who had been a little quieted when they saw a treaty on foot between the king and the prince, now broke out again upon all suspected houses, where they believed there was either priests or papists. They made great havock of many places, not sparing the houses of ambassadors. But none were killed, no houses burnt, nor were any robberies committed[h]. Never was so much fury seen under so much management. Jefferies, finding the king was gone, saw what reason he had to look to himself: and, apprehending that he was now exposed to the rage of the people, whom he had pro- 1688.

[g] So he certainly was, both now and afterwards. S.

[h] Don Pedro de Ronquillo's house was plundered and pulled down; he was Spanish ambassador. S. (A different account is also given by the king himself in his life lately published, vol. ii. p. 257. See too sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 169, and D'Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 318. Yet it appears from Ralph's detail, p. 1060, that the bishop is founded in his assertion, that the fury of the mob was under management.)

1688. voked with so particular a brutality, he had disguised himself to make his escape[i]. But he fell into the hands of some who knew him[j]. He was insulted by them with as much scorn and rudeness as they could invent. And, after many hours tossing him about, he was carried to the lord mayor; whom they charged to commit him to the tower[k], which the lord Lucas had then seized, and in it had declared for the prince[l]. The lord mayor was so struck with the terror of this rude populace, and with the disgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits upon it, of which he died soon after.

The prince is desired to come and take the government into his hands.

To prevent the further growth of such disorders, he called a meeting of the privy counsellors and peers, who met at Guildhall. The archbishop of Canterbury was there. They gave a strict charge for keeping the peace; and agreed to send an invitation to the prince, desiring him to come and take 798 the government of the nation into his hands, till a parliament should meet to bring all matters to a just and full settlement. This they all signed[m];

[i] In a common sailor's habit. O.

[j] A scrivener of Wapping, who saw him at a window of an upper chamber in a poor alehouse there. He had been rated and terribly frightened by Jefferies, some time before, in the court of chancery, and as the man was coming out of the court, he said "The fierceness "of Jefferies's countenance on "that occasion had made such "an impression upon his mind, "that he believed he should "never have it out of his "thoughts." And by this it was, that he immediately knew him, although so disguised. This story with some variation is mentioned in the Life of the Lord Keeper North, p. 220. O.

[k] He soon after died in the tower by drinking strong liquors. S.

[l] He was put in possession of the tower by an order of the lords at Guildhall. D.

[m] ("Bishop Burnet takes "care to remember that the

and sent it to the prince by the earl of Pembroke, 1688.
the viscount of Weymouth [n], the bishop of Ely, and the Lord Culpepper. The prince went on from Hungerford to Newbury, and from thence to Abington, resolving to have gone to Oxford to receive the compliments of the university, and to meet the princess Anne who was coming thither. At Abington he was surprised with the news of the strange catastrophe of affairs now at London, the king's desertion, and the disorders which the city and neighbourhood of London were falling into. One came from London, and brought him the news, which he knew not well how to believe, till he had an express sent him from the lords, who had been with him from the king. Upon this the prince saw how necessary it was to make all possible haste to London. So he sent to Oxford, to excuse his not coming thither,

" archbishop was there; and " to be express that this invita- " tion to the prince they all " signed; but their own decla- " ration bears witness, that no " such thing passed at this meet- " ing; and when such a thing " did pass, it is but justice to " acknowledge that the arch- " bishop was not there. So " strangely does he jumble dif- " ferent facts together; and " so fatally does he mislead " his readers by the means." *Ralph's History of England*, vol. i. p. 1061. Compare Dr. D'Oyly's Life of Archbishop Sancroft, vol. i. p. 392—398.)

[n] Lord Weymouth was a weak, proud man, with a vast estate, and exprest great warmth against king James, and all his proceedings: but not being so well received by the prince as the earl of Pembroke, which he expected, immediately espoused king James's interest, with great zeal; which he continued to do to his death. He was very liberal to non-jurors, though he always took the oaths himself; which occasioned his house being constantly full of people of that sort, who cried him up for a very religious man; which pleased him extremely, having affected to be thought so all his life; which the companions of his youth would by no means allow. D. (Lord Weymouth appears to have been an honester man than most of his contemporaries; attached as he was to the church of England, he could not but highly disapprove of king James's measures.)

1688. his being kept in custody, would be such a tie on all his party, as would oblige them to submit and be quiet. Ireland was in great danger. And his restraint might oblige the earl of Tirconnell to deliver up the government, and to disarm the papists, which would preserve that kingdom, and the protestants in it. But, because it might raise too much compassion, and perhaps some disorder, if the king should be kept in restraint within the kingdom, therefore the sending him to Breda was proposed. The earl of Clarendon pressed this vehemently, on the account of the Irish protestants, as the king himself told me[u]: for those that gave their opinions in this matter did it secretly and in confidence to the prince. The

[u] The prince, I suppose, after he was king. O. (The earl of Clarendon's own story is this, in order to meet the report, that he had advised the imprisoning king James, and sending him to the tower, that "he "told lord Abingdon a great "part of what had passed at "Windsor, but withal that "they had all promised secrecy "of what was at that time dis-"coursed; and that he further "assured his lordship, that ex-"cept at that time at Windsor, "he had never been present at "any discourse about what "should be done with king "James: but told him, he "was indeed against his be-"ing sent away. That lord "Abingdon was very well sa-"tisfied with what he had told "him: and that they both a-"greed not to speak of what "they had said to each other." *Diary*, p. 202. It is here asserted, that he satisfied his friend in this point; but see the same report mentioned in The Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 18, and it should seem, that this nobleman, like several others, was for king James, because he was not permitted to serve king William. As it happened afterwards, at the accession of the house of Hanover, when many went over to the interests of the old family, because they were not employed by the new. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who was a leading member amongst the tories in the last parliament of queen Anne, used to declare, as a person of undoubted credit long since dead often mentioned, that he had been privy to no design of bringing in the son of king James upon the queen's death, but said, that when he returned to London after that event, he found his old friends turned Jacobites.)

prince said, he could not deny but that this might be good and wise advice: but it was that to which he could not hearken: he was so far satisfied with the grounds of this expedition, that he could act against the king in a fair and open war: but for his person, now that he had him in his power, he could not put such a hardship on him, as to make him a prisoner: and he knew the princess's temper so well, that he was sure she would never bear it: nor did he know what disputes it might raise, or what effect it might have upon the parliament that was to be called: he was firmly resolved never to suffer any thing to be done against his person: he saw it was necessary to send him out of London: and he would order a guard to attend upon him, who should only defend and protect his person, but not restrain him in any sort. 1688.

A resolution was taken of sending the lords Hal- 801
lifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, to London, who were first to order the English guards that were about the court to be drawn off, and sent to quarters out of town: and, when that was done, the count of Solms with the Dutch guards was to come and take all the posts about the court. This was obeyed without any resistance or disorder, but not without much murmuring. It was midnight before all was settled. And then these lords sent to the earl of Middleton, to desire him to let the king know, that they had a message to deliver to him from the prince. He went in to the king; and sent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came, and found him abed. They told him, the necessity of affairs required that the prince should come presently to London: and he thought it would conduce

1688. to the safety of the king's person, and the quiet of the town, that he should retire to some house out of town: and they proposed Ham. The king seemed much dejected; and asked, if it must be done immediately. They told him, he might take his rest first: and they added, that he should be attended by a guard, who should only guard his person, but should give him no sort of disturbance. Having said this, they withdrew. The earl of Middleton came quickly after them, and asked them, if it would not do as well, if the king should go to Rochester; for since the prince was not pleased with his coming up from Kent, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he should go thither again. It was very visible, that this was proposed in order to a second escape [x].

The prince came to London, and the king went to Rochester.

They promised to send word immediately to the prince of Orange, who lay that night at Sion, within eight miles of London. He very readily consented to it. And the king went next day to Rochester, having ordered all that which is called the moving wardrobe to be sent before him, the count of Solms ordering every thing to be done as the king desired. A guard went with him that left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more respect than his own guards had done of late. Most of that body, as it happened, were papists. So when he went to mass, they went in, and assisted very reverently. And when they were asked how they could serve in an expedition that was intended to destroy their own religion, one of them answered, his soul was God's, but his sword was the prince of Orange's. The king was so much delighted with this answer, that he repeated it to all that came about him. On the same

[x] And why not? S.

day the prince came to St. James's. It happened to be a very rainy day[y]. And yet great numbers came to see him. But, after they had stood long in the wet, he disappointed them: for he, who neither loved shews nor shoutings, went through the park. And even this trifle helped to set people's spirits on edge. 1688. 802

The revolution was thus brought about, with the universal applause of the whole nation: only these last steps began to raise a fermentation. It was said, here was an unnatural thing, to waken the king out of his sleep, in his own palace, and to order him to go out of it, when he was ready to submit to every thing. Some said, he was now a prisoner, and remembered the saying of king Charles the first, that the prisons and the graves of princes lay not far distant from one another: the person of the king was now struck at, as well as his government: and this specious undertaking would now appear to be only a disguised and designed usurpation[z]. These things began to work on great numbers. And the posting the Dutch guards where the English guards had been, gave a general disgust to the whole English army. They indeed hated the Dutch besides, on the account of the good order and strict discipline they were kept under; which made them to be as much

[y] ("The king was carried down the river, in a very tempestuous day, not without some danger; and while the poor old king was thus exposed to the mercy of the elements, and an actual prisoner under a guard of Dutchmen, that very moment his daughter Denmark, with her great favourite, (lady Churchill,) both covered with Orange ribbands, in her father's coaches, and attended by his guards, went triumphant to the playhouse." *Higgons's Short View of English Hist.* p. 350, 2d edit.)

[z] All this is certainly true. S.

1688. beloved by the nation, as they were hated by the soldiery. The nation had never known such an inoffensive march of an army. And the peace and order of the suburbs, and the freedom of markets in and about London, was so carefully maintained, that in no time fewer disorders had been committed than were heard of this winter.

None of the papists or Jacobites were insulted in any sort. The prince had ordered me, as we came along, to take care of the papists, and to secure them from all violence. When he came to London, he renewed these orders, which I executed with so much zeal and care, that I saw all the complaints that were brought me fully redressed. When we came to London, I procured passports for all that desired to go beyond sea. Two of the popish bishops were put in Newgate. I went thither in the prince's name. I told them, the prince would not take upon him yet to give orders about prisoners: as soon as he did that, they should feel the effects of it. But in the mean while I ordered them to be well used, and to be taken care of, and that their friends might be admitted to come to them. So truly did I pursue the principle of moderation, even towards those from whom nothing of that sort was to be expected.

The prince was welcomed by all sorts of people.

Now that the prince was come, all the bodies about the town came to welcome him. The bishops came the next day. Only the archbishop of Canterbury, though he had once agreed to it, yet would not come[a]. The clergy of London came next. The

[a] (Dr. D'Oyly, in his Life of the Archbishop, observes, that according to bishop Burnet's statement, "the archbishop had "once consented to wait on "the prince," but that this fact rests on his sole authority. chap. x. p. 409. The archbi-

city, and a great many other bodies, came likewise, and expressed a great deal of joy for the deliverance wrought for them by the prince's means. Old ser- 803 jeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The prince took notice of his great age, and said, that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time: he answered, he had like to have outlived the law it self, if his highness had not come over [b]. 1688.

Consultations about the settlement of the nation.

The first thing to be done after the compliments were over, was to consider how the nation was to be settled. The lawyers were generally of opinion [c], that the prince ought to declare himself king, as Henry the seventh had done. This, they said, would put an end to all disputes, which might otherwise grow very perplexing and tedious: and, they said, he might call a parliament which would be a legal assembly, if summoned by the king in fact, though his title was not yet recognized. This was plainly contrary to his declaration, by which the settlement of the nation was referred to a parliament: such a step would make all that the prince had hitherto done pass for an aspiring ambition, only to raise himself: and it would disgust those who had been

shop appears to have acted consistently with his principles through these difficult times; except, perhaps, in granting commissions to the other bishops to execute his metropolitical authority. And it is improbable, that he who refused to send his blessing to the princess of Orange, until she had first obtained her father's, would visit her husband, on his taking forcible possession of the other's palace. It is more likely that our author, who misrepresents the archbishop as applying to the prince to take upon himself the government, should be mistaken in this point also. See before, p. 797.)

[b] He was an old rogue for all that. S.

[c] Pollexfen, particularly, as I have heard. O.

1688. hitherto the best affected to his designs; and make them less concerned in the quarrel, if, instead of staying till the nation should offer him the crown, he would assume it as a conquest. These reasons determined the prince against that proposition. He called all the peers, and the members of the three last parliaments [d], that were in town, together with some of the citizens of London. When these met, it was told them, that, in the present distraction, the prince desired their advice about the best methods of settling the nation. It was agreed in both these houses, such as they were, to make an address to the prince, desiring him to take the administration of the government into his hands in the interim. The next proposition passed not so unanimously: for, it being moved, that the prince should be likewise desired to write missive letters to the same effect, and for the same persons to whom writs were issued out for calling a parliament, that so there might be an assembly of men in the form of a parliament, though without writs under the great seal, such as that was that had called home king Charles the second. To this the earl of Nottingham objected, that such a convention of the states could be no legal assembly, unless summoned by the king's writ. Therefore he moved, that an address might be made to the king, to order the writs to be issued out. Few were of his mind. The matter was carried the other way: and orders were given for those letters to be sent round the nation.

804 The king continued a week at Rochester. And both he himself, and every body else, saw that he

The king went over into France.

[d] Of any of the parliaments of king Charles the second. O.

was at full liberty, and that the guard about him put him under no sort of restraint. Many that were zealous for his interests went to him, and pressed him to stay, and to see the issue of things: a party would appear for him: good terms would be got for him: and things would be brought to a reasonable agreement. He was much distracted between his own inclinations, and the importunities of his friends. The queen, hearing what had happened, writ a most vehement letter to him, pressing his coming over, remembering him of his promise, which she charged on him in a very earnest, if not in an imperious strain. This letter was intercepted. I had an account of it from one that read it. The prince ordered it to be conveyed to the king: and that determined him. So he gave secret orders to prepare a vessel for him; and drew a paper, which he left on his table, reproaching the nation for their forsaking him. He declared, that though he was going to seek for foreign aid to restore him to his throne, yet he would not make use of it to overthrow either the religion established, or the laws of the land. And so he left Rochester very secretly, on the last day of this memorable year, and got safe over to France 1688.

The affairs of Scotland.

But, before I enter into the next year, I will give some account of the affairs of Scotland. There was no force left there, but a very small one, scarce able to defend the castle of Edenburgh, of which the duke of Gordon was governor. He was a papist; but had neither the spirit nor the courage which such a post required at that time. As soon as the news came to Scotland of the king's desertion, the rabble got together there, as they had done in London. They broke into all popish chapels, and into

1688. the church of Holyrood house, which had been adorned at a great charge to be a royal chapel, particularly for the order of St. Andrew and the thistle, which the king had resolved to set up in Scotland, in imitation of the order of the garter in England [e]. They defaced it quite, and seized on some that were thought great delinquents, in particular on the earl of Perth, who had disguised himself, and had got aboard a small vessel: but he was seized on, and put in prison. The whole kingdom, except only the castle of Edenburgh, declared for the prince, and received his declaration for that kingdom with great joy. This was done in the north very unanimously, by the episcopal, as well as by the presbyterian party. But in the western counties, the presbyterians, who had suffered much in a course of many years, thought that the time was now come, not only to procure
805 themselves ease and liberty, but to revenge themselves upon others. They generally broke in upon the episcopal clergy with great insolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the parishes in a mock procession: they tore their gowns, and drove them from their churches and houses. Nor did they treat those of them, who had appeared very zea-

[e] It was revived in the reign of Queen Anne, with some new regulations; and (they) styled themselves knights of the most ancient order of St. Andrew, though nobody ever read or heard of a knight of St. Andrew, till king James the second of England and seventh of Scotland. All the pretence for antiquity, is some old pictures of kings of Scotland, with medals of St. Andrew hung in gold chains about their necks, who has always been esteemed the patron of Scotland: and every body knows that gold chains and medals were worn formerly for ornaments by persons of quality, and are still given to ambassadors, and upon other occasions. But king Charles the second used to tell a story of a Scotchman, that desired a grant for an old mill, because he understood they had some privileges, and were more in esteem than new. D.

lously against popery, with any distinction[f]. The bishops of that kingdom had writ a very indecent letter to the king, upon the news of the prince's being blown back by the storm, full of injurious expressions towards the prince, expressing their abhorrence of his design: and, in conclusion, they wished that the king might have the necks of his enemies. This was sent up as a pattern to the English bishops, and was printed in the gazette. But they did not think fit to copy after it in England. The episcopal party in Scotland saw themselves under a great cloud: so they resolved all to adhere to the earl of Dundee[g], who had served some years in Holland, and was both an able officer, and a man of good parts, and of some very valuable virtues: but, as he was proud and ambitious, so he had taken up a most violent hatred of the whole presbyterian party, and had executed all the severest orders against them with great rigour; even to the shooting many on the highway, that refused the oath required of them. The presbyterians looked on him as their most implacable enemy: and the episcopal party trusted most entirely to him. Upon the prince's coming to London, the duke of Hamilton called a meeting of all the men of quality of the Scotish nation then in town: and these made an address to the prince with relation to Scotland, almost in the same terms in which the English address was conceived. And now the administration of the government of the whole isle of Britain was put in the prince's hands. 1688.

[f] To reward them for which, king William abolished episcopacy. S.

[g] He was the best man in Scotland. S.

1688. The prospect from Ireland was more dreadful.

The affairs of Ireland.

Tyrconnell gave out new commissions for levying thirty thousand men. And reports were spread about that island, that a general massacre of the protestants was fixed to be in November. Upon which the protestants began to run together for their common defence, both in Munster and in Ulster. They had no great strength in Munster. They had been disarmed, and had no store of ammunition for the few arms that were left them. So they despaired of being able to defend themselves, and came over to England in great numbers, and full of dismal apprehensions for those they had left behind them. They moved earnestly, that a speedy assistance might be sent to them. In Ulster the protestants had more strength: but they wanted a head. The lords of Grenard and Mountjoy, who
806 were the chief military men among them, in whom they confided most, kept still such measures with Tyrconnell, that they would not take the conduct of them. Two towns, that had both very little defence about them, and a very small store of provisions within them, were by the rashness or boldness of some brave young men secured: so that they refused to receive a popish garrison, or to submit to Tyrconnell's orders. These were London-Derry and Iniskilling. Both of them were advantageously situated. Tyrconnell sent troops into the north to reduce the country. Upon which great numbers fled into those places, and brought in provisions to them. And so they resolved to defend themselves, with a firmness of courage that cannot be enough admired: for when they were abandoned, both by the gentry and the military men, those two small unfurnished

and unfortified places resolved to stand to their own defence, and, at all perils, to stay till supplies should come to them from England[h]. I will not enlarge more upon the affairs of that kingdom; both because I had no occasion to be well informed about them, and because Dr. King, now archbishop of Dublin, wrote a copious history of the government of Ireland during this reign, which is so well received, and so universally acknowledged to be as truly as it is finely written, that I refer my reader to the account of those matters, which is fully and faithfully given by that learned and zealous prelate. 1688.

And now I enter upon the year 1689. In which the two first things to be considered, before the convention could be brought together, were, the settling the English army, and the affairs of Ireland. As for the army, some of the bodies, those chiefly that were full of papists, and of men ill affected, were to be broken. And, in order to that, a loan was set on foot in the city, for raising the money that was to pay their arrears at their disbanding, and for carrying on the pay of the English and Dutch armies till the convention should meet, and settle the nation. This was the great distinction of those who were well affected to the prince: for, whereas those who were ill affected to him refused to join in the loan, pretending there was no certainty of their being repaid; the others did not doubt but the convention would pay all that was advanced in so great an exigence, and so they subscribed liberally, as the occasion required. 1689.

[h] He should have mentioned Dr. Walker, who defended Derry. S.

1689. As for the affairs of Ireland, there was a great variety of opinions among them. Some thought, that Ireland would certainly follow the fate of England. This was managed by an artifice of Tyrconnell's, who, what by deceiving, what by threatening the eminentest protestants in Dublin, got them to write
807 over to London, and give assurances that he would deliver up Ireland, if he might have good terms for himself and for the Irish. The earl of Clarendon was much depended on by the protestants of Ireland, who made all their applications to the prince by him. Those, who were employed by Tyrconnell to deceive the prince, made their applications by sir William Temple, who had a long and well established credit with him[i]. They said, Tyrconnell would never lay down the government of Ireland, unless he was sure that the earl of Clarendon was not to succeed: he knew his peevishness and spite, and that he would take severe revenges for what he thought had been done to himself, if he had them in his power: and therefore he would not treat, till he was assured of that. Upon this the prince did avoid the speaking to the earl of Clarendon of those matters. And then he, who had possessed himself in his expectation of that post, seeing the prince thus shut him out of the hopes of it, became a most violent opposer of the new settlement. He reconciled himself to king James: and has been ever since one of the hottest promoters of his interest of any in the

[i] A lie of a Scot; for sir William Temple did not know Tyrconnell. S. It is not probable that sir William Temple himself engaged at all in this matter. See the account of his Life, written by his sister, the lady Giffard. It was most likely to be young Temple, sir William's son. See the two next pages. O.

nation. Temple entered into a management with Tyrconnell's agents, who, it is very probable, if things had not taken a great turn in England, would have come to a composition. Others thought, that the leaving Ireland in that dangerous state, might be a mean to bring the convention to a more speedy settlement of England; and that therefore the prince ought not to make too much haste to relieve Ireland[k]. This advice was generally believed to be given by the marquis of Hallifax: and it was like him. The prince did not seem to apprehend enough the consequences of the revolt of Ireland; and was much blamed for his slowness in not preventing it in time. 1689.

The truth was, he did not know whom to trust. A general discontent, next to mutiny, began to spread it self through the whole English army. The turn that they were now making from him, was almost as quick as that which they had made to him. He could not trust them. Probably, if he had sent any of them over, they would have joined with Tyrconnell. Nor could he well send over any of his Dutch troops. It was to them that he chiefly trusted, The prince in treaty with the earl of Tyrconnell.

[k] That is agreed to be the true reason, and it was a wicked one. S. The duke of Leeds told me, that lord Tyrconnell sent several messages to king William, that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuse, by sending any thing that looked like a force to demand it; but lord Halifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army, and if there was none, he would be turned out as easily as he had been brought in: for it was impossible to please England long, and he might see they began to be discontented already. D. (This note of lord Dartmouth has been communicated to the public by Dalrymple, in the Appendix to his Memoirs, p. 342. See observations on it by Somerville, in his Hist. of Political Transactions, vol. i. p. 321.)

1689. for maintaining the quiet of England. Probably the English army would have become more insolent, if the Dutch force had been considerably diminished. And the king's magazines were so exhausted, that till new stores were provided, there was very little ammunition to spare. The raising new troops was a work of time. There was no ship of war in those
808 seas to secure the transport. And to send a small company of officers with some ammunition, which was all that could be done on the sudden, seemed to be an exposing them to the enemy. These considerations made him more easy to entertain a proposition that was made to him, as was believed, by the Temples; (for sir William had both a brother and a son that made then a considerable figure;) which was, to send over lieutenant general Hamilton, one of the officers that belonged to Ireland. He was a papist, but was believed to be a man of honour: and he had certainly great credit with the earl of Tyrconnell. He had served in France with great reputation, and had a great interest in all the Irish, and was now in the prince's hands; and had been together with a body of Irish soldiers, whom the prince kept for some time as prisoners in the Isle of Wight; whom he gave afterwards to the emperor, though, as they passed through Germany, they deserted in great numbers, and got into France. Hamilton was a sort of prisoner of war. So he undertook to go over to Ireland, and to prevail with the earl of Tyrconnell to deliver up the government; and promised, that he would either bring him to it, or that he would come back, and give an account of his negotiation. This step had a very ill effect: for before Hamilton came to Dublin, the earl of Tyr-

connell was in such despair, looking on all as lost, 1689.
that he seemed to be very near a full resolution of entering on a treaty, to get the best terms that he could. But Hamilton's coming changed him quite. He represented to him, that things were turning fast in England in favour of the king: so that, if he stood firm, all would come round again. He saw, that he must study to manage this so dexterously, as to gain as much time as he could, that so the prince might not make too much haste, before a fleet and supplies might come from France. So several letters were writ over by the same management, giving assurances that the earl of Tyrconnell was fully resolved to treat and submit. And, to carry this further, two commissioners were sent from the council-board to France. The one was a zealous protestant, the other was a papist. Their instructions were, to represent to the king the necessity of Ireland's submitting to England. The earl of Tyrconnell pretended, that in honour he could do no less than disengage himself to his master, before he laid down the government. Yet he seemed resolved not to stay for an answer, or a consent; but that, as soon as this message was delivered, he would submit upon good conditions: and for these, he knew, he would have all that he asked. With this management he gained his point, which was much time. And he now fancied, that the honour of restoring the king would belong chiefly to himself. Thus Hamilton, by breaking his own faith, secured the earl of Tyr-809
connell to the king: and this gave the beginning to the war of Ireland. Mountjoy, the protestant lord that was sent to France, instead of being heard to deliver his message, was clapt up in the Bastille;

1689. which, since he was sent in the name of a kingdom, was thought a very dishonourable thing, and contrary to the law of nations. Those who had advised the sending over Hamilton were now much out of countenance: and the earl of Clarendon was a loud declaimer against it. It was believed, that it had a terrible effect on sir William Temple's son, who had raised in the prince a high opinion of Hamilton's honour. Soon after that, he, who had no other visible cause of melancholy, besides this, went in a boat on the Thames, near the bridge, where the river runs most impetuously, and leaped into the river, and was drowned[1].

The convention met.

The sitting of the convention was now very near. And all men were forming their schemes, and fortifying their party all they could. The elections were managed fairly all England over. The prince did in no sort interpose in any recommendation, directly or indirectly. Three parties were formed about the town. The one was for calling back the king, and treating with him for such securities to religion and the laws, as might put them out of the danger for the future of a dispensing or arbitrary power. These were all of the high church party, who had carried the point of submission and non-resistance so far, that they thought nothing less than this could con-

[1] ("He left a paper in the "boat; wherein were written "these words: 'My folly in "undertaking what I was not "able to execute, hath done "the king great prejudice. May "his undertakings prosper, and "may he have an abler servant "than I.' This was written in "the boat, with a black lead, "upon the cover of a letter to "himself; which was the occa- "sion of the discovery, for the "watermen did not know him." *Lord Clarendon's Diary*, p. 183. He had been made secretary of war. *Sir John Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 197. See more concerning Hamilton, vol. ii. of Burnet's Hist. p. 59.)

sist with their duty and their oaths. When it was objected to them, that, according to those notions that they had been possessed with, they ought to be for calling the king back without conditions: when he came, they might indeed offer him their petitions, which he might grant or reject as he pleased: but that the offering him conditions, before he was recalled, was contrary to their former doctrine of unconditioned allegiance. They were at such a stand upon this objection, that it was plain, they spoke of conditions, either in compliance with the humour of the nation, or that, with relation to their particular interest, nature was so strong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine [m]. 1689.

When this notion was tossed and talked of about the town, so few went into it, that the party which supported it went over to the scheme of a second party; which was, that king James had by his ill administration of the government brought himself into an incapacity of holding the exercise of the sovereign authority any more in his own hand [n]. But, Some are for a prince regent.

[m] (The absurd doctrine of non-resistance in all cases, and unconditional allegiance to any government, or what, if possible, is still more absurd, of unlimited obedience to one branch of a constitution, ought never to have been inculcated by any individuals or body of men. Yet there seems to have been a wide difference between driving away a prince, who offered to redress, and to prevent in future, all grievances, and the opposing him when he abused his prerogative to the subversion of law; and pretended, as his advocates did for him in licensed publications, to a power of superadding to the legally established rites of religion, such ceremonies as would assimilate the church of England to that of Rome. The opposers of illegal proceedings might, without the reproach of inconsistency, propose treating with the king for securities to their religion and laws.)

[n] (The truth of the matter was, that the king had acted so ill in England, and so much worse in Ireland and Scotland, and was of so violent and ob-

1689. as in the case of lunatics, the right still remained in
810 him: only the guardianship, or the exercise, of it was to be lodged with a prince regent: so that the right of sovereignty should be owned to remain still in the king, and that the exercise of it should be vested in the prince of Orange as prince regent. A third party was for setting king James quite aside, and for setting the prince on the throne.

When the convention was opened on the twenty-fourth of January, the archbishop came not to take his place among them. He resolved neither to act for nor against the king's interest; which, considering his high post, was thought very unbecoming. For if he thought, as by his behaviour afterwards it seems he did, that the nation was running into treason, rebellion, and perjury, it was a strange thing to see one, who was at the head of the church, sit silent all the while that this was in debate; and not once so much as declare his opinion by speaking, voting, or protesting, not to mention the other ecclesiastical methods that certainly became his character[o]. But he was a poor-spirited and fearful

stinate a temper, that even the friends of monarchy feared his recall. His despotic notions, and sectarian zeal, well nigh annihilated his sincerity, gratitude, and sense of justice. A pretty fair and true character of this prince is given by bishop Burnet in the second volume of his History, p. 292. folio edit. The worst is, that such kings involve in their ruin better and honester men than themselves.)

[o] In a manuscript memoir of some passages of the life and times of archbishop Wake, written by himself, (which I have read,) he mentions a fact of Sancroft, which agrees very much with this character of him. He says, that upon the prince of Orange's coming to London, the clergy there met to consider, among other things relating to themselves at that juncture, what they should do as to the form of prayers which had been appointed and read in the churches, against the prince's invasion; and though all agreed to forbear the further use of the prayers, yet they thought it

man; and acted a very mean part in all this great transaction [p]. The bishops' bench was very full, as were also the benches of the temporal lords. The earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, and Rochester, were the men that managed the debates in favour of a regent, in opposition to those who were for setting up another king. 1689.

They thought this would save the nation, and yet secure the honour of the church of England, and the sacredness of the crown. It was urged, that if, upon any pretence whatsoever, the nation might throw off their king, then the crown must become precarious, and the power of judging the king must be in the people. This must end in a commonwealth. A great deal was brought from both the laws and history of England, to prove, that not only the person, but the authority of the king was sacred. The law

decent, before they came to a formal resolution for that, to depute some of their body to wait upon the archbishop at Lambeth, to know his sense of it, and have his consent to it; that the archbishop received the application with a good deal of disorder, and declined to give any opinion upon it: but on their pressing him for his opinion, he desired them to look upon the title of the form of prayers, which directed it to be used during the time of public apprehensions from the *danger* of invasion, and then left it to them to consider, whether that time was not over by the invasion taking place. O.

[p] Others think very differently. S. (See an able discussion of the motives which influenced the archbishop's conduct in Dr. D'Oyly's Life of him, vol. i. chapter x. p. 430—444: where however a complete justification of his inactivity is not attempted. Perhaps the archbishop paid too much attention to the information and suggestions of Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, a warm and busy stickler for the interests of the prince of Orange; who appears to have insinuated himself into the confidence of many of the opposite party. Still be it remembered, that Sancroft's election to the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge about this time, which he declined accepting, shews the sense which was entertained by that learned body of the archbishop's high merit.)

1689. had indeed provided a remedy of a regency for the infancy of our kings. So, if a king should fall into such errors in his conduct, as shewed that he was as little capable of holding the government as an infant was, then the estates of the kingdom might, upon this parity of the case, seek to the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power with a regent. But the right was to remain, and to go on in a lineal succession: for, if that was once put ever so little out of its order, the crown would in a little time become elective; which might rend the nation in pieces by a diversity of elections, and by the different factions that would adhere to the person whom they had elected. They did not deny, but that great objections lay against the methods that they proposed. But affairs were brought into so desperate a
811 state by king James's conduct, that it was not possible to propose a remedy that might not be justly excepted to. But they thought, their expedient would take in the greatest, as well as the best, part of the nation: whereas all other expedients gratified a republican party, composed of the dissenters, and of men of no religion, who hoped now to see the church ruined, and the government set upon such a bottom, as that we should have only a titular king; who, as he had his power from the people, so should be accountable to them for the exercise of it, and should forfeit it at their pleasure. The much greater part of the house of lords was for this, and stuck long to it: and so was about a third part of the house of commons. The greatest part of the clergy declared themselves for it [q].

[q] And it was certainly much the best expedient. S.

But of those who agreed in this expedient, it was visible there were two different parties. Some intended to bring king James back; and went into this, as the most probable way for laying the nation asleep, and for overcoming the present aversion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, with the help of some time, to compass the other. Others seemed to mean more sincerely. They said, they could not vote or argue but according to their own principles, as long as the matter was yet entire: but they owned that they had taken up another principle, both from the law and from the history of England; which was, that they would obey and pay allegiance to the king for the time being: they thought a king thus *de facto* had a right to their obedience, and that they were bound to adhere to him, and to defend him, even in opposition to him with whom they thought the right did still remain. The earl of Nottingham was the person that owned this doctrine the most during these debates. He said to my self, that though he could not argue nor vote, but according to the scheme and principles he had concerning our laws and constitution, yet he should not be sorry to see his side out voted; and that, though he could not agree to the making a king as things stood, yet if he found one made, he would be more faithful to him, than those that made him could be according to their own principles. 1689.

The third party was made up of those, who thought that there was an original contract between the kings and the people of England; by which the kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the Others are for another king.

1689. people were bound to obey and serve the king[r]. The proof of this appeared in the ancient forms of coronations still observed: by which the people were asked, if they would have that person before them
812 to be their king: and, upon their shouts of consent, the coronation was gone about. But, before the king was crowned, he was asked, if he would not defend and protect his people, and govern them according to law: and, upon his promising and swearing this, he was crowned: and then homage was done him. And, though of late the coronation has been considered rather as a solemn instalment, than that which gave the king his authority, so that it was become a maxim in law that the king never died, and that the new king was crowned in the right of his succession, yet these forms, that were still continued, shewed what the government was originally[s]. Many things were brought to support this from the British and Saxon times. It was urged, that William the conqueror was received upon his promising to keep the laws of Edward the confessor, which was plainly the original contract between him and the nation. This was often renewed by his successors. Edward the second and Richard the second were deposed for breaking these laws: and these depositions were still good in law, since they were not reversed, nor was the right of deposing

[r] I am of this party, and yet I would have been for a regency. S.

[s] Anciently the kings of England dated their reign from the day of their coronation: of later times, from the day of their predecessor's death: but the doctrine of unconditional allegiance was never heard of in England, till king James the first's time, whose arbitrary, illegal administration could be justified by no former rules of government. D. (Compare that administration with the practical government of the Tudors.)

them ever renounced or disowned[t]. Many things were alleged, from what had passed during the barons' wars, for confirming all this. Upon which I will add one particular circumstance, that the original of king John's Magna Charta, with his great seal to it, was then given to me by a gentleman that found it among his father's papers, but did not know how he came by it: and it is still in my hands. It was said in this argument, what did all the limitations of the regal power signify, if, upon a king's breaking through them all, the people had not a right to maintain their laws and to preserve their constitution? It was indeed confessed, that this might have ill consequences, and might be carried too far. But the denying this right in any case whatsoever, did plainly destroy all liberty, and establish tyranny. The present alteration proposed would be no precedent, but to the like case. And it was fit that a precedent should be made for such occasions; if those of Edward the second and Richard the second were not acknowledged to be good ones. It was said, that, if king James had only broken some laws, and done some illegal acts, it might be justly urged, that it was not reasonable on account of these to carry severities too far. But he had broken through the laws in many public and avowed instances: he had set up an open treaty 1689.

[t] ("We have standing records which express all manner of detestation of king Richard's deposition and murder, and which brand Henry as an usurper." *Impartial Reflections upon Bishop Burnet's Posthumous History*, p. 108. But the bishop himself, in a pamphlet attributed to him, which is opposed to Sherlock's *Letter to a Member of the Convention*, has made the like use of the deposition of both kings. See Ralph's History of England, vol. ii. p. 23.)

1689. with Rome: he had shaken the whole settlement of Ireland; and had put that island, and the English and protestants that were there, in the power of the Irish: the dispensing power took away not only those laws to which it was applied, but all other
813 laws whatsoever, by the precedent it had set, and by the consequences that followed upon it: by the ecclesiastical commission he had invaded the liberty of the church, and subjected the clergy to mere will and pleasure: and all was concluded by his deserting his people, and flying to a foreign power, rather than stay and submit to the determinations of a free parliament. Upon all which it was inferred, that he had abdicated the government, and had left the throne vacant: which therefore ought now to be filled, that so the nation might be preserved, and the regal government continued in it.

And against a regency. As to the proposition for a prince regent, it was argued, that this was as much against monarchy, or rather more, than what they moved for. If a king's ill government did give the people a right in any case to take his power from him, and to lodge it with another, owning that the right to it remained still with him, this might have every whit as bad consequences as the other seemed to have: for recourse might be had to this violent remedy too often and too rashly. By this proposition of a regent, here were to be upon the matter two kings at the same time: one with the title, and another with the power of a king. This was both more illegal and more unsafe than the method they proposed. The law of England had settled the point of the subjects' security in obeying the king in possession, in the statute made by Henry the seventh. So

every man knew he was safe under a king, and so would act with zeal and courage [u]. But all such as should act under a prince regent, created by this convention, were upon a bottom that had not the necessary forms of law for it. All that was done by them would be thought null and void in law: so that no man could be safe that acted under it. If the oaths to king James were thought to be still binding, the subjects were by these not only bound to maintain his title to the crown, but all his prerogatives and powers. And therefore it seemed absurd to continue a government in his name, and to take oaths still to him, when yet all the power was taken out of his hands. This would be an odious thing, both before God and the whole world, and would cast a reproach on us at present, and bring certain ruin for the future on any such mixed and unnatural sort of government. Therefore, if the oaths were still binding, the nation was still bound by them, not by halves, but in their whole extent. It was said, that, if the government should be carried on in king James's name, but in other hands, the body of the nation would consider him as the person that was truly their king. And if any should plot or act for him, they could not be proceeded against for high treason, as conspiring against the king's person or government; when it would be visible, that they were only designing to preserve his person, and to restore him to his government. To proceed against any, or to take their lives for such practices, would be to add murder to perjury. And it was not to be supposed, that juries would find 1689. 814

[u] There is something in this argument. S.

1689. such men guilty of treason. In the weakness of infancy, a prince regent was in law the same person with the king, who had not yet a will: and it was to be presumed, the prince regent's will was the king's will. But that could not be applied to the present case; where the king and the regent must be presumed to be in a perpetual struggle, the one to recover his power, the other to preserve his authority. These things seemed to be so plainly made out in the debate, that it was generally thought that no man could resist such force of argument, but those who intended to bring back king James. And it was believed, that those of his party, who were looked on as men of conscience, had secret orders from him to act upon this pretence; since otherwise they offered to act clearly in contradiction to their own oaths and principles [x].

But those who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the persons, were not at all of a mind. Some among them had very different views and ends from the rest. These intended to take advantage from the present conjuncture, to depress the crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they could, and to raise the power of the people upon the ruin of monarchy. Among those, some went so far as to say, that the whole government was dissolved. But this appeared a bold and dangerous assertion: for that might have been carried so far, as to infer from it, that all men's properties, honours, rights, and franchises, were dissolved. Therefore it was thought safer to say, that king James had dissolved the tie that was between

[x] This is malice. S.

him and the nation. Others avoided going into new speculations or schemes of government. They thought it was enough to say, that in extreme cases all obligations did cease; and that in our present circumstances the extremity of affairs, by reason of the late ill government, and by king James's flying over to the enemy of the nation, rather than submit to reasonable terms, had put the people of England on the necessity of securing themselves upon a legal bottom[y]. It was said, that though the vow of marriage was made for term of life, and without conditions expressed, yet a breach in the tie it self sets the innocent party at liberty. So a king, who had his power both given him and defined by the law, and was bound to govern by law, when he set himself to break all laws, and in conclusion deserted his people, did, by so doing, set them at liberty to put themselves in a legal and safe state. There was no need of fearing ill consequences from this. Houses were pulled down or blown up in a fire: and yet men found themselves safe in their houses. In extreme dangers the common sense of mankind would justify extreme remedies; though there was no special provision that directed to them or allowed of them. Therefore, they said, a nation's securing it self against a king, who was subverting the government, did not expose monarchy, nor raise a popular authority, as some did tragically represent the matter. 1689. 815

There were also great disputes about the original contract: some denying there was any such thing, and asking where it was kept, and how it could be come at. To this others answered, that it was im-

[y] This was the best reason. S.

1689. plied in a legal government: though in a long tract of time, and in dark ages, there was not such an explicit proof of it to be found. Yet many hints from law books and histories were brought to shew, that the nation had always submitted and obeyed, in consideration of their laws, which were still stipulated to them.

There were also many debates on the word *abdicate:* for the commons came soon to a resolution, that king James, by breaking the original contract, and by withdrawing himself, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby become vacant. They sent this vote to the lords, and prayed their concurrence. Upon which many debates and conferences arose. At last it came to a free conference, in which, according to the sense of the whole nation, the commons had clearly the advantage on their side[z]. The lords had some more colour for opposing the word *abdicate,* since that was often taken in a sense that imported the full purpose and consent of him that abdicated; which could not be pretended in this case. But there were good authorities brought, by which it appeared, that when a person did a thing upon which his leaving any office ought to follow, he was said to abdicate. But this was a critical dispute[a]: and it scarce became the

[z] See the debate at the free conference. It is printed by itself, (12mo. 1695,) and I think in one of the volumes of the State Trials. O.

[a] I remember the king's having left the kingdom, without establishing a legal administration during his absence, was much insisted upon as a formal abdication. The earl of Pembroke said he thought that was no more than a man's running out of his house when on fire, or a seaman's throwing his goods overboard in a storm, to save his life, which could never be understood as a renunciation of his house or goods. D.

greatness of that assembly, or the importance of the matter[b]; [and had a meanness in it, because of the dubious sense of it, and as it was used for that reason.] 1689.

It was a more important debate, whether, supposing king James had abdicated, the throne could be declared vacant. It was urged, that, by the law, the king did never die; but that with the last breath of the dying king the regal authority went to the next heir[c]. So it was said, that, supposing king James had abdicated, the throne was (*ipso facto*) filled in that instant by the next heir. This seemed to be proved by the heirs of the king being sworn to in the oath of allegiance; which oath was not only made personally to the king, but likewise to his heirs and successors. Those who insisted on the abdication said, that, if the king dissolved the tie between him and his subjects to himself, he dissolved their tie likewise to his posterity[d]. An heir was one that came in the room of a person that was dead; it being a maxim that no man can be the heir of a living man. If therefore the king had fallen from his own right, as no heir of his could pretend to any inheritance from him, as long as he was alive, so they could succeed to nothing, but to that which was vested in him at the time of his death. And, as in the case of attainder, every right that a man was divested of before his death, was, as it were, annihilated in him; and by consequence could not pass to his heirs by his death, not being then in himself: so, if a king did set his people free 816

[b] It was a very material point. S.

[c] This is certainly true. S.

[d] This is sophistry. S.

1689. from any tie to himself, they must be supposed to be put in a state in which they might secure themselves; and therefore could not be bound to receive one, who they had reason to believe would study to dissolve and revenge all they had done. If the principle of self preservation did justify a nation in securing it self from a violent invasion, and a total subversion, then it must have its full scope, to give a real, and not a seeming and fraudulent security. They did acknowledge, that upon the grounds of natural equity, and for securing the nation in after times, it was fit to go as near the lineal succession as might be: yet they could not yield that point, that they were strictly bound to it.

Some moved to examine the birth of the prince of Wales.

It was proposed, that the birth of the pretended prince might be examined into. Some pressed this, not so much from an opinion that they were bound to assert his right, if it should appear that he was born of the queen, as because they thought it would justify the nation, and more particularly the prince and the two princesses, if an imposture in that matter could have been proved. And it would have gone far to satisfy many of the weaker sort, as to all the proceeding against king James. Upon which I was ordered to gather together all the presumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned, which were all ready to have been made out. It is true, these did not amount to a full and legal proof: yet they seemed to be such violent presumptions, that, when they were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence[e]: for that
817 was liable to the suspicion of subornation: whereas

[e] Well said, bishop. S.

the other seemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and certainty. But, when this matter was in private debated, some observed, that, as king James by going about to prove the truth of the birth, and yet doing it so defectively, had really made it more suspicious than it was before; so, if there was no clear and positive proof made of an imposture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the possibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing than it then had, and, instead of weakening it, would strengthen the pretension of his birth [f]. 1689.

When this debate was proposed in the house of lords, it was rejected with indignation. He was now sent out of England to be bred up in France [g], an enemy both to the nation and to the established religion: it was impossible for the people of England to know, whether he was the same person that had been carried over, or not: if he should die, another might be put in his room, in such a manner that the nation could not be assured concerning him: the English nation ought not to send into another country for witnesses to prove that he was their prince; much less receive one upon the testimony of such as were not only aliens, but ought to be presumed enemies: it was also known, that all the persons who had been the confidents in that matter were conveyed away: so it was impossible to come at them, by whose means only the truth of that birth could be found out. But while these things were fairly

But it was rejected.

[f] Wisely done. S.

[g] (This was the best plea the convention had for setting him aside, professing, as it did, to keep, as far as was practicable, to the constitution.)

1689. debated by some, there were others who had deeper and darker designs in this matter.

They thought it would be a good security for the nation, to have a dormant title to the crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a pretender still in their eye [h]. Wildman thought, it was a deep piece of policy to let this lie in the dark, and undecided. Nor did they think it an ill precedent, that they should so neglect the right of succession, as not so much as to inquire into this matter. Upon all these considerations no further inquiry was made into it. It is true, this put a plausible objection in the mouth of all king James's party: here, they said, an infant was condemned, and denied his right, without either proof or inquiry. This still takes with many in the present age. And, that it may not take more in the next, I have used more than ordinary care to gather together all the particulars that were then laid before me as to that matter [i].

[h] I think this was no ill design; yet it hath not succeeded in mending kings. S.

[i] And where are they? S. (See note before at page 753. There is still existing an account, cited more than once in the preceding notes, of the testimony which Isabella lady Wentworth, one of the ladies of the bedchamber to king James's queen, gave in the year 1703 to Dr. Hickes, the former dean of Worcester, at the lodgings of Mrs. Dawson in St. James's palace, who also had been of the bedchamber to the same queen. To this testimony respecting the birth of the prince of Wales, it is added by lady Wentworth, "that she had asserted the truth of his birth "shortly after the revolution "to Dr. Burnet, now bishop of "Sarum, when she told the "doctor, that she was as sure "the prince of Wales was the "queen's son, as that any of "her own children were hers; "and when, out of zeal for the "truth and honour of my mistress," said she, "I spake in "such terms as modesty would "scarce let me speak at an-

The next thing in debate was, who should fill the throne. The marquis of Hallifax intended, by his zeal for the prince's interest, to atone for his backwardness in not coming early into it: and, that he might get before lord Danby, who was in great credit with the prince, he moved, that the crown should be given to the prince, and to the two princesses after him. Many of the republican party approved of this: for by it they gained another point: the people in this case would plainly elect a king, without any critical regard to the order of succession. How far the prince himself entertained this, I cannot tell. But I saw it made a great impression on Benthink. He spoke of it to me, as asking my opinion about it, but so, that I plainly saw what was his own: for he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it; as that it was most natural that the sovereign power should be only in one person; that a man's wife ought only to be his wife; that it was a suitable return to the prince for what he had done for the nation; that a divided sovereignty was liable to great inconveniencies; and, though there was less to be apprehended from the princess of any thing of that kind than from any woman alive, yet all mortals were frail, and might at some time or other of their lives be wrought on. 1689. Some were for making the prince king. 818

To all this I answered, with some vehemence, that this was a very ill return for the steps the princess had made to the prince three years ago: it would be thought both unjust and ungrateful: it

"other time." A copy of the original document, which was signed by lady Wentworth, and attested by doctor Hickes and others, has been long in Magdalen college Oxford, but belongs to the reverend Mr. Fortescue-Knottesford. Perhaps the original was never printed.)

1689. would meet with great opposition, and give a general ill impression of the prince, as insatiable and jealous in his ambition: there was an ill humour already spreading it self through the nation and through the clergy: it was not necessary to increase this; which such a step as was now proposed would do out of measure: it would engage the one sex generally against the prince: and in time they might feel the effects of that very sensibly: and, for my own part, I should think my self bound to oppose it all I could, considering what had passed in Holland on that head. We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I saw he was well instructed in the argument: and he himself was possessed with it. So next morning I came to him, and desired my *congè*. I would oppose nothing in which the prince seemed to be concerned, as long as I was his servant. And therefore I desired to be disengaged, that I might be free to oppose this proposition with all the strength and credit I had. He answered me, that I might desire that when I saw a step made: but till then he
819 wished me to stay where I was[k]. I heard no more of this; in which the marquis of Hallifax was single among the peers: for I did not find there was any one of them of his mind; unless it was the lord Culpepper, who was a vicious and corrupt man, but made a figure in the debates that were now in the house of lords, and died about the end of them[l]. Some moved, that the princess of Orange might be put in the throne; and that it might be left to her, to give the prince such a share either of dignity or

[k] Is all this true? S.

[l] Yet was not the same thing done in effect, while the king had the sole administration? S.

power as she should propose, when she was declared queen. The agents of princess Anne began to go about, and to oppose any proposition for the prince to her prejudice. But she thought fit to disown them. Dr. Doughty, one of her chaplains, spoke to me in her room on the subject. But she said to my self, that she knew nothing of it. 1689.

The proposition, in which all that were for the filling the throne agreed at last, was, that both the prince and princess should be made conjunct sovereigns. But, for the preventing of any distractions, that the administration should be singly in the prince [m]. The princess continued all the while in Holland, being shut in there, during the east winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary winds after the thaw came. So that she came not to England till all the debates were over [n]. The prince's enemies gave it out, that she was kept there by order, on design that she might not come over to England to claim her right. So parties began to be formed, some for the prince, and others for the princess. Upon this the earl of Danby sent one over to the princess, and gave her an account of the present state of that debate: and desired to know her own sense of the matter; for, if she desired it, he did not doubt but he should be able to carry it for setting her alone on the throne. She made him a very sharp answer: she said, she was the prince's wife, and would never be other than what she should be in conjunction with him and under him;

[m] See the establishment made on the marriage of queen Mary with Philip of Spain. O.

[n] Why was she sent for till the matter was agreed? This clearly shews the prince's original design was to be king, against what he professed in his declaration. S. (Compare note at p. 631.)

1689. and that she would take it extreme unkindly, if any, under a pretence of their care of her, would set up a divided interest between her and the prince. And, not content with this, she sent both lord Danby's letter and her answer to the prince. Her sending it thus to him was the most effectual discouragement possible to any attempt for the future to create a misunderstanding or jealousy between them [o]. The prince bore this with his usual phlegm: for he did not expostulate with the earl of Danby upon it, but continued still to employ and to trust him. And afterwards he advanced him, first to be a marquis, and then to be a duke.

The prince declared his mind after long silence.

820 During all these debates, and the great heat with which they were managed, the prince's own behaviour was very mysterious. He stayed at St. James's: he went little abroad: access to him was not very easy. He heard all that was said to him: but seldom made any answers. He did not affect to be affable, or popular: nor would he take any pains to gain any one person over to his party. He said, he came over, being invited, to save the nation: he had now brought together a free and true representative

[o] There was a great meeting at the earl of Devonshire's, where the dispute ran very high between lord Hallifax and lord Danby, one for the prince, the other for the princess: at last lord Hallifax said he thought it would be very proper to know the prince's own sentiments, and desired Fagel would speak, who defended himself a great while by saying he knew nothing of his mind upon that subject, but if they would know his own, he believed the prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher; upon which lord Danby said he hoped they all knew enough now; for his part, he knew too much; and broke up the assembly, as sir M. Wharton, who was present, told me. D. (This note has been already published by sir John Dalrymple in the appendix to his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 342.)

of the kingdom: he left it therefore to them to do what they thought best for the good of the kingdom: and, when things were once settled, he should be well satisfied to go back to Holland again [p]. Those who did not know him well, and who imagined that a crown had charms which human nature was not strong enough to resist, looked on all this as an affectation, and as a disguised threatening, which imported, that he would leave the nation to perish, unless his method of settling it was followed. After a reservedness, that had continued so close for several weeks, that nobody could certainly tell what he desired, he called for the marquis of Hallifax, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Danby, and some others, to explain himself more distinctly to them. 1689.

He told them, he had been till then silent, because he would not say or do any thing that might seem in any sort to take from any person the full freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of such importance: he was resolved neither to court nor threaten any one: and therefore he had declined to give out his own thoughts: some were for putting the government in the hands of a regent: he would say nothing against it, if it was thought the best mean for settling their affairs: only he thought it necessary to tell them, that he would not be the regent: so, if they continued in that design, they must look

[p] Did he tell truth? S. He seems to have acted right, considering the circumstances he was then in. If he was sincere in it, it was not only wise, but great. If he had done otherwise, it would have hurt him, and brought him into many difficulties. He made a better judgment quite through this matter than any of the people about him. His natural temper might contribute to it. But with all his errors, he appears, in all times of his life, to have been by far the ablest man concerned in his affairs, or at that time in Europe. O.

1689. out for some other person to be put in that post [q]: he himself saw what the consequences of it were like to prove: so he would not accept of it: others were for putting the princess singly on the throne, and that he should reign by her courtesy: he said, no man could esteem a woman more than he did the princess: but he was so made, that he could not think of holding any thing by apron-strings: nor could he think it reasonable to have any share in the government, unless it was put in his person, and that for term of life: if they did think it fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them in it: but he would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs: he assured them, that whatsoever others might think of a crown, it was no such thing
821 in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleased without it. In the end he said, that he could not resolve to accept of a dignity, so as to hold it only the life of another: yet he thought, that the issue of princess Anne should be preferred, in the succession, to any issue that he might have by any other wife than the princess [r]. All this he delivered to them in so cold and unconcerned a manner, that those, who judged of others by the dispositions that they felt in themselves, looked on it all as artifice and contrivance [s].

It was resolved to

This was presently told about, as it was not in-

[q] Was not this a plain confession of what he came for? S.

[r] A great concession truly. S.

[s] The duke of Leeds told me the reasons that prevailed were the ill state of his health, from whence they concluded he could not last long; and that a man of courage was necessary for settling the government at first; but the marquis of Hallifax told the prince he might be what he pleased himself, (the first night he came to St. James's;) for as nobody knew what to do with him, so nobody knew what to do without him. D.

tended to be kept secret. And it helped not a little to bring the debates at Westminster to a speedy determination. Some were still in doubt with relation to the princess. In some it was conscience: for they thought the equitable right was in her. Others might be moved by interest, since, if she should think herself wronged, and ill used in this matter, she, who was like to outlive the prince, being so much younger and healthier than he was, might have it in her power to take her revenges on all that should concur in such a design. Upon this, I, who knew her sense of the matter very perfectly by what had passed in Holland, as was formerly told, was in a great difficulty. I had promised her never to speak of that matter, but by her order. But I presumed, in such a case, I was to take orders from the prince. So I asked him, what he would order me to do. He said, he would give me no orders in that matter, but left me to do as I pleased. I looked on this as the allowing me to let the princess's resolution in that be known; by which many, who stood formerly in suspense, were fully satisfied. Those to whom I gave the account of that matter were indeed amazed at it; and concluded, that the princess was either a very good or a very weak woman. An indifferency for power and rule seemed so extraordinary a thing, that it was thought a certain character of an excess of goodness or simplicity. At her coming to England, she not only justified me, but approved of my publishing that matter; and spoke particularly of it to her sister princess Anne. There were other differences in the form of the settlement. The republican party were at first for deposing king James by a formal sentence, and for

1689. put the prince and princess both in the throne.

1689. giving the crown to the prince and princess by as formal an election. But that was overruled in the beginning. I have not pursued the relation of the debates according to the order in which they passed, which will be found in the Journal of both houses during the convention[t]. But having had a great share myself in the private managing of those debates, particularly with many of the clergy, and
822 with the men of the most scrupulous and tender consciences, I have given a very full account of all the reasonings on both sides, as that by which the reader may form and guide his own judgment of the whole affair. Many protestations passed in the house of lords in the progress of the debate. The party for a regency was for some time most prevailing: and then the protestations were made by the lords that were for the new settlement. The house was very full: about a hundred and twenty were present. And things were so near an equality, that it was at last carried by a very small majority, of two or three, to agree with the commons in voting the abdication, and the vacancy of the throne: against which a great protestation was made; as also against the final vote, by which the prince and princess of Orange were desired to accept of the crown, and declared to be king and queen; which went very hardly[u]. The poor bishop of Durham, who had ab-

[t] The debates cannot be known from the Journals, yet I have seen my lord Somers's notes of those in the house of commons, and they agree with this author's account. O.

[u] I stood behind the woolsack in the house of lords, when it was carried in a committee of the whole house, that the throne was not vacant, by king James's having abdicated the kingdom: but it was retrieved next day in the house, by some lords being prevailed upon to absent themselves, from an apprehension that if they had insisted, it must have ended in a

sconded for some time, and was waiting for a ship to get beyond sea, fearing publick affronts, and had offered to compound by resigning his bishoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and, by voting the new settlement, to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done: which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character [x]. 1689.

They drew an instrument about it.

But, before matters were brought to a full conclusion, an enumeration was made of the chief heads of king James's ill government. And in opposition to these, the rights and liberties of the people of

civil war. D. (The final vote, of which the bishop here speaks, was carried by a majority of twenty voices, sixty-five against forty-five. And in the next session, the minority refused, when advised and urged to it, as Echard in his History of the Revolution, p. 260, 261, reports on the authority of the noble adviser, either to enter their protests against the measure, or to quit the house in consequence of its being adopted.)

[x] This is too hard, though almost true. S. I have heard that he offered to resign his bishopric to this author, upon an assignation of one thousand per annum, but that he was diverted from it by his nephews, Mr. Sydney Wortley Mountague, and Mr. Charles Mountague, who were great friends to the new settlement, and brought him into it. He was always a very mean man in all respects, but had some court-skill. One to whom he was great uncle told me, that by way of advice to him, he said, "Nephew, do "as I did when I began the "world at court. Stick firm "to some one great man there. "If he falls, fall with him, and "when he rises, you are sure "to rise with him, to more ad-"vantage than if you had left "him." The duke of York had been his patron, but now the bishop had got his preferment. O. (Lord Montague, in his letter applying to king William to be created a duke, pleads his bringing the earl of Huntingdon, the bishop of Durham, and lord Ashley, to vote against the regency, and for William's having the crown, which, he says, was carried by those three voices and his own. See Appendix to Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 340. The question had been carried before against a regency by a majority of two voices, fifty-one against forty-nine. In the minority were all the bishops, with the exception of Compton and Trelawney.)

1689. England were stated. Some officious people studied to hinder this at that time. They thought they had already lost three weeks in their debates: and the doing this, with the exactness that was necessary, would take up more time: or it would be done too much in a hurry, for matters of so nice a nature. And therefore it was moved, that this should be done more at leisure after the settlement. But that was not hearkened to. It was therefore thought necessary to frame this instrument so, that it should be like a new Magna Charta. In the stating these grievances and rights, the dispensing power came to be discussed. And then the power of the crown to grant a *non-obstante* to some statutes was objected[y]. Upon opening this, the debate was found to be so intricate, that it was let fall at that time only for despatch. But afterwards an act passed condemning it singly. And the power of granting a *non-obstante* was for the future taken away[z]. Yet king James's party took great advantage from this; and said, that, though the main clamour of the nation was against the dispensing power, yet when the convention brought things to a settlement,
823 that did not appear to be so clear a point as had been pretended: and it was not so much as mentioned in this instrument of government: so that, by the confession of his enemies, it appeared to be no unlawful power: nor was it declared contrary to the liberties of the people of England[a]. Whereas,

[y] Yet the words continue in patents. S.

[z] It is in a clause of the act, declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, &c. 1 Gul. et Mariæ, Sess. 2. cap. 2. See Journal of the House of Commons, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th Feb. 1688.—25th of Nov. 1689. O.

[a] But see the declaration and

its not being mentioned then was only upon the opposition that was made, that so more time might not be lost, nor this instrument be clogged with disputable points [b]. 1689.

The last debate was concerning the oaths that The oaths were altered.

the Journal of the House of Commons as mentioned in the former page, and observe the *distinctions*. Compare the whole with the bill of rights especially as to this important point of the dispensing power. O. But a very irregular use of it. For granting there is such a trust lodged with the crown, it will not follow from thence, that the king may dispense with all the laws at his pleasure. The case of ship-money was founded upon an undeniable truth, that when the whole is at stake, the chief magistrate may and ought to do every thing that can contribute to the preservation of the society, though never so prejudicial to any of the particulars. Queen Elizabeth did many things in the year eighty-eight, that could not have been justified by the ordinary forms of law; but the danger was imminent and apparent, therefore no man ever complained of hardships upon that occasion. But there are many powers vested in the crown, the abuse of which would overturn the whole frame of government. The king has an undoubted right to call whom he pleases to the house of lords: but the calling all the people of England would be a very ridiculous, though a very sure way, to destroy the rest of the constitution all at once: as the excusing every man from being of a jury (which the king may do by law) would be of the whole administration of justice in the kingdom; but there must always be understood to be powers trusted with the crown for the benefit of the people: and the king's being judge of the necessity does not hinder the community from judging whether they are executed to their prejudice or advantage. D.

[b] (According to Macpherson and others, "when the lower "house hesitated to accede to "the vote of the lords, till the "claims and demands of the "subject were known, the "prince became apparently "uneasy. He sent to the "leaders of the commons, to "acquaint them, that if the "convention insisted upon new "limitations, he would leave "them to the mercy of James." *History of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 567. It is certain, as Ralph in his History, vol. ii. p. 53. observes, that it was resolved that all such heads of the declaration of rights as were introductory of new laws should be omitted. As the declaration of rights made before William's acceptance of the crown is drawn, it neither alters nor pretends to alter the constitution of England. What has been done of this nature was done afterwards.)

1689. should be taken to the king and queen. Many arguments were taken during the debate from the oaths in the form in which the allegiance was sworn to the crown, to shew that in a new settlement these could not be taken. And to this it was always answered, that care should be taken, when other things were settled, to adjust these oaths, so that they should agree to the new settlement. In the oaths, as they were formerly conceived, a previous title seemed to be asserted, when the king was sworn to, *as rightful and lawful king*. It was therefore said, that these words could not be said of a king who had not a precedent right, but was set up by the nation. So it was moved, that the oaths should be reduced to the ancient simplicity, of swearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the king and queen. This was agreed to. And upon this began the notion of a king *de facto*, but not *de jure*. It was said, that according to the common law, as well as the statute in king Henry the seventh's reign, the subjects might securely obey any king that was in possession, whether his title was good or not. This seemed to be a doctrine necessary for the peace and quiet of mankind, that so the subjects may be safe in every government, that bringeth them under a superior force, and that will crush them, if they do not give a security for the protection that they enjoy under it. The lawyers had been always of that opinion, that the people were not bound to examine the titles of their princes, but were to submit to him that was in possession. It was therefore judged just and reasonable, in the beginning of a new government, to make the oaths as general and comprehensive as might be: for it was thought, that those who once

took the oaths to the government would be after 1689.
that faithful and true to it. This tenderness, which was shewed at this time to a sort of people that had shewed very little tenderness to men of weak or ill informed consciences, was afterwards much abused by a new explanation, or rather a gross equivocation, as to the signification of the words in which the oath was conceived. The true meaning of the words, and the express sense of the imposers, was, that, whether men were satisfied or not with the 824
putting the king and queen on the throne, yet, now they were on it, they would be true to them, and defend them. But the sense that many put on them was, that they were only to obey them as usurpers, during their usurpation, and that therefore, as long as they continued in quiet possession, they were bound to bear them and to submit to them: but that it was still lawful for them to assist king James, if he should come to recover his crown, and that they might act and talk all they could, or durst, in his favour, as being still their king *de jure*. This was contrary to the plain meaning of the words, *faith, and true allegiance;* and was contrary to the express declaration in the act that enjoined them. Yet it became too visible, that many in the nation, and particularly among the clergy, took the oath in this sense, to the great reproach of their profession. The prevarication of too many in so sacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing atheism of the present age. The truth was, the greatest part of the clergy had entangled themselves so far with those strange conceits of the divine right of monarchy, and the unlawfulness of resistance in

The ill sense that was put on the new oath.

1689. any case [c]. And they had so engaged themselves, by asserting these things so often and so publicly, that they did not know how to disengage themselves in honour or conscience.

A notion was started, which by its agreement with their other principles had a great effect among them, and brought off the greatest number of those who came in honestly to the new government. This was chiefly managed by Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, now translated to Worcester. It was laid thus: the prince had a just cause of making war on the king. In that most of them agreed. In a just war, in which an appeal is made to God, success is considered as the decision of Heaven. So the prince's success against king James gave him the right of conquest over him. And by it all his rights were transferred to the prince. His success was indeed no conquest of the nation; which had neither wronged him nor resisted him. So that, with relation to the people of England, the prince was no conqueror, but a preserver and a deliverer, well received and gratefully acknowledged. Yet with relation to king James, and all the right that was before vested in him, he was, as they thought, a con-

[c] In all the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster, legal right was much insisted upon, divine not so much as thought of, which was a notion started in king James the first's reign, by a set of flattering clergymen: there being others in those days that made a doubt of the king's legal title; his mother (from whom he claimed) having been executed for treason, and the last will of Henry the eighth had excluded the Scotch line; which will was made by the authority of an act of parliament that was never repealed. Besides, king James's being an alien born, was thought by some to be an exclusion by the common law. D.

queror[d]. By this notion they explained those pas- 1689.
sages of Scripture that speak of God's disposing of kingdoms, and of pulling down one and setting up another; and also our Saviour's arguing from the inscription on the coin, that they ought to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's; and St. Paul's charging the Romans to obey the powers that then were, who were the emperors that were originally 825
the invaders of public liberty which they had subdued, and had forced the people and senate of Rome

[d] The author wrote a paper to prove this, and it was burnt by the hangman, and is a very foolish scheme. S. Bishop Burnet wrote a pamphlet to encourage this distinction, which had frequently been made before in relation to William the conqueror, and Harold, but the house of commons ordered it to be burnt at Westminster hall gate. The earl of Nottingham had better success with a declaration he made, that though the kingdom had not been conquered, he looked upon himself to be so, having made all the resistance that lay in his power to his being king, but had been overcome: which doctrine was so well received at court, that he was made secretary of state, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition he had made in the house of lords. But lord Weymouth told me, he prevailed with him and some more to stay away, that the other side might carry the question; for fear of a civil war, if they had lost it. D. A false and dangerous notion, and most justly condemned. The prince of Orange came over by invitation from the body of the nation, expressed or implied; had no other right to do it, and whatever was done against king James, and for the prince and princess of Orange, was, in fact, (and could have had no other foundation of justice,) done in virtue only of the rights of the people. No act of a king of this country, be the act what it will, can transfer or be the cause of transferring the crown to any other person, no not even to the heir apparent, without the consent of the people, properly given. The interest of government is theirs. Sovereigns are the trustees of it, and can forfeit only to those who have entrusted them, nor can conquest of itself give any right to government: there must be a subsequent acquiescence, or composition, on the part of the people for it, and that implies compact. If this be so with regard to the conquest of a whole nation, it is more strongly that, when the conquest is over the king only of a country, and the war not against the kingdom. O.

1689. by subsequent acts to confirm an authority that was so ill begun. This might have been made use of more justly, if the prince had assumed the kingship to himself, upon king James's withdrawing; but did not seem to belong to the present case. Yet this had the most universal effect on the far greater part of the clergy.

And now I have stated all the most material parts of these debates, with the fulness that I thought became one of the most important transactions that is in our whole history, and by much the most important of our time.

The princess came to England.

All things were now made ready for filling the throne. And the very night before it was to be done, the princess arrived safely. It had been given out, that she was not well pleased with the late transaction, both with relation to her father, and to the present settlement. Upon which the prince wrote to her, that it was necessary she should appear at first so cheerful, that nobody might be discouraged by her looks, or be led to apprehend that she was uneasy by reason of what had been done. This made her put on a great air of gaiety when she came to Whitehall, and, as may be imagined, had great crowds of all sorts coming to wait on her. I confess, I was one of those that censured this in my thoughts. I thought a little more seriousness had done as well, when she came into her father's palace, and was to be set on his throne next day. I had never seen the least indecency in any part of her deportment before: which made this appear to me so extraordinary, that some days after I took the liberty to ask her, how it came that what she saw in so sad a revolution, as to her father's person,

made not a greater impression on her. She took this freedom with her usual goodness. And she assured me, she felt the sense of it very lively upon her thoughts. But she told me, that the letters which had been writ to her had obliged her to put on a cheerfulness, in which she might perhaps go too far, because she was obeying directions, and acting a part which was not very natural to her[e]. This was on the 12th of February, being Shrove-Tuesday. The thirteenth was the day set for the two houses to come with the offer of the crown. So here ends the *interregnum*. 1689.

And thus I have given the fullest and most particular account that I could gather of all that passed during this weak, unactive, violent, and superstitious reign; in which all regard to the affairs of Europe seemed to be laid aside, and nothing was thought on

[e] That she put on more airs of gaiety upon that occasion than became her, or seemed natural, I was an eyewitness to, having seen her upon her first arrival at Whitehall: but that she behaved in the ridiculous indecent manner the duchess of Marlborough has represented, I do as little believe, as that her grace (which she would insinuate) had any share in making the countess of Derby groom of the stole, which was entirely owing to her being the duke of Ormond's sister, and Mr. Overquerque's niece; without any recommendation from the princess of Denmark, which could not have been obtained without lady Churchill's interposition at that time, that was neither wanted or desired. Her grace, out of abundant good will to the countess of Derby, has produced her accounts, to show how much they exceeded her own, which may easily be accounted for, that queen being of a very generous temper, and was continually presenting the ladies and their children, that were about her, with things of considerable value. Therefore the great articles are to jewellers, goldsmiths, and East India shops, which her grace took care there should be no call for, during her administration: but has confessed the mean begging of eighteen thousand pounds, after the immense wealth she and her family had extorted from the public during her favour with queen Ann. D.

1689. but the spiteful humours of a revengeful Italian
826 lady, and the ill laid, and worse managed, projects of some hot meddling priests, whose learning and politics were of a piece, the one exposing them to contempt, and the other to ruin; involving in it a prince, who, if it had not been for his being delivered up to such counsels, might have made a better figure in history. But they managed both themselves and him so ill, that a reign, whose rise was bright and prosperous, was soon set in darkness and disgrace. But I break off here, lest I should seem to aggravate misfortunes, and load the unfortunate too much.

END OF KING JAMES THE SECOND'S REIGN.

A

TABLE OF THE CONTENTS

OF THE FOREGOING

VOLUME[a].

BOOK IV.

Of the reign of king James the second.

A REIGN happily begun, but inglorious all over 617
The king's first education 618
He learned war under Turenne 619
He was admiral of England ibid.
He was proclaimed king 620
His first speech ibid.
Well received ibid.
Addresses made to him ibid.
The earl of Rochester made Lord Treasurer 621
The earl of Sunderland in favour ibid.
Customs and excise levied against law ibid.
The king's coldness to those who had been for the exclusion 622
He seemed to be on equal terms with the French king 623
The king's course of life 624
The prince of Orange sent away the duke of Monmouth ibid.
Some in England began to move for him 625
Strange practices in elections of parliament men ibid.
Evil prospect from an ill parliament 626
The prince of Orange submits in every thing to the king 627
The king was crowned 628
I went out of England ibid.
Argile designed to invade Scotland 629
The duke of Monmouth forced upon an ill-timed invasion 630
These designs were carried with secrecy 631
Argile landed in Scotland ibid.
But was defeated, and taken 632
Argile's execution ibid.

[a] (*The pages referred to are those of the folio edition, which are inserted in the margin of the present.*)

Rumbold at his death denied the rye plot 633
A parliament in Scotland 634
Granted all that the king desired 636
Oates convicted of perjury 637
And cruelly whipt ibid.
Dangerfield killed ibid.
A parliament in England 638
Grants the revenue for life ibid.
And trusts to the king's promise ibid.
The parliament was violent 639
The lords were more cautious 640
The duke of Monmouth landed at Lime ibid.
An act of attainder passed against him 641
A rabble came and joined him ibid.
Lord Grey's cowardice 642
The earl of Feversham commanded the king's army 643
The duke of Monmouth defeated 644
And taken ibid.
Soon after executed 645
He died with great calmness 646
Lord Grey pardoned ibid.
The king was lifted up with his successes 647
But it had an ill effect on his affairs ibid.
Great cruelties committed by his soldiers ibid.
And much greater by Jefferies 648
With which the king was well pleased ibid.
The execution of two women ibid.
The behaviour of those who suffered 650
The nation was much changed by this management 651
Great disputes for and against the tests 652
Some change their religion ibid.
The duke of Queensborough disgraced 653
The king declared against the tests 654
Proceedings in Ireland ibid.
The persecution in France 655
A fatal year to the protestant religion ibid.
Rouvigny's behaviour 656
He came over to England 657
Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the protestants 658
Many of them yielded through fear 659
Great cruelty every where ibid.
I went into Italy 660
And was well received at Rome 661
Cardinal Howard's freedom with me ibid.
Cruelties in Orange 663
Another session of parliament ibid.
The king's speech against the test 664
Jefferies made lord chancellor 665
The house of commons address the king for observing the law 666
The king was much offended with it ibid.
The parliament was prorogued 667
The lord de la Meer tried and acquitted 668

1686.

A trial upon the act for the test 669
Many judges turned out ibid.
Herbert, chief justice, gives judgment for the king's dispensing power ibid.
Admiral Herbert's firmness ibid.
Father Petre, a Jesuit, in high favour 672
The king declared for a toleration ibid.

The clergy managed the points of controversy with great zeal and success 673
The persons who were chiefly engaged in this 674
Dr. Sharp in trouble ibid.
The bishop of London required to suspend him 675
Which he could not obey ibid.
An ecclesiastical commission set up ibid.
The bishop of London brought before it 676
And was suspended by it 677
Affairs in Scotland 678
A tumult at Edinburgh ibid.
A parliament held there 679
Which refused to comply with the king's desire 680
A zeal appeared there against popery 681
Affairs in Ireland ibid.
The king made his mistress countess of Dorchester 682
Attempts made on many to change their religion 683
Particularly on the earl of Rochester 684
He was turned out 685
Designs talked of against Holland ibid.
I stayed some time at Geneva 686
The state and temper I observed among the reformed 687
I was invited by the prince of Orange to come to the Hague 688
A character of the prince and princess of Orange 689
I was much trusted by them 691
The prince's sense of our affairs ibid.
The princess's resolution with respect to the prince 692
Pen sent over to treat with the prince 693
Some bishops died in England 694
Cartwright and Parker promoted 695
The king's letter refused in Cambridge 697
The vice-chancellor turned out by the ecclesiastical commissioners 698
An attempt to impose a popish president on Magdalen college 699
They disobey, and are censured for it 700

1687.

And were all turned out ibid.
The dissenters were much courted by the king 701
Debates and resolutions among them 702
The army encamped at Hounslow heath 703
An ambassador sent to Rome ibid.
He managed every thing unhappily 704
Pope Innocent's character 705
Disputes about the franchises 706
Queen Christina's character of some popes 707
D'Albeville sent envoy to Holland ibid.
I was upon the king's pressing instances forbid to see the prince and princess of Orange 708
Dykvelt sent to England ibid.
The negotiations between the king and the prince 709
A letter writ by the Jesuits of Liege, that discovers the king's designs 711
Dykvelt's conduct in England 712
A proclamation of indulgence sent to Scotland ibid.
Which was much censured 713
A declaration for toleration in England 714
Addresses made upon it ibid.

The king's indignation against the church party 715
The parliament was dissolved 716
The reception of the pope's nuntio ibid.
The king made a progress through many parts of England 717
A change in the magistracy in London, and over England 718
Questions put about elections of parliament 719
The king wrote to the princess of Orange about religion 720
Which she answered 722
Reflections on these letters 725
A prosecution set on against me 726
Albeville's memorial to the States 728
The States' answer to what related to me 729
Other designs against me 730
Pensioner Fagel's letter 731
Father Petre made a privy counsellor 733
The confidence of the Jesuits ibid.
The pensioner's letter was printed 734
The king asked the regiments of his subjects in the States' service ibid.
Which was refused, but the officers had leave to go 735
A new declaration for toleration 736
Which the clergy were ordered to read ibid.
To which they would not give obedience 738
The archbishop and six bishops petition the king ibid.
The king ordered the bishops to be prosecuted for it 741
They were sent to the tower ibid.
But soon after discharged 742
They were tried ibid.
And acquitted 743
To the great joy of the town and nation 744
The clergy was next designed against ibid.
The effect this had every where 745
Russel pressed the prince 746
The prince's answer ibid.
The elector of Brandenburgh's death ibid.
The queen gave out that she was with child 748
The queen's reckoning changed 751
The queen said to be in labour ibid.
And delivered of a son 752
Great grounds of jealousy appeared ibid.
The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room 753
The prince and princess of Orange sent to congratulate 754
The prince designs an expedition to England ibid.
Sunderland advised more moderate proceedings 755
And he turned papist 756
The prince of Orange treats with some of the princes of the empire 757
The affairs of Colen 758
Herbert came over to Holland 762
The advices from England ibid.
The lord Mordaunt's character ibid.
The earl of Shrewsbury's character ibid.
Russel's character 763
Sidney's character ibid.
Many engaged in the design 764
Lord Churchill's character 765

The court of France gave the alarm 766
Recruits from Ireland refused 767
Offers made by the French ibid.
Not entertained at that time 768
The French own an alliance with the king ibid.
The strange conduct of France 769
A manifesto of war against the empire 770
Reflections made upon it 771
Another against the pope 772
Censures that passed upon it 773
Marshal Schomberg sent to Cleve 774
The Dutch fleet at sea ibid.
The prince of Orange's declaration 775
I was desired to go with the prince 776
Advices from England ibid.
Artifices to cover the design 778
The Dutch put to sea 779
Some factious motions at the Hague 780
The army was shipped 781
The princess's sense of things ibid.
The prince took leave of the States 782
We sailed out of the Maes ibid.
But were forced back 783
Consultations in England ibid.
Proofs brought for the birth of the prince of Wales 785
We sailed out more happily a second time 787
We landed at Torbay 788
The king's army began to come over to the prince 790
An association among those who came to the prince 792
The heads in Oxford sent to him 793
Great disorders in London ibid.
A treaty begun with the prince 794
The king left the kingdom 795
He is much censured 796
But is brought back ibid.
The prince is desired to come and take the government into his hands 797
Different advice given to the prince concerning the king's person 798
The prince came to London, and the king went to Rochester 801
The prince was welcomed by all sorts of people 802
Consultations about the settlement of the nation 803
The king went over to France 804
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
The affairs of Ireland 805
1689.
The prince in treaty with the earl of Tyrconnel 807
The convention met 809
Some are for a prince regent ibid.
Others are for another king 811
And against a regency 813
Some moved to examine the birth of the prince of Wales 816
But it was rejected 817
Some were for making the prince king 818
The prince declared his mind after long silence 820
It was resolved to put the prince and princess both in the throne 821
They drew an instrument about it 822
The oaths were altered 823
The ill sense that was put on the new oath 824
The princess came to England 825
The conclusion 826